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SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

Ladies and Gentleman, my friends,

Today is exceptionally nice day in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thank you for coming. If nothing else happens here, the fact that you have gathered here is a great thing; it makes the day nicer. I personally think that gathering in such a number of intellectuals from all over B&H, from all structures of the society, from all ethnic groups, at one place is a very good thing.

I hereby, sincerely greet you on behalf of the OSCE Mission to B&H, which has, among other things, its own programs for confidence building and dialogue. They are part of the activities of the **Democratisation Branch**, distinct from the Mission's Human Rights, Elections and Stabilisation components.

Democratization Branch supports the establishment of democratic conditions and structures in the society and the projects of the Branch are aimed at: developing inter-ethnic dialogue and strengthening tolerance, promoting civil society and increasing in citizen's participation in their community, strengthening the development of democratic institutions, promoting the respect for human rights and free expression.

OSCE is willing to help in overcoming the prejudices, distrust and fear. Certain tragic events and some facts are behind, that's the past, and in front of us is the future which, at least in some areas, can be shaped as we wish. It's better that more voices are heard, specially when we are dealing with such sensitive issues as culture and education. These are issues which are topical in both Entities of B&H.

I would like to emphasise with pleasure that are present here, in addition to the organisers of the round table: Civic Forum of Banja Luka, Circle 99 from Sarajevo and OSCE, participants from several cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, representatives of cultural associations: Serb "Prosvjeta", Bosniac "Preporod", Croatian "Napredak" and Jewish "La Benevolencija". I specially welcome the significant presence of the Council of the Congress of Bosniak Intellectuals from Sarajevo. We also have the honour to have today with us representatives of the Ministries for Education and Culture of Federation of B&H and of Republika Srpska. I have to emphasise that greatest number of our participants are well known pedagogy professors, people from culture and art, including a few academics. Here are a number of journalists too and I'm inviting them to portray this important event in a proper way.

I would like to say that nobody came here under pressure of the International Community. You all came here by your own free will, and the OSCE is in the country long enough to understand certain situations and help within its possibilities. By talking to lot of individuals all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Republika Srpska and in the Federation, we know what people think, what they talk and what they hope for. I am sure of one thing: that

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people have had enough of propaganda and manipulations with all and everything, including with culture and education. I invite you as free and educated people to openly say with full responsibility what you think about culture and education in multi-ethnic society, i.e. should multi-linguistics, multi-tradition and multi-religiousness be approached as exclusivity or as valuable richness of the society.

It is pre-determined to you to live in one country, the one having space for anyone. The thing missing is a higher tolerance level. Tolerance is the necessary characteristic of the present world. Someone could say it is unnatural that nations are forced to live together if they do not want it and if they claim for that. That is not true. I think this case is opposite: it is natural to live in the way how people used to live during centuries, together or one next to another with all cultural influences, customs and religions, and almost always in these same natural and physical borders of B&H. Unnatural are the things which happened during the last years, when people were forced into exile, to ethnic division and to living in ethnically clean territory by means of crimes and persecution. Common sense is going to win in the end. The question is how long is one going to be late.

The measure of culture is creativity. Limits do not exist there. There is nothing more natural than co-operation with people with whom you have co-operated up to now. A film, a picture, or a theatre performance will not be a cultural value because it is belonging to one nation, but because they do have value.

Education is an area of high importance for every society. That is the profession which should be raised on the highest level of a society. The people and programs should be selected carefully. It is of no interest to any society to create confused and burdened generations who will grow up with prejudices and hatred towards neighbours. Is there any pedagogues willing this? Your children can't study three different histories, where each side is shown as a winner. I do not know how many of you want to make your children filled with hatred persons, who could in 20-30 years again start a war to change old injustices.

I would also like to say to you that you ought to have no misconceptions on the issue of whether Bosnia and Herzegovina is one state. Definitely yes. B&H is a state which is internationally recognised and sovereign, and there are no other states within it. The only question raised here is, how are you going to live in this country and how much time will you need to come to an agreement. As long as you negotiate as long you will be distanced from modern European and World's norms and tendencies and naturally be isolated and treated as a object of observations. Will you leave love or hate to your children in inheritance? That question is the most important of all questions and it is subconsciously in our minds when we are talking about culture and education.

I wish you successful work.

OSCE, Zoran Jorgakieski

(Opening word at the Round Table "Culture and Education in the Multi-Ethnic Society")

FOR REAFFIRMATION OF MULTICULTURAL FORM OF LIVING

*The ocean of conformism and misery produce meritorious system in which
all elements are displaced*

REPOVAC ProfDr Hidajet

Is it at all possible today to be actual and critical toward reality, is it possible to rise above all-present conformism and a flood of political phrase and political kith and to be at the level of thinking worthy of the end of the 20 century? There exists thinking which overtop a crisis and which can be an introduction in a new practice, completely different from the one, which we, unfortunately, experienced in the last decade of the second millennium? Or, is this question, perhaps, put so many times in history quite useless, because there has never been drawn more serious lesson of a more permanent value? Tragedy of thinking, if it is forerunner and warning of forthcoming crisis, as a rule, is anathematized and rejected, or, if it appears post festum, comes as awakened conscience and ethic balsam which is left behind a cruel practice.

A slow floating between these two extremities of tragic thinking separation from practice are different forms and levels of conformism and sub-vulgarity of current ideology and political establishment. This is the largest space, the whole ocean, in which, as a rule, science, culture, art, education, public communication, production of ideas and conscience in a broad sense of word, have been drowned into, and all the rest, what in a way makes a spiritual component of our life. This ocean of conformism and misery produce meritorious system in which all elements are displaced or turned upside-down. That system of values is not built up according criteria of humanity, according of human life merits and potentials possessed in every individual, but, in its constitution, there exist greediness, egoism, hate, praise of authority, sub-vulgarity, etc. On the spear sharp points of such system of values, there can be found the human heads, complete classrooms of girls and boys, a complete generation of young people.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina that mentioned separation was really tragic, because it left behind numerous dead people, and priceless material damage. If there was anticipative critical thought which really warned on a great crisis of the society and threatening consequences from a forthcoming nationalism, it was prescribed as a receive of outmoded thought and as a sharp barrier which opposes the new democratic processes. During the war its reaffirmation was slow and hard and it was performed in impossible conditions, so its intervention in a forming a new reality was ad hoc put on margin. That critical thought is present now among the independent intellectual circles as an ethic corrective of a rough practice and as a critical awareness and conscience which is not able to move a stem of a

"haunted ship" even for millimeter. It is like a needle on a compass which jerks in the opposite direction, but the wild steersmen do not care about it any more. Such ship, however, has never caught a sight of the "new world".

In that context, there is a question of possibility of reaffirmation of some values which are *conditio sine qua non* of the future joint life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as unique, political, economical and cultural- civilizing space. On one side, in a form of a political phrase, there is a demand for reaffirmation of multicultural life form which has been present on these areas for centuries, while, on the other side, in practice, it works to help further split up and a complete destruction. There is a paradox here the intellectual circles in Bosnia and Herzegovina have to deal with seriously. In brief, that long-term built multicultural form which was a real sui-generis in BH, has passed through all forms of despotic and autocratic systems, from the Osmanli empire, through the Austro- Hungarian monarchy and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to collectivism of Stalinist type in the former Yugoslavia. But, in any situation it has never been radically threatened to exist. Even in the lap of the biggest despots it was supported and developed most. In the moment when Bosnia and Herzegovina was caught by "democratic processes", that form of common spiritual space was completely split up. This statement is, of course hard, but, it is true. Although greater and smaller despots were replacing each other in the Balkans and in Bosnia, strong multicultural streams had created a foundation of unique spiritual space in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, democratic processes didn't come to this region through democratic movement to which this pattern of life would serve as a base and springboard for development of a democratic society, but they came through the strong national options to which such patterns could only be a barrier and stumbling-block in achievement of narrow national interest. The national option won "smoothly" at the "first democratic elections", not because there was seen a better perspective in them, but, because they, as a rule, cannot be the founders of democracy in multicultural society, so democratic movement has already signed a full capitulation. It equaled with that theoretical thinking which abdicated in favor of the new national theories/and theoreticians/ which prepared the new maps of disintegrated Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that way, a mentioned paradox becomes clear and all subsequent consequences have their logic then. That logic implicates further divisions and, they become, so to speak, inevitable.

Educational system's turn came when the establishment became aware that education is a "dangerous link of chain" in uniting a torn spiritual space. In other words, code of a new civilizing-cultural life of Bosnians is just being created, because the way how the young generations are being educated, will define nature and quality of cultural-civilizing pattern on this area. Therefore, either institutionally, or underhand, general educational process tends to be divided by national criteria which, even to their creators are not clear. Particular scientific disciplines have got strict national characteristics, which enable a completely different comprehension of history, philosophy, language, even geography, etc. Here, of course, it's not essence in different interpretations, but, in cardinal mistakes whose consequences are incalculable. Of course, existing of three histories, three philosophies, sociologies, geographies and so on, requires existing of three classes which will separately receive the contents of the mentioned sciences. It is logically, if one educational level insists on separation of scientific cognition and orientation of the children toward projected direction, then, it is impossible to correct that mistake on the other educational levels.

In this manner, curricula are being designed on all levels, school literature is made, there is a mass production of books which have already buried Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural environment. Doing so, it's devaluated all what is really valuable among national cultures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that priceless treasure of various entities and their traditions, richness of language, arts, customs and so on, and what resulted in unique, multicultural pattern of living. Those children who will be offered the fragments of this unique model, will, neither be able to understand values of centuries-old cultures of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a whole, nor they will be able to become future constructors of the unique Bosnia and Herzegovina spiritual space.

(M. K.)

CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Ethnical and confessional groups in BH can survive only if they honestly build up multicultural which won't deny and eliminate as individual, so and cultural and national special qualities, but they will join and unite them with universal mundial cultural values

KOVAČEVIĆ Prof Dr Braco

Man is an essential cultural being, actually, a being of culture. Culture is just one which creates his individuality and sociability, his individual and social being. The man's sensitivity, thinking and behavior are defined with culture he belongs to. Each manifestation of his individual and social being has a mark of the culture he belongs to. Cry and laugh, love and hate, way of nutrition, symbolic and normative conscience, inter-personal communication and things alike, are phenomena which acquire its determination from the culture a man belongs to and he is created by. That's why, culture is both, significant for individual and for the society as a whole. It is extremely important in multicultural communities in which cultural antagonism leads to tension and to antagonism of its groups. But, let's define first a notion "culture", then, relationship between culture and groups individuals, with a brief review of phenomenon oh "social importance of culture" here with us.

As we know, a word "culture" has its etymological root in a Latin word "cultus", which was related to the meaning of "grow" "cultivate" (the soil). Today, this word has no a close link only for growing the soil, because, it got much broader even a different meaning. Cicero is considered to be the, first theoretician who is merited for enlarging a notion "culture" from "growing the soil" to the spiritual phenomena. He talked about "culti animi", actually about culture of soul, or "culture of spirit", naming philosophy as "culture of spirit" (philosophia cultura animi est). In the 18 century a notion "culture" was used as a term by which theoreticians opposed to the notion of "culture of nature" and some time later to the notion "barbarism". We know that today, this term is used in a very broad sense of meaning. Some theoreticians, even much earlier established that there are about 257 significant, mutually similar, but also, mutually different definitions of the word "culture". Today, there are even more, but we'll keep upon a few of those which will be used as starting principles to explain what "social importance of culture" mean.

Ralph Linton says that culture represents a group of learned manners, systems of values and knowledge of the society members. Ruth Benedict points out that culture has its characteristic habits in every society, that's why, the cultures of the societies are specially formed, and they, as a whole, never look alike each other. According to Sapir's thinking, culture has to be defined at least in three ways. Firstly, culture comprises social inherited forms of man's life, whether they are material or spiritual, such as: habits, attitudes and activities which are accumulated and by conscious tendency spread and promoted. That

fact just shows that all human groups are "cultural groups", actually (in etymological sense) "grown" "cultivated" and being such, they differ in a degree of its share in historic development, because with some that degree is smaller, and with the others it is bigger. Let", s compare French or Spanish cultural "share in historical development", with Eskimo, Serbian, Croatian and Bosniak (Moslem) cultural "share in historical development", then the things will be much clearer to us. Secondly, culture has to be also understood as a system of values which by socialization creates personalities in a way that they, suck in particular cultural forms and cultural ideals. So, it is shown that some people are closer to a cultural matrix of one society, while the others are further than it, some persons are more and some are less socialized, behavior of ones is "cultural", but of the others is not, and so on. Thirdly, culture can be considered as spiritual property of a group of people and it shows how the society operates. Because, "stress is not put on what one nation does and believes, but more on that how that what it does and believes function in their whole life and what sense it has for them".

So, culture, represents a specific "way of life" of one society members, it represents totality of ideas, values, knowledge, customs, habits, attitudes, myths, etc. which are learned and which represent "draft for living". In this way, culture defines how will the members of the society think, feel and behave. The cultures of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks (Moslems) define how the individuals and groups who belong to them think, feel or behave. So, the cultures of these ethnical groups, in particular, so well known to us social relations, have just led to ethnical and confessional conflicts, even, to the war. What multiculture would be possible, which would contribute to affirmation of culture of those ethnical groups and not to their mutual negation and exclusivism? Or, is it just like Urs Altermatt talks in the book: *Ethnonationalism in Europe*: "Multicultural societies can survive as political communities only, if, they succeed to separate cultural from political identities". And he continues: "They can resist to a threatening danger of one nationalistic instrumentalization of the church and religious community, only, if, they keep distance from the nation as ethnical or linguistic unity. As Hose Casanova points out, they should fight for a civic society which gives preference to individual right on citizenship in relation to ethnical membership". So, multiculture is possible, if it is founded on individual trans-ethnical civil society, but not, on ethnos. Simply said, our ethnical belonging isn't important as Serbs, Croats, or Bosniaks (Moslems) in BH; it is important to be men (civilians) who, just, have right on citizenship. A new "melting- pot"? For example, as someone in the USA (for the time being) but, do we need it in Bosnia and Herzegovina just the same? But, let's go back to a brief definition between culture and individuals.

We know that man (as a personality) represents developmental system or the whole of bio-psychological and psycho-social characteristic which enables him to relate actively to the environment, or, in other words, he represents organization or totality of properties which are formed by mutual activity of one unit and environment and which define completely particular way of thinking, feeling and behavior. This characteristic forms society and culture with their process of socialization. So, the individuals don't only represent a product of biological, but also social factors, actually, factors of culture (social way of production, political arrangements, legal system, family, school, "mass- media," religion, cultural and other institutions). With a process of socialization there are directly formed particular characteristic in cultures and the societies which are considered typical for all the members of one society of culture (but of course, it does not mean that the individuals are mutually the same according to their individual characteristic). Cultural anthro-

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pology, as we know, tends to establish deference between characteristics which are personal and those which belong to one society and which are characteristic for that society. It would be interesting if there would be established similarities and differences between the personal characteristic's and the similarities and differences between the characteristics which belong to the different ethnical and confessional groups in BH.

Beside personal characteristics, i. e. characteristic for one personality, there are also general characteristics "common personalities", i.e. general characteristics for one society, nation, nationality. Such personality typical for one society, tribe, nation, Gardiner calls "basic personality". From notices that society and culture make a sort of normative "social character" under which it's understood "a structure of character common to the majority of that group", or, "a core of a character structure of the members majority of one group which was developed as a consequence of principle experiences and forms of life common to that group". In peaceful conditions, "social character" of one (ethnical) group naturally has, somehow a different profile from a "social character" of the same group when it is in militant and ballistics determined social relationships.

It's completely clear that "social character" derives from a conformist need for individual adapting. In nationalistic and chauvinistic nuance social relationships, the individuals become nationalists and chauvinists, because ideological and spiritual hydraulics of the group don't leave the space to individual separation and elimination. In such relations, it is required from all Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks (Moslems) to be nationalists and chauvinists. So, a "social character" has its function, both, for an individual and for the society. "If a character of one individual is more or less closely coordinated with a social character, the main instincts in his personality make him do something what is, under particular social conditions of his culture urgent and wishful." Actually, "social character internationalizes the external needs and in this way, a human force makes effort to perform tasks of given economical and social system". So, it is shown that ideology is biology, and a proof of this is even more expressed in antagonistic and balistics determined social relationships.

Accordingly, the society and culture form a "social character" and a specific "basic personality". Let's remember, for instance, Spartan militant way of raising or fascist, Nazi and bolshevist way of raising of authoritative personalities, or, humanistic ideals proclaimed by the theoreticians of the Renaissance and Enlightenment. Ruth Benedict researched the tribes in America and Polynesia and came to the conclusion that some personality characteristics typical for "civilized" white man, are unknown to the members of "primitive" tribes, such as: Edip's complex or puberty crisis. These phenomena, according to her, are consequences of patriarchal civilization development and inter-personal relations in a patriarchal family. Margaret Mid showed how character differences of "basic personality" are conditioned by social relations and cultural specific qualities. For instance, one tribe developed a sense for social status and respect, competitive spirit and affirmation among its membership; another tribe developed aggression, violence and militancy, stimulating frustration among its membership, while the third, developed the values, such as: care and understanding for other people and esthetic relation toward nature. These groups lived on a smaller location in autocracy, but, how to develop their cultural "basic personalities" autonomously those different ethnical groups in a projected composite mixture, multiethnical society in which just Balkan affirmation of cultural and national "basic personalities" of one ethnical group imperiled and denied "basic personality" of other ethnical groups. Before this war, during the war and even, after it, "basic personality" "of ethnical

groups in BH was based on nationalism, chauvinism, belicism and Machiavellism. On these areas, peoples have always been in the war, and the wars were in themselves. They have continuously lived in a hobsian social position "war of all against all", in some social, military, political, economical, ideological, religious, spiritual, esthetic, ethic, symbolic, psychological war era, and in the war in which they mutually were divided into Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks (Moslems), in "Us" and "them", "friends" and "enemies", "ours" and "theirs". We know well that there is no war without "enemy" and where he is, it is necessary to destroy him. And just that destruction, defeat and humiliation of "enemy" is a principle sense and a goal of warfare. So, how is it possible to establish some multiethnic social community in which cultural types of "basic personalities" of ethnic groups in BH will be in complementary (tolerant, friendly, dialoged) but not, in bellicosity relationship? And, is it possible, that culture, besides, has also a function of protection, because, it offers to its members a protection of material, spiritual, psychological, symbolic and emotional models? That's why a "social importance of culture" is immanent for all ethnical and confessional groups in BH, which cannot survive unless they honestly build up multicultural, which won't deny and eliminate, as individual so cultural and national specific qualities. It will connect them and unite with the universal, mundial cultural values.

(M. K.)

RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT

In the long run, those etnical communities that are not locked in their ethnical exclusivity and are willing to accept some influences and to get some knowledge about the "other one" will get advantaged and enriched themselves

MAGLAJLIĆ Prof Dr Munib

The question of culture and education in a multi-ethnic society shows its full complexity especially in the period after great turbulences in the region that has actually been living that multi-ethnicity. The historical stream of living in this area - and in the area of Bosnia in particular - does not mean a rhythmical step forward with no acceleration, no slowness or failures in the tempo of everything which represents the wholeness of life reality. Co-existence of the most numerous ethnic groups, along with other ethnicities that joined them in the historical flow of Bosnia, has had its own bright and dark periods with nuances that cannot stand the black and white optics.

The drama of living in this area is complexed - four greatest world monotheist religions met together and interfered here; within their civilization shelter different ethnic groups formed their being with equal rights and obligations for all, and they saw Bosnia as unreplacable homeland. That complexed drama of life presented the temptation which was not possible to overcome even by the most distinguished masters of the word of this region. The work of Ivo Andrić is the most obvious example for this: his basic messages have for almost half a century burdened the multi-ethnic reality as a practice of living together in Bosnia. His work itself, however, as a "new reality", must not be judged as a problematic one, or it can not be judged being a product of his imagination. Misunderstanding occurred by the misuse of Andrić' s work and by inputting the writer's vision as a reliable historical reality. Andrić's vision of the past of Bosnia was taken as a replacement for the historical vision which should rely on objectivity. His vision was followed by the continuous ascribing of guilt to one of the actors of multi-ethnic life in this region because of taking a part in the governing of the Empire which, by its presence on the Balkans Peninsula, took Bosnia apart from the development that other European countries had during that period.

When imagining and planning the life of the people in the region today, we decisively have to stop projecting any kind of guilt to any of ethnic groups on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to make it a place where nobody will feel like an undiserable intruder or a trespasser. An efficient practice of the spirit of tolerance, i.e. recognizing to the "other one" the right to be different, and tolerating different forms of demonstrating those differences - in religion, civilization and in culture in general - these are the ways one can encourage the process of revitalizing of confidence and openness to co-operation, which in the long run cannot be imagined without mutual recognition of all actors. Positive models of living together in this area have always been there and have always been based on the spirit of tolerance which in the past implied much more of "knowing the other one" than it usually was

ONE OR MORE EDUCATIONAL CURRICULA IN BH?

**If we want prosperity to this state and its nations who live in it, we have to make
dispersive but not a narrow-national system of education**

GANIBEGOVIĆ Prof Muhamed

The issue of educational process in multiethnic community can be understood as an overall educational process in BH, just because, BH with its being is genetically predetermined and only like that can be considered.

The educational process in BH, at least for the last 100 years, had never had the components characteristic for its neighbors, Serbia, Monte Negro, Croatia, or, those countries which were purely one- national countries, I mean, first of all, a System of Instructional plans and curricula which were mainly conducted and implemented from Belgrade and Zagreb. The same was with text- books and literature usage. Just recently, with democratization of social relations, there have happened some changes, which, in a way, broken by the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Post Dayton period has revived this subject again, but it seems to me more politically, than in a sense which makes a real orientation of general education. To avoid politicizing of this subject and define areal sense of it, it's necessary to say in brief, what it is, and what makes a content of general education in instruction. IT CONSISTS OF INSTRUCTIONAL PLAN AND INSTRUCTIONAL CURRICULUM.

I Instructional plan is a school document of permanent value (it means not temporary) in form of a table in which it is defined:

1. Which subjects will be studied in a particular school
2. Which particular subjects will be studied in which classes
3. Number of week hours for each subject
4. Maximum load time of a student a week.

Instructional subject is a didactic processed knowledge, it means that subjects are based on the scientific discipline systems which are directly linked with sciences. To make correct and a good quality Instructional curriculum, it is very important selection of subjects.

Instructional curriculum is also a permanent document which defines what will be studied in every planned subject.

Instructional curriculum consists of the subjects designed in Instructional plan

and it offers didactic-material instruction for the process. Unity must exist between the Instructional plan and curriculum. If we understood the content of education well, and if we made plans and curriculum of good quality, then, we needn't worry, either for mono-national, or multiethnic community, because, a goal will be achieved: to **nurture, educate, learn and qualify one personality for life.**

However, some events and occurrences in post-Dayton BH, have imposed some issues without giving already in advance expected solutions, and some false moves of particular political structures and government institutions, which, by their work nature and through their legal regulations deal with raising and education from the lowest to the highest level. All that moved broad publicity which asked the question with good reason: Where does such way of education lead to, does it serve to a daily policy of the particular individuals and structures, what are the results of such education, and at last, what is the goal?

We may come to the conclusion, out of our will, that first of all it has more political goal than the goal, which according to, its character it should have.

Unfortunately, every day failure of political, social, economical, cultural character, inevitably affect education which is the most sophisticated and the most sensitive area, and consequences can be (and as a rule they are) catastrophic and each made mistake is manifold paid.

Everywhere in the world, so is here with us, education should have national characteristic, but in a sense of a sovereign state, where the Instructional plans and curricula would, in a way express its sovereignty and independence and what would be regulated by the state law on education, and which should be cared by professional people but not by political parties which mainly push their programs not based on scientific principles.

I want to say that to think, create and work in education, always mean one step forward perspective of a contemporary education, its destination and limit which follow the changes. Traditional education is a foundation of contemporary world driving force; but, also it is a base of education prosperity in the changing world.

Change as a social-educational concept presents an operation force of individuals activity. The change transforms traditional systems into transitive ones, and then, it continues to improve them. Consequently, the changes mean to face with unambiguous axiom: "**To exist, to live-mean to change oneself**"¹. So, the movements and changes in education are very significant, but not as a step back, but the way to achieve a higher technological era.

And what about us, after so many sufferings; after a long-term standstill, we spend our energy, our brain in thinking how to go back-how to direct divisions, and all that is done under the wing of needed changes.

If there is need to make a change in education, then it should be systematically planned. To make changes in any area of human life is necessary, if we want to achieve goals which would overcome limits of one's world.

¹. John Naishitt Megatrends, New York, 1984

It is important to:

1. Understand the reasons of the changes
2. Consider the causes derived from educational technologies
3. Consider nurture- educational problems from a global perspective
4. Analyze the achievements and mistakes of school systems in other countries...

The period we are now in requires education of future professionals for a successful practice in scientific-research work. That's why the effort of one country, the educational goals, plans, curricula and methodologies should bring the changes in content, methods in education context in order to prepare the young better to become citizens of the world. Why to look for new instructional plans and curricula different from those that another nation has in the same country. Of course, there should be provided realization of specific areas in the framework of the national subjects.

There are program specialties which can make a prevention of new social tensions, even conflicts of political parties. This attitude helps to comprehend ethnical varieties, to establish a sense of affiliation, to keep cultural values.

Differences have to be accepted as advantages and not as negative element. Identity and self- respect must be preserved, and at the same time, sense of affiliation toward a community with more cultures, has to be built up.

Change should mean a new educational system, one for all, the system will integrate education of the ethnical groups with national and cultural varieties, but in such way not to be drawn into homogeneous elements of the society.

Our unique modified school should be the place where heritage and cultural differences are preserved. They have to offer programs and activities which will provide exchange of ethnical characteristics and by means of which the ethnic groups will learn from the others, but also teach the others in order to preserve, modify and create their own goals.

This possibility is given by the subjects which are taught at school, but, first of all, by so-called a group of national subjects. But that group has to contain a common denominator, called Bosnian, where the values of all educational and cultural events of all nationalities who live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have to be pointed out.

It is incredible that we have three or even more attitudes and thinking about some events from history, literature or any other area, when science has already established something.

It's morbid and pathological that children don't want to learn to write in Cyrillic or in Latin letters, just because someone from his insane political ambitions has another opinion. There are a lot of such examples, almost in all subjects. I'll mention one drastic example, when a student writes a school-work from Latin in Cyrillic, or in mathematics he writes X or Y in full letters, because, for goodness' sake, he feels nationally imperiled if he does differently. The same things happen on the other side too, for example, a student says: "I don't know and I won't know anything about Serbs because my folks at home forbid me."

These are just some of the examples (owing to short time), although I can give them much more.

No matter how much I try not to politicize these themes making a summary, yet, I'm forced to fall into a trap and say the following:

If we want prosperity to this state and its nations who live in it, we have to make diverse but not narrow- national system of education.

1. Instruction plan and curriculum of education must be unique. We needn't introduce or accept the plans and curricula from other countries, but we can introduce in our own curriculum everything what is of good quality, not only from Serbia and Croatia, but also from other countries. It means not different, double or narrow-national curricula, but unique, various in quality, what can be legally regulated by a certain percent of national installment. Now that cession is 20%, but this doesn't mean that this percent can be higher.

2. Instructional plans and curricula should be made at the level of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but not at the level of the entities. Professionals who know, can and want to consider all relevant facts for creating a good quality and unique programs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be engaged.

3. Purely national classes shouldn't be allowed to make. It's balefully, but national minorities (Romanians, Albanians or some others) should express their specialties either by additional, supplementary instruction or, in some other way, for which, we are sure, there are possibilities. If we only look upon narrow-national interests and these views and opinions transmit to education, then, it means the most perfidious way of BH division and its final split up. Then, on these areas would be guaranteed apartheid and segregation for a long time.

It won't be only national and religious division and intolerance, but any other of the kind with incalculable consequences.

On the contrary to all pedagogical and sociological principles, and we are responsible for our doing and what will the young generations do in the future, our children won't laugh, they will live in a constant cramp of distrust and fear, and all moral norms which make man to be man, will be so strange and distant to him.

The question arises from that: How can it happen that a child of 10 -17 years old feels an unhidden hate (TV showed it through various polling) towards a person of the same age but of different nationality.

TV of BH showed us that quite a number of children do not know which country they live in. It results from double Instructional plans and curricula of BH and neighboring countries. I must point out that in this way a bad indoctrination over the children has been done. It's true, that this indoctrination has been done, in the most part, in the family, as well as in the environment the children are surrounded by. So, good Instructional curricula can amortize it for the most part. We have to be aware that most of the time children spend at schools and at other places doing some school activities, and if parents work, then the children can hardly see them, and their presence at school is much longer.

It seems to me that this division of the Instructional curricula has nowhere been expressed so much as in the system of education.

Education is equally significant for all nationalities regardless how many there

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are and future personalities are recruited from it, who will arrange all relationships: social, political, cultural, economical and so on.

On this occasion I do not wish to talk about a teacher who presents teaching material, because the subject is very actual, broad and complex, but I can say in a word: to be a **teacher means to be correct.**

A correctness of a student depends, for the most part, on his teacher.

I am sorry to admit here, that everything what is bad, affects education and innocent children who are generally not asked of anything and the result is in their national division.

What would happen, for instance, if one football player-centerforward has a chance to score a goal, but he doesn't, because the goal-keeper is of his nationality? It is absurd, isn't it?

I'd give more examples, but because of lack of time, I'd finish my presentation. I hope we'll take more care about the youngsters who are going to be responsible people one day. I'll finish with a Chinese proverb, although we have the same one: "**In just sprung up flowers, there are buds of the beautiful roses.**"

(MX.)

AN ELEMENT OF THE NATIONAL IS A PART OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM VALUES

An integral educational system including the unified programme is sine qua non of each society of the civil democracy, where in the implementation of the unified value system is in function of all the citizens

KUKIĆ Prof Dr Slavo

Bosnia Herzegovina, nowadays, except the elementary questions relating the existence is burdened with another one, the new one, less essential. It considers the profiling of the educational system. If the question is wanted to be most simplified, it could be put in the following form: is it necessary in Bosnia-Herzegovina to establish a unified educational system or, the social energy should be directed into a realization of three parallel national educational systems? Are the concrete B-H circumstances in question, but the question could be put in another way. Is a common life in the B-H circumstances possible to be built up on the known European and world foundations of tolerance, respecting the mutual civilization values. Or, in the given circumstances of Bosnia-Herzegovina make it more serious respecting the causes and consequences, which are to be found after the war dramatic events? In other words, is it possible, perhaps, to built up the values in the given Bosnia-Herzegovina ambient and existence of three parallel national programmes of education, even they at the first glance, nonetheless the fact, may look too rigid, to point out to a danger of deepening of the national division, that are so deep?

Though at the first glance the questions should not be like that, they are, first of all, politically emphasized. In other words, the question of one or more parallel educational programmes is nothing else but in another way, formulated question. Is B-H wanted, or not, like a state, but what B-H is wished? What is all about, as is a matter of fact and why is it put as a problem in such a radical form?

For certain, the world experiences back the side of defining and profiling the unified educational programme. The reasons are in no case prosaic. On the contrary. They should be searched, first of all, in the demands of profiling the common values system, which should be established in the complete educational system. But, it cannot be stated that such an experience has no exceptions. On the contrary, the experiences of some European countries, first of all, the Belgian one, speak about completely, different approaches.

However, in B-H case the things are a bit different. In order to prove it we have to point out, at the very beginning, on some facts. They could be put into two groups. On one side, there is requested to establish a unified educational system taking not into a consideration, what was happening in this country in the past half decade. The arguments were taken from the imposing mass of world experiences, whereupon is the philosophy formulated, that each deviation is retrograde, rigid and in opposition to the strategical interest of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the other side, even at the time, a concept of a theoretical foundation and social justification of existing three paralel educational systems, founded on the paralel educational programmes that would gather three national programmes in B-H, the Croatian, Bosnyak an Serbian. The starting point is that the former systems of education were a part of the entire philosophy of inequolity national and therefore, they contributed to the open manifestation, but culmination of national intolerance and, finally, to the outbreak of war. The solution, therefore, cannot be a model based on premisses of the unified educational programme. On the contrary, the solution in the given B-H circumstances should be found in the separate educational systems, that will all the national groups, Serbs, Bosnyaks, Croats enable to a full national emancipation in education and culture.

Observing them as concepts, respectiing the concrete B-H pragmatics, it can he stated with a high level of certainty, none of the models can be of a help to stabilization and affirmation of B-H, as a contemporary European country. The question is, why?

The reasons being more than clear. An integral educational system is *sine qua non* of every society of the civil democracy, whereby the implementation of a unified system of values is in function of all their citziens. However, in Bosnia-Herzegovina it cannot, without difficulties "push" such models of living together. On the contrary, the experiences and the most recent war drama speak of specifics, which must be respected. Because of all this, to insist on an educational system based on an unified programme, would mean a kind of violation and would not be in function of B-H integrity. Even, a lot of arguments could be found in favour of desintegration thesis of such a philosophy in education.

Otherwisa, insisting on paralel educational systems, based on the even functioning of three national programmes is a part of a political conception, which has been almost defeated in B-H though fighting strongly to be remove d from the scene for good. There is a request to implement such contents, which will by side door, introduce the logics, of division of the state. Starting from the division as final a goal of this group, then, any further polemic is senseless.

Objectively, that what has any prospects to success from the position of B-H integration as a fundamental goal it can be only determined in a combined type of the two mentioned models. It is axiomatic to say, the starting point, the integration cannot be serious if the desintegrative logic is dominant. The integration cannot be thought of within the physical national divisions from the very beginning of the man's life. Even if it were a consensus on paralel national classes or schoois, the consequences of their existing should produce for civilization more than threats. Therefore, all demands for their existance is retrograde, morbid for civilization.

But in the B-H circumstances is not possible to think of a completely, unified educational programme, to be in function of the integration. Just, the opposite. Namely, not depending how to think of the war in B-H, it is for certain, the word is prefixed by national.war.

All the solutions, presented models for the possible future of B-H are, in the same way, national. In other words, it means that the element of national, a part of the values in educational system, programme, will not be avoidable, if it is wished to have a serious project of social integration in B-H. There is a question of wisdom, how to make a happy connection of togetherness in differences. It is definaetely, not too impossible, naturally only assuming, there is a readiness, the educational system to make on such programmes, that respect a minimum of common values and basic educational postulates, but a need to incorporate the dominating B-H differences. Is there such a type of readiness, the problem mostly ceases to exist as a concept, but much more, as a organization problems.

(T.P.)

FOR A MULTIETHNIC AND NOT ANTI-ETHNIC APPROACH TO EDUCATION

A need of the political structure to manipulate the masses, to develop stereotypes in beliefs, an easy control based on poor information, to protect the masses from new, foreign or outside experiences, the result being school system measured by those structures and actual authorities

SUZIĆ Prof Dr Nenad

It is necessary to start with limiting of notions. There are three notions: *multi-ethnic education*, *un-ethnic education* and *anti-ethnic education*.

The **multu-ethnic education** means to accept the ethnic of all the ethnic groups that are not in majority on the given area. Leaning upon positive historical ethnic values, culture, language, customs, history...

Un-ethnic approach in education means denial of all that is being ethnic. This is un-ethnic or over-ethnic approach. All ethnoses of a given area or state, should deny their ethnic characteristics on behalf of an un-ethnic togetherness. The example of such an approach was the communist period in Yugoslavia after the World War 2.

Anti-ethnic education is ethnocentric education with strongpoint to deny another or other ethnoses, to glorify the own one. An example of such an approach are the narrow-national or nationalistic approaches in Balkan states after the civil war, 1991-1995.

It is known that pressure, orthodoxy, single-minded approaches lead to a withdrawal, eluding and finally, to aggression. The suppression or denial of the ethnic character in education is in opposition, essentially, to the multi-ethnic approach. It is far more important to cultivate tolerance and ethnic respectability than to try a kind of un-ethnic approach.

The famous pedagogue Mušinski in the course of the four-years-long experiments stated that the school programme that, in experiments had a cooperation with school children, mutual aims, teacher's support to school children standpoints and partnership in education, resulted in a basis the school-children understood the others better. They are more tolerant towards the differences among people (nation, religion, colour) and make the children ready to help other people (Muszynsky, 1976.). The experiment showed clearly to the direction, namely, the wished one of the multiethnic approach in education. In essence, it proves that education and schooling has an exceptional power, a real influence on cognitive structures formation, which serve like a basis of valuable judgement in social situations.

The idea, that cognitive systems can generate values is, implicitly, to be found in the works of piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1963). What kind of cognitive pattern will be the basis for the evaluation of pupils, depends, essentially, on the educational models they

have to pass in their education. The traditional moral pattern in our schools obstructed the personality freedom, free thinking and decision making years long. The educational pattern was based on *moralising* as a basis of moral judgement. The essence of moralizing is in intervention of ethics and moral, by the way of docile, completed judgements or standards. The personality has only to accept them, according Piaget, not to meet them themselves. According this pattern is sufficient to issue rules what should be learned being all solved, the value pattern will do it. The consequences of moralizing: withdrawal, avoidance and, at the end, aggression. A-ethnic communist educational concept is a typical example for this kind of moralizing. The war fifty years to follow was a shock, surprise for the laymen, but not for some good professionals, experts in certain principles of such a kind of value-morale stereotype.

In our schools the values are based on dogmatic-religious moral, "to provide the entrance to paradise" as Robin Barrow (1995) used to say and "depriving children of adolescent age (ibidem)". All is known about moral, regulated, the young people have to observe the existing maxim-not only to observe them, but to accept them. Instead of this moralizing pattern, Barrow, suggests *argument moral* - a moral based on facts and arguments, the person to assess, accept or reject. The school education should develop strong cognitive processes which will evaluate these judgements, but giving as many arguments.

Barbara Sheid is of an opinion that the school must develop some new *cognitive personality strategies*. "Works in literature suggest that a successful functioning of an actual inner school process demands the cognitive strategies, which may be described as 1) sequential, 2) analytical, and 3) object oriented". (Shade, p. 238). As the *sequential* cognitive strategies are those, the person makes a judgement according the personal view. Mrs Sheldon illustrated by Milton Rokič's description: Every person evaluates information based on own unique perspective. The system results, that an individual or a group uses the evaluation system of beliefs', deteriorates the world or the frame of observations is narrowed. The person, where this cognitive style is dominating the world is observed as sequential. The *analytic* cognitive strategies, according Mrs Sheid, typical for the people of an open belief system. The characteristics being, open minded, ready for new ideas, experience, tolerance in some contradictory situations, a search for new information prior to judgement and decision making. *The object oriented* cognitive strategies are characteristic for the people of closed beliefs system, but tending to some typical characteristics as: rigidity, stereotype in beliefs, indifferent to the new, unknown experiences, readiness for judgement based on some information.

It is evident that a certain cognitive style of belief corresponds certain political structures and they will, consciously or not, tend to support such a school system, which results for them wished cognitive structures. The political structure needs to manipulate the masses, to develop the stereotypes in beliefs, to control the judgement based on a few information, to protect the masses from new or foreign experiences. The outcome is a school system corresponding the actual authorities or the limited system of belief which leads, as a rule, to a narrow or closing into the national-central frame, or, at last, into an anti-ethnic concept of education. What kind of the cognitive style the school will support, depends, among others, on educational content. The intention to ignore the national or ethnic character is not in favour of the multi-ethnic concept of education. The multi-ethnic concept of education should be leaned to the *analytic cognitive strategies* and develop *ethics* or *argument moral* not dogmatic, receptive and moralizing criterion.

Our traditional teachings based on teaching pedagogy in itself, it results in a cognitive style to objects. The teacher conveys the curriculum, or it is docilely given, recommending advice, reprimand received or lessons - *moralizing*.

From these relations we are able to see that the traditional pedagogy of *giving lessons* was orientated to the curriculum. The teacher spent most of his time to convey his pupil, the curriculum, intending to intervene, play with it on the school scheme. The subject, namely, that one, where the most time was spent it was the curriculum. The pupil was given to participate sequentially like an episode actor, to be directed to the object, to the material as a "top value". Not free people, of limited intelligence by such cognitive frames resort searching for a way out or support. Escaping or leaving such a media is a normal consequence in the children behaviour - a general euphoric shouting when a sudden announcement was given that, there will be no classes. The not independent and not sure people seek for a support in a conformism to teacher in their childhood. As grown up people the shelter is found in the national group, within the power of we-identity of the nation or ethnos. These people without a freedom accept easily the auto-ethnic approaches in education, but, in relations to people, too.

As it is seen in this teaching a dimension of relations overruled. This the Herbartovian formal model, which has been predominant in our schools, to the present days. In the seventies of the 20th century in the West, the new concept of "efficient education and learning psychology" was developed (Brophy, E.J. Glaser, R.). The intention is to solve the problem of the one-dimension teaching, introduce some more models, to teach the pupils to learn, to search themselves for facts, to be liberated to have a free judgement and learn, quickly. (Suzić, 1995.)

The need of new aims in education Europe has recognized as an important problem in the course of the past decades. Jean Marie Domenach, French philosopher, suggested the following educational concepts in 1989: The task of education is to develop individually the self-expressing and critical views, the individuals should be taught how to learn, to acquire the abilities, to follow discussions, to know the subject and to be able, to verify, to assimilate the information (Nedeljković, 1991, p. 14). The notion was considered as an important and neglected teaching relation in a traditional school.

Only in the recent time, after 1990, a special attention has been given in the world to the interpersonal relations and educational achievements, the links to the teaching systems and strategies. The known Gilford's model of intellect awards, further developed by Howard Gardner, overspreading understanding the intelligence into seven areas: 1) verbal-linguistic, 2) logic-mathematics, 3) visual-space, 4) body-cinetic, 5) music-rhythmic, 6) inter-personal and 7) intrapersonal (Ramos-Ford and Gardner, 1991). Let us, discuss only the area of inter-personal abilities of personalities. Gardner singles out ten interpersonal qualities, return information, encouraging feelings of other people, cooperative learning, "communication eyeball to eyeball", ability of understanding, division of work, skills of cooperation, return information acceptance, feeling of other people motives, group projects. If we consider any of the interpersonal motifs from the Gardener's list, we will see that the direction opening, free thinking, judgement based on arguments, namely, *the analytic cognitive strategy* is in interest of all ethnos of the present states established by dismembering of ex-Yugoslavia on the Balkans. The opposite direction leads to a narrowing, an interpersonal non-tolerance, exclusion, inter-personal non-tolerance, closing up toward the world. It is impossible to tend to the integration into the contemporary civilized world,

developing a-ethnic or anti-ethnic model of education.

The media have in the recent time caused rather an uproar in education, have displayed a new basis of knowledge, which shattered the traditional moralizing school models, developing an entirely, new basis of learning and teaching, which is to slip out of the teachers' hands, but the political ethno-cracies. Therefore, it is not by chance, that each of the ethno-national cracies tends, paranoic to control the media, make rigid models, introduce censorship of all contents.

With the media, nowadays, in the world the new models are developed *multi-media learning*. Introducing INTERNET, modern computer technology, the world, gradually, but for sure is becoming "a big village", while the entrance to the civilization, is available to everybody. National ethno-cracy will be not able to prevent their citizens of watching the programmes from all over the world via satellite, even if they are "unpopular" ones from other ethnic centres. Sooner we enter this world trend and open, make able schools to use the modern media in education, we will have a chance to be in the world trends.

If we analyze the future of education, we will use some of the ideas of Nedeljko Trnavac, who researched in Hermann Kan's work. In short, there are three aspects of the education futurity: 1) The end of the industrial and post-industrial era, technical skills and the introduction of the new professional abilities: communication, speed, team work... 2) From the "technical resources" to the "human ones" and 3) Moving to the "open society, a multicultural ambient (emancipation because of socializing (Trnavac, 1977). A-ethnic and anti-ethnic concept of education is in a direct opposition to those perspectives of the world. These concepts lead back, to the Middle Ages, feudal time. Essentially, that is a nostalgia for feudal competencies and power or feudal property, when it was sufficient to produce everything what was needed for life. There was no interfere from another side, there were no "bad influences from the West", the poful decisions belonged to the ruler for a long time.

Nowadays, the civilization wants a modern personality, ready to learn and make judgements quickly, cooperative, to use the own knowledge efficiently. Berai and Broudbent in their researches, disclosed that the learning in complex industrial situations, requests a quick action of "attempts and errors", rather than thoughtful intentions, that will be slow, long time to act (Berry and Broadcast, 1984). Those, who are in favour of entering to Europe, but wish a Balkan educational system, nationally egocentric, based on "return to past", or, a-national, have no clear vision of future, they do not contribute to the freedom of their ethnos. The multi-ethnic concept of education is at the same time the ethnic one, full tolerance of all ethnos, to cultivate the ethnic values, cultures, tradition and pride, no guilty feeling.

The Russians and American cooperate in space projects, though have not the same educational system. In Switzerland are different school programmes in cantons, but, nobody disturbs them to feel themselves like citizens of Europe, Swiss. The French and German have a history of "cats and dog fights", but, nowadays, they organize their common police forces, to cooperate on space researches, to extend the trade cooperation. All this points out to an multi-ethnic concept of education, which is not in opposition of the ethnic concept of education.

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(T. R)

THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF EDUCATION IN BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

In a multiethnic state that BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA is again supposed to become in both of its entities this would mean that children in schools should learn about the common basis of civilisation that links all of its nations as well as the different features and values of each nation and religion. In an educational system this would mean introducing a common nucleus into the curriculums of national subjects in order to promote tolerance and getting to know others with a complete freedom to develop one's own values which are part of one's national identity.

MARTINOVIĆ Prof Dr Juraj

Education in a multi-ethnic society must have a political dimension which will be all the more productive and all the less noticeable if it is in the function of democratisation, tolerance and national equality. However, the issue of education in Bosnia&Herzegovina at this moment is purely political and the dramatic conflict of views is the result of irreconcilable political concepts. The Dayton Peace Agreement prohibits disintegrational processes which brought about the break-up of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia&Herzegovina, but that did not entirely stop them which is apparent in all the spheres of our political and public life and especially in the uncertain implementation of the decisions and obligations of the Dayton Agreement. Even though the Dayton accords do not specifically take into account education, the logic of disintegration is perhaps best illustrated by having three parallel curriculums on the territory of Bosnia&Herzegovina, that are defined by three national ideologies.

This was to be expected since the national component was always of great importance in any educational system, while indoctrination through upbringing and education achieves the goals of the ruling policy. The people who are for the concept of separate schooling often argument their views with the existence that there are three different languages which would make common teaching impossible, however they cannot give any linguistic arguments for this statement. It is a completely legitimate right of every nation to in spite of everything have a different name for their common language that they have each somewhat altered which would then be more than a pity to cast off in the name of some programmed unification, especially for the sake of a life together.

The problem is that the area of language has been open to political activity which in a planned and systematic way emphasise its diversity so as to use it to highlight differences which disintegrates the common language and makes communication between the ethnic groups difficult. The real sense of these aspirations is most obvious in Republika Srpska where the ekavica dialect has been made obligatory and the original language of the Bosnian Serbs

certified by Vuk Karadzic has been abandoned. Such an abandonment of one's own linguistic heritage could only have been motivated by the wish to create a different language to the one of the Bosnians or Croats in the name of the false linguistic unity of the Serbs. Similar, although less obvious tendencies can be seen in the Croat linguistic policy and it has been indicated that the same is true for the Bosnian linguistic policy, despite the fact that for the proclaimed united and whole state of Bosnia&Herzegovina it would be much wiser to have a tendency towards creating a unique communication system instead of linguistic national exclusivism. This is the source of conflict between this linguistic policy and the curriculum for BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA of 1994, so before Dayton, which was inspired by the vision of a whole BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA and therefore retained its multiethnicity.

Opposite to that, the curriculums of Republika Srpska and the former Herceg-Bosna are in co-ordinate completely with the linguistic situation; they are exclusively national and what is characteristic they have been taken over from the neighbouring states: Serbia and Croatia. In other words these are precise national curriculums that can only function in a nationally homogenous environment such as the "ethnically cleansed" territories of BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA. The paradox of our situation at present is that all of the three constitutive nations find themselves in the status of a national minority in certain areas of the country, and what is worse they are often deprived of the basic minority rights including ones concerning education, that are guaranteed by international conventions. There is no need to emphasise how much this is in opposition to the idea of a multiethnic society in both entities as it is proclaimed by Dayton and on which the meaning of the Annex concerning the return of refugees is based. We can therefore conclude that the state of having three parallel curriculums is in direct opposition to the Dayton Agreement since it only contributes to ethnic cleansing making the return of refugees to areas where they are not a national majority difficult. The attempt to solve the situation by the later abandoned instruction of the minister of education, science, culture and sport and his deputy to have two equal curriculums, came across a strong resistance from the public who recognised in it an attempt of segregation as the example of the school in Tešanjka has shown.

The problem is most evident in the group of so-called national subjects, primarily in language and literature, then history or social studies. In the time of aggressive nationalism that took its toll on education as well three different interpretations appear quite legitimately, that are based on immanent values of national ideologies and not on the tendency to objectively look at historical truths. The situation is especially delicate concerning the most recent events. It probably varies from place to place and from teacher to teacher, but mostly, even in some school books the emphasis is put on naming the guilty party as one or more other nations which are often given ethnically collective negative features. This is certain to initiate a feeling of hate and wish of revenge within children and will do nothing to prepare them for "a responsible life in a free society in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes and the friendship between nations, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of different origins" as the state had demanded in the Convention About the Rights of Children which as an integral part of Dayton is a constitutive obligation of BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA and both of its entities.

Nobody with the least bit of common sense could, today, question the right of every nation to learn of its past and to develop various cultural and other symbols and values in order to preserve its own identity. In any case this right of the international convention is guaranteed to the national minorities as well, so it should therefore be all the less questionable when we

consider constitutive nations, but let us emphasise that this should also be so in the territories where they are not a national majority.

The essence of the problem is something else; apart from developing a sense of national belonging each educational system also develops a sense of belonging to a state and an obligation towards it, even in the case of national minorities. In a multiethnic state that BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA is again supposed to become in both of its entities this would mean that children in schools should learn about the common basis of civilisation that links all of its nations as well as the different features and values of each nation and religion. In an educational system this would mean introducing a common nucleus into the curriculums of national subjects in order to promote tolerance and getting to know others with a complete freedom to develop one's own values which are part of one's national identity. It is only in this way that we can succeed in bringing up future generations for a life in true friendship, understanding and tolerance and enable them to become part of modern European civilisation.

(U. T.)

WHAT SORT OF UNIVERSITY DOES BH NEED?

GIRT Prof Dr Egvin

First of all I want to say that I have been intensively dealing with scientific- research work over 35 years. All the time I've come across various difficulties related to a scientific- research work development. In many cases there was present a question whether that sort of work was worth doing? But my contacts with laboratories from the university centers all over the world, have convinced me that it was worth while. The way to prosperity of each social community depends on the results of science. I'd like you to have in mind that I'm a physicist, so my discussion will be based on my experience and the experiences of the persons who also practiced fundamental sciences, mainly in the field of physics.

I'd start with a statement given by H.B.G. Casimir, distinguished physicist who had run the Philips developmental laboratories for many years, saying: "I heard that the role of academic research in the new technological achievements is little. That is for sure the shallowest nonsense I've ever heard".

Unfortunately such thinking that academic researches in the new technological achievements are small, are constantly present here with us, it can be heard in almost every discussion when fundamental sciences are on the agenda. How wrong it is, I'll illustrate with two examples. As the first example I'll take the invention of a transistor. This invention was a foundation stone of contemporary technological revolution. Transistor was invented and improved by people who worked and created in the area of physics, it means in fundamental science.

Another example I heard from a founder of the Institute for physics, the University in Zagreb, an academician, Mladen Paić. During the second world war, the academician Mladen Paić worked in France in development laboratory in the biggest factory of aluminium and aluminium alloy Pechiney. Developmental laboratory of this factory should have produced aluminium and lead alloy. But, it couldn't. A lot of ideas of which some were very funny, had been applied.

The academician Mladen Paić solved the problem. He knew the laws of thermo-dynamics and realizing quickly that temperature of components mixture should be higher for 20 degrees than used temperature. So, again, a fundamental knowledge solved this significant application problem.

There are a lot of such examples, but let's return to our topic, "What sort of University does BH need?"

There is no doubt that degree of academic research and measurements development are very important for one country, both in technological and cultural sense.

Internal social structure of BH has much changed compared with pre-war situation. Now, there exist two entities and ten cantons, all with a high level of autonomy. How can be considered the university life in such circumstances? How can it be done in the moment when agitated conscience, deeply drowned into myth abstractions, far away from a humane reality, is still existing?

What is believed to be wished is, to see, at least the further goals. In terms of that, I want to express some views of my own, an experience of one industrial developed country.

I'll briefly compare our situation with Holland, and base on physics, from the above mentioned reason. Physics is studied at seven faculties in Holland with nearly 3.000 students. The number of faculties for physics is approximately equal to the number of faculties at which physics is studied in BH and the Federation of BH in relation to one inhabitant. But, number of students in Holland is about fifty times bigger. The examples is very illustrative and it shows that Holland can absorb at least 2.000 students a year whose basic activity is physics. My assumption is, that one-third of graduate students are foreigners, or, they leave the country for any other reason. It also shows how, in which measure, physics is current in industrial developed countries. However, analyses of these mentioned facts, concerning the issue "What sort of the University does the state BH need" leads us, of course, more to the issue of content and quality of teaching at our universities, but not so much to a number of Universities, i.e. faculties. Looking from our perspective, as I have already said, there are existing two entities and ten cantons, all with a high level of anatomy, the universities, i.e. faculties should be professionally designed in relation to their place of location. High degree educational institution has to have a clear intention of its existence, together with criteria of a high educational staff selection, and they have to be identical for all universities, i.e. faculties in the state of BH. There should be insisted that imposed criteria are compatible with criteria of correspondent universities- faculties abroad. Only such universities- faculties will enable a transformation of the state BH to be:

1. High civilized country
2. To have adequate modern technology
3. To have professional highly educational staff

Dayton agreement enables the organization of overall process of education in canton what allows establishment of more faculties, i.e. universities. A consequence which directly derives from an example of physics representation in Holland, can be dual. First, the canton gets an institution of the most benefit through which it forms a needed staff potential for a particular canton, and also, through which intellectual and civilized level is increased. Secondly, a faculty (faculties) - university become "political ornament" which very fast become a great burden for the canton and the entire state. Realization of the first goal, is to put educational need in a real canton frame and acceptance of the international criteria for instructors' staff selection. The second, harmful solution is a consequence of unreal wishes, usually expressed by particular canton authorities and ambition of the individuals.

At the end, I want to point out, that I'll always support, within my modest abilities, every opening of a new faculty or faculties where professional, verified staff exist, in accordance with the international standards and economical justification of the same.

(M. K.)

TABOOISMS AND TOTEMISMS IN MULTIETHNIC IDIOMS

These days, mediocre and bad writers of a very weak lexicographic education (who are very successful politicians) pull barbed wires through the language and are in their essence the same as those who burned libraries because they are lethal for its peoples eradicating their roots and Slavic essence

JEFTIĆ Prof Miliwoje

This has been going on in Bosnia for years now - good words are all the more at war and all the less are they well represented. Political prejudices concerning language had become especially strong just before the war and have not weakened since. However, linguistic issues are not that simple to be resolved by simple classification into black and white party boxes. According to them it is important to always speak in black or white terms and to say that it is always the others who are savage, poor and stupid. And so even today the rotten, shameful *cirkulus viciosus* of the Balkans keeps turning about its squabbling axis.

According to the Danish linguist Luis Hjemlev in some African languages there are two separate words for a black and for a white cow, but a word cow as a common term for a particular animal species does not exist. The reasons for this dichotomy would according to scholars probably be as follows: They (the aborigines) in their mental range (constitution, daltonism, agnosticism) only give importance to the differentiation between black and white and express no need for the more significant term for the general, the abstract, i.e. a more profound shape of truth and life. Perhaps the ethnographers and anthropologists would justify this with animisms and totemisms, i.e. the respect for higher spiritual and supernatural values in the appearance of black and white, and everything else would represent the fear of offending the dead spirits and supernatural powers.

Communication barriers are not only our current Bosnian reality - they are unavoidable, unpredictable and impossible to grasp as a whole. Speech is informing, but also the possibility of hiding the truth. Therefore the Chinese saying "Lies like a witness" is applicable to our situation. Pygmalion Shaw writes in his introduction that an Englishman cannot open his mouth without making another Englishman hate him.

There is an interesting situation described in Ante Kovačić's novel "At the Registrar's" (1888). On Easter Monday in an inn two drunk groups of peasants from the same village are asking for the same things: drinks and food, but with different words. Their expressions for the things they want sound different and then one group wants a Hungarian tune to be played by the inn musicians and the other group wants a Gypsy tune. Actually the melody of the Hungarian and the Gypsy tune is the same but they have different names (synonyms). That is how it starts and it ends in a bloody fight.

In the past war in BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA one of the main indications of (mis)understanding is that linguistic terms came to be used as terms of accusation. (Here we can quote Friedrich Nietzsche: "Insanity is rare in individuals - but in a group, party, nation and epoch - it is imminent"). The very name of a person was a burden to him for which he could be beaten, abused, thrown out of his home and killed.

After all of the horrors the refugees of Bosnia had to go through, abroad they were often warned about the way they speak and the words they use. It is most often the semiqualfied inn-keepers and shop-workers that are the most fierce of linguistic censors (policemen). And considering the fact that a great (if not dominant) number of people from the Balkans is on such a level to estimate what is democratic and what isn't, then it is no wonder that in the war and post-war period taboos for words have appeared (*vox interdicta seu sancta*; the forbidden use of words due to mythical beliefs, superstitions, prejudices, censorship; R. Simon: *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary...*). The study of these (extra-linguistic) Yugoslav TABUISMS would be worthy of an interdisciplinary study.

A very expressive example of the creation of tabooisms is the ideological prohibition of the use of the terms Bosnian (*bosanski*) and Bosnia (in toponyms, administration, etc.) and the prohibition of any kind of pronunciation in the public media, etc. We were no longer born in Bosanski Brod, Bosanska Dubica, Bosanski Petrovac, Bosanski Miloševac, we are not Bosnians, that is forbidden. Serbs cannot use the *ijekavica* dialect in the media like they did in books and in life: Vuk, Njegoš, Kočić, Šantić, Ćorović, Marko Miljanov, Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša, Lalić, Ćopić, Oljača and many other significant writers and scientists (not to mention how much these writers had been translated abroad starting with Vuk in 1814). is this in the interest of the Serb people? What is at all in their interest if it is not these writers and the dialect they write in? History has already given its answer - violence, madness, pity and shame.

. On the other pole of tabooisms one may find words - TOTEMISMS (totem - Indian - object, plant or animal that is respected; one of the earliest forms of religion; B. Klaić: *Dictionary...*). E.g. when a well-known general repeats one specific word very often, then national trabants, politicians and censors keep repeating this word and even censoring out others of the same meaning and of the same people. In this way many nuances in meaning are lost.

Another example of totemisms is the constant use of some and the avoidance of other suffixes in the Bosnian press, while the orthography of the Bosnian language designates parallel use of both suffixes. It seems that orthography is not in a correct relationship with synonymity which is a theme of its own. there is a very old-fashioned approach in the orthography of the Bosnian language which presents some words as better than others.

This approach was already considered decadent in the 30s (the famous Prague School): the absence of differences in language and the search for a unique physiognomy (this approach is most common in states of totalitarian regimes, e.g. during the reign of Todor Živkov old people had their names changed so when they would go to see a doctor they would carry a piece of paper with their new name on it so that they would not forget it and so that they could receive treatment). Modern linguistics has a much more natural and functional principle of elastic stability which considers synonyms to be unavoidably functional. The principle of elasticity is represented over 2000 years ago in Greek and Roman rhetoric in connection with euphony - which is defined as follows: when you have more than one term of the same meaning (so, more terms are acceptable) choose the one that sounds the best in the given circumstance (rule of euphony).

**CULTURE AND
EDUCATION IN
MULTICULTURAL
SOCIETY**

Ever since there is literacy in BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA there is a rule of making expressive possibilities wider. This has been proven in many historical literary works from Kulin ban to Šantić.

These days, mediocre and bad writers of a very weak lexicographic education (who are very successful politicians) pull barbed wires through the language and are in their essence the same as those who burned libraries because they are lethal for its peoples eradicating their roots and Slavic essence.

As a rule greater classification and prohibition in a language lead to impoverishing the language which is in proportion to general impoverishment (in culture, science, economics, standards and liberties).

(U.T.)

THE KNIFE STORE

HOROZOVIĆ Irfan

The store was in a blind alley, in the shade of old chestnut trees that wrapped the entire length to the entrance with a heavy shadow. It was advantageous in the summer, especially at one moment. It was the sense of indescribable relaxation, when the heat and the noisy glare remained behind you, in an another world. Otherwise, it was not pleasant to stand for too long in the stony shadow, from one hour to another, perceiving the stale air creeping through your bones, from the floor, through the stony counter, no matter how strong the sultriness might be. In the cold months the humidity was inexpressible - a special cold gushed out exactly there, pierced through the winter clothes and the skin and stole warmth from your body with its icy-cold lips. There was an iron door at the entrance, reminding you of old shops, with padlocks and horizontal bars.

Adjacent to the door, instead of a store window, a low window protruded, dusty and smeared with grease; it sheltered sundry knives and sabres thrown carelessly around, with sheaths or without them. The dirt and cobweb might have led you to the conclusion that the business was not running fine. But it was not so. This small store had always made more than enough to its owner. And even more than enough.

The street itself was somehow removed - there was no inn in it, there was no place where people like to come and meet each other. Somehow confined, it dozed between the two rows of grey houses - family residences - in which the tenants were not real neighbours. They never greeted each other; they never borrowed some coffee in a cup or some salt, which was generally the custom. Those sidewalks never roused from sleep by ringing children's laughter. Most of the tenants had no children; those that did have them, took them early in the morning to their schools or kindergartens. The people somehow hid from each other, as if guilty of something, as if they considered the fact that they lived in this very street a punishment or a joke their destiny had played on them.

Indeed, at first sight the street seemed altogether different. The double rows of chestnut trees, although weary, seemed like a dignified remainder of the times in which the street had its place and importance. This could easily be spotted in the spring, in the fragrance of rare blooming tiny white pyramids.

The boards with inscriptions and the numbers of the houses had grown entirely grey as though sucked up by the walls; or they were missing - just a small square or rectangular frame of a somewhat paler colour.

The street would liven up solely when somebody died or got married, and even that did not last long; it would end up hastily, somewhere behind the doors, among the deaf, grey walls, within hushed up words, or far, far away.

So a rare passer-by was considered a strayed curious personality or a customer for the store behind the big chestnut trees. He was observed by an eye behind closed windowpanes, followed by a whispered suspicion, even an accusation.

The iron door of the store was never entirely opened. While the salesman worked, it was ajar, as an invitation to enter. The customer opened the door with a creak and slip through a thick, dark confusing cloth curtain into the semidarkness of the room with the counter and eternally glowing lamp. He would be stopped by the inquisitive eyes of the salesman who stood

who was leaning on the counter with both hands, as if he had expected the newcomer for a long time. The conversation was brief. Usually the salesman tried to guess what the buyer wished.

Sometimes they would buy scythes and sickles, different sorts of scissors, axes and, of course, knives. Even the salesman's grandfather had made and sold them, and his grandfather's grandfather, but they had also been in the general trade. The owners of this store used to travel all over the world, collected rare and valuable examples and sold them. Some of them they never sold. Theirs was a secret treasury and the only reason for its existence was to be there, to be shown to someone, from time to time.

The door creaked and a stroke of the curtain pushed away covered the room with an uneasy shadow.

After he had looked at the obscure stranger with a hat, the salesman took off his spectacles as if getting tired; then he wiped them winking his short-sighted eyes and stopped paying attention to his guest - not one of his gestures showed that he was aware of the other's existence. The stranger felt the silence and the quietness in the gloomy store somewhat hostile and unpleasant, so he uttered several dry words, namely, he was interested in knives or something similar. The salesman shrugged his shoulders and staggered behind the workshop door dragging his foot. He could be heard in the room behind the door and soon he returned carrying a small knife with a handle made of stag's antlers. He put it on the counter and pushed it towards the stranger. The stranger hardly looked at the knife. The salesman looked at him indifferently for a moment and then he wanted to take it back, but the stranger changed his mind. Now the knife was resting on his broad palm, suddenly different from what it looked like when it was on the dirty counter, in the dust. When the customer stroked its surface with his long palm, its blade glittered as though it became animated, like an awakened snake.

"Not bad", confessed the customer at last.

"The best steel there is."

"Yet, it does not suit me. I wanted something richer, as a present. The blade is excellent, though, but the handle is not what I wanted..."

"It depends on the purpose you need it for. You don't need a costly knife. This one is quite reliable, and it is not specially expensive."

"Still, I would like something more rich", answered the customer somehow in a bad mood. "This one looks too vulgar."

"Whatever you like", shrugged the salesman. "Anyway, I shouldn't care, but, you see, I do. I don't want some of my knives end up the way "they shouldn't."

"How do you know how they will end up?"

"I know, or at least I sense it."

The customer was confused. He turned around several times, looking if anybody else was there. He held the knife steadily in his right hand.

Although reluctantly, the salesman turned and plunged into the curtain that served as a door for the workshop. He returned with two knives with silver, delicately finished handles which had semiprecious jewels at one end. One of the stones was dark yellow and the other one red as a drop of curdled blood.

With great curiosity the customer took the knives. He murmured some words and parts of sentences from which the salesman concluded that he was an expert. Now he started looking with interest at the knives he had just brought. But although the customer obviously showed gladness while he turned them in his hands, it seemed that this still was not what he was looking for. Slowly, with several well-chosen words, the salesman disclosed him the origin of the twin knives and the paths they had to cross to come to his store. Of course, this increased their value. The customer was not impressed by the value. He did not look like a

butcher or a knife thrower in a circus. He was probably not a hunter either, although the salesman would not; dare vow that the entire customer's appearance did not have something of a hunter, a pursuer.

"Are you a collector?"

"In a way", laughed the customer falsely.

The salesman was confused. He had already taken out the counterful of knives, stilettos, sabres, and yataghans. He took some from the treasury itself, scrupulously hidden from the times of his grandfather in a big, plated trunk. The stranger started selecting items with a growing interest; he scrupulously passed his hand over them, he brought them to the lamp, trying to read every word or to notice every mark or seal - if any - on the blade or on the handle. He became more talkative. Their discussion mingled and they were already able to communicate with only one or two words casually thrown into the conversation, which regarded the alloys, the masters that hammered the knives or the towns in which they were bought. It appeared that the stranger knew all those places in which the seller's father and grandfather and other before them did the trade. He had visited the towns and the fairs; he had called upon the celebrated masters that the salesman himself knew. Sometimes he had been there in the same year. Or on the same day. He knew Venice inside out, as well as many towns in the East. In Damascus they had even bought the same type of sabre, in the space of several minutes, perhaps. There had been only two of the kind, almost identical, and the difference in length was only several millimetres.

He showed him a long dagger made in Sarajevo, and the stranger answered with a story of one of his own, a sample from Toledo. It was as though excitement and curiosity had grabbed at both of them, but yet the salesman could not rid of an unpleasant feeling, an anxiety. He did not see the real aim of this conversation. The customer wanted something, but what? He could not give him that which he himself kept with watchful jealousy, which only occasionally he glanced at or cleaned in a closed room, which he admired without knowing why.

"Many people think it is senseless to collect all these expensive old rubbish", said the stranger mysteriously.

The salesman agreed silently.

"Of course, such people are stupid. There is no single thing in this world that does, not have its purpose. Especially such noble, artistically created objects."

In his silence, the seller felt driven into a corner. With the handle of the yataghan; he pounded absent-mindedly on the counter without looking up. Then he decided to show everything to the stranger. He staggered into the workshop and brought the multicoloured trunk. Then, with cautious movements, he shook out the entire contents on the counter; After that he thrust his hand inside and, having unbuttoned the strap took but what at, first sight seemed a long Venetian dagger.

The customer glimpsed the pile of knives; he took some of them in his hands he only touched some of them letting out short sighs of admiration; however, when he saw the dagger, he halted and let a short sword fall out of his hand; then he took the handle and the blade with both hands, sticking out his head, as if he wanted to grasp it with his mouth as well.

Indeed, the dagger was a masterpiece, a genuine wonder. Its blade was so deliberately, worked out that it appeared it was made of light. Both its edges and the tip radiated. The hand-guard, between the blade and the handle was a golden dragon with his wings spread, reminding of a galley plunging into the storm, His eyes, were two small red precious stones, and his scales incrustated with diamonds. The handle was likewise of gold and at the end it had one bigger and four smaller spheres. The dagger neatly slipped into the stranger's hand, which was now entirely covered and protected by the winged dragon. He felt the relief-like texture of the

handle and brought it again to the lamp. The bas-relief wrapped all the spheres on the handle. The stranger looked more cautiously and saw a man pouring water, next to him the Twins playing and next to them the Libra. On the next sphere there were the Scorpio, the Fish and the Cancer, and next to them Leo, Aries and Sagittarius in the form of a centaur. On the fourth sphere Taurus was attacking Virgo, behind whom stood Capricorn. The last and the biggest sphere was in fact a globe with carefully outlined continents and seas. It had a small point at the top, as if aspiring to fly off somewhere. It seemed to the stranger that he noticed some spots and stains on the sphere, so he started rubbing it. The salesman looked at him with both superiority and consideration. The stranger understood that those were not stains but inserted dots of silver, copper or precious stones in various colours. He looked more closely. There was a dot precisely on the spot where Venice should be. He looked up and saw the salesman nodding his head as if acknowledging the fact. Yes, a master from Venice had made it. But not only him. This unique dagger was not solely the creation of one man. It had travelled almost the entire world, but only from hand to hand of the greatest masters. And every one of them had added something of his own. And had signed himself. Only then did the stranger notice a number of those dots - he more sensed than saw them. The salesman handed him a magnifying glass. The stranger could easily discern Istanbul, Toledo, a town in Sweden... He thought he could recognize the shops in which the shadow of the ancient masters still hovered along with the miniature fraction of their skill within the eyes of their descendants and the secret within the work left behind. Was it possible? They had created a common dagger and signed it manifoldly, adding to it that part of their skill that the next master had not possessed and creating their Zodiac sign with the initial letter from their alphabet. The dagger had passed through air, fire, and water and it was again back on the earth from the womb of which it had been forged.

The stranger sighed deeply.

"Yes. I think that's that", he mumbled cutting his words.

They remained silent.

The salesman felt words bursting at his pressed lips. He wanted to relate to the stranger how that extraordinary thing had come to his possession, how that clandestine route, full of magic passion and laborious efforts, had lead to the trunk in his store. How various ideas about the dagger's secret joined into a unique thought and how its ultimate, magnificently murderous beauty had been forged. But he did not say a word. He felt that the stranger knew all that. He was now entirely positive about that.

The stranger had turned his back to the lamp and with his eyes he now followed its light that threw light upon the dagger.

The silence had now lasted too long, extremely long.

As if in trance, the salesman started moving forwards, extending his hands, as if he wanted his dagger back. He felt he was losing something irrevocably, but at the same time that article that had rested in his trunk, was acquiring its original, unquenchable, elementary purpose.

The stranger turned slowly and moved, for the first time, his face close to the salesman. His right hand rose and started looking for a suitable spot where it would hit the bosom before it.

At that moment the salesman saw the stranger's face hanging over him, he saw it clearly as if completely revealed. Even before the dagger penetrated his chest, searching for the heart, he was struck by a notion as clear as a birth.

He thought he was standing in front of a mirror.

HIJACKING OVER THE ATLANTIC

IVANKOVIĆ Željko

He had waited for this moment for a long time. The aeroplane taxied over the runway of the biggest European airport. Thirty seconds later it disentangled itself from the soil and within its belly it took towards America four hundred people and at least twice as much suitcases and travelling bags, wishes and dreams.

After three and a half years in Sarajevo, all these seemed a deceitful game of mirrors he was pulled into because of someone's pleasure. After the experiments that lasted for several months, the experiments with the people in Sarajevo regarding the domain of human endurance - with the theme "how much can a human being endure without water, without electricity, without gas, without food, how much can human being endure freezing, how many detonations of the grenades of the biggest calibre, under the condition that the same human being should survive physically - somebody was now playing with him the game of endurance under the shock therapy with illusions.

He looks around himself. It is not an illusion. All these people are alive. To be sure, they are tied to their seats, but they are alive. They have earphones, they have plunged into the world of music or newspaper reading. It is a real kaleidoscope of life. As real as it can be.

He leafs through the new "Stern". Glamour. In the world in which this magazine is published there is no war. Especially not on the European soil. There is no world in which it is impossible to get a passport, go beyond the borders of one town, let alone the entire country. And these people here, round him, they fly to America using the simplest, regular, everyday Lufthansa line Frankfurt - Los Angeles. As recently as yesterday he was practically unable to go to his mother's funeral, to Vareš which is only forty-five kilometres away, not only by using the regular line which meant ten to fifteen busses daily during peace time, but not even by using the special lines, which maybe the Army or the Police had. And here - he can see it on the screen - he will cross the distance of some six thousand miles in eleven hours. During this time, under the condition that you are lucky enough to have a safe escort and do not get killed several times at every tenth kilometre, you may cross 100 to 150 kilometres. And we are some sort of Europe or we used to be one until yesterday.

Along with a powerful pleasure for having overcome all the obstacles on his way to this flight - the least one by no means having been the acquiring of the American visa - he also felt a silent nostalgia for having been so humiliated in his own impotence to be just and only a small, ordinary dignified citizen of the world. He felt sadness for having left his family in Sarajevo while he alone started this journey, a tourist one, as he had been obliged to explain to the consular clerk, and how from the present-day Sarajevo every departure to the outside world must have seemed.

He played discovering all the moods that a transcontinental flight might offer, while from the earphones, of course after his choice, Mozart reached his ear, and the screen,

on which they were promised two movies, interchangeably presented the map with the flight route and the present position of the plane, as well as the technical data about the flight: Distance from the destination in miles and hours, basic speed of the aeroplane, altitude expressed in feet and the local times. He was experiencing all these for the first time and he wondered and admired all these like a boy in his first contact with a new toy.

And then, while Mozart's Concerto for Piano No 26 played in his ear, he became absorbed by the book he had taken for the road, Wolfgang Georg Fischer, "Apartments; Furnished Rooms". He gave in completely to the temporary pleasure, he gave in, after such a long time, to the joy of complete relaxation. He kept reading, but he was more obsessed with the thoughts about what he had to accomplish during his three-month stay in the world of opportunities and challenges, to which he had set out during the intermission between the war and the expectation of a stable peace, how it would be called in the world to which he was going.

His light nap, full of contemplation, plans and relaxation in which he went over all the sleepless nights during his trip from Sarajevo to Split, and then via Zagreb and Frankfurt to this spot above the Atlantic, somewhere half way between Manchester and Reykjavik, was suddenly interrupted by the captain's voice:

"Due to technical problems, instead of the scheduled flight..."

Then the captain's voice fell silent and from the earphones he could hear another voice:

"Respected passengers, this aeroplane has been hijacked. We are very sorry and we demand that you remain quiet. Nothing is going to happen to anybody. We are not a terrorist organisation. We are "Moslem Brothers", and we are using this gesture to draw the world's attention to the difficult position of our brothers in Bosnia. That is why this aeroplane will land at the Sarajevo airport..."

He did not hear anything any more. Oh, God, just not back to Sarajevo again!

It is not true! It cannot be true. Whoever heard about a Lufthansa aeroplane hijacking? Before he had even finished his thought about the security of some airports and airline companies all over the aeroplane there were armed dark-skinned men, obviously Arabs.

How come, he thought, they claim they are not terrorists and they have so many weapons? And he immediately added: For God's sake, how could they realise their objective without any weapons?

But, how did they manage to smuggle so many weapons into the aeroplane in the first place? How is it possible to sneak so many weapons around so many checkpoints and controls at which he himself had to pull the last pfening out of his pocket? Different thoughts occupied him, and the fear, not so much from the terrorists but from being back in Sarajevo, penetrated to his very bones. The existential fear, the one he had not felt from the beginning of the war.

No, he has to find the leader of the "Moslem Brothers" and beg him not to do this or at least not with this aeroplane. Not to do this because of him. He does not care about the others, even if they hijacked an aeroplane at some European airport every day. He does not care, because none of the present people wants to know about the tragedy that is going on down there.

But, God, that is not true. Well, Europe is indeed doing... And even if it were true, what do all these people care for some obscure nations fighting each other instead of living like all normal people?

What if he told the terrorist leader how many days he needed to get the passport in Sarajevo, how many days for the papers permitting him to leave the town, how many days to get the transit visa through Croatia, how many days to explain to the clerk in the American Consulate that he had the invitation of an American foundation and that he had no intention to stay in that guy's America for at least two reasons: First, he preferred his Bosnia to that guy's America, despite all those persons that spent days at the threshold of the American Consulate in order to get their immigrant visas; second, he was leaving his wife and his son in Sarajevo, and he has to return to them at all costs. And now, he has to go back to the starting point... to Sarajevo again... Everything can be, only this not, no... No, for God's sake! screamed somebody else, behind him, in fear. It was not he, certainly not. He is a man that can endure much more. He has already endured much more. Well, everybody knows that.

He woke up from the scream. He looked around him. Did anybody hear his scream? Nobody paid any attention to him. He probably had not screamed aloud. There were no Arabs and on the screen a movie was running. Some crazy comedy and everyone around smiled. His earphones were still set to music.

God, I dreamt it all!

And he was just going to say something terribly important to the terrorist leader. First, that he should not mention his Moslem brothers in Sarajevo and in Bosnia precisely because of the world; and second, the difficult position of all the people in Sarajevo should be pointed at, because everybody suffered there. And they still suffer, of course. Take, for example, my case. He could have counted hundreds of similar cases. Anyway, since they were not terrorists, it would be good to mention the suffering of the entire town, of its entire people, because of the West that has sensitive ears.

He looked around. He was not the only one that had fallen asleep. Other passengers were still sleeping.

The others were - it was obvious - having nicer dreams.

When you come from Sarajevo, he thought, you don't even have the right to nice dreams.

He sighed deeply, adapted himself better in his seat and joined those that were watching the comedy.

Pacific Palisades, February 2, 1996

(Z. M.)

STRONG AND DRAMATIC ARTISTIC REACTION

*About the Exhibition of Halil Tikveša "Greetings from Mostar"
Sarajevo, MAK Gallery, August 25th - September 7th 1997*

KRZOVIĆ Dr Ibrahim

According to one definition architecture is what left after removal of all the visible material of which some architectural work is made. Of course, this removal of a constructing material has sense only as an act of mind in order to underline importance of constructing idea itself. Unfortunately, the last few years we examine this definition in drastic and direct way upon the all architectural heritage in our country. There are many architectural works which survived in our imagination, remembered in our minds even after the physical disappearance. Whoever had opportunity to see, at last once, Aladža mosque in Foča, or Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka, is able to revive their shapes in own's mind in a minute.

Shape's image in the sense of the definition itself can not be approved anywhere better than in the Old Bridge in Mostar example. Its tiny arch and glittering vault appears in ones mind even on idea of Mostar town, no matter whether the young, the old, ignorant or intellectual, painter or architecture is concerned about. That piece of work built by master Hajrudin has become the subject of multimedia reincarnation; praised in songs, described in novels, drawn and painted from the moment it had been made until destruction, and after destruction too, and what is extremely rare in the moment of the destruction itself. '

The Old Bridge was the symbol of Mostar town and piece of art that belonged to the world's cultural heritage, and everything else somehow was approaching to it. Towers, Kujundžiluk (brass-workshops), Tabašnica, lanes and small streets ordered like string of pearls, houses, windows, including the stone slopes and hills which surrounded it, as well as the all environment itself. All this had been building with skilled workmen's hand and many donations during centuries. Everything, or almost everything, was destroyed or burnt only in one sinister moment full of darkness. Shining beauty of the stone monuments obscure mind and incomprehensible hatred transformed into wrecks and sites of fire. What left seems sometimes as a vision of what had been in former times, and sometimes as a kind of horror and tragedy. But one can see in Mostar something that is above anything expected, something that could present wreckage and a wrack as a perverted art. One should go to the Boulevard and see the ghost-like pictures of ruins which HVO combatants "shaped" with weapons. Facades and walls of houses being of the Mostar front line opposite to Croatian's theater of war, are scalloped, "door-posted", bored and transformed into wracks with thousands of bullets and granates. Everything seems as a new (evil) ambiance, as a metaphysic of a new crusader-national environment where an enormous evil-spirit and ominous energy is dwelling.

On Halil's Tikveša draws one can see traces of misfortune human's race vampires deeds where human's creativity transformed into jealousy and hatred, is united with destructive and maleficent energy. Long ago, wherever one would stay in Mostar, one would be stunned with some of shapes from which emanated the positive energy of ancestor's gifts. Into that kind

of metaphisic, which was interited in this town full of heaven's joy and human's spirit, forcefully is stamped evil and ominous metaphysic. Wherever you turn round you now, your look meets and confronts with the ruins and devastations. Halil Tikveša, one of the most famous contemporary aitists, from Surmanci by origin, for decades had been passing by this road on his way to the homeland and delta of the river Neretva. That is the place which inspired him to draw most most of his drawings and graphics, full of idyllic scenes related to a free human being dwelling in the beautiful surroundings; in style they are somewhere between pastoral reality and poetic imagination. In the wide opus of this artist all his drawings and graphics have hajam's spirit which was inherited into this landscape and hearts of people from neretva. The poetic image of our southern area disappeared on the drawings that Halil Tikvesa made at the end of 1996, and the beginning of 1997. For these drawings were created at the moment when the artist faced himself with the dramatic sight of Mostar that he could have never imagined. However, Tikveša responded strongly and with gesture full of meaning.

In the cycle of the drawings that he made, as he always used to do, on a spot, *an plane air*, specially are noticeable those drawing which were made on a previously shaded paper. Earlier, the artist used shades to refine the pad, but this time it served him as a starting point for his expression, to indicate the death sphere. On this dark pad the artist sketched with a white chalk ghostly stone skeletons which are, from the pearl like silver monuments, lighten with the Mediteranean brightness, transformed into fossilized wrecks. The main theme of this expression is panorama of the kujundjiluc architectural ensemble (brass-workshops) which upraises in cascades above the Neretva. Other drawings with motives of famous objects in Mostar are similar in expression to these and the present a closer contact between the artist and the subject. In any case new feeling and new point of view is obvious on all of them.

True, there are some drawings of the Mostar cycle with brightnesss and clearance recognizable for the artist's style, as are some paints and details of the urban intimacy in Mostar - sadrvani (fountains) and white windows (pervazi). However, everything illustrates abyss and topple down; the abyss into which were thrown all human's goods, and topple down of the whole civilization. Halil Tikvesa drawing exhibition, above all, express the artist's point of view in a way that belongs only to the gerat nad strong artistic personality. Mostar nocturno cycle drawings, as an artist's gesture, has not been, however, his first gesture against the evil which threatens everywhere and to averybody. At the exhibitions of these drawings held in Belgrade and Novi Sad, in the centres over which is hanging a heavy nightmare of responnsibility for many crimes committed in this region, Tikveša presented them his "Greetings from Mostar". Before that exhibition he exposed his large panel-collages, on kind of contemporary Dadaists Merz-bau-a, which he cerated from the newspaper's actual graphics clippings (headlines and photos).

Ethical position of an artist always is expressed with the fine arts means. The strength of artistic gesture correspond to the strenght of fine art expression. The fine art's gesture testifies about the first class artist who is able to express wise things with the fine art's means in a lapidary way, with delicate lines, sometimes with width and strenght, sharpness and cut, but never more than in necessary.

But, what is with our the definition of architecture? Do we need it here? Hardly, for with the depth of precipitation and tragedy seeing them of Halil Tikvesa drawings we, also with empathy feelings, topple down into nothing, loosing the hope for recovering. However, it is enough to see only one drawing of the "Old Bridge" and we can develop in our minds whole the vision of Hajrudin's work of art and its indestructible symbol of the creative spirit.

(Translated by R. Lešić)

ORGANIZATION OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA - ORIGINES AND CONTEXT

HADŽIBEGOVIĆ Dr Iljas & KAMBEROVIĆ Mr Husnija

In the course of the last two centuries Bosnia-Herzegovina has changed five state frames and systems: Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Yugoslav, Independent State of Croatia and that of the Socialist Yugoslavia. There were many combinations about the division and annexation to different sides, but none of them had a success to dismember her natural-historical and social historical frame to last. On the contrary, in Bosnia, nonetheless, some hard and troubled days, the specific *Bosnian society* was built up and preserved, having the known civilization physiognomy and cultural continuity starting with the Middle Ages to the Oriental-Islamic heritage to the modern Bosnian society. Although, it concerns a distinct agrarian society, where the majority of the population was employed in agriculture (close to the World War 2. some 85%), while the urban population reached 40% only in the nineties, the Bosnian society had a number of specifics. The important part in constitution of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society was played by various associations and cultural societies, which used to be a significant factor in the cultural, educational, social and national-political development of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These associations entered the historical time with the period of the civil society in B-H, which started with the Ottoman reforms in the 19th century. These reforms were marked with *Hatıserif of Gilhana*, 1839, when the Ottoman landlords estate and feudal military system were abolished - the transition into the civil society and by the *Hatıhumajum*, 1856, when all the citizens in the Ottoman Empire, were formally, given equal rights. The consequence was a gradual improvement of the position of other confessional communities, whose members started an emancipation to act within the new, autonomous institutions - church - school communes, which were engaged in organization of the religious and cultural-educational life. Those institutions came to existence after the year 1862, when for the first time, the right on autonomy and associating in the Ottoman state were given. They had an important role, besides of the religious one, but had a significant political, social and cultural function among the non-Moslim population. With the Moslems that function was performed by *vakufs* (endowments), which took care of all kinds of religious institutions, also the educational, cultural social and charitable institutions of the Moslems. The result being that the education entirely belonged to the religious schools, which survived all the changes in the course of the Austro-Hungarian period. Not until the end of the Ottoman rule the secondary schools of the secular character appeared for children of all faiths.

A more intensive establishing of the civil society was to start with the Austro-Hungarian administration in this country, 1878. The new societies and associations were

established and their great merit is, in awakening and cultivating the national consciousness, although only with the year, of 1897 they could use their national name (Croatian and Serbian), national flags, but without the national coat of arms. Those societies acted through different self-organizing forms, self-financed, but from the part of the Austro-Hungarian authorities there was not only a financial support, but frequently there was no comprehension for their problems emanating from the ethnic mosaic and heterogenous social structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the time Austro-Hungarian rule, very often, seemed, that all the associations had serious worries in a super national and super party state, which could not stand a national and religious homogenization of which the consequence might be an opposing to the Habsburg state idea (dualism) and national states establishing. In such conditions the societies were developing therefore the history of the democratic processes in B-H has to take in consideration the societies and associations as -a factor democratic development. The foundations of the societies was just at the time of the Austro-Hungarian rule. Except some institutions which had a humanitarian and social function (e.g. vakufs) all other institutions, societies and associations are important for the history of the civil and democratic society in B-H originating from the Austro-Hungarian time. Later, only their number and conditions in which they acted, varied.

The encouragement to establish these societies came not only from the inner social maturity of the Bosnian society but from the domestic traditional citizen class, artisans and owners who met the migrants from various countries of the Monarchy, making in that way, a new national and religious mosaic of the modern citizen class needed by Austro-Hungary, to incorporate this area into the own economic, social, political and cultural system. Because of this reason, the societies and associations contributed a great deal to the national, social, educational and humanitarian field. They represented a strong integrity factor in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the course of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1.256 societies and associations came to existence in 258 places. The majority of them used to be in the districts: Sarajevo (300), then, Banja Luka (248), Tuzla (222), Mostar (198), Travnik (181) and Bihać (107).

The societies organized by home population are based on the ideas of a national movement regardless that their activity was always of a cultural, social, educational and humanitarian character. Under absolutism conditions, which ruled in Bosnia to year 1910, it could have not been spoken in a language of politics, so the wished ideas were smuggled into the non-political societies of different directions.

Therefore the activity of those societies was strongly supervised and limited to the strict observation of law. The societies of the migrants had two essential tasks: the immigrants of the heterogenous kind to enable the cultural life in B-H and, the second, for immigrants children and young people provide the essentials of the national culture knowledge: language, history, literature in order to preserve their national identity. The migrants' societies were not prevented to work, also not, particularly, supported, because the aim of the authorities was, the migrants to assimilate with the old inhabitants, as soon as possible and became a valuable integrating factor. The authorities supported only those societies and associations, which spread the Austro-Hungarian state idea. They were, mainly, the international societies, which were not, exclusively, national ones.

As a difference of those, the national societies of the domestic population had not support by the authorities. The political life existed within the religious and national "non-political" societies. When, the political parties came to existence after the year 1905, they relied on the earlier established religious, cultural, educational, sport, economic and

finance institutions, societies and associations. Because of that, the first thing was to establish some vocal groups and reading rooms, the cultural-educational, humanitarian and sport societies to follow. Particularly significant in this field were the societies with cultural-educational and humanitarian aims: the Serbian PROSVJETA (Enlightenment), Moslem GAYRET (An Ardent Wish), Croatian NAPREDAK (Progress). They aimed to support poor pupils and students, namely to create the national class of intellectuals, to educate the modern artisans and merchants. By the time these societies became the real venues of the national movements in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of them had a great many branches in the bigger and little towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Prior to the World War I. the Bosnian Serbs had, except 99 PROSVJETA branches also 297 other organizations and associations (blood brothers, reading rooms and clubs, sport societies) known as Soko (falcon), vocal groups, artisan societies, cooperatives and similar. The majority of those Serbian societies and associations was in the district of Banja Luka (108), then in Tuzla district (88), Mostar district (77), Sarajevo district (56), Bihać district (36) and Travnik district (31). From the total number of the Serbian (Orthodox) societies over 30% were in the villages (of total 396, in the towns were 276, 120 in the villages. The relation of associations in the town and villages in Banja Luka was almost equal (59:49).

Concerning the Moslems the case is different, because by the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule every fourth Moslem lived in the towns. Of the total 187 societies and associations prior to the World War I. there were 176 in the towns, only 15 in the villages. The Moslems had many reading rooms and clubs (119), Gayret's branch offices (21), anti-alcoholic clubs (13), Sport (Soko) (12), (6), etc. They were placed in the towns, but the Moslem societies had another characteristic: almost equally overspread on the area of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina (almost in all districts some 30 of them) the majority in the Tuzla district -36, the least in Bihać district (22).

There was another important institution of the Moslems - vakufs. The vakufs are endowments, which played an important role in the society. By the end of the Ottoman rule there were some 900, in the year of 1905 in Bosnia-Herzegovina were recorded 995 vakufs.

The Bosnian Catholics with the migration of a significant number of the Croatian migrants after the year 1878, mainly to the towns, their social structure and placement of the population was improved. Prior to the World War I. they had 223 societies and associations, 175 of them were in the towns, 48 in villages. The majority of them was in the district of Travnik (56), the least in the Bihać district (16). Of the total number of societies and associations there were mostly the NAPREDAK branch offices (44), reading rooms and clubs (43), sport (Soko) societies (24) and alike.

Except the Orthodox, Moslem and Catholic societies and associations there existed Jewish societies also. Prior to the World War I. there were 24. Their characteristic was that they had religious and charitable aims. The most of them were in Sarajevo (14), Tuzla (4), Travnik (2), Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Zenica and Zavidovići (1). Among them were 8 charitable ones, 4 religious-humane, 3 national, 2 cultural, 1 vocal group, social meetings, youth and physical training (2). It is known that most merits belonged to LA BENEVOLENZIA.

The population here, besides of the national societies, had also some mixed societies. Prior to the World War I. there were 3 of them. The Serbo-Croatian Club in Sarajevo, The Croatian-Moslem Club in Višegrad and Croatian-Moslem Soko in Maglaj.

The migrants founded their national societies and associations. The Germans from Germany and Austria had 21 societies, Hungarian 4, Czeck 2, Polish founded two clubs, Slovenes 1 club, Ruthenians 1 and a reading room.

There existed also some international societies, which were known as inter-confessional, general, people's and similar. Those were societies with the membership made no differences concerning religion or nationality. The members were, mainly, migrants and more and more the native people. There existed 391 societies, most of them were workers' associations (77), societies for protection of class interest (63), clubs, kinds of restaurants called Kasina and reading rooms (57), fire arms societies (32), bee-keeping (29), physical training, sport and tourist (28), Flotenverein and patriotic (17), wartime (41) charitable (12), veteran (7), religious (5), vocal groups (3) concerning funerals (3), artisans (6), commercial (4), women cooperatives (2) and some other (3). The mentioned societies were mainly in the towns (in total 39) were 377, while in the country only 14. The majority was in the Sarajevo district (130), the least in the Bihać district (30). These societies with some big enterpizes and state schools used to be the most important integrating factor in B-H until the year 1918.

When the World War 1 broke out, almost all the societies ceased to exist. The exceptions were those societies which served for the needs of wartime (charity, Flotenverein and the patriotic ones). The war had an influence on the development of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. After the uprisings and resistance to the occupation of 1878, Bosnia-Herzegovina, after 40 years, in the year 1918, had to start from the beginning, again in a completely new state. By the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy and creating of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1st December 1918), B-H within the historical borders become a part of the newly created state. The territories and integrity, the historical borders were guaranteed by a special article of the Constitution, 1921. She started out from a social to financial crises, agricultural-economic and finally, into a deep political crises. The country was divided into banovine (regional units governed by bans). Later, close to the World War 2 there happened some new territorial changes, when 13 districts became a part of the Hrvatska banovina (Croatian regional unit). In this way Bosnia entered the war and soon to become a part of the Independent Croatian State, split into the German and Italian occupation zones.

The total losses in the World War 1. Were esteemed nearly 2.5 million golden francs, while the demographic casualties, a fifth of the population. Besides of all the mentioned the political acts of the new authorities were destroying the links in the Bosnian society, which had been created in the past periods based on the ideas of the Ottoman-Turks and Austro-Hungarian European influence. In such a political and social ambient, based on Constitution rights to make associations in order to realize the aims "not against the law", different societies existed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The renewal of the societies originating from the Austro-Hungarian administration was maintained on the basis of the Government order on abolition of all the limits brought up during the war. The newly created societies, predominantly, treated the problems concerning the war - various associations of invalides, veterans, volunteers and alike. But, the most important were the national, cultural-educational societies that, restore their work soon after the war. (PROSVJETA, NAPREDAK, GAJRET, LA BENEVOLEZZIA). The societies retained their earlier proclaimed aims, but the Gayret activity was politicized by the authorities, so another Moslem cultural society NARODNA UZDANICA (People's Hope) came to existence. All the societies had their earlier structure of organization: local boards, sub-boards and branches, their number was

increased. E.g. the GAYRET'S sub-boards were 46 in 1920, became 121 in 1940. The Croatian Cultural Society NAPREDAK had 98 branches in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1941. The significant work of these societies was in education of the national intellectual class and artisan-commercial younger generation at the time between the two world wars. The fact was that there didn't exist big industrial plants, which could have reproduced a wider social basis, so the task was done by the national societies. Though, the political parties existed at that time the societies were united with the rest of the national associations. For example, within GAYRET and NARODNA UZDANICA or closely connected, a number of other associations existed and, the aims were realized: to fight alcoholism Trezvenost (Sobriety) "Kolo trezvene mladeži" (Sober youth circle) and similar, a number of libraries, women and trade organizations.

The characteristic was, that they acted on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time, between the two world wars. There existed, also, a number of local societies working in small areas. The legal basis was in the Constitution of 1921. After the dictatorship was proclaimed, 1929, their work was forbidden and allowed again by the Imposed Constitution, 1931, the laws based on it. By the outbreak of the World War 2. Many of the societies were abolished. Those that were allowed to act by the legal regulation of November 1941, were incorporated into a union within the Croatian Ustashi Movement. It was foreseen by law, a compulsion to be a member of the class or professional association.

Between the world wars there existed a certain number of women associations, which were educating women. There were national and international associations, too. With the Orthodox people the most known were the national associations: Dobrotvorna zadruga Srпкиnja (Serbian Women Volunteer Cooperative) originating from the time of Austro-Hungary and Kolo srpskih sestara (Serbian Sisters' Circle).

With Croatian women were known Hrvatska katolička ženska udruga (Croatian Catholic Woman Cooperative) and Hrvatska žena (Croatian Women), the Women section of the society NAPREDAK. The Moslem women had: Osvrtanje (Dawn) and Gayret's women sub-committee, two women clubs Muslimanska ženska zadruga (Moslem Women Cooperative), while the Jewish women were meeting at Žensko Aškenaško Društvo (Female Ashkenazic Societz) and La Humanidad.

Speaking about the international women organizations an important part was played by Društvo za prosvjećivanje žena i zaštitu njihovih prava (Society for women education and protection of their rights) Zajedničko udruženje žena bez plemenskog i vjerskog obilježja (Common Association of Women without tribal and religious character), Materinsko udruženje (Motheral Association), Udruženje univerzitetski obrazovanih žena (Association of University Educated Women), etc. The foundation of those women societies had a first-class significance in women emancipation generally, who were restricted by patriarchal and religious tradition, hardly received a secular education and could act in public.

The characteristics of the societies between the two world wars were the existence of a number of workers and professional associations. The trade union organizing in Bosnia started by the beginning of the 20th century. Close to the World War 1 the international trade union was expressed by the Main Workers Assembly including 17 trade union alliances and over 120 trade union branches. There acted the national alliances (Croatian Workers' Organization), later, named as Croatian Workers Centre. Between the wars, it was known that there were several directions of trade union organizing: along the international

independent trade unions, there existed trade unions loyal to the authorities and some minor trade unions, which assembled the workers on the national basis. The trade unions worked in difficult political conditions, frequently banned, but they, mainly, survived the entire inter-war period.

After the year 1945, all the societies acted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless the Constitution regulation of free press, speech, associations and meetings, were in function of the society building up based on ideas and programmes of the reigning Communist Party. In those documents the intention was, to establish a society having no room for ideas, became "illegal", surviving in some legal societies, which formally had no character. In the course of the year 1945, an upheaval took place here in development. Everything that reminded on "the society remnants" was suppressed, the consequences were so profound that the meaning of comprehension of "civil society" was changed. Under the idea was understood something quite different after the World War 2, than by the beginning of the nineties. The industrialization and de-agrarian society, as two essential processes within all other transformations of the Bosnian society happened, where had existed a social ambient with citizens' ideas. The consequence was the maturing of the Bosnian society by a significant national emancipation. According the statistical data the Bosnyaks were in the year 1948 at the bottom of the ladder of the Bosnian society, while by the end of the eighties, almost at the top.

The ideas of the civil society were cultivated in the associations and societies which formally had no character, although at the time 1945-1949 a certain number of the institutions existed. Those were institutions and societies of the civil society having the continuity from the time of the Austro-Hungarian administration, but the meaning which they adopted after the year 1945, their character was changed. It concerns, first of all, the national cultural societies. According the Law on Associations, meetings and public meetings of 25th August 1945, all the associations that acted prior to the World War 2, if they wanted to renew their work, should report to the competent authorities in the case they wish to renew their work. Their continuity was not disrupted, though. The work was reestablished in the course of the years 1945-1950 or established some 30 societies. In that way some of the national cultural societies renewed their work, but some of them, like the Moslem Cultural Educational Society PREPOROD (Rebirth) was only established. The decision on reestablishing and approval was enforced by the beginning of October, 1945. In organization all these associations in the field were corresponding the administrative-territorial units, namely the local and district boards. The associations pointed out that "should be enlarged to rely on villages, factories and workshops of all kinds". They were for a long time the main bearers of the civil spirit in culture. Being like that, they were abolished in the year 1949. As a matter of fact, the national societies of the Bosnyaks, Serbs and Croats (Preporod, Prosvjeta, Napredak) ceased to exist, but the cultural societies of the national minorities, the Seljačka Sloga (Peasants Concord), which being a political-economic and cultural institution from middle of the thirties and used to be overspread in all the Croatian villages in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the year 1945 it was active in cultural-educational work, teaching literacy and organizing reading groups, cultural performances in Croatian villages and alike. It was not an institution belonging to the state, but the authorities intended through it, to rule the Croatian peasants. This is the essential meaning that the Seljačka Sloga was allowed to work even after the year 1949. The authorities succeeded to overrule the Orthodox and Moslem peasantry what was seen in the campaign of dropping the veil with Moslem women. Until the year 1949 they were the only institutions to cultivate the

civil spirit in culture, but some other civilian forces were able to act within. Though some of the societies were reestablished on the tradition of some pre war workers societies, even on the tradition of the Austro-Hungarian time (Proleter-Sarajevo, Pelagic-Banja Luka, Abrašević-Mostar and similar) though some new amateur cultural-art societies came to existance, which, later were incorporated into the Alliance of Amateur Cultural-Art Societies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is no proof to refute the claims, that till the year 1949 the civil culture carriers and the civil spirit in culture were solely to be found within the national cultural societies.

Therefore, the year 1949 was crucial. After it some other conditions follow for cultivation and development of the society. The main part was played by amateur cultural-art and cultural-educational societies, amateur theatres, peoples and workers universities. Their task was to take care of the cultural-historical heritage as a common heritage of all Bosnian-Herzegovinian peoples, but no emphasize of the particular national tradition. It was pointed to the mutual cultural influences to permeate with tendencies of creating a new culture based on a new ideologic basis of togetherness (idea of brotherhood-unity). In B-H existed in total 388 cultural-art and cultural-educational societies, 7 amateur theatres, 88 peoples' and workers' universities. They were overspread in a relative balance. Of total 388 cultural-art and cultural-educational societies in B-H, 1954 the town of Banja Luka had 10, in the district some more 19, the town of Bijeljina 19, Bosanski Samac 14, Brčko 17, Doboj 10, Town of Sarajevo 23 (in the district 8), Stolac 11, Trebinje 10, town of Tuzla 3 (district some 10 more). In the rest of places were less than 10 of the societies (in the town of Mostar, eg. only 4, while in the district 7). These societies in the post-war time organized courses to teach literacy in that way they were changing the social consciousness and opened the process to a change of the entire society. In the course of time their number decreased, in the eighties was 222. (about 11% of all in Yugoslavia). The explanation is simple: the number of cultural-educational societies is in an inverse proportion with the level of civil society development. As the civil society was developing so the influence of the cultural-educational societies was decreasing in the way they had influenced after the World War 2. Concerning the peoples and workers universities it should be noted that there were towns where any kind of such societies were not to be found (Bihać, Bos. Novi, Kalinovik, Mostar, Posušje, Tuzla and Zenica). Most of them existed in the Banja Luka district (6), in the town of Banja Luka 2, in Bijeljina, Kiseljak, Lopare, Prijedor and Zavidovići 3 in each of them, in others 1. It can be seen that by time the number of people' and workers universities was slightly on the increase: of 88 in the year 1954 their number increased to 99 by the beginning of the eighties (of 166 in the entire territory of Yugoslavia), with remark that by the beginning of the eighties there were active 26 House of Culture (of 437 in Yugoslavia). All of them involved in the so called mass culture, but they changed their programmes because of the general technology and information technology development. Instead of the teaching literacy groups, these societies by the beginning of the eighties organized foreign language schools, computer courses, and alike.

The development of the spirit in culture after the national societies abolishment in B-H was maintained by the individual influences in societies and associations, of which the primary task was not the culture. As such there were different associations of writers, artists and those of a professional character. To the group belong: Association of writers, Association of lawyers, Association of fine arts artists, Association of applied arts artists (ULUPUB-H), Association of journalists, Association of composers, Associations of film makers, Association of musicians, Association of Opera-choir singers and players,

Association of Opera-symphonic artists, Association of drama artists, Association of dental medicine doctors, Association of dystrophic disease patients, Association of stenographers and typists, Union of radio-amateurs and many others. Such associations being institutionalized in B-H by the beginning of the nineties were over 20 with a number of their branches throughout of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, they were an integral part of the associations in Yugoslavia. The civil spirit within was developed so much as they contributed to the development of the spiritual freedom.

Similar to these associations there existed also societies, their aim was the development of those elements, that are not belonging to the field of culture in a narrow meaning, but are an important part in the development of the citizens spirit. The societies according their involvement and aims were close to the earlier mentioned associations. To this category belong the associations and societies to fight alcoholism and other toxic mania, the Society of Historians, Society of Philosophers, etc. Such societies reached the number of nearly 40 by the beginning of the nineties, not mentioning the associations of: beekeepers, hunters, anglers, various mountain-climbers associations, Student Vacation and similar, as different other associations having the similar or same task but within the religious organizations as e.g. Association of Serbian-Orthodox Priests. Almost all of them had a series of own organizations in different places and towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and almost all of them, except those within Law on religious organizations and communities, had according the status of social organizations, a part of the Socialist Alliance of Working people.

Save these societies and associations, which influenced on the civil society existence in B-H after the World War 2 there were not any other known professional organizations, as the trade union used to be a Government organization. The task was to keep control of the working class on behalf of the reigning party. Because of the same reason there existed a minor number of the endowments and vakufs which helped the civil society development. The state, itself established their own foundations (as Foundation for children education under the name of Titov Fond (Tito's Foundation) of which the aim was to school certain categories of students), but abolish all the foundations that had a prior-communist tradition. A special case was with the Moslem vakufs, which after the year 1945, were almost powerless to resist, their property nationalized. Coming before all others was the vakuf land. Due to the fact that "the socialist revolution" had been carried out by the peasantry, they were rewarded by land donations, the vakuf land was confiscated, nationalized and divided up, according the agrarian reform. The rest of the vakuf property was nationalized, the vakufs, in reality, ceased to exist after the World War 2. similar happened to other foundations.

In the same way the charitable societies ceased to exist, as their part was taken by the State. The rule is the charitable societies in a country work only in crises. In Bosnia-Herzegovina existed societies that worked permanently, the reason being that their activity exceeded the charitable and humanitarian work. As, e.g. the Moslem charitable society MERHAMET, established 1913, worked continuously till 1946, took care of numerous Moslem poor. Immediately after the war the society was renewed with an additional task "the brotherhood unity of our peoples will be in every occasion deeper, more intensive and contribute to remove all the obstacles and difficulties on the way to the great tradition of the Peoples' Liberation War". The similar tasks were given to other charitable societies but they were losing their primary meaning. Therefore, the majority of the societies were abolished in 1946 (save the Red Cross) but reestablished as late as the end of 1990 or beginning of 1991.

Concerning the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina in the last two centuries has often changed the state frames and state systems the meaning of the "civil" society was changed too depending on the instantenous state frame and reigning ideology in the state. Sometimes, it happened to be an ideal, sometimes, an ideologic controversis.

The history of the civil society in B-H started in the first half of the 19 th. century with the reforms in the Ottoman Empire, while some more significant steps happened with the establishing of the Austro-Hungarian rule, 1878, when a bigger number of institutions in favour of the ideas of the civil society, came to existance.

At the Austro-Hungarian time the number of such institutions increased to 1.256 in 258 places. Those were associations which aimed to develop the literacy among their membership, general education, awakening and national consciousness and culture then, economic and social progress. There belonged: vocal groups, reading rooms, clubs, kasina, cultural-educational and societies, women and trade union associations, peoples and workers university. All of them were non-government associations, some of them had, sometimes, the support by state.

They were observed, the societies of the native population and the associations of the migrants.

The importance of these societies is that the most significant ones became centres of national movements in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the particularity of the national integration processes in this country.

More than a third are the societies based on international principles. They were established by migrants with a certain participation of the native people, so the Bosnian society was open to the European cultural and other influences and integrations.

These societies along with big enterprizes, communications, transport and communal (state) school system, appeared as an essential integrating factor of the Bosnian society. The schools and minor enterprizes in the presocialist period were much more in favour of the national closure.

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(T. P.)

ECOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR IN SARAJEVO: WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM

BERBEROVIĆ Prof Dr Ljubomir

D It is customary nowadays to consider a city as an integral system aimed primarily to support the (biological) existence of its inhabitants, i. e. - as a specific man's life environment. In accordance with this view the urban contents belonging to the living nature are not merely ornamental details in the structure of a city, but rather an essential factor of its basic function. Thus, the city might be regarded as an artificial nature, which is requested to be "natural" to the utmost, in the sense of satisfying optimally the demands for the quality of life of its (human) population. The recent war has brought about extensive damages to Sarajevo, particularly in the ecological environment of its inhabitants. A full-scale investigation is needed in order to discover all the newly arisen ecological problems and to recommend the possible solutions.

What happened?

The extent of the damage inflicted to the city greenery has been assessed so far only partially. For example, sixteen localities in the city center, corresponding to the entries in the city parks registry, have been examined after some thirty months of war. The results of this inquiry point to the catastrophic dimensions of the injuries: more than 90% of trees and more than 80% of lawns have been destroyed on the inspected places'. In other words, the trees in almost all parks and avenues in the city center have practically disappeared, and the grass areas likewise.

Similar conditions are to be found on the outskirts of the city, especially on the slopes of the mountain sides. There are serious estimates that more than 50.000 fully grown trees have been cut down in the city area between May 1992 and June 1994, which could be roughly equivalent ecologically to some 2000 hectares of fully developed forest".

How it happened?

The population of Sarajevo, trapped in the besieged city for two successive severe continental winters, depended solely on local sources of fuel. Not a drop of petrol, not a piece of wood, not a lump of coal came from outside the city, for more than thirty months. Thus, the citizens were forced to cut down the trees in their neighborhoods. There was also some private commercial cutting of trees. As a result, not all of the high vegetation has been exterminated, but a substantial part of it.

The consequences: Increased air pollution

The devastation of the green cover of a city has inevitably numerous ecological effects. First of all it threatens the quality of the air. It is possible to calculate that the atmosphere of Sarajevo is deprived of many tons of oxygen every day because of the destruction of the trees and grasses. The direct estimates of the extent of this could be based, for instance, on a supposition that 14.500 hectares of forest produce about 200.000 tons of oxygen in one vegetation period, absorbing at the same time nearly half that amount of carbon dioxide^{iv}. The "purification capacities" of the low vegetation are by no means negligible: one hectare of common meadow extracts the detrimental contents out of 18 million cubic meters of air. Of course, the atmosphere of a given city represents an open system and the air in it is not purified and regenerated only through the activity of the plants located inside the city and its vicinities. However, it is well known that the quality of air undergoes important and physiologically significant local variation. Air pollution in one part of a town could be moderate, while in others it reaches intolerable levels. It is indisputable that the green cover influences strongly and specifically the local variations of (micro)climatic conditions. From the other side, there exists a positive correlation between the degree of air pollution and the incidence of many (especially respiratory) diseases, which is proved beyond any doubt in many scientific investigations^v.

The consequences: Increased radiation

The reduction of the high tree layer of the local vegetation may cause other, less conspicuous and often neglected consequences. Among the alterations subsequent to deforestation there is an increase in radiation. The trees namely modify significantly the intensity and distribution of the ambient radiation. Shade not only protects from excessive warmth, under the trees the solar radiation is just about one tenth of that in the open spaces^{vi}.

The increased radiation is generally considered to be potentially harmful to human health, even though it is intricate to establish direct causal relation between the intensified radiation and individual cases of illness possibly caused by it. Nevertheless it is agreed in the contemporary medicine that ultraviolet (UV) radiation should be regarded as a major initial agent in the mechanisms which give rise to skin cancerTM. The incidence of skin cancer seems to be clearly correlated to the intensity of solar radiation, being much higher in the areas with more intensive insolation. There are many other possible biological effects of the increased radiation which are crucially important, but very difficult to assess^{viii}.

Moreover, many theoretical questions arise with the case of eco(sui)cide in Sarajevo 1992-1994 regarding the notion and definition of the ecocide and the treatment of it in the international legislation^{ix}.

A survey has been designed in order to establish the elements for a research project devoted to the assessment of the ecological damage caused by the siege of Sarajevo 1992-1995, in all relevant aspects. An open invitation for suggestions and advise in this regard will be published shortly^x. The present article also has a similar purpose: to draw attention to the problem and to the ways of approaching it. For the same reason a version of this paper is prepared for publication abroad.

NOTES

ⁱ Berberović Lj.: Eco(sui)cide in Sarajevo. "99" - Review of Free Thought (Sarajevo), Nr. 1, p 22.; April 1995.

ⁱⁱ Uščuplić M.: Greenery and development of Sarajevo. Conference on Reconstruction and Long-Term Development Strategy of the City of Sarajevo, Abstracts p 98; Sarajevo, 1994.

ⁱⁱⁱ Berberović Lj.: op. cit.

^{iv} Klepac D.: Greenery - Adornment, Protection and Health of the City of Zagreb. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, 1990; str. 7 i 12.

^v Šarić M. & Fugaš M.: Air pollution - Effects on physical health. Proceedings of the International Conference on Environmental Health, Primošten, 1973, p 81. Union of Medical Societies, Belgrade, 1973.

^{vi} Penzar I. & Penzar B.: Agroclimatology. "School Book", Zagreb, 1985; str. 211 (in Croatian).

^{vii} Lemberg S. I. & Lemberg L.: Skin Disorders (in - 1983 Medical and Health Annual, pp 302-305). Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., Chicago, 1984.

^{viii} Berberović Lj., Babić N. & Rakić R.: Frequency of spontaneous abortions and the variation in environmental radiation. Godišnjak (Annuary, Institute of Biology, University of Sarajevo), Nr. 42, pp. 5-14, 1990 (in Serbocroatian, Summary in English).

^{ix} Berberović Lj.: Eco(sui)cide in Sarajevo. "99" - Review of Free Thought, Nr. 1, p 23; April 1995.

^x Berberović Lj.: War and environment. Fondoko World, No. 2, October 1997 (in Bosnian; in print).

TAGEBUCH

SEKULIĆ Prof Dr Gajo

Samstag, 4. Oktober

Während der Reise nach Tuzla, schon kurz nach Sarajevo, bei jedem neuen zerstörten oder beschädigten Haus, verfolgte mich der ausserst beunruhigende Satz aus Radomir Konstantinovic's Buch "Descartes Tod": "Wer ist gestorben als mein Vater starb?". Jeder einzelne ist im Tod unersetzlich und einmalig. Alleine. Der Tod unterbricht jegliche Beziehungen mit dem Anderen. So etwa schien es auch Heidegger und Marx. Bei Konstantinovic ist dies nicht der Fall. Langsam wird mir seine ungewisse und unbestimmte Linie des Denkens klar.

Von Semizovac bis Olovo: zu viele Spuren der zerstörerischen Leidenschaft. Von Bergen umringt ist Olovo leichte Beute für gliühende Soldaten und Offiziere, die sichere Distanz ist eine Einladung für Kanonen und Artillerie. Beidseits der Strasse, entlang des ganzen Weges von Sarajevo nach Tuzla, drangen sich mir, zusammen mit herbstlichen Landschaftseindrücken, Bilder von getöteten, geschandeten, verwundeten, vertriebenen, hoffnungslosen und im Stich gelassenen Bosnier auf. Wie viele von ihnen, jetzt in Deutschland, in der Schweiz oder in Skandinavien, müssen sich nach eben diesen Bergen, Waldern, Bächen und Quellen sehnen.

Bin Freund aus der Schweiz, Roland S., in dessen Wagen ich nach Tuzla fahre, arbeitet schon seit bald vier Jahren in Bosnien. Seit geraumer Zeit ist er als Menschenrechtsberater im Büro des Hohen Repräsentanten tätig, und er versteht uns in unserer Sprache schon sehr gut. Seine neunmonatige Anouk ist ein Kind bosnisch-schweizerischer Liebe. Das hochmütige und fatalistische Nichtergreifen der Chancen zur Normalisierung Bosniens erfüllt ihn regelmässig mit Trauer. Trotzdem seine Hoffnung: Bosnien wird seinen Weg schon finden.

In Tuzla hat der Internationale Kongress zum Thema "*Living together*", organisiert vom Bürgerforum Tuzla und dem amerikanischen Institut für Demokratie in Osteuropa, bereits begonnen. Ueber achtzig Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer sind zugegen. Ich stosse in dem Moment hinzu, als Marko Orsolc - Franziskaner und gestandener Theologieprofessor - mit Vertretern katholischer, orthodoxer und muslimischer Konfession seinen hartnackigen Kampf für inter-religiösen Dialog und Zusammenarbeit führt. Meine Verspatung schreibt er scherzhaft meinem methodischen Atheismus zu. Ich antworte, freilich mit kollegialer Ironie, dass mich die Geschäfte des "roten Popen" kalt lassen. Ich verlasse mich darauf, dass er den Uneingeweihten, die an seinem Tisch sitzen, unsere gegenseitige Leidenschaft, den anderen in der Masslosigkeit zum schwarzen Humor zu übertreffen, erklären wird. Ich habe den Eindruck, dass Marko die versteckte Botschaft von Radomir Konstantinovic schon lange verstanden hat. Auch Jakob Finči hat sie begriffen, umso mehr als er uns mit einer alt-jüdischen Weisheit in zwei Akten empfängt: "Wer einen Menschen umbringt, hat die ganze Menschheit umgebracht. Wer einen Menschen rettet, hat die ganze Menschheit gerettet." Konstantinovic's Frage: "Wer ist gestorben als mein Vater starb?", beginne ich als Frage: "Wer ist gestorben als im Sommer 1995 die Männer und Frauen von Srebrenica massenweise und gleichsam vor dem Kameraauge der Weltöffentlichkeit starben?", zu verstehen.

Sonntag, 5. Oktober

Am Kongress in Tuzla bin ich heute Hauptreferent zum Thema "Post-jugoslawische Lander und Demokratie". Kurz vor dem Beginn bittet mich die Direktorin des amerikanischen Instituts, ob ich für die ausländischen Gäste einige Grundbegriffe erklären konnte. Es handelt sich um Begriffe wie: Serbe, Bosniake, Kroat, Bosnier, Tschetnik, Ustascha, Nationalismus usw. In zehn Minuten handle ich die Begriffe ab, wobei mir die abgrundtiefen Unterschiede zwischen "uns" und den Amerikanern gewahr werden. Seit längerem leben die Amerikaner nämlich schon mit klar umrissenen und sicheren Perspektiven. Daher sind die Amerikaner so sicher, dass vorgefertigte Definitionen über jedes und alles bestehen müssen. Darauf will ich mich aber nicht weiter einlassen, denn selbst dem Heiligen Vater gelingt es kaum, die Angst vor dem Pragmatismus zu erklären. Gleiches gilt für Versuche, den Ausländern unser Unbehagen mit präzisen Definitionen zu erklären. Wir würden nämlich friedlich und frei von bestialischen Kriegen leben können, hätten wir nur bestimmte und allgemein anerkannte Definitionen der erwähnten und ähnlicher Begriffe gehabt.

Der Bürgermeister von Tuzla, Selim Beslagić, der mich als erster erblickt, läuft auf unseren Tisch hinzu. Wie andere Durchschnittsbürger muss auch ich ihm nicht nachrennen, um ihm die Hände zu schütteln. Von selbst tritt er in aller Herzlichkeit auf mich zu, eher wie ein Zeitungsverkäufer eines nahegelegenen Kiosks und nicht wie ein Kandidat für den Friedensnobelpreis. Ein derart bescheidenes Aus-Tragen verdienten Ansehens begeistert mich schon lange, insbesondere wenn verglichen mit den aufgeblasenen, neuen Ethnointellektuellen und Ethnopolitikern. Ich stichle ihn, ob er nicht zufälligerweise die gewonnenen Gemeindewahlen gefa'lscht hatte. Er verneint, hatte er aber gekonnt, so hatte er es getan.

Montag, 6. Oktober

Flughafen Sarajevo. Mit der Nummer zwei der Schweizer Botschaft, Wolfgang Amadeus Briihart, warte ich auf Urs Altermatt, Geschichtsprofessor an der Universität Freiburg/Fribourg, der einzigen zweisprachigen Universität der Schweiz. Sein Buch "Das Fanal von Sarajevo. Ethnonationalismus in Europa", welches im September letzten Jahres erschien, hatte ich aus dem deutschen übersetzt. Es ist nun in Sarajevo erschienen, versehen mit einem Nachwort von mir über Ethnonationalismus als bestandigem, europaischem Unbehagen. Ueber ein Jahr stehe ich nun schon mit Urs in telefonischem Kontakt, und nun sehe ich ihn erstmals. Einfach, herzlich, neugierig. Das Empfangsprotokoll schreibt die Besichtigung der Frontlinien vor, Orte der belliziosen Beriührungen und Trennungen während der unsäglich langen Belagerung Sarajevos. Ohne Reiseführer, besichtigen wir als erstes den Eingang des legendären, die Fluglandepiste quer unterlaufenden Tunnels. Das Haus, das den Tunneleingang kamouflierte, ist zur Ruine geworden. Trotzdem beginnen in diesen Tagen, gemäß Aussage des Hauseigentumers, die Arbeiten für den Neubau des Daches sowie eines einzigen Zimmers. Für gerade soviel reichen die Spendengelder, Zauberwort der ersten Nach-Kriegs-Tage. Die Frontlinie unterhalb dem jüdischen Friedhof hinterlässt unauslöschliche Eindrücke. Hiroshima, Dresden, Berlin, Vukovar.

Das Rathaus beziehungsweise die Nationalbibliothek treffen wir im Zustand es teilweisen Wiederaufbaus an. Die österreichische Regierung finanziert die Instandsetzung des Daches. Ich will nicht pathetisch klingen, aber dieses "Haus der Buches" ist mir ein Mahnmal, dass das historische *Match* zwischen Buch, Pflug und Schwert noch nirgendwo beendet ist. Noch regiert das Schwert. Uebermächtig.

Mein Schweizer Gast Urs Altermatt ist Gast der Universität Sarajevo sowie des "Kreis 99", eine Vereinigung unabhängiger Intellektuellen. Zu seiner Ehre laden der Präsident des "Kreis", Vlatko Dolecek, der Historiker Dzevad Juzbasic, der Dichter Izet Sarajlic und ich zum Abendessen. Interessante Gespräche. Es dominieren das Thema Sarajevo und, ob wir wollen oder

nicht, Izet Sarajlic. Er ist keineswegs aufdringlich, seine Satze aber klingen wie Gedichte. Die tiefe Trauer wegen der Zerstörung einer schonen Welt mit ihren vielen, ungenutzen Chancen kann man wohl nur in postmelancholischer Poetik ausdrücken. Er selbst ist die Botschaft, dass jene nicht im Recht sind, die sagen: "Meine Dichtung - das ist mein Volk". Er kann schweigen, doch sobald du Izet siehst, weisst du, dass diese Neuen liigen.

Dienstag, 7. Oktober

In Sarajevo, an der Fakultat der politischen Wissenschaften beginnt ein siebentagiges Seminar zum Thema "Ethnonationalismus in Europa", abgehalten von Professor Altermatt. Nach der Begrüssung des Gastes durch Dekan Halim Mulaibrahimovic referiert Altermatt über den Ethnonationalismus als Krankheit Europas, und nicht nur des Balkans. Dieses Phanomen meldet sich mit dem Projekt des Nationalstaates an. Altermatt weist darauf hin, dass ethnische Sauberungen und Ethnonationalismus höchst widerstandsfähige, historische Phanomene sind. Die Besonderheit und das Novum seiner umfassenden Forschungsergebnisse besteht darin, dass er in eindriicklicher Manier nachweist, dass Ethnonationalismus keine universell-historische Notwendigkeit ist, sondern ein Phanomen, mit dem am Ende gut-demokratische Institutionen und Verfahren herauskommen können. Eine Demokratie kann durchaus mit einer Situation leben, in denen politische und kulturell-ethnische Identitäten verschieden sind. Mit anderen Worten, ein guter, demokratischer Staat ist auch dann möglich, wenn er aus mehreren ethnisch-kulturellen Identitäten besteht. Filr mich liegt hier der inspirierende Wesenskern und Unterschied zu Ernest Gellner, Autor eines einflussreichen Werkes über "Nationalismus und Nation", in welchem die These aufgestellt wird, dass keine Nation, bzw. kein Nationalstaat, ohne Nationalismus, d.h. ohne Gewalt, geschaffen wurde.

Mittwoch und Donnerstag, 8. und 9. Oktober

Das Seminar an der Fakultat läuft gut. Mit schleppender Verzögerung veröffentlicht die OSZE weiter die Ergebnisse der Gemeindewahlen vom 14. September. Surrealistische Konstellationen, insbesondere weil in Gemeinden Vertreter von Volkern gewählt werden, die dort schon seit langem nicht mehr leben können. Obrigkeiten ohne Volk. Schwere, bevorstehende Herausforderung für alle in Bosnien, inklusive der Ausländer.

Freitag, 10. Oktober

Wieder begeben sich nach Tuzla. Dieses Mai, um Altermatt's Buch zu promovieren. Urs schenkt mir "Die Schuldfrage" von Jaspers, ein Buch, dem ich schon lange vergebens nachstellte. Das einzige mir bekannte, in Sarajevo vorhandene Exemplar wurde bei der Zerstörung von Professor Sarcevic's Wohnung vernichtet. Ich entschliesse mich, an der Promovierung des Buches von Altermatt über Schuld zu sprechen, ausgehend von Jasper's These, dass wir in erster Linie Menschen, und erst dann Deutsche, beziehungsweise Kroaten, Bosniaken oder Serben sind. Entspricht die These der Wahrheit, dann müssen die Ta'ter die Verantwortung für die Verbrechen an Menschen, d.h. an der Menschheit, ausnahmslos übernehmen. Ein guter Beginn für die Buch-Promovierung und vielleicht auch ein gutes Ende des Tagebuches.

*(Für das Radio "Freies Europa", 4. -11. Oktober 1997
- am 12. Oktober 1997 gesendet)*

ĐURIĆ Prof Dr Ivan

(1947-1997)

On the 24th of November in Paris after a long and difficult illness Prof. Dr. Ivan ĐURIĆ passed away. He was born in Belgrade in 1947 where he completed his high-school education and studied history at the Faculty of Philosophy. In 1982 he received his doctorate degree in history. He was a prominent Bysanthologist. He taught the history of Bysantheum and the Serb Medieval period and also dealt with the theory of history. Apart from teaching at the University of Belgrade, he was a guest professor at many scientific institutions in France, Germany, Checko-Slovakia and Greece. He was a scientist whose main preoccupation was the study of the link between the Bysanthean civilisation and the Slavic world. Even though his life time was relatively short for a historian, he left behind him monumental works, such as the books "The Twilight of Bysantheum" and "History - Shelter or Direction".

Prof. Dr. Ivan ĐURIĆ was the president of the Liberal Association of Serbia and the editor in chief of the independent newspaper "Democracy Today". He was a member of the European Movement, an organisation within the European Parliament situated in Strassburg. On the first multi-party elections in Serbia in 1990 he was a candidate of the "United Democratic Initiative" and the "Association of Reforming Forces of Serbia" where he got 277 398 votes and was in third place. On that occasion he had a decisive victory over Slobodan Milosevic on the territory of Vojvodina. Not wanting to be participate in the nationalistic madness that followed in Serbia and after many personal inconveniences and direct threats Đurić goes to Paris where he intended to stay only for a short time, but stayed for the rest of his life. In Paris he was the president of the "Movement for Democratic Freedom". This year he attempted to participate in the election process in Serbia, but his difficult illness stopped him at the beginning of his campaign.

He visited Sarajevo for the first time in 1994 during the war when he was taking part in the work of the Serb Civic Council at their first meeting. At that time he was accepted as a member of CIRCLE 99. He visited Sarajevo again a few times.

We loved and respected Prof. Dr. Ivan Đurić as a close intellectual and a very honest and dear man. He was one of the very few Belgrade intellectuals to uncover the essence of the state of Serbia and Belgrade so early on. He voiced his thoughts and views about this in an analytical fashion at every gathering and contact with his colleagues. Because of his intellectual fairness and courage he was forced to leave his hometown, but he never gave up the intellectual fight for democratic relations in Serbia and Belgrade. At our last meeting in Sarajevo he spoke of this convincingly and temperamentally with the zest of a true intellectual. We shall always respect him for being a true intellectual and our great friend and for being on of the few intellectuals from the territory of ex-Yugoslavia who came into the besieged Sarajevo and publicly proclaimed their views about what had happened here.

Ivan Đurić was very elegant in his speeches and he caught the attention of all his colleagues with his remarkable knowledge and analytical approach to current problems. This is why we will always remember him and respect his scientific work and his political thoughts that he always directed in the interest of the victory of truth and justice.

*DOLEČEK Prof Dr Vlatko
(U. T.)*

FINCI Prof Dr Kalmi

(1926 -1997)

In his lifetime professor Finci has primordially endured all the stresses and strains of the century we are seeing off. From internment in Italy and Switzerland, in abysses of the Second World War, to Sarajevo 1992-95, the Sarajevo which has been the city of Finci family almost since its name was founded. Having spent three months in the comforts of the New World which he could hardly stand, although surrounded with love of his fellow-people, he has come back to the besieged city, crossing the Sarajevo airport runway. His return was caused by pneumonia which was to weaken his body more and more and make him too feeble to stand the forthcoming efforts.

With his quiet gentility, as all permanent values are quiet and unperceivable to an eye of the undedicated, professor Finci makes a part of a good faculty work at the Sarajevo University where he has been admitted as a student at the Mathematics Department of the Faculty of Arts. Some time later, in 1958, he moved to another side of the chair, at the former School of Engineering. From that time till now, all the architects educated in this town were to remember professor Kalmi Finci when thinking of how they had gained their knowledge of mathematics. Also, many of mathematicians will relate the elegance of linear algebra, topological spaces or Lebesgue's measure with the graduate or postgraduate lectures given by professor Finci. Naturally, our colleague Kalmi Finci passed all those stages which make the substance and responsibilities of a university career in its natural course - from an assistant lecturer to a professor, a head of Department, a leader of postgraduate studies.

All the people who knew professor Kalmi Finci are enlightened by reflection of acquiescence and harmony of his spirit. One's work will live after one dies. And professor Finci's works are his theorems on summability of infinite orders and functions, Fourier's analyses within dimensional space, asymptotic of function development by its own functions of certain marginal problems of mathematical physics... The results of his numerous

researches have been published in the Works of the Natural Sciences and Mathematics Department and of the Technical Sciences Department of the Bosnian Academy of Arts and Science, reviewed in many foreign specialist journals and publications, presented at many international scientific meetings. Finci's contributions, built into the construction of a mathematics educational system as well as the development of general mathematical knowledge in BiH, through his work in the commissions of experts of the Educational-Pedagogical Council, the Society of Mathematicians, Physicists and Astronomers in BiH... etc., are lasting.

What else does appear to create a memory of professor Kalmi Finci? A need for beauty by which he has been surrounded at home, in keeping company with others, in conversations, his search for the aesthetic in a thought, in a sound, in a light. He easily learned several languages with aim to get originally acquainted with other people and nations, their highest achievements but also their everyday customs. The most important work includes everything that has been caught by the mirrors of souls of the people whom he loved, he knew and whom he met with. Those vibrations will follow us forever.

Professor Dr Kalmi Finci was a universal man.

As such he will be always remembered.

*AVDISPAHIĆ Prof Dr Muharem
(S. F.)*

IDRIZOVIĆ Mirza

(1939-1997)

In this year, when the cinematography of Bosnia-Herzegovina marks its "golden jubilee", we were severely stressed by the news that MIRZA IDRIZOVIC died. He was a film and TV director, script writer and publicist, President of the Film Association of BH, pedagogue and member of the Circle 99 Association. He died at the age of 59. The illness he fought with was one of the worst, but to the last day it did not diminish his high spirits and optimism. He kept planning his new projects without a break. He even started some of them, he made some terms for their realization, he was prepared to work... in spite of the illness and its own way. But... That horrifying "but", the signal for our bitterness, the sign of the supernatural power our hopes and plans depend on, the ruthless and horrible "but" of the Fate has happened. It put an end to Idrizović's life and his artistic biography at the moment when he was prepared to pull all his professional experience and knowledge together in order to make a new film, a new TV piece, a new... Today, after the tragic news we only have bitterness of the final silence of Mirza Idrizović. We are left behind only to speculate on his works and their content, but we are sure that these works of his would mean the most valuable and precious moments of our film and TV production.

IN MEMORY OF

By education he was an architect, but film was his passion for life. There Mirza Idrizović found the basic space for his creativeness. He directed five feature films: RAM ZA SLIKU MOJE DRAGE (A Frame for My Darling's Picture), ŽIVOT JE MASOVNA POJAVA (Life is a Phenomenon en Masse), PJEĞAVA DJEVOJKA (Specky Girl), MIRIS DUNJA (The Odour of Quinces) and AZRA (Azra). With his feature films Mirza Idrizović brought a concept of play, imaginativeness, fresh inspiration and unconventional procedee in the cinematography of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his films, especially the first ones, he put a certain measure of his intellectual doubt and irony; he made some kind of breaking film stereotypes - he insisted on being casual and that way he kept breaking cliches of the established realistic film forms. He had his preferences in the "New wave" film of France and in French film in general. Many of his friends called him Lelouche because of that. That "color" of Mirza's personality gave his entire opus (feature films, documentaries and TV films, series...) the quality of fine artistic charm and grace.

The most interesting was Mirza's human and artistic friendship with a special personality of Zuko Džumhur. That creative team enriched the production of "small" (TV) and "big" (cinema) screen with many inspired pieces in which they discovered the local subjects (mainly about the old Bosnia) and they told their stories with some kind of charming modernity and slight humoresque. The results of their friendship were: the documentary KASABE (Small Towns); popular TV series HODOLJUBLJA (Walk-Around Lovers); long feature film MIRIS DUNJA (The Odour of Quinces)...

Mirza Idrizović gave a very important contribution to the war production in the times of siege of Sarajevo. For the producing house SAGA Idrizović made a few documentaries using electronic technique, which was the only thing possible at the time. His works are precious as documents of the moment, but they represent his unconventional, non-stereotype approach as well, which has been characteristic of his entire work all the time. He escaped cliches, his stories were charming and light and this "lightness of telling stories" was, I dare say, his horoscope sign - in film and TV works, in his articles and his entire life.

He won many prizes and awards, from the Golden Arena (Film Festival Pula) for script (MIRIS DUNJA) to the highest awards for documentaries and TV pieces. He was one of the authors of the documentary of Saga - MGM; this film participated in the Film Festival in Cannes and other film festivals all over the world and won many awards. It was a piece of work of Sarajevan cinema artists and patriots among whom Mirza Idrizović was one of the most distinguished as a director and as a participant in the spiritual resistance of Sarajevo cultural life as well.

We thank him profoundly for all he did to enrich the cultural space in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Vefik HADŽISMAJLOVIĆ

(F. D.)



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