



# Mir

kako ga vide mladi ljudi  
u Bosni i Hercegovini

# The Peace

Young People Wish to Build in  
Bosnia and Herzegovina





**Mir**  
kako ga vide  
mladi u  
Bosni i Hercegovini

**The Peace**  
Young People  
Wish to Build in  
Bosnia and Herzegovina

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# SADRŽAJ / CONTENTS

Predgovor/Foreword.....	6
Adna Sušić.....	10
Adnan Bratić.....	12
Ajdin Kovačević.....	14
Almedina Avdić.....	16
Amina Bećar.....	20
Benjamin Nurkić.....	21
Damjan Jugović.....	34
Darko Tusun.....	40
Dijana Živković.....	41
Dženana Duvnjak.....	43
Ena Žunić.....	44
Fatima Mahmutović.....	47
Hana Efendić.....	57
Ilma Garankić.....	68
Ivan Volić.....	69
Ivana Savić.....	72
Lejla Mehdi-Ismailovski.....	75
Milica Aulić.....	78
Mina Trgo.....	81
Narcisa Hadžajlić.....	83
Nermin Delić.....	85
Nizama Husetić.....	91
Nizama Patković.....	93
Renka Žunić.....	97
Safet Imamović.....	99
Sunčica Đukanović.....	103
Svjetlana Adžić.....	113

# Mir

## koji mladi ljudi žele graditi u Bosni i Hercegovini

### Zajednički predgovor rezidentne koordinatorice Ujedinjenih nacija i šefice Misije OSCE-a u Bosni i Hercegovini

U decembru 2020. godine obilježena je 25. godišnjica mira u Bosni i Hercegovini. Država je dostigla ovaj značajan datum zahvaljujući napornom radu građana i građanki Bosne i Hercegovine koji su započeli obnovu i ozdravljenje zajednica podijeljenih i pogođenih ratom. Mnogi od onih koji su obnavljali Bosnu i Hercegovinu bili su, a i dalje su, mladi ljudi rođeni 1990-ih i kasnije.

U decembru iste godine, povodom obilježavanja ove važne godišnjice, pitali smo mlade ljude širom Bosne i Hercegovine šta su im značile posljednje dvije i po decenije. Šest mjeseci kasnije, u junu 2021. godine, uputili smo još jedan poziv mladima u zemlji da zamisle – i da kroz svoju umjetnost izraze – kako treba da izgleda sljedećih 25 godina mirne i prosperitetne budućnosti.

Iz umjetničkih i pisanih podnesaka koje smo dobili bilo je jasno da mladi ljudi u BiH pridaju veliku važnost uzajamnom razumijevanju, povjerenju, empatiji, dostojanstvu, stabilnosti, nadi i inkluzivnosti. Ove trajne vrijednosti su također sadržane u njihovim zajedničkim vizijama budućnosti. Riječi i slike koje stvaraju ovi mladi ljudi vode nas u pravcu istraživanja trenutnih izazova Bosne i Hercegovine, ali se i skreće pažnja na njene izvanredne mogućnosti.

Četvrtina vijeka izgradnje mira je važna investicija u budućnost. Ovaj period definiira cjelokupno djetinjstvo i ranu zrelost većine mladih ljudi čije slike, pjesme i eseji slijede na ovim stranicama. Međutim, kako se vidi u jednom od podnesaka, ovo je samo početna tačka koja poziva na djelovanje, jer „za istoriju, 25 godina – bilo u

prošlosti ili budućnosti – prođe u tren oka. I kako godine prolaze, jedino je važno na koji način smo ih iskoristili.”

Danas vidimo da Bosna i Hercegovina ubrzano gubi svoj najvrjedniji kapital – svoje građane i građanke, a posebno mlade ljude. Nažalost, svake godine mnogi mladi ljudi napuštaju Bosnu i Hercegovinu kako bi svoju budućnost potražili negdje drugdje. Nedostatak socio-ekonomskih mogućnosti, ali i stalna politička nestabilnost, podjele i sve češća pojava govora mržnje ne nude stabilno i prosperitetno okruženje nikome u zemlji bez obzira na porijeklo.

Ipak, neki ljudi su odlučili ostati i raditi na zaštiti i unapređenju teško stečenog mira u BiH. Putovanje širom zemlje i susret s mladim ljudima, čitanje njihovih riječi i gledanje njihovih umjetničkih kreacija daje nam nadu. Oni se povezuju, sarađuju i stvaraju budućnost istim i zajedničkim vrijednostima koje premošćuju razlike, umjetne granice i prepreke. U njihovim nastojanjima vidimo duh koji ne prihvata pasivnost u promjeni trenutnog stanja i kreativnost koja daje podstrek iskrenijem i stabilnijem miru.

Zahvaljujemo mladim ljudima čiji su radovi predstavljeni u ovoj knjizi na njihovoj iskrenosti, otvorenosti i viziji. Mladi širom Bosne i Hercegovine svakodnevno provode pozitivne i konstruktivne aktivnosti. Nadamo se da će ova knjiga podsjetiti i druge ljude da su zaštita i promoviranje mira podjednako bitna i inspirativna djela koja vode građane i građanke, zajednice i cijele zemlje prema prosperitetnijoj i perspektivnijoj budućnosti za sve.

Ingrid Macdonald, dr.sc.  
rezidentna koordinatorica Ujedinjenih nacija  
u Bosni i Hercegovini

Ambasadorica Kathleen Kavalec  
šefica Misije OSCE-a  
u Bosni i Hercegovini

# The Peace

## Young People Wish to Build in Bosnia and Herzegovina

### Joint foreword by the United Nations Resident Coordinator and the OSCE Head of Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina

December 2020 marked the 25th anniversary of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country achieved this milestone thanks to the hard work of BiH's citizens who began rebuilding and healing communities divided and impacted by the war. Many of those rebuilding BiH were, and continue to be, young people born in the 1990s and after.

That same December, to commemorate this important anniversary, we asked young people across Bosnia and Herzegovina what the last two and a half decades meant to them. Six months later, in June 2021, we issued another call to the country's youth to imagine – and to convey through their art – what the subsequent 25 years of a peaceful and prosperous future should look like.

From the artistic and written submissions we received, it was clear that BiH's young people place great value in mutual understanding, trust, empathy, dignity, stability, promise and inclusivity. These enduring values are also encapsulated in their shared visions of the future. The words and images composed by these young people take us on a journey that explores Bosnia and Herzegovina's on-going challenges, but also draws attention to its magnificent potential.

A quarter of a century of peace-building is an important investment in the future. For most of the young people whose pictures, poems and essays follow in these pages, this period defines their entire childhood and early adulthood. However, as reflected in one of the submissions, this is just the starting point, which calls out for action: "For history, 25 years – whether in the past or

the future – is just the blink of an eye. And when the years go by, the only thing that matters is what we have spent them on."

Today we see that BiH is rapidly losing its most valuable capital – its citizens; and especially its young people. Unfortunately, each year, many young people leave Bosnia and Herzegovina to seek their future elsewhere. The paucity of socio-economic opportunities, but also the on-going political instability, agendas of division and growing trends of hate speech do not offer a stable and prosperous environment for anyone in the country, regardless of background.

Nevertheless, some have chosen to stay and work to protect and advance BiH's hard-won peace. Traveling across the country; meeting young people; reading their words and viewing their artistic creations gives us hope. They are reaching out, collaborating and creating a future with a common set of shared values that bridge differences, artificial borders and hurdles. We see in their efforts a spirit that does not accept the inertia of the status quo and a creativity that keeps alive the evolution toward a more genuine and more stable peace.

We thank the young people whose works are featured in this book, for their honesty, openness and vision. Young people across Bosnia and Herzegovina are carrying out positive and constructive actions on a daily basis. We hope that this book reminds others that protecting and promoting peace are equally both essential and inspirational acts that lead citizens, communities and entire countries toward a more prosperous and promising future for all.

Ingrid Macdonald, PhD  
United Nations Resident Coordinator  
in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ambassador Kathleen Kavalec  
Head of OSCE Mission  
in Bosnia and Herzegovina





Foto / Photo: Amina Mihaljević

## Opis fotografije

Na fotografijama su: Taiba, Mladen, Naima, Jovana i Amina. Mi dolazimo iz cijele Bosne i Hercegovine, naši gradovi su: Doboj, Sarajevo, Bugojno, Visoko i Sokolac. Fotografija je nastala prilikom održavanja Mirovnog kampa koji je organizovao Centar za izgradnju mira iz Sanskog Mosta u okviru "STaR" projekta, čiji smo mi treneri i volonteri. Obično kažemo da naše prijateljstvo govori u naše ime, u ime mladih ljudi iz BiH koji traže mir i djeluju na njegovoj izgradnji! Taiba, djevojka koja je u julu napunila 25 godina, rođena je 11. jula 1995. godine u Srebrenici. Tamo gdje mnogima život bi ugašen, u njoj se rodi. Ona je mojih 25 godina mira, ona, moja prijateljica je moj svaki dan mira, svih 9130 dana koliko stane u 25 godina je ona, jaka i veoma uspješna žena. Prkosi nemiru, iako nemir nosi u svojim ranama. Ona je među najpozitivnijim osobama koje sam upoznala. Ona je moj mir.

### Murali za 25 godina mira

Lokacija: Brčko

Naziv koalicije: Promoviši pozitivno

## Photograph description

The photographs show: Taiba, Mladen, Naima, Jovana and Amina. We come from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina; our cities are: Doboj, Sarajevo, Bugojno, Visoko and Sokolac. The photograph was taken during the Peace Camp organized by the Sanski Most Peacebuilding Centre as part of the "STaR" project, where we work as coaches and volunteers. We usually say that our friendship speaks on our behalf, on behalf of young people from BiH who want peace and put efforts to build it! Taiba, a girl who turned 25 in July, was born on 11 July 1995 in Srebrenica. She inhaled life in a place where so many had lost theirs. She is my 25 years of peace, she, my friend is my every day of peace, she is all 9130 days that make 25 years, a strong and very successful woman. She defies unrest, and even though she carries it in her wounds, she is one of the most positive people I have ever met. She is my peace.

### Murals for 25 Years of Peace

Location: Brčko

Name of the Coalition: Promoviši pozitivno



# Adna Sušić

## IME

Sa nepunih šest godina nađoh se u bolničkom krevetu.

Razlog tome nije bio pretjerano ozbiljan ni strašan, ali svako dijete tog uzrasta već je samo po sebi dovoljno prestrašeno prvobitnim spoznajama.

Sjećam se tog dana. Došla sam sa mamom, a onda ostala sama u prostoriji sa pet kreveta. Ubrzo je u jedan od njih smještena još jedna djevojčica, za koju tada nisam znala da je iz istog grada, tačnije iste čaršije kao i ja; danas to znam, ali mi to saznanje ništa ne predstavlja.

Počela sam da širim priču, valjda kao i svako dijete kad priča o najvećem strahu ili najljepšoj uspomeni – uglavnom, ostadoh sama. Uprkos punom hodniku djece, bila sam sama jer sam rijetko s kim pričala. Vrijeme sam provodila primajući infuzije, u suzama čekajući mamu da dođe u posjetu i u suzama se od nje opraštajući. To nije potrajalo dugo, zahvaljujući dječaku iz sobe pored moje, koji je noću krao balone druge djece, a danju toliko povraćao da u sobi niko osim njega nije mogao boraviti.

To je u moju sobu, u krevet prekoputa mog dovelo novoga i tada jedinog prijatelja. Rado bih vas upoznala s njim, ali njegovog se imena ne sjećamo ni ja, a ni moja mama. Rekla bih da je bio Marko, možda čak Ivan ili Petar. Bio je nekoliko godina stariji od mene, najviše četiri. Dvanaest godina je prošlo od toga, teško je prisjetiti se stvari kojih sam tada teško bila svjesna.

Imena se možda ne mogu sjetiti, ali dječaka nikada neću zaboraviti. Mojoj mami se svidio, kao i ona njemu, iako je nosila simbol potpuno druge religije od one kojoj je on, bar po svom imenu, pripadao. Mama je nosila hidžab; shodno tome, ja sam odgajana u islamu. Znao je to, znam da jeste.

Infuzije koje sam primala trajale su, činilo mi se, godinama. Moj prijatelj mi je za to vrijeme namještao jastuk, sjedio kraj mene, pričao mi o sebi, propitivao me i zasmijavao. Svako malo je provjeravao koliko je još ostalo do kraja, a kada bi vidio da je ostalo svega par kapi, istrčao bi na hodnik i zvao sestre da što prije dođu pa da konačno ustanem i da mi pokaže igricu koju je smislio. Nisam imala svoj mobitel u bolnici pa su mama i on razmijenili brojeve kako bi se nas dvije mogle čuti. Ponekad me zvala i rodbina, kuma ili mamine prijateljice, a ja bih svaki taj poziv završila u suzama, dok bi on sjedio kraj mene i uzaludno me tješio, samo da bi bio tu.

Recite, zar se to može zaboraviti?

Ponekad, kad razmišljam o svemu tome, tri puta starija nego što sam bila tada, razočaram se. Zašto danas ne znam njegovo tačno ime, ali znam da je bio Marko, Ivan ili Petar, a ne Muhamed, Hasan ili Enes? Možda još bolje pitanje: zašto sam ja to tada znala? Po čemu sam klasificirala ta imena sa svojih šest godina, pa su do današnjeg dana ostala urezana u sjećanje? Tada, dok još nisam razlikovala rijeku od jezera, ni planinu od doline, znala sam da je taj neko drugačiji od mene, ne samo po spolu, godinama ili dijagnozi nego i po

uvjerenju. Nećemo se lagati, ja toga tada nisam bila svjesna, jer nije bilo bitno.

U mom vrtiću je bilo još djece kao što je moj prijatelj, ali bilo je i djece kao što sam ja. Danas su svi oni ljudi, neki su kao on, neki kao ja.

Sramim se napisanog, ali shvatili ste me – niste li?

Nismo se rodili naučeni na ovo, naučili su nas. Čak i dok o tome pišem na način na koji to danas shvatamo, osjećam se kao natprosječno primitivna osoba, reći ću zatupljena. Jer živimo tako iz dana u dan. Svi mi. Toliko smo površni da etiketiramo nekog samo na osnovu njegova imena.

Uzalud je to poricati, govoriti kako nije istina, kako su te stvari ostale u prošlosti. Ne. Mi smo ostali u prošlosti.

Za Balkan, kao pojam u psihologiji, rekla bih da je to jedan vječni ratni sukob, sa povremenom promjenom intenziteta.

Ne dajte da ponovo uništavamo jedni druge, da gubimo najmilije i pristajemo na život u kolicima.

Ne dajte da se vašoj djeci desi ono što se desilo vama, jer nije donijelo ništa dobro.

Truju nas, ne dajte. Učite. Razmišljajte.

Ljubav prema svome možeš isključivo da dokažeš poštujući i uvažavajući tuđe, jer ćeš samo zbog te ljubavi znati koliko je onda tuđe drago onome kojem pripada. Tvoja država tebi je jednako draga kao nekome drugom njegova, kao i Bog, kao i narod.

Možda se ne molimo Istom, ali se molimo za isto. Za one koje volimo, za sreću, za zdravlje, za mir. Možda naš grb nije isti, ali isto nam predstavlja, jednako mu pripadamo. Pa zar nismo isti? Ti si Luka, ona Aleksandra, on Bilal – i to meni o vama ne govori ništa više nego kako ću vas memorirati u imeniku telefona. Neki od vas će se javiti kada mi budu najpotrebniji, neki ne. Neki će me nazvati kada im budem trebala, ali na moje pozive neće odgovarati. To mi o vama govori. Neki od vas će potom biti isti, od drugačijih drugačiji.

Jedan život je premalo da bismo mrzili druge. Mržnja je teška i izjeda poput tumora, pogotovo ako joj se ne zna uzrok.

Ostanite djeca. Učite da vršnjake dijelite na one koji vam brišu suze i one koji vas čupaju za kosu kada im okrenete leđa. Ne učite im imena, jer imena se lahko zaborave, a ne govore mnogo.

Za kraj, voljela bih, Marko, Ivane, Petre, prijatelju, da te opet nekad sretnem, da te pitam:

Sječaš li se svoje male prijateljice, sječaš li se ti moga imena?

# Adna Sušić

## NAME

Just before I turned six, I ended up in a hospital bed.

The reason was not overly serious or fearsome, but every child of that age is already scared enough by the early cognition.

I remember that day. I had arrived with my mom, and then I was left alone in a room with five beds. Another girl was placed in one of them soon afterwards. I did not know at the time that she was from the same city, more precisely from the same neighbourhood as me; I know that today, but this knowledge means nothing to me.

I started spreading a story, I guess like any child when they talk about their greatest fear or the most beautiful memory - anyway, I ended up alone. Although the hallway was full of children, I was alone because I rarely spoke with anyone. I passed the time receiving infusions, in tears, waiting for my mom to come visit, and saying goodbye to her in tears. It didn't last long, thanks to a boy from a nearby room who used to steal other children's balloons at night, and vomit so hard during the day that no one but him could stay in the room.

This is what brought my new and only friend at the time to my room, to the bed across mine. I would love to introduce him to you, but neither I nor my mom remember his name. I would say that his name was Marko, or maybe even Ivan or Petar. He was a few years older than me, four at most. It has been twelve years, and it's difficult to remember things I was hardly aware of at the time.

I may not remember the name, but I will never forget that boy. My mother liked him, as he liked her, even though she was wearing a symbol of a religion completely different from the one he belonged to, at least by his name. Mom was wearing hijab; accordingly, I was raised in Islam. He knew that, I know he did.

I had the impression that it took me years to receive an infusion. During that time, my friend was adjusting my pillow, sitting next to me, telling me about himself, asking questions and making me laugh. Every now and then, he was checking the remaining IV fluid, and when he would see that there were only a few drops left, he would run down the hall and call the nurses to come as soon as possible so that I could finally get up and see the game he had come up with. I didn't have my own cell phone in the hospital, so mom and he exchanged numbers so that the two of us could talk. Sometimes relatives, godmother or my mother's friends called me, and I finished every call in tears, while he was sitting next to me, comforting me in vain, just to be there for me.

Tell me, can one forget that?

Sometimes, when I think about all that, now that I am three times older than I was at the time, I get disappointed. Why don't I know his exact name today, but I know that it was Marko, Ivan or Petar, and not Muhamed,

Hasan or Enes? Or maybe even better: why did I know it back then? How did I classify those names at the age of six, and they stayed engraved in my memory to this day? Back then, while I could not distinguish the river from the lake, nor the mountain from the valley yet, I knew that someone was different from me, not only by gender, age or diagnosis, but also by belief. To tell the truth, I wasn't aware of it at the time, because it didn't matter.

There were other children like my friend in my kindergarten, but there were also children like me. Today they are all adult people; some are like him, some are like me.

I am ashamed of what I have written, but you do understand me – don't you?

We were not born like this, we have been taught. Even as I write about it in the way that we understand it today, I feel like an excessively primitive person, let's say dull. Because this is how we live from day to day. All of us. We are so superficial that we label people merely based on their name.

It is useless to deny, to say that it is not true, that these things were left in the past. No. We stayed in the past.

For the Balkans, as a term in psychology, I would say that it is an eternal war, which changes intensity occasionally.

Don't let us destroy each other again, lose our loved ones and agree to a life in a wheelchair.

Don't let your children experience the same thing that happened to you, because it didn't bring anything good.

They are poisoning us, don't let them. Learn. Think.

You can only prove your love for your own by respecting and appreciating what belongs to others, as only that love will make you realise how much the others love their own. You love your country as much as others love theirs; the same goes for God, or people.

We may not pray to the same God, but we pray for the same things. For our loved ones, happiness, health, peace. Our coat of arms may not be the same, but it represents the same thing to us, we belong to it equally. Well, aren't we the same? You are Luka, she is Aleksandra, he is Bilal - and that tells me nothing about you other than how to save your number in my phone book. Some of you will call me when I need them most, some won't. Some will call me when they need me, but they won't answer my calls. This tells me something about you. Some of you will then be the same, different from those who are different.

One life is too short to hate others. Hatred is burdensome and eats you inside out like a tumour, especially if the cause is unknown.

Stay kids. Learn to divide your peers to those who wipe your tears and those who pull your hair when you turn your back on them. Don't learn their names because names are easily forgotten, and they don't say much.

Finally, Marko, Ivan, Petar, my friend, I would like to meet you again sometime, and to ask you:

Do you remember your little friend, do you remember my name?

# Adnan Bratić

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

Četvrt stoljeća  
Smrtne šutnje,  
Osjećaj smutnje  
Nadvladao je.

Bojom zamagljeni viziri k'o lanci  
Na tlu drže.  
Srdačno strvinu srču stranci,  
Braća mrze

Do dna duše pogledi guše,  
Utihnuo plamen traži rane.

Prepuna ptica žica bode noge bose.  
Iskrivili se mostovi, kamen na srcu nose.  
U čaši loze i cigareti trenutak nestao,  
Disat je u zadnjoj konzervi prestao.

Rupe ukrašavaju zid. Viri stid  
Iz temelja ogoljenih –  
Kroz ekrane, na sve strane,  
Krijem od obojenih.

Vani možda čekaju snovi.  
Plaše, kažu – bijeli svijet lovi  
I k'o leš odbaci.

U torbi su dan i ideja.  
Opstanak je Odiseja.  
Želim se spasit.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

Quarter century  
of deadly silence—  
chaos  
prevails.

Coloured visors  
distort the view, keeping us  
shackled. Foreigners  
pick the carcass,  
brothers still embattled.

Another's gaze cuts deep,  
the smouldering blaze dreams of wounds to reap.

Bare feet tread on bird-barbed wires,  
bridges strain under the weight of stone.  
A cigarette, a shot of *loza*, and the moment expires,  
drowned in a tin can, it's gone.

Bullet-riddled walls. Shame  
peers out of bare foundations.  
I disappear into screens, hiding from those  
with the coloured visors.

Dreams perhaps await outside.  
The world is scary, I'm told—it hunts you down  
and spits you out.

In my bag I carry the day and an idea.  
Survival is an odyssey,  
I want to set myself free.



Foto / Photo: Nermin Ganić

## Objašnjenje umjetničkog izražaja/cртеža

Prikazana slika označava da se iz teškog ratnog razaranja u Bosni i Hercegovini izdiže pomirenje, zajedništvo i prijateljstvo naroda. Bitna pouka ove slike jeste bezbjedna budućnost mlađih naraštaja bez sistematskih podjela, odnosno zajednička izgradnja dugoročnog mira i budućnosti svih naroda kako bi ruke sve tri nacionalnosti zajednički pustile goluba mira u slobodni let.

Autor: Nermin Ganić

## Explanation of artistic expression/drawing

The picture shows that reconciliation, unity and friendship of the peoples are rising from the severe war destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A safe future of younger generations without systematic divisions, joint construction of long-term peace and future of all peoples so that the hands of all three nationalities can release the peace dove together is an important moral of this picture.

Author: Nermin Ganić

# Ajdin Kovačević

## NA POUKAMA PROŠLOSTI GRADIMO BUDUĆNOST

Osvrni se čovječe na svekolika prostranstva,  
spoznaj vlastito korijenje i proširi poznanstva.

Počev od mjesta gdje Japodi urne kamene ostaviše,  
pa na njima imena pokojnika svojih ispisaše.  
Doista, Čavkići, Golubić i Pritoka,  
mrzlim smaragdom skrašena, i ripački nišani i  
svi oni i one što podneblje svoje traže  
na pedljima krajiške zemlje  
posvjedočiše ostavštini našega pretka.

Slobodni kraljevski grad uzavrele junačke krvi,  
što stotinu godina ne daje dušmanu da mu priđe,  
konačno pod upravu osmansku pade  
i bihačkog sandžaka dio postade.  
Svjedoči tome stara džamija Fethija,  
što nekoć crkva biješe, a sad  
vjerskih obreda mjesto postade.  
I Turbe sjetno prisjeća se junaka:  
nema Bosne bez bihačkog meraka.

Pogledaj Cazina i džamiju što poput  
spomenika prkosnoj tvrđavi ponosno stoji, pa  
i danas redovno se u njoj molitva kroji.  
Ni ostrožačka kula, ni zbirka skulptura  
ne dadoše se Osmanlijama olako.  
Utrošiš dušmani preko godina sto  
pitajući se do nje da dospiju kako.  
Ljuti od prkosa, skrušenosti i dobrote,  
Pa zar da propustiš cazinskog čovjeka divote?

Zar da propustiš neprikosnovene bužimske strane,  
koje od zla vječno će da te brane?  
Ponosno da hodiš k Starome bužimskom gradu,  
duši što ulijeva beskrajnu nadu.  
Sjeti se vitezova bužimskih što položiše živote svoje  
da bi uspravno koračao krajiškom zemljom,  
na koju dušmani zakoračiti se boje.

Vidi samo Sanu i devet bistrih rijeka,  
Hamzi-begovu džamiju pred kojom molitva te čeka.  
Stari Majdan i nadahnjujući vodopad Blihe  
Božijim čudom prozvani i Suncem obasjani.  
Priroda strpljivo skrojila je stijenu,  
zadivljen stani pred Dabarsku pećinu.

Ostaci velike rimske vladavine  
smješteni u podnožju Grmeč planine.  
I kameni spavači rasuti po Bukovači  
i nadahnjujuće prirodne ljepote  
potaknuše Ahmeta i Skendera  
na svekolike književne divote.

Poslušaj legende o vrlom junaštvu  
kad Podzvizdom Marije Zvijezde,  
Todorovom i Vrnogračem kneginjice Vrane,  
zakoračiš u Kladušu, gdje  
zadivljeno prizorom – srce ti stane.  
Pa namiriši kladuške jorgovane  
i pohiti Starom gradu što kazuje o megdanu.

I kako do sreće bez njenog Ključa?  
Doživi ljepote i prizora slast  
kad hodiš gradom kraljevskim, što pada je mjesto  
srednjovjekovne nam Bosne pod tursku vlast.  
Upravo ti, putniče, imaš čast  
da rođen u Bosni  
ovjekovječiš životnih koraka strast.

Nije džaba kad ti se kaže  
da doživiš prostrane krupske plaže,  
mrzlu Unu od koje srce ti lupa  
kad staneš na mjesto gdje mladost se kupa.  
Na krupskoj zemlji stoje i Mlinčići i Male ade  
i Krupljanin što gosta neumorno dočekivati stade.  
A na Starom gradu jedinstven spoj kulture,  
mjesto islamske, katoličke i pravoslavne arhitekture,  
i sve to u Bosni raznolike narodne strukture.

Ustani kad o otočkom se kraju govori,  
nakloni se Otoku na Uni, što  
historiju njegovu smaragdno zbori.  
Zbori Una, zbore stari mlinovi  
na mjestu gdje ostvarivati se otpočeše snovi  
i ribaru na adi dok lovi  
i mladosti dok preko rijeke vječnom spokoju plovi.

Odigli se bedemi Krajine kazujući priču;  
ostavštine predaka mene se tiču,  
temelji Bosne nove na njima da niču.  
Viču stari o sretnom djetinjstvu,  
slovom sanjam o ponovnom jedinstvu.  
Vladari nesanice na poziv me zovu,  
svijetloj Bosni da uputim dovu.

Podigoh ruke k nebu i obratih se Bogu:  
Oprosti mi, Bože, što ne znam ko sam i koliko vrijedim,  
što sjećanje na pretke učinismo blijedim,  
što ne znam da pogrešne puteve slijedim.  
Oprosti mi zaborav palih junaka u rovu, i  
svih onih što na poziv se za slobodu odazovu.  
Bože, oslobodi me bremena nesretnog vremena,  
primi moju dovu i udahni dušu umornome slovu.

# Ajdin Kovačević

## OUT OF OUR PAST WE BUILD A FUTURE

Behold, man, the vast expanse,  
know thy roots and give friendship a chance.

Begin with the Japods and the urns  
bearing the names of the dead.  
Čavkići, Golubić and Pritoka,  
our ancestors' ancient land.  
The Ripak headstones adorned  
with emerald frost, this is what you'll find  
when seeking your origin across Krajina.

City of kings and lionhearted heroes  
stood proud and free for centuries  
until the Ottoman conquest and the Bihać *sanjak*.  
What was once a church became a mosque—  
Fethija, a place of worship.  
The Turbe mausoleum bears witness  
to the heroes' hardship and reminds:  
there's no Bosnia without the Bihać *merak*.

Behold Cazin and the mosque  
rising like a monument to the defiant  
fortress of bygone years. Not even  
the Ostrožac tower, not even the sculptures  
gave in to the Ottomans, for more than a century  
they stood unconquered and solemn.  
Mad with pride, meek with goodness,  
who should bear to miss the wonder that is a Cazinian?

Who should bear to miss  
fearsome Bužim that forever defends  
against all wickedness? To not step  
into this old town that wears hope as its crown.  
Remember the knights of Bužim  
who bid their lives goodbye,  
so you could walk through unconquered Krajina  
with your head held high.

Behold Sana and the nine clear rivers,  
In Hamza-bey's mosque prayer beckons.  
The old Majdan and the Blihe waterfall  
glistening in the sun, a God's miracle.  
The Dabar cave carved out with much patience,  
stop and marvel at nature's creation.

Roman ruins at the foot  
of Grmeč mountain, the stone sleepers strewn  
across Bukovača, nature's beauty so fierce,

immortalized in Ahmet and Skender's verse.

Hear the legends of yore  
in ancient Podzvzd, guarded by its lucky star.  
Through Todorovo  
and Lady Vrana's Vrnograč you must travel,  
to get to Kladuša, the beautiful.  
There, under the lilac tree, you'll find the tale  
of the heroic battle for the ancient city.

Unlock your destiny in the town of Ključ,  
where medieval Bosnia fell to Ottoman rule.  
You, lucky traveller, born here,  
get to see what Bosnia hides in store,  
its beauty bright like a jewel.

The beaches of Krupa await.  
Feel the booming of the heart  
when with the youth you dive into icy Una.  
Krupa greets you with open arms,  
at Mlinčići and Male ade you'll see its charm.  
And the Old Town with its motley architecture—  
Islamic, Catholic, and Orthodox—  
Bosnia's melting pot of cultures.

Rise in solemn attention  
when the river islands of Una get a mention.  
The waters of Una, emerald green,  
speak of the present and the past,  
and everything in-between.  
Una speaks, and so do the mills,  
while the fisherman stands on the ait,  
eternally young, fixing his bait.

The walls of Krajina tell the story  
of our ancestors and their glory.  
The old reminisce  
of happy childhoods, days of bliss.  
On ancient foundations we'll unite Bosnia anew,  
every night I pray for this dream to come true.

I raise my arms, to God I speak:  
forgive me, my Lord, for forgetting who I am and what I seek.  
For consigning to oblivion my ancestors  
and the heroes who perished, fighting for freedom  
which they so much cherished.  
Deliver me, my Lord, of these cumbersome times,  
hear my prayers and breathe life into these rhymes.



# Almedina Avdić

## IDUĆIH 25 GODINA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Dok radim, mogu igrati različite igrice. Ponekad igram igricu brojanja. Ovaj gospodin je broj jedan. Ova gospođa je broj dva. Dječak je broj tri.

Mada ponekad moram da budem brz. Oko četiri sata popodne nastane poprilična gužva i užurbanost, pa mi je teško da brojim sve. Ponekad slučajno iste osobe izbrojim dvaput. Gospođa se vratila jer je zaboravila novčanik. Gospodin se vratio jer nije siguran da li je isključio jutros peglu u stanu. Djevojčica se vratila jer je lutku ostavila kod prijateljice, a bez nje ne može zaspati.

Dok radim, imam tu sreću da zaigram i druge igrice. Na primjer, pokušavam biti modni kritičar, kakve viđam ponekad na televiziji. Ove su od prave kože. Ove su stare već pet godina. Ove su tek kupljene, na njima se ne vidi ni jedna ogrebotina. Ove su jako prljave, malo čišćenja ne bi im škodilo.

Privilegija u mom poslu je što sam odlučio da moj posao bude na otvorenom. Svi poslovni ljudi se žale da su previše zavučeni i zarobljeni u kancelarije, da nemaju doticaj s vanjskim svijetom. Nemaju priliku da dišu svjež zrak. Zato sam ja odlučio da napravim tu promjenu i svoju kancelariju postavim baš na otvoreno. Kada je sunčano, osjetim to. Kada je kiša, osjetim kapi kako padaju. Čujem ih kako se spuštaju na pod pored mene. Kada vjetar puše, osjetim ga na svojoj jakni, koju pokušavam držati na mjestu.

Pokušavam se sjetiti postoji li još neka privilegija na mom poslu. Pa moglo bi se reći da ima: radno vrijeme mi nije fiksno. Dolazim kada hoću, odlazim kada hoću. Naravno, ako ne dođem prvi, postoji mogućnost da je neko već zauzeo moje omiljeno mjesto. Ali za dodatni san moram se toga odreći.

Ako se pitate kakav je to moj posao, dat ću vam još nekoliko natuknica, koje bi vam mogle pomoći da pogodite.

Ali možda bih morao promijeniti način na koji vam pričam ovu priču. Jer ovaj moj posao pomalo počinje zvučati kao da je predobar da bi bio istinit.

Na šetalištu Ferhadije nalazi se banka. Preko puta banke fakultet, a pored njega stariji čovjek koji prodaje slike. Uvijek sam se divio tim slikama i pitao se je li ih on nacrtao. Pored njega se nalazi park. Pored parka se nalazi velika šahovska tabla, a pored šahovske table sam ja.

Ja tu sjedim, tu je moje mjesto. Osim ukoliko se, naravno, ne uspavam, pa mi neko drugi ne zauzme mjesto. Ako ga zauzme, onda pronađem mjesto na drugom kraju parka.

Dok radim, imam tu nesreću da mnogo ljudi prolazi pored mene. Žure. Dok prolaze, ponekad me ovlaš udare po ramenu ili nozi. Dok prolaze, podignu prašinu koja mi uđe u nos. Dok prolaze, pričaju na telefon i viču. Dok prolaze, bace smeće ispred mene.

Dok radim, imam tu nesreću da pamtim detalje. Ovaj gospodin sa crnim cipelama već je jednom prošao ovuda. Ova gospođa je u žurbi već negdje išla. Ove cipelice su već prošle ovuda dozivajući svoju mamu.

Dok radim, imam tu nesreću da ne vidim nebo. Oboren pogled, shvatio sam, najbolji je. Jer drugačije, ljudi bi vas mogli smatrati nadmenim i neuljudnim.

Ukoliko vam se sviđa sve što ste čuli i željeli biste posao poput moga, mogu vam dati savjet: jedina bitna stvar je da imate jaku ruku.

Pitate se zašto baš ruka treba da bude snažna? Pa zato. Dok sjedim na kartonu, koji mi je vjeran saputnik već nekoliko sedmica, u ovom parku pored šahovske table, treba mi jaka ruka da je ispružim.

Da je ispružim i tražim. Po cijeli dan. Da tražim. Da tražim od gospođe kusura koji joj je ostao u džepu. Da tražim od gospodina višak novca koji je pripremio za parking. Da tražim od dječaka novac od užine. Deset feninga, pola marke, marka, marka i po... mogućnosti su beskonačne.

Eto, za to treba snažna ruka. Da može biti ispružena cijeli dan. Da ne osjeća težinu ponosa, težinu vremena koje prolazi, težinu nepravde, težinu države u kojoj živi, težinu računa za vodu, težinu svoje invalidnine, težinu cijene ulja, težinu gladne kćerke koja čeka kod kuće, težinu izgubljenog života.

Želite moj posao? Samo naprijed. Okušajte se. Uputstvo glasi: pronađite fin podmetač na kojem ćete sjediti danima. Dođite rano ujutro kako biste imali priliku zauzeti svoje omiljeno mjesto. Odaberite koja ruka vam se danas snažnije osjeća, pružite je – i satnica je počela.

Ali naravno, u svemu tome postoji kvaka. Možda čak i dvije, kad se bolje sjetim. U uputstvu nisam još spomenuo jednu stvar – ponos. Vrijedna osobina kod jakih ljudi, ali nimalo draga ovim slabim poput mene. Moja preporuka glasi: riješi ga se. Riješi se ponosa. Bar tokom tih sati dok sjediš tu. Neka ti na um ne padne. Riješi se samopoštovanja. Neka ti ni na sekund ne prođe glavom. Riješi se tuge. Neka ti se ne omakne jecaj.

I budi spreman da budeš vrijedan radnik. Ne napuštaj svoju poziciju. Misliš da će okolnosti postati bolje pa ćeš naći neki bolji posao? Neće. Ja takvu osobu još nisam sreo. Jer ovaj posao te pojede. Izgubiš svaku nadu za bolje sutra. I on traje – još mjesec, još sedam mjeseci, još tri godine, još 16... još 25 godina.

I nakon 25 godina ja ću sjediti pored šahovske table, igrati igricu spuštene glave na svome kartonu i brojati. Jedna osoba je prošla ispred mojih očiju. Pet osoba je od jutros prošlo ispred mene. 156 osoba je do četiri sata popodne ispred mojih očiju prošlo.

I nakon 25 godina ja ću sjediti u Bosni i igrati igricu spuštene glave na svome kartonu i gledati cipele. Ogromnu raznolikost cipela koje prođu. Poneke zastanu ispred mene. Ove su kožne. Ove imaju lijepu mašnu. Ove su već otrcane kao i moje.

I pružit ću ruku, pustit ću svu težinu da se svali na nju. Ruku će da pritišće težina, a ja ću u isto vrijeme tražiti.

Budućnost. Bolje prilike. Suosjećajnije ljude. Važne promjene.

I još nešto ću tražiti: da i ovaj moj hrđavi ponos ugleda priliku da ugleda svjetlo dana i ruke podigne k nebu, a ne prema ljudima, pa da kažem:

Hvala ti, zemljo moja, što si me učinila sretnijim nego što sam bio prije 25 godina. Hvala ti, zemljo, što si me održala kada sam bio klonuo i održala mi nadu u bolje vrijeme. Hvala ti, zemljo, što postojiš. Trebalo ti je vremena, ali vjerovao sam da ćeš se promijeniti. Hvala ti, zemljo – Bosno i Hercegovino.

Dok radim, imam tu sreću da imam vremena da maštam. Po cijeli dan maštam, zamišljam neke nove ljude i vremena. Pa sam tako zamislio i tu moju zemlju, kojoj bih se zahvalio. Nada nije hrđava poput moga ponosa. Ona je još živa. I tinja. I tinjat će još bar 25 godina, za moju pelin zemlju, za Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

# Almedina Avdić

## THE NEXT 25 YEARS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

While I am working, I can play different games. Sometimes I play the counting game. This gentleman is number one. This lady is number two. The boy is number three.

Although I must be fast sometimes. Around four o'clock in the afternoon, there is quite a crowd and hustle and bustle, and it's hard for me to count everyone. Sometimes I accidentally count the same people twice. The lady came back because she forgot her wallet. The gentleman returned because he is not sure whether he unplugged the iron in his apartment this morning. The girl came back because she left her doll with a friend, and she cannot fall asleep without it.

While working, I am lucky and I get to play other games as well. For example, I try to be a fashion critic, like those I sometimes see on television. These are made of genuine leather. These are five years old. These were just bought, there isn't a single scratch on them. These are very dirty, they could use some cleaning.

The privilege in my work is that I have decided to keep it outdoors. All business people complain about being stuck and trapped in their offices, and having no contact with the outside world. They don't get the chance to breathe

fresh air. So I decided to make this change and set up my office in the open. When the weather is sunny, I can feel it. When it's raining, I can feel the drops falling down. I can hear them hit the floor next to me. When the wind blows, I feel it on my jacket, as I try to hold it in place.

I am trying to think of another privilege at my workplace. Well, there is one more: my working hours are not fixed. I come when I want, and leave when I want. Of course, if I don't come first, someone may have already taken my favourite place. But I have to give it up for some extra sleep.

If you're wondering what is it that I do, I'll give you a few more clues, which might help you guess.

But maybe I should change the way I tell this story. Because this job of mine is starting to sound as too good to be true.

There is a bank at the Ferhadija promenade. Across from the bank, there is a faculty, and an elderly man selling paintings next to it. I have always admired those paintings, wondering if he had painted them. There is a park next to him. Next to the park, there is a large chess board, and I am right next to it.

I am sitting there, that's my place. Unless, of course, I fall asleep and someone else takes my place. If they do, I find a place on the other side of the park.

While I work, I have the misfortune that many people pass by me. They are in a hurry. As they pass by, they sometimes lightly hit me on the shoulder or leg. As they pass by, they disturb dust that goes up my nose. As they pass by, they talk on the phone and shout. As they pass by, they throw garbage in front of me.

While I work, I have the misfortune that I remember the details. This gentleman in black shoes has already passed this way once. This lady was already in a hurry somewhere. These shoes have already passed this way calling for their mom.

While I work, I have the misfortune that I can't see the sky. I have come to realize that it is best to keep my eyes down. Because otherwise, people might find you arrogant and rude.

If you like everything you've heard and would like a job like mine, I can give you some advice: the only important thing is to have a strong hand.

You wonder why one should have a strong hand? Well, because. As I sit on the cardboard, which has been my faithful companion for several weeks, in this park next to the chessboard, I need a strong hand to stretch out.

To stretch out and ask. All day long. To ask. To ask the lady to give me the change she has left in her pocket. To ask the gentleman for the extra cash he prepared for parking. To ask the boy to give me his meal allowance. Ten pfennigs, half of mark, one mark, a mark and a half... opportunities are infinite.

There, that's what you need a strong hand for. To keep it stretched all day long. Not to feel the weight of pride, the weight of time passing, the weight of injustice, the weight of the state where one lives in, the weight of water bills, the weight of their disability benefit, the weight of oil price, the weight of a hungry daughter waiting at home, the weight of a lost life.

You want my job? Go ahead. Try it out. Here are the instructions: find a nice mat to sit on for days. Come early in the morning to have a chance to take your favourite place. Choose the hand that feels stronger today, stretch it out - and the working hours begin.

But of course, there is a catch. Maybe even two, when I come to think of it. I did not mention one thing in the instructions yet - the pride. A valuable trait in strong people, but not at all dear to the weak ones like me. My advice is: get rid of it. Get rid of the pride. At least while you are sitting there. Don't even think about it. Get rid of self-respect. Don't let it come to your mind even for a second. Get rid of sadness. Hold in your cry.

And be prepared to be a hard worker. Do not abandon your position. You think circumstances will improve and you will find a better job? They won't. I haven't met such a person yet. Because this job eats you away. You lose all hope for a better tomorrow. And it lasts - another month, another seven months, another three years, another 16... another 25 years.

And after 25 years, I will be sitting on my cardboard, next to the chessboard, playing a game with my head down and counting. One person passed in front of my eyes. Five people have passed in front of me since this morning. One hundred and fifty/six people passed in front of my eyes until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

And after 25 years, I will be sitting on my cardboard in Bosnia, playing a game with my head down and looking at shoes. A huge variety of shoes that pass. Sometimes they stop in front of me. These are made of leather. These have a nice bow. These are shabby like mine.

And I will stretch out my hand and let all the weight fall on it. The hand will be pressed by the weight, and I will ask at the same time. The future. Better opportunities. More compassionate people. Important changes.

And I will ask for another thing: that this rusty pride of mine also gets an opportunity to see the light of day and that I stretch out my hands to the sky, and not to people, and say:

Thank you, my country, for making me happier than I was 25 years ago. Thank you, my country, for supporting me when I had fallen, and for keeping my hope alive that better times would come. Thank you, my country, for existing. It took you time, but I believed that you would change. Thank you, my country - Bosnia and Herzegovina.

While I am working, I am lucky because I have time to daydream. I daydream all day long, imagining some new people and times. And so I imagined this country of mine, that I would be grateful to. Hope isn't as rusty as my pride. It still lives. And burns slowly. And it will keep burning for at least another 25 years, for my bitter country, for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Jajce

Naziv koalicije: Zajedno

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Jajce

Name of the Coalition: Zajedno



# Amina Bećar

## HARTIJE

Gospođo Evropo,

Nisam dijete rata, ali svake sekunde mogu da postanem – to sam ti već rekla. Pišem ti po ko zna koji put, ozlojeđena vatrom što plamti iz tvoga nemara. U slučaju da dođu do tebe, ogorčeno ti ponavljam svoje riječi: da dijete sam porobljeno kaleidoskopom ratova. Da u spektru njegovih boja meni hrli boja krvi. Pitam te, jer svaki mi put prešutiš: koji će to zaborav odagnati trepet i neizvjesnost djeteta koje izoštrava zamućene obrise i traži bogdu nevinoga i bijeloga? Kako da dijete u jeku sve te ozlojeđenosti ostane dijete?

Pisala sam ti o heklanom miljeu. Nadam se da razumiješ isheklane kukice kultura, različitosti i ljubavi, svega *multi*. Naizgled kompleksne, a očaravajuće jednostavne, isprepletene su kukice prkosom i inatom nepotčinjenog naroda. Koliko puta te moram poučiti lekciji čovjeka sa stećka? Bosanski gorostas nikad ne kleči. Koja će to kosa da sasiječe zatravljene ašiklučke staze?

Ne hukti više bijesom oštra sarajevska zima. Putujući za mislima o miru koji vlada, nađoh sebe razbijene mašte, s idejom da možda ipak mi vladamo mirom. Iskočoperila se Domovina iza krinke sukoba imperija i nadišla instrumentalizaciju vjere. Rekoh li ti: da idem tražiti lijek, koji ne da liječi stare već sprečava nastajanje novih rana. Lijek mira, jer breme zla koje se prolama poviješću udara u sve pore moga bića, tako da nikada i nikome ne zaželim rat. Godinama već pronosim recept i strepim da će ljudi postati imuni.

I tužno je, pišem. Pišem i mimo ovoga tebi, kako je mirno, a sve crno, sve je rat i sve je borba. Vapim, neće li se na prste propeti onaj dobronamirni dio tebe. Ako je ijedno dijete ikada zavrijedilo želju, tiho molim, *samo da rata ne bude!*

Ako i poslije svega ne razumiješ staričine kukice, piši mi.

## PAPERS

Madame Europe,

I'm not a child of war, but I can become one every second - I've already told you that. I am writing to you for who knows how long, embittered by the fire that burns from your negligence. In case the letter reaches you, I repeat my words to you indignantly: that I am a child enslaved by the kaleidoscope of wars. That in the spectrum of its colours, the colour of blood rushes to me. I am asking you, because every time you ignore it: what kind of forgetfulness will drive away the trembling and uncertainty of a child who sharpens the blurred outlines and seeks an ounce of the innocent and the white? How can a child remain a child with all this resentment?

I wrote to you about the crochet tablecloth. I hope you understand the crochet hooks of cultures, diversity and love, all with the *multi* prefix. Seemingly complex, but enchantingly simple, the hooks are intertwined with the defiance and spite of insubordinate people. How many times do I have to teach you the lesson of the *stećak* man? The Bosnian giant never kneels. What kind of scythe will cut the grassy courtship paths?

The harsh Sarajevo winter no longer rages. Travelling with the thoughts of peace that rules, I found myself with shattered imagination, with the idea that maybe we rule the peace after all. The Homeland emerged behind the guise of conflict between empires and surpassed the instrumentalization of faith. Did I tell you: I am going to look for a medicine, which not only cures the old wounds but prevents new ones as well. The medicine of peace, because the burden of evil that permeates history strikes all the pores of my being, and I never wish anyone to experience war. I have been carrying the recipe for years, and I am afraid that people will become immune.

And it is sad, I write. I write to you about other things too, how peaceful it is, and everything is black, everything is war and everything is a struggle. I cry, hoping that the benevolent part of you will get on its toes. If any child has ever deserved a wish, I silently pray, *may there never be war!*

If you still don't understand the old woman's hooks, write to me.

## LJUDSKA PRAVA I SAVREMENI KONCEPT VLADAVINE PRAVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI 25 GODINA NAKON POSTIGNUTOG MIRA

### Uvod

Formalno, Bosna i Hercegovina (dalje: BiH) je država ljudskih prava. Nijedan drugi ustav na svijetu ne propisuje u tolikoj mjeri zaštitu ljudskih prava kao Ustav BiH.<sup>1</sup> Ljudska prava inkorporirana su u ustavni sistem BiH kako bi se osigurao mir. S tim u vezi, John Shattuck, bivši pomoćni sekretar administracije Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, ističe bitnost ljudskih prava za izgradnju mira u BiH, navodeći da uspjeh u izgradnji mira zavisi od uspjeha implementacije efikasne zaštite ljudskih prava.<sup>2</sup> S obzirom na to da su SAD bile jedna od država tvoraca Opšteg okvirnog sporazuma za mir u Bosni i Hercegovini (dalje: Dejtonski sporazum), razumljivo je da ljudska prava formalno dominiraju u Ustavu BiH.<sup>3</sup> S tim u vezi, u Preambuli Ustava BiH stoji: „Inspirisani Univerzalnom deklaracijom o ljudskim pravima, Međunarodnim paktovima o građanskim i političkim pravima, odnosno o ekonomskim, socijalnim i kulturnim pravima, i Deklaracijom o pravima lica koja pripadaju nacionalnim ili etničkim, vjerskim i jezičkim manjinama, kao i drugim instrumentima ljudskih prava“<sup>4</sup>. Iako u ustavnoj teoriji postoje mišljenja da Preambula Ustava ne proizvodi pravnu obavezu nego da je više deklarativnog karaktera, Ustavni sud BiH je u četiri djelomične odluke U-5/98, koje se još nazivaju Odluke o konstitutivnosti naroda, utvrdio da Preambula Ustava BiH proizvodi pravne obaveze i kao takva se mora uzeti u obzir prilikom odlučivanja Ustavnog suda.<sup>5</sup> A već u preambuli Ustava BiH vidimo da se ljudska prava navode kao inspiracija za donošenje Ustava.

U členu II/2 Ustava BiH navodi se da će Evropska konvencija o ljudskim pravima i temeljnim slobodama (dalje: Evropska konvencija) imati neposrednu i nadzakonsku primjenu.<sup>6</sup>

U členu II/6 Ustava BiH stoji da će se sve institucije unutar BiH, bilo na državnom ili entitetskom nivou, pridržavati, to jest da će poštivati ljudska prava navedena u Evropskoj konvenciji. U Aneksu I Ustava BiH navedeno je 15 međunarodnih ugovora u domenu ljudskih prava koji će se primjenjivati u BiH;<sup>7</sup> također, u členu II/7 Ustava BiH navedeno je da će BiH ostati ili postati stranom potpisnicom međunarodnih ugovora navedenih u Aneksu I Ustava BiH. Osim toga, Ustav BiH kao izrazito monistički podržava upliv međunarodnog prava u unutrašnji sistem BiH,<sup>8</sup> pa tako, osim odredaba Ustava BiH koje smo već naveli, i u členu III/3(b) Ustava BiH stoji: „(...) Opšta načela međunarodnog prava su sastavni dio pravnog poretka Bosne i Hercegovine i entiteta.“<sup>9</sup> Dok se u členu VI/3(c) Ustava BiH navodi da će Ustavni sud BiH odlučivati i o pitanjima u vezi s kompatibilnošću zakona sa Ustavom BiH koja mu prosljedi bilo koji od sudova u BiH. Prilikom ocjenjivanja kompatibilnosti Ustavni sud BiH će voditi računa i o tome je li navedeni zakon u skladu s Evropskom konvencijom i opštim pravilima međunarodnog javnog prava. U skladu s navedenim, sasvim je opravdana početna konstatacija da je ustavni sistem BiH u formalnom smislu jedinstven u svijetu po garantiranju ljudskih prava jer u velikoj mjeri omogućio zaštitu ljudskih prava; aktivnosti države u smislu pridruživanja međunarodnim ugovorima koji garantuju ljudska prava bile su također intenzivne: tako se BiH našla među prvim državama članicama Istanbulske konvencije<sup>10</sup> ili, na primjer, BiH je među prvim državama ratificirala Protokol 12 Evropske konvencije, iako mnoge

1 Chandler, D., (2000.), *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*, Pluto Press, London.

2 Ibid.

3 Zaštita ljudskih prava jedan su od strateški najbitnijih ciljeva vanjske politike Sjedinjeni Država, pa zbog toga i ne čudi zašto zaštita ljudskih prava dominira Ustavom BiH. O zaštiti ljudskih prava i vanjskoj politici Sjedinjenih Država detaljnije vidjeti u: Forsythe, D., (1990.), *Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, *Political Science Quarterly*, 105(3).

4 Ustav BiH. Dostupno na: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_I\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf).

5 Trnka, K., (2000.), *Konstitutivnost naroda*, Vijeće Kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca, Sarajevo.

6 U vezi s ovom odredbom također postoje sporenja; tako Faris Vehabović navodi da je ova odredba nepravilno prevedena s engleskog jezika. Naime, u originalnoj verziji piše: „The rights and freedoms set forth in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols shall apply directly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These shall have priority over all other law“, dok u bosanskoj verziji piše: „Prava i slobode predviđeni u Evropskoj konvenciji za zaštitu ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda i u njenim protokolima se direktno primjenjuju u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ovi akti imaju prioritet nad svim ostalim zakonima“. Prema mišljenju Farisa Vehabovića, dio rečenice koji glasi “These shall have priority over all other law” trebalo bi prevoditi kao: „Evropska konvencija ima prioritet nad cjelokupnim pravnim poretkom BiH, pa tako i nad samim Ustavom BiH“. Ovakvo tumačenje navedene odredbe nije podržao Ustavni sud BiH i u Odluci U 5/04 odbacio je takvo tumačenje kao nedopušteno.

7 U Aneksu I se navode sljedeći međunarodni ugovori: 1. Konvencija o sprečavanju i kažnjavanju zločina genocida (1948); 2. Ženevske konvencije I-IV o zaštiti žrtava rata (1949), i Dopunski protokoli I-II (1977); 3. Konvencija koja se odnosi na status izbjeglica (1951) i Protokol (1966); 4. Konvencija o državljanstvu udatih žena (1957); 5. Konvencija o smanjenju broja lica bez državljanstva (1961); 6. Međunarodna konvencija o uklanjanju svih oblika rasne diskriminacije (1965); 7. Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima (1966) i Opcioni protokoli (1966 i 1989); 8. Međunarodni pakt o ekonomskim, socijalnim i kulturnim pravima (1966); 9. Konvencija o uklanjanju svih oblika diskriminacije žena (1979); 10. Konvencija protiv mučenja i drugih surovih, nehumanih ili ponižavajućih postupaka ili kažnjavanja (1987); 11. Evropska konvencija o sprečavanju mučenja, nehumanog ili ponižavajućeg tretmana ili kažnjavanja (1987); 12. Konvencija o pravima djeteta (1989); 13. Međunarodna konvencija o zaštiti prava svih radnika-migranata i članova njihovih porodica (1990); 14. Evropska povelja o regionalnim jezicima i jezicima manjina (1992); 15. Okvirna Konvencija za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina (1994).

8 Vehabović, F., (2006.), *Odnos Ustava Bosne i Hercegovine i Evropske konvencije za zaštitu ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda*, Asocijacija Alumni Centra za interdisciplinarnu postdiplomske studije, Sarajevo.

9 Ustav BiH. Dostupno na: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_I\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf).

10 Puni naziv konvencije je Konvencija Vijeća Evrope o prevenciji i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici, a BiH je 2013. godine postala šesta država koja je navedenu konvenciju ratificirala. Dostupno na: <https://arsbih.gov.ba/istanbulska-konvencija-stupa-na-snagu/>.

države Vijeća Evrope to još nisu uradile.<sup>11</sup> U tom kontekstu, BiH je formalno država ljudskih prava, ali svrha ovog rada je istražiti je li BiH zaista država ljudskih prava i s kojim se izazovima suočava kada su u pitanju zaštita ljudskih prava i osnaživanja savremenog koncepta vladavine prava.

## Ljudska prava u BiH

Stanje ljudskih prava u BiH najbolje možemo vidjeti kroz prizmu presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava u slučajevima Sejdić i Finci,<sup>12</sup> Zornić<sup>13</sup> i Pilav.<sup>14</sup> Iako su to tri različite presude, suštinska ideja tih presuda jeste da je trenutni model konstitutivnosti naroda u BiH protivan savremenom konceptu ljudskih prava i vladavine prava. To se ogleda u važećem modelu konstitutivnosti tri naroda, koji samo pripadnicima konstitutivnih naroda omogućuje kandidiranje za mjesto kolektivnog šefa države i delegiranje na mjesto delegata u Domu naroda Parlamentarne skupštine BiH. Drugi problem, u tom kontekstu, je što i pripadnici konstitutivnih naroda nemaju potpunu slobodu kandidiranja; tako Srbin koji ima prebivalište u Federaciji BiH ne može biti kandidat za člana kolektivnog šefa države, a također Bošnjak ili Hrvat koji imaju prebivalište u Republici Srpskoj ne mogu biti kandidati za člana kolektivnog šefa države. U svemu tome najveći negativni utjecaj na demokratske procese u BiH ima položaj Doma naroda BiH, koji predstavlja ekskluzivno tijelo rezervirano samo za pripadnike konstitutivnih naroda, a koje pri tome jednako učestvuje u donošenju zakona bez obzira što ne posjeduje neposredni legitimitet građana. U tom smislu, građani koji ne pripadaju konstitutivnim narodima, bili pripadnici manjina ili samo građani BiH, u političkom smislu su manje vrijedni od pripadnika konstitutivnih naroda, jer bez obzira na volju demokratske većine, koja se može izraziti kroz Predstavnički dom Parlamentarne skupštine BiH, bez saglasnosti Doma naroda PS BiH takva volja neće proizvesti pravne posljedice u donošenju zakona.<sup>15</sup> Sistemsku diskriminaciju prepoznao je Evropski sud, ali BiH nije učinila ništa na njenom otklanjanju iako je od prve presude Evropskog suda u slučaju Sejdić Finci prošlo više od 10 godina. Naravno, ovo nije jedini problem BiH kada su u pitanju ljudska prava, ali je svakako najveći jer je sistemski, pa njegovo mijenjanje zahtijeva da se cjelokupni sistem koji se temelji na konceptu konstitutivnosti naroda promijeni. Prema izvještajima organizacija koje prate stanje ljudskih prava u svijetu, BiH ne prati one standarde koji su formalno navedeni u Ustavu BiH, te tako osim sistemskih problema koje postoje u

ustavnom sistemu BiH ima probleme i s poštivanjem standarda ljudskih prava koje sam Ustav BiH propisuje, ali i na koje se BiH obavezala potpisivanjem različitih međunarodnih konvencija.

Prema izvještaju organizacije Amnesty International za 2019. godinu, BiH nije uspjela obezbijediti međunarodnu zaštitu i adekvatne uslove za migrante, što se ogleda u birokratskim preprekama, manjku pravne pomoći i prevoda, te limitiranim kapacitetima za finansijsku pomoć migrantima.<sup>16</sup> U izvještaju za 2020. godinu organizacije Human Rights Watch (HRW) navodi se da je između januara i septembra registrirano 109 krivičnih djela iz mržnje, od čega je 66,67% počinjeno zbog religijske ili etničke pripadnosti, dok je u istom periodu 12 krivičnih djela iz mržnje počinjeno prema pripadnicima LGBTI populacije. Također se u izvještaju HRW, navodi da BiH ima uspostavljen zakonodavni okvir za borbu protiv rodno zasnovanog nasilja i trgovine ljudima, kao i institucionalne mehanizme za rodnu ravnopravnost, uključujući i političku sferu. Ali, prema izvještaju organizacije za ženska prava Kvinna Till Kvinna, žene u BiH nisu dovoljno zaštićene kada je u pitanju porodično nasilje; postoji diskriminacija pri zapošljavanju, a žene također ne sudjeluju u dovoljnoj mjeri u političkom životu. U izvještaju se navodi i da BiH ne poštuje obaveze Istanbulske konvencije koju je ratificirala, jer po navodima te organizacije žene koje pretrpe nasilje ne budu u dovoljnoj mjeri informirane od policijskih službenika o vlastitim pravima i mogućnostima podrške, dok počinioci nasilja obično budu samo upozoreni.<sup>17</sup> Kada su u pitanju mediji, prema organizaciji koja mjeri slobodu medija, Reporters Without Borders, BiH je napravila određeni napredak u periodu od godinu dana, ali i dalje novinari nemaju punu slobodu izvještavanja i pisanja.<sup>18</sup> Prema izvještaju Human Freedom Indexa za 2019. godinu, BiH ostvaruje najlošije rezultate kad se radi o stanju vladavine prava, o kvalitetu pravnog sistema i zaštite imovinskih prava, državnom uplitanju u privatnu sferu te kvalitetu regulacije.<sup>19</sup> Sličan problem, kada su u pitanju uplitanje države u ekonomsku sferu i zaštita imovine, navodi se i u indeksu ekonomskih sloboda organizacije Fraser Institute.<sup>20</sup> Ipak u komparaciji s drugim državama Bosna i Hercegovina je djelomično slobodna država, kako se navodi u indeksu sloboda organizacije Freedom House.<sup>21</sup> S tim u vezi, BiH se kao i druge države manje ili više dobro suočava s izazovima zaštite ljudskih prava iako ustavni sistem BiH podržava zaštitu ljudskih prava skoro kao ni jedan drugi; no, stanje ljudskih prava, kako vidimo, nije ni blizu onome što stoji u Ustavu BiH.

11 Države koje nisu ratificirale navedeni protokol su: Velika Britanija, Švedska, Švicarska, Austrija, Azerbejdžan, Belgija, Bugarska, Češka Republika, Danska, Francuska, Njemačka, Mađarska, Grčka, Island, Irska, Italija, Latvija, Litvanija, Lihtenštajn, Norveška, Poljska, Slovačka, Rusija, Monako. Podatak je dostupan na: [https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/177/signatures?p\\_auth=OMl3ajd8](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/177/signatures?p_auth=OMl3ajd8).

12 Presuda Sejdić i Finci protiv BiH. Broj aplikacije: 3681/06.

13 Presuda Zornić protiv BiH. Broj aplikacije: 3681/06.

14 Presuda Pilav protiv BiH. Broj aplikacije: 41939/07.

15 Prema Ustavu BiH, zakon može biti donesen samo ako su oba zakonodavna doma saglasna s prijedlogom zakona. Dostupno na: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_L\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_L_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf).

16 Izvještaj Amnesty International dostupan na: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/bosnia-and-herzegovina/report-bosnia-and-herzegovina/>.

17 Izvještaj Human Rights Watch organizacije dostupan na: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/bosnia-and-herzegovina>.

18 Izvještaj Reporters Without Borders organizacije, dostupan na: <https://rsf.org/en/bosnia-herzegovina>.

19 Human Rights Index, dostupan na: <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/human-freedom-index-files/cato-human-freedom-index-update-3.pdf>.

20 Izvještaj Fraser Institute organizacije, dostupan na: <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/economic-freedom/map?geozone=world&page=map&year=2018&countries=BIH>.

21 Izvještaj Freedom House, dostupan na: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bosnia-and-herzegovina/freedom-world/2020>.

# Formalističko djelovanje institucija u pravnom sistemu BiH – glavna prepreka zaštiti ljudskih prava

U Ustavu BiH dominiraju ljudska prava, kako je već rečeno, ali je li jedan takav ustav (bio) pogodan za BiH uzmemo li u obzir formalnu pravnu prošlost BiH? Ustav BiH je, donesen po uzoru na savremene ustave, u kojima dominira zaštita ljudska prava. A utvrdili smo da BiH, koliko god u njenom ustavnom sistemu postojale osnove za zaštitu ljudskih prava, nije država ljudskih prava u punom kapacitetu. Jedna od barijera koja to ne dopušta je formalizam, koji vidimo kod profesora prava, sudija, advokata, tužilaca, državnih službenika... BiH je, dakle, država sa savremenim ustavom, koji na vrlo širok način štiti ljudska prava – ali i s pravnom strukturom u kojoj dominira tek formalno shvatanje prava. To je u neku ruku i razumljivo ako pogledamo pravnu prošlost BiH, koja je pratila pravne trendove bivše Jugoslavije.

Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata i uspostavljanja Jugoslavije na načelima socijalizma i marksizma, pravni sistem Jugoslavije strogo je formaliziran. U takvoj pravnoj kulturi sudije su u odlučivanju bile sluge mehaničke primjene pravnog teksta. Pravni silogizam je bila glavna metoda u procesu odlučivanja, a u samom procesu odlučivanja bitnije je bilo ispoštovati formalne procedure nego suštinski ispravno primijeniti pravo. Prema mišljenju Ivana Padjena, u Jugoslaviji se pravna misao nakon 1948. godine razvijala u dva pravca inspirirana marksizmom. Prema marksističkoj teoriji, pravo je produkt vladajuće buržoaske klase, te prema tome cijela marksistička teorija gleda negativno na pravo kao produkt buržoazije.<sup>22</sup> S druge strane, Hans Kelsen, koji je u najvećoj mjeri promovirao ideje pravnog pozitivizma, bio je protivnik ustava u kojima se navode opšti principi kao što su pravednost, moralnost i ljudska prava, jer je smatrao da ti principi mogu dovesti do ekstenzivnog tumačenja sudija, koji bi u tom slučaju kreirali pravo po vlastitim tumačenjima.<sup>23</sup> Sudovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bili su samo mehanički aparat za realizaciju prava koja je stvarala država. Degan navodi da nije poznat slučaj da se neki jugoslovenski sud prilikom odlučivanja pozvao na neku međunarodnu konvenciju ili međunarodni običaj u domenu ljudskih prava, iako je Jugoslavija bila potpisnica većine međunarodnih ugovora o ljudskim prava koji su tada bili na snazi.<sup>24</sup> Jedan od najznačajnijih teoretičara jugoslovenske pravne škole Radomir Lukić imao je slično poimanje prava kao i pravni teoretičari Sovjetskog Saveza, pa u svojoj definiciji prava navodi: „Ukupnost opštih normi sankcioniranih od strane države koje čuvaju način proizvodnje u interesu vladajuće klase.“<sup>25</sup>

Relikti socijalističkog poimanja prava postoje i danas u pravnom sistemu BiH, manje u formalnom smislu, a više u svijesti pojedinaca koji donose odluke bitne za pravni sistem BiH. To i ne čudi ako znamo da su pojedinci koji su obavljali pravne poslove u prošlom sistemu svoj posao nastavili raditi u novom, bez promjene svijesti o ulozi prava i države, što je uzrokovalo da se pravni sistem uspostavljen Dejtonskim sporazumom ne implementira u punom kapacitetu. Ustav BiH ima systemske greške koje je detektirao Evropski sud, ali osim toga, Ustav BiH dopušta kreativnu ulogu sudske vlasti, koja bi u tom smislu trebalo da oblikuje političke procese u BiH. Kada govorimo o sudskoj vlasti, mogućnost kreativne uloge nije data samo Ustavnom sudu BiH, koji je u najvećoj mjeri ovu mogućnost iskoristio,<sup>26</sup> nego cijeloj sudskoj vlasti, to jest sudovima svih nivoa na području BiH. Jer, članom VI/3(c) Ustava BiH omogućeno je da sud na bilo kojem nivou, u slučaju da posumnja ne samo u ustavnost nego i u usklađenost određenog zakona sa zakonima BiH, Evropskom konvencijom te opštim pravilima međunarodnog javnog prava, ima mogućnost da navedeni zakon proslijedi Ustavnom sudu BiH na ocjenu. Nažalost, statistika dostupna na službenoj stranici Ustavnog suda BiH nam govori da ovu mogućnost redovni sudovi nisu iskoristili: od donošenja Ustava BiH pa do momenta pisanja ovog rada samo 37 puta su redovni sudovi prosljedili zakone na ocjenu ustavnosti.<sup>27</sup> Na taj način Ustavni sud BiH je nije imao mogućnost odlučivanja o ustavnosti ili neustavnosti određenog zakona, jer redovni sudovi, koji bi trebali najbolje znati o ustavnosti određenog zakona, ne koriste pravo da određeni zakon prosljede Ustavnom sudu BiH, što uzrokuje da se određenim zakonima krše ljudska prava zagarantovana Ustavom BiH, ali da Ustavni sud BiH o tome ne može odlučivati zbog pogrešno shvaćene uloge redovnih sudova u pravnom sistemu BiH. Redovni sudovi ne prate ulogu koji bi trebali imati u savremenoj koncepciji vladavine prava, a koju svakako podržava Ustav BiH. To je, prije svega, zaštita pojedinca, a ne striktna primjena zakona bez preispitivanja da li zakoni krše prava pojedinca. Jer sudska vlast ne postoji samo zato da bi izvršavala pravne propise koje donosi zakonodavna i izvršna vlast, već da bi zakone koji su neustavni u smislu kršenja ljudskih prava zagarantiranih ustavom prosljeđivala Ustavnom sudu BiH na ocjenu ustavnosti i tako ograničavala neustavno djelovanje zakonodavne i izvršne vlasti.

Suprotno tome, redovni sudovi u BiH zadržali su poimanje vlastite uloge iz prošlog sistema. Alan Uzelac navodi da su preživjele karakteristike socijalističke pravne tradicije koje možemo sresti u državama bivše Jugoslavije: instrumentalistički pristup primjene zakona, to jest pravni postupak služi kao sredstvo za zaštitu političkih elita; strah sudija od donošenja odluka; formalne procedure koje uvijek dobro dođu kako bi se predmet mogao odbaciti; te nizak, ali ugodan položaj sudija, koji su u prošlom sistemu percipirani kao činovnici a ne kao elita i birani su na osnovu političke podobnosti vladajućoj Komunističkoj partiji.<sup>28</sup>

22 Karčić, F., (2020.), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

23 Sweet, A. S., (2002.), „Why Europe rejected American judicial review and why it may not matter“, Michigan Law Review, 2003, Vol. 101:2744.

24 Degan, V., (2011.), Međunarodno pravo, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.

25 Karčić, F., (2020.), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

26 O kreativnoj ulozi i sudskom aktivizmu Ustavnog suda BiH detaljnije pogledati u: Ademović, et. al, (2012.), Ustavno pravo Bosne i Hercegovine, Fondacija Konrad Adenauer, Sarajevo.

27 Navedeni podatak je dostupan na: <http://www.ccbh.ba/odluke/>. Komparacije radi, sličan način provjere ustavnosti postoji u Saveznoj Republici Njemačkoj; tamo je do sada na ovaj način postupak ocjene ustavnosti do 2013. godine pokrenut 3.557 puta. Navedeni podatak dostupan na: [http://www.iuspublicum-thomas-schmitz.uni-goettingen.de/Downloads/Schmitz\\_Constitutional-review-of-laws\\_Jakarta-2014.pdf](http://www.iuspublicum-thomas-schmitz.uni-goettingen.de/Downloads/Schmitz_Constitutional-review-of-laws_Jakarta-2014.pdf).

28 Karčić, F., (2020.), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.



Dakle, ove karakteristike socijalističke pravne kulture možemo sresti i u današnjem pravnom sistemu BiH, ali u drugačijim oblicima; na primjer, u trenutnom pravnom sistemu BiH sudije su percipirane kao činovnici države čiji je zadatak da efikasno i brzo izvršavaju zadatke, bez kreativne uloge sudija. Mnogo toga nam govori i to da se sudije i danas ne smatraju elitom. U javnom diskursu riječ elita se koristi samo kako bi se označila politička elita, dok se sudska vlast u velikoj mjeri ne smatra vlašću. Tu, naravno, postoji i problem nepostojanja neovisnosti sudske vlasti od druge dvije grane vlasti, samo što danas sudska vlast nije neovisna od jedne nego od više političkih partija na vlasti. Uz postojanje ovakve sudske vlasti, koja se boji donositi herojske odluke, koja suštinski nije ni elita, koja je politički ovisna, a pri tome i strogo formalizirana kompliciranim procedurama, BiH ne može postati država ljudskih prava i savremenog koncepta vladavine prava.

## Savremeni ustav bez savremene primjene prava

Ustav BiH ima diskriminativne odredbe koje je utvrdio Evropski sud. Izuzmemo li to, kao i kompliciran način odlučivanja državnog zakonodavnog organa, Ustav BiH predstavlja savremeni ustav koji u najvećoj mjeri omogućava zaštitu ljudskih prava. Problem leži u tome što se mogućnosti koje nudi Ustav BiH ne koriste zbog formalističkog shvatanja prava od pojedinaca koji tumače i primjenjuju pravo u pravnom sistemu BiH. BiH je propustila da učini možda radikalnu, ali po svemu sudeći neophodnu stvar, po uzoru na Češku Republiku, gdje je Ustavni sud odlukom svim pojedincima koju su obavljali javne dužnosti u prošlom, komunističkom sistemu zabranio obavljanje javnih dužnosti u novom sistemu.<sup>29</sup> S obzirom da u pravnom životu BiH dominiraju pravnici, od sudova do fakulteta, ovakva odluka bi se činila sasvim razumljivom da je donesena nakon stupanja trenutnog Ustava BiH na snagu. Jer, koliko god trenutni Ustav BiH bio u skladu sa savremenim konceptom vladavine prava, takvo što se neće moći primijeniti sve dok pravnim životom dominiraju pojedinci školovani u prošlom sistemu.

Tome u prilog ide Izvještaj stručnjaka o pitanjima vladavine prava u BiH, u javnosti poznat kao Pribeov izvještaj, gdje se navodi da u mnogim oblastima u BiH već postoje zakoni usklađeni sa evropskim i međunarodnim standardima, ali da praksa rada institucija nije usklađena s tim zakonima, te se stiče dojam da pozitivističko i formalističko shvatanje prava od nosilaca državnih funkcija predstavlja prepreku konkretnoj realizaciji takvih standarda. U tom smislu, u Izvještaju se navodi da su parnični postupci predugi i previše formalni, što sudske sistem čini manje efikasnim, a na taj se način krši pravo na pravično suđenje, što je i Ustavni sud BiH utvrdio više puta.<sup>30</sup> Zato je u BiH nužna pravna reforma, koja će suštinski promijeniti shvatanje

prava pojedinaca koji obnašaju funkcije bitne za pravni život države, a tu se prije svega misli na sudije, advokate, tužioce, profesore prava i državne službenike. Jer bez takve suštinske reforme mijenjanje pravnih propisa i njihovo usklađivanje s najvišim međunarodnim i evropskim pravnim standardima neće imati efekta. U javnosti postoje kritike pravnog sistema koji je uspostavljen Dejtonskim sporazumom, a u stvari kritike se odnose na zastario način primjene prava od institucija u pravnom sistemu BiH. Zbog toga je bitno da se javni diskurs, u kojem dominira teza o nužnosti promjene trenutnog ustavnog uređenja BiH, preusmjeri na nužnost suštinske promjene shvatanja prava kod pravnika jer oni primjenom prava kreiraju odluke bitne za građane. Takva reforma podrazumijevala bi promjenu paradigme i prihvatanje savremenog koncepta vladavine prava, u kojoj je na prvom mjestu pojedinac a ne država i koja podrazumijeva prije svega zaštitu od loših zakona. Tu zaštitu treba da osiguraju sudovi koji primjenjuju pravo; na primjer, ako se određenim zakonom krši individualno pravo pojedinca, sud ne bi trebao primijeniti taj zakon nego ga treba proslijediti Ustavnom sudu BiH na ocjenu ustavnosti, a ta praksa u BiH postoji u minimalnoj mjeri, nedovoljno da bi se zaštitila prava građana od neustavnih (loših) zakona. Reforma koja bi uspjela promijeniti shvatanje i ulogu prava u velikoj mjeri omogućila bi korištenje trenutnog ustavnog sistema BiH. Promjena cjelokupnog ustavnopravnog poretka je nužna, prije svega zbog presuda Evropskog suda, ali ni ona ne bi imala smisla ako se ne bi desila suštinska promjena u shvatanju prava kod pojedinaca koji primjenjuju pravo. Uz to, potreba širokog konsenzusa političkih elita u vezi s promjenom ustavnog uređenja još je jedan argument da reformu treba usmjeriti prije svega na mijenjanje percepcije prava, čime bi se od jednog zastarjelog formalističkog pristupa pravu trebalo krenuti ka savremenom konceptu primjene prava.

## Trenutna reforma pravnog sistema BiH za osnaživanje vladavine prava

Zbog potrebe za pravnim reformama donesena je Reformska agenda za BiH za period 2015-2018. godina, u kojoj se navodi potreba osnaživanja principa vladavine prava, koju bi trebalo izgraditi na osnovama konkretnog napretka u borbi protiv organiziranog kriminala, terorizma i korupcije. U tu svrhu bit će usvojena strategija reforme sudske sistema kojom će se uspostaviti efikasan pravni sistem, profesionalizacija sudija, propisivanje objektivnih kriterija za imenovanje sudija, te borba protiv korupcije i sukoba interesa unutar institucija BiH.<sup>31</sup> Prema indeksu vladavine prava za 2020. godinu, čije mjerenje provodi World Justice Project, pokazuje da je BiH najslabije rezultate ostvarila u borbi protiv korupcije.<sup>32</sup> To je pokazatelj pogrešne strategije za osnaživanje vladavine prava. U jednom dijelu Reformske agende stoji: „(...)

29 Sadurski, W., (2014.), *Rights Before Courts A Study of Constitutional Courts in Postcommunist States of Central and Eastern Europe*, Springer, New York/London.

30 Izvještaj stručnjaka o pitanjima vladavine prava u Bosni i Hercegovini. Dostupno na: [http://europa.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ExpertReportonRuleofLawissuesinBosniaandHerzegovina.pdf?utm\\_source=Klix.ba&utm\\_medium=Clanak](http://europa.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ExpertReportonRuleofLawissuesinBosniaandHerzegovina.pdf?utm_source=Klix.ba&utm_medium=Clanak).

31 Reformska agenda za Bosnu i Hercegovinu za period 2015-2018. godina. Dostupna na: <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/pdf/Reformska%20agenda.pdf>.

32 Indeks vladavine prava, dostupno na: [https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online\\_0.pdf](https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online_0.pdf).

povećati profesionalizam i integritet putem propisivanja objektivnih kriterijuma za imenovanje nosilaca pravosudnih funkcija i usvajanju mjera integriteta cijelog pravosudnog sistema u BiH; pojačati disciplinsku odgovornost nosilaca pravosudnih funkcija usvajanjem novih pravila disciplinskog postupka i uvođenjem novih disciplinskih mjera.<sup>33</sup>

Dodatnim normiranjem i propisivanjem sankcija neće se postići osnaživanje vladavine prava. Zastario je sistem pravnog obrazovanja budućih pravnikâ – a tu se prije svega misli na edukacije pojedinaca koji obavljaju funkcije u sudskoj vlasti. Uslov za obavljanje sudske vlasti u BiH je polaganje pravosudnog ispita, gdje postoji usmeni i pisani dio ispita, a kandidati na ispitu moraju pokazati znanje iz krivičnog prava, građanskog prava, porodičnog prava, radnog prava, upravnog prava, privrednog prava i ustavnog prava i organizacije sudske vlasti u BiH. Vidimo da kandidati moraju pokazati znanje iz skoro svih oblasti pozitivnopravnih predmeta, dok (kako navodi Fikret Karčić) ne postoji oblast koja bi kandidata obrazovala u smislu poznavanja odnosa prava i društva, što svakako onemogućava razvoj kritičkog mišljenja kod budućih sudija i tužilaca prema postojećim pravnim propisima.<sup>34</sup> Tako da reforma u osnaživanju vladavine prava bez suštinske promjene u edukaciji pravnikâ koji primjenjuju i tumače pravo nije moguća, a BiH je u tom smislu uradila vrlo malo. Ustavni sistem BiH zahtijeva da sudska vlast prilikom tumačenja i primjene prava bude ekstenzivna i kreativna, dok je trenutna sudska vlast u primjeni i tumačenju prava formalistička i pozitivistička, za što je krivo obrazovanje nosilaca funkcija sudske vlasti, koje nije u skladu sa savremenim zahtjevima vladavine prava.

## Zaključak

Dvadeset pet godina nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog sporazuma i stupanja na snagu Ustava BiH, Bosna i Hercegovina se, kao i druge države, suočava s izazovima zaštite ljudskih prava jer definitivno ne ispunjava standarde zaštite ljudskih prava koji su Ustavom zagarantirani. Formalizam u radu državnih institucija predstavlja jednu od ključnih barijera za postizanje osnaživanja vladavine prava u savremenim okvirima. Na rješavanju tog problema BiH je učinila vrlo malo; štaviše, ovaj problem državne institucije nisu ni detektirale kao prepreku za osnaživanje vladavine prava, ali jesu detektirali strani dužnosnici. No, za njegovo rješavanje potrebno je da ga percipiraju domaće institucije kako bi se potom mogle pokrenuti nužne reforme u pravcu osnaživanja vladavine prava.

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33 Reformska agenda za Bosnu i Hercegovinu za period 2015-2018. godina. Dostupna na: <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/pdf/Reformska%20agenda.pdf>.

34 Karčić, F., (2020.), *A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States*, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF THE RULE OF LAW IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 25 YEARS AFTER ACHIEVING PEACE

### Introduction

Formally, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter: BiH) is a human rights-based state. No other constitution in the world prescribes the protection of human rights to such an extent as the BiH Constitution.<sup>1</sup> Human rights have been incorporated in the constitutional system of BiH in order to ensure peace. In this regard, John Shattuck, former Assistant Secretary of the United States Administration, emphasizes the importance of human rights for peacebuilding in BiH, noting that peacebuilding success depends on the success of the implementation of effective human rights protection.<sup>2</sup> Given that the USA was one of the countries that created the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter: the Dayton Agreement), it is understandable that human rights formally dominate the Constitution of BiH.<sup>3</sup> In that regard, the BiH Constitution Preamble reads: "Inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, as well as other human rights instruments".<sup>4</sup> Although constitutional theory includes opinions that the Constitution Preamble does not produce a legal obligation, but that is more of a declarative nature, in its four partial decisions U-5/98, also referred to as Decisions on Constituent Peoples, the Constitutional Court of BiH has found that the BiH Constitution Preamble produces legal obligations and, as such, it must be taken into account in decisions of the Constitutional Court.<sup>5</sup> The BiH Constitution preamble already refers to human rights as an inspiration for the adoption of the Constitution.

Article II/2 of the BiH Constitution reads that the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (hereinafter: the European Convention) will apply directly and have priority over all

other laws in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>6</sup> Article II/6 of the BiH Constitution states that all institutions within BiH, operated by the state level or the Entities, will apply and conform to the human rights referred to in the European Convention. Annex I to the BiH Constitution provides a list of 15 international human rights agreements that will be applied in BiH;<sup>7</sup> also, Article II/7 of the BiH Constitution states that Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain or become party to the international agreements listed in Annex I to the BiH Constitution. Moreover, the extremely monistic BiH Constitution supports the influx of international law in the internal system of BiH;<sup>8</sup> thus, in addition to the abovementioned provisions of the BiH Constitution, Article III/3(b) of the BiH Constitution reads: "(...) The general principles of international law will be an integral part of the legal system of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Entities."<sup>9</sup> While Article VI/3(c) of the BiH Constitution states that the BiH Constitutional Court shall have jurisdiction over issues referred by any court in BiH concerning whether a law is compatible with the BiH

1 Chandler, D., (2000), *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*, Pluto Press, London.

2 Ibid.

3 Human rights protection is one of the strategically most important goals of the United States' foreign policy, so it is no surprise that it dominates the BiH Constitution. For more information on human rights protection and foreign policy of the United States, see: Forsythe, D., (1990), *Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, *Political Science Quarterly*, 105(3).

4 Constitution of BiH. Available at: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_I\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf)

5 Trnka, K., (2000), *Konstitutivnost naroda*, the Council of the Congress of Bosniak Intellectuals, Sarajevo.

6 There are also disputes over this provision; thus, Faris Vehabović notes that this provision was incorrectly translated from English. Namely, the original version reads: "The rights and freedoms set forth in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols shall apply directly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These shall have priority over all other law", while the Bosnian counterpart reads: "The rights and freedoms provided for in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols shall apply directly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These acts shall have priority over all other laws." In the opinion of Faris Vehabović, the part of the sentence that reads "These shall have priority over all other law" should be translated as follows: "The European Convention shall have priority over the entire legal system of BiH, including the Constitution of BiH." The Constitutional Court of BiH did not support this interpretation of the said provision, and rejected such an interpretation as inadmissible in its Decision U 5/04.

7 Annex I lists the following international agreements: 1. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948); 2. Geneva Conventions I-IV on the Protection of the Victims of War (1949), and the Geneva Protocols I-II thereto (1977); 3. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and the Protocol thereto (1966) 4. Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (1957); 5. Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961); 6. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965); 7. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and Optional Protocols thereto (1966 and 1989); 8. Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966); 9. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); 10. Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987); 11. European Convention on the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987); 12. Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); 13. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990); 14. European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992); 15. Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1994).

8 Vehabović, F., (2006), *Odnos Ustava Bosne i Hercegovine i Evropske konvencije za zaštitu ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda*, Alumni Association of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies, Sarajevo.

9 Constitution of BiH. Available at: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_I\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf)

Constitution. When assessing compatibility, the Constitutional Court of BiH will also consider whether the law is in accordance with the European Convention and the general rules of public international law. Accordingly, the initial statement that the constitutional system of BiH is formally unique in the world in terms of guaranteeing human rights is quite justified because it has largely enabled the protection of human rights is fairly justified; the country's activities in terms of joining international treaties guaranteeing human rights were also intense: BiH was among the first member states of the Istanbul Convention<sup>10</sup> or, for example, BiH was among the first to ratify Protocol 12 to the European Convention, although many Council of Europe countries have not done it yet.<sup>11</sup> In this context, BiH is formally a human rights based state, but the purpose of this paper is to explore whether BiH is indeed a human rights state and what challenges it faces when it comes to protecting human rights and strengthening the modern concept of the rule of law.

## Human Rights in BiH

The human rights situation in BiH can best be seen through the prism of judgments of the European Court of Human Rights in the cases of *Sejdić and Finci*,<sup>12</sup> *Zornić*<sup>13</sup> and *Pilav*.<sup>14</sup> Although these are three different judgments, the main idea behind them is that the current model of constituent peoples in BiH contradicts the contemporary concept of human rights and the rule of law. This is reflected in the current model of three constituent peoples, which allows only members of the constituent peoples to run for Presidency or be appointed as delegates in the House of Peoples of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly. Another problem in this context is that members of the constituent peoples may not run freely in the elections; for instance, a Serb residing in the Federation of BiH and a Bosniak or a Croat residing in the Republika Srpska are not eligible to run for Presidency. In all of this, the position of the House of Peoples of BiH negatively affects democratic processes in BiH the most, as it is an exclusive body reserved for members of the constituent peoples only, which equally participates in passing of legislation although it has no direct legitimacy from citizens. In that sense, citizens who do not belong to the constituent peoples, be it members of minorities or only citizens of BiH, are less valuable in political terms than members of the constituent peoples, because regardless of the will of the democratic majority, which can be expressed through the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly, without the consent of the House of Peoples of the BiH PA,

such will cannot produce legal consequences in the adoption of laws.<sup>15</sup> Systemic discrimination was recognized by the European Court, but BiH has done nothing to eliminate it, although it has been more than 10 years since the first judgment of the European Court in the *Sejdić Finci* case. Of course, this is not the only BiH's problem when it comes to human rights, but it is certainly the biggest one because it is systemic, and the entire system based on the concept of constituent peoples should be changed in order to make a difference in that regard. According to reports of organizations that monitor the human rights situation in the world, BiH does not follow the standards formally stated in the BiH Constitution; therefore, in addition to systemic problems that exist in the constitutional system, BiH also has problems with conforming to the human rights standards laid down by the BiH Constitution, to which BiH has committed itself by signing various international conventions.

According to Amnesty International's 2019 report, BiH failed to provide international protection and adequate conditions for migrants, which is reflected in bureaucratic hurdles, lack of legal aid and translation, and limited capacity to provide financial assistance to migrants.<sup>16</sup> The 2020 report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) states that 109 incidents of hate crimes were registered between January and September, of which 66.67 percent involving religion or ethnicity, while 12 hate crimes against LGBTI persons were perpetrated in the same period. The HRW report also reads that BiH has an established legislative framework for tackling gender-based violence and human trafficking and institutional gender equality mechanisms, including in politics. But according to a report of the women's rights organization *Kvinna Till Kvinna*, women in BiH are not sufficiently protected when it comes to domestic violence; there is discrimination in employment, and women do not participate sufficiently in political life. The report also states that BiH does not respect the obligations arising from the Istanbul Convention it ratified, because women who survive violence will not be sufficiently informed by police officers about their rights and available support, while perpetrators usually only receive a warning.<sup>17</sup> When it comes to the media, according to the organization that measures media freedom, Reporters Without Borders, BiH has made some progress over a period of one year, but journalists still do not enjoy full freedom of reporting and writing.<sup>18</sup> According to the Human Freedom Index report for 2019, BiH is achieving the worst results when it comes to the rule of law, the quality of the legal system and protection of property rights, state interference in the private sphere, and the quality of regulation.<sup>19</sup> When it comes to state interference in the economic sphere and protection of property, a similar

10 The full name of the convention is the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, and BiH became the sixth country to ratify the Convention in 2013. Available at: <https://arsbih.gov.ba/istanbulska-konvencija-stupana-snagu/>.

11 Countries that have not ratified this protocol are: Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Liechtenstein, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, Russia, Monaco. Data available at: [https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/177/signatures?p\\_auth=OMl3ajd8](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/177/signatures?p_auth=OMl3ajd8).

12 *Sejdić and Finci v. BiH* judgment. Application number: 3681/06.

13 *Zornić v. BiH* judgment. Application number: 3681/06.

14 *Pilav v. BiH* judgment. Application number: 41939/07.

15 According to the BiH Constitution, a law can only be passed if both parliament houses agree with the bill. Available at: [http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV\\_BOSNE\\_I\\_HERCEGOVINE\\_bos.pdf](http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf).

16 Amnesty International report, available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/bosnia-and-herzegovina/report-bosnia-and-herzegovina/>.

17 Human Rights Watch report, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/bosnia-and-herzegovina>.

18 Reporters Without Borders report, available at: <https://rsf.org/en/bosnia-herzegovina>.

19 Human Rights Index, available at: <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/human-freedom-index-files/cato-human-freedom-index-update-3.pdf>.

problem is noted in the economic freedom index of the Fraser Institute.<sup>20</sup> However, compared to other countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a partially free country, according to the Freedom House's Freedom Index.<sup>21</sup> In this regard, like other countries, BiH more or less copes well with the human rights protection challenges, although the BiH's constitutional system supports the protection of human rights almost like no other; however, as we can see, the human rights situation is not even close to the word of the BiH Constitution.

## Formalistic functioning of institutions in BiH's legal system - the main obstacle to human rights protection

As mentioned above, the BiH Constitution is dominated by human rights, but is (was) such a constitution suitable for BiH, considering the formal legal past of BiH? The BiH Constitution is modelled on modern constitutions, which are dominantly focused on human rights protection. And we have established that, as much as its constitutional system provides grounds for the protection of human rights, BiH is not a human rights state in the full capacity. Formalism is one of the barriers to it, which we see among law professors, judges, lawyers, prosecutors, civil servants... BiH is, therefore, a country with a modern constitution, which protects human rights in a very broad way - but also with a legal structure dominated merely by formalistic interpretation of law. This is somewhat understandable if we look at the legal past of BiH, which followed the legal trends of the former Yugoslavia.

After the Second World War and the establishment of Yugoslavia on the principles of socialism and Marxism, the legal system of Yugoslavia was strictly formalized. In such legal culture, judges were mere servants of the mechanical application of legal texts in decision-making. Legal syllogism was the main method in the decision-making process, where it was more important to follow formal procedures than to apply the substance of the law correctly. According to Ivan Padjen, legal thought in Yugoslavia developed in two directions inspired by Marxism after 1948. According to Marxist theory, law is a product of the ruling bourgeois class, and therefore the whole Marxist theory looks negatively at law as a product of the bourgeoisie.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Hans Kelsen who largely promoted the ideas of legal positivism was against constitutions that lay down general principles such as justice, morality and human rights, because he believed that these principles could lead to extensive interpretation by judges, who would in that case create the law according to their own interpretations.<sup>23</sup> Courts in the former

Yugoslavia were only a mechanical apparatus for the realization of rights created by the state. Degan states that there is no known case of a Yugoslav court referring to an international convention or international custom in the field of human rights when taking a decision, although Yugoslavia was a signatory to most of the international human rights treaties effective at the time.<sup>24</sup> One of the most important theorists of the Yugoslav law school, Radomir Lukić had a similar understanding of law as the legal theorists from the Soviet Union, and his definition of law reads: "All general norms sanctioned by the state that preserve the mode of production in the interest of the ruling class."<sup>25</sup>

Relics of the socialist understanding of law still exist today in the legal system of BiH, less in the formal sense, and more in the minds of individuals who make decisions important for the BiH's legal system. This is no surprise, knowing that individuals who performed legal work in the former system continued to do their job in the new one, without changing the awareness of the role of law and the state, which is why the legal system established by the Dayton Agreement has not been fully implemented. The BiH Constitution includes systemic errors that were detected by the European Court, but besides that, the BiH Constitution allows for a creative role of the judiciary, which should shape the political processes in BiH in this regard. When it comes to the judiciary, it is not only the Constitutional Court of BiH that has been allowed to be creative (which has used this opportunity to the greatest extent),<sup>26</sup> but the entire judiciary, i.e. courts at all levels in BiH as well. Because, Article VI/3(c) of the BiH Constitution allows a court at any level to forward a law to the Constitutional Court of BiH for review, in case of doubt not only in the constitutionality but also in the compatibility of the law with the laws of BiH, the European Convention and general rule of public international law. Unfortunately, the statistics available on the official website of the Constitutional Court of BiH tell us that ordinary courts did not use this possibility: from the adoption of the Constitution of BiH until the time of writing this paper, ordinary courts forwarded laws for constitutionality review only 37 times.<sup>27</sup> In that way, the Constitutional Court of BiH did not have the possibility to decide on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of laws, because ordinary courts, which should know best about the constitutionality of laws do not use the right to forward them to the Constitutional Court of BiH, which results in some laws violating human rights guaranteed by the Constitution of BiH, but the Constitutional Court of BiH cannot decide on this due to the misunderstood role of ordinary courts in the legal system of BiH. Ordinary courts do not follow the role they should play in the modern conception of the rule of law, which is certainly supported

20 Fraser Institute report, available at: <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/economic-freedom/map?geozone=world&page=map&year=2018&countries=BIH>.

21 Freedom House report, available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bosnia-and-herzegovina/freedom-world/2020>.

22 Karčić, F., (2020), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

23 Sweet, A. S., (2002), "Why Europe rejected American judicial review and why it may not matter", Michigan Law Review, 2003, Vol. 101:2744.

24 Degan, V., (2011), Međunarodno pravo, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.

25 Karčić, F., (2020), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and Its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

26 For more information about the creative role and judicial activism of the Constitutional Court of BiH, see: Ademović, et. al, (2012), Ustavno pravo Bosne i Hercegovine, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Sarajevo.

27 Data available at: <http://www.ccbh.ba/odluke/>. For comparison, a similar constitutionality review exists in the Federal Republic of Germany; so far, the constitutionality review procedure has been initiated 3,557 times in this way. Data available at: [http://www.iuspublicum-thomas-schmitz.uni-goettingen.de/Downloads/Schmitz\\_Constitutional-review-of-laws\\_Jakarta-2014.pdf](http://www.iuspublicum-thomas-schmitz.uni-goettingen.de/Downloads/Schmitz_Constitutional-review-of-laws_Jakarta-2014.pdf).

by the BiH Constitution. It is primarily individual protection, and not strict application of the law without questioning whether the laws violate the rights of an individual. Because the judiciary does not only exist in order to enforce legislation enacted by the legislative and executive branches, but to forward laws that are unconstitutional in terms of violation of human rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the BiH Constitutional Court for constitutionality review, and thereby limit the unconstitutional activities of the legislative and executive branches.

On the contrary, ordinary courts in BiH have retained the understanding of their own role from the former system. Alan Uzelac notes that the following characteristics of the socialist legal tradition that can be found in the countries of the former Yugoslavia have survived: the instrumentalist approach to law enforcement, that is, legal procedure serves as means of protecting political elites; judges fear making decisions; formal procedures that always come in handy so that a case can be dismissed; and the low but pleasant position of judges, who were perceived as bureaucrats rather than elites in the former system, and were elected on the basis of political suitability for the ruling Communist Party.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, these characteristics of the socialist legal culture can be found in today's legal system of BiH as well, but in different forms; for example, in the current BiH legal system, judges are perceived as state officials whose job is to perform tasks efficiently and quickly, without the creative role of judges. The fact that judges are still not considered part of the elite tells us a lot. In public discourse, the word elite is used only to denote a political elite, while the judicial branch is mostly not considered a part of the government. Of course, there is the problem of the lack of independence of the judiciary from the other two government branches, except that today the judiciary is not independent of one but of several ruling political parties. With such judiciary, which is afraid to make heroic decisions, which is essentially not an elite, which is politically dependent, and at the same time strictly formalized by complicated procedures, BiH cannot become a state of human rights and the modern rule of law concept.

## Modern constitution without modern application of law

The BiH Constitution includes discriminatory provisions found by the European Court. If we put this aside, as well as the complicated way of decision-making by the legislative government branch, the BiH Constitution represents a modern constitution that enables human rights protection to the greatest extent possible. The problem lies in the fact that the possibilities offered by the BiH Constitution are not used due to the formalistic understanding of law by those who interpret and apply it in the BiH legal system. BiH failed to do something that is perhaps radical, but apparently necessary, following the example of the Czech Republic, where the Constitutional Court banned all

individuals who had held public offices in the former communist system from performing public offices in the new system.<sup>29</sup> Given that the legal life of BiH is dominated by lawyers, from courts to faculties, such a decision would seem quite understandable had it been made after the entry into force of the current BiH Constitution. Because, no matter how well the current Constitution of BiH is aligned with the modern concept of the rule of law, it will not be applicable as long as the legal life is dominated by individuals educated in the former system.

This is supported by the Expert Report on Rule of Law issues in BiH, publicly known as the Priebe report, which states that many areas in BiH are already regulated by laws aligned with European and international standards, but that the practice of the institutions is not in line with those laws, and one gets the impression that the positivist and formalistic understanding of law by public office holders poses an obstacle to the concrete implementation of such standards. In that sense, the Report reads that civil proceedings are too lengthy and too formal, which makes the court system less efficient, and thereby violates the right to a fair trial, which was established by the BiH Constitutional Court several times.<sup>30</sup> This is why legal reform is needed in BiH, which will fundamentally change the understanding of rights of individuals who perform functions important for the legal life of the state, and this primarily refers to judges, lawyers, prosecutors, law professors and civil servants. Because, without such a substantial reform, changing legal regulations and harmonizing them with the highest international and European legal standards will not have any effect. The legal system established by the Dayton Agreement is publicly criticized, and the criticism actually relates to the outdated way of applying the law by the institutions in the BiH's legal system. Therefore, it is important that the public discourse, which is dominated by the thesis about the need to change the current constitutional order of BiH, be redirected to the need to fundamentally change the understanding of law by lawyers, because they create decisions important for citizens by applying the law. Such a reform would mean a paradigm shift and acceptance of the modern concept of the rule of law, which puts the individual first, and not the state, and primarily implies protection from bad laws. This protection should be provided by courts that apply the law; for example, if a law violates an individual right, the court should not apply that law but forward it to the BiH Constitutional Court for constitutionality review, and this practice has been minimized in BiH, which is insufficient to protect citizens' rights from unconstitutional (bad) laws. A reform that would change the understanding and role of law would largely enable the use of the current BiH constitutional system. A change of the entire constitutional order is necessary, primarily due to the judgments of the European Court, but it would not make any sense either without a fundamental change in the understanding of law by individuals who apply it. In addition, the need for a broad

28 Karčić, F. (2020), A Study on Legal Formalism in the Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States, The Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector.

29 Sadurski, W., (2014), Rights Before Courts A Study of Constitutional Courts in Postcommunist States of Central and Eastern Europe, Springer, New York/London.

30 Expert report on rule of law issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina Available at: [http://europa.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ExpertReportonRuleofLawissuesinBosniaandHerzegovina.pdf?utm\\_source=Klix.ba&utm\\_medium=Clanak](http://europa.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ExpertReportonRuleofLawissuesinBosniaandHerzegovina.pdf?utm_source=Klix.ba&utm_medium=Clanak).

consensus of political elites regarding the change of the constitutional order is another argument confirming that the reform should be focused primarily on changing the perception of law and shifting from an outdated formalistic approach to law to a modern concept of law implementation.

## Ongoing BiH legal system reform to strengthen the rule of law

Due to the need for legal reforms, the 2015-2018 Reform Agenda for BiH was adopted, which specifies the need to strengthen the principle of the rule of law, which should be built on the basis of concrete progress in the fight against organized crime, terrorism and corruption. To this end, a strategy for the reform of the judicial system will be adopted, which will establish an efficient legal system, professionalization of judges, prescribing objective criteria for the appointment of judges, and fight against corruption and conflicts of interest within the BiH institutions.<sup>31</sup> According to the Rule of Law Index for 2020, measured by the World Justice Project, BiH has achieved the weakest results in anticorruption activities.<sup>32</sup> This is an indication that the strategy to strengthen the rule of law is wrong. One part of the Reform Agenda reads: "(...) increase professionalism and integrity by prescribing objective criteria for the appointment of judicial office holders and adopting measures of integrity of the entire judicial system in BiH; strengthen the disciplinary responsibility of judicial office holders by adopting new rules of disciplinary procedure and introducing new disciplinary measures."<sup>33</sup>

Additional regulation and prescribing of sanctions will not result in stronger rule of law. The system of legal education of future lawyers is outdated - and this primarily refers to the education of individuals holding offices in the judiciary. The condition for exercising judicial power in BiH is passing the bar exam, which includes oral and written parts, and candidates must demonstrate knowledge of criminal law, civil law, family law, labour law, administrative law, commercial law and constitutional law and organization of judicial branch of government in BiH. We see that candidates must demonstrate knowledge in almost all areas of positive law cases, while (as Fikret Karčić states) there is no area that would educate a candidate about the relationship between law and society, which certainly prevents the development of critical thinking in future judges and prosecutors, according to existing legislation.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, there can be no reform to strengthen the rule of law without a substantial change in the education of lawyers who apply and interpret law, and BiH has done very little in this regard. The BiH constitutional system requires that the judicial government branch be extensive and creative when interpreting and applying the law, while the current judiciary is formalistic and positivistic in the

application and interpretation of law, due to inadequate education of judicial office holders, which is not in line with modern rule of law requirements.

## Conclusion

Twenty-five years after the signing of the Dayton Agreement and the entry into force of the BiH Constitution, like other countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina faces human rights challenges because it definitely does not meet human rights protection standards guaranteed by the Constitution. Formalism in the work of state institutions is one of the key barriers to strengthening the rule of law in a modern framework. BiH has done very little to address this problem; what is more, the state institutions did not even detect this problem as an obstacle to strengthening the rule of law, but foreign officials did. However, in order to solve it, the problem should be perceived by domestic institutions in order to launch the necessary reforms aimed at strengthening the rule of law.

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31 2015-2018 Reform Agenda for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Available at: <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/pdf/Reformska%20agenda.pdf>.

32 Rule of Law Index, available at: [https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online\\_0.pdf](https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online_0.pdf).

33 2015-2018 Reform Agenda for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Available at: <http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/pdf/Reformska%20agenda.pdf>.

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Foto / Photo: Azra Imamović

## Objašnjenje umjetničkog izražaja/cртеža

Crtež "Idućih 25 godina u BiH" pokazuje šarenoliku sliku, od saradnje, izgradnje i razvoja do boljitka života u domovini. Kao temelj svega toga na dnu slike nalaze se dvije šake u bojama zastava Ujedinjenih nacija i Bosne i Hercegovine, koje predstavljaju beskonačnu saradnju, te neprekidnu podršku. Ostala pažnja je usmjerena na granice BiH, unutar kojih će se idućih 25 godina ostvariti većina ciljeva održivog razvoja. Sjeme siromaštva je moguće iskorijeniti ukoliko svi ljudi budu imali pravo na liječenje, bez obzira na vjeru, spol ili uzrast, te ukoliko nezaposlenim osobama poslodavci ponude radno mjesto, a ne da zatvore svoja vrata. Mladi će doprinijeti održavanju života na Zemlji sadnjom drveća, jer šume su pluća Zemlje. Što doprinosi i samom poboljšanju klime. Obrazovanje mladih će biti kvalitetno, jer će se uskladiti formalno i neformalno obrazovanje (vannastavne aktivnosti, volontiranje u raznim organizacijama). Tako ćemo imati sposobne mlade ljude, koji će ponosno nositi diplome, stečene svojim radom i zalaganjem, te zajednici biti od koristi. Gradovi će biti uredni i čisti, a automobili više neće zagađivati okolinu plinovima, nego će se puniti na električnu energiju. Na krovu mnogih kuća će biti postavljeni solarni paneli, a u Hercegovini će biti izgrađene vjetrenjače. Tako da će energija biti pristupačna iz čistih izvora – sunce i vjetar. Rijeke će biti tako čiste i bistre da će se ta voda moći "piti". Bijeli golub na svojim krilima donijeti će mir, a u svom kljunu pravdu. Kao pojedinac ne mogu puno učiniti za ostvarivanje ove vizije, ali svojim članstvom u nepolitičkim, nestranačkim i nevladinim organizacijama mogu puno toga, jer kad se male ruke slože, sve se može.

## Explanation of artistic expression/drawing

"The Next 25 Years in BiH" drawing shows a colorful picture, from cooperation, construction and development to the betterment of life in the homeland. The two hands carrying BiH and United Nations colors are a basis representing continued cooperation and support. Then, our attention is focused on the borders of BiH, within which most of the goals of sustainable development will be achieved in the next 25 years. The seeds of poverty can be eradicated if all people have the right to treatment, regardless of religion, gender or age, and if unemployed people are offered jobs by employers instead of closed doors. Young people will contribute to sustaining life on Earth by planting trees, because forests are the lungs of the Earth, contributing to climate action. Education will carry more quality, with the harmonization of formal and non-formal education (extracurricular activities, volunteering in various organizations), and will proudly carry diplomas, earned through their work and commitment to the benefit of the community. Cities will be tidy and clean, and cars will no longer pollute the environment with gases, but will be charged with electricity. Solar panels will be installed on the roofs of many houses, and windmills will be built in Herzegovina, so that energy will be accessible from clean sources - sun and wind. The rivers will be so clean and clear that this water will be potable. The white dove on its wings will carry peace, and in its beak justice. As an individual, I cannot do much to realize this vision, but with my membership in non-political, non-partisan and non-governmental organizations, I can do a lot, because when "small hands agree and join, anything is possible".

### MIR ZA XXI VIJEK

#### Sažetak

U ovom eseju autor se referira na saznanja proistekla iz iskustva tokom studiranja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Esej predstavlja samo jedan segment šireg naučnog rada koji se dotiče teorijske rasprave o miru te pronalaženja efektivnih i dugoročnih rješenja za transformaciju iz *negativnog* u *pozitivni* mir u Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH). Za potrebe eseja predstavljena je teorijska rasprava o miru za XXI vijek te iznesen stav o pitanju mira u BiH, 25 godina nakon potpisivanja Opšteg okvirnog sporazuma za mir.

*Ključne riječi:* Bosna i Hercegovina, mir, nasilje, Dejtonski mirovni sporazum

#### Mir i rat

Iako su mir i rat kao predmet interesovanja stari skoro kao i sama nauka, za potrebe ovog eseja naglasak će biti na teorijama razvoja i mirovnih studija. U tom pogledu, početni koraci u razvoju mirovnih studija zabilježeni su krajem 19. i početkom 20. vijeka. Krajem 20. vijeka došlo je do prepoznavanja mirovnih studija kao zasebne naučne discipline u odnosu na prethodno priznatu *polemologiju* (Pauling 1998). Potencijalni nuklearni sukob nakon II svjetskog rata doprinio je ubrzanju razvoja mirovnih studija, te su nakon toga uloženi dodatni naponi ne samo da se spriječe budući ratovi nego i da se teži uspostavljanju trajnog mira u svijetu (Rogers 2010, Barash 1991). Najznačajniji doprinos razvoju mirovnih studija pripisuje se norveškom sociologu, osnivaču i bivšem direktoru Instituta za istraživanje mira u Oslu, Johanu Galtungu. On je, između ostalog, doprinio razvoju mirovnih studija definisanjem novih termina u naučnom diskursu, poput pozitivnog i negativnog mira, te strukturnog i kulturalnog nasilja (Pauling 1998). Cilj mirovnih studija kao zasebne naučne cjeline jeste „izučavanje mira kao uslova socijalnog i političkog sistema, a u vezi sa pratećim konceptima kao što su pravda, rat, dostojanstvo, itd. Predmet izučavanja su ocjena prirode mira, postizanje mira, prepreke za postizanje mira, elementi mira, kao i njegova različita društvena tumačenja i procjene“ (Pauling 1998:435-437).

Riječ „mir“ ima različite konotacije u različitim jezicima, čineći koncept mira otvorenim za raspravu. Jer, u suštini, mir za jednu osobu ne mora nužno imati isto značenje za drugu osobu. S tim u vezi, teorija razlikuje: rimski *pax*, koji najčešće podrazumijeva odsustvo direktnog nasilja, u skladu sa vladavinom prava; grčki *eirene*; hebrejski *shalom*, arapski *sala'am*, koji više vuku ka miru kao pravdi i harmoniji; hindski *shanty*, 'unutrašnji mir'; *ahikmsa*, nenasilje, u budizmu i džainizmu; kineski *ho p'ing* i japanski *heiva*, društvena harmonija, mirnoća; ruski *mir*, prevodi se

kao svijet, mir kao cjelovitost (Galtung 1980, 1985a, Barash 1991).

#### Mir i nasilje

Da bi se potpunije razumjelo šta se podrazumijeva mirom u teoriji mira, neophodno je razumjeti pojam nasilja i njegov odnos naspram mira. „U teoriji mira postoji konsenzus da suprotnost miru nije rat nego nasilje“ (Schneider 1973:149). S tim u vezi, današnji uslovi mira treba da budu definisani pozitivno, kao prisustvo uslova neophodnih za jedno društvo, a ne samo kao odsustvo uslova koji nisu poželjni (Pauling 1998). Još jednu važnu razliku treba naglasiti između termina konflikt i nasilje. Brand-Jacobsen (2000) tvrdi da je konflikt kompleksan ljudski fenomen i da ga ne treba miješati sa nasiljem. Ljudi pretežno pretpostavljaju da, ukoliko nema direktnog ili otvorenog nasilja, ne postoji nasilje. Ova pretpostavka često sprječava različite društvene strukture da preduzmu rane preventivne mjere kako bi se riješili konflikti prije izbijanja direktnog i vidljivog nasilja. Galtung (1962:2) kaže „da bi se kreirao mir, prethodno se mora reducirati (liječiti) i izbjegavati (prevenirati) nasilje“. Barash (1991:485) čak smatra da je „negiranje ljudskih prava samo po sebi negiranje mira“.

Bourgeois (2001) je doprinio teoriji mira definišući sljedeće vrste nasilja: političko, simboličko, kao i svakodnevno, normalizovano nasilje. Njegova teorija upotpunjava Galtungove tri glavne kategorije nasilja: direktno, strukturno i kulturalno. Godine 1960. Galtung je proširio koncepte mira i nasilja uvodeći indirektno ili strukturno nasilje, a 1990. godine definisao je koncept kulturalnog nasilja (Galtung 1964, 1990). Najjednostavnije objašnjenje ove tri kategorije jeste da je „direktno nasilje događaj; strukturno nasilje je proces sa usponima i padovima; kulturalno nasilje je nepromjenjivo, permanentno“ (Galtung 1996:199).

Direktno nasilje ima kreatora ili aktera definisanog kao osoba, društveni ili svjetski proces, a uvijek je plansko, s namjerom. „Direktno nasilje se može podijeliti u verbalno i fizičko, u nasilje koje šteti tijelu, umu ili duhu“ (Galtung 1996:31). O'Gorman (2011) tvrdi da, ukoliko se danas teme poput nejednakosti, lošeg upravljanja javnim sredstvima, siromaštvo i nesigurnost ne tretiraju valjano – ne može se govoriti o miru.

Prema Galtungu, uzroci konflikata često se mogu pronaći u strukturnom i kulturalnom nasilju. Glavni oblici vanjskog strukturnog, ili indirektnog nasilja, koje je često nenamjerno, mogu se podijeliti u „političko, represivno i

ugnjavanje jer ovu vrstu nasilja proizvode strukture, jer je proizvod ljudskih odluka a ne prirodnih pojava, te se kao takva može popraviti i spriječiti ljudskim djelovanjem.

Kulturalno nasilje je koncept koji ima svrhu da „učini da direktno i strukturno nasilje izgleda, ili da se doživljava kao ispravno – ili barem ne kao nešto loše“ (Galtung 1996:196). Kulturalno nasilje postoji da legitimizuje i opravda direktno i strukturno nasilje kroz nacionalizam, rasizam, seksizam i druge forme diskriminacije i predrasuda koristeći ideologiju, obrazovanje, religiju, medije, književnost, simbole, pravo, patrijarhat, sport, film, jezik, umjetnost, nazive ulica, spomenike koji glorifikuju ratne 'heroje' itd. (Galtung 1990, 1996). Imajući u vidu da se kulturalno nasilje „uči kroz proces socijalizacije... ova vrsta nasilja može biti najteža da se shvati. Ove vrste vrijednosti su toliko ugrađene kroz ponavljanje određenog narativa tako da je teško i zamisliti da postoje drukčiji načini razmišljanja“ (Galtung, Barbara i Dube 2009:83).

Kako bi se kreirala održiva i kvalitetna rješenja, naročito u postkonfliktnim zemljama, prevashodno je neophodno identifikovati uzroke nasilja (strukturno i kulturalno), a onda preduzeti naredne korake u pronalaženju pozitivnih rješenja.

Galtung (1996:93-94) često referira na Gandijeve metode „mira mirnim sredstvima“, pa je ponudio četiri koraka za prevazilaženje strukturnog nasilja:

- „Suočavanje, odabir problema koji obuhvata opšti konflikt, jasno eksponiranje tog problema, i zacrtavanje željenog ishoda.
- Borba, kako bi se savladala represija i/ili eksploatacija, nenasilnim sredstvima.
- Raskidanje sa strukturnim vezama sa tlačiteljom i/ili eksploatatorom, nesaradnjom.
- Obnavljanje i uspostavljanje horizontalne strukture s ljudskim pravima umjesto represije, pravednošću umjesto eksploatacije, autonomijom umjesto penetracije, integracijom umjesto segmentacije, solidarnošću umjesto fragmentacije, učešćem umjesto marginalizacije“.

Koristan savjet za miran proces transformacije konflikata dolazi iz zajedničkog rada Galtunga i Udayakumara (2013), koji smatraju da je za postizanje obostrano prihvatljivih i održivih rješenja konflikta neophodno koristiti empatiju (kao stav), nenasilje (kao ponašanje) i kreativnost (da bi se premostili sukobljeni ciljevi). Za relevantnost ovog rada sva tri segmenta su bitna; međutim kreativnost, kako bi se kanalisala energija konflikta u pravcu novih i inovativnih načina zadovoljavanja osnovnih ljudskih potreba za sve, od posebne je važnosti.

## Pozitivni i negativni mir

Još jedan veliki doprinos razvoju teorije mira koji je proizašao iz Galtungovog dubokog poznavanja jezgra za uspostavljanje održivog mira i prevazilaženja uzroka nasilja je koncept poznat kao pozitivan i negativan mir. Da bi se živio mir dostojan XXI vijeka neophodno je živjeti pozitivan mir. Pozitivan mir znači smanjenje ili odsustvo nasilja svih

vrsta. Na neki način, sam ovaj koncept predstavlja utopiju, ali i mijenja našu percepciju mira definišući ga kao „borbu u kojoj je mir i cilj i put“ (Brand-Jacobsen, 2000:24). Howard (2001:1-2) tvrdi da pozitivan mir „podrazumijeva društveno i političko uređenje društva koje je opšteprihvaćeno kao pravedno“. Kako bi se preveniralo nasilje u korijenu, neophodno je investirati značajna sredstva, ali je u svakom slučaju prevencija isplativija u odnosu na potencijalnu štetu nanesenu u slučaju nasilja. Prema Maniju, negativni mir „predstavlja odsutnost direktnog nasilja, poput prestanka neprijateljstava“, dok pozitivan mir „predstavlja uklanjanje strukturnog i kulturalnog nasilja“ (2017:12). Doprinosi pozitivnom miru, Galtung (1996:32) je razvio tri konkretna koraka:

1. „Direktni pozitivni mir sastojao bi se od verbalne i fizičke dobrote, dobrote za tijelo, um i duh sebe i drugih; s ciljem zadovoljavanja svih osnovnih potreba za preživljavanjem, blagostanjem, slobodom i identitetom.
2. Strukturni pozitivni mir zamijenio bi represiju slobodom, a eksploataciju jednakošću, zatim bi osnažio dijalog umjesto agresivnosti, integraciju umjesto segmentacije, solidarnost umjesto fragmentacije i inkluzivnost umjesto marginalizacije.
3. Kulturalni pozitivni mir zamijenio bi legitimizaciju nasilja legitimizacijom mira; u religiji, pravu i ideologiji; u jeziku; u umjetnosti i nauci; u školama, na univerzitetima, u medijima; kreirajući kulturu pozitivnog mira“.

Na osnovu ove teorije, formula za pozitivni mir je sljedeća:

Pozitivan mir = direktan mir + strukturni mir + kulturalni mir (Galtung 2009).

## (Ne)mir u Bosni i Hercegovini

Razvoj teorijskih pravaca u sklopu mirovnog istraživanja jasno je proširio opseg pojma mir, naročito kroz tumačenje mira za XXI vijek. Kroz teorijske polemike o definisanju mira može se zaključiti da je koncept mira otvoren za raspravu i da svako od nas pojedinačno na različite načine može definisati mir. Ono što za jednu osobu predstavlja mir ne mora nužno značiti da predstavlja i za drugu. Teorija mira danas jasno povlači paralelu između pojma *negativni* i *pozitivni* mir. Mir u Bosni i Hercegovini daleko je od pozitivnog mira, mira koji je uspostavljen da bi zadovoljio principe pravednosti. Mnogo više podsjeća na mir kao politički sporazum i etablirani društveno-politički poredak kojim su se privremeno zaustavili direktni sukobi i ostavila prilika za nadogradnju tog sporazuma u izvjesnom periodu nakon prekida sukoba. Ono što zdrav politički sistem treba da donese u duboko podijeljena postkonfliktna društva nije samo vladavina većine već i garantovana prava manjina, prihvatljiv ustav, transparentnost, odgovornost, vladavinu zakona i političku kulturu tolerancije i kompromisa. Izgradnja mira, naročito pozitivnog, zahtijeva multidimenzionalan pristup. Dokle god se ne prepozna nužnost mijenjanja *statusa quo*, nestabilnost bez konflikta vjerovatno će se nastaviti. Međutim, treba biti oprezan, jer u praksi, iako je *negativan* mir ponekad potreban da bi se

zaustavio rat i direktno nasilje, ukoliko se ne tretira kvalitetno i ukoliko ne krene putem izgradnje *pozitivnog* mira, izvjestan je rizik da će nasilje ponovo da se desi. Kako bi se kompletirala slika mira u BiH, za potrebe istraživanja neophodno je analizirati dejtonski mirovni sporazum, Ustav BiH, obrazovanje, ulogu međunarodne zajednice, medije, religiju, ekonomiju (organizovani kriminal i korupcija), istoriju, te spoljne uticaje. Svi ovi elementi naročito su značajni u razumijevanju mira, jer doprinose legitimizaciji određenih narativa i omogućavaju održavanje sistema koji poseže za mjerama strukturnog nasilja kako bi se održao na vlasti.

Dvadeset i pet godina nakon rata, uzroci nepostojanja ili traženja razloga zbog kojih BiH treba ili ne treba da bude u sadašnjim granicama i sa drugačijom unutrašnjom preraspodjelom nadležnosti leže, prije svega, u nedostatku mogućnosti ili volje vlastodržaca da kreiraju kompromis. Naime, kompromisom bi na direktan način suzili sopstveni opseg donošenja i uticaja na donošenje odluka, jer sistem napravljen u Dejtonu kreirao je mehanizme blokada i komplikovanog donošenja odluka tako da se i osobe s najmanjim, a često i upitnim legalitetom pitaju o stvarima koje kreiraju sudbinu svih stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine.

Uspostavom vladavine prava na ovim prostorima, a prije toga donošenjem novog ustava koji bi bio rezultat kompromisa svih strana, mogla bi se izgraditi neophodna lojalnost prema novouspostavljenim vrijednostima. Situacija gdje trenutno ima više razloga da se tvrdi da je u BiH na sceni vladavina ljudi a ne vladavina prava, pokazuje da je BiH daleko od demokratskih tekovina društva a blizu principu feudalizma, gdje bi svako da na svome dijelu teritorija ima suverenu i neprikosnovenu vlast. Nepoštivanje sudskih odluka, zanemarivanje važnosti zakonodavne vlasti, derogiranje institucija i tripartitna podjela vlasti segmenti su koji pokazuju da se BiH ne doživljava kao pravna država.

Posebnu bojazan predstavlja budućnost ovih prostora, gdje se pod uticajem strukturnog i kulturalnog nasilja duboko ukorjenjuju neke druge vrijednosti i propagiraju stavovi koji ne idu u pravcu izgradnje pozitivnog mira. Svi ti pokazatelji govore da ima malo razloga za optimizam i da mnogi ljudi izlaz iz ovog stanja pronalaze prvenstveno u zemljama Zapadne Evrope. S druge strane, legitimisanje represije, eksploatacije, agresivnosti, segmentacije, fragmentacije i marginalizacije, kroz obrazovanje pronalazi svoj put. Religija, pravo i ideologija kroz umjetnost, nauku, škole, medije, vrlo često pružaju podršku stanju kakvo jeste i na taj način legitimizuju nasilje, koje na dugoročnom planu opravdava i pronalazi razloge da život u BiH bude neprosperitetan, da je BiH na posljednjim ljestvicama razvoja u Evropi. Politička retorika danas cementira stvarnost u BiH predstavljajući život kakav se živi kao normalan i pravdajući ga da je i ovakav kakav jeste bolji od sukoba. Ukoliko je jedan od alata za izgradnju mira inkluzivno obrazovanje, BiH mora pod hitno krenuti putem oslobađanja obrazovnog sistema od diskriminacije, segregacije i nacionalno obojenih nastavnih sadržaja i programa. U suprotnom, prihvatajući nepromjenjivost ovakvog društveno-političkog stanja pristaje se na još neizvjesniju budućnost.

Da bi politički sistem u BiH bio pravedniji, slobodniji, efikasniji i društveno prihvatljiviji, neophodno je da se mir definiše pozitivno, kao prisustvo poželjnih uslova a ne samo kao odsustvo neželjenih uslova. Nije dovoljno zadovoljiti se *statusom quo* ili pretpostavkama da se raspakivanjem Dejtonskog sporazuma prizivaju novi sukobi na ovim prostorima. Neophodno je mijenjati sadašnjost građenjem povjerenja među stanovništvom, kreirajući programe razmjene i posjeta između različitih dijelova zemlje. Neophodno je obogatiti nastavne sadržaje sa više zajedničke istorije i izleta koji će djecu iz Sarajeva odvesti u Banjaluku, Mostar, i obrnuto. Neophodno je graditi svijest o tome da – ne zanemarujući važnost simboličkih vrijednosti – ipak prije njih dolazi ona egzistencijalna. Ukoliko se ne uspostave egzistencijalni uslovi, novi naraštaji BiH dolaze na ove prostore samo tokom godišnjih odmora i učiti o ovim prostorima onako kako im kažu nastavni sadržaji zemalja u kojima su pronašli pozitivni mir, mir sa sobom, ali i mir sa drugima, gdje će se za bolji život boriti pod jednakim uslovima i pravima

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## PEACE FOR THE XXI CENTURY

### Summary

In this essay, the author refers to findings gained from experience while studying in the United States. The essay represents only one segment of a broader scientific work that tackles the theoretical debate on peace and finding of effective and long-term solutions for a transformation from *negative* to *positive* peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). For the purposes of the essay, a theoretical debate on peace for the 21<sup>st</sup> century and a viewpoint regarding peace in BiH are presented below, 25 years after signing of the General Framework Peace Agreement.

*Key words:* Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace, violence, the Dayton Peace Agreement

### Peace and war

Although peace and war as subjects of interest are almost as old as science itself, for the purposes of this essay, the emphasis will be on theories of development and peace studies. In this regard, the initial steps in the development of peace studies were recorded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At the end of the 20th century, peace studies were recognized as a separate scientific discipline in relation to the previously recognized *polemology* (Pauling 1998). The potential nuclear conflict after World War II contributed to accelerated development of peace studies, and then additional efforts were made not only to prevent future wars but also to strive for a lasting peace in the world (Rogers 2010, Barash 1991). The most significant contribution to the development of peace studies is attributed to the Norwegian sociologist, founder and former director of the Institute for Peace Research in Oslo, Johan Galtung. Among other things, he has contributed to the development of peace studies by defining new terms in scientific discourse, such as positive and negative peace, and structural and cultural violence (Pauling 1998). The goal of peace studies as a separate scientific unit is "study of peace as a condition of a social and political system, in relation to accompanying concepts such as justice, war, dignity, etc. The subjects of study include the assessment of the nature of peace, the achievement of peace, obstacles to peace, elements of peace, as well as its various social interpretations and assessments" (Pauling 1998: 435-437).

The word "peace" bears different connotations in different languages, making the concept of peace open to debate. Because, basically, peace does not necessarily mean the same thing to two different people. In that regard, the theory differentiates: Roman *pax*, which mostly implies the absence of direct violence, in accordance with the rule of law; Greek *eirene*; Hebrew *shalom*, Arabic *sala'am* that more

refer to peace as justice and harmony; Hindi *shanty*, "inner peace"; *ahimsa*, non-violence, in Buddhism and Jainism; Chinese *ho p'ing* and Japanese *heiwa*, social harmony, serenity; Russian *mir*, translated as world, peace as wholeness (Galtung 1980, 1985a, Barash 1991).

### Peace and violence

In order to better understand what is meant by peace in the theory of peace, it is necessary to understand the concept of violence and its relationship to peace. "There is a consensus in peace theory that the opposite of peace is not war but violence" (Schneider 1973:149). In that regard, today's conditions of peace should be defined positively, as the presence of conditions necessary for a society, and not only as the absence of conditions that are not desirable (Pauling 1998). Another important difference between terms "conflict" and "violence" should be pointed out. Brand-Jacobsen (2000) argues that conflict is a complex human phenomenon and should not be confused with violence. People mostly assume that, if there is no direct or open violence, there is no violence. This assumption often prevents various social structures from taking early preventive measures to resolve conflicts before the outbreak of direct and visible violence. According to Galtung (1962:2), "in order to create peace, one must first reduce (treat) and avoid (prevent) violence". Barash (1991:485) even believes that "the denial of human rights is in itself a denial of peace."

Bourgeois (2001) contributed to the theory of peace by defining the following types of violence: political, symbolic, as well as everyday, normalized violence. His theory completes Galtung's three main categories of violence: direct, structural and cultural. In 1960, Galtung expanded the concepts of peace and violence by introducing indirect or structural violence, and in 1990, he defined the concept of cultural violence (Galtung 1964, 1990). The simplest explanation of these three categories is that "direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is unchangeable, permanent" (Galtung 1996: 199).

Direct violence has a creator or actor defined as a person, a social or global process, and it is always planned, with intent. "Direct violence can be divided into verbal and physical, violence that harms the body, mind or spirit" (Galtung 1996: 31). O'Gorman (2011) argues that if topics such as inequality, poor public financial management, poverty and insecurity are not treated properly today - there can be no talk of peace.

According to Galtung, causes of conflict can often be found in structural and cultural violence. The main forms of external structural, or indirect violence, which is often unintentional, can be divided into “political, repressive and economic, exploitative; supported by structural penetration, segmentation, fragmentation and marginalization” (Galtung 1996:31). Winter and Leighton (2001) reject the arguments that structural violence should in fact be defined as social injustice or oppression because this type of violence is produced by structures, it is a product of human decisions and not natural phenomena, and as such, it can be corrected and prevented by human action.

Cultural violence is a concept that aims to “make direct and structural violence look, or be perceived as right - or at least not as something bad” (Galtung 1996:196). Cultural violence exists in order to legitimize and justify direct and structural violence through nationalism, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination and prejudice using ideology, education, religion, media, literature, symbols, law, patriarchy, sports, film, language, art, street names, monuments glorifying war “heroes”, etc. (Galtung 1990, 1996). Considering that cultural violence is “learned through the socialization process... this type of violence can be the hardest one to understand. These kinds of values are so embedded by repeating a particular narrative that it is hard to imagine that there are different ways of thinking.” (Galtung, Barbara and Dubee 2009:83).

In order to create sustainable and good solutions, especially in post-conflict countries, it is first necessary to identify the causes of violence (structurally and culturally), and then take the next steps in finding positive solutions.

Galtung (1996: 93-94) often refers to Gandhi's methods of “peace by peaceful means,” and offers four steps to overcome structural violence:

- “Confronting, choosing a problem that involves general conflict, clearly exposing that problem, and setting out the desired outcome.
- Fight, in order to overcome repression and/or exploitation, by non-violent means.
- Breaking structural ties with the oppressor and/or exploiter, through non-cooperation.
- Restoring and establishing a horizontal structure with human rights instead of repression, justice instead of exploitation, autonomy instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, participation instead of marginalization.”

Useful advice for a peaceful process of conflict transformation comes from the joint work of Galtung and Udayakumar (2013), who believe that empathy (as an attitude), non-violence (as behaviour) and creativity (to bridge conflicting goals) should be used to achieve mutually acceptable and sustainable solutions to conflict. All three segments are important for the relevance of this paper; however, creativity is of particular importance, in order to channel the energy of conflict towards new and innovative ways of meeting basic human needs for all.

## Positive and negative peace

Another great contribution to the development of the peace theory that resulted from Galtung's deep familiarity with the core for establishing sustainable peace and overcoming the causes of violence is the concept known as positive and negative peace. In order to live a peace worthy of the 21st century, it is necessary to live a positive peace. Positive peace means reduction or absence of violence of any type. In a way, this very concept represents a utopia, but it also changes our perception of peace by defining it as “a struggle in which peace is both a goal and a path.” (Brand-Jacobsen, 2000:24). Howard (2001: 1-2) argues that positive peace “implies a social and political order of society that is generally accepted as just.” In order to prevent violence at source, it is necessary to invest significant funds, but in any case, prevention pays off more than the potential damage inflicted in the event of violence. According to Mani, negative peace “represents the absence of direct violence, like the cessation of hostilities”, while positive peace “represents the elimination of structural and cultural violence” (2017:12). Contributing to positive peace, Galtung (1996:32) developed three concrete steps:

1. “Direct positive peace would consist of verbal and physical goodness, goodness for body, mind and spirit of self and others; with the aim of meeting all the basic needs for survival, well-being, freedom and identity.
2. Structural positive peace would replace repression with freedom and exploitation with equality, then strengthen dialogue instead of aggression, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and inclusion instead of marginalization.
3. Culturally positive peace would replace the legitimization of violence with the legitimization of peace; in religion, law and ideology; in language; in art and science; in schools, universities, the media; creating a culture of positive peace.”

Based on this theory, the formula for a positive peace is the following:

Positive peace = direct peace + structural peace + cultural peace (Galtung 2009).

## (Lack of) peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The development of theoretical directions within peace research has clearly expanded the scope of the concept of peace, especially through the interpretation of peace for the 21st century. Through theoretical polemics on defining of peace, one can conclude that the concept of peace is open to discussion and that each of us individually can define peace in different ways. What peace means to one person is not necessarily the same as what it means for

someone else. Today, the theory of peace clearly draws a parallel between the notion of *negative* and *positive* peace. Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina is far from a positive one, a peace established to satisfy the principles of justice. It is much more reminiscent of peace as a political agreement and an established socio-political order that temporarily stopped direct conflicts and left the opportunity to upgrade that agreement over a certain period after the end of the conflict. What a healthy political system should bring to deeply divided post-conflict societies is not only the rule of majority, but also guaranteed minority rights, an acceptable constitution, transparency, accountability, rule of law and a political culture of tolerance and compromise.

Building peace, especially positive one, requires a multidimensional approach. Until the need to change the status quo is recognized, conflict-free instability is likely to continue. However, one should be careful, because in practice, although *negative* peace is sometimes needed to stop the war and direct violence, unless treated well and unless the path of building *positive* peace is followed, there is imminent risk that violence will reoccur. In order to complete the picture of peace in BiH, the Dayton Peace Agreement, the BiH Constitution, education, the role of the international community, media, religion, economy (organized crime and corruption), history, and external influences should be analysed. All these elements are especially important in understanding peace, because they contribute to the legitimization of certain narratives and enable the maintenance of a system that resorts to measures of structural violence in order to stay in power.

Twenty-five years after the war, the causes of non-existence or search for reasons why BiH should or should not be within its current borders and with a different internal redistribution of competencies primarily lie in the lack of options or willingness of those in power to compromise. Namely, by compromising, they would directly narrow down own scope of decision-making and influence on the decision-making process, because the system made in Dayton created mechanisms of blockades and complicated decision-making process, so that even people with minor and often questionable legitimacy decide about things that shape the destiny of all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By establishing the rule of law in this territory, and primarily by adopting a new constitution that would be the result of a compromise of all parties, the necessary loyalty to the newly established values could be built. The situation where there are currently several reasons to claim that the rule of people, and not the rule of law is on the scene in BiH shows that BiH is far from the democratic achievements of society and close to the principle of feudalism, where everyone has sovereign and inviolable power on their part of the territory. Disrespect for court decisions, neglecting the importance of the legislature, derogating the institutions and tripartite division of power are segments that indicate that BiH is not perceived as a state governed by the rule of law.

The future of this part of the world, where some other values are becoming deeply rooted and attitudes that do not contribute to building positive peace are propagated, is particularly worrying. All these indicators show that there is little reason for optimism and that many people find a way out of this situation primarily in the countries of Western Europe. On the other hand, legitimizing of repression, exploitation, aggression, segmentation, fragmentation and marginalization finds its way through education. Religion, law and ideology through art, science, schools, media, very often support the status quo and thus legitimize violence, which in the long run justifies and finds reasons to make life in BiH unprosperous and puts BiH among the least developed parts of Europe. Today's political rhetoric cements the reality in BiH by presenting current life as normal and justifying it as being better than a conflict. If inclusive education is one of the peace-building tools, BiH must urgently begin freeing the education system from discrimination, segregation and nationally coloured curricula. Otherwise, by accepting the immutability of this socio-political situation, it will agree to an even more uncertain future.

In order for the political system in BiH to be fairer, freer, more efficient and more socially acceptable, peace should be defined positively, as the presence of desirable conditions, and not just the absence of unwanted ones. It is not enough to be satisfied with the status quo or the assumptions that the unpacking of the Dayton Agreement calls for new conflicts in this part of the world. Present should be changed by building trust among the population, creating exchange programs and visits between different parts of the country. Teaching contents should be enriched with more joint history and excursions that will take children from Sarajevo to Banja Luka, Mostar, and vice versa. It is necessary to build awareness that - while not neglecting the importance of symbolic values - the existential ones come first. If proper life conditions are not established, new generations of BiH will come to this country only for holidays and learn about it following school curricula of countries where they found positive peace, peace with themselves, but also peace with others, where they will fight for better life under equal conditions and with equal rights.

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# Darko Tusun

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

Nemili dani, mjeseci, godine  
krvav sukob, krvava sloboda  
nepotrebna stradanja, pobjeda Pirova.

Iz neba jarka svjetlost sja,  
crna zemlja, crnu zemlju kune  
u grobu kosti trunu, ali duša gdje je?

Vapaj, plač majki, tuga i jad  
zar savjest tebi, Bogu dušo nemila  
i danas neposramljeno šuti i gleda  
kako i u miru pravednicima,  
sveti grob se negdje skriva?  
I kako padaju molitve matera  
kao mjesečine  
po grobovima nezaboravljenih sinova.

Od radosti pjeva duh moj,  
u ranjenoj slobodi, krhkom miru  
i u demokraciji na bosanski način.  
Ovdje se oružjem svakodnevno prijete  
i zveckaju i kuckaju njime  
kao da je žrtava malo bilo!  
Prijatelji tvoji s prezirom na te gledaju.  
Ali kad ćeš, o Bosno moja, prestati  
glumiti leđa za svaki žestok bič.  
Stoljećima nasjedamo na onu staru  
„Zavadi pa vladaj!“

Ostavimo se glupih perspektiva  
skučenih umova, uskih varošica  
i ljubimo sveti i lijepi mir.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

Sorrowful days, months, years,  
bloody battle, bloody liberty,  
senseless death, hollow victory.

A bright light shines from above,  
black earth rails against itself,  
bones decay in graves, and the soul,  
where is it?

A shriek, a mother's tear,  
does your conscious, your godforsaken soul,  
still look on, unashamed, and utters not a word  
while the graves of the righteous remain unfound,  
and a mother's prayer falls light like moonlight  
for her unforgotten son.

My spirit sings a song of joy,  
in wounded liberty, fragile peace,  
democracy with a Bosnian twist.  
Here, the rattle of guns never stops,  
the threat of new victims, as if  
we haven't had enough!  
A friend's look is full of contempt.  
When will you, o Bosnia, stop offering your back  
to every gruesome whip.  
Divide and conquer  
is the age-old trick,  
and every time we fall for it.

Open your mind,  
step out of narrow confines—  
let us love the holy, the beautiful peace.

## MOJA PRIČA O SHVAĆANJU MIRA

Moja priča o shvaćanju mira, ljubavi i ljudskih predrasuda započinje davne 1987. godine s mojim roditeljima.

Dvoje ljudi koji su se našli na suprotstavljenim stranama, a ludo su se voljeli. Svaka rečenica koju iznesem dio je stvarnosti, dio je mene i svih nas. Kroz sve što izgovorim provlači se utjecaj onih koji su spoznali pravu ljubav. Tek kada shvatimo što je mir, možemo promijeniti i graditi novi svijet oko sebe.

Ratovi su vođeni, mnoge bitke su se dogodile, ali najgori je onaj rat koji nosite sami u sebi. Kada je rat u srcu, rat sa bližnjima, tada gubite sve i svaka bitka gubi važnost koju je nekada imala. Kada bismo shvatili da možemo sve, možda bismo češće radili zajedno, no put do mira je put popločan trnjem.

Vratimo se u 1987. godinu: dvoje mladih na studijima u Sarajevu neposredno pred rat. Dva tijela, dvije nacionalnosti, dvije vjeroispovijesti – a ipak samo jedna duša.

Možda ova priča ne bi ni ugledala svjetlo dana da nisam pronašla pisma mojih roditelja iz 1991. godine. Dvadeset godina kasnije pišem ovu poruku iz Mostara, u nadi da će ljudi jednoga dana shvatiti moć ljubavi, one istinske, one za koju smo mislili da postoji samo u filmovima.

Dani njihove ljubavi nisu bili nimalo mirni, ali su imali neku čar. Srbin i Hrvatica u ono vrijeme mnogima su zvučali kao nemoguća misija, kao ljubav osuđena na propast – no, što bi bila ljubav da nema niti jedne prepreke na svome putu? Što bi bio život bez suza i boli? Kroz svaku rečenicu njihovih pisama osjećala sam ljubav, ni trunka mržnje prema nekom drugom narodu nije se uvukla u duge tekstove. Oboje su vidjeli voljene kako umiru, nemoćne kako pate, ali mjesta za mržnju nije bilo.

Kako bi lijepo bilo da ljudi češće vode ljubav, a ne ratove.

Gledali su se, ljubili se pogledima, jer sve drugo kao da im je bilo zabranjeno. Svi su bili protiv njih jer su bili protiv sebe samih. Zar da gledamo ljude kao etiketirane proizvode? Zar na čelu piše nacionalna i vjerska pripadnost? Umjesto ruža dobili su puške u ruke, umjesto poljubaca za laku noć dobivali su poljupce za rastanak.

Čitam. Razmišljam kakav je to osjećaj kada ti koljena klecaju, u isto vrijeme od straha, bijesa, ljutnje i ljubavi. Kako da mrzim bilo koga kad su svi moji? Kako su očekivali da mrze susjeda s kojim su do jučer sjedili na kavi u Šantićevoj? Ljubav je oduvijek bila pokretač ovoga svijeta, a kod nas je ima za svakoga. Ista je ljubav za Bošnjaka, Srbina i Hrvata. Jedna je ljubav za džamiju i crkvu. Tko ne razumije, neće nikada zavoljeti Balkan, onako iskreno.

Čudno je koliko su ljudi spremni boriti se za svoje, a tako nerado žive po pravilima koja su sami izabrali. Kao što bi moji roditelji rekli: Nismo jedni drugima gledali rodni list nego srce. U ratu ne postoje „naši“ i „njihovi“, jer da postoje, vidjeli bismo jedni drugima na čelu tko je čiji. Kada ste plod ljubavi miješanog braka, vi ste i „njihovi“ i „naši“, vi ste i križ i krst, vi ste luka povijesti. Tko sam ja da se opredijelim i budem samo jedno? Tko je tu da me spriječi da budem što god poželim? Pobjednici su samo oni koji su spremni oprostiti i krenuti dalje, a mi mladi moramo biti vođe na tom putu.

U jednom od pisama stoji: „Jedan čovjek, jedna žena i ljubav za sva vremena.“

Podjele nisu stvarne. One su plod nečije bujne mašte i pohlepe.

Tko voli, voli svakoga bez obzira na sve.

Tko voli, vidi poruku mira i u nemirnom moru.

Tko voli, ne zna za podjele na „naše“ i „njihove“.

# Dijana Živković

## MY STORY OF UNDERSTANDING PEACE

My story of understanding peace, love, and human prejudice begins way back in 1987 with my parents.

Two people who found themselves on opposite sides and loved each other madly. Every sentence I formulate is a part of reality, a part of me and of all of us. The influence of those who have come to know true love runs through everything I say. Only when we understand what peace is can we change and build a new world around us.

Wars have been fought, many battles were fought, but the war you carry inside is the worst. When there is war in the heart, war with one's neighbours, then you lose everything and every battle loses the importance it once had. If we realized that we could do anything, maybe we would work together more often, but the path to peace is a thorny one.

Let's go back to 1987: two young people studying in Sarajevo just before the war. Two bodies, two ethnicities, two religions – but only one soul.

Maybe this story wouldn't have even seen the light of day if I hadn't found my parents letters from 1991. Twenty years later, I am writing this message from Mostar, hoping that one day people will understand the power of love, the true one, the one we thought only existed in movies.

The days of their love were not peaceful at all, but they had some charm. A Serb man and a Croat woman sounded to many like a mission impossible at the time, like a doomed love - but what would love be if there weren't a single obstacle in its path? What would life be without tears and pain? I could feel love in every sentence of their letters, and not a shred of hatred towards another people crept into the long texts. Both of them witnessed their loved ones die and suffer, but there was no place for hatred.

How nice it would be if people could make love more often than wars.

They looked at each other, their eyes kissed, because everything else seemed to be forbidden. Everyone was against them because they were against themselves. Should we see people as labelled products? Is ethnic and religious background written on one's forehead? Instead of roses, they were given rifles, instead of goodnight kisses, they got goodbye kisses.

I am reading. I am thinking about how it feels when fear, anger, rage and love make you weak in the knees, all at the same time. How can I hate anyone when all of them are mine? How did they expect that one can hate their neighbour with whom they were having coffee in Šantićeva street just the day before? Love has always been the

driving force of this world, and we have enough for everyone. It is the same love, be it for Bosniaks, Serbs or Croats. There is no difference between love for a mosque, and love for a church. Those who don't understand this will never honestly love the Balkans.

It is strange how many people are ready to fight for their own, but so reluctant to live by the rules they have chosen. As my parents would say: We did not look at each other's birth certificates, but into our hearts. There are no "ours" and "theirs" in war, because if they existed, it would have been written all over our foreheads. When you are the fruit of love in a mixed marriage, you are both "theirs" and "ours", you are both Catholic and Orthodox cross, you are the port of history. Who am I to choose and be only one thing? Who is there to stop me from being whatever I want? Only those willing to forgive and move on are the winners, and we, young people must lead the way.

One of the letter reads: "One man, one woman, and eternal love."

Divisions are not real. They are the fruit of someone's vivid imagination and greed.

The one who loves will love all people, no matter what.

The one who loves will see the message of peace even in troubled waters.

The one who loves knows no divisions to "ours" and "theirs".

### PRIZIVANJE BUDUĆNOSTI

Osjećanja su iz teretnog vagona presjela u brzi voz. Jure i jure, pa se prelamaju u mojoj duši kao najljepši zvukovi violine, dok odzvanja posljednja Mozartova opera. Podigoh šešir koji sam dobila jučer, za 27. rođendan od čika Stipe, prvog komšije, s kojim do prije nekoliko godina moji roditelji nisu pričali. Zapravo ne samo s njim nego i s ostalim kršćanima u našem kraju...

Posmatrala sam svoj grad približivši se starom prozoru.

Škola je bila u prekrasnim plavkasto sjajnim šarama. Sva je blistala od osmijeha talentovane djece. Mogu li s ponosom reći da vidim kako na ista vrata škole izlaze i Aminina i Marijina djeca? Sjećam se da Luku, svoju prvu simpatiju, nisam mogla vidati jer je jedan izlaz bio naš, bošnjački, a jedan njihov... Sunce i dalje najjače grije u onom južnom dijelu pored omladinskog centra, na čijim stepenicama sam provodila više vremena no u svome dvorištu.

Drago mi je vidjeti mnogo okupljene djece ispred ulaza. Svijet ide ka dobitku svoje svrhe – zatreprih od same pomisli. Ono se Damirova majka napokon raduje jer je postala baka. Nečija se vjenčanica tako egzotično damski vuče po tlu da me trnci prolaze od pomisli da ljubav plamti u zraku. Da li me oči varaju ili zajedno šetaju Dragica i Edina? To su iste one koje su mrzile jedna drugu tokom osnovnoškolskog obrazovanja. Emirina djevojčica ushićeno nosi veliki balon sa likom iz crtića. Plate su se povećale, zajedno sa srećom koju novac nikad nije mogao da kupi.

Bez želje za pesimizmom, ali sva djeca izgledaju kao roboti elektronskih uređaja. Gdje su nestale knjige i ruksaci? Gdje je druženje, pa i svađe pred školskim vratima? Da li su djeca sretna što ipak, nakon toliko vremena, ulaze istim ulazom u školu i sjede s kim žele u klupi? Zapravo me više brine jesu li odrasli svjesni pobjede koju je svijet dobio, ili je to prihvaćeno samo zato što se mora? Postoji li neko ko još gleda ko je otac Ajnin, i da li i ona nosi najnovije Nike patike? Šetaju li zaista Dragica i Edina, ili su se slučajno srele pa, skrivajući svoju netrpeljivost, moraju istrpjeti jedna drugu? Udaje li se ona djevojka iz ljubavi, ili ju je privuklo nešto drugo? Eh, koliko pitanja bez odgovora!

Hoćemo li svi obrađivati svoj vrt i biti Candide? Poštovati tuđe, voljeti svoje, nasmijati se i onima koje ne znamo, žuriti da uradimo nešto dobro. Ili ćemo zauvijek gledati u tuđu ogradu, osuđivati i sumnjičavo gledati ljude potpuno iste kao mi. Kad uspijemo pronaći svrhu sebi, tek će je i svijet dobiti. Samo kad bi svi žudjeli da, zajedno sa mnom, za deset godina kažu da su iskreno, svim srcem željeli svima ono što žele i sebi – mi bismo već napola uspjeli...

Nadam se da neću vidjeti novu fasadu, skupe zgrade, luksuzne aute i najskuplji sat na rukama ljudi koji će ostati isti, trulji, jeftini i nesposobni da vide odraz u ogledalu.

Ljudi trebaju duhovnu preobrazbu ovoga tu, što nam kuca u prsima – a neće, sigurno neće kucati zauvijek.

### INVOKING THE FUTURE

Feelings shifted from the freight car to the high-speed train. They race and race, and refract in my soul like the most beautiful sounds of the violin, with Mozart's last opera echoing. I picked up the hat I got yesterday, for my 27th birthday from uncle Stipe, the closest neighbour, with whom my parents hadn't talked until a few years ago. In fact, not only with him, but with other Christians in our area as well...

I was looking at my city through an old window.

The school was painted in beautiful bluish patterns. It was all beaming with the smiles of talented children. Can I proudly say that I see both Amina's and Marija's children coming out through the same school door? I remember that I could not see Luka, my first crush, because one exit was for us, Bosniaks, and one for them... The sun still shines the brightest in the southern part next to the youth centre, on its stairs where I used to spend more time than in my backyard.

I am glad to see many children gathered in front of the entrance. The world is moving towards fulfilment of its purpose - I trembled at the very thought of it. Damir's mother is finally happy because she became a grandmother. Someone's wedding dress is dragging on the ground in an exotic and ladylike way, and the thought of love flaring in the air gave me a shiver. Are my eyes deceiving me or Dragica and Edina are walking together? These are those same girls who hated each other during elementary school. Emira's little girl excitedly carries a big balloon with a cartoon character. Salaries have increased, along with happiness that money could never buy.

I don't want to be pessimistic, but all children look like robots. Where did the books and backpacks go? What about hanging out, or even the quarrels in front of the school door? Are the children happy that they use the same entrance to the school after so much time, and share the school bench with whomever they want? In fact, what worries me more is whether adults are aware of the victory the world has won, or they accepted it just because they have to? Is there anyone who still cares who Ajna's father is, and whether she also wears the latest Nike sneakers? Are Dragica and Edina really walking together, or did they meet by chance, and now, hiding their intolerance, they have to put up with each other? Is that girl marrying for love, or she was attracted by something else? So many questions without answers!

Will we all cultivate our garden and be Candide members? Respect what belongs to others, love your own, smile at those we don't know as well, hurry to do something good. Or we will look at what others do, condemn and look suspiciously at people who are exactly the same as we are forever. When we manage to find own purpose, only then the world will get one as well. If everyone, together with me, yearned to say in ten years that they sincerely and

wholeheartedly wished everyone what they wanted for themselves - we would already be halfway to success...

I hope I will not see a new facade, expensive buildings, luxury cars and the most expensive watch on the wrists of

people who will remain the same, rotten, cheap and unable to see the reflection in the mirror.

People need a spiritual transformation of this thing that is beating in our chests - and it won't, it certainly won't be beating forever.

# Ena Žunić

## FANTAZIJA

Stajao je sučelice svojim školskim drugovima. Nepomičan. Uronjen u nježna sjećanja na matursku zabavu iz 1980. godine. Naglo ga trznu duboki glas iza njega:

“Komandante, pucamo li?”

Lagano se okrenuo, cijelim tijelom, ne mičući vrat ni udove, u tako homogenoj kretnji tijela da se učinilo da se to ne okreće on već se rotira komad zemlje na kojem stoji.

Gledao ga je netremice. Šutnju, kojom je izgovorio pregršt prijekora i duboko razočarenje, Boro prekinu riječima: “Popucali smo mi izgleda odavno!”

Četa se vidno unervozila; neki su već stezali puške uza se, oprezno motreći na dva zalutala neprijateljska vojnika koji su mirno stajali naspram njih. Milan se pobuni:

“Ali, komandante, rekli su nam da pucamo čim vidimo njihove, još ako su u uniformama...”

“Šta su ti još rekli, Milane? Jesu li ti rekli da su oni tvoji smrtni neprijatelji, koji bi također pucali na tebe kada bi imali priliku?”, upita Boro, sada smiren i blagog izraza lica.

“Rekli su! I ja znam da bi pucali! Oni našu djecu bacaju lavovima...krvožednici!”, odvrati Milan ljutito.

“I to za lavove, i to su ti takođe rekli? Neki naši?”, Boro će opet smireno.

“Naravno da su mi rekli naši, s njihovim više ne pričamo, hahaha!”, odgovori Milan sarkastično.

“E pa šteta, Milane, što tako misliš, baš šteta...”, reče Boro i okrenu se zalutalim vojnicima, Rizi i Marku.

“Marko, reci Milanu šta se desilo prekjucher sa onom šestogodišnjom djevojčicom, plavih kikica i anđeoskog lica!”

Zbunjen i uplašen cijelom situacijom u kojoj se osjećao kao plijen, Marko se najprije nakašlja da pripremi uspavano grlo za neočekivanu službu, a potom tiho progovori:

“Teodora? Divna djevojčica! Nije ispuštala iz ruku buket

tratinčica koji je ubrala za svoju majku. Bio je već uvenuo nakon što je tri dana provela skrivena u baraci...Rizo i ja smo je odveli kući i predali njenoj majci, šta ćemo drugo uradit?”

Boro se opet mirno okrenu Milanu.

“Milane, kako se ono zove tvoja djevojčica?”

Ukočena pogleda i drhtave vilice, nakon cijele minute šutnje u kojoj je stezao pušku objema šakama, koje su od navale znoja nekontrolisano klizile po cijevi, Milan konačno izgovori:

“Teodora...”

Potom sumnjičavo krenu prelaziti pogledima sa Marka na Rizu, pa na Boru, pa opet ukrug...

“Lažete! Lažete, đubrad!”

U nevjerici i uzbuđenju, Rizo zamuca boreći se s nevidljivim preponama u zraku koje je preskakao jezikom i rušio usnama, mučeći se, ali ne odustajući:

“J-j-j—jaa i-i-i-m-m-m-aaam d-d-d...d-d-d-ooookaz!”

Poče užurbano pipkati po grudnom džepu maskirne jakne te izvadi presavijen papir u koji su vojnički koraci utkali sitne nabore lažne starosti.

Boro preuze papir, razmota ga i poče čitati naglas:

*“Dragi moji Srbi, zovem se Aleksandra Pavić. Želim da vas zamolim sljedeće. Ako ikada sretnete ljude kod kojih ćete naći ovu poruku, Marka i Rizu, budite dobri prema njima. Oni su spasili moju djevojčicu Teodoru i time sav moj svijet. Spasili su jedan nježni kosmos koji smo moj suprug i ja gradili s ovim malim bićem, a taj kosmos je mnogo veći od bošnjaštva, hrvatstva i srpstva. Mnogo veći od ovog glupog rata! Ovo je jedini dostojan način na koji mogu da im zahvalim. Molim vas, nemojte ozlijediti ove ljude, jer ako to učinite, ozlijedićete i nas, pokidaćete jake niti kojima su nas njih dvojica ponovno vezali za život: niti nade, sreće i ohrabrenja. Pomozite mi da ovim pismom spasim njih, kao što su oni spasili moju djevojčicu!”*

Boro preda papir Milanu:

“Je li to Aleksandrin rukopis?”, upita.

Pogleda uprtog u poruku, upijajući svako slovo i razmak, koji kao da su se kondenzovali u njegovim očima, iz kojih nekontrolisano krenuše izbijati krupne suze, Milan zadržta i njegova ramena počеше gubiti prethodni, čvrsto definisani oblik, te se predadoše gravitaciji.

“Ovo je pisala moja Aleksandra...a Teodora.... Kako je porasla! Sad zna nacrtati pravi cvijet!”, povika Milan, radosno se vrteći i ponosno pokazujući cijeloj četi pisamce u čijem uglu je bio dječiji crtež velikog žutog cvijeta.

Potom mu se pogled sudari sa Borinim, koji ga blago i očinski prekori:

“Rekli su ti da našu djecu bacaju lavovima, je li, Milane? Vidiš, riječi su ti kao široko razarajuće, sofisticirano oružje, korištene u svakom ratu. Vješto pronalaze metu, lako se

raspršuju i dugo gore, zbog čega se valjda za ubjedljive oratore kaže da 'umiju zapaliti mase'...Savršen izum najprestižnijih svjetskih laboratorija dostupan i najprimitivnijim narodima, potpuno besplatno!”

Milan je naglo ispustio pušku, te je, gonjen nevidljivom silom, potrčao tako brzo prema Marku i Rizi da je preplašio ptice koje su u grmlju zalepetale krilima....Posmatrajući Milana, Rizu i Marka kako u snažnom zagrljaju tvore jedinstvenu figuru, neko od vojnika primijetio je kako su iznad njihovih glava poletjela tri bijela goluba. “Zagrljaji neprijatelja i golubovi mira, u istom kadru – kakva klišetizirana fantazija!”, povika vojnik u nevjerici.

“Fantazija služi da se čovek izvuče iz realnog života.”<sup>1</sup> citirao je Boro austrijskog psihijatra. “Ovo što vidite, oduvijek je bila naša realnost. A rat...rat je samo klišetizirana fantazija zabludjelih!”, dodao je sa sjetnim osmijehom, vadeći iz novčanika fotografiju sa matuske zabave na kojoj nasmijani stoje u zagrljaju: on, Marko i Rizo.

1 Alfred Adler, Poznavanje čoveka, Dereta, Beograd 2018, str. 53.

# Ena Žunić

## FANTASY

He stood there facing his schoolmates. Motionless. Immersed in fond memories of the 1980 prom. Suddenly, he was startled by a deep voice behind him:

“Commander, are we ready to shoot?”

He turned around slowly, with his whole body, without moving his neck or limbs, in such a homogeneous body movement, that it seemed as if it was not him that was turning around, but that the piece of land on which he stood was rotating.

He stared at him. Boro interrupted the silence through which he expressed a handful of reproaches and deep disappointment:

“It seems that all of us have gone nuts a long time ago”!

The company was visibly nervous; some were already squeezing their rifles, watching intently the two stray enemy soldiers standing calmly opposite them. Milan objected:

“But, commander, they told us to shoot as soon as we saw their men, especially if they were in uniforms...”

“What else did they tell you, Milan? Did they tell you that they are your mortal enemies, who would also shoot at you if they had the chance?” Boro asked, now calm and with a

kind expression on his face.

“They did! And I know that they would shoot! They are throwing our children to the lions... bloodthirsty dogs!”, Milan replied angrily.

“And the thing about the lions, they told you that, too? Some of our men?”, Boro said calmly.

“Of course, our people told me, we don't talk to theirs anymore, hahaha!” Milan replied sarcastically.

“Well, it's a shame, Milan, that you think that way, really a shame...”, Boro said and turned to the stray soldiers, Rizo and Marko.

“Marko, tell Milan what happened the day before yesterday with that six-year-old girl, with blue ponytails and an angel face!”

Confused and frightened by the whole situation in which he felt like prey, Marko first coughed to prepare his numb throat for an unexpected service, and then spoke softly:

“Teodora? Wonderful girl! She held tight to the bouquet of daisies she had picked for her mother. It was already withered after she had spent three days hidden in a shack... Rizo and I took her home and handed her over to her mother, what else would we do?”

Boro calmly turned to Milan again.

"Milan, what is your little girl's name again?"

With stiff gaze and trembling jaw, after a minute of silence, gripping the rifle with both hands, which were sliding uncontrollably down the barrel due to intense sweating, Milan finally said:

"Teodora..."

Then he started looking at Marko, Riza, and then Boro suspiciously, and then all over again...

"You are lying! You are lying, you scumbags!"

In disbelief and excitement, Rizo stammered, struggling with the invisible hurdles in the air that he run over with his tongue and knocked down with his lips, struggling but not giving up:

"I-i-i—haaaa v-e--pr-ooof!"

He hastily searched the camouflage jacket's breast pocket and pulled out a folded piece of paper, looking shabby and old due to harsh military life.

Boro took the paper, unfolded it and started reading aloud:

*"My dear Serbs, my name is Aleksandra Pavić. I want to ask you the following. If you ever meet the people carrying this message, Marko and Rizo, be kind to them. They saved my little girl Theodora, my whole world. They saved a gentle cosmos that my husband and I built with this little creature, and that cosmos is much bigger than Bosniak, Croat and Serb identities. It is much bigger than this stupid war! This is the only worthy way I can thank them. Please do not hurt these people, because if you do, you will hurt us too, you will break the strong threads with which the two of them have tied us to life again: the threads of hope, happiness and encouragement. Help me to save them with this letter, just as they saved my little girl! "*

Boro handed the paper to Milan:

"Is this Aleksandra's handwriting?", he asked.

He stared at the message, absorbing every word and space, which seemed to have condensed in his eyes, from which large tears began to flow uncontrollably. Milan trembled and his shoulders began to lose their previous, firmly defined shape, and finally gave in to gravity.

"My Aleksandra wrote this...and Teodora.... Look how she grew up! She can draw a real flower now!" Milan exclaimed, spinning around happily and proudly showing the whole company the small letter with a child's drawing of a large yellow flower in the corner.

Then his eyes met Boro's, who scolded him gently and fatherly:

"They told you they were throwing our children to the lions, didn't they, Milan?" You see, words are like a widely devastating, sophisticated weapon, used in every war. They skilfully find the target, they are easy to disperse and burn slowly, which is probably why convincing speakers are said to be 'able to ignite the masses'.... The perfect invention of the world's most prestigious laboratories, available even to the most primitive peoples, completely free of charge!"

Milan dropped his rifle abruptly, and, pushed by an invisible force, ran so fast towards Marko and Riza that he frightened the birds that fluttered their wings in the bushes.... Watching Milan, Riza and Marko form a unique figure in a strong embrace, one of the soldiers noticed that three white doves flew over their heads. "Embraces of enemies and doves of peace, in the same frame - what a clichéd fantasy!" the soldier exclaimed in disbelief.

"Fantasy serves to pull a person out of real life," Boro quoted an Austrian psychiatrist. "What you see now has always been our reality. And war...war is just a clichéd fantasy of the deluded!", he added with a wistful smile, taking a prom photo of him, Marko and Rizo from his wallet, where they all smile embracing each other.

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1 Alfred Adler, *Poznavanje čoveka*, Dereta, Belgrade 2018, p. 53.

### DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

*Nema puta ka miru. Mir je put.*  
Mahatma Gandhi

#### Uvod

Dejtonskim mirovnim sporazumom okončan je rat u Bosni i Hercegovini; njime su potvrđeni suverenitet, teritorijalni integritet i nezavisnost Bosne i Hercegovine kao države.

Rođena sam 1995. godine, ratne strahote nisam proživjela. Često kažem za sebe da sam dejtonsko dijete, a danas sam mlada osoba dejtonske Bosne i Hercegovine, zemlje koja je stvorena u dalekoj Americi.

Dvadeset pet godina kasnije nasilje se nije obnovilo, nemamo rat kao najradikalniju formu organiziranog nasilja... Ali imamo li mir? Suštinski, kantovski, galtungov pozitivni mir, ili samo odsustvo nasilja, odnosno negativni mir? Bosna i Hercegovina, 25 godina nakon rata ne živi kantovski mir; prije bi se reklo da živimo odsustvo rata, korupciju, nepotizam, nacionalizam, odliv mozgova... Direktno nasilje nije obnovljeno, ali trenutno, čak 25 godina nakon rata, okupirani smo strahom i mišlju „Samo nek' ne puca“ ili „Samo nek' je živa glava“... Zar su živa glava i kora hljeba jedini mir kojem trebamo težiti? I sada ratni narativi dominiraju nad mirovnim, jer današnji graditelji mira ključni su akteri nekadašnjeg rata. Stoga je izgradnja mira težak poduhvat u postkonfliktnom društvu kakvo je naše; izgradnja mira treba da vodi i bude preduvjet pozitivnom miru, za koji, čini mi se, u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvijek nema volje.

Ovaj rad bavi se analizom stanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, s primarnom mišlju o politički negativnom miru u kojem kao društvo živimo. Definirat ćemo ključne koncepte kao što su: mir, izgradnja mira, vrijednosti potrebne za izgradnju mira, negativni mir, pozitivni mir, kultura sjećanja i, naravno, pomirenje. Povezat ćemo sve navedene koncepte i prikazati ih na primjeru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine – jer kako graditi mir ako ne poznamo suštinske koncepte? Analizirat ćemo i nosioce mirovnih strategija, odnosno one koji bi trebali biti nosioci mirovnih strategija – ili smo možda svi učesnici? Je li mir u Bosni i Hercegovini moguć, i šta vodećoj političkoj eliti znači mir? Fredrik S. Heffermehl je rekao: „Opšta mobilizacija za mir može spasiti život na ovoj planeti, pa tako je, nadam se, i sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom, u kojoj će jednog dana doći do opšte mobilizacije za mir“.

*Ključne riječi:* mir, politički mir, negativni mir, pozitivni mir, izgradnja mira, kultura sjećanja, pomirenje.

#### Razrada

Neka znanstvena istraživanja navode da je historija svijeta historija ratova i nasilja, ali opet, s druge strane, čovjek teži i miru. Zašto je to tako? „Mir, mir je opći ljudski ideal kojem je čovjek oduvijek težio, jer ambijent mira znači pretpostavku za zadovoljavanje svih potreba koje su primjerene čovjeku i društvu, mir je otkako svijet postoji najcjenjenija vrijednost, jer njegova suprotnost rat pretpostavlja stradanje, smrt, a ponekad i nestanak cjelokupnih društava i naroda“ (Smajić, 2003:13). Za mene kao mladu osobu mir nije samo puko odsustvo rata; pod mirom bi trebao podrazumijevati život bez nasilja, bez ugroženosti, straha, život u društvu lične sigurnosti kao i socijalne pravde, u kojem svaki pojedinac/ka ima priliku da se razvija i doprinosi dobrobiti zajednice. Mir je već dugo predmet promišljanja naučnika, filozofa, umjetnika, ideologa, ali u ovom radu vodit ćemo se viđenjem i definicijama mira koju je dao otac mirovnih studija Johan Galtung. Prema Galtungu, *mir se može tumačiti kao odsustvo/smanjenje svih vrsta nasilja ili kao nenasilna i kreativna transformacija sukoba, u prvoj definiciji mir se određuje u odnosu na nasilje, mir je negacija nasilja, a u drugoj se određuje u odnosu na sukob, odnosno konflikt* (Galtung, 2009:25).

Nakon elaboracije nekih od ključnih definicija i poimanja mira, postavlja se važno pitanje: *Šta se dogodilo sa mirom u Bosni i Hercegovini? Kako mjerimo mir?*

Dejtonski mirovni sporazum imao je dva glavna cilja: okončanje rata i obnovu bosanskohercegovačkog društva. Prvi cilj osigurao je prekid vatre i obustavu vojnih akcija; proveden je najuspješnije. Znak uspješnog mirovnog sporazuma je taj što on ne samo da okončava trenutno nasilje već se bavi i osnovnim uzrocima sukoba kako bi se spriječilo eventualno buduće nasilje. Da li zaista mjerimo mir u smislu odsustva militariziranog nasilja? Da li je odsustvo oružja, pucnjave i ubijanja dovoljno za mjerenje mira? Gdje je Bosna i Hercegovina danas? Ne želim zvučati pesimistično, ali između kompliciranih sistema planiranih za održavanje etničke ravnoteže i razdvajanja, administrativne podjele zemlje koja nema drugu svrhu osim daljnje podjele, zaista se pitam da li je ova zemlja, Bosna i Hercegovina, popravljiva? Živimo neku formu mira – ali taj mir je političko-negativni mir, nemamo pravog, pozitivnog mira, a živjeti u odsustvu pravog mira znači patnju. Istinski mir treba svima biti cilj, ali imati samo cilj nije dovoljno.



**Murali za 25 godina mira**  
Lokacija: Kiseljak  
Ime autora: Amin Idrizović

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**  
Location: Kiseljak  
Name of the author: Amin Idrizović





Dolf Sternberger pravi razliku između političkog pojma mir i pojma mir: Politički pojam mira je rezultat konfliktnog svijeta u kojem živimo; kada govorimo o tome, govorimo o mirovnim procesima, mirovnim sporazumima, mirovnim posrednicima, međunarodnim organizacijama mira, o UN-u koji je Osnivačkom poveljom zadužen za mir i sigurnost u svijetu (Ćurak, 2016: 165). Tipičan primjer političkog pojma mira je Dejtonski mirovni sporazum, jer se pojavljuje kao politički proizvod mirovnih pregovora, kao negativni mir, koji toliko godina nakon rata oblikuje našu društvenost, limitirajući sposobnost bosanskohercegovačkih ljudi da se otisnu na putovanje u kojem mogu pronaći mir sa samim sobom (Ćurak, 2016:166). Norveški znanstvenik Johan Galtung taj prvi mir nakon rata naziva negativnim mirom, on je negativan jer je ispunjen samo odsustvom nasilja (Ćurak, 2016:165). Bosna i Hercegovina upravo živi negativni mir, živi mirovni sporazum koji je okončao direktno nasilje – ali nema mira koji bi sa sobom nosio slobodu, pravdu, ljudska prava, rodnu ravnopravnost, empatiju, kolektivnu sigurnost i, na kraju, samoodrživu političku zajednicu. Uostalom, kako reče nepoznat i mudar neko: „Mir dolazi kroz razumijevanje, a ne kroz sporazume“. U našoj državi fali razumijevanje, kako Ćurak navodi: „Razumijevanje drugog uvjet je za mir, bez tog razumijevanja nasilje je u prednosti“ (Ćurak, 2016:164). Upravo danas možemo pogledati bilo koji segment bh. društva i ukazati na loše stvorene mehanizme. U obrazovnom sistemu, takozvane „dvije škole pod jednim krovom“, stvorene da bi razdvojile bošnjačku i hrvatsku djecu, efektivno rekreiraju ono što ostatak svijeta smatra davno nestalim sa režimom aparthejda<sup>1</sup> u Južnoj Africi. Naš ustav proizvod je mirovnog sporazuma pregovaranog između međunarodne zajednice i maskulinih elita koje su predstavljale zaraćene strane, efektivno isključujući glasove bh. žena i civilnog društva, stvarajući disfunkcionalnu i neprimjerenu strukturu države, pristup ekonomskim, socijalnim i kulturnim pravima ozbiljno je otežan, a time i sam mirovni proces u BiH.

Ovo je samo vrh planine problema s kojim se suočava Bosna i Hercegovina. Zaista bi nam trebala knjiga koja će ih sve opisati. Jer ne mora značiti da je zemlja postigla stabilan mir ako je stalo nasilje. Dovoljno vidjeti da mirovni sporazum, u odsustvu onih koji su tokom i nakon rata radili na izgradnji mira (civilno društvo uopšte i posebno žene) nije uspio stvoriti „održivi mir“. Kakav je to održivi, pozitivni mir o kojem u Bosni i Hercegovini trenutno možemo samo govoriti? Šta nedostaje bosanskohercegovačkom društvu da bi se mir ostvario kao konstantna vrijednosna vertikala? Prema Galtungu, pozitivni mir je prisustvo socijalne pravde i jednakosti, te odsustvo strukturnog ili indirektnog nasilja,<sup>2</sup> karakterizira ga prisustvo skladnih društvenih odnosa i integracija ljudskog društva (Galtung, 1964:2). Pozitivni mir je u suštini ono što zovemo istinski, trajni i

održivi mir izgrađen na pravdi za sve ljude, jer je pozitivni mir najbolja zaštita protiv nasilja. Pozitivni mir je definiran trajnijim mirom, koji se gradi na održivim ulaganjima u ekonomski razvoj i institucije, kao i na društvenim stavovima koji njeguju mir.<sup>3</sup> Da bi ovaj bosanskohercegovački negativni mir postao pozitivan, „nužno je razviti slobodu i pravdu kao imperativ ljudskosti koji nam stalno izmiču ili im se samo asimptotski približavamo“ (Ćurak, 2016:165). Da bismo razumjeli koncept negativnog i pozitivnog mira, a samim tim i realnu sliku stanja u BiH, bitno je da znamo razlike između ova dva mira. Negativni mir odnosi se na odsustvo nasilja; na primjer, kad se dogovori prekid vatre, nastupit će negativni mir. Zaustavljeno je nasilje, prestali direktni vojni sukobi. A pozitivni mir ispunjen je pozitivnim sadržajima poput obnavljanja odnosa, stvaranja socijalnih sistema koji služe potrebama cijele populacije i konstruktivnog rješavanja sukoba, jer mir ne znači potpuno odsustvo bilo kakvog sukoba.<sup>4</sup> Upravo je Bosna i Hercegovina, 25 godina nakon rata, ostala zarobljena u poimanju mira samo kao odsustva nasilja, odnosno ratnih strahota. Zar nije vrijeme da nakon 25 godina „mira“ koji živimo krenemo s istinskim obnavljanjem odnosa i uspostavom onoga što znači pozitivni mir? Vrijeme je da mijenjamo svijest društva. Važan korak i stepenica više u dostizanju održivog mira je efikasan proces izgradnje mira. Polje izgradnje mira, kao i svako drugo polje, ima svoju publiku navijača/ica, kritičara/ki i zbunjenih posmatrača/ica. Termin izgradnja mira koristi se u različite i nerijetko oprečne svrhe. Neki ga koriste kako bi opisali aktivnosti koje slijede nakon rata, drugi njime opisuju nove pristupe razvoju s naglaskom na mir, dok treći, pak, vide izgradnju mira prvenstveno kao međuljudski i psihološki proces, ili termin koriste kao sinonim za transformaciju konflikta (Schirch, 2005: 15).

Procesom izgradnje mira pokušava se spriječiti, smanjiti ili transformirati konflikt, te pomoći ljudima da se oporave od svih oblika nasilja, čak i strukturnog, koje još uvijek nije dovelo do masovnih društvenih nemira. Izgradnja mira nastaje iz određenog sistema vrijednosti, koji pomaže procese donošenja odluka; općenito, izgradnja mira sadrži vrijednosti zadovoljenja ljudskih potreba i zaštitu ljudskih prava. Ključne vrijednosti koje sadrži proces izgradnje mira su: ljudske potrebe i ljudska prava, međuovisnost, partnerstvo i ograničavanje nasilja, navedene vrijednosti predstavljaju vodilje izgradnje mira, jer mir se ne dešava tek tako (Schirch, 2005: 19). Kada govorimo o procesu izgradnje mira koji je izuzetno bitan za našu državu, ne možemo proći bez nivoa transformacije izgradnje mira koje navodi John Paul Lederach. On, naime, smatra da izgradnja mira iziskuje transformaciju na ličnom, međuljudskom, kulturnom i strukturnom nivou. Lične promjene odnose se na stvaranje novih stavova, ponašanja i znanja osoba u određenom kontekstu, međuljudske promjene referiraju na nove ili poboljšane odnose između strana u određenom kontekstu, kulturne promjene odnose se na utemeljenje vrijednosti koje podržavaju mir, dok se strukturne

1 Izraz kojim se označava politički sistem u kojem se negiraju prava građana na rasnoj osnovi, rasna diskriminacija, naročito je bio izražen u Južnoj Africi kroz dominaciju bjelačke manjine nad crnačkom većinom. (Beridan, Tomić, Kreso, Leksikon sigurnosti, Sarajevo, 2001:22)

2 Strukturno ili indirektno nasilje definisano je kao nasilje ugrađeno u ličnost, društvo i svijet, i ono nije namjerno. Dijeli se na političko, odnosno represivno, i ekonomsko, odnosno eksplozivno. (Hrestomatija Nauka o miru 2017: 54).

3 <https://positivepeace.org/what-is-positive-peace?fbclid=IwAR3LtUkxYpQL0i3GaQvXr0DZbFd97ByiDD0cXWEFmH-D0kSeUu71OTIZMK>

4 [http://www.irenees.net/bdf\\_fiche-notions-186\\_en.html](http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html)

promjene odnose na uspostavu novih institucija, politika ili političkih lidera (Lederach, 2003:34). Upravo bi ove vrijednosti i forme transformacije trebalo da ima proces izgradnje mira u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ali s obzirom na činjenicu da nam je država izuzetno složeno konstruirana, samim time otežan je i proces izgradnje mira. Ali on zasigurno postoji. Dva bitna koncepta, bez kojih nema izgradnje mira, jesu *pomirenje* i *kultura sjećanja*. U Bosni i Hercegovini važno je i ko su glasnici mira – jesu li to mladi, žene, političari, bivši veterani rata, ili ipak svi?

Da bi se shvatilo šta je pomirenje, važno je vidjeti šta ono nije. Pomirenje ne može biti percipirano kao tolerancija zbog pasivnosti tolerancije (Podnosim te, ne želim da te „uklonim“, ali mi neće smetati ako te „ukloni“ nešto drugo ili neko drugi); provođenje vremena s onima sa „druge strane“ je pozitivno, može doprinijeti izgradnji mira ali to i dalje nije pomirenje; pomiriti se ne znači ujediniti se, ali ne znači ni da budemo isti kao onaj „drugi“; legitimno je suprotstaviti se, imati drugačiju percepciju stvarnosti; pomiriti se ne znači zaboraviti. Konačno, pomirenje nije dio pravnog sistema, suđenja, presude ili kazne, iako to može biti povezano (Eror, 2018: 1). Pomirenje ne bi trebalo biti proces koji ide uz nas – ono mora biti dio nas. Svi bismo trebali sudjelovati u tome, proaktivno, angažirajući se, pokušavajući živjeti u miru i živjeti mir, samo tako možemo razumjeti pomirenje kao mogućnost i raditi na postizanju nemogućeg. Ako pomirenje doživljavamo kao nešto obično, osuđujemo sebe i zajednicu na začarani krug negativnog mira i prikriivenog nasilja, što je slučaj sa društvom u Bosni i Hercegovini. Do pomirenja obično dolazi između dvije ili više strana. U slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine postoje čak tri strane. Očito je s kim se treba pomiriti, ali bismo trebali pokušati shvatiti i šta nije u redu. Prema Eroru, odgovor se krije u najmanje šest vjekova historije; činjenica je da svaka od tri grupe doživljava sebe kao žrtvu one druge, jednom, barem jednom u historiji, a sukladno tome, svaka grupa je prepoznata kao počinitelj barem jednom, čini se da je svaka grupa barem jednom bila krivac (Eror, 2018: 3). Svaka strana uživa u tome da sebe smatra žrtvom one druge radije nego da vidi sve strane kao žrtve rata. No, izjednačavanje strana značilo bi odustati od predstavljanja svoje grupe kao najveće žrtve, odustati od prikazivanja drugih kao krivaca. Pomirenje neće doći samo od sebe, potrebni su je djela i napor. Razumijevanje i prihvatanje mogućnosti pomirenja natjerat će nas na stvaranje različitih puteva, kao i na kreativnost, kako bi se osigurala bolja situacija za buduće generacije (Eror, 2018: 4). „Pomirenje nije ni u tome da budete ljubazni, nije u tome da se pretvarate da su stvari bile drugačije nego što jesu; pomirenje zasnovano na laži, na neslaganju sa stvarnošću uopće nije pomirenje“ (Desmond Tutu). Kada se borimo za mir, moramo biti hrabri, spremni za iskorak, za promjenu, biti spremni na promjene, uspjehe, padove i ponovne pokušaje, moramo vjerovati u to, živjeti to, tek tada smo spremni iskusiti pravo pomirenje – istina, teško je, ali vrijedi.

Pored pomirenja, bitan pojam u izgradnji mira u Bosni i Hercegovini je kultura sjećanja, koja se bavi razumijevanjem i proučavanjem načina na koje društvo ili

jedna zajednica tretira, interpretira, prerađuje, upotrebljava i zloupotrebljava vlastitu prošlost. Kultura sjećanja bavi se propitivanjem i proučavanjem načina na koji interpretiramo, odnosno objašnjavamo ono što se desilo; u širem smislu može se shvatiti kao zbir obrazaca, praksi i teorija o tome kakva naša prošlost jeste i kakva treba biti (Kuljić, 2006: 10). Sve ono što društvo i zajednica čine u pogledu bavljenja svojom prošlošću može se nazvati kulturom sjećanja. Isprepletenost sjećanja, prisjećanja, potiskivanja, zaborava, šutnje, njihova međusobna uvjetovanost i uticaj na politiku i kulturu sjećanja važne su karakteristike postkonfliktne stvarnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. To se vidi u nizu primjera novopodignutih spomenika (nakon ratnih sukoba 1992-1995), sa izgradnjom službenih narativa i uništavanjem „starih“ spomenika paralelno teku procesi tišine, potiskivanja i zaborava.<sup>5</sup> Nažalost, u Bosni i Hercegovini se kultura sjećanja često zamjenjuje kulturom potiskivanja ili kulturom zaborava; kultura sjećanja postoji, ali je pogrešna, jer je u ovoj državi najvažnije da se sjećamo svog neprijatelja...

Važno je znati da je izgradnja mira odgovornost svih nas. Odlučivanje o tome ko će biti uključen u proces izgradnje mira zahtijeva strateško donošenje odluka (*Nauka o miru*, Fakultet političkih nauka). Mladi se smatraju najmoćnijim protagonistima pomirenja, odnosno izgradnje mira, jer su mladi dovoljno hrabri da naprave iskorak i pokušaju nešto drugo, iako su čuli priče od svojih roditelja, nemaju direktne nasilne traume, konačno ako svoje vlasti/autoritete vide kao krive, vlasti u porodici, etničkim i religijskim grupama, neće oklijevati da ih ne poslušaju ili čak da im se suprotstave (Eror, 2018: 5). Što se tiče mirovnog aktivizma<sup>6</sup> mladih, postavlja se pitanje da li možemo govoriti o masovnom mirovnom aktivizmu mladih u BiH ili o etabliranoj mirovno-aktivističkoj sceni u okviru nevladnog sektora bez značajnijeg utjecaja u široj javnosti? Također, ima li načina da se putem mirovnog aktivizma i mirovnog odgoja promijeni vrijednosni čip u svijesti mladih, poratnih generacija prije nego što one aktuelno stanje negativnog mira prihvate u potpunosti kao normalan poredak stvari? Mladi su bitni akteri mira, kao i svi ostali, ali na poratnim generacijama ostat će teret neuspjeha njihovih prethodnika. Mladi ljudi moraju biti svjesni koliko je zapravo lako započeti rat i koliko ga je teško izbjeći – poruka je jednog od veterana rata. Hoće li ljudi razumjeti da budućnost nije nešto što se jednostavno dešava ili dolazi samo od sebe? Sutrašnji dan je nešto što stvaramo upravo ovog trenutka; mnogi ljudi današnjice osjećaju se kao posmatrači globalnih događaja, ali svi smo mi učesnici (Gorder, 2001:86). Tako je i sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom: od omladine, žena, bivših boraca, političkih elita, civilnog društva, običnih građana i pojedinaca, svi su učesnici i svi treba da budu dio izgradnje mira, a ne njegovi nijemi posmatrači. Jer Bosna i Hercegovina i danas čeka mir!

5 [http://www.dwp-balkan.org/bh/news.php?cat\\_id=4&text\\_id=515&fbclid=IwAR1c6m1J9hqzDi59ISlyZDvhWEx4dtRtOA2xOgm13PnP18ePc](http://www.dwp-balkan.org/bh/news.php?cat_id=4&text_id=515&fbclid=IwAR1c6m1J9hqzDi59ISlyZDvhWEx4dtRtOA2xOgm13PnP18ePc)

6 Mirovni aktivizam je sve ono što doprinosi izgradnji mira, podrazumijeva podržavanje svih resursa u društvu koji pomažu pomirenju i uspostavljanju pokidanih veza, to je vrlo složen i dugotrajan proces i to je nešto što se radi godinama, a ne u jednom trenu, dakle pod mirovnim aktivizmom može se podvesti sve ono što može dovesti do pravde, nenasilja, afirmacije ženskih ljudskih prava (Amra Pandžo, „Mali koraci“).

## Zaključak

U ovom trenutku u vojskama širom svijeta služe milioni vojnika. Zar ne možemo okupiti deset puta veću brigadu mira? Stotinu puta veću? Projekat je to koji počinje ovog trenutka sa svima nama. Jer ne traži se od nas da budemo sveci, ili da odustanemo od vlastitih uvjerenja – od nas se traži da prestanemo reagirati zbog straha i da umjesto nasilju postanemo vjerni miru. Međutim, višak ratničke a manjak mirovne kulture opšta je civilizacijska karakteristika i danas.

Bosna i Hercegovina je i dalje etnički, politički, institucionalno, mentalno duboko podijeljena zemlja. Dejton je okončao rat, ali nije uspostavljen istinski trajni mir. U ovom radu mogli smo vidjeti kakav (ne)mir mi živimo, kao i to da je pomirenje proces od kojeg zavisi naša država. U Bosni i Hercegovini danas imamo koegzistenciju među etničkim grupama, ali još smo daleko od istinskog pomirenja. Da li zbog toga što je „Da se ne zaboravi“ krajnji moto našeg življenja, umjesto da nam mir i izgradnja mira budu najveće ljudske i društvene vrijednosti? Fredrik S. Heffermehl je rekao: „Kada sanjamo sami – to je samo san, ali kada sanjamo zajedno – to je početak nove stvarnosti“. Nadam se da ćemo u budućnosti, ne tako dalekoj, zajedno sanjati i mi u Bosni i Hercegovini, misleći na sve naše ljude, jer kako navodi Dekha Ibrahim Abdi: „Ljepota mira je u pokušaju zajedničkog traženja rješenja“.

Za kraj, bitno je da znamo šta su stubovi izgradnje mirnog društva, koje je definirala Evropska unija, a mogu Bosni i Hercegovini poslužiti na njenom daljnjem putu: vlada koja dobro funkcioniše, zdravo poslovno okruženje, pravedna raspodjela resursa, poštovanje prava drugih, dobri odnosi sa susjedima, slobodan protok informacija, visok nivo ljudskog kapitala i nizak nivo korupcije.

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## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

*There is no path to peace. Peace is the path.*  
Mahatma Gandhi

### Introduction

The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina; it confirmed the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state.

I was born in 1995, and I did not experience the horrors of war. I often say to myself that I am a Dayton child, and today I am a young person of the Dayton-made Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country created far away, in America.

Twenty-five years later, violence has not resumed, we are not in war as the most radical form of organized violence... But do we have peace? Essential, Kantian, Galtung's positive peace, or just the absence of violence, or negative peace? 25 years after the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina does not live Kantian peace; one would rather say that we live in the absence of war, corruption, nepotism, nationalism, brain drain... Direct violence has not been reinstated, but currently, even 25 years after the war, we are occupied with fear and think "As long as there is gunfire, it's good enough" or "As long as we are alive, it's good enough"... Is being alive and having enough food the only kind of peace we should strive for? Even now, war narratives dominate over peace narratives, because today's peacebuilders were the key actors in the most recent war. Therefore, peacebuilding is a difficult undertaking in a post-conflict society like ours; peacebuilding should be a precondition for, and lead to, a positive peace, but there seems to be no will for it in Bosnia and Herzegovina yet.

This paper deals with the analysis of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the primary idea of the politically negative peace in which we live as a society. We will define key concepts such as: peace, peacebuilding, values needed to build peace, negative peace, positive peace, culture of remembrance and, of course, reconciliation. We will connect all the above concepts and present them on the example of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina - because how can we build peace if we do not know the essential concepts? We will also analyse the bearers of peace strategies, i.e., those who should be the bearers of peace strategies - or maybe we are all participants? Is peace possible in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and what does it mean to the ruling political elite? Fredrik S. Heffermehl said: "General mobilization for peace can save life on this planet, and hopefully it applies to Bosnia and Herzegovina as well, where one day there will be a general mobilization for peace."

*Keywords:* peace, political peace, negative peace, positive peace, peacebuilding, culture of remembrance, reconciliation.

### Elaboration

Some scientific research states that the history of the world is a history of wars and violence, but again, on the other hand, man strives for peace. Why is this so? "Peace, peace is the general human ideal that the man has always strived for, because an environment of peace means a prerequisite for meeting all the needs that befit man and society, peace has been the most cherished value since the beginning of the world, because war as its opposite implies suffering, death and sometimes the disappearance of entire societies and peoples" (Smajić, 2003:13). For me as a young person, peace is not just the absence of war; peace should mean a violence-free life, without threat, fear, and life in a society of personal security as well as social justice, where every individual has the opportunity to develop and contribute to the well-being of the community. Peace has long been contemplated by scientists, philosophers, artists, ideologues, but in this paper we will be guided by the view and definitions of peace provided by the father of peace studies Johan Galtung. According to Galtung, *peace can be interpreted as the absence/reduction of all types of violence, or as a non-violent and creative transformation of conflict; in the first definition, peace is defined in relation to violence, peace is a negation of violence, and in the second one, it is defined in relation to conflict.* (Galtung, 2009:25).

After elaborating some of the key definitions and understandings of peace, an important question arises: *What happened to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How do we measure peace?*

The Dayton Peace Agreement had two main goals: ending the war and rebuilding BiH society. The first goal brought a ceasefire and a cessation of military action; it was carried out most successfully. A sign of a successful peace agreement is that it not only ends ongoing violence but also addresses the root causes of conflict in order to prevent possible future violence. Do we really measure peace in terms of the absence of militarized violence? Is the absence of weapons, gunfire and killing enough to measure peace? Where is Bosnia and Herzegovina today? I don't want to sound pessimistic, but between the complicated systems planned to maintain ethnic balance and separation, the administrative division of a country that has no purpose other than further division, I really wonder if this country, Bosnia and Herzegovina, is repairable? We live some form of peace - but that peace is a political-negative one, we have no real, positive peace, and living in the absence of real peace means suffering. True peace should be everyone's goal, but just having a goal is not enough.

Dolf Sternberger makes a distinction between 'political peace' and 'peace': The political notion of peace is the result of the conflicting world we live in; when we talk about it, we talk about peace processes, peace agreements, peace mediators, international peace organizations, the UN which is in charge of peace and security in the world based on its founding Charter (Ćurak, 2016: 165). The Dayton Peace Agreement is a typical example of the political notion of peace, because it emerges as a political product of peace negotiations, as a negative peace that shapes our sociability so many years after the war, limiting the ability of BiH people to embark on a journey striving to be at peace with themselves. Ćurak, 2016: 166). Norwegian scientist Johan Galtung refers to this first, post-war peace as a negative peace; it is negative because it is a mere absence of violence (Ćurak, 2016: 165). Bosnia and Herzegovina lives a negative peace, a peace agreement that ended direct violence - but there is no peace that would bring freedom, justice, human rights, gender equality, empathy, collective security and, ultimately, a self-sustainable political community. As a wise person once said: "Peace comes through understanding, not through agreements." In our country, there is a lack of understanding; as Ćurak notes: "Understanding others is a condition for peace, without such understanding, violence takes the lead" (Ćurak, 2016: 164). Today we can look at any segment of BiH society and point to poorly developed mechanisms. In the education system, the so-called "two schools under one roof", created to separate Bosniak and Croat children, effectively recreate what the rest of the world considers long gone with the apartheid regime<sup>1</sup> in South Africa. Our constitution is the product of a peace agreement negotiated between the international community and masculine elites that represented the warring sides, effectively excluding voices of BiH women and civil society, creating a dysfunctional and inappropriate state structure, access to economic, social and cultural rights is seriously hampered, and thereby the peace process in BiH itself as well.

This is only an iceberg of problems facing Bosnia and Herzegovina. We really need a book that will describe them all. Because if violence stopped, it does not necessarily mean that the country has achieved stable peace. It is enough to see that, in the absence of those who worked on peacebuilding during and after the war (civil society in general and women in particular), the peace agreement failed to create "sustainable peace". What is this sustainable, positive peace like, if all we can do is talk about it in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What is missing in the BiH society for achieving peace as a constant value vertical? According to Galtung, positive peace means presence of social justice and equality, and absence of structural or indirect violence;<sup>2</sup> *it is characterized by presence of harmonious social relations and integration of human society (Galtung, 1964:2). Positive peace is in fact what*

1 The term denoting a political system that denies citizens' rights on racial grounds, racial discrimination, was strongly embodied in South Africa through the dominance of the white minority over the black majority. (Beridan, Tomić, Kreso, Leksikon sigurnosti, Sarajevo, 2001:22)

2 Structural or indirect violence is defined as violence embedded in a person, society and the world, and it is not intentional. It is divided to political or repressive, and economic or exploitative violence. (Hrestomatija Nauka o miru 2017: 54).

*we call a true, lasting and sustainable peace built on justice for all people, because positive peace is the best protection against violence. Positive peace is defined by more lasting peace, which is built on sustainable investments in economic development and institutions, as well as on social attitudes that foster peace.*<sup>3</sup> *In order for this negative peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina to become positive, "it is necessary to develop freedom and justice as imperatives of humanity that keep eluding us, or we only get close to them asymptotically" (Ćurak, 2016: 165). In order to understand the concept of negative and positive peace, and thus the real situation in BiH, it is important to know the differences between these two kinds of peace. Negative peace refers to the absence of violence; for example, when a ceasefire is agreed, negative peace will ensue. Violence was ended, direct military clashes ceased. And positive peace is filled with positive contents such as renewing relations, creating social systems that serve the needs of entire population, and constructive conflict resolution, because peace does not mean absence of any conflict.*<sup>4</sup> *25 years after the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains trapped by the notion of peace as mere absence of violence and horrors of war. After 25 years of this "peace", isn't it high time we started truly renewing relations and establishing positive peace? It is time to change the society's mindset. An effective peacebuilding process is an important step towards achieving sustainable peace. Like any other field, peacebuilding has its fans, critics and confused observers. The term 'peacebuilding' is used for different, often opposite purposes. Some use it to describe post-war activities, others to describe new approaches to development with an emphasis on peace, while some see peacebuilding primarily as an interpersonal and psychological process, or use the term as a synonym for conflict transformation (Schirch, 2005: 15).*

The peacebuilding process seeks to prevent, reduce or transform conflict, and help people recover from all forms of violence, even structural, which has not yet led to mass social unrest. Peacebuilding arises from a specific value system, which supports decision-making processes; in general, peacebuilding includes the values focused on meeting human needs and protecting human rights. Key values of the peacebuilding process are: human needs and human rights, interdependence, partnership and restricting violence, and these constitute peacebuilding guides, because peace does not occur just like that (Schirch, 2005: 19). When it comes to the peacebuilding process that is extremely important for our country, we cannot bypass the peacebuilding transformation level cited by John Paul Lederach. Namely, he believes that peacebuilding requires transformation on personal, interpersonal, cultural and structural levels. Personal change refers to the development of new attitudes, behaviours and knowledge about people in a particular context; interpersonal change refers to new or improved relationships between sides in a particular context, cultural change refers to the establishment of values that support peace, while structural change refers to the establishment of new institutions, policies or political leaders (Lederach, 2003: 34). These very values and transformation forms

3 <https://positivepeace.org/what-is-positive-peace?fbclid=IwAR3LtUkxYpQL0i3GaQvXr0DZbFd97ByiDD0cXWEmH-D0kSeUu71OTIZMk>

4 [http://www.irenees.net/bdf\\_fiche-notions-186\\_en.html](http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html)

should be incorporated in the peacebuilding process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But due to the extremely complex setup of our country, the peacebuilding process is more difficult. But it certainly exists. *Reconciliation and culture of remembrance* are two important prerequisites for peacebuilding. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is also important who the messengers of peace are - are they young people, women, politicians, former war veterans, or all of them?

In order to understand what reconciliation is, it is important to see what it is not. Reconciliation cannot be perceived as tolerance because tolerance is passive (I tolerate you, I do not want to "eliminate" you, but I will not mind if something else or someone else "eliminates" you); spending time with those on the "other side" is positive, it can contribute to peacebuilding, but it is still not reconciliation; to reconcile does not mean to unite, but it does not mean to be the same as the "other" either; it is legitimate to confront, to perceive reality differently; to reconcile does not mean to forget. Finally, reconciliation is not part of the legal system, trial, judgment or punishment, although these may be related (Eror, 2018: 1). Reconciliation should not be a process that goes with us - it must be a part of us. We should all participate in it, proactively, engaging, trying to live in peace and to live peace, because only then can we see reconciliation as a possibility and work to achieve the impossible. If we perceive reconciliation as something ordinary, we condemn ourselves and the community to the vicious circle of negative peace and covert violence, which is the case with the society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Reconciliation is usually reached between two or more sides. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are as many as three sides. It is obvious who should we reconcile with, but we should also try to understand what is wrong. According to Eror, the answer lies in at least six centuries of history; the fact is that each of the three groups perceives itself as a victim of the other group, which happened at least once in history, and accordingly, each group is recognized as the perpetrator at least once, and each group seems to have been the culprit at least once (Eror, 2018: 3). Each side enjoys considering itself a victim of the other side rather than seeing all sides as victims of war. But equalizing the parties would mean giving up presenting your group as the biggest victim, and giving up the portrayal of others as the culprits. Reconciliation will not come by itself, it requires action and effort. Understanding and accepting the possibilities of reconciliation will force us to create different paths, and to be creative, to make things better for future generations (Eror, 2018: 4). "Reconciliation is not about being kind, it is not about pretending that things were different than they are; reconciliation based on lies, on disagreement with reality is not reconciliation at all" (Desmond Tutu). When we fight for peace, we must be brave, ready to step forward, to change, be ready for change, successes, failures and repeated attempts, we must believe in it, live it, and only then are we ready to experience genuine reconciliation - true, it is difficult, but it is worth it.

In addition to reconciliation, the culture of remembrance is an important concept in peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which deals with understanding and studying of the ways in which society or a community treats, interprets, reworks, uses and abuses its own past. The culture of remembrance is engaged in questioning and studying the way we interpret or explain what happened; in a broader sense, it can be understood as a set of patterns, practices and theories about what our past is and what it should be (Kuljić, 2006: 10). Everything that society and the community do in terms of dealing with their past can be referred to as culture of remembrance. The intertwining of memories, recollections, repression, oblivion, silence, their mutual conditioning and influence on the politics and culture of remembrance constitute important characteristics of the post-conflict reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is illustrated by several examples of newly erected monuments (after the 1992-1995 war), and the construction of official narratives and destruction of "old" monuments are accompanied by processes of silence, repression and oblivion.<sup>5</sup> *Unfortunately, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the culture of remembrance is often replaced by a culture of repression or a culture of oblivion; the culture of remembrance exists, but it is wrong, because the most important thing in this country is to remember your enemy...*

It is important to know that peacebuilding is the responsibility of all of us. Deciding who will be involved in the peacebuilding process requires strategic decision making (*Nauka o miru* (The Peace Science), Faculty of Political Science). Young people are considered the most powerful protagonists of reconciliation and peacebuilding, because young people are brave enough to take a leap and try something new, although they only heard stories from their parents, they do not have direct violent trauma; finally, if they see that their authorities are to be blamed, authorities in their family, ethnic and religious groups, they will not hesitate to disobey or even oppose them (Eror, 2018: 5). Regarding youth peace activism<sup>6</sup>, question arises whether we can talk about mass youth peace activism in BiH or the established peace activist scene within the non-governmental sector without significant influence in the general public? Also, is there a way to change the value chip in the minds of young, post-war generations through peace activism and peace education before they fully accept the current state of negative peace as a normal order of things? Just like everyone else, young people are important peace actors, but the post-war generations will carry the burden of failure of their predecessors. Young people should know how easy it is to start a war and how difficult it is to avoid it - this is the message of a war veteran. Will people understand that the future is not something that just happens on its own? Tomorrow is

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.dwp-balkan.org/bh/news.php?cat\\_id=4&text\\_id=515&fbclid=IwAR1c6m1J9hqzDI59ISlyZDvhWEx4dtRtOA2xQgm13PnP18ePc](http://www.dwp-balkan.org/bh/news.php?cat_id=4&text_id=515&fbclid=IwAR1c6m1J9hqzDI59ISlyZDvhWEx4dtRtOA2xQgm13PnP18ePc)

<sup>6</sup> Peace activism is everything that contributes to peace building, it means supporting all resources in society that help reconciliation and re-establishing of broken ties, it is a very complex and long process and it takes years, it can't be done overnight; therefore, in brief, peace activism means everything that can lead to justice, non-violence, and affirmation of women's human rights (Amra Pandžo, "Small Steps").



created at this very moment; many people today feel like observers of global events, but we are all participants (Gorder, 2001: 86). The same applies to Bosnia and Herzegovina: from youth, women, war veterans, political elites, civil society, ordinary citizens and individuals, all are participants and everyone should be part of peacebuilding, and not its silent observer. Because Bosnia and Herzegovina is still waiting for peace!

## Conclusion

At this very moment, millions of soldiers serve in different armies around the world. Can't we bring together a ten times larger peace brigade? Hundred times larger? This is a project that begins at this moment with all of us. Because we are not asked to be saints, or to give up our beliefs - we are asked to stop reacting out of fear and to become loyal to peace, instead of violence. However, the excess of warrior culture and lack of peace culture is a general characteristic of civilization, even today.

Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a country deeply divided along ethnic, political, institutional, and mental lines. Dayton ended the war, but it did not result in a genuine lasting peace. We could see above the kind of (anti)peace we live in, and that reconciliation is a process that our country depends on. Nowadays, different ethnic groups coexist in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but we are still far from true reconciliation. Is it because "We should never forget" is the ultimate motto of our lives, instead of having peace and peacebuilding as our greatest human and social values? Fredrik S. Heffermehl said: "When we dream alone - it is only a dream, but when many dream together - it is the beginning of a new reality." I hope that in the not so distant future, we in Bosnia and Herzegovina will also dream together, thinking of all our people, because as Dekha Ibrahim Abdi says: "The beauty of peace is in trying to find solutions together."

Finally, it is important to know what are the pillars of building a peaceful society, defined by the European Union, which can help Bosnia and Herzegovina on its further path: a well-functioning government, healthy business environment, fair distribution of resources, respect for the rights of others, good relations with neighbours, free flow of information, high level of human capital and low level of corruption.

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## PROCES POMIRENJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: UVIDI, IZAZOVI I POUKE ZA BUDUĆE INICIJATIVE U IZGRADNJI MIRA

### Uvod

Struktura društva u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon potpisivanja Općeg okvirnog sporazuma za mir (GFAP) iz 1995. godine (poznatijeg kao Dejtonski mirovni sporazum ili kratko: Dejton), „zasnovana je na koegzistenciji različitih etničkih grupa, ali ne i na istinskim vrijednostima pomirenja“<sup>1</sup>. Pojam *pomirenje* općenito se odnosi na proces rješavanja konfliktnih i narušenih odnosa<sup>2</sup> nakon perioda nasilja, a s ciljem izgradnje povjerenja, sloge i mira između grupa koje su nekada bile mobilizirane u oružanom sukobu. Iako je poznato da je proces pomirenja samo jedna komponenta mogućih strategija za izgradnju mira jedinstvena za svaki kontekst u kojem se nalazi<sup>3</sup>, neki naučnici naglasili su važnost uloge koju pomirenje ima u izgradnji održivog mira, što suštinski zavisi od spremnosti počinitelaca da priznaju svoje zločine, od oprosta žrtava kao i od odgovarajućeg momenta. Praktičniji posmatrači, međutim, smatraju da je ovaj fenomen otvoren za tumačenja, u zavisnosti od toga koje grupe namjerava ujediniti, kao i od historijskih, društvenih i političkih procesa u tim kontekstima.<sup>4</sup> Koliko god širok i neodređen proces pomirenja može biti u strategiji za izgradnju mira, on se aktivno provodi u zemljama kao što su Ruanda i Južna Afrika, ali ne i u drugim kontekstima – na primjer, u Sjevernoj Irskoj. Sve su te zemlje slične Bosni i Hercegovini po tome što su se i tamo u prošlosti desili strašni zločini. Zbog toga se u pogledu budućeg ostvarenja procesa pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini postavlja važno pitanje: Da li strategija za izgradnju mira može donijeti efikasne rezultate u zemlji za koju komentatori njenog ustava kažu da je institucionalizirano produženje rata iz perioda 1992-1995. godine, samo drugim sredstvima?<sup>5</sup>

Svrha ovog eseja je istražiti stanje procesa pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini od potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma prije 25 godina i izvršiti uvid u načine za uspješnu izgradnju mira u zemlji s obzirom na trenutnu dinamiku. Pitanju namjeravam pristupiti procjenom

dosadašnjeg obima pomirenja na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine koristeći skup sveobuhvatnih parametara pronađenih u literaturi kako bih utvrdila da li je oslanjanje na mjere pomirenja vrijedno nastojanja za postizanje održivog mira na terenu, uz pretpostavku da će unutrašnje politike uglavnom ostati iste. Ovo će biti izvedeno na makronivou, uključujući tri etničke grupe koje su sadržane u Ustavu; Bošnjaci, Srbi i Hrvati. Parametri za analizu prilagođeni su iz rada Hambera i Kellyja<sup>6</sup> te Rosouxa<sup>7</sup> na konceptualizaciji pomirenja. Ove mjere uključuju preispitivanje samoga sebe, zatim „drugoga“, kao i historije, te potragu za zajedničkim ciljevima u smislu zajedničke vizije društva, izgradnje pozitivnih odnosa i, na kraju, ekonomske i političke promjene. Četiri dijela eseja sadržavaju parametre i pregled situacije u Bosni i Hercegovini kao odgovor na postavljeno pitanje. U zaključku, s obzirom na širinu analize, čini se malo vjerovatnim da proces pomirenja može osigurati održivi mir ako se ne dogode reforme postojećeg stanja na nivou države. Esaj završavam iznošenjem mogućih rješenja za olakšanje mirovnog procesa u Bosni i Hercegovini.

### Preispitivanje samog sebe, „drugoga“ i historije

Nakon što se završi period sukoba, tumačenje ljudskih iskustava može otvoriti prostor za narativ „mi protiv njih“, a nastaviće se unedogled ako se ne bude aktivno djelovalo na pomirenju. Stoga je preispitivanje samog sebe i „drugoga“ važno kako bi se proces pomirenja kretao ka uspjehu i kako bi se razjasnile historijske činjenice koje mogu pomoći da se prevaziđu suprotstavljeni narativi.<sup>8</sup>

Jedan od Torstijevih istaknutih zaključaka iz njegovog dvanaest godina dugog istraživanja o obrazovanju iz predmeta *historija* u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon implementacije GFAP-a bio je upotreba termina „mi“ protiv termina „oni“ u udžbenicima, u kojima se historija koristi kako bi se podstakla predodžba o „drugome“ kao o neprijatelju i kako bi se „drugi“ prikazali stereotipizirano.<sup>9</sup> Etničke grupe u Bosni i Hercegovini učvrstile su svoj status

1 Hamza Preljević, „The Role of the Islamic Community in Peacebuilding in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina:”

2 Case Study of East Bosnia”, *Insight Turkey* 19, no. 3 (2017): 214, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26300538>.

3 Brandon Hamber & Grainne Kelly, „A Working Definition of Reconciliation”, *Democratic Dialogue*, (2004): 3-4.

4 Valerie Rosoux, „Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process: Scope and Limits,” u *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, eds., Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk, and I. William Zartman (London: SAGE, 2009), 543-560.

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7 Rosoux, „Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process”.

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9 Pilvi Torsti, „Segregated Education And Texts: A Challenge To Peace In Bosnia And Herzegovina” *International Journal on World Peace* 26, no.2 (2009), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752886>

na način da je njihovo tumačenje historije dalo snagu konceptu njihovih nacionalnih identiteta. Primjer za to može se naći u tekstu autorice Oncioiu, koja kaže da su Srbi svoj identitet zasnovali na jeziku, religiji i historijskim granicama, što su pojedini intelektualci, među kojima i pjesnici, historičari, sveštenici i drugi, to obradili na "naučni" način kako bi propagirali verziju identiteta koja je većini ljudi bila prihvatljiva.<sup>10</sup> To su kasnije tokom raspada Jugoslavije iskoristili nacionalni lideri; oni su mobilizirali ljude oko ovog koncepta kolektivnog identiteta, koji je namjerno suprotstavljen drugim identitetima u regionu, a sve s ciljem da stvore istovjetan "konstrukt" o "drugome".<sup>11</sup> Sličan osjećaj dijelili su i Hrvati, a njihovo viđenje iskonskog identiteta u očitoj je suprotnosti s onim koji su imali Bošnjaci. Naime, Bošnjaci su, poznato je, administrativno priznati kao etnička grupa mnogo kasnije od ostalih,<sup>12</sup> ali su, ipak, tvrdili da imaju dugo historijsko porijeklo u svojoj zemlji kao i Srbi i Hrvati, navodeći da to prethodi nacionalističkoj retorici koju su širile druge dvije etničke grupe.<sup>13</sup> Upravo su takva tumačenja "drugoga" dovela do izbijanja rata u Bosni i Hercegovini. Međutim, u literaturi ne postoje dokazi da je ijedna od tri bosanskohercegovačke etničke grupe prije 19. stoljeća imala jak osjećaj isključivosti u pogledu svog identiteta, niti da su etničke grupe bile stabilne i definirane,<sup>14</sup> što također potvrđuju dokazi o miješanim brakovima kao i promjena vjerske pripadnosti u to vrijeme.<sup>15</sup>

Zbog različito formuliranih perspektiva o samobitnosti, ako i zbog suprotstavljenih tumačenja historije, bosanski Srbi i bosanski Hrvati su u anketi provedenoj 2011. godine, kada im je postavljeno pitanje da li postoji bosanski narod, imali mnogo niže rezultate od Bošnjaka. Naime, potvrdne odgovore na to pitanje dalo je samo 15% Srba i 39% Hrvata, što je mali procenat u poređenju sa 72% Bošnjaka. U istoj anketi, u vezi s pitanjem da li je etnički identitet važniji od građanskog, rezultati su bili suprotni: pozitivan odgovor dao je mnogo veći procenat Srba i Hrvata nego Bošnjaka.<sup>16</sup> Ovi su koncepti konstruirani u predratno vrijeme i preneseni su, ako ne i s većim intenzitetom, u poslijeratno doba. Sve to odražava nepostojanje zajedničkog identiteta tri naroda. Od potpisivanja Dejtona pa do danas propali su brojni pokušaji izgradnje jedinstvene nacije: nisu se mogli povezati različiti koncepti identiteta niti se moglo zaustaviti negiranje Bosne i Hercegovine prije Jugoslavije. Međutim, na pitanje da li je moguće biti etnički Srbin, Hrvat ili Bošnjak a istovremeno i Bosanac, odgovori su općenito bili pozitivni, što sugerira da percepcija

zajedničkog identiteta ipak postoji.<sup>17</sup> Pripadnici sve tri etničke grupe slažu se da su ljudi u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz historiju živjeli u suživotu, a ne u mržnji.<sup>18</sup> Sve to dokazuje da su građani BiH, bez obzira na etničku pripadnost, donekle svjesni prošlosti u miru. Ali u cjelini, građani u Bosni i Hercegovini i dalje imaju iskrivljeno viđenje o "drugome", što upućuje na to da proces pomirenja nije uspio pružiti građanima drugačije viđenje njihovog identiteta niti identiteta njihovih susjeda.

## Težnja ka zajedničkim ciljevima i zajedničkoj viziji društva

Kada ljudi pronađu ciljeve koje mogu dijeliti s drugim, manje pažnje se posvećuje ličnim karakteristikama ljudi a više tome kako najprije postići cilj koji je nadohvat ruke. Različite grupe koje dijele jedan zajednički cilj, onaj oko kojeg se mogu složiti, još je jedan od načina na koji se proces pomirenja može ostvariti u postkonfliktnim društvima.<sup>19</sup> Dijeljenje istih ciljeva može dugoročno svima učiniti život boljim, kao i ishod povezan s ispunjavanjem određenog cilja i solidarnost koju treba ostvariti u postizanju tih ciljeva.

U Bosni i Hercegovini nema konsenzusa političkog rukovodstva o zajedničkom radu na ciljevima koji se čine korisnim za sve, kao što su na primjer pregovori o pristupanju Evropskoj uniji ili pridruživanje Sjevernoatlantskom paktu. Političko rukovodstvo stvorilo je izolirane sisteme umjesto integrisanih, omogućivši tako ostvarivanje vlastitih planova i ciljeva i ukinuvši većinu prilika za pomirenje koje se moglo postići na ovaj način.<sup>20</sup> Mnogo puta od Dejtona naovamo nepostojanje zajedničkih ciljeva zaustavljalo je političke procese u zemlji i zato nije dolazilo do promjena na državnom nivou.

Osim toga, programi dominantnih političkih stranaka drastično se razlikuju u tumačenju i prihvatanju rješenja iz GFAP-a, naročito kada je riječ o teritorijalnoj podjeli Bosne i Hercegovine. Za Bošnjake, Bosna i Hercegovina je previše federalna, za bosanske Srbe nedovoljno federalna, a za bosanske Hrvate problematična je implementacija samog federalizma.<sup>21</sup> Ovo u velikoj mjeri oblikuje diskurs na nivou države, tako da je fokus usmjeren na moguće dobitke za svaku etničku grupu pojedinačno. Ovo potvrđuje činjenicu da kolektivni identiteti i isprepletene historije bitno određuju šta grupe zaista žele. Ovo, isto tako, pokazuje postojanje blokada na nivou države, sa vodećim strankama koje djeluju kao najveća prepreka stvaranju i njegovanju zajedničkih ciljeva jer isključivo rade na jačanju svoje moći i sigurnosti, a sve na štetu izgradnje sloge među građanima na mikro nivou. S obzirom na to da ključni akteri još uvijek raspravljaju o inicijalnim rezultatima Dejtona, ovo sugerira

10 Diana Oncioiu, "Ethnic Nationalism and Genocide Constructing "the Other" in Romania and Serbia" in *Genocide*, ed. Uğur Ümit Üngör (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

11 Ibid.

12 David Bruce MacDonald, "Greater Serbia' and 'Greater Croatia': the Moslem question in Bosnia-Hercegovina," in *Balkan Holocausts?*, ed. David Bruce MacDonald. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

13 Karlo Basta, "Imagined Institutions: The Symbolic Power of Formal Rules in Bosnia and Herzegovina" *Slavic Review* 75, no. 4 (2016) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5612/slavicreview.75.4.0944>

14 Adam Lebor, *A Heart Turned East: Among The Muslims of Europe and America* (London: Little, Brown, 1997) p. 20.

15 MacDonald, "Greater Serbia' and 'Greater Croatia,'" 231

16 IPSOS Strategic Marketing, "Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in West Balkan States: Intents and Results (Bosnia and Herzegovina)," University of Oslo, October 10, 2016, <http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/research/projects/nation-w-balkan/>

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Hamber & Kelly, "A Working Definition of Reconciliation".

20 Geneviève Parent, "Identifying factors promoting or obstructing healing and reconciliation: Observations from an exploratory research field in ex-Yugoslavia," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no.1 (2012): 37, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41853027>

21 Thorsten Gromes, "Federalism as a means of peace-building: the case of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16, no. 3-4 (2010): 365.

da je na nivou države bilo malo napretka u stavljanju inkluzivnog dijaloga na dnevni red. Zbog toga se može zaključiti da su pokušaji pomirenja u cilju stvaranja zajedničke vizije u Bosni i Hercegovini bili slabi.

## Izgradnja pozitivnih odnosa

Ako stranke, dakle, ne mogu njegovati zajedničku viziju, ili nisu u stanju da teže ka zajedničkom inkluzivnom cilju, to otežava mogućnost ostvarivanja pozitivnih odnosa, koji su u manjem obimu izgrađeni u lokalnim zajednicama. Ponovna izgradnja dobrih odnosa između različitih grupa nakon sukoba može se smatrati vrhuncem procesa pomirenja, jer je upravo to se pomirenjem nastoji postići; ali ipak, prema Hamberu i Kellyju, to je samo jedan dio samog procesa pomirenja.<sup>22</sup>

Posmatrano s miskroaspekta, istraživanja i intervjui koji rasvjetljavaju situaciju u Bosni i Hercegovini o tom pitanju u cjelini daju sumornu sliku upravljanja izgradnjom pozitivnih odnosa među etničkim grupama.<sup>23</sup> Podijeljenost gradova po etničkim linijama bila je direktna prepreka da se različite grupe međusobno pomire jer pripadnici različitih etničkih grupa žive odvojenim društvenim životom – posjećuju “svoje” kafiće, klubove i trgovine, i putuju u drugi entitet samo kada je to “apsolutno neophodno, inače ne”,<sup>24</sup> kaže osoba iz Sarajeva. Podjele na etničkim osnovama pogoršale su već postojeće podjele koje su posljedice rata jer ne postoje dobre osnove za svakodnevnu interakciju različitih grupa kako bi bar naučili živjeti “jedni pored drugih” ako već ne mogu drugačije i tako doprinijeti stvaranju bolje budućnosti za sve.

Pored toga, postojeći obrazovni sistem povećava stepen poteškoća u realizaciji ove dimenzije pomirenja. Torsti smatra segregaciju škola i nastavnih planova i programa po etničkim linijama najproblematičnijim pitanjem za održivu izgradnju mira.<sup>25</sup> On smatra da u periodu između kasnih 1990-ih pa sve do školske 2006/2007. godine ni kod jedne etničke grupe nije bilo mnogo promjena u nastavi historije u osnovnim školama.<sup>26</sup> To znači da se 12 godina nakon Dejtona u obrazovanju „poučavala“ podijeljenost a ne jedinstvo, što bi moglo u buduće generacije „usaditi“ više nacionalizma nego što je to bilo u generacijama njihovih roditelja.<sup>27</sup> To također obeshrabruje stariju generaciju da se vrati u svoje predratne domove, jer ne žele da njihova djeca uče u školama da je „njihova nacionalna grupa inferiorna“ ili da je njihov identitet nelegitiman<sup>28</sup> – a povratak izbjeglih i prognanih u predratne domove bi, dakako, mogao biti značajan mehanizam zbližavanje mladih iz različitih etničkih grupa.

22 Hamber & Kelly, “A Working Definition of Reconciliation”, 4

23 Farhaan Wali, “An oral history approach to post-conflict identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina” *Oral History* 46, no. 1, (2018) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44993457>; Torsti, “Segregated education and texts”; Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”

24 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”

25 Torsti, “Segregated education and texts”:66

26 Ibid.

27 James Dobbins “Bosnia and Herzegovina” in *Overcoming Obstacles to Peace*, ed. James Dobbins, Laurel E. Miller, Stephanie Pezard, Christopher S. Chivvis, Julie E. Taylor, Keith Crane, Calin Trenkov-Wermuth and Tewodaj Mengistu (RAND Corporation, 2013):116.

28 Pilvi Torsti, “How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina”, *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39 (2007):79.

Za one koji su preživjeli rat, psihološki efekti koji još postoje produžavaju osjećaj nepovjerenja i straha.<sup>29</sup> Intervju sa osobama starosti od 18 do 45 godina obavljen 2011. godine pokazao je da, iako starije generacije pate od ozbiljnih trauma, one ne pružaju manju podršku procesu pomirenja od mladih generacije koje su rođene nakon rata.<sup>30</sup> Traume koje su ostale neizliječene omogućavaju također jačanje odnosa među grupama, jer članovi grupe mogu podijeliti zajednička sjećanja na rat<sup>31</sup> i tako ojačati još jedan nivo „zajedništva“ i isključivosti, koji itekako otežava obnovu odnosa među grupama.<sup>32</sup> Loše upravljanje obrazovanjem i slaba psihološka podrška ukazuju na to da pomirenje nije napredovalo mnogo u smislu izgradnje odnosa niti postkonfliktna dinamika ukazuje da će napretka biti.

## Ekonomske i političke promjene

U procesu pomirenja važno je da društvene, ekonomske i političke strukture koje su dovele do sukoba budu ukinute kada sukob prestane, jer u suprotnom može doći do ponovnog sukoba.<sup>33</sup> Pošto u Bosni i Hercegovini nisu provedene određene društvene promjene, ukratko ću predstaviti dešavanja na ekonomskom i političkom planu.

Na pitanje o ekonomskoj situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini ispitanici su izjavili kako je kontakt sa vladajućom strankom koja predstavlja njihovu etničku grupu neophodan da bi mogli dobiti posao, što ponekad znači da građani postepeno prestanu iznositi stavove koji nisu karakteristični za njihovu grupu u strahu da u suprotnom neće moći dobiti ekonomske beneficije koje su im potrebne za preživljavanje.<sup>34</sup> Političko rukovodstvo to okreće u svoju korist da bi ostalo na vlasti i ukazuje na to da bi te beneficije bile izgubljene ili, još gore, da bi druga nacionalistička stranka dobila više glasova. U vremenu društvenih nemira ili nesigurnosti vladajuće stranke nastoje dobiti veću podršku,<sup>35</sup> vjerovatno zbog odnosa zavisnosti između građana i stranke. Kao rezultat toga, ostvaren je samo neznatan napredak od kraja rata naovamo. Bošnjački, srpski i hrvatski politički lideri ne odustaju od svojih retrogradnih stavova. Predratne, i pa i ratne razlike i razmirice su institucionalizirane i opstaju i u ovom, postdejtonskom vremenu. Jedina stvar koju većina može razumjeti bez obzira na unutrašnje razlike je loša ekonomska situacija u zemlji, za koju građani svih etničkih grupa kažu da je glavni razlog njihove migracije iz Bosne i Hercegovine ako bi im se pruži prilika da odu.<sup>36</sup>

## Pouke i moguća rješenja

Procjena poslijeratne dinamike u procesu pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini sugerise da su u mnogim oblastima nedostajali inicijativa na makronivou da se obnovi

29 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:39

30 Ibid

31 Vamik Vodkan. *Killing in the name of Identity: A Study of Bloody Conflict*. (Charlottesville, VA: Pitchstone Publishing, 2006).

32 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:

33 Hamber & Kelly, “A working definition of reconciliation”:4

34 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:39

35 Fran Markowitz, *Sarajevo: A Bosnian Kaleidoscope*. (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

36 IPSOS Strategic Marketing, “Symbolic nation building”.

povjerenje, da se radi na zajedničkim ciljevima i da se zaustavi nacionalistička retorika, bilo da se radi o obrazovanju ili o političkim elitama. U cjelini, dominira društvena stagnacija koju nisu spriječile adekvatne strategije za izgradnju mira, a naravno, besmisleno je očekivati ikakva poboljšanja situacije bez odgovarajućih mjera. U takvom političkom sistemu ostvarivanje procesa pomirenja između grupa smatra se neizvodljivim, osim ako se promjene ne dese na nivou države. U suprotnom, mogle bi se uzeti u obzir druge strategije za izgradnju mira kojim se ne nastoje nužno poboljšati odnosi između različitih grupa.

Ipak, naziru se moguća rješenja koja bi mogla ubrzati proces pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini ili i izgradnji mira u cjelini. Neka od njih su sljedeća:

**1. Obrazovanje kao rješenje za konstruirane identitete i/ili historiju.** Važan korak za poboljšanje stanja je uklanjanje predrasuda u udžbenicima i u cjelokupnom sistemu obrazovanja koje dovode do segregacije na osnovu etničke pripadnosti. Djecu treba podučavati progresivnim vrijednostima i tome kako da pozitivno doprinesu društvu, pri čemu se naglasak stavlja na učenje historije kroz perspektivu u kojoj građani mirno koegzistiraju, jer se većina slaže da je tako bilo ranije. Primjera radi, u postgenocidnoj Ruandi u fokusu je podučavanje djece o vrijednostima koje proizlaze iz njihove tradicije a pomažu izgradnji identiteta koji nadilazi historijske kategorije naroda Hutu, Tutsi i Twa.<sup>37</sup>

**2. Korištenje pojma Bosanac.** Mogu se osmisliti i implementirati projekti čiji je cilj izgradnja bosanskog identiteta. Ti projekti bili bi namijenjeni uglavnom djeci i omladini, a sadržavali bi, primjera radi, kulturne i filantropske aktivnosti mladih u gradovima širom zemlje u kojima nikad nisu bili. Vjerovatno da bi takvim i sličnim aktivnosti mladi sticali kolektivnu svijest o sebi kao o „Bosancima“.

**3. Ulaganje u psihološku podršku i razbijanje stereotipa.** Vlast bi trebalo da podstiče i subvencionira različite projekte koji doprinose ublažavanju psihičkih trauma koje su posljedice ratnih dešavanja kod starijeg stanovništva, kao i aktivnosti koje doprinose razbijanju svih negativnih stereotipa.

**4. Jačanje ekonomije.** Snažniji ekonomski razvoj države omogućio bi građanima da se manje oslanjaju na političke stranke u pogledu zapošljavanja, što bi umanjilo i strah stanovništva od nezaposlenosti i siromaštva, a koji nacionalističke stranke koriste da dobiju više glasova na izborima. Moraju se ulagati stalni naponi na eliminaciji korupcije, povećanju transparentnosti javnih investicija i na odgovornosti političkog sistema. Sve to će povećati strane i domaće investicije, a standard stanovništva i život u bogatijem društvu omogućit će građanima razvijanje boljih međusobnih odnosa.

## Zaključak

Da li je proces pomirenja kao dio strategije za izgradnju mira dovoljan za ostvarenje stabilnog mira u Bosni i Hercegovini? Situacija u zemlji ni 25 godina nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma nije zadovoljavajuća. Posmatrajući niz različitih fenomena kao što su polarizirani identiteti, zajednički ciljevi, izgradnja međunacionalnih odnosa i duboko ukorijenjen loš ekonomski i politički sistem, jasno nam je da se Bosna i Hercegovina ne može osloniti samo na proces pomirenja kao sredstvo za izgradnju mira – ali mora uvesti promjene na nacionalnom nivou kako bi pomirenje bilo realna mogućnost i kako bi se osigurao održiv mir. Identifikacijom prepreka u procesu pomirenja u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu mogu se naći rješenja, koja će vjerovatno zahtijevati onoliko inovativnosti kolika je i složenost trenutne situacije.

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# Hana Efendić

## Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: insights, challenges, and lessons for future peacebuilding initiatives

### Introduction

The set up of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the signing of the General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP) in 1995 has been said to be "based on the coexistence of different ethnic groups, but not on true reconciliation values".<sup>1</sup> The term 'reconciliation' generally refers to the process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships<sup>2</sup> after a period of violence has ensued within a context, with the goal of building trust, harmony, and peace between groups that had once mobilised against each other. Although, reconciliation is known to be only one component of potential peacebuilding strategies that is unique to each context in which it is found,<sup>3</sup> some scholars have highlighted the

important role it plays in building sustainable peace, crucially depending on the willingness of perpetrators to acknowledge their crimes, victims to forgive, and the momentum that is built around it. More practical observers however view the phenomenon as being open to interpretation depending on the groups it seeks to unite and the historical, social, and political processes in those respective contexts.<sup>4</sup> As wide and undefined that reconciliation can be as a strategy for peacebuilding, it has actively been pursued in places such as Rwanda and South Africa, but not in other contexts for example Northern Ireland; regions that are similar to Bosnia and Herzegovina in that they have all experienced their own set of atrocities in the past. This raises an important question regarding the future feasibility of reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and whether this strategy for peacebuilding is one that can bear effective results, in a country whose constitution commentators say has institutionalised the

1 Hamza Preljević, "The Role of the Islamic Community in Peacebuilding in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina: Case Study of East Bosnia", *Insight Turkey* 19, no. 3 (2017): 214, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26300538>.

2 Brandon Hamber & Grainne Kelly, "A Working Definition of Reconciliation", *Democratic Dialogue*, (2004): 3-4.

3 Valerie Rosoux, "Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process: Scope and Limits," in *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, eds., Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk, and I. William Zartman (London: SAGE, 2009), 543-560.

4 Adrian Little, "Disjunctured Narratives: Rethinking Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation". *International Political Science Review* 33, no.1 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192512110389568>

perpetuation of the 1992-1995 war but just by other means.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of this essay is to explore the status of reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the signing of the GFAP 25 years ago and draw some insight into whether it is a viable tool for successful peacebuilding within the country, given the current dynamics at play. I intend to go about this by assessing the scope of reconciliation at a national level in Bosnia and Herzegovina thus far, using a set of comprehensive parameters developed by the literature, to determine whether a dependency on reconciliation measures is worth pursuing for the achievement of sustainable peace within the territory, assuming internal affairs would largely remain the same. This will be done on a macro level, including the three ethnic groups enshrined by the constitution; Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats. The parameters I will use for the analysis have been adapted from Hamber and Kelly's<sup>6</sup> and Rosoux's<sup>7</sup> work on conceptualising reconciliation. These measures include: reassessment of the self, 'the other' and history, the pursuit of common goals vis-à-vis a shared vision for society, the building of positive relationships, and lastly, substantial economic and political change. Therefore, the essay will be split into four sections comprising each parameter and an outline of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in response to it. Thereafter, I will conclude, considering the breadth of the analysis, that it seems unlikely that reconciliation can provide the sustainable peace that is needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina if there are no reforms to the current situation on a national level. I will finish the essay by providing some possible solutions to ease Bosnia and Herzegovina's peace process.

## Reassessment of self, 'the other' and history

After a period of conflict comes to a stop, the interpretation of one's experiences can create space for 'us' vs 'them' narratives to perpetuate if not dealt with directly. Therefore, a reassessment of self and 'the other' is important for reconciliation to be driven forward and for a clarification of historical fact which can aid to break down opposing narratives.<sup>8</sup>

One of Torsti's prominent findings from his twelve-year research on history education in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the implementation of the GFAP was the use of "us" vs "them" terminology in textbooks, in which history was used to foster enemy images of 'the other' and to stereotype them.<sup>9</sup> In Bosnia and Herzegovina, ethnic groups have been solidified because of how their interpretation of 'history' has given power to the notion of

their respective national identities. The manifestation of Serbian identity for example was, as Oncioiu writes, triggered by language, religion, and historical boundaries that certain intellectuals- in the form of poets, historians, and the clergy had put forward in a scientific way to propagate a version of identity that people could resonate with.<sup>10</sup> This was later to be exploited by future leaders in the breakup of Yugoslavia who would mobilise people around this notion of a collective identity, which was deliberately juxtaposed with other identities in the region, to create an equally constructed 'other'.<sup>11</sup> A similar sentiment was shared by Croats and their view of having a primordial identity, in clear contrast to how they viewed the Bosniaks, who only gained administrative recognition as an ethnicity much later than the other ethnic groups.<sup>12</sup> But who, nevertheless, claimed a long historical lineage to their country like Serbians and Croats to theirs, arguing that it predates the nationalistic rhetoric expounded by the former ethnicities.<sup>13</sup> It was such interpretations of the 'other' that led to the breakout of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, from the literature's perspective, there is no proof that any of Bosnia and Herzegovina's three ethnicities had a strong sense of exclusivity regarding their identity before the nineteenth century, nor that these groups were static and defined,<sup>14</sup> also attested by evidence of intergroup marriages and the changing of religious affiliation at the time.<sup>15</sup>

Due to different perspectives on selfhood that have been formulated and the opposing interpretations of history, Bosnian Serbs and Croats scored much lower than Bosniaks in a survey conducted in 2011 when questioned whether there exists a Bosnian nation, with only 15% of Serbs and 39% of Croats responding in the affirmative compared to 72% of Bosniaks. Similar patterns were found amongst Bosnian Serb and Croat respondents, but working in the opposite direction, in answering with great conviction that ethnic identity is more important than identity as a citizen.<sup>16</sup> These are notions that were constructed in the pre-war era and that have only been carried through, if not with more intensification, into the post-war era. This reflects a lack of common identity between the three groups and a failure of any nation building attempts since the GFAP to build bridges between the different conceptions of identity and challenge historical accounts that deny Bosnia and Herzegovina's existence prior to Yugoslavia. However, when asked whether it is possible to be an ethnic Serb and Croat as well as Bosnian, the answers

5 T.K. Vogel, "A short history of peace implementation" in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Challenge of Legitimacy, (Swisspeace, 2006). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep11069.5>

6 Hamber & Kelly, "A Working Definition of Reconciliation," 3.

7 Rosoux, "Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process".

8 Rosoux, "Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process".

9 Pilvi Torsti, "Segregated Education And Texts: A Challenge To Peace In Bosnia And Herzegovina" International Journal on World Peace 26, no.2 (2009), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752886>

10 Diana Oncioiu, "Ethnic Nationalism and Genocide Constructing "the Other" in Romania and Serbia" in Genocide, ed. Uğur Ümit Üngör (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

11 Ibid.

12 David Bruce MacDonald, "Greater Serbia' and 'Greater Croatia': the Moslem question in Bosnia-Herzegovina," in Balkan Holocausts?, ed. David Bruce MacDonald. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

13 Karlo Basta, "Imagined Institutions: The Symbolic Power of Formal Rules in Bosnia and Herzegovina" Slavic Review 75, no. 4 (2016) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5612/slavicreview.75.4.0944>

14 Adam Lebor, A Heart Turned East: Among The Muslims of Europe and America (London: Little, Brown, 1997) p. 20.

15 Bruce, "Greater Serbia' and 'Greater Croatia,'"231

16 IPSOS Strategic Marketing, "Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in West Balkan States: Intents and Results (Bosnia and Herzegovina)," University of Oslo, October 10, 2016, <http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/research/projects/nation-w-balkan/>

given were overall positive, which suggests that a perception of a shared identity does exist.<sup>17</sup> Members from all three ethnic groups could also agree that people in Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout history had lived in co-existence rather than in hatred.<sup>18</sup> This shows that Bosnian citizens regardless of ethnicity are somewhat aware of a peaceful past. But, on a whole, citizens in Bosnia & Herzegovina continue to carry a distorted view of 'the other', suggesting reconciliation has not been successful in providing citizens with a new way of viewing their identity nor the identity of their neighbours.

## The pursuit of common goals vis-à-vis a shared vision for society

When people find goals that they can share with others, this puts less attention on the personal characteristics of those involved, but more on how best to complete the goal at hand. Different groups sharing one common goal that they can agree on is another channel through which reconciliation can take place in post conflict societies.<sup>19</sup> Sharing goals can in the long run make everyone better off; through the outcome associated with fulfilling the particular goal and the solidarity that had to be exercised in the pursuit of the goal itself.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there has been a lack of consensus from the political leadership in working together towards goals that seem beneficial for all parties, for example, accession talks with the European Union or joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The political leadership has created isolated systems instead of integrated ones, allowing for the pursuit of their own agendas and goals, closing off most opportunities for reconciliation that could be achieved through these means.<sup>20</sup> Many times since the GFAP, this has brought the country's political processes into a state of deadlock, where no change could occur on the national level because of an absence of shared goals.

Furthermore, these individual agendas set out by dominant parties have continued to be about the territorial logistics determined by the GFAP. For Bosniaks, it is too federal, for Bosnian Serbs, it is insufficiently federal, and for Bosnian Croats, the challenge is with the implementation of federalism itself.<sup>21</sup> This is largely what shapes the discourse at the national level, so that the focus is largely concentrated on the possible gains of each group. This confirms the fact that collective identities and interwoven histories play an important role in determining what groups ultimately want. Yet, this also shows the

blockages that exist on a national level, with representative parties acting as the biggest barrier to creating and subsequently, nurturing shared goals because of their fixation on expanding their own powers and security, at the expense of building harmony between civilians on the micro level. Given that key actors are still in debate about the initial outcomes of Dayton, this suggests that there has been little improvement in bringing an inclusive dialogue to the table on a national level. Hence, making it possible to draw the conclusion that reconciliation attempts have been weak in bringing about a shared vision in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## Building positive relationships

Following on from that, if parties cannot nurture a shared vision or are incapable of striving towards one inclusive goal, it hinders the possibility of positive relationships being built on a smaller scale in local communities or villages. The (re)building of relationships again between different groups after a period of conflict may be seen as the pinnacle of the reconciliation process, as this is exactly what reconciliation strives to achieve, but yet, according to Hamber and Kelly<sup>22</sup> is only one strand of the process itself.

For reasons touched upon in the previous sections, alongside many others, research and interviews that shed light on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina on this regard, paint an overall bleak picture on the management of building positive relationships between ethnicities from a macro point of view.<sup>23</sup> The segregation of cities has been a direct barrier for different groups to reconcile with one another, given that members of the different ethnic groups live separate social lives- visiting their own cafes, clubs, and shops, and only travelling to the other entity when "absolutely necessary", says a survivor from Sarajevo, otherwise not.<sup>24</sup> Being divided on geographical terms has exacerbated the already existing divisions since the war because there exists very little grounds for everyday interaction between different groups, to learn at least how to live alongside each other and contribute towards the initiation of future relationships.

Furthermore, the education system has added another layer of difficulty in the realisation of this dimension of reconciliation. The segregation of schools and curricula along ethnic lines is viewed by Torsti as the most problematic issue for sustainable peace-building when education is concerned.<sup>25</sup> He finds that there has not been much change introduced in the teaching of history amongst the three main ethnicities between the late 1990s and 2006-2007.<sup>26</sup> This means for twelve years after the GFAP, education was teaching division rather than unity, which could potentially produce a future generation

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Hamber & Kelly, "A Working Definition of Reconciliation".

20 Geneviève Parent, "Identifying factors promoting or obstructing healing and reconciliation: Observations from an exploratory research field in ex-Yugoslavia," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no.1 (2012): 37, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41853027>

21 Thorsten Gromes, "Federalism as a means of peace-building: the case of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16, no. 3-4 (2010): 365.

22 Hamber & Kelly, "A Working Definition of Reconciliation", 4

23 Farhaan Wali, "An oral history approach to post-conflict identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina" *Oral History* 46, no. 1, (2018) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44993457>; Torsti, "Segregated education and texts"; Parent, "Healing and reconciliation"

24 Parent, "Healing and reconciliation"

25 Torsti, "Segregated education and texts":66

26 Ibid.



that is more nationalistic than their parents.<sup>27</sup> It also discourages the older generation from returning to their pre-war homes because of not wanting their children to be subjected to the teaching that their “own national group is inferior” or that their identity is illegitimate.<sup>28</sup> Which otherwise, could have perhaps been a mechanism through which the youth from different ethnicities could mix.

For those who experienced war directly, the psychological effects that have lingered on have not been addressed at large, allowing feelings of distrust and fear to perpetuate.<sup>29</sup> An interview conducted in 2011 of 18 to 45 year olds showed that while the older generations suffer from severe trauma, they did not seem less supportive of reconciliation strategies than the younger generations.<sup>30</sup> However, traumas that have remained unhealed also allow for intragroup relations to strengthen, in that members of a group can rally around shared memories of war,<sup>31</sup> reinforcing another level of “togetherness” and exclusivity that again makes rebuilding intergroup relations much harder.<sup>32</sup> Both the poor administration of education and psychologist supports suggest that reconciliation has not progressed far in terms of relationship building nor do these post-conflict dynamics indicate that it will either.

## Substantial economic and political change

It is important in the reconciliation process that the social, economic, and political structures which gave rise to the conflict are overturned when conflict has ended, otherwise conflict may emerge again.<sup>33</sup> Since I have to some extent addressed that certain social changes have not been implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I will present in short, the developments on the economic and political fronts.

When asked about the economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, interviewees expressed the necessity of having contacts with the dominant party representing their ethnicity in order to avail of a job, sometimes meaning that citizens on occasion halt from expressing views that may not be characteristic of their group in fear that they will not be able to receive the economic benefits that they need to survive.<sup>34</sup> The political leadership uses this to their advantage to remain in power, by suggesting these benefits would be lost or worse if another nationalistic party were to gain more votes. In times of social unrest or uncertainty, the ruling parties are prone to receive more support though,<sup>35</sup> probably because of the

dependency link that has made between citizens and their dominant party. As a result, political and economic interests have been nested into one which has made little progress since the end of the war, with Bosniak, Serb, and Croat political leaders still holding a zero-sum view of one another,<sup>36</sup> which are reflective of those before the war, suggesting that pre-war differences have only been institutionalised and perpetuated in the post-Dayton age. However, one thing that most can understand irrespective of their internal differences is the poor economic situation overriding the country, which citizens from each ethnicity have said would be the main reason for their migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina if given the opportunity.<sup>37</sup>

## Lessons and possible solutions

An assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's post-war dynamics in relation to the parameters of reconciliation that I have chosen reveal that on many fronts, there has been a lack of initiative on the macro level to rebuild trust, work towards common goals, or stop the perpetuation of nationalist rhetoric, whether that is through education or political elites. Overall, it highlights a social stagnancy that has not been touched by adequate peacebuilding strategies, nor one that can be amended by placing an expectation on reconciliation to do the job without taking appropriate action. Under such a system, pursuing reconciliation between groups does not deem feasible unless changes are made on a national level. Otherwise, other peacebuilding strategies may be considered that do not necessarily seek to improve relations between different groups but rather, nurture their empowerment in a way that is conducive to all. Given the analysis of the situation, some possible solutions or points of attention can be drawn that could aid the future reconciliation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina or peacebuilding on a whole, using some lessons from the international community as well:

Education as a solution to constructed identities and/or history: Removing biases in textbooks and within classroom settings that lead to segregation based on ethnicity. Children could be taught progressive values and how to positively contribute to their society, emphasis being put on learning history through a lens where people co-existed peacefully, as most citizens agree that this was the case. In confronting the recent past in classrooms, it might be helpful to invite representatives from each ethnicity to share their side of the story, so students can gain a comprehensive understanding of what happened—rather than a one-sided narration. This will require an independent body to assess the changes and ensure they are implemented, most preferably one that does not fall under the watch of one ethnic group. However, consensus on this may also deem problematic. In post-genocide Rwanda, focus has been placed on teaching children values that stem from their tradition but that help in building an identity that transcends the historical Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa categories.<sup>38</sup>

27 James Dobbins “Bosnia and Herzegovina” in *Overcoming Obstacles to Peace*, ed. James Dobbins, Laurel E. Miller, Stephanie Pezard, Christopher S. Chivvis, Julie E. Taylor, Keith Crane, Calin Trenkov-Wermuth and Tewodaj Mengistu (RAND Corporation, 2013):116.

28 Pilvi Torsti, “How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina”, *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39 (2007):79.

29 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:39

30 Ibid.

31 Vamik Vodkan. *Killing in the name of Identity: A Study of Bloody Conflict*. (Charlottesville, VA: Pitchstone Publishing, 2006).

32 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:

33 Hamber & Kelly, “A working definition of reconciliation”:4

34 Parent, “Healing and reconciliation”:39

35 Fran Markowitz, Sarajevo: A Bosnian Kaleidoscope. (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

36 Roberto Belloni, “Bosnia: Dayton is dead! Long live Dayton!”, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 15, no. 3–4 (2009): 359

37 IPSOS Strategic Marketing, “Symbolic nation building”.

38 Marian Hodgskin, “Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and The State,” *Journal of International Affairs* 60, no.1 (2006), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24358020>.

**Tapping into notions of being Bosnian:** Projects can be implemented that try build a collective identity about being Bosnian. Unlike the Rwandans who have constructed a new identity post-genocide based on an image of pre-colonial times<sup>39</sup>, this should not be promoted right now in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But rather investment can be made into community centres for the young to engage in cultural and philanthropic activities, in places throughout the country that they have not visited, so they can gain a collective awareness of themselves as 'Bosnian' through action.

**Investment in psychological supports and breaking stereotypes:** The government should subsidise psychological clinics in regions where there were a high number of killings during the war, including villages so that older generations can overcome their trauma. As seen in the previous analysis, people are open to reconciliation but are being held back by their fears and doubts. Raising awareness on the benefits of therapy may also be necessary, given that cultural barriers may hinder older individuals, particularly men in seeking help.

**Boosting the economy:** As living standards effect all citizens, investments in the economy would allow citizens to put less reliance on political parties for employment opportunities, consequently translating into less fear mongering that nationalistic parties can exercise in securing more votes in elections. However, this solution is less clear cut, given that the economic state of affairs is also dependent on the transparency and accountability of the political system. Nonetheless, an improvement in material conditions may dampen grievances and increase transactions between the Federation and Republika Srpska.

## Conclusion

In this essay, I have sought to answer the question whether a dependency on reconciliation processes as a peacebuilding strategy is feasible in Bosnia and Herzegovina given the state of affairs since the GFAP. By looking at a range of different fronts, such as polarised identities, shared goals, the status of relationship building, and the deeply rooted economic and political system, it is clear that Bosnia and Herzegovina is not to rely solely on reconciliation as a peacebuilding tool, but must institute change at the national level for reconciliation to be more realistic and for the securement of sustainable peace. In observing the obstacles to reconciliation full on, that is when possible solutions can be found, ones that will likely require as much innovativeness as the complexity of the situation at hand.

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<sup>39</sup> Marian Hodgskin, "Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and The State," *Journal of International Affairs* 60, no.1 (2006),  
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### **Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Višegrad  
Naziv koalicije: Volimo Višegrad

### **Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Višegrad  
Name of the Coalition: Volimo Višegrad



## IDUĆIH 25 GODINA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Sama, u porušenoj kući, tražim ostatke nečeg što ličilo je na život. A život je takav, bez naličja, jedan, ali iskazan na toliko načina; no, znam vrlo dobro da disati ne znači živjeti – znam jer i ja dišem. Padnu prve riječi i prvi pogledi, sve iz mržnje, i samo zbog toga moje kuće više nema, a kosti moga brata još ne progovaraju, neće da kažu gdje se nalaze, ni one ne žele spokoj jer spokoja nema.

Šutim, mislim proći će. A hoće li?

Hoće li zašutjeti sjećanja? Hoće li budućnost zasjeniti prošlost? Hoće li kajanje doći s priznanjem? Hoće li?

Griznja savjesti nije pečat dobrog čovjeka. Nije, nemojte govoriti da jeste jer znam da nije. Ko misli o griznji savjesti, on misli o sebi, ne o drugome, on misli o mirnom snu i o svom spokoju, a spokoja odavno nema. Pitam čika Uroša da li je vrijedilo, a on šuti, šuti jer mislimo isto, jer i on i ja patimo za nečim što je progutalo vrijeme, ali nije i ne može srce, možda i neće. Sjedim na ostacima doma svoga i pitam se hoću li ustati, hoću li krenuti dalje? Ili da uvećam ruševinu, da postanem lice i naličje nje same? Bilo bi lakše ostati, jer ja sam dijete prošlosti, sjećanjima zakopano u prošlom vremenu, nespremno da zaboravim, a ipak toliko spremno da oprostim – i zato opraštam, svima.

Ne, neki nisu oprostili, prosto nisu mogli, ali ja s oprostom nemam ništa, a ni oni koji tek dolaze. I upravo u oprost u empatiji vidim svoju domovinu za 25 godina. Za 25 godina djeca neće pjevati pjesme o osveti, i neće se prisjećati krvi prolivene u ime pogrešnih ideala, jer nova pokoljenja će znati da žrtve zaslužuju smiraj, ali ne i veličanje pogrešnih ideja preko već zakopanih kostiju. Živimo u ambisu, no ne moramo, jer promjene su moguće, a revolucije kreću od nas samih. Želim vjerovati da nova pokoljenja neće lutati u bespuću već će se otisnuti od mrtvaje, krenut će hrabro u bolje.

Ne, nije utopija, samo s ljubavlju dugo sanjani san, u želji da majke više ne plaču, a očevi ne ratuju. U želji da meci ne uzimaju tuđa djetinjstva, u želji da život pobijedi smrt. Ja svoju Bosnu i Hercegovinu vidim kao domovinu sretnih ljudi, onih koji neće osjećati naciju, ali će osjećati Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Za 25 godina, jaz koji nam je donio mir će nestati, a bit će zamijenjen državom koja živi. Stare garniture političara bit će zamijenjene novim nadama, a korupcija će postati anahronizam.

Izgleda kao san – i jeste, ali ne počinje li sve snovima.

Sanjajmo zajedno!

## THE NEXT 25 YEARS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Alone, in a ruined house, I am looking for the remains of something that resembled life. And life is like that, without a reverse side, one, but expressed in so many ways; but I know very well that breathing does not mean living – I know because I breathe, too. The first words are uttered and the first glances given, all out of hatred, and only because of this, my house is gone, and my brother's bones have not spoken yet, they will not say where they are, they do not want tranquillity either because there is no tranquillity.

I say nothing, I think it will pass. And will it?

Will the memories be silenced? Will the future overshadow the past? Will the remorse come with confession? Will it?

A guilty conscience is not the seal of a good man. No, do not say it is, because I know it is not. He who thinks of remorse, thinks of himself, not of another, he thinks of a peaceful sleep and of own tranquillity, and tranquillity is long gone. I ask uncle Uroš if it was worth it, and he says nothing, nothing because we think the same, because both of us yearn for something that the time has swallowed up, but the heart has not, it cannot, and maybe it will not. I am sitting on the ruins of my home and wondering if I will ever get up, will I move on? Or should I enlarge the ruin, and become its obverse and reverse? It would be easier to stay, because I am a child of the past, buried in memories of the past, unwilling to forget, and yet so ready to forgive – and this is why I forgive, I forgive everyone.

No, some did not forgive, they just could not, but I have nothing to do with forgiveness, and neither do those who are yet to come. And it is in the forgiveness and empathy that I see my homeland in 25 years. In 25 years, children will not sing songs of revenge, and will not remember the blood that was shed in the name of wrong ideals, because new generations will know that victims deserve peace and not glorification of wrong ideas over the already buried bones. We live in an abyss, but we don't have to, because changes are possible, and revolutions start from ourselves. I want to believe that the new generations will not wander in the wasteland, but cast off from the oxbow lake, and bravely step into a better life.

No, it is not a utopia, but only a loving dream that has been dreamed for a long time, so that mothers no longer cry, and fathers no longer fight. Wishing that bullets no longer take other people's childhoods, wishing that life conquers death. I see my Bosnia and Herzegovina as the homeland of happy people, those who will not feel the nation, but will feel Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 25 years, the gap that brought us peace will disappear and will be replaced by a living state. Old sets of politicians will be replaced by new hopes, and corruption will become an anachronism.

It seems like a dream – and it is, but doesn't it all start with dreams.

Let's dream together!

## O BUDUĆNOSTI I BAŠTAMA KOJE MIRIŠU NA JASMIN

Krenut će jednom  
možda i moj sin  
u nepoznato selo  
tražiti stećke  
i predaje o slavenskim bogovima.

Susrest će nepoznate ljude  
koji će ga ponuditi sokom od višanja,  
a njihova bašta  
mirisat će na čistu vodu i jasmin.

Njegov križić na vratu  
promatrat će blagim okom  
nepoznata starica ispod svoje marame.

Pitat će ga odakle je  
i nadoliti još soka od višanja.

Kada krene  
ispričat će mu priču o čovjeku  
koji je rušio grobove  
pa ubrzo umro  
jer ničije se svetinje ne diraju.

I vratit će se opet jednog ljeta...  
on,  
a možda i njegov sin.

U nepoznato selo  
tražiti stećke  
i predaje o slavenskim bogovima.

## OF THE FUTURE AND GARDENS SMELLING OF JASMINE

Perhaps one day  
my son too shall set off  
for a nameless village,  
to look for *stećci* and the legends  
of Slavic gods.

He'll meet strangers  
who'll offer him cherry juice,  
and their gardens  
will smell of fresh water and jasmine.

An old lady with a headscarf  
will look tenderly  
at the cross pendant on his chest.

She'll inquire where he's from  
and pour him some more cherry juice.

Before he departs,  
she'll tell him a story  
of a man who destroyed graves  
and very soon met his end,  
for what is holy we must let be.

He'll return one day  
and with him, perhaps,  
his own son,

to the nameless village  
to look for *stećci*  
and the legends of Slavic gods.

**Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Zenica

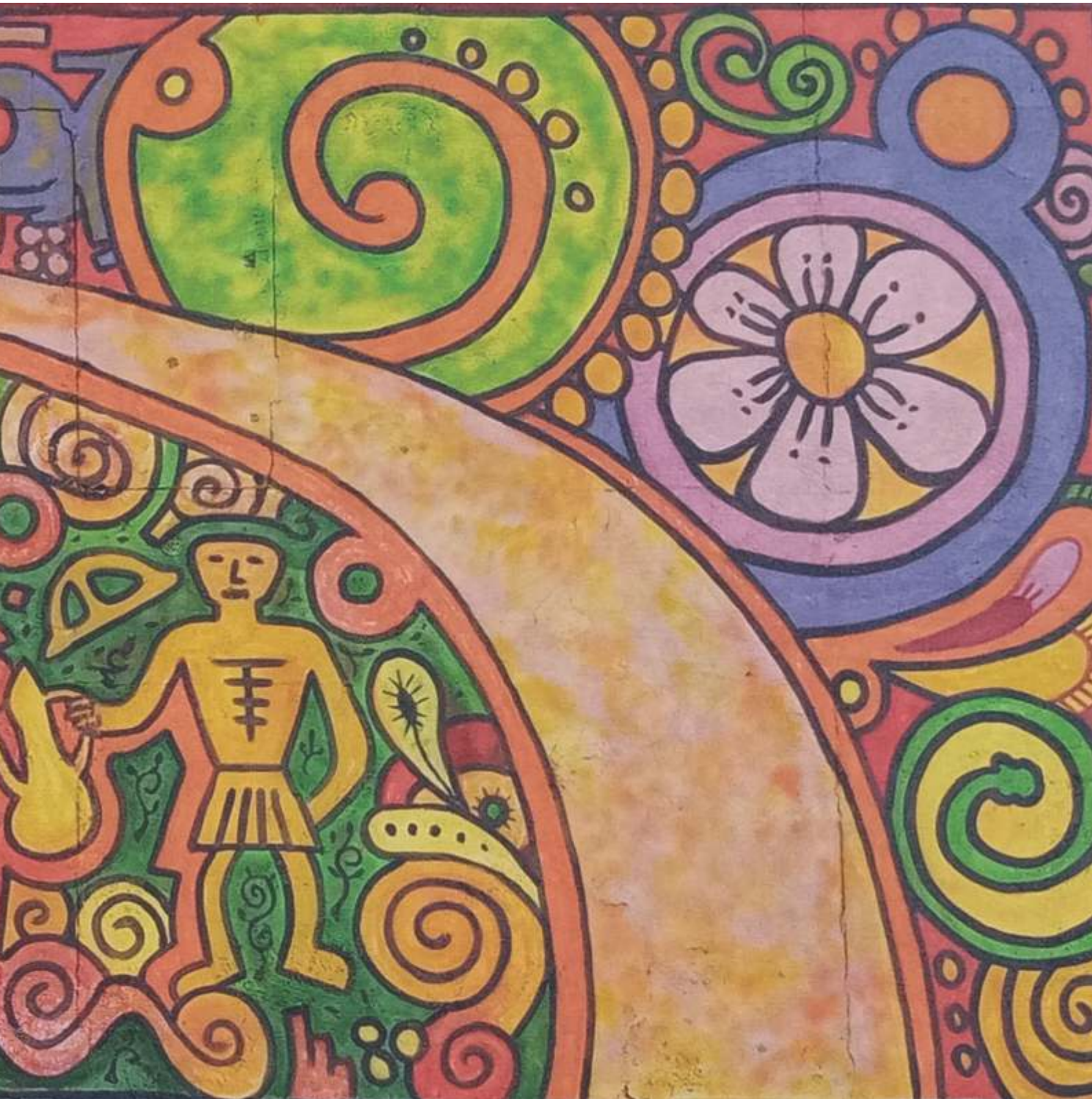
Naziv koalicije: Positive Tolerance

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Zenica

Name of the Coalition: Positive Tolerance







## IDUĆIH DVADESET PET GODINA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

„Potrebno je poznavati prošlost da bismo mogli razumjeti sadašnjost i pripremiti se za budućnost“.

Ovu mudru misao čula sam od profesora istorije na samom početku izučavanja ove bitne nauke. Svi kažu da je istorija učiteljica života, pa samim tim smatram da je potrebno da je poznamo u potpunosti kako bismo mogli da se snalazimo u budućnosti.

Bosna i Hercegovina je mala država u Jugoistočnoj Evropi. Često je bila na meti okupacija, zaposjedanja moćnijih sila, saveza, a nakon što se njih oslobodila zaprijetili su joj sukobi unutar nje same. Ti sukobi su predstavljali „crno doba“. Mnogo izgubljenih života, mnogo spaljenih svetkovina, kuća, ognjišta. Međutim, 1995. godine košmar je završen. Dejtonskim mirovnim sporazumom paljba je prekinuta i svi su odahnuili.

Isto pitanje pitali su se ljudi i tada, a pitaju se i dan danas: Šta dalje?

Bosna i Hercegovina je, prema mnogim podacima, jedna od nerazvijenijih država staroga kontinenta. Mnogo nerazvijenih opština, mnogo nezaposlenih ljudi. Stanovništva sve manje. Svake godine hiljade i hiljade studenata i mladih bračnih parova napusti ovu državu u potrazi za boljim životom. Kako stara narodna kaže, idu trbuhom za kruhom. Da li iko ima pravo da im to zamjeri? Mislím da nema. Kao i većina stanovništva koje želi perspektivnu budućnost, smatram da inostranstvo, pa čak i susjedne države, jesu mnogo bolja opcija od BiH.

Ipak, ne treba sve posmatrati crno-bijelo. Kao vječiti realista, odlučila sam da maštam, da malo napustim svoje stavove i razmišljanja i pokušam dočarati i prenijeti u pisanu formu sopstvenu viziju Bosne i Hercegovine u narednih 25 godina.

Sjela sam na klupicu ispred zgrade u mom voljenom Gacku i pustila misli da odu u daleku 2043. godinu...

Oslo. Glavni grad Norveške. Ovdje sam s porodicom došla prije deset godina. Divan grad. Posao iz snova, dovoljno novca za lagodan život. Međutim, meni nešto fali. Znam šta je to: toplina mog rodnog kraja. Ovdje su ljudi pomalo rezervisani. Vode svoje živote i nisu baš društveni. I mi smo se navikli na to, ali uvijek nam nedostaje ispijanje kafa u dvorištima ispred naših starih zgrada, dječija vika cijeloga dana, naš govor i čuveno „đe“ i „bolan“, naša kuhinja – ali prije svega naša porodica. Zagrljaj stare majke koji liječi sve boljke ovoga svijeta. Nedostaje mi moja Hercegovina. Moje Gacko.

Ovdje non-stop pratim događaje u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od malena sam navikla na praćenje dnevnika, čitanje vijesti o političkim i privrednim događajima i novostima. Vidim da je

stanje mnogo bolje u odnosu na ono koje sam ostavila. Ipak, htjela sam sama da se uvjerim u to. Kupila sam avionsku kartu do Sarajeva i s nestrpljenjem očekivala dan polaska.

Došao je i taj trenutak. Ruke su mi se znojile, u stomaku je bio vrtlog. Nakon pet godina opet ću vidjeti svoj grad. Svoju majku. Komšije. Sreća je bila neizmijerna.

Kada smo sletjeli u Sarajevo, bila sam šokirana prizorom preda mnom: Sarajevo je bilo metropola. Hiljade ljudi prolazilo je uskim ulicama. Nevjerovatan prizor!

Ali ono što sam ja čekala bilo je nešto južnije. Srce mog srca. Gacko. Pri silasku u grad nisam mogla da vjerujem svojim očima šta vidim – moje Gacko bilo je pravi grad!

Sreća je bila neizmijerna. Gacko je bio grad u velikom usponu. Kada sam se sastala sa majkom i komšijama, ispričali su mi da je jedan mlad momak prijavio svoj projekat u nekoj velikoj svjetskoj kompaniji za turizam i da se na taj način sva svjetska pažnja okrenula ka našem sad već velikom mjestu. Nakon toga vlast BiH konačno se zainteresovala za razvoj manjih opština i potpomogla dalji razvitak. Kažu, na Zelengori su izgrađeni kompleksi etnosela sa odmaralištima koje godišnje posjeti više od milion turista. Takođe, iskorišten je potencijal jezera Desivoje i Klinje. Velika pažnja posvećena je lokalnim specijalitetima: siru i kajmaku, koji su nadaleko poznati.

Lokalna vlast se bavila mladima. Stalno su organizovane razne radionice i seminari za pokretanje malog biznisa. Pružene su mnoge pogodnosti mladim bračnom parovima. U Gacku se vidi više malih beba u kolicima nego starih baka i djedova, što nije bio slučaj kada sam ja krenula na studije. Otvorena su mnoga radna mjesta. Pored turizma, Gacko je postalo centar kulture i sporta. Zahvaljujući zalaganjima i naporima vlasti, gatački klubovi postali su poznati u Evropi i učestvovali su raznim takmičenjima. Tokom ljeta organizovani su razni kampovi kako bi djeca mogla nešto novo da nauče od raznih svjetskih stručnjaka koji su sa zadovoljstvom dolazili u Gacko.

Mene je najviše zanimalo obrazovanje. Šta se dešava sa školom? U razgovoru sa komšijskom djecom saznala sam mnoge stvari. Jedan dječak koji se zvao Ilija rekao mi je da ima dva najbolja druga iz razreda, Mahira i Marija. Tada sam, poslije ko zna koliko vremena, pustila suzu. Suzu, s jedne strane, punu bola i tuge, a s druge strane suzu punu ponosa i sreće. Punu bola i tuge jer ja nisam bila u mogućnosti da doživim tako nešto, a punu sreće i ponosa jer djeca ne poznaju razlike. Izgleda da su i roditelji prevazišli ratne posljedice: druže se, razgovaraju, idu jedni kod drugih i zajednički proslavljaju praznike i poštuju sve običaje. To je ono što je bitno.

Tada sam postala svjesna da je Gacko uspjelo. Da je Bosna i Hercegovina uspjela. Da nije bitno da li je neko musliman, katolik ili pravoslavac, već je bitno da je dobar čovjek. Kažu da im je lijepo u školi. Svi se slažu, uče pomoću računara i raznih drugih tehnologija koje današnjica pruža. Uče i o pravoslavlju, i o islamu, i o katoličanstvu, i ne bune se zbog toga. Smatraju da je veoma bitno da poznaju svaku vjeru i da je poštuju.

Nakon razgovora sa svima napokon sam ostala sama s majkom. Kaže da živi odlično i da svi žive u slozi. Penzije su veoma dobre i dovoljne za život. Kao neko ko je cijeli život proveo u Gacku, veoma je ponosna što je njeno rodno mjesto konačno dobilo sjaj koji zaslužuje.

Sve što sam čula veoma me je razveselilo, ali i bacilo u razmišljanje: da li se vratiti kući? Da li se vratiti u svoj grad? Moraću o ovome dobro da razmislim, jer sve me želja više vuče nazad u ove planinske predjele...

Odjednom osjetih da me neko drma. Bila sam zbunjena: šta se dešava? Onda sam shvatila da sam potonula u svoje misli i da sam i dalje sjedim na klupici ispred zgrade sa svojih 18 godina.

Sve ono što sam zamislila bilo je idealno. ali vjerujem i ostvarljivo. Samo treba neko ili nešto da se pokrene. Možda to budem ja? Možda se nikada ne zaputim u daleku Norvešku. Možda je vrijeme da se glas mladih čuje i da promijeni nešto za bolje sutra. Za sve nove generacije koje dolaze.

# Ivana Savić

## THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

"We need to know the past so that we can understand the present and prepare for the future."

I heard this wise thought from a history teacher when I just started studying this important science. Everyone says that history is a teacher of life, so I think that we should know it completely in order to be able to cope with the future.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a small country in Southeast Europe. It was often the target of occupation, invasions by more powerful forces, alliances, and after Bosnia and Herzegovina got rid of them, it was threatened by internal conflicts. These conflicts constituted the "dark age." Many lost lives, many burned festivities, houses, homes. However, the nightmare ended in 1995. The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the gunfire and everyone was relieved.

People asked the same question then, and they still do today: What next?

According to numerous data, Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the least developed countries on the old continent. Many undeveloped municipalities, many unemployed people. The population is declining. Every year, thousands of students and young married couples leave this country searching for a better life. As the old saying says, they seek their fortune. Does anyone have the right to blame them? I think not. Like most people who want a prosperous future, I believe that foreign countries, even our neighbours, are a much better option than BiH.

Still, not everything is black and white. As an eternal

realist, I decided to fantasize, to abandon my views and thoughts for a while and try to depict and convey in writing my own vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the next 25 years.

I sat on a bench in front of a building in my beloved Gacko and let my thoughts fly to the distant future, 2043...

Oslo. The capital of Norway. I came here with my family ten years ago. A beautiful city. A dream job, enough money for an easy life. However, I am missing something. I know what that is: the warmth of my homeland. People are a bit cold here. They live their lives, and they are not very social. We are used to that too, but we always miss drinking coffee in the yards in front of our old buildings, children playing loudly all day long, our language and the famous "de" and "bolan", our kitchen - but above all our family. The old mother's embrace that cures all the ailments of this world. I miss my Herzegovina. My Gacko.

Here, I follow the developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina all the time. Since I was very young, I have become accustomed to watching central news and reading about political and economic developments and news. I can see that the situation is much better compared to the one I left behind. Still, I wanted to see it for myself. I bought a plane ticket to Sarajevo, waiting impatiently for the departure day.

The moment has come. My hands were sweating, my stomach swirling. I will see my city again, after five years. My mother. The neighbours. Happiness was immense.

When we landed in Sarajevo, I was shocked by the sight: Sarajevo was a metropolis. Thousands of people were walking down the narrow streets. An incredible scene!

But what I was waiting for was a bit further south. The heart of my heart. Gacko. When I went down to the city, I couldn't believe what I saw - my Gacko was a real city!

Happiness was immense. Gacko was a fast-growing city. When I met my mother and neighbours, they told me that a young man had registered his project with a large global tourism company, and that in this way the global attention had turned to our, now large place. After that, the BiH government finally became interested in the development of smaller municipalities and supported further development. They say that ethno-village complexes have been built on Zelengora Mountain with resorts that are visited by more than a million tourists a year. Also, the potentials of Desivoje and Klinje lakes have been utilised. Great attention has been paid to local specialties: the widely known cheese and cream.

The local government worked with young people. Various workshops and seminars for starting a small business were constantly organized. Many benefits have been provided to young married couples. In Gacko, more babies can be seen in prams than old women and men, which was not the case when I went to study abroad. Many jobs were created. Apart from tourism, Gacko has become a centre of culture and sports. Owing to the authorities' efforts, the Gacko clubs became famous in Europe and participated in various competitions. During the summer, various camps have been organized for children to learn from various world experts who have come to Gacko with pleasure.

Education interested me the most. What's going on with the school? I learned a lot talking to the neighbours' children. A boy named Ilija told me that he has two best friends from the class, Mahir and Marijo. Then I shed a tear, after who knows how long. A tear full of pain and sorrow on

the one hand, and full of pride and happiness on the other. Full of pain and sorrow because I was not able to experience that, and full of happiness and pride because the children know no differences. It seems that the parents also overcame the consequences of war: they hang out, talk, visit each other and celebrate holidays together and respect all customs. This is what matters.

This is when I realized that Gacko had succeeded. That Bosnia and Herzegovina succeeded. That it doesn't matter if someone is a Muslim, a Catholic or an Orthodox, but if he is a good man. They say they have a good time at school. All of them get along well, learn with computers and various other modern technologies. They learn about Orthodoxy, Islam and Catholicism, and they don't complain. They think it is very important to know every religion and to respect it.

After talking to everyone, I was finally left alone with my mother. She says that her life is great and that everyone lives in harmony. Pensions are very good and enough to live on. As someone who has spent her whole life in Gacko, she is very proud that her hometown finally shines as brightly as it deserves.

Everything I heard made me very happy, but also made me think: should I go back home? Should I go back to my city? I will have to think about this carefully, because my wish to go back to these mountainous areas is getting stronger...

Suddenly I felt someone shaking me. I was confused: what's going on? Then I realized that I was deeply absorbed in my thoughts, that I was still 18 and sitting on the bench in front of the building.

Everything I imagined was ideal. But I believe it is also feasible. All it takes is for someone or something to get things started. It might be me? I may never go to distant Norway. Maybe it's time for the voice of the youth to be heard and to change something for a better tomorrow. For all the new generations to come.

### DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

Znaš li ti, rate, šta si mi odnio u životu?  
I oca i kuću, djetinjstvo i svu što imadoh ljepotu.  
Znaš li ti, rate, kako je u podrumu rasti,  
Kako je onoj kravi u staji, što ne može travu pasti?

Znaš li kakav se strah osjeti kad čuješ sirenu za opasnost,  
I da preživiš pad granate koja ti treba hrabrost?

Ne znaš, rate, ništa ne znaš! Zato si djecu ubio,  
Sa svakog si pedlja zemlje moje žedan krvi pio.

Kolika je sreća jednog djeteta kad mrak iz podruma zamjeni  
sunce  
I što može slobodno hoditi gdje god mu poželi srce.  
Kolika je sreća ptice što leti jer ne čuje pucnja zvuk,  
Uši ne vjeruju da nakon svega postoji tišina i muk...

Lijepa si mi, Bosno moja, i nakon dvadeset pete,  
Više od bilo čega na svijetu voli te tvoje dijete.  
U tebi rat pobijedio nije, a sijao je zlobu bez mjere,  
Htio je zavaditi najbolje drugove jer nisu iste vjere.

Nikad zlo pobijedilo nije – to kažu naši preci,  
Džaba ti vatra, džaba ti zloba, džaba granate i meci.  
Mir će uvijek da živi dok ima mira u nama,  
Jer naša je sreća životima hrabrih duboko ispisana.

Mir, mir, mir najljepši osjećaj koji živim.

### TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

War, do you know what you've taken from me?  
A father, a house, a childhood, and all beauty.  
Do you know what it's like to grow up in a cellar and be  
like a caged animal, yearning to be set free?

Have you ever trembled with fear at the sound of the siren,  
or withstood with courage bombs falling?

You know nothing, war! That's why so many children are  
dead,  
that's why you sucked the blood of my homeland.

How wonderful it is for a child to step  
from darkness into the light,  
how joyful it is for a bird to fly in silence,  
where no shots are fired.

Twenty-five years later, Bosnia, you're still so pretty,  
and I love you more than anything, I admit it.  
War did not prevail, despite the evil it bred,  
pitting friend against friend who professed a different  
creed.

Our ancestors taught us evil never wins.  
For naught your fire, your bullets, and your malice.  
Peace will live if there's peace within us,  
the brave gave their lives to secure our happiness.

Peace, peace, peace—no sweeter feeling than this.

**Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Trebinje

Naziv koalicije: Stop predrasudama

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Trebinje

Name of the Coalition: Stop predrasudama





## DRAGA ANA

Jutros nema vjetra. Neobično, mislim, ali ne pridajem nekog značaja tome, jer još uvijek sam pod utiskom knjige koju sam sinoć završila. Imala je peripetija više nego antička drama ili grčka tragedija. Nasmijala sam se svojoj gluposti, onda podigla glavu da vidim da li je neko to primijetio, jer mi se ponekad učini da su mi misli suviše glasne.

Na putu kući sam razmišljala koliko ovdašnji holandski pisci nemaju tu sreću kao mi Balkanci, koji imamo to bogatstvo jezika, jer kada su svi zajedno pomiješani, koliko milozvučno zvuče i imaju ljekovito djejestvo na nas koji ih čitamo. U njihovoj modernoj literaturi nestala je priča, iz romana, iz priča, nestala je baš ona – priča, ono iskonsko, ono što nas je održalo od istrebljenja naše ljudske vrste, a to je potreba da se priča ispriča. U knjizi je bilo previše teksta o stanju, o tom pjesničkom i proznom ja, koje se ispoljava, puno apstraktne i metafizičke forme, što je uglavnom dosadno za čitanje. I bilo je.

Danas kad dođem kući, uzeću Andrića. Uskoro će praznici. Majku ne mogu da nazovem, a ne želim da budem sama. Andrićevi likovi će biti tu da mi prave društvo.

Ispred mojih vrata stajao je Igor, moj brat od strica, obrazovan, ali ne toliko vispren čovjek u četrdesetim godinama, visok, naočit. Bez obzira na izgled, nikada se nije oženio. Bio je jedno vrijeme vjeren sa mnogo mlađom ženom. Međutim, kada je trebalo da se vjenčaju, pobjegla je u Kanadu s nekim kamiondžijom iz Mostara. Uvijek je zbijao šale na svoj račun, iako se ja nisam nikad smijala tome, bar iz pristojnosti.

I on je tu, sam kao i ja. Završio je školu, nije htio da se učlani u partiju da bi se zaposlio. Pobjegao je ovdje, radio sve i svašta, a kasnije je našao nekog našeg čovjeka, Kemu, koji ga je zadužio za života.

Stajao je u bež kaputu do zemlje i nosio one svoje špicaste cipele kojima bih se uvijek smijala kad bi otišao. U ruci je držao pismo. Nije mi uzvratilo osmijeh. Gledao me je istim onim pogledom kao kada je otkrio da mu je komšijski pas izgrizao poštu, koja je dolazila na moju adresu, pa je htio da ga tuži, ali nije smio, jer je u to vrijeme u zemlji bio ilegalno.

- Slušaj, Ana. Zvao me tata danas. Ovaj...

Uzdahnio je. Na njegovom licu nisam mogla da razaznam šta nije u redu. Kao da je trebalo da mi kaže neku važnu istinu, ali nije mogao da izusti. Osjećala sam potrebu da prekinem tišinu.

- Šta se desilo? Opet je izgrizao poštu? Kazaću Alexi danas da povede računa o psu, ne brini.

- Ne. Nije to. Pronašao je ovo pismo u kući tvoje majke, vidio da je naslovljeno na tebe, pa je poslao meni i rekao da ti ga uručim.

- Hvala ti.

Odmah je odahnuo i skrenuo pogled u stranu.

- Idem ja sad.

Okrenuo se i sišao niz stepenice brzo, posrćući jer se sapleo o kaput.

Pomislila sam da je ovo još jedan način da se oprostim s njom, da završim našu priču sa jednim "moglo je biti", a nije. I ko zna, možda kroz nekoliko godina, kada se vidimo gore, na nebu, kad budemo zbijale šale, možda ni jednoj od nas neće biti smiješno već tužno. Nikom od nas se uz život ne prilaže uputstvo, i svako živi kako umije; neko možda zanijem gdje bi drugi vrisnuo, neko se nasmije gdje bi drugi zaplakao, neko se uvrijedi gdje bi se drugi obradovao.

Svako se možda u nekom trenutku pokoleba, struje ga odnesu dalje i odrede drugo mjesto gde će pristati. Ja sam iz Banjaluke otišla prije 15 godina. Nisam se vraćala nikako nakon odlaska. Tako mi je bilo lakše, pretpostavljam. Smetala sam i ljevičarima i desničarima, hipsterima, vjerskim nacionalistima. Smetala sam tim moralnim gromadama u čije se okvire istine i pravde nisam uklapala. Nije da se nisam žalila, bog mi je svjedok da jesam. Samo sam željela slobodu. Željela sam da ujutro trčim u Stojanovićevom parku, jedem u Somuncu i kupujem jeftine knjige u Univerzitetском kampusu. Valjda zato više nisam tamo.

Otvorila sam pismo. Iako je dugo stajalo u njenoj ladici, mirisalo je na nju, na njene ruke.

"Draga Ana,

*Sutra kupi kartu i sjedi u drugu polovinu autobusa, sjedište broj 24. Znaš da ti uvijek kažem kako sam čula da je to najsigurnije mjesto, do prozora i s prislomljenom glavom na staklo posmatraj kako se voziš već vijekovima utabanim stazama do nepoznatog grada o kojem ti godinama svakodnevno govorim, u kojem već odavno nisi bila, a sigurno znaš svaki njegov kutak. Tamo će te sačekati raširene Kočićeve ruke, koje sačekuju sve koji se tu sreću, i oni sa istoka i oni sa zapada, oni koji dolaze i oni koji odlaze. Svi oni su slični i paradoksalno različiti, jer ne dijele oni samo istu geografska odrednicu; imaju ono isto, čudno stanje duha, jednu kolektivnu i ličnu traumu kulturnog i historijskog konteksta koji nose u sebi gdje god da su. Sjedi na crvenu klupu, prekoputa Puškinove biste i pročitaj koji stih, nahrani duh. Kad kreneš da dišeš sve pliće, a razmišljaš sve dublje, kad vrijeme stane, kad krenu pitanja, kad ostaneš bez odgovora, prepusti se čulima i osjećajima. Zastajkuj često.*

*Ne dozvoli da ti neki poznat lik prođe, dok ti u tom trenutku glavu okreneš, snivaš o nečem drugom, možda u jednom trenutku glavu spustiš, uposliš ruke da obrišeš blato sa cipele, njegova sjenka će kraj tvoje proći. Jer ljubav se uvijek Gospodskom ulicom šeta. Sjećaš se?! Tu živi. Poput Safikadinog*

*mita, koji ljubomorno čuvaju ovdašnje mlade djevojke. Te divove čuvare vječne ljubavi pronaći ćeš odmah iza Ferhadije.*

*Prošetaj ulicama, koje možda nikuda ne vode, ali koje nose imena naših velikana. Hodi njima, da bi naučila. Nek ti probude nostalgiju.*

*Tu ćeš možda da se zaglaviš u liftu, između sedmog i osmog sprata, a ovdje na ulicama pod lišćem kestena bićeš slobodna. Kada kreneš Zmaj Jovinom i sjetiš se gimnazijskih dana, osmotri mlade ljude, kojima ne znaš ni imena ni navike, koji će prolaziti pored tebe. Stojeći tako kraj bastiona znanja od crvene cigle upamtićeš lica, čućeš kako govore o poštenju, ljubavi i prostranstvima, lekcijama iz knjiga o kojima više nikad neće govoriti. To sam prošla i ja, pustila sam sve te drevne filozofije, matematičke teoreme. A onda su i one pustile mene. Uvijek sam ti se divila, na neki čudan način. Uvijek sam čekala da mi pokažeš put, da mi kažeš kako treba, jer nikad nisi imala cijenu. Oduvijek si u sebi imala taj ponos i prkos, to da ne mogu da te kupe, da i ako radiš za njih – nisi njihova. Izabrala si teži put, ali znaš da je tvoj. Sad ja tebi pokazujem put. Kreni njim. Vрати se.*

*I još nešto: prije nego odustaneš od dolaska, prije nego pocijepaš pismo i tako dozvoliš vjetru da ga ponese, pročitaj ga ponovo. Ne znam da li ću stići ovo sve da ti kažem preko telefona, a i vjerujem da ćeš na moje riječi odmahnuti rukom misleći kako ne vidim, pisala sam ti. Sjeti se, Ana, koliko voliš taj grad. Sjeti se koliko je on utkan u tebe, kao što si ti u njegovu istoriju.*

*Voli te mama. "*

# Milica Aulić

## DEAR ANA

There is no wind this morning. Unusual, I think, but I don't attach any importance to it, because I'm still impressed by a book I finished last night. It had more plot twists than ancient drama or Greek tragedy. I laughed at my stupidity, then raised my head to see if anyone had noticed, because sometimes my thoughts seem to be too loud.

On my way home, I was thinking about how Dutch writers here are not as lucky as we in the Balkans, with this richness of languages, because when they are all mixed together, they sound so melodious and have a healing effect on us, the readers. A story has disappeared from their modern literature, from the novel, from stories, it has disappeared - the story, the primordial, which has kept the human kind from extinction, the need to tell a story. The book excessively talked about the situation, about that poetic and prose self, which is manifested, a lot of abstract and metaphysical forms, which is mostly boring to read. And it was.

When I get home today, I will read Andrić. Holidays are coming soon. I cannot call my mother, and I don't want to be alone. Andrić's characters will be there to keep me company.

Stegla sam šakama pismo. Slana kap je već razmazivala posljednje majčine riječi. Počela sam da razmišljam o tome kako sam sama već odavno shvatila da je čovjek živ samo dok očekuje, i da to čuva čak i od onih koje voli najviše. I sama sam ostavljala ljude da me čekaju, ubjeđujući ih da ću sigurno doći a znajući da im se nikad neću vratiti. Razmišljala sam o tome da li su ljudi kojima je smrt bila predodređena, da li su prije smrti osjećali to? Da li je znala koliko vremena joj je ostalo?

Ja sam znala koliko vremena imam do kraja.

Istina je da mi majka nikad dosad nije rekla riječi koje bi me zadržale, i pored toga što je znala da ne želim da odem, da želim da ostanem – nije.

Razumijem je. Čuvala me je, a sad sam shvatila da me je voljela najviše. Željela je za mene dom. Moj dom, gdje god on bio.

- Hoću kući!

Počela sam da vrištim poput male razmažene djevojčice, koja po svaku cijenu mora da uradi i dobije šta želi.

Kući sam se vratila na krilima Andrićeve rečenice: "Sve Drine ovog svijeta su krive; nikada se one neće moći ispraviti; nikada ne smijemo prestati da ih ispravljamo."

Igor, my cousin was standing in front of my door, a well-educated but not so quick-witted man in his forties, tall, handsome. Regardless of his looks, he never married. He was engaged to a lot younger woman for a while. However, when they were about to get married, she fled to Canada with a truck driver from Mostar. He always made jokes about himself, although I never laughed, at least out of politeness.

He is here too, alone like me. He finished school and refused to join a political party to get a job. He escaped here, took various jobs, and later found one of our men, Kemo, who did so much for him that he will owe him for life.

He was standing there in a long beige coat and those pointy shoes of his that I always laughed at after he left. He was holding a letter in his hand. He did not smile back at me. He looked at me in the same way as when he discovered that his neighbour's dog had chewed the mail he was receiving at my address; he wanted to sue the neighbour, but didn't dare to, because he was staying in the country illegally at the time.



- Listen, Ana. Dad called me today. Err...

He sighed. I could not tell what was wrong from his face. It was as if he was supposed to tell me some important truth, but he couldn't. I felt the need to interrupt the silence.

- What happened? He chewed the post again? I will tell Alexa to take care of the dog today, don't worry.

- No. It's not that. He found this letter in your mother's house, saw that it was addressed to you, so he sent it to me and told me to hand it to you.

- Thank you.

He breathed a sigh of relief and looked away.

- I'll go now.

He turned and went down the stairs quickly, stumbling because he tripped over his coat.

I thought this was another way to say goodbye to her, to end our story with "it could have happened", but it didn't. And who knows, maybe in a few years, when we meet again up there in heaven, when we start making jokes, maybe none of us will find them funny, but sad. None of us receives instructions for life, and everyone lives as they can; some may be speechless where others would scream, some may laugh when others would cry, some may be offended, and others thrilled.

Everyone may hesitate at some point, the currents will take them further and find another port to dock in. I left Banjaluka 15 years ago. I have never returned since. It was easier for me not to, I guess. I was an eyesore both to leftists and rightists, hipsters, religious nationalists. I was an eyesore to those 'great moralists' as I did not fit in their truth and justice frameworks. It's not that I didn't complain, God is my witness that I did. I just wanted freedom. I wanted to run in the Stojanović Park in the morning, eat in Somonac and buy cheap books on the University campus. I guess this is why I am no longer there.

I opened the letter. Although it had waited in her drawer for a long time, it still smelled of her, of her hands.

"Dear Ana,

*Buy a ticket tomorrow and sit in the back of the bus, seat 24. You know, I always tell you that I've heard it's the safest seat, by the window; with your head pressed against the glass, watch as you drive on trails that have been paved for centuries to an unknown city I've been telling about every day for years, where you haven't been in a long time, and you know its every corner. Kočić's spread arms will welcome you there, as they welcome all who meet there, both from the east and from the west, those who are coming and those who are leaving. They are all similar and paradoxically different, because they do not only share the geographical determinant; they have the same, strange state of mind, a collective and personal trauma of the cultural and historical context they carry inside wherever they are. Sit on the red bench, across from Pushkin's bust and read a verse or two, feed your soul. When your breathing becomes shallow, and your thoughts get deeper, when the time stops, and questions start, when you are left without answers, give in to your senses and feelings. Pause often.*

*Don't let somebody you know pass you by, as you turn your head at that moment and dream about something else; you may look down at some point, and wipe the mud off your shoes, and his shadow will pass by yours. Because love always walks down the Gospodska Street. You remember?! That's where it lives. Like Safikada's myth, unremittingly guarded by girls here. You will find these giant guardians of eternal love right behind Ferhadija.*

*Walk down the streets that may not lead anywhere, but they bear the names of the great men of our history. Walk down those streets to learn. Let them awaken your nostalgia.*

*You may get stuck in an elevator there, between the seventh and eighth floors, and here on the streets, under the chestnut leaves, you will be free.*

*When you walk down Zmaj Jovina Street and remember your high school days, look at young people passing by you, whose names and habits you don't know. Standing by the bastion of red brick knowledge, you will remember the faces, hear them talk about honesty, love and vast open space, lessons from books that they will never talk about again. I went through that too, I let go of all those ancient philosophies, mathematical theorems. And then they let me go. I have always admired you, in a strange way. I was always waiting for you to show me the way, to tell me how things should be done, because nobody could ever buy you off. You have always had that pride and defiance in you, that they can't buy you off, that even if you work for them - you are not theirs. You chose the hard way, but you know it's yours. Now, I am showing you the path. Follow it. Come back.*

*And one more thing: before you give up coming, before you tear up the letter and let the wind carry it away, read it again. I don't know if I will be able to tell you all this over the phone, and I believe that you will just wave off my words, because I cannot see you, and so I wrote to you. Remember how much you love this city, Ana. Remember how much it is ingrained in you, as are you in its history. Love, mom."*

I squeezed the letter in my hand. A salty drop was already smearing my mother's last words. I started thinking about how I myself had realized long ago that you are alive only as long as you have some expectations, and keep them a secret, even from those you love the most. I myself used to leave people waiting for me, convincing them that I would come for sure, and knowing that I would never return to them. I wondered if people who were destined to die could feel it before death? Did she know how much time she had left?

I knew how much time I had until the end.

It is true that my mother never said anything that would keep me there, and although she knew that I did not want to leave, that I wanted to stay - she didn't.

I understand her. She was watching over me, and I realize now she loved me the most. She wanted me to have a home. My home, wherever it is.

-I want to go home!

I started screaming like a spoiled little girl who has to do and get what she wants at all costs.

I returned home borne by the Andrić's sentence: "All the Drina rivers of this world are curvy; they will never be straightened up; but we must never stop trying to straighten them up."

## IDUĆIH DVADESET PET GODINA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Godine su prošle, vijao je jači snijeg, udarali jači gromovi, puhao jači vjetar, ali ništa nije moglo nadmašiti mećavu i niske temperature njegove duše.

Oči se zaledile iako je bio jun. Usta zanijemila iako je sunce iznad našeg Sarajeva bilo najsajnije i, čini mi se, bilo toplije nego ikad prije.

U Ferhadiji punoj ljudi mi smo sami. U glavi nam je zbrka. Bili smo sami i onog oktobarskog jutra kada smo se prvi put ugledali. Oči u oči. Sa par knjiga u rukama ja sam žurila na prvi čas, a on sa gitarom i nekoliko nota među nebulozama svoje mašte privlačio sve poglede koji baš taj dan nekuda žure i pokušavaju stići vrijeme, iako je, tek sam poslije shvatila, vrijeme uvijek ispred. Pamtim to oktobarsko jutro, jer slobodno mogu reći da je toga dana sve počelo.

Od tog dana i ja sam svoje uši častila najljepšom melodijom koju je svijetu na raspolaganje ostavljala moja voljena osoba. Otvarala sam prozore kada bi pjevao ispred moje Prve gimnazije da bih izbistrila um. I da sam ja neko, da imam kakve moći, vratila bih te devedesete ponovo, jer ljepše su nego one prije i one sve koje će doći. Istina, grlo mi se steže kada moram reći da su neki zli ljudi prekinuli našu ljubavnu idilu samo zato što sam ja Alma a on Petar. Ruku na srce, sve je izgledalo kao bajka i baš nekako nestvarno, kao ljubav koja se rađa samo u filmovima. Njegov mili glas zamijenila je buka granata. Sada sam zatvarala prozore da ne bih čula vrisak djece koja nisu ni svjesna šta se dešava oko njih. Gledala sam moje Sarajevo, moju Bosnu kako se pretvara u pepeo, slušala jecaje majki kada saznaju da njihovih sinova više nema. Činilo se kao da se vrisak čuje do neba, ali da svi nijemo posmatraju. I danas, kada me obuzmu sjećanja, osjećam detonacije u svojoj maloj kući na kraju mahale. Kada malo bolje razmislim, kao da sam imala neki vremeplov i začas bih putovala kroz vrijeme i zamišljala šta će biti sutra.

I došlo je sutra. Granate više nisu padale; nije se čuo vrisak, a i Miljacka više nije bila obojena u crveno. Kao da smo se svi ponovo rodili i nesvjesno morali popravljati ono što smo pokvarili. Kao dijete koje ne zna za posljedice.

Mjesecima po završetku niza tih užasnih godina koje nazivaju ratom nisam izlazila iz svoje sobe. Moj pas Bruno mi je bio jedini prijatelj. Bruno nije znao da je bitka za ničiju zemlju uništila moje snove, nije znao da sam prije samo nekoliko godina trčala Titovom samo da bih što prije stigla do osobe koju sam voljela koliko i sebe, koliko i svoj život.

Nisam se usuđivala izaći i potražiti ga, jer ako bih dobila odgovor koji nisam željela čuti, ne znam da li bi moje srce to izdržalo i kako bi moja duša reagovala. Pratila sam putanju manjeg otpora i vrijeme provodila u svojoj sobi.

I prolazili su mjeseci, možda čak i godine, i manje je nedostajao u hladnim noćima, jer ne boli dok je hladno, ne prži i manje presijecaju sjećanja. Najviše je nedostajao u oktobarskim noćima, kada vjetar nanese njegov miris kroz prozor, pa hladnoća i sjećanja prodru do kostiju, ali nazad se nije moglo sve i da se htjelo. Jeseni su bile teške, ali svaka manje i manje, jer kako bih objasnila suze svojoj kćerki, koja nikada nije ni čula za moju priču, za moju prekinutu nit? Suza bi se iskrala samo kada bih čula Lošinu „Bolje biti pijan nego star“, ali tada bih se poslužila svojim vremeplovom samo da što prije prođe.

I sada, nekih šezdesetak godina od pucanja naše niti povezanosti, stojimo jedno ispred drugog, Petar i Alma. Bacili smo okove godina postrani i zaplovili rijekom nostalgčnih uspomena prije nego što sve nestane.

Ferhadija više nije ista, a i na njegovom licu godine su urezale bore; zelene oči kao da su još više utonule u lice, crna kosa više nije tako tamna, gubi bitku s vremenom pa postaje sve svjetlija. Više nismo mladi srednjoškolci već odrasli ljudi sa mnogo ljeta ostavljenih za sobom, mnogo novembarskih jutara i neodspavanih noći.

Trznula sam se iz svog neodsanjanog sna i primijetila još preumornih lica, pretpostavljajući koliko su ovi ljudi željni odmora nakon zamornog dana na poslu. Ja sam baš šetala sa svojom unukom i bila sretna što smo već pedeset godina mirni i što nas ne bude strašni zvukovi granata; i čini mi se tek sam sad shvatila koliko je život zapravo lijep. Nismo progovorili ni riječ, a čula sam ga kao da je pričao svim jezicima svijeta. Možda je to zato što tišina priča glasnije od riječi. Naučila sam da mi tišina nije prijatelj, ali sama sebi jesam. I šta sam sve mogla promijeniti da sam samo prekinula tu tišinu i potražila svoje izgubljene snove... Ponekad mi je žao prohujalih godina, ali sretna sam što je moja kćerka svoju mirnu luku pronašla baš pored jednog Petra i što njoj ograničeni ljudi nisu ukrali sreću. Jer svaka porušena zgrada se popravila, napravili se najljepši parkovi, izgradili najbolji neboderi, najveći aerodromi – ali rupa u mom srcu nikada nije zakrpljena.

No, šta je tu je, nek' je nama ovog mira, i sada samo da mi se izvući iz ove gužve, jer Bosna je postala najveća turistička atrakcija, u junu baš svi dolaze ovamo nama, u srce Evrope. Bit će tako i kada dođu ove nove devedesete za par godina, jer neće biti zla koje će ljude tjerati iz Bosne već ih privlačiti baš kao i sve ove godine.

## THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Years passed, it was snowing heavily, thunders were strong, high wind was blowing, but nothing could surpass the blizzard and low temperatures in his soul.

The eyes froze even though it was June. The mouth went numb even though the sun above our Sarajevo was the brightest ever and, it seems to me, warmer than ever before.

Ferhadija is full of people, but we are alone. Our heads are a mess. We were alone that October morning when we first saw each other, too. Eye to eye. With a few books in my hands, I was hurrying to the first class; with a guitar and a few notes in the nonsense of his imagination, he was catching the eyes of those rushing somewhere that day and trying to make it on time although, as I realized later, time is always ahead of us. I remember that October morning, because I can freely say that it all started that day.

From that day on, I treated my ears with the most beautiful melody left to the world by my loved one. I opened the windows when he was singing in front of my First Grammar School to clear my mind. And if I were someone important, if I had some power, I would bring back the nineties, because they are more beautiful than the ones before and than all those yet to come. True, my throat tightens when I have to say that some evil people interrupted our romance just because I am Alma and he is Petar. To be honest, everything looked like a fairy tale and kind of unreal, like the love that is born only in movies. His sweet voice was replaced by the noise of grenades. Then I closed the windows not to hear the screams of children who were not even aware of what was happening around them. I watched my Sarajevo, my Bosnia turn to ashes, listened to the cries of mothers upon learning that their sons were gone. It seemed as if the scream could be heard up to the sky, but everyone was watching in silence. Even today, when memories overwhelm me, I sense detonations in my small house at the end of the mahala. When I think about it, it's as if I had a time machine and I travelled through time in an instant and imagined what tomorrow would bring.

And tomorrow came. There were no grenades or screams any more, and Miljacka was no longer red. It was as if we were all reborn and unknowingly had to fix what we had broken. Like a child unaware of the consequences.

When those horrific years called 'war' ended, I didn't leave my room for months. My dog Bruno was my only friend. Bruno did not know that the battle for no man's land destroyed my dreams, he did not know that only a few years ago I was running down the Tito's Street only to get to the person I loved as much as myself, as much as my own life.

I didn't dare to go out and look for him, because if I found out something I didn't want to hear, I don't know if my heart would endure it and how my soul would react. I was

following the path of least resistance and spending time in my room.

And months passed, maybe even years, and I missed him less on cold nights because it doesn't hurt while it's cold, it doesn't burn, and memories don't hit as hard. I missed him the most in October nights, when the wind brought his scent through the window, and memories chilled to the bone, but I couldn't go back, even if I wanted to. The autumns were difficult, but a bit easier every year, because how would I explain the tears to my daughter, who had never even heard of my story, of my broken thread? I would shed a tear only when I heard Loša's "Better drunk than old" song, but then I would use my time machine only to make it pass as soon as possible.

And now, some sixty years since the thread between us has been broken, we are standing in front of each other, Petar and Alma. We broke the shackles of years and sailed into the river of nostalgic memories before everything goes away.

Ferhadija is no longer the same, and his face is covered with wrinkles; green eyes seem to be even more sunken, black hair is no longer so dark, it loses the battle with time and becomes brighter. We are no longer young high school students, but adults with many summers left behind, many November mornings and sleepless nights.

I was jolted awake from my unfinished dream and saw more exhausted faces, assuming how eager these people must be to have some rest after a tiring day at work. I was just walking with my granddaughter, happy because we have lived in peace for fifty years, without being awakened by the terrible sounds of grenades; and it seems to me that only now have I realized how beautiful life actually is. We didn't say a word, but I heard him as if he spoke in all languages of the world. Maybe because silence is louder than words. I have learned that silence isn't my friend, but I am my own friend. And what could I have changed if I had just broken the silence and searched for my lost dreams... Sometimes I feel sorry for the past years, but I am happy that my daughter found her peaceful haven right next to a Petar, and that narrow-minded people did not steal her happiness. Because every demolished building has been repaired, the most beautiful parks have been made, the best skyscrapers and the biggest airports have been built - but the hole in my heart has never been patched.

But things are as they are, at least we have this peace, and now I just want to get out of this crowd, because Bosnia has become the biggest tourist attraction. Everybody comes here, to the heart of Europe in June. It will be the same when the new nineties arrive in a few years, because there will be no evil that would drive people away from Bosnia, and they will be attracted to it just like they have been all these years.

## MOJ MALI DNEVNIK DIVNIH DEŠAVANJA

01.01. 2046.

Prava je zima nastupila i lijepi mekani snijeg je prekrrio cijelu Zenicu. Željezara je već 10 godina među najuređenijim tvrtkama u Evropi. Izrada čelika je napredovala, nema zagađenja zraka i samim tim se stopa plućnih oboljenja skoro prepolovila. Sada su zime čiste, nježne i sjajne kao pahuljice bijelog snijega koji više nikada neće pocrniti.

Jutros sam daidžićevog sina izvela na sankanje. Govorio mi je da su u školi gledali slike velikih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine tokom zimskih dana, slike od prije 25 godina. Mali dječak, tek je drugi razred, onako tužno mi je rekao: "Baš mi je žao što ste onako zagađivali zrak i živjeli u smogu i sivilu! Ali zato sada možete uživati."

05. 02. 2046.

Evo već druga godina otkako je patent mog komšije odobren. Uveliko se proizvode njegove ekonomične i eco-friendly letjelice. Više nema gužvi u saobraćaju, a ni udesa. Sve ide virtuelnim zračnim putevima koji su programirani ranije. Prije mjesec dana i ja sam kupila svoju letjelicu. Ne spuštam se više na zemlju! Jučer sam imala poslovni sastanak i otišla letjelicom. Svi su oduševljeni. Svijet priča o bosanskim letjelicama.

16. 03. 2046.

U firmi imamo sedam izvrsnih radnika s posebnim potrebama. Ne znam kakve su to posebne potrebe kad se ispostavlja da te osobe zrače pozitivnošću i izrazito neobičnim sposobnostima. Jutros sam morala hitno predati svoj dio posla jednoj takvoj osobi. Ona je, ujedno radeći na svojoj smjeni i proračunima, uređivala moje dokumente i ugovore, a opet je to bolje uradila od mene! Malo je reći da sam ponosna na njih i na našu divnu BiH. Otkako smo prepoznali važnost inkluzije, tamo nekad od 2021. godine svi naši poslovi su krenuli ka uspjehu

23. 04. 2046.

Još malo pa će moj dragi dedo napuniti 93 godine, a kako izgleda ne bi mu čovjek dao ni 60! Zdravstveni sistem nam prednjači na svim poljima prevencije bolesti i zdravstvene njege tako da stariji postaju sve mlađi. U 2025. godini podijeljene su posebne narukvice svim građanima; one prate zdravstveno stanje, pritisak, otkucaje srca i slično, te svakodnevno ažuriraju bazu podataka Zavoda za zdravstvo. Više niko ne čeka u dugim redovima za vađenje nalaza i pregleda. Dedo sutra ide na navijačko slavlje svog od mladosti omiljenog tima. Imat će skup sa svim navijačima starijim od 80 godina. Eto, više ne hodaju po bolnicama nego se druže kao mladi momci!

09. 05. 2046.

Prekjučer su objavljeni rezultati o uspješnosti treće faze izrade lijeka za rak, za svaku vrstu raka! Mada će ti lijekovi uskoro postati maltene nepotrebni. Slabo iko boluje od raka, a ako i boluje, potpuno se izliječi za sedmicu do mjesec dana.

Hrana je sva ekološki testirana; proizvođačima je odavno zabranjeno dodavati ikakve opasne tvari i supstance u proizvode, jer u protivnom će bankrotirati plaćajući enormne kazne. Jednostavno, i sami građani su osviješteni i kupuju zdravo. Doslovno, kada uđem u supermarket, nemam nezdravu opciju, tako da je stopa oboljenja od raka skoro na nuli.

Sada bolnice funkcionišu više kao istraživački centri. Čak je nedavno otvoren Centar za vanzemaljsko biološko istraživanje, u sklopu gradske bolnice. Ispituju se uslovi za život biljaka, životinja i ljudi na drugim planetama. I ja sam se priključila kao dio tima u centru. Sve što se veže za svemir zanima me od djetinstva!

21. 06. 2046.

Kako divan dan! Tako plavo nebo a tako pozitivni ljudi! Kolika ljubav! Danas je Dan mira i razvoja. Svi izašli u grad, šetaju s djecom po parkovima. Djeca ližu kalcij-plus sladolede i dijele ruže prolaznicima. Ovo je 22. godina otkako slavimo ovaj dan. Sjetimo se dana kada smo jednom zauvijek odlučili da idemo uzbrdo, a ne nizbrdo!

07. 08. 2046.

Bosna i Hercegovina je dvije godine zaredom proglašena trećom najzelenijom zemljom svijeta. E pa ne znam šta je pa nismo na prvom mjestu?! Energetska efikasnost nam je na vrhunskom nivou, vode i šume i sve endemske vrste su zaštićene, prvi smo proizvođači i izvoznici organskog bobičastog voća na svijetu – i opet treći! To je ipak dobar znak: borimo se i takmičimo s najboljima da čuvamo planetu. Tako sam sretna!

02. 10. 2046.

Pijemo jutarnju kafu, dragi i ja. On sav cvjeta govoreći o novim otkrićima u vezi sa elektromagnetnim talasima Zemlje. Kako on kaže, sve su veće mogućnosti da će Bosna i Hercegovina postati jedna od vodećih zemalja po pitanju dobivanja energije od tih talasa.

Kćerka nam se prijavila na edukativni izlet po seoskim područjima našeg grada. Sela su sada naprednija nego gradovi nekada. Ljudi se masovno iseljavaju u sela i bave se uzgojem organskog voća i povrća i automatiziranim stočarstvom. Ujedno je turizam glavni. U svako doba

godine turisti iz raznih zemalja dolaze i dive se tehnološkim sistemima koje smo razvili za suživot ljudi i našoj netaknutoj prirodi u selima.

16. 11. 2046.

Slušam vijesti: Natalitet u BiH porastao je na 3,5 djece po ženi, a istovremeno trend povratka naših ljudi u domovinu raste eksponencijalno. Nove generacije vide prosperitet i budućnost u zelenom srcu Evrope. Divno je kako ovi vijesti popravljaju raspoloženje

31.12. 2046

Večeras imamo feštu: okupit će nam se djeca, daidžići, tetke i njihovi. I amidža će se javiti iz Hercegovine, onako uživo, ali virtuelno! Nećemo osjetiti da nije fizički tu. Želi da nam svira harmoniku zajedno sa svojim robotom pomoćnikom. Imat ćemo šta gledati i uživati! Osjećam se čudno, dolazi 2047. godina i ja ću sljedeće imati punih pola vijeka iza sebe, a osjećam se kao djevojka od 25 godina, puna ambicije, energije i sigurnosti. Sretna sam zbog nas, zbog naše djece, zbog Bosne i Hercegovine. Sretna sam što doživljavamo puni procvat. Sretna i zahvalna do bosanskog plavog neba.

# Narcisa Hadžajlić

## MY LITTLE DIARY OF WONDERFUL EVENTS

01. 01. 2046

A real winter came and beautiful soft snow covered the whole of Zenica. The ironworks has been among the best-organized companies in Europe for 10 years. Steel production has advanced, there is no air pollution and the rate of lung diseases has almost halved. Now the winters are clean, gentle and shiny like snowflakes of white snow that will never turn black again.

I took my cousin's son out for sledding this morning. He told me that they looked at winter pictures of the big cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 25 years ago in school. The little boy, who is only in the second grade, said to me sadly: "I am so sorry that you polluted the air like that and lived in smog and drab! But you can enjoy now."

05.02.2046

It's been two years since my neighbour's patent has been approved. His cost-efficient and eco-friendly aircrafts are widely produced. There are no more traffic jams or crashes. Everything is transported by pre-programmed virtual air routes. A month ago, I bought my own aircraft, too. I'm not landing to the ground anymore! I had a business meeting yesterday, and I flew there. Everyone loves it. The whole world talks about the Bosnian aircrafts.

16.03.2046

We have seven excellent workers with special needs in the company. I don't know what these special needs are when it turns out that these people radiate positivity and possess extraordinary skills. This morning, I had to hand over my share of the work to one such person urgently. While working on her shift and budgets at the same time, she edited my documents and contracts, and still did it better than I do! To say that I am proud of them and of our

beautiful BiH is an understatement. Ever since we recognized the importance of inclusion, sometime back in 2021, all our businesses have been heading to success.

23.04.2046

In a little while, my dear grandfather will turn 93, and he looks barely 60! Our health care system is at the forefront in all fields of disease prevention and health care, and the elderly are getting younger and younger. In 2025, special bracelets were distributed to all citizens; they monitor the health condition, blood pressure, heart rate etc., and update the database of the Health Institute on a daily basis. No one is waiting in long lines to have their blood taken for tests and examinations anymore.

Grandpa is going to the fan celebration of his ever favourite team tomorrow. They will have a gathering with all their fans over the age of 80. There, they no longer walk around hospitals but hang out like young men!

09.05.2046

The day before yesterday, the results of the successful third phase of development of a medicine for cancer, for all cancer types were published! Although those medicines will be barely necessary soon. Only a few people suffer from cancer, and if they do, they are completely cured in a week or a month.

All food is ecologically tested; manufacturers have long been banned from adding any hazardous substances to their products; otherwise they will go bankrupt by paying enormous fines. Simply, public awareness is high and citizens buy healthy food. Literally, when I go to the supermarket, there is no unhealthy option, so the cancer rate is almost zero.

Now hospitals function more like research centres. An Alien Biological Research Centre was even recently opened within the city hospital. The living conditions of plants, animals and people on other planets are examined. I joined the team at the Centre. I have been interested in space since childhood!

21.06.2046

What a beautiful day! Such a blue sky and such positive people! So much love! Today is the Peace and Development Day. Everyone went out into the city, walking with children in parks. The children are licking calcium-plus ice creams and handing out roses to passers-by. It's been 22 years since we started celebrating this day. We remember the day we decided once and for all to go uphill, not downhill!

07.08.2046

For two years in a row, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been proclaimed the third greenest country in the world. Well, I can't see why we're not the first on that list yet?! Our energy efficiency is at the top level, water and forests and all endemic species are protected, we are the first producers and exporters of organic berries in the world - and again, we rank third! This is still a good sign: we fight and compete with the best in saving of the planet. I am so happy!

02.10.2046

We are having our morning coffee, my darling and I. He is so enthusiastic talking about new discoveries related to the Earth's electromagnetic waves. According to him, there is a growing likelihood that Bosnia and Herzegovina will become one of the leading countries in terms of obtaining energy from these waves.

Our daughter signed up for an educational trip to rural areas around our city. Villages are now more advanced than cities used to be. People migrate in large numbers to villages and engage in cultivation of organic fruits and vegetables and automated livestock. At the same time, tourism is the main branch. At any time of the year, tourists from various countries come and admire the technological systems we have developed to enable the coexistence of people and our intact nature in the villages.

16.11.2046

I am listening to the news: The birth rate in BiH has risen to 3.5 children per woman, and at the same time, the trend of our people returning to their homeland is growing exponentially. New generations see prosperity and future in the green heart Europe. It's wonderful how this news improves the mood.

31.12.2046

We are having a party tonight: our children, cousins, aunts and their children will get together. And uncle will call from Herzegovina live, but virtually! We will not feel his physical absence. He wants to play the accordion for us with his robot assistant. We will have something to watch and enjoy!

I feel strange, 2047 is coming and I will turn half a century next year, and I feel like a 25 year old girl, full of ambition, energy and confidence. I am happy for us, for our children, for Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am happy that we are experiencing a full bloom. I am happy and grateful all the way to the blue Bosnian sky.

# Nermin Delić

## MILI DUELI

Da su ljudi planete, rat bi bio zemljotres. I nema svemira koji ne bi zadržao i osjetio se malim. Ne, nije mi teško pisati o onome što smo prošli, jer teško je samo ono što se ne preživi. A mi smo preživjeli. I čitav svemir to zna. A mama kaže da smo se mir u Bosni i ja rodili na isti dan.

Život mojih roditelja se dijeli na „prije rata“ i „poslije rata“. Prije rata otac je bio fudbaler, jedan od najtalentovanijih i najperspektivnijih u ovom dijelu regije. Tačno pred rat dolazili su skauti jednog talijanskog premijerligaša, koji su bili očarani njegovom igrom. Njegovom desnicom. Htjeli su da ga vode u Italiju. Da mu pruže priliku da ostvari svoje snove tako što će ostvariti i njihove. Ipak, rat je spriječio njegov transfer. Štaviše, rat je spriječio da on ikad više obuje kopačke. U ratu – sve postane upitno.

Jednog ljetnog ratnog dana otac i majka su išli ulicom. Majka je na leđima nosila njihovu četverogodišnju kćerku, moju

sestru. U jednom trenutku sestra je od gladi počela da plače. Ugledavši stablo jabuke u dvorištu jedne kuće, otac je krenuo da ubere jednu jabuku za nju. Na tom putu stao je na minu. Stao je na minu i izgubio nogu. Desnu. Onu po kojoj su ga poznavali. Onu koja mu je donosila toliko veselja. Onu zbog koje je mogao završiti kao milioner u Italiji. Ipak, rat je bio posljednji zvižduk u njegovoj karijeri. Otac je postao invalid. Fudbaler u invalidskim kolicima. Čovjek koji više nije mogao živjeti svoje snove. Nekoliko dana kasnije majka je saznala da je trudna. Znajući stanje u kojem se nalazi – da joj je suprug invalid, da već ima jedno dijete, da nema apsolutno nikakvog novca, da nema ni krov nad glavom – doktor joj je predložio abortus. Ipak, nije pristala. Odlučila je da me rodi.

Rat se završava. Porodično stablo je okrnjeno, isječeno. Roditelji počinju graditi naš svijet iznova. Otac, zahvaljujući svom obrazovanju – završenoj školi, dobija posao u pošti i tako nas spašava od bijede. Majka radi milion muških poslova

da bi nadoknadila ono što otac nije mogao. Mnogo je tu stresa bilo – ali od ljubavi taj stres niko od nas nije vidio. Ljubav zaista ima tako velike ruke i umije da pokrije i najveće oči. A naše su oči bile jedino svjetlo u našim životima.

Djetinjstvo sam proveo živeći u tuđoj kući i maštajući o svojoj sobi. Mnogo toga nisam imao, ali nisam ni trebao. Nisam uopće imao predstavu kako to ja, sa svojih sedam godina i dvadeset i četiri kilograma, mogu nešto promijeniti, ali sam znao da uspjeh nije događaj, da se ne planira – već se rađa u želji, i onog dana kad se rodi sve drugo prestaje biti. Na ulicama sam viđao mnogo ljudi kojima je nešto falilo. Nekom je falila noga kao mome ocu, nekom ruka, nekom oko, nekom sluh, nekom glas... a neki ljudi su bili mentalno bolesni, toliko da sam se plašio. I kad god bih pitao mamu što je taj čiko takav, što ne čuje, što tako priča, što tako hoda... odgovor je uvijek bio – rat.

Rat je zaista izobličio ljude. Čak i moja mati, koja je najljepša žena na svijetu, ima tako dubok i strašan ožiljak između obrva, zbog kojih svi misle da je stroga i ozbiljna – a ona je najveselija žena na planeti. Upravo te ratne bolesti uništavaju samopouzdanje i umanjuju kvalitet života ljudima koji su rat nadživjeli. Upravo zato sam odlučio da ću jednog dana, kad porastem, biti čovjek koji će liječiti ratne bolesti.

I tako sam započeo svoje školovanje, kao zlatokosi sedmogodišnjak, težak dvadeset i četiri kilograma i spreman da uči, kako bih sutra mogao liječiti one koji su predugo čekali na lijek. Nije bilo teško vidjeti da i ja imam talent za fudbal. Kornere sam izvodio savršeno na terenu u školi, a umio sam gađati golove i izdaleka. Moj daidža, inače, u to vrijeme – elitni fudbalski sudija u Premijer ligi Bosne i Hercegovine, želio je da postanem fudbaler. Donio mi je torbu sa sportskom opremom kako bih se upisao u lokalni fudbalski klub i počeo trenirati. Obećavao mi je uspjeh, karijeru,... Ipak, imajući u vidu očevo iskustvo – nikad se nisam usudio obući kopačke. Ta sportska torba nikad nije otvorena. Umjesto toga počeo sam da otvaram knjige. Odlučio sam se za ono što mi rat ne može ukrasti – znanje. I tako sam postao najbolji đak u svom odjeljenju. Išao sam na takmičenja iz matematike i postizao sjajne rezultate. Upisao sam se u srednju medicinsku školu i završio je kao učenik generacije. Šest godina kasnije završio sam medicinski fakultet u Sarajevu, kao jedan od studenata s najboljim prosjekom u svojoj generaciji.

Uporedo sa školovanjem, još u djetinjstvu otkrio sam dar za pisanje. Književnost me oduvijek zanimala, tako da sam već sa četiri godine počeo da pišem. Sa četrnaest godina sam osvojio nagradu izdavača iz Beograda, i tada je objavljena moja prva knjiga. Sa sedamnaest godina sam osvojio još jednu nagradu izdavača, ovoga puta u Novom Sadu, i tako je objavljena moja druga knjiga poezije. Sa osamnaest godina sam opet osvojio nagradu izdavača, ovoga puta u Zagrebu, i tako sam objavio treću knjigu poezije. Tako sam postao prvi Bošnjak u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini koji je do svoje osamnaeste godine objavljen u Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, u zemljama koje su se, prije samo nekoliko godina, našle u ratnom konfliktu s mojom domovinom. Zanimljivo je i to što su sve moje pjesme bile domoljubne, posvećene Bosni. I svaki put poezija je pobjeđivala barijere koje je društvo smatralo nepremostivim. Upravo iz takvog ličnog iskustva – shvatio sam da ima nešto jače od rata, od nemira, od smrti. Umjetnost. Lijepa riječ. Pet godina kasnije moja posljednja knjiga je uvrštena i u fakultetsko gradivo na Filozofskom

fakultetu u Zenici. Povrh svega, uslijedile su brojne i regionalne nagrade, poput nagrade Međunarodni pisac godine u Sjevernoj Makedoniji i glavne nagrade za poeziju na Melničkim večerima poezije u Bugarskoj.

Ipak, lični uspjeh mi nikad nije bio dovoljan, ni imperativan. Sa sedamnaest godina sam osnovao prvi on-line poetski natječaj na Balkanu nazvavši ga Mili dueli. Cilj natječaja je okupljanje balkanskih pjesnika i poticanje interkulturalne saradnje i dijaloga među balkanskim narodima. Odlučio sam da činjenica što su naši jezici bliski, što se odlično razumijemo, bude naša prednost za širenje čitalaštva i popularnosti poezije; da se nadjača govor mržnje na društvenim mrežama. Inicirao sam objavljivanje zajedničkog zbornika poezije balkanskih autora i upriličio promociju u svome gradu. Na toj promociji našli su se autori iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije, Hrvatske, Slovenije, Crne Gore i Sjeverne Makedonije; zajedno smo poslali poruku mira. Sedam godina kasnije Mili dueli okupljaju pjesnike iz čak pedeset i dvije zemlje svijeta, a o njima je pisao i najpoznatiji poslovni magazin svijeta, američki *Forbes*, koji ih je okarakterisao kao najpopularniji poetski natječaj na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije. Za ideju Mili dueli dobio sam UNESCO-vu nagradu u Tokiju, te nagradu Genije godine na izboru muškarca godine Bosne i Hercegovine 2018. Danas sam sretan što postoji jedan prelijep internacionalni događaj sa sjedištem u Jajcu, u srcu Bosne i Hercegovine. Mili dueli su stvarnost, sadašnjost ove zemlje, i pozitivan su primjer osnaživanja mira. Mir ne može sam porasti. On je kao dijete: neko ga treba hraniti. A nema ništa sretnije od sitog djeteta. Mi to znamo i zato imamo šansu da jednog dana postanemo zemlja sretno djece. Mi ovdje imamo pravo na sreću!

Po završetku fakulteta vratio sam se u svoj grad Jajce, gdje već mjesec dana radim kao doktor medicine. Počeo sam da liječim ljude od ratnih bolesti. Najzad, počeo sam da živim svoj san. Ukloniti nedužnom bol čini te dovoljno sretnim da se ne osjećaš dužnim nikome. Sa svojim zvanjem sam mogao otići i zaposliti se u nekoj bogatijoj i sretnijoj zemlji, ali iako bih zarađivao više, osjećam da bih izgubio više – jer ima nešto čarobno u ovoj našoj zemlji, čarobnije od Aladinove lampe i jače od Popaja. Tu mi žive roditelji, heroji mog života. Otac sad ima ortopedsku protezu koja ga čini pokretnim. Opet, 25 godina on nije igrao fudbal. Ima nešto prazno u nama dok su nam oči pune. Ipak, on još navija za Crvenu zvezdu i priča mi kako se postaje šampion Evrope. A ja? Ja maštam o svome sinu kojeg djed i otac gledaju sa tribina kako igra fudbal – u nekom sretnijem vremenu, sa nekim sretnijim krajem.

Moja misija još nije završena. Dijete koje je imalo na stotinu razloga da mrzi – odlučilo je da voli. Dijete je postalo čovjek tako što se hranilo znanjem; jer u miru – znanje je odbrana, znanje je vojska. Dvadeset i pet mi je godina. Planiram posvetiti život liječenju svojih naroda. Medicina mi donosi sigurnost da ću nečije fizičke boli i nedostatke ipak moći ukloniti. A za one psihičke traume i bolesti – tu je poezija. Tu je turneja Mili dueli, koja će kroz književne večeri okupljati pjesnike širom Balkana, a tom prilikom će se snimiti i dokumentarni film kao trajni historijski zapis da je postojao neko ko je po Balkanu u zagrljaj pružao ruke – u vremenu kad su se ljudi plašili zagrljaja.

I ne, nije mi teško pisati o onome što smo prošli, jer teško je samo ono što se ne preživi.

# Nermin Delić

## MILI DUELI (SWEET DUELS)

If people were planets, a war would be an earthquake. And there is no universe that would not tremble and feel very small. No, I do not find it difficult to write about what we went through, because it is difficult only if you don't survive. And we survived. And the whole universe knows it. And mom says that Bosnian peace and I were born on the same day.

My parents' life is shared to "pre-war" and "post-war" eras. Before the war, my father was a football player, one of the most talented and the most promising ones in this part of the region. Just before the war, scouts of an Italian Premier League team used to come here, fascinated by his play. His right leg. They wanted to take him to Italy. To give him a chance to fulfil his dreams, by fulfilling theirs. However, the war prevented his transfer. And not just that, the war prevented him from wearing cleats ever again. In a war - everything becomes questionable.

On one summer day, my father and mother were walking down the street. Mother was carrying their four-year-old daughter, my sister on her back. At one point, my sister started crying because she was hungry. My father saw an apple tree in a nearby yard, and he wanted to pick an apple for her. He stepped on a landmine. He stepped on a landmine and lost his leg. His right leg. The one he was known for. The one that brought him so much joy. The one that could have made him a millionaire in Italy. Nevertheless, the war became the last whistle in his career. My father became a disabled person. A football player in a wheelchair. A man who could no longer live his dreams. A few days later, my mother realized she was pregnant. Aware her own situation - that her husband was disabled, that she already had one child, that they had no money, no roof over their heads - her doctor suggested her an abortion. Still, she refused. She decided to have me.

The war ended. The family tree was truncated, incised. My parents started building our world all over again. Owing to his qualifications, my father got a job at the post office and saved us from poverty. My mother has done a million men's jobs to make up for what my father couldn't. There was a lot of stress - but we did not see it because we were blindsided by love. Love really has big hands and can cover even the biggest eyes. And our eyes were the only light in our lives.

I spent my childhood living in someone else's house and daydreaming about my own room. So many things were missing, but I didn't need them. I had no idea how I could change anything, at the age of seven and weighing twenty-four kilograms, but I knew that success is not an event, it is not pre-planned, but born out of desire, and on the day it is born, everything else ceases to be. I saw many people on

the streets who were missing something. Some missed a leg like my father, some an arm, some an eye, some a hearing, some a voice... and some people were mentally ill, so much so that I was afraid of them. And whenever I would ask my mother why that man was like that, why he didn't hear, why he talked like that, why he walked like that... the answer was always - the war.

The war really distorted people. Even my mother, the most beautiful woman in the world, has a deep and terrible scar between her eyebrows, which makes everyone think she is strict and always serious - and she is the most cheerful woman on the planet. It is these war-related illnesses that destroy self-confidence and reduce the quality of life of people who survived the war. That is why I decided that one day, when I grow up, I would be a man who will treat war-related illnesses.

And so I began my schooling, as a golden-haired seven-year-old, weighing twenty-four kilograms and willing to learn, so that tomorrow I could heal those who had waited for a cure for too long. It wasn't hard to see that I also have a talent for football. I took corner kicks perfectly at the school playground, and I could score from a great distance. My uncle - the elite referee in the Premier League of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time, wanted me to become a football player. He brought me a bag of sports equipment in order for me to join in a local football club and start training. He was promising me success, career... However, having in mind my father's experience - I never dared to put on cleats. The sports bag was never opened. I started opening books instead. I chose what the war could not steal from me - knowledge. And so I became the best pupil in my class. I went to math competitions and achieved great results. I enrolled in the secondary medical school and graduated as the top student of my year. Six years later, I graduated from the Medical Faculty in Sarajevo, as one of the top students of the year.

Along with schooling, I discovered I had a writing talent from early age. I have always been interested in literature, and I started writing as early as the age of four. At the age of fourteen, I won an award of a publisher from Belgrade, and that's when my first book was published. At the age of seventeen, I won another publisher award, this time in Novi Sad, and my second book of poetry was published. At the age of eighteen, I won a publisher award again, this time in Zagreb, and so I published my third book of poetry. Thus, I became the first Bosniak in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina who had his works published in Croatia and Serbia by the age of eighteen, countries that had been in a war with my homeland just a few years earlier. Interestingly, all my poems were patriotic, dedicated to Bosnia. And every time, poetry overcame all barriers that



**Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Trnovo

Ime autora: Rikardo Druškić

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Trnovo

Name of the author: Rikardo Druškić





the society considered insurmountable. And from such personal experience - I realized that there is something stronger than war, than unrest, stronger than death. The art. A beautiful word. Five years later, my last book was included in the curriculum at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zenica. On top of that, numerous regional awards followed, such as the International Writer of the Year Award in the North Macedonia and the main poetry award at the Melnik Poetry Evenings in Bulgaria.

Still, personal success was never enough for me, nor it was an imperative. At the age of seventeen, I established the first online poetry competition in the Balkans, entitled *Mili dueli*. The aim of the competition is to bring together Balkan poets and encourage intercultural cooperation and dialogue among Balkan nations. I have decided that the fact that our languages are close, and we understand each other very well, will be our advantage for spreading the readership and popularity of poetry; in order to overcome the hate speech on social networks. I initiated the publication of a joint collection of poetry by Balkan authors and organized a promotion in my city. Authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and North Macedonia attended the promotion; together, we sent a message of peace. Seven years later, *Mili dueli* brings together poets from as many as fifty-two countries, and the world's most famous business magazine, the American Forbes, wrote about it, describing it as the most popular poetry competition in the former Yugoslavia. The *Mili dueli* idea brought me the UNESCO Award in Tokyo, and the Genius of the Year Award in the 2018 Man of the Year contest of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today I am happy that we have a beautiful international event based in Jajce, in the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Mili dueli* is reality, the present of this country, and a positive example of peace enhancement. Peace cannot grow on its own. It is like a child: somebody has to feed it. And there is nothing happier than a well-fed child. We know this, and this is why we have a chance to become a country of happy children one day. We have a right to happiness here!

After graduating from university, I returned to my hometown of Jajce, where I have been working as a medical doctor for a month. I started treating people for war-related illnesses. Finally, I started living my dream. Relieving an innocent from pain makes you happy enough that you don't feel indebted to anyone. With my qualifications, I could have gone and found a job in a richer and happier country, but even though I would earn more, I feel I would lose more - because there is something magical in this country of ours, more magical than the Aladdin's lamp and stronger than Popeye. This is where my parents, heroes of my life live. My father now wears an orthopaedic prosthesis that makes him mobile. Again, he hasn't played football for 25 years. There is something empty in us while our eyes are full. Nevertheless, he is still Crvena zvezda's fan and explains to me how one can become a European champion. And I? I daydream about my son playing football, while his grandfather and father watch him from the stands - in a happier time, with a happier ending.

My mission is not complete yet. A child who had a hundred reasons to hate - decided to love. The child became a man by feeding on knowledge; because in peace - knowledge is defence, knowledge is the army. I am twenty-five. I plan to dedicate my life to healing my peoples. Medicine gives me confidence that I will still be able to remove someone's physical pain and defects. And for the psychological traumas and illnesses - there is poetry. There is the *Mili Dueli* tour, which will bring together poets from across the Balkans through literary evenings, and a documentary will be made as a lasting historical record testifying that there was someone reaching out to embrace others around the Balkans - at a time when people feared of embraces.

And no, I do not find it difficult to write about what we went through, because it is difficult only if you don't survive.

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

Postoji jedna zemlja, samo jedna u mojoj glavi, kada zatvorim oči. I ako bi se maštom mogao nazvati taj beskrajni prostor u kojem se gubi svako od nas, onda je Bosna i Hercegovina zemlja moje mašte. Moj djelić sna. Moja vizija, moj ideal, moj put, moj cilj. I moja misija.

Četvrt vijeka je, reklo bi se, mnogo. Dvadeset i pet mirisnih proljeća, zelenih ljeta, kišnih jeseni i hladnih zima. Ipak, za historiju je dvadeset i pet godina, prošlih ili budućih, samo treptaj. Pet po pet, pet puta pet, i četvrt vijeka već je za nama. A kad se tamo godine nađu, jedino je bitno u šta su utrošene.

Pandemija koronavirusa – čiji je vrhunac, nadajmo se, iza nas – uveliko je promijenila načine razmišljanja i u mnogočemu uticala na naš život. Po posljednjem istraživanju, 37% ljudi sa Zapadnog Balkana ima želju napustiti matičnu državu i otići u inostranstvo. Najbolji rezultati su u Sjevernoj Makedoniji, gdje 65% ispitanika/ca ne izražava nikakav interes za rad u nekoj stranoj ekonomiji, a takav odgovor je u Bosni i Hercegovini dalo 52% ispitanika. Ovo je u brojevima malen, ali za Bosnu i Hercegovinu značajan napredak uzmemo li u obzir trend odlaska stanovništva. Odlazi prvo glava porodice, a zatim cijelih porodica i eto odliva mozgova u proteklih desetak godina.

Idućih dvadeset i pet godina u ovoj državi, i najljepšoj zemlji, moglo bi ipak, uz zajedničke napore, ostati upamćeno u historiji kao zlatno doba (drugo nakon Bosanskog kraljevstva), kao ekonomski i društveni procvat. Za to je, prije svega, potrebno osigurati trajni mir i stabilnost, jer nema neke koristi od gradnje zgrade tamo gdje tone tlo. Put euroatlantskih integracija staza je s koje Bosna i Hercegovina neće skretati idućih dvadeset i pet godina. Pridruživanjem Europskoj uniji ona će potvrditi svoju geografsku i društvenu pripadnost europskom kontinentu. Bosna i Hercegovina će na sve moguće diplomatske i pravne načine ojačati svoj status na području Zapadnog Balkana i postići će dobar odnos sa susjednim državama, te raditi na saradnji, od koje će izvozom i turizmom prije svega ona, a onda i susjedne zemlje imati koristi. Snažnije državne institucije osigurat će pravdu i mirniji san svojim građanima.

Ukupna desezonirana industrijska proizvodnja u Bosni i Hercegovini u decembru prošle godine povećana je za 1,7 posto u poređenju s novembrom, a u odnosu na decembar 2019. godine zabilježila je rast od 2,8 posto. Jaka industrija garant je ekonomskog rasta, a u godinama pred nama svaki će veći grad jačati postojeće i stvarati nove poslovne i proizvodne zone, sve poštujući smjernice u vezi s očuvanjem okoliša – jer ako igdje vrijedi čuvati grumen zemlje i riječnu kap, onda je to u Bosni i

Hercegovini. Poljoprivredna proizvodnja velika je nada naše države i njene plodne zemlje.

Ukupna poljoprivredna proizvodnja u Federaciji BiH je 2020. godine bila veća za 13,9 posto u odnosu na 2019. godinu. U biljnoj proizvodnji povećanje je ostvareno u svim granama: u ratarstvu za 18,2 posto, voćarstvu 45,9 posto i vinogradarstvu 7,1 posto u odnosu na 2019. godinu. U ratarstvu je povećana proizvodnja po svim grupama usjeva: žita za 23,4 posto, industrijskog bilja 22,2 posto, povrća 15,9 posto i stočnog-krmnog bilja 19,9 posto. Očekuje se da će se trend rasta održati u budućnosti.

Najsvjetlija i najbrže rastuća grana privrede u Bosni i Hercegovini – turizam, u narednih će dvadeset pet godina osigurati brojna sezonska i stalna radna mjesta, o čemu svjedoče brojne investicije u vidu smještajnih kapaciteta te zabavnih i sportskih sadržaja. Bitno je za ovakav rast održati klimu pogodnom, što znači obrazovati stanovništvo, raditi na očuvanju prirodnih i historijskih spomenika, te na razne načine, edukacijom, radionicama za najmlađe, ali i određenim sankcijama raditi na zaštiti okoliša, na kojem počiva turizam Bosne i Hercegovine. Naredna četvrtina vijeka biće u znaku brzih saobraćajnica, novih aerodroma i avio-linija.

Naši stari gradovi, u čijim podnožjima odrastamo, svjedoci su smjene vjekova i vladara. U narednih dvadeset i pet godina svaki od njih će svjedočiti razvoju i novim generacijama. Biće zaštićeni, posjećeni, u noći osvijetljeni bojama.

Za uništenje jednog naroda nije potrebno oružje. Dovoljno je dopustiti studentima da varaju na ispitima. A onda pacijenti umiru na rukama doktora koji su diplomu stekli prevarom, a zgrade se ruše na rukama arhitekata koji su diplomu stekli prevarom.

Jaćaćemo svijest o znanju. Svijest o znanju budiće želju za obrazovanjem. A obrazovanjem ćemo graditi svoju državu.

Sarajevo Film Festival neće biti jedini kulturni događaj koji u regionu i svijetu simbolizira Bosnu i Hercegovinu. On može biti vodič, kao jedna uspješna priča nastala pod agresorskim granatama, kako se iz ničega rađa pobjeda. Imaćemo brojne festivale, umjetničke kolonije, revije dizajnera... Ulaćaćemo u kulturu, a vraćaće nam se duplo. Sve stanovništvo je potrebno uključiti kako bi kultura stigla do svih društvenih slojeva.

Kada govorimo o najugroženijim skupinama stanovništva, ostvarivaće veća prava; ono što se do sad činilo nemogućim, u vidu prilika i zaštite ranjivih, biće moguće onda kada kompetentne, sposobne ljude, pune empatije postavimo na pozicije s kojih se može postići mnogo. Do sada smo se zasitili lijenih i bezosjećajnih.

Vjetrovi koji velikim brzinama pušu u našim poljima biće svjetlo u našim domovima ukoliko postanemo svjesni važnosti obnovljivih izvora energije. UN-ovi ciljevi održivog razvoja, svaki od njih posebno i svi zajedno, mogu biti vodilja i putokaz za ključne korake Bosne i Hercegovine.

Sve pobrojano će u narednih dvadeset i pet godina biti koraci naše domovine naprijed, hrabro i čvrsto. Sreća prati

hrabre, a nikad nismo bili suprotno tome. Ako sreća zaista prati hrabre, hrabro ćemo raditi na napretku, svako u svom polju. Društvo u kojem svako radi u sferi u kojoj je najbolji, u kojoj se maksimalno posveti onome što zna, nikad neće biti društvo osuđeno na propast.

Borba za državu, borba za kvalitetnije sutra novih generacija oduvijek traje. Ni u narednih dvadeset i pet godina se nećemo umoriti.

# Nizama Husetić

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

There is one country, only one in my head, when I close my eyes. And if that endless space in which each of us gets lost could be called imagination, then Bosnia and Herzegovina is the land of my imagination. My little peace of a dream. My vision, my ideal, my path, my goal. And my mission.

One would say that a quarter of a century is a lot. Twenty-five sweet-scented springs, green summers, rainy autumns and cold winters. Yet, for history, twenty-five years, be it past or future, is just a blink of an eye. Five by five, five times five, and a quarter of a century is already behind us. And when the years pass by, the only thing that matters is what they were spent on.

The coronavirus pandemic - the culmination of which, hopefully, is behind us - has greatly changed the way we think and has affected our lives in many ways. According to the most recent survey, 37% of people in the Western Balkans want to leave their home country and go abroad. The North Macedonia recorded the best results, where 65% of respondents did not express any interest in working in a foreign economy, and the same answer was given by 52% of respondents in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a small numerical, but still significant progress for Bosnia and Herzegovina, considering the departure trend. The head of the family leaves first, then the whole family follows him, which resulted in the brain drain in the past ten years.

The next twenty-five years could still be remembered in history as a golden age (the second one after the Kingdom of Bosnia), as an economic and social boom in this country, the most beautiful country, through joint efforts. For this to happen, it is primarily necessary to ensure lasting peace and stability, because there is no use of constructing a building where the ground sinks. Bosnia and Herzegovina will follow the Euro-Atlantic integration path for the next twenty-five years. By joining the European Union, it will confirm its geographical and social affiliation with the European continent. Bosnia and Herzegovina will strengthen its status in the Western Balkans in all available diplomatic and legal ways, establish good relations with neighbouring countries, and work on cooperation in

exports and tourism, which will benefit primarily BiH, and then the neighbouring countries as well. Stronger state institutions will ensure justice and a more peaceful sleep to the citizens.

In December last year, the total seasonally adjusted industrial production in Bosnia and Herzegovina increased by 1.7 percent compared to November, and by 2.8 percent compared to December 2019. A strong industry is a guarantor of economic growth, and in the years to come, every major city will strengthen existing and create new business and production zones, while respecting environmental guidelines - because if it's worth keeping a lump of earth and a river drop anywhere, it's in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Agricultural production is a great hope of our country and its fertile soil.

The total agricultural production in the Federation of BiH in 2020 was by 13.9 percent higher compared to 2019. In crop production, all branches recorded an increase: farming by 18.2 percent, fruit growing by 45.9 percent, and viticulture by 7.1 percent compared to 2019. In farming, production increased by all groups of crops: grains by 23.4 percent, industrial crops by 22.2 percent, vegetables by 15.9 percent and fodder plants by 19.9 percent. The growth trend is expected to continue in the future.

The brightest and fastest growing branch of the economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina - tourism, will provide numerous seasonal and permanent jobs in the next twenty-five years, as evidenced by numerous investments in accommodation capacities and entertainment and sports facilities. It is important to maintain a favourable climate for such growth, which means educating the population, working to preserve natural and historical monuments, and protecting the environment as the backbone of Bosnia and Herzegovina's tourism through education, workshops for children, but also by imposing sanctions. The next quarter of the century will be marked by highways, new airports and airlines.

Our old cities in which we grow up have witnessed the changes of centuries and rulers. In the next twenty-five years, each of them will witness development and new generations. They will be protected, frequently visited, colourfully lit at night.

Weapons are not needed to destroy a nation. It is enough to allow students to cheat in exams. And then patients die at the hands of doctors who obtained a degree by fraud, and buildings are demolished at the hands of architects who obtained a degree by cheating.

We will raise awareness of the importance of knowledge. The awareness of the importance of knowledge will awaken the desire for education. And we will build our country through education.

The Sarajevo Film Festival will not be the only cultural event that symbolizes Bosnia and Herzegovina in the region and the world. It can be a guide, like a success story created under aggressor's grenades, about victory born out of nothing. We will have numerous festivals, art colonies, designer fashion shows... We will invest in culture, with double return. The entire population should be involved in order for culture to reach all layers of society.

The most vulnerable population groups will exercise greater rights; what seemed impossible when it comes to opportunities and protection of the vulnerable will be possible when we put competent, able people, full of empathy, in positions from which they can achieve a lot. We are fed up with the lazy and the insensitive.

The high-speed winds blowing in our fields will become a light in our homes if we grow to be aware of the importance of renewable energy sources. The UN's Sustainable Development Goals, each of them individually and all of them collectively, can be a guide and a signpost for Bosnia and Herzegovina's key steps.

All of the above will be the steps forward that our homeland will take bravely and firmly in the next twenty-five years. Luck favours the brave, and we have never been the opposite. If luck indeed favours the brave, we will work bravely for progress, each in their own field. A society in which everyone works in the sphere in which they excel, to the best of their ability, will never be doomed to failure. The struggle for the state, the battle for a better tomorrow of new generations has been ongoing since the beginning of time. We will not get tired in the next twenty-five years either.

# Nizama Patković

## Nizama Patković DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

Pišem ti ovo pismo, dobri moj Jole, drhtavih ruku i još drhtavijih misli.

Nekako nađoh komad hartije, i to jedva, pa uzeh da šta rekнем, da se pojadim.

Nisam pisao dugo, istina, toliko dugo da me kao insana malo i stid što zaboravih pisano slovo, evo već dvadeset i kusur godina. Ali vjeruj, još me sve isto veže za tebe, dobri moj družе, kao i nekad.

Sjetih te se prije par dana, iznenada, a opet, nekako, toliko dunjalučki očekivano. Moj mali Zemo, još nedovoljno jak da ponese i naramak drva, dozva me i trgnu iz tadašnje misli, pa pohitih da vidim šta mu je bilo. A ono, moj Jole, našao mali našu sliku, iz one davne 1995. godine, kad se uslikasmo kod Taleta na sijelu. Ispred nas hrane kao u filmu, da šibicu ne možeš staviti, a opet ništa puno, tek onoliko koliko je svako od nas imao u svom dvorištu. Bez velikih troškova to veče proslavismo rođenje Taletovog sina, koji eto sad, radi s mojim Kenanom. Sva su ti djeca ovdje, moj ti, narasla da ih ne bi prepoznao. Čak i ja, koji maknuo nisam iz ove mahale cijelih svojih pedeset godina, ne znam svu tu novu omladinu. Neka nova lica, novi izrazi, drugačije oči s nekim drugačijim sjajem od onog koji smo mi imali. Taj njihov sjaj, sjaj mira i prilike, možda nismo imali jer nam nisu dali, ali smo za njega živjeli. I eto, dočekali da ga naša djeca s ponosom nose.

I onaj naš sokak, vjeruj, još onako pitom, sa svim našim komšijama, još je tu, onakav kakvog ga sigurno pamtiš.

S ponosom mogu reći da je i dalje onako mješovit, sa svim vjerama koje svijet poznaje, s različitim životnim pričama koje se prepliću, a opet se idealno i raspliću, tako da je svačija riječ pred komšilukom ista na vagi. Ta insanska vaga, vaga dobročinstva i beskrajne ljubavi, ostala je ista kao i u naš vakat: netaknuta, nezahrdana, još onako pravedna i tačna. Čini mi se, kada bi se ta vaga bilo kad poremetila, da bi cijela mahala digla pobunu, samo da se ona opet izniveliše. Čak i mirisi, od naše pekare u Tirmizu, još postoje. Stari pekar Neca s istim žarom pravi tepsijaš, tako da mu uvijek malo zagori – ali drugačiji hljeb više ne bih ni znao cijieniti. A Neca, kojeg smo uvijek zvali „Stari“ iako je tada imao tridesetak, i dalje je isti kakav je i bio. Sada bi on nas mogao zvati „Stari“ jer mu se od tada ni trepavica nije promijenila. Vjeruj, kad tebe zamišljam, kad pomislim kako si se ovih godina mogao promijeniti u licu, u govoru, u stavu, nikad ne mogu završiti misao do kraja. Ne mogu te u svojim očima potpuno izgraditi, da ličiš na insana. Uvijek ti nekako fali neki dio za koji ne mogu znati je li se promijenio kroz ove godine. Nekad je to nos, pa se pitam je li još onako grbav, ili si se udebljao pa se grba izravnala s ostatkom? Ponekad su to usne, pa razmišljam jesu li ispucale ili modroplave? I uvijek mi tako, moj Jole, fali taj jedan dio tebe, a najviše TI! Možda je sramota da čuješ ove moje riječi tek nakon toliko godina, ali kako me vjera uči – nikad nije kasno za dobre stvari.

Godine proletješe, a naša Bosna, bolan, nikad ljepša i mirnija. A tek Hercegovina... Prkosni postasmo, prkosni ostasmo. E, to ti je, bolan, ono što smo i sanjali davno nekad. Uvijek kad me ljudi pitaju kako mi je, kažem da živim dunjalučki san. Jer ovako kako nam je sad, uistinu i jeste kao san.

Dunjaluk mi možda nije puno dao, ni meni ni tebi, ali eto, tu našu želju da svugdje možeš proći siguran i spokojan od svakog, Bog ispuni. Zavoli svako ovu naš zemlju, za koju smo nekad mislili da je volimo samo nas dvojica. Postade ona i našoj djeci, ovakva kakva je, domovina. A sve ovo, kako ti rekoh, nekad mi bijaše kao nedosanjani san. Ali, moj Jole, dobre ljude i Bog čuva. Pa ako negdje ima dobrih i poštenih ljudi, onda je to kod nas. Ovdje kad ti nestane mlijeka komšija ti na vrata donese flašu, kad čuje da ti gori hljeb, viču te sa balkona, donosite jedni drugima voće kad se bolesno, a obavezno se svaki praznik čestita odmah ujutro, bez izuzetka. I kako onda, bolan, da nas nešto odozgo ne čuva?

One godine kada si otišao, jer ti život tako odredio, nisam uspio ni da se čestito pozdravim. Nisam uspio čak ni da ti kažem „hvala“. Znam da te ljubav prema Sanji odvela u drugi grad, i znaj da ti to nikad nisam mogao zamjeriti, jer uvijek si bio čovjek ljubavi. Uvijek ću se sjećati kad bi me po povratku s mise sretao na ulici, pa bi mi onako sav srčan prepričao šta si sve čuo, pa bih onda ja tebi prepričavao šta je hodža te hefte pričao na hutbi. Često bismo dolazili do zaključka koliko slične priče pričamo, pa smo – ako se sjećaš – zbijali šale kako su hodža i pop garant neki kućni prijatelji, ili u najmanju ruku komšije.

### **Murali za 25 godina mira**

Lokacija: Bugojno

Ime autora: Kemal Krkalić

Kako ti, eto, ispričah, nikad te se nisam sjetio po kakvom hatoru. Ti si bolan, u mojoj glavi, ostao upamćen kao pojava koja je našoj zemlji donijela ovu mirnoću koju sada ima. Jer nikad mi ti, kad sam bio ljut pa krenuo olajavati sve, nisi dao da diram našu dedovinu ni očevinu. I baš takva kakvu si je ti htio, ona i postade.

Pogledah sinoć na vijestima, kažu biće neka ceremonija povodom mira u mahali... Pa eto, dragi moj miroljube, bujrum kod mene na konak. Možemo taman djeci pametovati kao što su i nama nekad naši stari radili. Želja mi je, eto sad, da mi budemo ti matori. Neka vide šta su nam sve ove godine donijele. Taman da vide ko je Jole o kojem sam im silno pričao. I oni su me, vjeruj, kudili što ti se nisam javio davno, ne shvatajući da su naše duše svih ovih godina živjele zajedno.

Možda ti do danas nisam znao adresu, ali znao sam gdje su tvoje misli. Ti, kako znam, nisi pisao jer si mislio da se ja ljutim radi tvog odlaska, pa te čak nisam mogao ni doći ispratiti. Ali znaj: nikad u mojoj duši nije bilo ljutnje na tebe, samo žal što nas život razdvoji. Osjećao sam uvijek, kako rekoh, da se, i toliko daleko, ipak razumijemo i bodrimo, kao da smo jedno.

Ali eto, danas, nešto mi je, moj Josipe, teško disati, kao da me nešto guši.... Ako je ovo uzdah od tebe, nadam se da si dobro.

### **Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Bugojno

Name of the author: Kemal Krkalić



# Nizama Patković

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

I am writing this letter to you, my sweet Jole, with trembling hands and even more trembling thoughts.

I found a piece of paper somehow, barely, and decided to say a few words, to complain.

True, I haven't written anything for a long time, for so long that I'm a little ashamed that I have forgotten to express myself in writing, it's been more than twenty years already. But believe me, I am still attached to you in the same way as I was once, my good friend.

I thought of you the other day, all of a sudden, and than again, it was to be expected in this world. My little Zemo, still too weak to carry a handful of wood, called me and pulled me out of my thoughts at the time, so I rushed to see what had happened to him. And there, my Jole, the kid found our picture back from 1995, when we took it at Tale's house party. Lots of food in front of us on a full table, like in a movie, and yet nothing much, just the stuff each of us grew in their yard. That night, without spending much, we celebrated the birth of Tale's son, who now works with my son Kenan. All the children here are now grown up, dear

friend, you wouldn't even recognize them. Even I, who haven't left this neighbourhood for all my fifty years, do not know all these new young people. Some new faces, new expressions, different eyes with a different glow than the one we had back then. We may not have had that glow of theirs, the glow of peace and opportunity, because they did not let us have it, but we lived for it. And there, we lived to see our children bear it with pride.

And our alley, believe me, it is still so tame, with all our neighbours, it is still there, the same as you surely remember it.

I can proudly say that it still has mixed inhabitants, with all the religions known to the world, with different life stories that intertwine, and yet ideally disentangle, and everyone's voice weighs the same in the neighbourhood. That human scale, the scale of charity and infinite love, remained the same as in our time: intact, stainless, still as fair and accurate as it used to be. It seems to me that if the scale would ever be disrupted, the whole neighbourhood would revolt, in order to have it levelled again. Even the smells from our bakery in Tirmiz are still there. The old baker Neca





makes bread with the same zest, and it always burns a little - but I wouldn't even appreciate a different bread anymore. And Neca, whom we always called "Old Man" although he was only thirty back then, is still the same. He could call us "Old Men" now, because not even an eyelash has changed on him since. Believe me, when I imagine you, when I think about how your face, speech, attitude could have changed over the years, and I can never finish the thought. I can't completely picture you before my eyes, make you look like a human being. You're always somehow missing a part that might have changed over the years. Sometimes it's your nose, and I wonder if it still has a bump, or you gained weight and the bump is no longer visible? Sometimes it's the lips, and I wonder if they are chapped or bluish. And so, my Jole, I always miss a part of you, and I miss YOU the most! It may be a shame that you get to hear these words of mine only after so many years, but as my faith teaches me - it is never too late for good things.

The years have flown by, and our Bosnia has never been more beautiful and more peaceful, my friend. And Herzegovina... We were born defiant, and remained defiant. Well, that's exactly what we dreamed of a long time ago. Whenever people ask me how I am, I tell them that I live the dream of this world. Because the life we live now indeed is like a dream.

This world may not have given me much, or to you, but God still fulfilled this wish of ours to be safe from everyone, everywhere. Everyone falls in love in this country of ours, and we once thought that only the two of us loved it. It has become a homeland for our children, just as it is. And all this, as I told you, used to be like an unfulfilled dream. But, my Jole, God protects good people. Well, if there are good and honest people somewhere, then it is here. When you run out of milk, your neighbour brings a bottle to your door, when they smell your bread burning, they warn you from the balcony, you bring each other fruit when you are ill, and every holiday is always congratulated first thing in the morning, without exception. So how could it be that something from above does not protect us?

The year you left, because it was your destiny, I couldn't even say goodbye properly. I couldn't even say thank you. I know that love for Sanja took you to another city, and know that I could never blame you for that, because you have always been a man of love. I will always remember how we used to meet in the street when you were returning from mass, and you would heartily tell me what you had heard, and then I would tell you what the imam had said at the Friday sermon that week. We would often come to the conclusion that our stories were very similar, and - if you remember - we made jokes about how the imam and the priest were close friends for sure, or at least neighbours.

As I told you, I never held any grudges against you. I remember you as a phenomenon that brought our country the peace it has now. Because you never let me mention the land of our grandfathers when I was angry and started bad-mouthing everyone. And it has become exactly what you wanted it to be.

I watched the news last night, they say there will be a ceremony on the occasion of peace in the neighbourhood ... Well, my dear peacemaker, welcome; you can stay with me for the night. We can tell 'wise' stories to our children, as our ancestors used to do with us. Well, my wish now is for us to be those old guys. Let them see what all these years have brought us. I want them to see who Jole is, whom I told them so much about. And believe me, they scolded me for not contacting you a long time ago, but they do not realize that our souls have lived together all these years.

I may not have known your address to this day, but I knew where your thoughts were. I know you did not write because you thought I was angry about your departure, which is why I did not even come to see you off. But know this: there has never been anger at you in my soul, but only regret that life has separated us. As I said, I have always felt that, although we are so far away from each other, we still understand and encourage each other, as if we were one.

But today, my Josip, I somehow find it hard to breathe, as if something is choking me.... If this is a sigh from you, I hope you are well.

# Renka Žunić

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

MIR - stanje **a.** bez rata, sukoba [*međunarodni mir*], *opr.* rat **b.** javnog reda [*javni mir*], *opr.* nered **c.** bez svađe, gloženja, prepirke [*društveni mir; kućni mir*]; slaganje, sloga **d.** bez buke; tišina **e.** bez suvišnog i neželjenog uzbuđenja [*duševni mir; iz čistog mira; mir s tobom!; na miru; u miru*]; spokojstvo, *opr.* nemir<sup>1</sup>

Mir. Riječ kojom se ljudi u BiH pozdravljaju.

***Es-selamu 'alejkum (pozdrav koji muslimani koriste širom svijeta)*** i

***Mir s tobom (hrišćanski pozdrav).***

O miru i velikom snu o svijetu u kojem svi imaju podjednake šanse pričao je Martin Luther King Jr. godinu dana prije rođenja moje majke. Govorom opijena masa gledala je velikog čovjeka na bini, kličući glasom i glavom i zaista vjerujući u taj san. O fantastičnom nastupu tog borca za ljudska prava i danas pišemo, pravimo i gledamo dokumentarce i filmove, citiramo rečenice. Martin Luther King Jr. je imao san.

<sup>1</sup> [http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search\\_by\\_id&id=e1lmXhU%3D](http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search_by_id&id=e1lmXhU%3D)

George Perry Floyd Jr. ga više ne sanja. Njegove snove su zaustavili oni koji nisu vjerovali u Martinov san. Sjedinjene Američke Države pale su na ispitu iz poštovanja ljudskih prava.

O ljudskim pravima su se u Strazbourgu 22. novembra 1984. godine očitovale najjače i najstabilnije europske zemlje, sačinivši veliki dokument u kojem su podebljali i podvukli moralne vertikale o jednakosti, vrijednostima, o svemu što svaki čovjek mora da ima, što ga sljeđuje. Moja mama je te godine imala 20 godina. Vjerovala je u Martinov san, studirala pravo i radovala se Konvenciji.

Godine 1992. počeo je oružani sukob u Bosni i Hercegovini. Te godine u mojoj zemlji sva ljudska prava su prestala imati značaj. U pozdravu koristeći riječ mir, samo na različitim jezicima, ljudi su se udaljavali jedni od drugih. Nije bila jezička barijera problem, već vjerska. Jeste li ikada doživjeli da je riječ mir izazvala konflikt? U ratu ste mogli to doživjeti, pogrešnim pozdravom. Mojoj mami je tada bilo 28 godina. Bosna i Hercegovina je pala na ispitu iz ljudskih prava. Taj ispit do dana današnjeg nije položila.

Mađarska je 2015. podigla bodljikavu žicu na granicama kako bi spriječila priliv migranata. Hrvatska policija optužena je za surovost prema migrantima na granici sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Grčka, Slovenija, Makedonija...

### Murali za 25 godina mira

Lokacija: Zvornik

Naziv koalicije: Za pozitivan Zvornik

### Murals for 25 Years of Peace

Location: Zvornik

Name of the Coalition: Za pozitivan Zvornik



Ni Alan Kurdi, trogodišnjak iz Sirije, više ne sanja. Njegove snove ugušili su oni koji nisu vjerovali u rješavanje konflikta mirnim putem. Danas se po njemu zove spasilački brod u Njemačkoj.

Europa je pala na ispitu iz poštivanja ljudskih prava.

Pisati o relativnosti mira za jedan književni esej je malo. U teoriji, mir trenutno vlada na Balkanu, mir je u SAD, Mađarskoj i Hrvatskoj. U praksi, kako za koga. Jer mir nije tek odsustvo oružanog sukoba.

Mami je danas 56 godina. Više ne vjeruje da će dočekati unapređenje poštivanja ljudskih prava u Bosni i

Hercegovini. Na to je čekala 25 godina živeći u "fiktivnom miru". Pravi mir će biti kada položimo ispit iz ljudskih prava. Mama taj ispit ostavlja mlađim generacijama, nada se pravnicima. Zna, nije rijetko da se kod nas ljudi bave onim što im nije profesija pa, kako kaže, ne bi željela da se tim pravima pozabavi, recimo, mesar.

U san Martina Luthera Kinga Jr. mama vjeruje. Jednog dana će, kaže, zaista biti nevažna boja kože, način pozdravljanja, porijeklo ili nacija. Do tada, poučena četverogodišnjim iskustvom rata, želi samo da tu vrstu nemira niko ne doživi: bolje je i dvadeset pet godina "fiktivnog mira".

# Renka Žunić

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

PEACE – a state **a.** no war, conflict [*international peace*], *opp.* war **b.** public order [*public peace*], *opp.* disorder **c.** without quarrelling, bickering, arguing [*social peace; home peace*]; agreement, unity **d.** noise-free; silence **e.** without excessive and unwanted excitement [*peace of mind; out of pure peace; peace be with you!*; *at peace; in peace*]; serenity, *opp.* unrest<sup>1</sup>

Peace. A word that people in BiH use to greet each other.

***As-salamu alaykum (greetings used by Muslims around the world) and Peace be with you (Christian greeting).***

A year before my mother was born, Martin Luther King Jr. spoke about peace and the great dream of a world of equal opportunities. The crowd absorbed by his speech watched this great man on the stage, shouting with their voices and minds and truly believing in that dream. We still write, and produce and watch documentaries and films about the fantastic performance of this human rights champion, and quote his sentences. Martin Luther King Jr. had a dream.

George Perry Floyd Jr. no longer dreams. His dreams were interrupted by those who did not believe in Martin's dream. The United States failed the human rights test.

on 22 November 1984, compiling a large document, bolding and underlining moral guides about equality, values, everything that a human being is entitled to. My mom was 20 that year. She believed in Martin's dream,

[http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search\\_by\\_id&id=e1lmXhU%3D](http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search_by_id&id=e1lmXhU%3D)

studied law and looked forward to the Convention.

An armed conflict started in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. That year, all human rights ceased to matter in my country. Using the word 'peace', only in different languages, people were distancing themselves from each other. The language barrier was not a problem, but a religious one. Have you ever witnessed the word 'peace' to cause conflict? You could have experienced that in the war, if you used the wrong greeting. My mom was 28 back then. Bosnia and Herzegovina failed the human rights test. It has not passed that test to this day.

In 2015, Hungary installed barbed wire at the borders to prevent the influx of migrants. Croatian police have been accused of cruelty to migrants on the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Greece, Slovenia, Macedonia...

Alan Kurdi, the three-year-old from Syria doesn't dream any more, either. His dreams were smothered by those who did not believe in peaceful conflict resolution. Today, a lifeboat in Germany is named after him.

Europe failed the human rights test.

It is not enough to write about the relativity of peace for a literary essay. In theory, peace currently reigns in the Balkans, in the United States, Hungary and Croatia. In practice, it depends. Because peace is not a mere absence of an armed conflict.

Mom is 56 now. She no longer believes that she will live to see the improvement of human rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She waited for it for 25 years, living in the "fictitious peace". Real peace will come when we pass

the human rights exam. Mom leaves that exam to the younger generations, hopefully lawyers. You know, it is not uncommon for people here to do what they are not qualified for; so, as she says, she would not want those rights to be dealt with by, say, a butcher.

Mom believes in the Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream. One day, she says, skin colour, the greeting you use, origin or nationality will not really matter. Until then, taught by the four years of war experience, she just wants no one to experience that kind of unrest again: even twenty-five years of "fictitious peace" is better.

# Safet Imamović

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

### *Kako sam spoznao mir*

Kraj tih devedesetih za mene je bio početak: imao sam sedam godina i krenuo u prvi razred. Sjećam se, svi oko mene su nosili Zidaneov dres, a ja provodio sate uz TV i nacionalne frekvencije koje su nudile puno kvalitetniji medijski sadržaj nego danas...

Moj život na zalasku 20. vijeka svodio se na dvije lokacije: dom u izbjegličkom naselju Prutače gdje sam rastao sa mamom i bratom, i dom kod nene i djeda, uvijek topao i pristupačan.

Bio sam dijete, a oko mene nena i djed. Izgubili sina u ratu i oplakuju ga. Kad nisam tu, prostor dijelim sa izbjeglicama, stičem prijatelje koji se raduju povratku kući, a moj dom je mjesto iz kojeg oni žele da odu.

Oni bi da idu, a ja ne znam šta bih mislio. Rekli su mi da je sve bilo idealno, da je rahmetli daidža imao prijatelje „druge vjere“, ali da se u jednom trenutku sve raspalo zbog toga što su neki ljudi htjeli ovo parče zemlje samo za sebe.

Šta da mislim? Dječaci i djevojčice koji sa mnom dijele prostor na igralištu protiv svoje volje su tu i imaju neke šarenije igračke koje ih čekaju. Tada sam po prvi put mogao sebi definirati riječ izbjeglica: dječak ili djevojčica koji ne voli naše igralište jer očigledno želi da ga zamijeni boljim.

Krenula je škola. Već sam znao da čitam i pišem, učiteljica se oduševila, računam već do 20, a nemam još ni sedam. Opet kažem: TV, već znam ćirilicu i ne znam da se zbog toga tek trebamo podijeliti.

A u kući tuga; plaču, izgubili su sina u ratu i čovjeka koji je bio poštovan u selu. U tom trenutku, kad majka plače za svojim sinom, sve političke, nacionalne i druge ideologije padaju u vodu. Vidiš da nije vrijedno.

Tako, dok je nena plakala, dođe nam jednom komšija, izvjesni Hamo. Veli demonstracije u Brčkom, neka cura otvoreno priča o tome kako ne podnosi muslimane. A ja, rastući u ruralnoj sredini i još premlad za spoznaju

činjenica, upoznao se sa svojom nacionalnom sviješću, kontam: pa šta to ona hoće? Treba da šuti! I stvarno, odrastati u ruralnom području i homogenoj sredini bio je svojevrstan test, ponajviše zato jer su svi bili i žrtve i pobjednici, a ta homogenost bila je otežavajući faktor prilikom asimilacije sa ostalima.

Valjda se uplašiš, zamjeriš, prijetiš, braniš....

Kad sam upisao srednju školu, bio sam jako buntovan, radoznao i zbunjen. Odjednom sam shvatio da moram u grad, da je došlo vrijeme da se sretnem sa pripadnicima te druge strane, strane na koju sam upozoravan, strane koja je često značila znak opreza i upozorenja.

Već tad mi je bilo jasno kakva su pravila igre: mi na torbama nosimo bedževe zastave sa ljiljanima, oni nose „četiri s“. Ali to mi je bilo kliše, pa sam kao odbrambeni mehanizam na torbu prikačio grb entiteta Federacija BiH. „Oni“ nisu ni obraćali pažnju na grb, jer evidentno da dobar dio „njih“ to nije ni znao. Svu apsurdnost grbova po školskim torbama spoznao sam u trenutku kad sam shvatio da ni „naši“ ne shvataju o čemu se radi. Tad sam ga skinuo i to je bila određena prekretnica u mom životu...

Uhvatio sam sebe, još u prvom polugodištu prvog razreda, kako slušam „njih“. Čudno, ali spustio sam gard. Slušam Živana kako mi priča o crkvi, o pravoslavnom moralu, i gledam ga kako se ponaša. Odličan je učenik, sluša i razdvaja ove „tricarose“ kad se prilikom rasprave okrenu ka neverbalnoj komunikaciji. Pametan je, ima stav i priznat će grešku.

Ima tu još jedan, nasmijava nas, zanimljiv lik. Shvatio sam da njemu nije bilo bitno ko sam ja u onolikoj mjeri koliko je meni bitno ko je on.

Sve manje sam bio zbunjen, ali i dalje sam bio uplašen i zamjerao sam.

Homogenost me stigla kad su pojedinci ponovno počeli da pričaju o ratu. Srednjoškolci puni energije gradili su svoje karaktere na određenim stvarima i

prezentirali se u društvu. Ponovo sam bio zbunjen. Trebala je proći godina da se naviknem na ambijent u kojem su svi radikalni i svi puni saosjećanja, ambijent u kojem mi smeta Bošnjak koji provocira, ali me istovremeno i ohrabruje da se osjećam zaštićenim.

Sve to je dobilo svoj epilog onog trenutka kad je u drugi razred srednje škole došao Saša.

Bio je jako čudan lik, rekli su da je došao iz Tehničke kod nas u Ekonomsku, a predrasude su ukazivale na to da se neko dobro morao potruditi da dođe tu gdje jeste. Sjedio je sam i ponekad bi mi mahnuo na času. Nije pričao ni s kim, a mene, tad indigo plave kose, često je posmatrao. Nije da ga krivim: imao sam takvu frizuru da mi je žao što je nisam više fotografski arhivirao.

Jednog dana na velikom odmoru mi je prišao i rekao: „Ti si čudan lik. Hajde sa mnom danas u park da kao intervjuišemo starce o tome šta oni misle o penzijama“.

Pristao sam. Nedugo nakon toga gledali smo snimke u kojem smo lažno anketirali starije ljude i smijali se tome. Naravno, tad društvene mreže nisu imale ovakav utjecaj kao danas, stoga to nije nigdje otišlo sa memorije Sašinog k700i telefona.

Sjedili smo zajedno, smišljali gluposti i već u drugom razredu nisam više bio ni zbunjen ni uplašen. Družili smo se, i došli do tog stadija da u razredu više nema etnonacionalnih podjela. Bile su prisutne tu, u zraku, ali fizički nisu postojale.

Saša mi je bio lekcija. Njega nije interesiralo ko sam ja, a ja sam tu zaboravio misliti na to ko je on. Uz njega i sve kolege iz razreda naučio sam prvu bitnu lekciju – da ne generaliziram. Ti ljudi iz razreda su mi pomogli da shvatim diverzitet u zajednici u kojoj živim. Naravno, u srednjoj školi to nije bilo u potpunosti implementirano u moj život, ali plodove tih lekcija berem još i danas.

Da, vraćao sam se u svoje selo svaki dan nakon nastave. Da, i dalje sam zamjerao i bio oprezan. Ali sada sam slušao ljude, ali nisam sve uzimao kao jedinu istinu. Diverzitet mi je pomogao da upoznam sebe.

Na fakultetu sam već bio formirana ličnost. Nisam više misli i energiju usmjeravao na lokalnu zajednicu, pa ni na državu u kojoj živim. Bio sam impresioniran američkim standardom života, austrijskom ekonomskom školom, italijanskim fudbalom i britanskim filmom.

Iako tema za svakodnevicu, rat i tranzicijska pravda za mene su bili sekundarni. Tu i tamo sam se u novinarskom poslu bavio time, ali nikada nisam dozvolio da me to određuje ili da bude nešto što će prevagnuti u donošenju odluka.

I zaista, odveo me proces globalizacije sa sobom; kad sam slobodne volje i slobodnog vremena, uzmem Hayeka, uzmem i Orwela, i vazda na to trošim svoje sate.

Ali ipak, da sam zaokružio ovu priču koju pišem, shvatio sam tek prije nekoliko mjeseci, kad smo imali obilježavanje deset godina od mature.

Došao je veliki broj nas. Samo ja nisam konzumirao alkohol, ali sve moje kolege jesu, i u opuštenom ambijentu vidio sam iste karaktere kao i iz srednje škole, vidio sam Sašu, isti lik, i dalje čudan. Onako pripit, rekao mi je da me voli i da mu je drago što je upoznao osobu poput mene.

Vidio sam i Živana; i dalje je neko koga mogu s ponosom predstaviti.

Ali kad su se svi napili, niko više nije pričao o nacionalizmu ratu i podjelama. Živan je pričao o tome kako se moramo pobrinuti da imamo bolju sredinu za nas i našu djecu. A Saša? Saša me napao jer ne znam tamo nekog Bošnjaka youtubera koji vozi kamione po SAD-u. Kaže, obavezno ga pogledaj, pusti Stathama i Jamesa Bonda.

Danas živim i družim se sa Hrvatima, Srbima, Romima, Bošnjacima, Džedajima – i zaista, zbog svih prethodnih događaja u životu ne gledam predznake.

Možda nisam do kraja opušten. Možda sam i oprezan, ali više nisam zbunjen i ne živim u strahu.

Za mene je prethodna rečenica najbolja definicija mira.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

### *How I Came to Know Peace*

The end of the nineties was the beginning for me: I was seven and just started first grade. I remember, everyone around me wore Zidane's jersey, and I was spending hours with TV and national frequencies that offered much better media content than today...

My life in late 20th century was centred around two locations: a home in the refugee settlement of Prutače where I was growing up with my mother and brother, and a home with my grandparents, always warm and open.

I was a child, and my grandma and grandpa were doing everything to please me. They lost their son in the war and they were still mourning him. When I'm not there, I share space with refugees, I make friends who look forward to returning home, and the place they want to leave is my home.

They want to leave, and I don't know what to think. I was told that everything had been ideal, that the late uncle had friends of "different religion", but that at one point everything fell apart because some people wanted this piece of land just for themselves.

What can I think? The boys and girls who share the playground with me are there against their will, and they have some more colourful toys waiting for them. Then, for the first time, I was able to define the word refugee: a boy or a girl who doesn't like our playground because they obviously want to replace it with a better one.

The school started. I could already read and write, the teacher was delighted - I already count to 20, and I am not even seven yet. I say again: TV, I already know Cyrillic and I am unaware of the fact that this will be the reason for another division.

And the house is full of sorrow; they are crying, they lost their son in the war, a man who was respected in the village. At that moment, when a mother is crying for her son, all political, national and other ideologies become meaningless. You can see it's not worth it.

While grandma was crying, a neighbour, Hamo came to visit. He says there are demonstrations in Brčko, some girl openly talks about how she can't stand Muslims. Growing up in a rural area and still too young to grasp the facts, I suddenly developed national consciousness, and I thought: so what does she want? She should keep her mouth shut! And really, growing up in a rural area and a homogeneous environment was a kind of test, mostly because everyone was both a victim and a winner, and this homogeneity was an aggravating factor in the assimilation with others.

I guess you get scared, resentful, you threaten, defend...

When I enrolled in high school, I was very rebellious, curious and confused. I suddenly realized that I had to go to the city, that the time had come to meet with members of that other side, the side I had been warned about, the side that often meant caution and warning.

Even then, the rules of the game were clear to me: we wore badges, flags with lilies on our bags, they wore the "Four S". But that was a cliché for me, so I attached the coat of arms of the Federation of BiH entity to my bag as a defence mechanism. "They" did not even pay attention to the coat of arms, because evidently many of "them" did not even know it. I realized all the absurdity of coats of arms on school bags at the moment when I understood that even "ours" did not know what it was. Then I took it off and it was a turning point in my life...

In the first semester of the first grade, I caught myself listening to "them". Strange, but I lowered my guard. I listen to Živan telling me about the church, about Orthodox morality, and I watch how he behaves. He is an A student, he listens to and separates the "C-students" when they turn to non-verbal communication during a discussion. He is smart, has an attitude and will admit his mistake.

There is another one, he makes us laugh, an interesting character. I realized that he didn't care who I was as much as I cared who he was.

I was less and less confused, but I was still scared and resentful.

Homogeneity caught me when some students started talking about the war again. High school students full of energy were building their characters on certain things and presenting themselves in society. I was confused again. It took me a year to get used to an environment where everyone was radical and everyone was full of compassion; an environment where I am bothered by a Bosniak who provokes, but at the same time he encourages me and I feel protected.

Things came into place the moment when Saša came to the second grade of the secondary school.

He was a very strange character, they said that he came from Technical School to our School of Economics, and prejudices whispered us that someone had to put a lot of effort to get him where he is now. He did not share the school bench with anyone, and sometimes he would wave at me in class. He didn't talk to anyone, and he often watched me, indigo blonde at the time. Not that I blame

him: I had such a hairstyle that I'm sorry I didn't take more photographs of myself at the time.

One day, he approached me during a recess and said: "You are a strange character. "Come with me to the park today to interview the elderly and ask them what they think about pensions."

I agreed. Short time later, we watched footage of our false interviews with elderly people and laughed at it. Of course, back then, social networks did not have such an impact as today, so it stayed in the memory of Saša's k700i phone.

We were sitting together, planning pranks, and as early as in the second grade, I was no longer confused or scared. We hung out, and got to the point where there were no more ethno-national divisions in the class. They were there, in the air, but not physically.

Saša was my lesson. He didn't care who I was, and I forgot to think about who he was. With him and all my classmates, I learned the first important lesson - to refrain from generalizing. Those people from my class helped me understand the diversity in my community. Of course, it was not fully implemented in my life during secondary school, but I still reap the fruits of those lessons.

Yes, I went back to my village every day after school. Yes, I still held grudges and I was cautious. But now I listened to people, but I didn't take everything as the only truth. Diversity helped me get to know myself.

I went to university with a well-developed personality. I no longer focused my thoughts and energy on the local community, nor on the country in which I live. I was impressed by the American standard of living, the Austrian School of Economics, Italian football and British film.

Although everyday topics, war and transitional justice were secondary to me. Here and there, I dealt with it in my journalistic work, but I never allowed it to define me or to be something that would prevail in decision-making.

And indeed, the globalization process absorbed me; when I have will and free time, I take Hayek, or Orwell, and I always spend my hours on it.

But still, I only realized a few months ago, when we were celebrating ten years since graduation, that I completed this story of mine.

Many of us came. I was the only one who did not consume alcohol, but all my colleagues did, and in a relaxed atmosphere, I saw the same characters from the secondary school, I saw Saša, the same guy, still weird. A little tipsy, he told me he loved me and that he was glad to meet a person like me.

I saw Živan, too; he is still a person I can proudly introduce.

But when everyone got drunk, no one talked about nationalism, war and divisions. Živan talked about how we need to make sure we have a better environment for ourselves and our children. And Saša? Saša reproached me because I haven't heard of a Bosniak YouTuber who drives trucks around the USA. He says, be sure to check on this guy, Statham and James Bond are nothing compared to him.

Today, I live and hang out with Croats, Serbs, Roma, Bosniaks, Jedi - and really, I don't look for omens because of all the previous events in my life.

Maybe I am not fully relaxed. I may be cautious, but I am no longer confused and I do not live in fear. To me, the previous sentence is the best definition of peace.

## Dvadeset pet godina mira

*Bosna i Hercegovina: Izgradnja trajnog mira u vakuumu nepovjerenja*

### Sažetak

Fokus ovoga rada je promatranje izgradnje mira u vakuumu nepovjerenja s kojim se Bosna i Hercegovina drži u mjestu već 25 godina, od 1995. do danas. Kroz uvod ću nastojati da dam osnov za praćenje sadržaja rada pojašnjavajući termin *postkonfliktna* Bosna i Hercegovina. Drugi dio se fokusira na konkretan primjer pokušaja kreiranja mirovne forme koja bi ublažila posljedice netrpeljivosti, koristeći izvještaj Misije OSCE-a u BiH u vezi s pojavom „dvije škole pod jednim krovom“, te daje odgovor da li je on parcijalno uspješan ili pak propali projekat međunarodne zajednice. Nakon osvrta na obrazovanje kao jedan od najbitnijih aspekata svakog društva, a koje je u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine ukalupljeno nacionalizmom i negativnim patriotizmom, postavljena su četiri problemska pitanja:

Da li je obrazovanje zloupotrijebljeno kao oruđe za manipulaciju masom?

Da li je moguća uspostava trajnog mira?

U čemu se ogleda društveno (ne)povjerenje?

Na koji način je potrebno gledati na pojmove “oprost i pomirenje”?

Ključne riječi: postkonfliktna BiH, strategije za izgradnju mira, obrazovanje, (ne)povjerenje, trajni mir, oprost, pomirenje

### Uvod

#### **Postkonfliktna Bosna i Hercegovina**

Prošlost predstavlja teško breme i za sadašnjost i budućnost ako se s njom postupa na pogrešan način. Mi pamtimo prošlost – ne toliko istorijske činjenice koliko jake emocije, bol, gubitak, viktimizaciju, nepravdu, mitove i narative koji su se oko njih razvili. Pošto je s prošlošću povezano toliko bola, veoma je teško suočiti se s njom na konstruktivan način. Zato izgradnja mira i pomirenje uopšte nisu laki procesi. Ako se radi o dalekoj prošlosti, čak možemo da imamo slučaj “izabrane traume” – ne traume kao posljedice nečega teškog što smo doživjeli nego nečega što su proživjele prethodne generacije (Volkan, Vamik D. 2001.) Ako se mnogi pripadnici neke grupe nisu pomirili s njom, prošlost se vrlo lako koristi u političke svrhe.

Kako opisuje Giordano, u većini slučajeva “intelektualne i političke elite upravljaju prošlošću i proizvode kako istorije, tako i uspomene jednog društva, a samim tim i suprotstavljene istine. Ove potonje su specifična društvena konstrukcija realnosti koja proizlazi iz pažljive reelaboracije, reinterpretacije, manipulacije ili čak ponovnog izmišljanja prošlosti u sadašnjosti”. (Giordano, 2004).

Izraz *postkonfliktni* koristi se kao varijanta za upućivanje na posebna obilježja koja bosanskohercegovačko društvo dijeli s drugim postkonfliktnim društvima, te na potrebu za međunarodnom intervencijom koja se, uobičajeno, naziva postkonfliktnom izgradnjom mira.

Kada je riječ o važnosti i neophodnosti postkonfliktne izgradnje mira, ona proizlazi iz razumijevanja da taj proces pokriva širok spektar pitanja usmjerenih na adresiranje stvarnih i osnovnih izvora sukoba postavljajući tako mir na trajnije, samoodržive temelje. (Bašić, S., 2011.)

Bosna i Hercegovina je jedinstvena tranzicijska zemlja i u njoj je kriza posljednjih dvadeset godina permanentno stanje. Početno krizno stanje izazvano destruktivnim političkim ideologijama iz susjedstva u procesu raspada Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, utemeljeno je na ratnim događanjima 1992-1995. godine, učvršćeno Dejtonskim mirovnim sporazumom iz 1995. godine, preraslo je u stanje koje bi psiholozi okarakterisali kao *kriza iscrpljivanja* (Ajduković i Pantić, 2000.) Misao Benjamina Franklina da „mir može biti kupljen uz previsoku cenu“ poslužiće kao idealan opis narušavanja ljudskih vrijednosti u BiH. Aneks IV Ustava Bosne i Hercegovine, tj. Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma, stvorio je uslove za proizvodnju nesigurnosti, što pokazuje veliki broj studija, domaćih i međunarodnih. Proizvedena je etnokolektivna dilema koja je uzrokovala i ojačala ugroženost kolektiva, ali i pojedinca, proizvodeći strah od drugih etničkih grupa. Krajnji rezultat je destruktivnost, jer i nakon 25 godina nije izgrađeno koherentno bosanskohercegovačko društvo.

Kriza iscrpljivanja dotakla je mnoge aspekte društva, a dosegla je i do obrazovnog sistema. “Obrazovanje uključuje neformalnu medijsku, kulturnu i porodičnu socijalizaciju te socijalizaciju unutar formalnog i vjerskog obrazovanja. Svaki vid obrazovanja ima priliku da njeguje ljubav i međusobno poštovanje unutar zajednica i može predstavljati ključni utjecaj na oblikovanje okoline i postizanje pozitivnog učinka unutar javnog prostora” (Lisa, Schirch, 2004).

Razumljivo je zašto baš obrazovanje kao meta, zar ne? Što više ispranih mozgova, to duži opstanak ideologija koje su Bosnu i Hercegovinu stegle na krajnje težak način. Kada kažem težak način mislim na Istoriju/Historiju/Povijest, te na njene interpretacije kroz obrazovni sistem. Prošlost 1990-ih nije sagledana iz svih uglova, a to možda nije slučaj



**Murali za 25 godina mira**

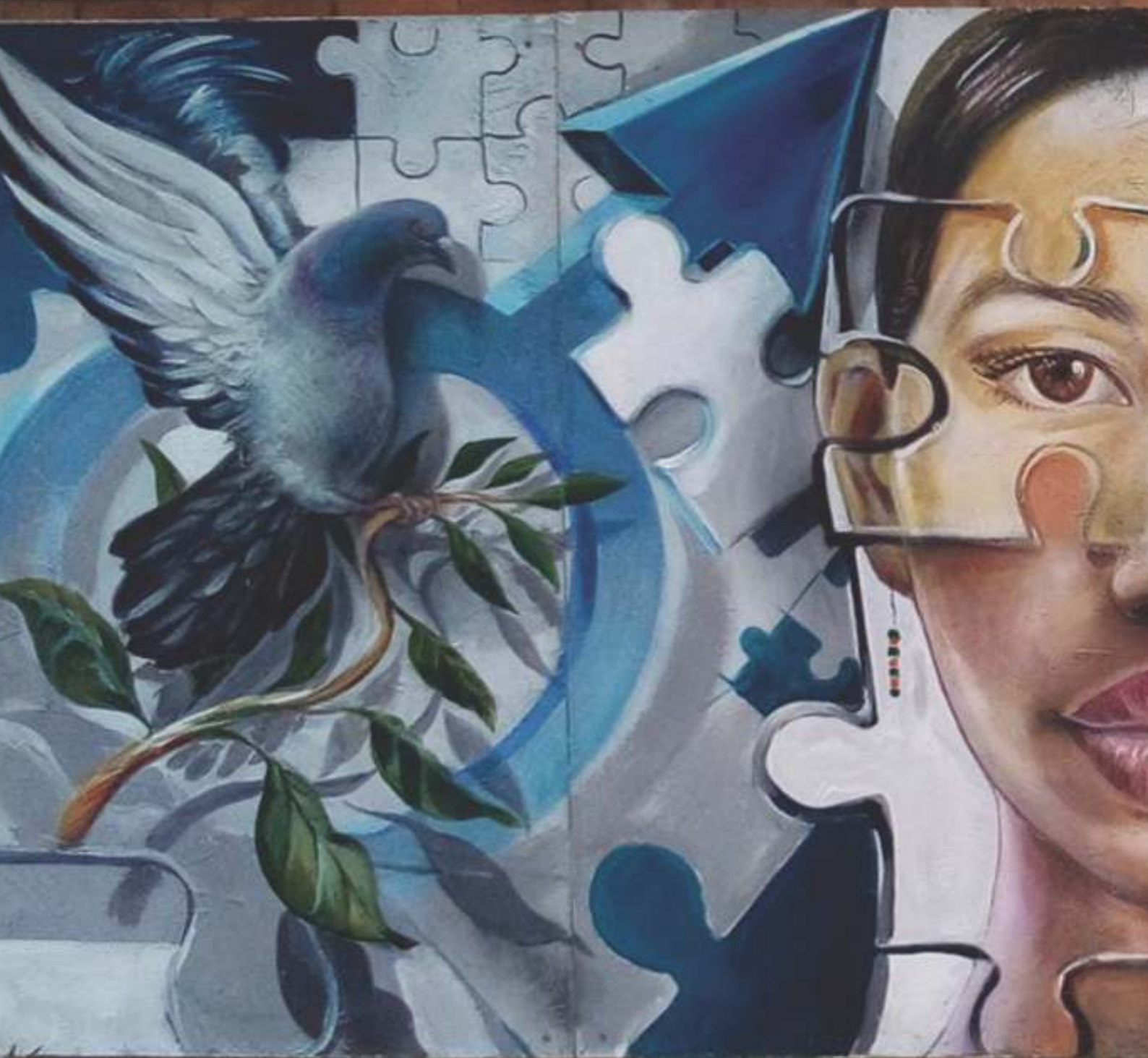
Lokacija: Zvornik

Naziv koalicije: Za pozitivan Zvornik

**Murals for 25 Years of Peace**

Location: Zvornik

Name of the Coalition: Za pozitivan Zvornik





čak ni u jednoj porodici u cijeloj državi. Ima, međutim, ipak nešto dobro u svemu tome, a to su narativi koje šire nove generacije. Neki mladi su imali sreću da iz svoje kuće ponesu „Voli svoje, a poštuju tuđe i ljude dijeli samo na dobre i loše“ – ali tu završava sva priča. Nažalost, brojni mladi nisu bili ni sličnog razmišljanja; štaviše, malo je porodica u kojima će se govoriti o ratnim dešavanjima, a da se pritom ne naglasi ko je u pravu: srpska, hrvatska ili bošnjačka varijanta, koja obavezno počinje sa „Historia est magistra vitae“. Prekretnica od važnosti spoznaje vrijednosti ljudskog bića i suočavanja sa istinom do stranputice „Nismo mi počeli, oni su“, te neprihvatanja istine. Ali ne može postojati stvarna sigurnost bez poštovanja ljudskih prava i temeljnih sloboda, što je jedan od ključnih principa OSCE-ovog Završnog akta iz Helsinkija<sup>3</sup>.

## „Dvije škole pod jednim krovom“ – propao ili parcijalno uspješan projekat?

Sukob koji se 1990-ih godina dogodio na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine doveo je do ogromnog raseljavanja i etničke homogenizacije na mnogim područjima. Tada je, u pokušaju da se preokrene taj proces i potakne povratak izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba, uspostavljen koncept „dvije škole pod jednim krovom“. Zajedničko za sve postojeće koncepte je da se u njima vrši segregacija djece i da kroz tu segregaciju u školi djeca uče da među njima postoje nepremostive razlike. (Izveštaj Misije OSCE-a u Bosni i Hercegovini „Dvije škole pod jednim krovom: Najvidljiviji primjer diskriminacije u oblasti obrazovanja u BiH“, 2018.)<sup>1</sup>

Ovaj koncept predstavljao je privremenu mjeru, kojoj je cilj bio da odgovori na poslijeratni etnocentrični obrazovni sistem. Međutim, to rješenje postalo je trajno. Kantoni sa mješovitim hrvatskim i bošnjačkim stanovništvom (Zeničko-dobojski, Srednjobosanski i Hercegovačko-neretvanski kanton) bili su područja u kojima su se odvijale intenzivni sukobi, zbog kojih je došlo do značajnog raseljavanja osoba jedne od te dvije etničke grupe.

Ta su područja ostala polarizovana nakon rata, te je samim time otežan proces povratka stanovnika. Ozbiljne prepreke su ostale čak i nakon što su povrat imovine i obnova uglavnom bili završeni<sup>2</sup>, uključujući pristup socijalnim uslugama i netrpeljivosti u vezi sa sigurnosnom situacijom. Još jedna velika prepreka procesu održivog povratka bilo je pitanje obrazovanja. (Torsti, Pilvi 2009.)

U postkonfliktnoj BiH, pored direktnog uticaja koji oružani sukob ima na obrazovanje, kroz uništavanje škola i otežan pristup obrazovanju, obrazovne politike često se koriste „da oblikuju ili ojačaju podjele u društvu, netoleranciju i neravnopravnost, ili da eliminiiraju mogućnosti za razvoj

građanstva koje kritički promišlja.“<sup>3</sup> Praksa postojanja „dvije škole pod jednim krovom“ predstavlja kršenje međunarodnih konvencija kao i domaćih zakona.

U okviru ovog programa učenici imaju zakonsku mogućnost da se upišu u bilo koju od dvije škole. Međutim, praksa je pokazala da ni to nije dobro osmišljeno. Naime, školsko okruženje, s nastavnim planovima i programima, prihvatljivo je pripadnicima samo jedne etničke grupe. Također postoje i primjeri uspostave jednonacionalnih škola u sredinama koje su etnički mješovite. Tako prateći situaciju, opet nakon toliko godina dolazimo u poziciju borbe protiv stvaranja novih takvih škola, kao što je primjer škole u Jajcu. Napredak predstavlja to što je realizacija ideje o podijeli učenika spriječena. U slučaju Stoca i Čapljine donesena je sudska odluka da je ta praksa diskriminirajuća, ali nije provedena u praksi.

Zar zaista postoji ogroman nedostatak političke volje za rješenje ovog problema, zbog širih političkih pitanja i ličnih interesa, kao i zbog zabrinutosti roditelja i djece u pogledu očuvanja nacionalnog identiteta? Mjere koje bosanskohercegovačka vlast nameće neće pomoći ni procesu pomirenja niti suočavanju sa događajima 1990-ih godina – da ne govorimo o mirnoj budućnosti za mlade u 21 vijeku. U *Izveštaju o BiH*, koji je napisao posebni izveštilac Vijeća za ljudska prava Ujedinjenih naroda, konstatuje se činjenica da se „pretjerano naglašavanje kulturoloških razlika, uključujući jezičke razlike, koristi za opravdavanje prakse kojom se provodi segregacija učenika, zasnovana na etnonacionalnoj pripadnosti“ – a to je upravo ono što vladajuća struktura BiH radi sve ove godine.

Nakon osvrta na obrazovanje, koje je u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine ukalupljeno u nacionalizam i negativni patriotizam, postavlja se pitanje je li, pored toliko društvenog nepovjerenja, moguća uspostava trajnog mira?

## Trajni mir u sferi društvenog (ne)povjerenja

Narativi unutar trenutnog društvenog i političkog konteksta ne samo da oblikuju našu percepciju društvenih pokreta već su pod uticajem istorijskih događaja i zajedničke uspomene na kolektivne traume, slave ili teškoće. Dakle, istorijski narativi mogu konstruisati važne simbole i sjećanja na prošle događaje kako bi se potaknula solidarnost u grupi – a to je put kojim treba da idemo. Ali oni također mogu revidirati istorijske događaje kako bi promovisali narativ povoljan za određenu grupu. Svi događaji iz prošlosti, koji mogu biti instrumentalizovani istorijskim narativima, vidljivi su u školskim udžbenicima, istorijskim spomenicima i javnim komemoracijama. I svi ti različiti narativi i dalje izazivaju napetost i simbolizuju podjelu u regijama pogođenim sukobom kao što je Bosne i Hercegovina. (Bartulović, Alenka 2006.)

1 OSCE, 2018, Izveštaj „Dvije škole pod jednim krovom: Najvidljiviji primjer diskriminacije u oblasti obrazovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini“.

2 *Revidirana strategija za provedbu Aneksa VII Daytonskog mirovnog sporazuma*, 2010. godina, str. 26.

3 UNICEF/ICTJ, Education and Transitional Justice – Opportunities and Challenges for Peacebuilding, (Obrazovanje i tranzicijska pravda – mogućnosti i izazovi izgradnji mira), 2015. godina, str. 4.

Ako uzmemo u obzir sve donesene presude za zločine počinjene zločine od 1992. do 1995. godine, te svjedočenja ljudi iz tog vremena kao konkretni primjer mirovne forme „žive biblioteke“<sup>4</sup> – mete rata u BiH su bili uglavnom civili. Većina onih koji su bili u koncentracionim logorima bili su civili. Gradovi koji su bombardovani ili srušeni sa zemljom bili su naseljeni civilima. Svakako da je postojao veliki broj zločinâ protiv čovječnosti – ali oni ne smiju biti razlog za generalizacije. Uz to, većina boraca postali su vojnici tako što su regrutovani. Neki su se dobrovoljno pridružili vojsci „da bi nešto branili“, te u brojnim svjedočenjima i izjavama ni sami ne znaju protiv koga i za koga su se borili. Ipak, pored svega toga, u regionu postoji navika da se prebacuje odgovornost na čitave etničke grupe: ako je 1000 Srba/Hrvata/Bošnjaka činilo užase – to znači da su ih činili svi Srbi/Hrvati/Bošnjaci. (Franović, Ivana 2008.) Činjenica jeste da su na Balkanu patili milioni ljudi, bez obzira na etnički identitet, i to treba da bude na prvom mjestu za sve nas koji pričamo o tome „da se ne zaboravi i da se više nikad ne ponovi“. Potrebna je i velika snaga da se stane iza ovih riječi.

Kada sve to uzmemo u obzir, vjerujem da smo samom mišlju načinili veliki korak ka trajnom miru. Svakako da nisu sve strane krive u jednakoj mjeri – ali isto tako treba javno priznati sve patnje kroz koji su ljudi prošli i sva stradanja bez obzira na to čija je to odgovornost. Nažalost, svjedoci smo da to često ne odgovara političkom vrhu i da razdor među narodima koji izazivaju vladajuće strukture ubire političke poene.

Sadašnja realnost je da sva tri naroda jedni druge okrivljuju za rat i patnju, ne prihvatajući da su patili i drugi. Franović u svom istraživanju „Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia“ navodi da se u Hrvatskoj i Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine rat uglavnom gleda kao agresija Srbije s ciljem ustanovljenja 'Velike Srbije', dok se među Srbima percipira kao „građanski rat čiji su korijeni u drevnoj mržnji među etničkim grupama“. Mnoge izbjeglice još se nisu vratile svojim kućama, a mnogo njih koji se jesu vratili u stvari su prodali svoje vlasništvo i preselili se tamo gdje pripadaju većinskom stanovništvu, sa svojom etničkom grupom. S druge strane, ako se oni koji su se vratili ne osjećaju ugroženim, obično osjećaju nesigurnost, ne mogu da nađu posao i da izdržavaju svoje porodice, jer mnogi poslodavci ne zapošljavaju pripadnike etničke manjine. Također, doza netrpeljivosti postoji i zato što mnoge porodice i dalje ne znaju sudbinu svojih bližnjih.<sup>5</sup> Javlja se pitanje, zbog čega je toliko visok nivo nepovjerenja i nakon 25 godina? Odgovor je sadržan u činjenici da se ratni zločinci u javnom prostoru slave kao heroji i zaštitnici one grupe kojoj pripadaju, a uglavnom se poriče da su počinili ikakav zločin uprkos tome što postoje vjerodostojne činjenice.

4 „Živa biblioteka“ je inovativna metodologija za promovisanje ljudskih prava, ravnopravnosti, te za borbu protiv rasizma i ksenofobije, širenje mira i tolerancije u okviru projekta PRO-Budućnost (Povjerenje, Razumijevanje, Odgovornost za Budućnost) Američke agencije za međunarodni razvoj (USAID) koji implementira Catholic Relief Services (CRS) u saradnji s Caritasom BiH, Forumom građana Tuzle, Helsinškim parlamentom građana Banja Luka i Kultom iz Sarajeva.  
[https://www.facebook.com/pg/ziva.biblioteka/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/ziva.biblioteka/about/?ref=page_internal)

5 Prema Međunarodnoj komisiji za nestala lica (International Commission on Missing Persons, ICMP), 24.088 ljudi prijavljeno je kao nestalo tokom ovih ratova, a oko 7.000 ljudi još nije pronađeno. Pogledati ICMP, [www.icmp.org](http://www.icmp.org) (Pristup ostvaren: 26.11.2020.)

Kada se uzmu u obzir sve navedene tvrdnje, lako je zaključiti da nije uloženo dovoljno truda u izgradnju poslijeratne Bosne i Hercegovine. Prestao je oružani sukob, ali to ne znači da je nastao mir. Štaviše, jako smo daleko od dostizanja mira. Lederach tvrdi da „mir okončava nešto što je destruktivno, bolno i nehumano i gradi nešto što je dinamično, što hrani ljude i njihove odnose“. Mi, zapravo, još nismo prekinuli destruktivno, bolno i nehumano ponašanje. Potpisivanje sporazuma o prestanku ratnih djestava bilo je važno za zaustavljanje rata, ali pred nama je još dug put kako bismo postigli trajan mir. Važan iskorak je da se počiniocima zločina da ime, tako da počinioci nisu „oni“, nije cijela nacija nego određeni pojedinci. Analizirajući cjelokupnu situaciju, konstantno cirkulišemo između početka i kraja, sa brojnim koracima u prošlost a bez većeg iskoraka u budućnost, i dolazimo do zaključka da je mir zapravo u nama samima još od našeg postanka. Kako kaže Mahatma Gandhi: „Ne postoji put ka miru. Mir je put.“ Tako da svako od nas bira da li će ostati na tom putu.

Stručnjaci pomirenje često definišu kao višedimenzionalan proces, koji za svakoga od njih obuhvata određen broj elemenata. Za Lederacha to su istina, milosrđe, pravda i mir.<sup>6</sup> Bloomfield definiše mir terminom „kišobran“ koji obuhvata četiri glavna instrumenta: proces pravde, proces traženja i govorenja istine, proces zacjeljenja i proces obnove. Prema Rigbyju, pet je neophodnih uslova za konstruktivno suočavanje s prošlošću, a samim time i pomirenje: istina, bezbjednost (lična i kolektivna), pravda, vrijeme i kultura. Iz ovoga možemo zaključiti da je mir u vezi sa pravdom i oprostom.

Pomirenje, prije svega, treba zaslužiti, jer mir predstavlja trnovit put koji iziskuje veliku snagu u vjeri u oprost. Mislim da to možemo dosegnuti samo ako smo spremni da saslušamo i budemo saslušani. Potrebno je suočiti se s prošlošću radi sagledavanja istine iz ugla svih onih koji žive u BiH. Zbog toga je potrebna konstruktivna promjena, odnosno potrebno je odnose koji su definisani strahom i uzajamnim optuživanjem zamijeniti nečim što karakteriše ljubav, uzajamno poštovanje i proaktivni angažman. Tek tada bićemo dostojni iskrenog pomirenja.

## Zaključak

Kako bismo dosegnuli mir u vakuumu nepovjerenja, potrebno je njegovati kulturu sjećanja. Upravo ona najvažniji je instrument izgradnji mira u (post)konfliktnom društvu kao što je Bosna i Hercegovina. Sada živimo okruženi ljudima zatrovanim nacionalizmom i zbog toga je izuzetno važno da se informišemo i da sve kritički propitujemo.

Put mira predstavlja ozbiljan rad, često sa malim i teško vidljivim rezultatima. Mir je plemenit poduhvat za kojim postoji velika potreba u postkonfliktnim društvima kao što je naše. Zbog toga je neophodno da budemo svjesni šta individualna vještina gradnje mira znači. Da je to jačanje svoga „ja“ i svoga samopouzdanja, ali ne da bismo drugima mogli govoriti šta i kako da rade već da bismo bez smetnji mogli komunicirati jedni s drugima, a uz to prepoznati i riješiti se sopstvenih predrasuda.

6 Lederach, *Civil Society*, 849.

Svojim djelima treba da budemo primjer drugima i da ukažemo na to da su naše različitosti naše bogatstvo kojim se trebamo ponositi. Put mira predstavlja put kojim trebamo svi ići, graditi i živjeti mir. Zato ne treba da čekamo promjene, treba da počnemo od sebe. Ako dovoljno čvrsto vjerujemo, ništa nas ne može omesti na tom putu do ispunjenja cilja.

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### Murali za 25 godina mira

Lokacija: Kiseljak

Ime autora: Amin Idrizović

### Murals for 25 Years of Peace

Location: Kiseljak

Name of the author: Amin Idrizović



## Twenty-five Years of Peace

*Bosnia and Herzegovina: Building a Lasting Peace in a Vacuum of Distrust*

### Summary

The focus of this paper is to observe peace-building in the vacuum of distrust that has kept Bosnia and Herzegovina in a stalemate for 25 years, since 1995 to this day. Through the introduction, I will try to provide a basis for following the contents of the paper by clarifying the term *post-conflict* Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second part focuses on a concrete example of an attempt to create a peace form that would mitigate the effects of intolerance, using a report of the OSCE Mission to BiH on the "two schools under one roof" phenomenon, and answers whether this is a partially successful or a failed project of the international community. After reviewing education as one of the most important aspects of any society, which is captured by nationalism and negative patriotism in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, four issues have been raised:

Has education been abused as a tool to manipulate the masses?

Is it possible to establish a lasting peace?

What is the societal (dis)trust reflected in?

How should the terms "forgiveness and reconciliation" be observed?

Key words: post-conflict BiH, peacebuilding strategies, education, (dis)trust, lasting peace, forgiveness, reconciliation

### Introduction

#### ***Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina***

The past is a heavy burden on both the present and the future if treated in the wrong way. We remember the past - not so much historical facts as strong emotions, pain, loss, victimization, injustice, myths and narratives that developed around them. Since so much pain is associated with the past, it is very hard to face it in a constructive way. That is why peace building and reconciliation are not easy processes at all. If we deal with the distant past, we can even have a case of "chosen trauma" - not trauma as a consequence of something difficult that we experienced, but of something that was experienced by previous generations (Volkan, Vamik D. 2001). If many members of a group *have not come to terms with the past*, it is easily used for political purposes. As Giordano puts it, in most cases,

"intellectual and political elites manage the past and produce both the histories and memories of a society, and thereby the conflicting truths as well. The latter is a specific societal construction of reality arising from careful re-elaboration, reinterpretation, manipulation or even re-inventing the past in the present". (Giordano, 2004).

The term *post-conflict* is used as a variant to refer to the special features that BiH society shares with other post-conflict societies, and to the need for international intervention, commonly referred to as post-conflict peacebuilding.

When it comes to the importance and necessity of post-conflict peacebuilding, it stems from the understanding that the process covers a wide range of issues aimed at addressing real and fundamental sources of conflict, thus providing more lasting, self-sustainable foundations for peace. (Bašić, S., 2011)

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a unique transition country and the crisis of the last twenty years is its permanent state. The initial crisis situation caused by destructive political ideologies from the neighbouring countries in the process of disintegration of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, was based on the 1992-1995 war, strengthened by the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995, has grown into a state that psychologists would characterize as an *exhaustion crisis* (Ajduković and Pantić, 2000). Benjamin Franklin's thought that "peace can be bought at too high a price" will serve as an ideal description of the violation of human values in BiH. Annex IV of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. The Dayton Peace Agreement created the conditions for producing uncertainty, as indicated by numerous studies, both domestic and international. An ethno-collective dilemma was created, which caused and exacerbated a threat to the group, but also to an, producing fear of other ethnic groups. The end result is destructiveness, because even after 25 years, a coherent BiH society has not been built.

The exhaustion crisis has touched many aspects of society, reaching the education system as well. "Education includes informal media, cultural and family socialization, as well as socialization within formal and religious education. Every form of education has the opportunity to nurture love and mutual respect within communities and can exert crucial influence on shaping the environment and achieving positive performance within the public space" (Lisa, Schirch, 2004).

Targeting education is understandable, isn't it? The more brainwashed people, the longer the survival of the ideologies that have taken a firm grip on Bosnia and Herzegovina. When I say firm, I refer to History and its interpretations through the education system. The past of the 1990s has not been reviewed from all angles, and this may not be the case even in one family, let alone the entire country. However, there is a silver lining to all this, which is the narratives that new generations are spreading. Some young people were lucky enough to learn to "Love your own, and respect others, and divide people only into good and bad" in their home - but that's where the whole story ends. Unfortunately, many young people did not share this opinion; moreover, there are few families in which the events of the war will be discussed, without emphasizing who is right: the Serb, Croat or Bosniak option, which necessarily begins with "Historia est magistra vitae". A turning point from the importance of realizing the value of the human being and facing the truth to the side path "We did not start this, they did", and non-acceptance of the truth. But there can be no real security without respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which is one of the key principles of the OSCE Helsinki Final Act<sup>3</sup>.

## **“Two schools under one roof” – a failed or partially successful project?**

The conflict that took place on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s led to enormous displacement and ethnic homogenization in many areas. In an attempt to reverse the process and encourage the return of refugees and displaced persons, the concept of "two schools under one roof" was established. All existing concepts segregate children, and through this segregation in school, children learn that there are insurmountable differences between them. (OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina Report, "Two Schools Under One Roof: The Most Visible Example of Discrimination in Education in BiH", 2018)<sup>1</sup>

This concept was a temporary measure aimed at responding to the post-war ethnocentric education system. However, the solution turned into a permanent one. Cantons with a mixed Croat and Bosniak population (Zenica-Doboj, Central Bosnia and Herzegovina-Neretva Cantons) were affected by intense clashes, leading to extensive displacement of members of one of the two ethnic groups.

These areas remained polarized after the war, making the return process more difficult. Serious obstacles remained even after property repossession and reconstruction were largely completed,<sup>2</sup> including access to social services and intolerance related to security situation. The issue of education was another major obstacle to the sustainable return process. (Torsti, Pilvi 2009)

In post-conflict BiH, in addition to the direct impact of armed conflict on education through the destruction of schools and difficult access to education, education policies are often used "to shape or strengthen divisions in the society, intolerance and inequality, or to eliminate opportunities for development of citizenry that engages in critical thinking."<sup>3</sup> The "Two schools under one roof" practice constitutes violation of international conventions and national laws.

Under this programme, students have the legal opportunity to enrol in either school. However, practice has shown that this was not designed well either. Namely, the school environment and curricula are acceptable to members of only one ethnic group. There are also examples of the establishment of single-ethnic schools in ethnically mixed areas. Thus, following the situation, after so many years, we are again in a position to fight against the establishment of more such schools, such as the school in Jajce. The fact that the idea to divide pupils was prevented constitutes progress. In the case of Stolac and Čapljina, a court decision was made proclaiming this practice discriminatory, but it was not implemented.

Is there really a huge lack of political will to solve this problem, due to broader political issues and personal interests, and due to concerns of parents and children regarding preservation of national identity? The measures imposed by the BiH government will not help either the reconciliation process or coping with the events of the 1990s - let alone a peaceful future for young people in the 21st century. The *Report on BiH*, written by the United Nations Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur, notes that "overemphasis on cultural differences, including language differences, is used to justify practices of segregating students based on ethnicity" - is exactly what the governing structure of BiH has been doing all these years.

After reviewing education, which is captured by nationalism and negative patriotism in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, question is if it is possible to establish a lasting peace with so much distrust in the society?

## **A Lasting Peace in the Sphere of Social (Dis)trust**

Narratives within the current social and political context not only shape our perception of social movements, but are also influenced by historical events and shared memories of collective traumas, glories or hurdles. Therefore, historical narratives can construct important symbols and memories of past events in order to foster solidarity within a group - and that is the path we should take. But they can also revise historical events in order to promote a narrative which is convenient for the specific group. All events from the past that can be instrumentalized by historical narratives are visible in

1 OSCE, 2018 Report "Two Schools Under One Roof: The Most Visible Example of Discrimination in Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

2 *Revised strategy for the implementation of Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Agreement*, 2010, p. 26.

3 UNICEF/ICTJ, *Education and Transitional Justice – Opportunities and Challenges for Peacebuilding*, 2015, p. 4.

school textbooks, on historical monuments and public commemorations. All these different narratives still cause tension and symbolize division in conflict-affected regions such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Bartulović, Alenka 2006)

If we take into account all the judgments passed for crimes committed from 1992 to 1995, and the testimonies of people from that time as a concrete example of a peaceful form of "living library"<sup>4</sup> - the targets of the war in BiH were mostly civilians. Most prisoners in concentration camps were civilians. Cities that were bombed or razed to the ground were inhabited by civilians. Numerous crimes against humanity were committed - but they must not be a reason for generalizations. Also, most fighters became soldiers by being recruited. Some volunteered to join the army "to defend something", and their numerous testimonies and statements indicate that they do not even know when and whom they fought for. Nevertheless, there is a habit of shifting responsibility to entire ethnic groups in the region: if 1,000 Serbs/Croats/Bosniaks committed atrocities - it means that all Serbs/Croats/Bosniaks committed them. (Franović, Ivana 2008.) The fact that millions of people have suffered in the Balkans, regardless of ethnic identity, should be the first to come to our mind when we say "we should never forget, and may it never happen again." It requires a lot of strength to stand behind these words.

When we take all this into account, I believe that our thought itself has enabled us to take a big step towards lasting peace. Of course, not all sides take equal blame - but we must also publicly acknowledge all the suffering that people have gone through, regardless of who is responsible for it. Unfortunately, we witness that often this does not suit the political leadership and that the rift between the peoples caused by the ruling structures brings political points.

The current reality is that all three peoples blame each other for the war and suffering, refusing to accept that others suffered as well. In his research entitled "Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia", Franović notes that in Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the war is mostly seen as Serbia's aggression with the aim of establishing a "Greater Serbia", while Serbs perceive it as a "civil war rooted in ancient hatred between ethnic groups." Many refugees have not returned to their homes yet, and many who have returned actually sold their property and moved to places where their ethnic group constitutes the majority. On the other hand, if those who have returned do not feel threatened, they usually feel insecure, they are unable to find a job and support their families, because many employers do not hire members of an ethnic minority. Also, there is a dose of intolerance

because many families have not found their loved ones yet.<sup>5</sup> Question is why is the level of distrust so high even after 25 years? The answer lies in the fact that war criminals are publicly celebrated as heroes and protectors of their respective group, and it is generally denied that they committed any crime, although there are credible facts indicating that they did.

Against this background, it is easy to conclude that not enough effort has been put in building the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. The armed conflict ceased, but it does not mean that peace replaced it. On the contrary, peace is still very far. Lederach argues that "peace ends something that is destructive, painful and inhumane and builds something that is dynamic, that feeds people and their relationships." In fact, we have not stopped the destructive, painful and inhumane behaviour yet. It was important to sign the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in order to stop the war, but we still have a long way to go to achieve a lasting peace. An important step forward is to name the crime perpetrators, so that they are not referred to as "they" or the whole nation, but as specific individuals. Analysing the whole situation, we are constantly circulating between the beginning and the end, with numerous steps back into the past and without a major step into the future, and we come to the conclusion that peace is actually in ourselves since our inception. As Mahatma Gandhi said: "There is no path to peace. Peace is the path." All of us choose whether to stay on that path.

Experts often define reconciliation as a multidimensional process, which includes a number of elements for each of them. For Lederach, these are the truth, mercy, justice and peace.<sup>6</sup> Bloomfield defines peace as an "umbrella" which includes four main instruments: justice process, truth-seeking and truth-telling process, healing process and reparation process. According to Rigby, there are five necessary conditions for a constructive confrontation with the past and reconciliation: truth, security (personal and collective), justice, time and culture. This leads to the conclusion that peace is related to justice and forgiveness.

Reconciliation should be deserved, because peace is a thorny path that requires strong belief in forgiveness. I think we can get to that phase only if we are willing to listen and to be heard. We need to face the past in order to see the truth from angles of all those living in BiH. Therefore, a constructive change is needed, that is, relationships defined by fear and mutual accusations should be replaced with those characterized by love, mutual respect and proactive engagement. Only then will we be worthy of genuine reconciliation.

4 "Living Library" is an innovative methodology for promoting human rights, equality, and combating racism and xenophobia, spreading peace and tolerance within the PRO-Future project (Trust, Understanding, Responsibility for the Future) of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), implemented by the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in cooperation with Caritas BiH, Tuzla Citizens' Forum, the Helsinki Citizens' Parliament Banja Luka and Kult from Sarajevo. [https://www.facebook.com/pg/ziva.biblioteka/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/ziva.biblioteka/about/?ref=page_internal)

5 According to the International Commission on Missing Persons, ICMP, 24,088 people were reported as missing during these wars, and around 7,000 have not been found yet. See ICMP, [www.icmp.org](http://www.icmp.org) (Accessed on: 26.11.2020)

6 Lederach, *Civil Society*, 849.



## Conclusion

In order to achieve peace in the vacuum of distrust, we need to foster a culture of remembrance. It is the most important peacebuilding instrument in a (post)conflict society such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. We now live surrounded by people poisoned by nationalism, which is why being informed and taking a critical approach to things is extremely important.

The path of peace requires serious work, often with small and hardly visible results. Peace is a noble endeavour, greatly needed in post-conflict societies like ours. This is why we should be aware of what individual peacebuilding skills actually mean. That it means strengthening of our "I" and our self-confidence, but not so that we can tell others what to do and how to do it, but so that we can communicate with each other smoothly, and recognize and get rid of our own prejudices at the same time.

Our actions should be an example to others, and we should point out that our differences are our wealth that we should be proud of. The path of peace is the path we should all follow, build and live the peace. This is why we should not wait for a change to happen. We should start from ourselves. If we believe firmly enough, nothing can distract us on our path to achieving our goal.

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# Svjetlana Adžić

## DVADESET PET GODINA MIRA

“Tonem u dubok san. Ove noći sam zaspao ranije nego inače, ali i san je došao prebrzo da bih mu mogao pobjeći.

Sanjam da smo opet zajedno, ti i ja, Rusija i Amerika, gitara i harmonika, iako u podsvijesti znam da to nije moguće, kao što se nikada neće moći razdvojiti more na dva dijela, kao što se ne mogu prebrojati sve zvijezde na nebu, ili je pak nemoguće da se dogodi još samo jedan susret s tobom, onakvom kakvom te pamtim... Lutam u mislima ne bih li te slučajno sreo, ali jedino što pronalazim je slika tebe: kao Sibir ledena, kao noć hladna, kao smrt sigurna... Okrećeš leđa i za sobom ostavljajući nemir u meni, ne svoje plavetnilo horizonta, ne toplinu svoga zlatila, već samo želju za ponovnim ujedinjenjem Istoka i Zapada.

Baš u trenutku kad sam te želio uhvatiti za ruke, nemilosrdno me probudiše granate bačene na zemlju. Čujem vapaje ljudi koji bježe tražeći sklonište, zbunjeno, ne znajući što ih je snašlo. Baš kao i ja tog dana, zatečen što nisam mogao predvidjeti kako poslije našeg rastanka dolazi olujno vrijeme, koje će trajati, čini mi se, neprestano. I ne krivim tebe. Bila si svjesna kako ćeš se morati prilagoditi okolini i ljudima u tvojoj blizini koji jure moć i novac gazeći sve što im se nađe na putu, pa i one ljepote koje si im godinama, tako jedinstvena, poklanjala.

Mir, suživot i tolerancija su ušutkani preko noći, a ti si, prevarena i skrhanu bolom, zauzvrat dobila granice satkane na osnovu imena i vjerovanja. Nikada sebi neću moći oprostiti što nisam provodio svaki dan s tobom, upoznavajući i najmanji kutak tebe, tvoju zemlju, tvoje prirodne ljepote, tople ljetne noći i što nisam preplovio svaku tvoju rijeku bez ikakvog straha. Sada shvaćam, dok stavljam pušku na prsa, natjeran da se borim za nekoga drugog, odvojen od svoje obitelji i prijatelja – zaista, život je suviše kratak da bismo ga usmjeravali na nesuglasice i ratove. Draga moja majko domovino, nadam se kako će ova stihija uskoro biti jučer.“

*Skamenjen, stajao sam čitajući pismo koje sam pronašao u starim spisima svoga djeda. Pomalo sam tužan što mu nakon dvadesetak godina od oluje u njegovim mislima i nakon nemira u njegovom životu ne mogu reći da je njegova ljubljena domovina napokon našla put do smiraja, suživota i oprosta.*

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PEACE

“I am falling into deep sleep. This night, I fell asleep earlier than usual, but the dream came too soon for me to escape.

I am dreaming that you and I, Russia and America, guitar and accordion are together again, although I know subconsciously that this is not possible, just as the sea will never split in two, just as all the stars in the sky cannot be counted, and it is impossible to meet you one more time, the same as I remember you... I wander in my thoughts hoping to meet you by chance, but the only thing I find is a picture of you: icy like Siberia, cold as a night, certain like death... You turn your back and leave unrest in me, not your blue horizon, not the warmth of your gold, but only the desire for East and West to reunite.

Just as I wanted to hold your hands, I was ruthlessly awakened by grenades that exploded on the ground. I can hear cries of people fleeing for shelter, confused, unaware of what had befallen them. Just like I was taken aback that day, because I could not have foreseen that our parting would be followed by stormy weather, which would last, it seems to me, incessantly. And I don't blame you. You knew that you would have to adapt to the environment and the people around you who chase power and money, treading over everything in their path, even the beauties that you have given them for years, as unique as you are.

Peace, coexistence and tolerance were silenced overnight, and you, deceived and broken by pain, in turn received boundaries drawn based on names and beliefs. I will never be able to forgive myself for not spending every day with you, getting to know even the smallest corner of you, your land, your natural beauties, warm summer nights, and for not sailing on every river of yours without fear. I realize now, as I am putting the rifle on my chest, forced to fight for someone else, separated from my family and friends - indeed, life is too short to spend it on disagreements and wars. My dear motherland, I hope that this storm will soon be yesterday.“

*Petrified, I stood reading a letter I had found in my grandfather's old writings. I am a little sad that twenty years after the storm in his mind and after the turmoil in his life, I cannot tell him that his beloved homeland has finally found its way to peace, coexistence and forgiveness.*





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