

Sixth International Conference

# SARAJEVO AND THE WORLD

## Pandemic Perspectives

April/May, 2020.

Šesta internacionalna konferencija

# SARAJEVO I SVIJET

## U pandemijskim vidicima

april/maj, 2020.



International Forum Bosnia  
Sixth International Conference  
*Sarajevo and the world*  
*Pandemic Perspectives*  
Sarajevo, May / April 2020.

Međunarodni forum Bosna  
Šesta međunarodna konferencija  
*Sarajevo i svijet*  
*U pandemijskim vidicima*  
Sarajevo, maj / april 2020.

CONFERENCE PAPERS  
RADOVI ZA KONFERENCIJU



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## FOREWORD

The International Conference on *Sarajevo and the World*, held in May each year, is just one of the hundreds of programmes realised by International Forum Bosnia since its foundation in 1997, but it is nonetheless one with a symbolic significance for IFB's overall mission. The idea of IFB was born and developed while the war against Bosnia and the siege of Sarajevo were still ongoing. During its 45 years of existence, the Yugoslav Communist regime planned and carried through a massive programme of social modernisation (schools, healthcare, industrialisation, infrastructure, etc), but it at best ignored and at times exacerbated issues of social pluralism and the relationship between religion and public life.

Ideologically based, the Yugoslav regime was simply incapable of understanding and preserving, much less of developing, Bosnian unity in plurality as an expression of humanity's sublime ideal. It denied the ontological ground on which Bosnia stands and so contributed to the dismantling of the country's political, cultural and economic potential. This is why the collapse of the Communist system of power so disproportionately, affected Bosnia and her people, society, and constitutive order, whose religious pluralism had weathered all the attacks of dogmatic nationalism and totalitarian communism. It was also what convinced the founders of International Forum Bosnia that the country's struggle for survival had to be accompanied by a process of midwifing new philosophical and political approaches to Bosnian plurality within a globalised world. Under the agony of the siege, they considered it a moral obligation to defend Sarajevo and the very religious plurality that the warmongers and ideologists of exclusion were attempting to deny and destroy. It was time to reveal and renew in intellectual terms the city's importance as emblematic of the best the world has to offer.

The first five conferences on *Sarajevo and the World* brought together hundreds of researchers and academics to consider a wide range of issues related to global politics, culture, and economics and to the rehabilitation of Sarajevo's symbolic and actual significance. The organisers have always tried to keep issues of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim intellectual heritage at the heart of our conference discussions,

with particular regard to their potential contribution to tolerant politics within plural societies. They also hoped to contribute in this way to deconstructing populist and ignorant approaches to religious heritage within the multidimensional space where politics, culture, and the economy intersect. Nor was this all. Another aim was to help counter the religious abuse of politics and the political abuse of religion and the obscuring of our undeniable rights to unproblematised existence, freedom, our inviolable dignity as individuals, ability to commit to the highest ideals, and concern for the vulnerable.

The Sixth International Conference on *Sarajevo and the World* has been organised *online* as the world find itself under pandemic siege. More than 45 researchers and academics from Bosnia and around the world have responded to the organisers call for papers, while more than 80 are involved as non-presenting participants. The Academic Committee has arranged the papers into the five sections of these Proceedings.

- Participants are kindly asked to read, discuss, and provide their comments on the papers by 15 June; (comments should be on individual papers and no more than 250 words. They may be in any of the local languages, English, French, or German.)
- Until 25 June, the authors should provide closing remarks in response to said comments once they have received them from the organisers, as well as finalised versions of their papers for publication; where comments have been taken into account in finalising the papers, authors are asked to indicate this in their footnotes. (Where appropriate, comments and responses may be appended to the texts in the published version.)

The conference papers will be published, after final editing, as proceedings in a special issue of *Forum Bosnae* for 2020.

Editorial board

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## PREDGOVOR

Internacionalna konferencija *Sarajevo i svijet* je jedan od stotina programa Međunarodnog foruma Bosna, realiziranih od 1997. godine do danas. Ipak, ta Konferencija, održavana u maju svake godine, ima naročit simbolički značaj u cijelom pothvatu. Ideja Međunarodnog foruma Bosna nastavljena i razvijana je u vremenu rata protiv Bosne i opsade Sarajeva. Iako je jugoslavenski komunistički režim podstakao i izveo gigantski podhvat modernizacije društva (školstvo, zdravstvo, industrijalizacija, infrastruktura itd), pitanja društvene pluralnosti, i naročito odnosa religije i javnog života, ostala su nerazriješena i zamrznuta.

Taj ideologijski zasnovan jugoslavenski režim nije imao pretpostavke za razumijevanje, očuvanje i razvijanje bosanskog jedinstva u razlikama, najuzvišenijeg ljudskog ideala. Porekao mu je ontološki temelj te tako doprinosio hegemonističkim razaranjima bosanskog političkog, kulturnog i ekonomskog potencijala. Zato su se u raspadu komunističkog sistema njegove moći srušile prvenstveno na Bosnu i njene ljude, društvo i poredak, čiju religijsku pluralnost nije bilo moguće otkloniti ni dogmatskim nacionalizmom ni totalitarnim komunizmom. Zato su inicijatori osnivanja Međunarodnog foruma Bosna smatrali da je uz borbu za preživljenje nužno anticipirati nove filozofske i politološke odnose prema bosanskoj pluralnosti u cjelovitosti svijeta. A Sarajevo, grad čiju su religijsku pluralnost poricali i razarali vojnici modernih ideologija isključivosti, u agoniji opsade mora se, smatrali su inicijatori, i obznaniti i obnoviti u intelektualnim vidicima najboljeg što svijet ima i što je svijetu moguće ponuditi.

U prethodnih pet konferencija *Sarajevo i svijet*, u kojima je sudjevalo više stotina istraživača, razmatrana su različita pitanja politike, kulture i ekonomije svijeta i rehabilitacije simboličkog i faktičkog značenja Sarajeva. Organizatori su nastojali u središte konferencijskih rasprava izvesti pitanja o jevrejskom, kršćanskom i muslimanskom intelektualnom naslijeđu kao potencijalu i podsticaju u gradnji tolerantnih politika u pluralnim društvima. Time bi, smatrali su, doprinijeli otklanjanju populističkih i ignorantskih odnosa prema religijskom

naslijeđu u višedimenzionalnom prostoru politike, kulture i ekonomije. I ne samo to, smatrali su da tako mogu doprinijeti suprotstavljanju religijskim zloupotrebama politike i političkim zloupotrebama religije u zamračivanjima prava na neosporivost života, slobodu, nepovredivost dostojanstva pojedinca, prisegu najuzvišenijem idealu i brigu za slabe.

Šesta internacionalna konferencija *Sarajevo i svijet* organizirana je *online* u uvjetima pandemijske opsade svijeta. Pozivu organizatora odazvalo se više od pedeset istraživača iz zemlje i svijeta. Njihove radove Naučni odbor organizatora rasporedio je u pet dijelova Zbornika. Od sudionika konferencije očekuje se:

- da raspravljaju o dostavljenim radovima te da do 15. juna ove godine organizatoru dostave svoje osvrte na radove; (Osvrti su uvijek na pojedinačni rad. Ne mogu biti dulji od 250 riječi. Mogu biti na bosanskom / crnogorskom / hrvatskom / srpskom, engleskom, francuskom ili njemačkom jeziku.)
- da autori radova najkasnije do 25. juna, a nakon što im organizator dostavi primljene osvrte, daju zaključne odgovore na njih; (Odgovori na osvrte bit će dodani iza radova na koje se odnose. Autori će moći dopuniti svoje radove te ih takve autorizirati za definitivno objavljivanje.)

Konačno uređeni konferencijski radovi bit će objavljeni u specijalnom broju časopisa *Forum Bosnae* za 2020. godinu.

Urednički odbor  
Fra Mile Babić  
Rusmir Mahmutćehajić  
Desmond Maurer  
**Žarko Papić, urednik**  
Fatima Veispahić

**The first panel / Prvi panel**

**PLURALITY AND SOLIDARITY  
IN A TIME OF EMERGENCY /  
PLURALNOST I SOLIDARNOST  
U VANREDNIM OKOLNOSTIMA**





# CONFINÉS AVEC LE VIRUS

**Paul Ballanfat**

Nous nous sommes épris d'un virus, comme d'un fantôme contre lequel nous nous enfermons derrière des frontières non politiques, les murs de l'espace privé, la solitude de la famille, en isolement. Nous voilà contraints de dire nous, nous unis à une communauté, à notre corps défendant, au moment où le virus pulvérise toute communauté, mais peut-être pas la communion d'un nous contraint qui ne se com-monétarise plus. L'espace privé paraît le lieu de repli dont le virus vient marquer invisiblement la ligne de démarcation qui l'isole du politique qu'il envahit et affole, autant qu'il affole les défenses immunitaires, où nous nous préparons au grand jour où nous nous reverrons, davantage comme travailleur sans doute que comme citoyen, lorsque l'espace public sera lavé de son effacement, de son invisibilité et de sa pulvérisation. Nous tâchons de nous prémunir contre ce que nous ne voyons pas, invisible intrus, hôte non invité, contrebande du secret, l'infection du secret, mais dont nous imaginons qu'il peut entrer par les fenêtres, depuis les rues où nous nous transportons, les parcs où nous respirons, ou importé par quelque cheval de Troie, un membre de la famille, un frère ou un ami, ou le pire, l'enfant de la famille, l'avenir de la collectivité qu'engendre l'intimité privée, qu'il menace soudain toutes deux.

Un cheval qui, parlant au nom de l'otage, au nom de la libération, dissimulerait sa compulsion mortelle d'anéantissement, sa cruauté. Cruauté candide et innocence toujours pathologique. Aléatoire révélation de la peur que les sociétés européennes entretiennent depuis longtemps déjà, défiance de la société à l'abord de la vieillesse vis-à-vis des jeunes, et en particulier des jeunes issus de ce que l'on appelle l'immigration venue des confins pour être reléguée, dont la dynamique démographique

fait craindre “le grand remplacement”. Les enfants auront été d’emblée soupçonnés de porter la mort, de porter la mort en toute innocence, innocents coupables tout de suite désignés par la décision politique de confinement qui les aura confinés en les désignant comme la menace la plus immédiate pour les vieillards. Rappel de l’impossibilité d’une culpabilité absolue, à moins de sa mort qui lui rendrait son innocence, et d’une innocence introuvable spéculaire qui autoriserait une incrimination pure non pathologique. Avant de faire savoir, de nous faire savoir, qu’ils seraient sans doute moins porteurs que leurs parents. Les vieillards regroupés et isolés eux, la vieillesse rassemblée dans les limbes, en particulier dans les Ehpad où le virus aura provoqué une hécatombe silencieuse et invisible dans la plus extrême solitude où la mort sera passée sans passer, où la protection par le confinement aura favorisé le travail du virus dans la plus grande discrétion. Mort marginale qui n’est plus la mort définie par la possibilité constitutive de la politique de mettre à mort, de laisser mourir ou encore de sauver de la mort. Le souci moderne de la protection de la vie n’est guère que l’affirmation perverse du droit qui fonde la souveraineté de mettre à mort, de condamner à la mort. Le sacré n’est pas d’abord religieux, pas rituel, mais toujours déjà la fabrication de la souveraineté. Le sacré n’est pas l’ambivalence du nuisible et du sain, mais de la mort et de la survie, c’est-à-dire du droit souverain de la mort. Le sacré : le droit, le schibboleth qui sépare l’ami de l’ennemi, comme l’affirme Hegel dans *La philosophie du droit*, qui gouverne le profane par le mystère de son mot de passe qui maintient la frontière et convertit la monnaie de la souveraineté dans la monnaie de l’autorité qui est le commun de toute communauté politique. Pour empêcher la mort d’atteindre les vieillards les plus vulnérables, dont un grand nombre avait déjà vécu la privation de liberté et la pénurie pendant l’occupation, regroupés dans les Ehpad, pour rendre leur mort impossible on aura rendu leur mort inéluctable, nécessaire. On les aura rassemblés dans une collectivité destinée à être frappée par la fatalité d’une mort que l’on aura tenue invisible. Leur mort est comptabilisée à part dans les statistiques virales. Cette mort, hécatombe sans massacre, est mise à l’écart dans le cimetière statistique, le seul que connaisse l’administration, la machinerie de la politique que l’on voit aussi à l’oeuvre dans tout conflit et qui confie aux statistiques des morts et des blessés les

victimes de la guerre qu'elle prive ainsi de toute sépulture. Les Européens, ce que l'on nomme l'Occident, qui craint de mourir depuis si longtemps, sont pris du virus de se prendre pour les victimes exemplaires, l'exemplarité de la victime, personnage sans cesse rejoué et davantage encore depuis le 11 septembre. La hiérarchie des victimes rejoue sans cesse la hiérarchie anthropologique que l'Europe construit depuis au moins le dix-neuvième siècle et qui gouverne l'histoire. Nous sommes pris d'un virus qui parasite l'organisme, le corps et le psychisme, pour une fois tout un, par l'affection virale qui le colonise, venant exploiter ses ressources, ses capacités à se reproduire en le condamnant à une mort étrange et aléatoire. Il rend fou le système immunitaire, ce virus, au point de le pousser à s'autodétruire au lieu de le détruire d'entrée de jeu, de même qu'il rend folles les décisions collectives au point que la politique, son économie même sous tous ses modes, semble s'auto-détruire en sur-réagissant prise d'un délire qui unit la relégation la plus archaïque à la performance de la recherche biologique et informatique qui s'accélèrent de la plus contemporaine modernité. Autre réplique de la vidéo-criminalité islamiste dont la criminalité aura meurtri les français à plusieurs reprises et toujours plus, après bien d'autres, de morts tout aussi aléatoires, mais spectaculaires. On s'assiege dans l'ascèse de multitudes de cellules virales qui parient sur une autre viralité à venir, pour se protéger de l'affection censée venir du dehors, moines éventuels sommés de méditer une politique à venir. Mais où nous confiner ? Reste-t-il quelque lieu qui se rétracte, quelque lieu privé ? Privé de politique ? Ou gros de politique ? Où se confiner ? Quelque lieu qui désorienterait le virus, en lui opposant un *dead-end*, un *çikmaz*, comme l'on dit en turc, soit le lieu du lieu, celui d'où l'on ne sort pas, là où l'on ne s'en sort pas. L'auto-enfermement, la rétractation de soi, comme une sensitive, solitude morale avec soi-même d'un souverain bien délirant, dans le for intérieur de l'intimité présumée sans danger où l'on est seul avec soi-même, seul affrontant ses cent-mille âmes comme le dirait le poète turc Yûnus Emre, en terrain censément plus que connu, opposerait une barrière infranchissable. S'enfermer dans une myriade d'alvéoles, comme les abris anti-atomiques de la guerre froide et les bunkers de l'Albanie d'Enver Hodja, désorienterait le virus, cette plaie d'Egypte, ne tournant plus d'adresse où frapper. La dissémination des cibles

aléatoires opposerait une grande muraille de Chine, la grande muraille qu'aurait bâtie le prophète à deux cornes, *Dhû'l-qarnayn*, pour contenir Gog et Magog, et le renverrait ainsi dans les confins d'où il est venu, le confinerait en retour. Notre confinement confinerait le virus d'un seul et même coup. L'univers où nos avions conceptuels, comme le laboureur d'avenir de Heidegger, tracent des sillons de peu d'importance qui importent tout de tous les bouts du monde n'a t-il pas si bien été investi, en s'universalisant, qu'il ne se trouvera peut-être aucun lieu qui puisse servir de cellule saine immunisée contre tout parasitage et toute exploitation. Nous nous rétractons, pris de remords, dans ces cellules déjà filmées dans nombre de films américains, rejouant *ad nauseam* la fin du monde ou la pandémie universelle qui aura déjà été répétée, où nous mourrons d'être si bien enfermés, qu'on n'en sortira plus, enfermés avec la mort, confinés avec le virus. On se trouverait confinés sains et condamnés à ne pas pouvoir sortir sous peine d'être contaminés ou verbalisés, ou confinés malades embarqués sur la nef des fous pour un voyage qui confine aux confins. Nous nous confinions avec le virus, la proie du remords. Le virus semble une sorte d'expiation. Confinés sous la camisole du virus, comme des archipels sous le vent, nous sommes tentés de marmonner l'imprécation de la mère de Baudelaire : « *Maudite soit la nuit aux plaisirs éphémères où mon ventre a conçu mon expiation* ».

L'affolement nous rétracte dans une myriade de retraites, comme une foule d'impasses alvéolaires, où nous serions de vagues moines délirants qui pourraient générer de nouvelles formes politiques, inventer un monde à venir qui dépasserait les impasses du capitalisme contemporain responsable de l'hécatombe de ses très anciennes travailleuses, les abeilles. L'infection se répandrait depuis la Chine qu'elle aurait finalement désertée et dont elle relancerait l'ambition politique en injectant une fois encore à l'Europe cet autre virus, la mélancolie européenne de se penser fatiguée, dégénérée, ayant perdu, d'une double perte, cette force vitale qui se donne un destin. La Chine, dit un propos du corpus des dits de Mahomet, est le lieu jusqu'où il faut aller chercher le savoir, si vraiment c'est le savoir que l'on cherche. La Chine serait l'impératif qui pèse sur tout désir de savoir. De la Chine nous reviendrait le virus du savoir qui répondrait à l'appétit, à l'ambition, à la plénoxie, à la machinerie confinée du désir.

Venu des confins, où nous nous confinons pour nous en préserver, du dehors le plus dehors par son éloignement, il loge le dehors au dedans, dans le for intérieur, dans l'intimité de l'unité différenciée et dialectisée du corps et de l'esprit, du privé et du politique, dans l'unité la plus virulente et la plus messianique, la plus spirituelle de l'Occident, au coeur de ses ténèbres africaines de l'Occident qui avaient fait le motif de la méditation de Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe sur l'Europe.

Le virus nous prendrait comme un reflux, une aliénation armée au loin et ramenée compulsivement à soi, un fort/da infectant le principe de plaisir, ou comme la pensée qui, chez Descartes, se révèle purement sans objet dans l'acte même de l'anéantissement total dans ce somnambulisme où elle extravague plus que tous les fous qui veillent. Socrate pris de délire, ne fait-il pas parler ces interlocuteurs qu'il fait accoucher en leur inoculant son venin, philosophe naturel dont la pensée virale n'est possible qu'à condition que son ouvre la bouche pour y recevoir le virus du *logos*, le virus socratique, dont les discours, les écrits philosophiques sont les symptômes ? La puissance de la pensée n'a-telle pas toujours tenu à sa virulence et à sa viralité ? A relancer donc machinalement la sidération dont nous transit le virus, à s'auto-détruire, à délirer jusqu'à se prendre pour la victime exemplaire, l'extravagance du discours général sur la chance que le virus offre d'un changement total de civilisation autoriserait donc un calcul. Le virus serait ce dieu inattendu, non théologique, enfin non théologico-politique, et providentiel initiant la ruse de la restauration d'une économie messianique du sacrifice de soi. On serait tenté de se rappeler le mot de Heidegger, selon lequel "Seul un dieu peut nous sauver". Sauf que ce divin virus, qui revient sous diverses formes, comme le Saoshyant du mazdéisme dont Zarathoustra est un avatar, permet de capitaliser sur sa virulence, la puissance folle de cette chauve souris, une sorte de rat volant, qui, par le risque calculé de la surréaction délirante, autoriserait un sursaut politique, une relance de la politique rétractée. La surréaction des défenses immunitaires qui s'enflamment ouvrirait au calcul, plutôt qu'au pari, d'un sursaut moral qui ferait consentir à l'auto-incarcération et à la surveillance globale par tout le monde, plutôt que par l'état disparu avec le privé dans la confusion que génère le virus venu du dehors exploiter le dedans pour le parcelliser. La soumission automatique et maus-

sade, sans héroïsme, avec son flot de dénonciations anonymes, semble restaurer, dit-on, la politique, cette grande malade miraculeusement guérie par un virus, sous la figure de l'Etat rétablie dans sa souveraineté par la grâce qui fait communier l'ensemble de sa population dans son auto-relégation volontaire. Le virus rendant sa souveraineté à l'Etat le relancerait machinalement par l'enfermement volontaire de chaque corps dans sa propre cellule de confinement, corps disparu, comme les morts des Ehpad, invisible dans la camisole de son isolement. Le corps devient la cellule qui l'enveloppe. Le corps qui doit se protéger se confond avec son enveloppe protectrice, l'alvéole hospitalière des soins médicaux, pharmaceutiques et mécaniques. Il est absorbé par son double offert au soin qui se substitue à lui. Il est le soin qui le soumet à la double institution tutellaire de l'administration de l'Etat et de la médecine administrée. Se soumettant au soin qui l'efface il semble restaurer et rendre son souffle à la politique conspirant avec la médecine. L'administration du soin du vivant dans la conspiration secrète de l'Etat et de la science est le respirateur artificiel de la politique. Le virus aggrave encore la disparition du corps dans tous les dispositifs qui l'intègrent, les hôpitaux et leurs étapes jusqu'au saint des saints : les salles de soins intensifs, les Ehpad et la mort collective sans sépulture, les divers dispositifs organes d'assistance économique, sociale, avec leur hiérarchie qui va des municipalités jusqu'à tous les organismes de l'union européenne, l'embranchement informatique du travail à domicile, la réorganisation de tous les enseignements et de tous les médias tenus à distance hygiénique. Organisation immunologique de la sainteté du vivant d'une médecine qui sauve l'immunité du vivant et de l'Etat qui assure la sécurité de ses citoyens incarcérés et démunis de droit. On offre l'immunité aux démunis que sont les vivants dont la conspiration de l'institution a subtilisé le corps. L'immunité médicale dissimule la conspiration de sa polysémie institutionnelle, immunité du vivant qui intègre dans l'espèce en le protégeant du virus étranger, immunité politique accordée par l'Etat qui protège de la violence de la communauté, immunité du *munus* de la monnaie sur laquelle repose la fiduciarité de la fidélité commune à la communauté du devoir et du don en retour. Ces dispositifs imposent à ce "nous" qu'ils agglomèrent l'acquiescement automatique qu'impose la disposition de la loi qui a toujours anticipé la constitution

d'un sujet dont elle historicise et com-monétarise la temporalité. Ils jouent de la soumission automatique qu'implique l'antécédence de la loi qui confine le sujet pour pouvoir s'énoncer, ayant forcé son corps avant tout contrat, enfermant ainsi le refus dans une négativité d'emblée déniée, annulant par son avance toute résistance. Au lieu de convoquer le corps, toutes ses fragilités et sa vulnérabilité qui ne se laissent pas distinguer du psychisme, le virus fantasmagorique, lui-même invisible usurpateur, sort d'antéchrist, tient tout entier et uniquement dans tous les dispositifs ordonnés à la guérison de l'Etat et nourri de toutes les fantasmagories où se loge le virus. Il renforce l'effacement du corps dont nous portons le deuil depuis longtemps, dans l'oubli, à travers tout ce qui nous dispose à un confinement plus ancien déjà que le virus. La soumission somnambulique à l'auto-enfermement, à l'isolement, ne me semble pas traduire le souci du corps, mais au contraire, parce qu'il s'agit d'une rétractation collective dans le sein protecteur de l'Etat, de l'exhibition pathologique de l'impuissance perverse de la machinerie politique où la décision administre le mystère dans le secret où officient le chef de l'Etat et son comité scientifique. L'auto-relégation n'est peut-être pas toutefois la guérison espérée. La recherche d'un protecteur qu'implique le morcellement de la communauté est le mécanisme qui aggrave la maladie qui infecte le politique, dont le dedans se retourne en son dehors, son essence en symptôme, et qui le fait virer en tyrannie du symptôme. La guérison supposée de l'Etat pourrait être le coup fatal porté aussi bien au corps propre des hommes qu'au corps politique, pourrait être la disparition de la mort qui aggraverait encore le désir de faire de la mort un impossible sans pour autant être un désir de vivre. Le virus aura produit une multitude de fantasmagories où il se loge en se rendant invisible. Ces fantasmagories aveugles auront non seulement rendu invisible le corps et la mort mais aussi toutes les autres maladies, dues aux déficiences du corps, aux microbes, bactéries, et auront même détrôné le cancer de sa précellence dans la hiérarchie de nos maux. A l'hécatombe invisible des Ehpads qui dissimule la mort et ses rituels tout en aggravant la dissimulation du vieillissement dans lequel le corps insiste, correspondent les morts dans les alvéoles du confinement dont on ne saura jamais de quoi ils sont morts, le virus dissimulant aussi de toute sa souveraineté, le fantasme de la mort, toutes les autres affections du corps, toutes



les autres maladies et faiblesses possibles du corps reléguées dans la morne plaine du fleuve *amèlès* où nous communions dans l'anxiété de notre inattention. Cette mort factuelle sans sépulture, qui faisait se révolter Antigone, la voix de la mort, n'affecte pas seulement les corps dès lors sans destin sous la prise du dispositif médical, mais la mort elle-même que l'immunisation prive de sa duplicité. Le dispositif médical efface le corps en faisant de la vie un fait pur sans destin, selon le mot d'Imre Kertész. Le vivant usurpe le corps. Il ignore et anéantit tout mode de vie au nom de la protection qui en dispose. L'effacement du corps est aggravé par le dispositif médical qui règne souverainement sur le gouvernement politique, dispositif qui installe à demeure la vie comme un pur fait affranchi de toute essence, de tout mode de vie, le vivant sur lequel le dispositif médical prétend avoir prise malgré la pauvreté dérisoire de ses moyens, et qui ignore et anéantit tout mode de vie au nom de la protection des vivants. S'impose une interprétation univoque préemptée par la technicité médicale, non-technologique, de l'immunité du vivant qui efface et le corps et la mort dans le vivant. La politique qui est l'organisation de la reproduction est confinée par le dévoilement médical du vivant dont l'impuissance à s'auto-conserver substitue la fonction au destin, la corporéité au désir du corps propre. On dispose du corps par l'investissement du vivant comme disposition à recevoir des branchements. Le vivant est la disposition aux branchements. Le corps social devenu vivant vit d'une sorte de coma artificiel où il doit apprendre une nouvelle corporéité qui se ramifie en une inextricable prolifération de branchages informationnels. Il est vivant, conatus subsistant, persévérant ou persistant, tenu à la vitalité de la neutralité immunisée de tout désir.

Nous sommes saisis du virus de l'héroïsme de la catastrophe, une fois de plus, nous singularisant complaisamment de cette troisième personne christique que nous rejouons sans cesse au moins depuis le Saint Augustin du *De Trinitate*, qui a lié la divinisation à l'intensification hyperbolique de la victime que radicalise le mal qui la sublime. Une fois de plus nous faisons de la catastrophe le mécanisme par lequel l'Europe aurait la chance de restaurer sa figure, sa personnalité, une dignité bafouée et dite en train de décliner et de dégénérer jusqu'à en perdre la foi et la puissance de la génération. Le tohu-bohu de la contamination générale, un virus chinois s'étant emparé de l'universel en l'en-

vahissant, réveille la compulsion anesthésiée de l'Europe à se périodiser en érigeant en évènements historiques, en fins de l'histoire ses aléas, compulsion théologique d'une apocalypse comptable, archiviste, administrative coupant et creusant la monotonie de la superficialité aléatoire par une reddition des comptes, une confession qui ouvrirait une redemption. La rétractation du confinement prend valeur de remords et d'expiation. Un pardon général demandé, mais adressé à qui ? En tout cas pas aux indiens des Amériques décimés par le virus des empires européens, indiens dont on apprend que certains disparaissent de nouveau dans cette forêt amazonienne, ce non-lieu de confins où l'on peut encore disparaître sans y être incarcéré, de confins qui ne sont pas des ban-lieux. L'Europe, l'occident soudain accidenté, semble demander pardon à soi-même, infiniment, par un calcul et une ruse suprêmes. Heureux virus qui tout à coup rétablit une universalité, la vocation européenne de l'Europe, la vocation de l'Europe à se nommer l'Europe. Voilà que le virus de la mondialisation européenne, de la création européenne de son monde comme globalisation de ses universaux, ce virus qui fait le caractère propre de l'Europe s'appropriant à soi-même en s'appropriant le monde s'en revient comme s'il n'était jamais parti et contraint l'Europe à se demander compulsivement pardon, comme un automate, ou comme un mort-vivant, pour le virus qui revient la hanter. L'on voudrait demander pardon de prendre la parole en ces temps. Mais le pardon est déjà engagé globalement, déjà universalisé au nom de l'Europe qui survit en entonnant le *melos* écologique de ses remords dont elle attend un autre commencement, ce commencement qui nécessite comme toujours l'exposition de la culpabilité absolue, de la désolation infinie pour que la justice vienne justifier cette auto-crucifixion en lançant comme automatiquement un autre nouveau commencement. Etrange poison, détestable potion de la contamination qui a viré en un virus qui rassemble la viralité biologique, si tant est que le virus relève de la vie et de la mort, et la vitalité morale, union non pas bio-politique mais bio-morale, contre laquelle la politique serait depuis toujours censée nous immuniser, puisque l'essence du politique, depuis Platon, devrait prémunir contre la maladie dont elle est affectée, devrait faire obstacle, devrait dresser des murs contre toute contamination, biologique et morale. La morale qui fut naguère intégrée à l'ouvrage politique, s'est de nouveau émanci-

pée de toute politique, profitant de l'émancipation de la politique de toute morale, pour se présenter comme un automate auto-régulé qui fait souffler dans la masse l'air de sujets moraux qui, comme des drones dans le ciel où brillerait la justice, défendent chacun l'universelle dignité de l'homme. Massification universelle de la loi, viralité de l'homme européen, dont nombre d'hommes durant au moins cinq siècles ont pu mesurer qu'il était le virus irrésistible et inéluctable contre lequel même s'enfermer était illusoire puisqu'il était précisément la puissance de l'universalité, invoquée par Fichte, à abolir les particularités des savoirs, des croyances, des habitudes, et des langues. La viralité européenne, colonialisme impérial, aura été l'essence de l'universel, la puissance de la *causa sui* à la fois pouvoir et passivité, qui automatise sa virulence dans cette métalangue qu'est l'empire technique de l'Europe. La viralité ne jouerait-elle pas dans la puissance de l'universel à s'universaliser et à ne consentir aucune protection en illimitant ses propres limites ? Puissance de l'incarnation que nomme le *Geschlecht*, tout à la fois différence sexuelle, reproduction, génération, souche, race, communauté, puissance de l'alliance, le cercle du *Bund*, qui est la foi performative en la possibilité de convertir la monnaie particulière de la communauté qui entend l'appel spirituel de la liberté en une seule humanité universelle et du même mouvement de conversion fonde l'autorité souveraine de la communauté qui s'étend ainsi à l'univers cosmopolites de sa loi sur l'ensemble de cette humanité qui est rassemblée dans une histoire globale du progrès. Le quatrième discours à la nation allemande de Fichte aura dégagé les fondements de la virulence coloniale européenne, le projet de la projection virale de l'Europe et la viralité spirituelle de ce destin qui accomplirait l'universelle conversion chrétienne des hommes à l'humanité sauvée, immunisée par la contamination que lui aura imposé le virus de l'Esprit, en mettant en oeuvre le Schibboleth de la loi, le *logos*, la machinerie de l'incarnation qui particularise le dieu universel pour universaliser les particularismes des corps autrement éparpillés sans cette unité unifiante, qu'est la mort destinée à la résurrection, sans l'un du monothéisme européen.

Nous sommes saisis du virus que le remords de l'Europe, mordue en retour par son propre virus, s'avoue. Elle confesse que ce virus, celui de la globalisation du monde, elle l'a lancée depuis

longtemps. Il revient vieilli, défiguré par le succès de la civilisation, et presque méconnaissable, comme Ulysse, reprendre son existence comme si de rien n'était, comme s'il n'avait pas voyagé jusque peut-être même en Chine. Le virus qui semble nouveau est au moins aussi vieux que l'Europe qui se sait être cette auto-institution politico-morale s'universalisant. Elle aura envoyé son virus jusqu'en Chine, révolutionnant la culture, se reproduisant en utilisant les ressources des confins renommés et baptisés d'un geste éminemment politique : cultures, civilisations. L'Europe se sera contée au moins mille et une fois les récits de son exploration méthodique rassemblant les confins d'un univers pour en envelopper l'universalité de sa civilisation. Le lancer européen dans les confins, le projet européen se sera pendu aux arbres en chemin, se sera dispersé dans les fins croisées, jusqu'à se fondre dans tous les confins qui assument désormais les fins de l'Europe, économiques, politiques, morales, scientifiques, tout l'humanisme européen sur tous ses modes. Le futur que la fin aura programmé, qu'elle aura rendu décidable semble s'être perdu dans sa lancée qui aura mécaniquement propagé ses aléas, puisque toute répétition finit par se saturer en une luxuriance de fins. La fin de l'Europe se sera disséminée en une multitude de fins dont elle n'aura pas soupçonné que leur unité tenait au miroitement théologico-politique du messianisme spirituel du concept. Les confins auront pulvérisé la fin qui aura fait l'unité de l'Europe, et avant tout, dans la fin, la mort qu'elle aura toujours supposée rassemblée avec elle-même, une comme la fin, principe secret automatisé dans la pratique, rassemblant une humanité unique, universelle, fin de toutes les fins capable d'unir tous les confins dans une temporalité extatique horizontale qui se périodise en une histoire totale de la fin de l'être-à-mort. La pulvérisation de la fin dans toutes ses fins qui ne se laissent plus rassembler aura aussi disséminé le virus qui nous intime de nous confiner dans la rétractation de l'immunité. Le confinement ne serait-il pas un euphémisme, et un symptôme à la fois, pour nommer plutôt la relégation, l'auto-incarcération qui ne préjuge pas de la perte de droits mais qui est prête à les abandonner au bannissement à travers tous les dispositifs techniques qui portent l'espoir d'un déconfinement ? Après avoir été relégués au musée du passé au moment de la énième guerre du golfe, la vieille Europe se relègue, s'isole dans ses cellules espérant qu'elles ne

seront pas infectées. Disséminée dans les confins qui refluent sur elle, l'Europe se confine machinalement, se rétracte comme une sensitive, dans le confinement qui masque, tout en la masquant, que cette auto-relégation est la réplique compulsive de l'enfermement autoritaire des Chinois par un système qui généralise le dispositif technico-moral de l'incarcération de populations entières hétérogènes à l'ordre d'intégration et d'homogénéisation. Le confinement masque les confins où, à la fois, la fin est disséminée et ne peut plus se ressembler avec elle-même et en même temps prolifère sous la forme, qui n'en est pas une, d'un auto-contrôle social, de la société comme puissance immanente de contrôle qui n'a plus besoin désormais d'Etat, ou de politique, au moment où celui-ci est censé le guérir sous quelque chêne immémorial où officie le mystère du chef héroïque fondateur d'avenir.

Nous sommes saisis d'un virus, encore une fois et toujours plus à l'avenir, saisis d'une fin, la mort, sans fin. La mort privée de politique et la politique privée de la mort qui en fait la fin. D'un geste théâtral, en nous confinant, nous espérons une fois encore en l'exemplarité de la mort de la victime pour rassembler une fin par l'unité de la mort. Mais peut-être devrions-nous entendre dans les confins où l'Europe se sera risquée, et dont elle ne sera sans doute pas revenue, Ulysse qu'aura emporté sa *métis*, qui aura quitté la Méditerranée et qui aura fait naufrage quelques soirs à la surface d'un océan quelconque. Océan noir. Il faudra entendre et attendre non pas l'unité rassemblée des fins, la mort comme la promesse qui ne ment pas sur l'aveant de l'avenir, mais la croisée des fins, la croisée des morts et des horizons, la disparition de la mort qui aura fait l'unité de l'Europe, le prince ou le maître de l'Europe, la mort de la mort, de la politique, de l'idéalité. Les confins auront aléatoirement reflué en confinant l'Europe. Le confinement aura aggravé la relégation de la politique en disséminant viralement les confins qui pulvérisent la totalité de la communauté politique en une pluralité impossible, la pulvérisation de l'être qu'implique qui confine l'un dans l'impossible non-être démuné de toute part, de la huitième hypothèse du malicieux *Parménide* de Platon. Le confinement aura fait lever l'espoir d'une restauration de l'unité de la fin dans la fatalité d'une mort qu'elle unifie. Mais il aura libéré la pluralité des confins dans l'espace de jeu du temps qui joue du loin et du proche sans qu'un retour à soi puisse se rapporter quoi que ce

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soit, sans qu'un possible vienne animer le soi désarticulé entre sa dispersion infinie et la pluralité de sa reproduction. L'éloignement des confins reflue dans le sanctuaire du confinement qui sanctifie le corps vivant alvéolaire.

La circulation des confins et du confinement affecte toute frontière, les rivages inhospitaliers où échouent tous les trafics, toute limite qui fonde à sa bordure tous les appropriations. On est tenté de rapatrier la mort, dont l'exportation dans les confins a fait prospérer la démocratie, pour restaurer la politique qui ne régule plus son auto-immunité. L'enchevêtrement des fins confiées avec le virus affecte la duplicité de la mort, mort effective de la charogne et agonie promise à la sépulture. Nous ne pouvons plus dès lors nous libérer de la mort parce que la mort ne rassemble plus en soi son équivoque. Le corps est à la fois pulvérisé sans fin dans tous ses branchements, et confiné dans ce vivant qu'envahit le dispositif viral de la médecine au-delà de tout contrôle institutionnel. On a accepté avec une facilité déconcertante un abandon des libertés, plus radical encore que face au terrorisme, précédent inquiétant. Le confinement n'est peut-être pas un état d'exception, qui relève encore de la définition de la politique, mais un état de siège, en même temps que se diffuse une sorte de drôle de guerre avec la Chine. Il ne s'agit pas de provoquer simplement la peur qui permettrait encore de gouverner en identifiant un ennemi, mais on intensifie la panique qui prend tout ensemble la société et l'Etat qui ne se laissent plus distinguer. On est pris par le virus de la panique face à un ennemi qui n'en est pas un, à une menace dont on ne connaît ni tous les passages ni tous les effets, un ennemi dont l'ubiquité retourne l'immunité, dont la régulation assurait la machinerie politique, en une auto-destruction dont l'état de siège, qui n'est que l'aveu d'une pure impuissance, est le symptôme le plus évident. La panique aura eu raison de la vulnérabilité qui permettait à la politique d'entretenir l'immunité parce qu'elle lui désignait par avance la victime dont la viralité menaçait la communauté. Panique, drôle de guerre, menace dont l'ubiquité, plus terrible que le terrorisme, retourne la puissance de la politique à accorder l'immunité en l'impuissance de l'auto-immunité. La panique efface la vulnérabilité, le corps vulnérable, dans le vivant assiégé, ni vulnérable ni invulnérable, mais impuissant, démuné des promesses qui ouvrent l'avenir à la vie.

# GLOBAL CRISIS AND GLOBAL JUSTICE: SOME THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Yazid Said

On 1 April of this year, the philosopher John Gray wrote in the *NewStatesman* that the current health crisis will be a ‘turning point in history’.<sup>1</sup> He went on to diagnose how ‘the virus has exposed fatal weaknesses in the economic systems that was patched up after the 2008 financial crisis’. We can’t have any more one country like China producing all the protective equipments we need. Cheap air travel has been instrumental in the spread of the virus. Chinese wet markets may have to be reconsidered. ‘Liberal Capitalism is bust’, he added. Therefore, the fall of what he calls ‘hyper-globalisation’ is clear; the future is also clear as far as he can predict: ‘when the economy restarts, it will be in a world where governments act to curb the global market’. But, the economically liberal eye in the world does not seem to want to see the effect of this crisis. The liberal, he reminded us, aims at raising material living standards instead of fostering community cohesion and asking questions about social and political legitimacy.

However, the economy remains important. Given that the crisis has triggered questions about both livelihoods as well as lives, Gray notes that talking about the economy means discussing livelihoods. Being concerned about lives necessitates aiming for some kind of economic growth as well. On the other hand, indefinite growth will have to be curbed for its detrimental effects on the environment and the lessons arising from this crisis

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1 <https://www.newstatesman.com/international/2020/04/why-crisis-turning-point-history> (last accessed on 16 May 2020).



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with regard to the long-term protection of societies. If the protection of citizens overrides economic growth, he concludes, both democratic and authoritarian states, will have to ‘meet this Hobbesian test’ or else, ‘will fail’.

Gray continues to outline his thought about the effects of the crisis on world geo-politics as well. Yet, what this interesting passionate analysis does not do is present a judgement on what would be considered ‘healthy’ action in the circumstances. Rational philosophical argument alone about the state of the world does not address what Gray’s important reading sees. In another argument that is no less passionate and to a certain extent anxious about the current situation, James Noyes and Adrian Pabst share Gray’s diagnosis of the limitations of our liberal economic and political models, but insist that the ‘resilience against the pandemics of the future’ lie with ‘strengthening the civil bonds’;<sup>2</sup> for, ‘the relations that make us human also nurture our resilience’, they added.

What the current pandemic has revealed, therefore, is that our human mind and our human will cannot be independent of the material world in such a way that mind and will can dictate their needs upon the world in which we live. We are part of a web of relationships. Now what are the relations that make us human? Like John Gray, Noyes and Pabst explain that it cannot be the political and economic model, where ‘profit is privatised, debt is nationalised, and risk is socialized’. Unlike Gray, they point to practical actions concerned with health and wellbeing of civic society. They also point out that the UK government ‘had already provided a blueprint for this...in its Civil Society Strategy of 2018’, which they are concerned might be sidestepped.

We do have to reconsider it seems habits of traditional social cohesion, around our various communities, our families and our understanding of ourselves as part of these larger social units. Such actions are based on habits that are not dependent on individual reasoning by means of a reductive cost-effective analysis that might interest those worried about the economic reality alone. These discussions are important as we contemplate the future in the light of the present. Gray’s article lays bare the alarming philosophical foundations of our current reductive hab-

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2 <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/economy/2020/03/only-lasting-antidote-pandemics-stronger-civic-society> (last accessed on 17 May 2020).

its. Noyes' and Pabsts' article adds the urgent need for a different kind of foundation that helps us organize our world. In Noyes' and Pabsts' words, we need to rediscover the meaning of 'the human and natural substance of society'. If we are to find any realism in this renewal, we need more than an abstract understanding of individual reason or will, as the neutral definition of modernity tends to understand such terms.

Does the interest to learn from traditional habits of cohesion presume the need for a religiously informed policy? Can religious faith inform these debates? John Gray is a type of mystical atheist who proposes that 'a godless world is as mysterious as one suffused with divinity, and the difference between the two may be less than you think'.<sup>3</sup> He may not be too positive about what Christianity has to offer, since he believes that 'modern liberalism', of which he is critical, is 'a late flower of Jewish and Christian religion'.<sup>4</sup> James Noyes and Adrian Pabst, on the other hand, are Christian thinkers, who regard the answer to the current crisis as mainly a question of justice for the human and the non-human world. They diagnose the pressing problems facing the contemporary political system and propose the need for actual choices British society has to make; in their other works, it is clear that this was important if we are to have a human future compatible with the character of God as perceived in Christian terms.<sup>5</sup>

Pabst has argued in his co-authored book with John Milbank, *The Politics of Virtue*, that the alternative to the liberal anthropology of our times,

is the specifically Christian idea of the uniqueness and universal value of the person (not an individual, atomic example of a general norm) inherently realised through constitutive relations to other persons and to things through a dynamic, essence-exceeding participation in an infinite, ordered and transcendent *Logos*.<sup>6</sup>

Theology appears to be an important foundation for the discussion. This view of the shape and purpose of society seems to

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3 John Gray, *Seven Types of Atheism*. Allen Lane, Milton Keynes, 2018, p. 158.

4 Ibid, p. 1.

5 John Milbank and Adrian Pabst, *The Politics of Virtue: Post-Liberalism and the Human Future*. Rowman and Littlefield, London, 2016, p. 3.

6 Ibid.

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reflect Eastern Christian theology of creation, where every existent being is a *logos* that reflects the divine *Logos* by whom all things come to be as the first chapter of John's Gospel spells out.<sup>7</sup> The main point in this view is that everything in the world is gift, which we as human beings are called to name in order to reflect their right order. To refuse to respond to this calling by taking the consumer individualist attitude of modern economics that has helped Corona virus spread is in fact the very meaning of Original Sin.<sup>8</sup>

Can one turn this into concrete policies? This is a tricky business for two reasons. First, various people might think that their religious tradition offers the best possible scenario for weathering away a pandemic crisis such as this one. But, if this is the case, then this risks reducing 'religion' to a 'theory', which has a function, just as the various psychologists suggested 'religion' to be. Once you have explained the 'theory' and its function, then you would have explained God's will too. Why not choose something else then? Second, Christians, like Muslims and others in their history have behaved as if they are the owners of a system which they alone are capable of managing. Human beings have always been good at using God to support managing their ideologies, especially at times of crisis. Such ideologies are often exclusive in their interest – whether liberal, conservative or nationalist. Part of the trouble of a religious intervention has been that religious people can be defensive and therefore anxious about their ideas. They don't wish their tradition to be 'corrupted'; but they manage to corrupt it themselves by being protectionist about it.

The current pandemic should at least force us, including the religious 'us', to rediscover silence. Here we are faced with death – the death of all our 'systems'. Our anxieties about our religious conservatism is challenged as much as our liberal assumptions. This does not mean that we sit unable to articulate any ideas about God in the way that John Gray's mystical atheism might direct us. It means rather drawing on that dimension of the faith

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7 E. Theokritof, 'Embodied Word and New Creation', in J. Behr, A. Louth, D. Conomos, (eds): *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West*. New York, 2003.

8 Alexander Shmemann, *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism*. New York, 1974, p. 96.

that challenges our claims to have arrived at the final stage of illumination or learning. If religious faith has anything to say to the current situation, it has to begin with the call to a common repentance and common self-reflection that allows words to be stripped of self-made fantasies.

This theme is an important common feature in Jewish, Christian and Muslim thought across the centuries. When the Lutheran martyr of the twentieth century Dietrich Bonhoeffer was in prison under the Nazis facing death, he wrote a letter to his godson on the occasion of his baptism in 1944. He reminds his godson of how our use of religious words has become so common that we have forgotten their real meaning. Therefore, Bonhoeffer's advice to him was to prepare for the 'silence of prayer and righteous action among humanity', hoping again that we will be able to use our words anew in order to change the world.<sup>9</sup> This was too the emphasis of the Church Fathers' so called 'negative theology': All we know about God is not what God can be but what God cannot be. This warning against possible corruption of our religious language is the most famous command of the Hebrew Bible. It is also a prevalent strategy in the text of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111). In his *al-Maqsad al-Asna*, Ghazali says that God is called king in a way which no temporal ruler could ever lay claim to be.<sup>10</sup> In his *Ihya ulum al-din*, Ghazali quotes a saying attributed to Abu Bakr: 'God did not make a way for men to know him except through 'infirmity' to attain knowledge of him'.<sup>11</sup>

For the liberal capitalist, this experience of the inability to use clear language that makes sense in the face of death and a crisis such as this one appears when both human beings as well as other ideas we took for granted prove hard to control. Theories about 'justice' or 'freedom' and 'rights' may fall off before the destructiveness that is to be seen all around. There is a breakdown of the order that we have mapped out. For the religious person a similar experience might arise around all the system of religious practice and order or law. Everything is suspended. For some religious believers, this experience can still be explained in

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9 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Paper from Prison: The Enlarged Edition*. London 1971, pp. 294-300.

10 *Maqsad*, p. 28.

11 *Ihya* I: 89.

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religious terms: God is angry. In our Secular Age, often it is expressed in terms of the lack of any meaning behind religion. It's more a reflection of the arbitrary nature of the world.

In the context of academic and religious exchange of perspectives such as for this conference, it is important to bring to the surface some of our varied doctrinal foundations that shape the kind of communities we envisage. From the perspective of Christian theology, we have before us a different possible way of responding to the current crisis when the total transcendence of God is revealed at a moment of death itself. Christian theology is primarily focused on events in history rather than on texts alone. Therefore, the Christian definition of community is also developed in light of the historical events surrounding the life of Jesus. Jesus' intimacy with God leads him not to worldly successes but facing the truth of the world's unfaithfulness in his death. In that moment of desertion, God is revealed. 'My God my God why hast thou forsaken me' becomes the moment where God is in fact to be found. To use Rowan Williams' words, 'God transcends his transcendence'.<sup>12</sup> So, facing the collapse of our 'systems', and all the schemes that we might have devised around us does not mean the breaking of our communion with God, however tempting it might feel like it.

New Testament research about the judicial execution of Jesus of Nazareth reflects a context in which the Judeans and the Romans were afraid of each other and were concerned that there would be an explosion of violence that would be destructive for all.<sup>13</sup> The leaders looked for ways to avoid this and Jesus would have been a perfect scapegoat; they eliminated one common enemy. This strategy is not far, sadly, from our modern liberal capitalist ways of living as described by both articles cited at the beginning. We manage our fears with short-term solutions and 'toleration' of others at best. The questions raised by James Noyes and Adrian Pabst above suggest that this has made no real difference in the world today. The failure of human beings to accept their responsibility in naming and shaping the created world in relationship to God's image and *Logos*, seen above as the very definition of Original Sin in Eastern Orthodoxy, comes to a point of crisis in the death of Jesus of Nazareth. His cross

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12 Rowan Williams, *Open to Judgment*, p. 52.

13 Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology*,

shows our inability to accept truth when it appears among us, our fear and anxiety in facing it. 'He died because of our sin' is literally the sin of refusing his goodness and putting him to death.

The significance, therefore, of the cross of Christ is that it becomes the symbol where the contradiction of God's faithfulness and human unfaithfulness meet. Though our refusal is judged in Jesus' death, it is also reversed in his God-sized Resurrection, showing how God remains faithful to humanity. If the Christian community is born out of the shocking fact that this Jesus is risen, not to revenge his killers but to be their hope, changing the terms of reference, and healing our unreasonable hearts in that divine act, then this suggests that there is a different way of doing business together. The story of Jesus' death and resurrection is, therefore, a condemnation of both politics and religion; but it also defines the political mission of the Christian community – to challenge and help transform both politics and 'religion'.

The historic pessimism of Christian thought with regard to political power defined the first three centuries of Christianity and remained formative of later Christian thought, although Christians as noted earlier have often got themselves intertwined with political power. This pessimism is implicitly based on acknowledging that there is a deadly deficit of truthfulness about us human beings. Islamic theology does not deny this deficit as such. But, it suggests that God may forgive us with an immediate word (Q. 2: 37). In Christian thought, it does not matter if God can say 'never mind'. The problem is not with God. It is with our human predicament. We can't be changed simply because of a perceived word. As St. Anselm of Canterbury famously argued, we, by ourselves, are unable to live a life that truly reflects back to God his own glory and image. Our health rather depends on a divine action that is not just morally right, but precious, reflecting divine freedom and gift.<sup>14</sup>

Rowan William, the former Archbishop of Canterbury has in various contexts reflected on the implications of this understanding of divine freedom and gift for the shaping of a community that embodies what Noyes and Pabst called a strong civic society. He resorts to the language developed by St. Paul of the Body of

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14 Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo, Why God became Man*

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Christ as the place where all are given gifts by the Spirit of God to share with the entire community. This becomes the basis of ‘a politics, national and international, of local co-operation and ‘mutualism’, rooted in a sense of political virtue and appealing to human empathy’.<sup>15</sup>

Much can be further developed in this regard. For lack of space and time, and in conclusion, we may have here three central points of a theological Christian contribution to the debate, some of which will require further reflection when one has time:

First, religious faith depends on the action of God who is faithful to his promise. This is a central theme in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. The idea is also present in a different way in Islam. This means we as created human beings, we need to keep promise in all that we do, in a way that is faithful to God and one another. This is a bedrock of a strong civic society.

Second, we are rediscovering from the virus crisis again that we are part of the created order. We cannot be wholly in control of our world, though the Christian vision gives us gifts to name and order the world in relationship to God’s *Logos*. To have faith means to have an awareness of our createdness and therefore of our limitations without self-made fantasies.

Third, political ‘distancing’ between parties, communities, and nations may have been in fact the norm thus far. There are deep chasms of separation between those who have the resources to manage their lives with a degree of freedom and control and those who don’t. Being part of the creation brings knowledge of our common destiny and predicament. The vision of St. Paul, as explained by Rowan Williams, for the ideal human community in which the welfare of each and the giftedness of every person are inseparable becomes a relevant corrective. What is good for human beings in the UK can’t be different from what is good for those living in Africa or China. The good of one depends on the good all others; for as the gospel message remains: ‘God so loved the world’, not one nation over the others. Despite Gray’s warning that ‘localism’ might grow at this time, Rowan Williams reminded us last week that:

One thing we should have worked out in the light of the crisis in our tightly interconnected and mobile world, no problem is only

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15 Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square*, p. 265



local. Disaster and disruption anywhere become a problem on our doorsteps. As many have said, our best hope as a global community to avoid another lethal pandemic, perhaps even worse than this one, is to urge the creation of effective health care in every country and rapid efficient international vehicles for response to medical emergencies.<sup>16</sup>

So, trustworthiness, patience, and humility are the virtues that can show the type of happiness and health that is spiritual and relational rather than ‘legal’; these go above and beyond capitalism, socialism and all the other secular ‘isms’ of political divisions; as such, they should function in the face of a pandemic as the sure foundation of a strong civic society.

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16 Extracts from a sermon delivered online by Rowan Williams on 13 May 2020, found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErbTmixf2KU>

# ON LISTENING: HEARING GOD'S VOICE IN THE FACE OF SUFFERING

Mohammed Rustom

Nearly a decade ago, I delivered a lecture which was part of a monthly philosophy colloquium series hosted by the philosophy department at my University. Unlike most of if not every other paper delivered in the series, my topic had to do with a non-European philosophical tradition—Islamic philosophy. The title of the lecture was on death and dreaming in Islamic philosophy, and this I suspect was the reason so many people had attended—professors and students alike. After all, we all dream, and we all experience death in one way or another, so the title would quite naturally speak to diverse kinds of people.

One of the main points made in the paper was that we cannot view Islamic philosophy as simply an extension of the Western philosophical tradition. We have to see it on its own terms, and in conversation not just with Late Antiquity, but also as representative of a philosophical tradition that addresses its own theoretical problems through its own perspectives and worldviews. My task would have been made a lot easier if Peter Adamson's *Philosophy in the Islamic World*<sup>1</sup> had been published at that time. At any rate, I simply stated the position just mentioned as I moved along in the lecture.

By the end of the talk, I was surprised to see how many people in the audience, including the colloquium organizers, were pleased and perhaps even relieved to hear of something so familiar and yet so different. Most of the questions and comments were well thought out and incisive. But then a philosophy professor put up his hand and proceeded with voicing his “main objec-

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1 *Philosophy in the Islamic World: A History of Philosophy without any Gaps, Volume 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

tion” to the points presented: “You said that for the Islamic philosophers, God is a so-called ‘best of plotters.’ But ‘plotting’ implies deceit and deception, and these can hardly be qualities of a benevolent and omniscient God. If God plots, then He schemes, and if He schemes, then this implies some kind of badness, which means He cannot be God.”

Flabbergasted, I offered the following response: “Firstly, it is not the Muslim philosophers who call God ‘the best of plotters.’ That phrase goes back to the Quran 3:54 and 8:30, which say that God is *khayr al-makirin*. It is true that plotting implies some kind of scheming, but what is wrong with that? In the Quran, God’s scheming is juxtaposed with human scheming, which is of course fraught with folly.

I then presented a proposition and an example, both of which most people can understand and perhaps with which they can even identify. The proposition: “plotting” can be motivated by love and a fundamental care of people. The example: in order to make it on time for the lecture, I literally had to come up with a plot with my wife of how we would divert our one year old son’s attention to another part of the house in order for me to make my escape. Simply making an attempt to walk out of the house was not an option since it would sadden the child, which would mean I would have to console him, which would mean I would likely be late to the lecture. Or, worse, I would have to drive faster than usual to work, and then put myself and others in danger on the road. I continued: “So, you can see how ‘plotting’ need not always be ‘evil’ and ‘bad’ even on the human scale; this applies, a fortiori, on the Divine scale.”

My interlocutor was silenced. A whole other way of thinking about God had been presented to him through the example of human “plotting,” and one which I hope would have challenged the very categories with which he would henceforth approach issues in the so-called discipline of “the philosophy of religion.” Then I concluded: “Allow me to zero in on your question: saying that God ‘plots’ or ‘schemes’ may be troublesome for a certain kind of thinker whose focus is traditional, Western ‘philosophy of religion,’ which has always been dictated by Christian and largely Eurocentric problem sets and categories (i.e. analytic philosophy). If we look outside of that perspective, we will see that, apart from one particular worldview, other philosophical world-

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views, like the Islamic, have their own ways of conceiving of their indigenous problems. And if God's plotting means something in that worldview, which it certainly does, then let it stand on its own and let us hear what Muslims have to say about it. We can then evaluate the position's coherence, value, and the like."

## Divine Silence?

Had another book been published at that time, namely Timothy Knepper's *The Ends of Philosophy of Religion*,<sup>2</sup> I would have certainly drawn my questioner's attention to it. In this work, Knepper argues that the so-called discipline of the philosophy of religion has to move far beyond the traditional confines and issues that have animated this tradition in the modern Western academy. It is a much more global phenomenon, and this because other major philosophical and religious traditions have also been concerned with what we would call the "philosophy of religion." It is just that the problems posed by these other traditions' world-views have often been quite different from, but no less important than, the fundamental philosophical and religious problems identified by Christianity. Indeed, viewing philosophy of religion through a global perspective can, at minimum, help enliven and reshape the narrow and ill-defined but still quite dominant field of the "philosophy of religion."

One issue that can fall within the purview of the philosophy of religion on the one hand, and the domain of theology on the other, is that of the "silence of God." This can refer to God's being "silent" today as juxtaposed to His having spoken at some point in the past. Framed in context, this has to do with the manner in which God spoke to Jews and Christians in the past, but does not appear to do so any more, at least not through the medium of revelation.

Related to the Judeo-Christian problem of God no longer communicating to human beings is the more universal fact of God's perceived silence in the face of human suffering. For many theologians today, this does not mean that God is somehow unaware of or oblivious to the plight of humans. Rather, in spite of

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2 *The Ends of Philosophy of Religion: Terminus and Telos* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

His omniscience and benevolence, God seems to allow certain kinds of wrongs to happen to people. Making sense of why this is the case and what this can mean in the long run all pertain to reflections on what can perhaps be referred to as “silence of God theology.”

One may argue that silence of God theology is marked by a fundamental humility, since believers can accept the fact of human suffering and the very real possibility that God is not doing something about this suffering *in real time*, but that there is a profound wisdom behind this divine silence which will be made known at some point in the future, if not in the Afterlife. Some who delve into this question are certainly led to opposing conclusions: God is more like a clock maker as posited by Deism rather than being a real actor in and through human affairs; or, since there is no God, speaking of the silence of God is tantamount to saying that if there were a God, there would not be human suffering, especially on such grandiose scales as we have seen over the past century.

Taking Knepper’s insights on the importance of conceiving of the philosophy of religion through a global lens, what kind of problem, if at all, is the so-called silence of God in the Islamic metaphysical universe? As William Chittick puts it, if the Islamic metaphysicians of the past were presented with this idea, their response would likely be, “Try listening for once.”<sup>3</sup> After all, one of God’s fundamental attributes in Islamic thought is that of “speech” (*kalam*). God is thus the Speaking, which is taken to mean that God speaks eternally, without ceasing speech at any point. The great thinkers of the Islamic tradition have delved deeply into what this divine speech entails, and how it relates to God’s self-reflexivity and to the created order.

I will not attempt to engage these points here since they will take us too far afield. What is essential to keep in mind is that in Islamic metaphysics God’s being a speaking agent entails a cosmic picture in which all things are not only addressees of divine speech, but are themselves acts and embodiments of this speech. That is to say that God’s speech in Islamic metaphysics has a self-reflexive aspect and it also has a generative or ontologically productive aspect. For the Muslim sages in particular, all things

3 “The Sound of Silence”: <https://renovatio.zaytuna.edu/article/the-sound-of-silence> (accessed February 13th, 2020).

in the cosmic order form so many individual parts of God's speech. They each arise within the divine creative breath (*nafas*) which brought the cosmos into existence. Or, framed differently, we can say that each thing in the cosmos constitutes a reverberation of the divine command (*amr*) which itself brought the cosmos into being. Thus, human beings are themselves living proof that God is always speaking, since they exist as so many words which collectively account for one aspect of God's speech.<sup>4</sup>

God is therefore never silent, cosmologically speaking. Nor is He silent, anthropologically speaking. But what about the actual problem of God's seeming silence in the face of human suffering? In order to do justice to this problem, some comments are in order concerning the existence of "evil."

## Evil

The attempt to reconcile divine goodness with the existence of evil in the world is known as the problem of "theodicy," a term which ultimately goes back to Leibniz. Well before him, however, the basic issue fundamental to theodicy was dealt with in many different civilizations and in a variety of ways. In the Islamic tradition, one of the earliest attempts at presenting a robust defence of divine goodness in the face of evil is to be found in the writings of Avicenna, which had a long life in the Islamic intellectual tradition. The basic features of his defence of divine goodness take us to the question of the presence of evil in the world. By "evil" is meant anything that is bad, and which displays an absence, to some degree, of what is good.

The answer to the question, "does evil exist?," is given in the affirmative. It is clear that all kinds of evils exist in the cosmos, both on grandiose and miniscule scales. Avicenna distinguishes between accidental and essential evils in the *Metaphysics* section of his *Book of Healing*.<sup>5</sup> Accidental evils arise as a natural consequence of the created order. That is to say that bad things occur in the world by virtue of the world being what it is.

4 This and several related points have been masterfully presented in Chittick, "The Sound of Silence."

5 *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, trans. Michael Marmura (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005), IX.6.

On an elemental level, this means things like fire, which contain much benefit for people, by virtue of its intrinsic properties, can and do exercise much harm. Fire can thus warm a home, but it can also burn a person. If fire could not warm a home, it could also not burn a person. But by force of nature, it will necessarily do both. Essential evils are rather different. They amount to a thing's not being realized in a particular substrate which by nature ought to have that thing in question realized in it. Avicenna gives us the well-known case of blindness. It is an instance of essential evil because it entails the lack or privation of sight in a receptacle—the ocular faculty—which itself exists in order for the end of sight to be realized with in.

“Evils” are therefore an inherent feature of our universe. Asking why evil exists if God is all-good is tantamount to asking why the world exists if God is all-good. Given what the world and the order of nature are, there will naturally be all kinds of disparities, variations, and even evils amongst the things in them, which is to say nothing of human freedom, which itself is the cause of much evil in the world. To seek a world where such features are not present is to ask for another kind of world than the present one, and if we could do that, then the very question of theodicy—which likely only has meaning in our current cosmic configuration—would be meaningless.<sup>6</sup>

Having come away with a basic picture of how the Islamic metaphysical tradition *thinks* about the presence of evils in the world, we can now turn our attention to how the tradition *deals* with them, practically speaking.

## Human Silence

Since it has already been established that, from an Islamic metaphysical perspective, God is never silent, and that evils are a real and necessary feature of the cosmic order, what can be said about human suffering and the divine response to it? In other words, when humans suffer, especially in the worst of possible ways, where is God's voice amid all of it? Part of the problem, as I see it, with speaking of the so-called “silence” of God is that it

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6 For an approach to evil that emphasizes its illusory (but not unreal) nature, see the penetrating remarks in Ali Lakhani, “Editorial: The Problem of Evil,” *Sacred Web* 18 (2006): 7–12.

assumes that the presence and even persistence of human suffering *require* God to respond *in a certain way* and perhaps even *at a certain time*. This is quite a natural human tendency, and is evinced by both the Bible (i.e. Job 30:20, Psalms 22:1-2) and the Quran (2:214).

But in a person's weakest and darkest moments, does God really abandon him, or is something else at work? Does He not always respond, even if we do not "hear" Him? One can do no better here than call to mind the beloved twentieth century poem, *Footprints*: during our most downtrodden and awful times, the poem teaches us, we drag ourselves along thinking that we are alone in suffering our plight only to realize that it was God who was carrying us all the while.

This also calls to mind a story in Jalal al-Din Rumi's famous *Masnavi*. He tells a tale of a man who calls out to God in earnest all night in prayer. But the man hears no divine response. It is then that Satan comes upon the scene and tries to convince the dejected person that there is no God to hear him, and that he should thus give up hope in the divine all together. At this point, the broken-hearted servant falls asleep and has a dream in which he comes to learn that God had in fact been answering his call all along:

The fear and love you express are what tie you to My bounty—  
Under every "O Lord!" from you are many *labbayks* from Me.<sup>7</sup>

"*Labbayk*" or "Here I am!" is the well-known phrase that Muslims utter during the rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca. For Rumi, it is not man who says "Here I am!" Rather, it is God who says it to man, and this not only in some circumstances but always and forever. In other words, God's presence and aid are always there, however imperceptible they may be to our limited human understanding and experience of the world. On a more subtle level, Rumi is also driving home the point that our very calling out to God is itself the divine response to our prayers.

For the Muslim metaphysicians, being able to hear God's call "Here I am!" goes back to the fundamental importance of cultivating the right kind of hearing. How can this be done? The

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<sup>7</sup> Rumi, *Masnavi-yi ma'navi*, ed. and trans. R. A. Nicholson as *The Mathnawi of Jalal'uddin Rumi* (London: Luzac 1925– 1940), book 3, line 197 (the translation is my own).



answer lies in *human silence*. By bringing the soul to rest and eliminating what the Islamic psychologists call “internal chatter” (*hadith al-nafs*), our souls become more prone to attentively hearing God’s voice within us. In our world, filled as it is with all kinds of cacophonous sounds and alarming images, cultivating this kind of inwardness is difficult indeed. But the more engrossed we remain in these sounds and images, the less will we be able to hear God’s voice and see His signs.

Teaching ourselves to be silent not only takes away the internal noises within; it also can drown out the noises without, one of which are our own voices. This is not to say that one should be silent in the world, or in the face of oppression and the like. Rather, the silence in question is an attitude of the soul: it is something of a fundamental spiritual orientation in the world that allows man’s own “voice” to recede to the background. By becoming silent in this way, man therefore ceases to be deaf to God’s eternal audition.

Hearing God’s voice in the face of terrible suffering will certainly not help explain the suffering away or somehow relativize or trivialize it. By the same token, cultivating the ability to hear God’s voice is not preconditioned on man’s being able to figure out the *why* and the *how* of suffering. What is certain is that for those not spiritually tone-deaf to God’s speech, the very sound of the divine voice amidst all of the pain in the world can serve as a soothing balm for the soul, healing even the deepest of wounds.

# PANDEMIC MISFORTUNE AS OPPORTUNITY FOR REFORM OF BEING

**Adis Lukač**

Based on the word of God, that everything moves to its own timeframe, one might conclude that whatsoever moves, and everything moves, must inevitably undergo change that bears witness against the doubters, who rely on the continuity of the unchanging and so bear witness against themselves, because they themselves also change. The period of the pandemic has called forth quaking and change, that have shaken the prevailing image of the world, built of puzzles, to its foundations. This quaking has put us in a position to sort those puzzles into a new order, in the hope of gaining a better image of the world.

A tsunami of information that is changing the shores of thought on a daily basis seems to stand shoulder to shoulder with the pandemic, affecting our human right to hope for a better tomorrow. Human beings, as the recipients of such information, often becomes aware of not having the capacities needed to separate important from unimportant news and so easily becomes entangled in a net of hysteria, uncertainty, fear, and all the rest. The changes mentioned above are needed here too: the right approach to and analysis of the information on online platforms that have taken over the role of communication, and form almost our only interpersonal contact in this time the pandemic.

Observing and experiencing the timbre of the times, how can we avoid asking not if, but how and what is going to change? We already know that there will be many changes across society on the global level, and changes on the local level that will be more visible because they affect our everyday life. The most flexible link in any crisis situation is politics, which has a chameleon-

like ability of transformation that allows it to preserve its essence in social battle. Knowing that it is one of the cogs that power society in all its aspects, it must be given space, vis-a-vis culture and economics, as a factor of influence.

One often hears talk of *re-balancing the budget* and of perhaps of taking a part or even all of culture's funding away. In answer to that, memory sparks of Churchill's question in reaction to the idea of transferring funds from culture to the war effort, "Then, what would we be fighting for?" I do hope there will be no "remake" of the question. The city of Sarajevo can remind one of a well, decorated in mosaic. The water in the well is clean and its surface reflects the stained glass of its dome. The richness of the scene lies in the transparency of the visible mosaic shapes, stained glass reflexions, and the reflection of the person leaning over the well, with an important difference in whether their purpose is to stir up the water or to remove dirt from the surface.

The values of such a well are of multiple importance. It requires safekeeping, and, fortunately, it has been a constant till now, through even the toughest of times, when many have stirred up the water, that the well has been kept safe and the strength of its keeper kept. A period of pandemic is an opportunity to reveal, confess and at least attempt to remove weaknesses, so as to repair the microworld of the individual. By interconnecting the better microworlds, change on the local level may be something in which human beings can glimpse a chance for good. Unlike movement, drowsiness of being can induce a state of absolute lethargy whose triumph does not require a general state of distress, like our pandemic, as it is like a weed that spreads to all the fields, locking the individual into a state of mind that makes change impossible to reach.

On the global and the local level, in post-pandemic times, we have no option but to adapt to change. The closed galleries, museums, theatres and other institutions of culture have not hindered artists who have spent the pandemic more or less maximising their use of online platforms so as not to interrupt the continuity of creative expression, and we are therefore witnesses to a number of online exhibitions, plays, performances, concerts and so on. Of course, multimedia approaches and online access, in our case to artistic expression, appeared much earlier, and at times we seem to have all passed through an overture, uncon-

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sciously preparing for a scenario like the pandemic that has embraced the whole world.

As an artist I can vouch for art's possessing a strength to awaken us, direct us towards the better. Perhaps the best definition is one by Andrei Tarkovsky, "The allotted function of art is not, as is often assumed, to put across ideas, to propagate thoughts, to serve as an example. The aim of art is to prepare a person for death, to plough and harrow his soul, rendering it capable of turning to good." Political and economic whims will be fulfilled as well as basic human needs. What must be preserved is the spiritual dimension of being. Consumerism has turned man into a slave to the material which he either does not need or takes too much of, so the condition of pandemic, that has caused the entire world to pause for a little while, may perhaps be considered a warning.

Cleansing oneself, one's relations with others, towards nature, to one's homeland and so on will certainly promote balance between the material and spiritual, which is more than obviously out of kilter, and in that case the impact of the global changes announced may be eased. Our hunger for the material sometimes casts a shadow over the spirit of Sarajevo and a sated belly can weaken the senses that pick up the scents of the city, a symphony of the muezzin's call and church bells, an inspiration that flows through the city, until it finds at least a little space in someone's breast to crawl into...

I am aware that I am not a politician or an economist, but as an artist in this time of pandemic I have taken up this topic as I would a piece of clay, and, rolling it in my hands, I observe and know that by changing its form I will at least try for a shape that may satisfy me in the end. Change, reassessment, and the search for significance are essential to society if we are to arrive at the understanding that meaning may be found in good and bad fortune alike and so learn our lesson.

Eyes become accustomed to blurred windowpanes,  
Assuming that's what life behind the glass is like.  
Breaking the window may surprise the eyes,  
Into seeing that's not what the world is like.

Translated by Desmond Maurer

# NEPRILIKA (PANDEMIJA) KAO PRILIKA ZA REFORMU BIĆA

Adis Lukač

Na temelju Božije riječi da se sve kreće do roka određenog, moglo bi se i zaključiti da ono što se kreće, a sve se kreće, neminovno doživljava i promjene koje bivaju svjedocima protiv onih koji posumnjaju i uzdaju se u kontinuitet nepromjenjivosti i kao takvi svjedoče protiv sebe, jer i sami se mijenjaju. Pandemijsko doba je izazvalo potres i promjene kojim je dosadašnja slika svijeta, sklopljena od puzzle, gotovo potpuno rastresena. Očigledno je da smo tim potresom stavljeni u poziciju da presložimo te puzzle, u nadi da ćemo dobiti neku bolju sliku svijeta.

Reklo bi se da informacijski cunami, koji svakodnevno mijenja obale mišljenja, rame uz rame s pandemijom utječe na ljudsko pravo na nadu za boljim sutra. Čovjek kao recipijent tih informacija često postaje svjestan da ne posjeduje adekvatnu sposobnost razvrstavanja bitnih od nebitnih vijesti, pa se tako vrlo lahko uplete u mrežu histerije, neizvjesnosti, straha i slično. Već spomenute promjene nužne su i ovdje u smislu pravilnog pristupa i analize informacija na *online* platformi koja je preuzela ulogu komunikacije te je u pandemijskom vremenu gotovo jedini međuljudski kontakt.

Posmatrajući i proživljavajući situaciju ovog vremena, nameće se pitanje ne da li će, već kako i šta će se promijeniti? Već se zna da će na globalnom nivou biti mnoštvo promjena na svim poljima društva, a tako i na lokalnim, koje će možda biti i vidljivije, jer se tiču naše svakodnevnice. Najprilagodljivija karika u svim kriznim situacijama je politika, koja ima kameleonsku sposobnost transformiranja, kako bi u borbi za društvo u suštini sačuvala samu sebe. Ipak, znajući to činjenica je da je jedna od karika koja pokreće društvo i sve aspekte istog, pa joj se u odno-

su na kulturu i ekonomiju treba dati prostora kao faktoru koji ima utjecaja.

Često se može čuti sintagma *rebalans novčanih sredstava*, pa i ideje da se iz fonda za kulturu uzima dio ili čak sve. I kao odgovor na to bljesne sjećanje na Čerčilovo pitanje kao reakcija na ideju o uzimanju sredstava od kulture i prebacivanja na budžet za rat: “A šta ćemo onda braniti?” Nadam se da se *remake* tog pitanja neće desiti. Grad Sarajevo podsjeća na zdenac ukrašen mozaikom. Voda u zdencu je čista i na površini te vode oslikava se vitraž kupole nad zdencem. Bogatstvo tog prizora je u transparentnosti vidljivih formi mozaika, refleksije vitraža i odraza onoga koji se nagne nad zdenac, s razlikom da li je namjera zamutiti vodu ili možda otkloniti s površine neku prljavštinu.

Vrijednosti takvog zdenca od mnogostruke su važnosti. Njegovo očuvanje je neophodno i, na sreću, do sada je to konstanta, pa se i kroz najteža vremena, u kojima su mnogi mutili vodu, očuvao i zdenac i snaga njegovog čuvara. Pandemijsko vrijeme je prilika za otkrivanje, priznavanje i bar pokušaj otklanjanja slabosti, kako bi se popravio mikrosvijet pojedinca. Umrežavanjem tih boljih mikrosvijetova, promjena na lokalnom nivou mogla bi biti i nešto u čemu čovjek može vidjeti priliku za neko dobro. Za razliku od kretanja, uspavanost bića dovodi do stanja apsolutne letargije i za njen trijumf nije nužno opće stanje nevolje, u ovom slučaju pandemije, već poput korova prima se na svim poljima, zaključavajući samog čovjeka u stavu da se do promjene ne može doći.

Kako na svjetskom tako i na lokalnom nivou u postpandemijsko vrijeme čovjek nema drugu opciju nego da se prilagodi promjenama. Zatvorene galerije, muzeji, pozorišta i sve kulturne institucije nisu omeli umjetnike koji su u toku pandemije gotovo maksimalno iskoristili *online* platformu kako ne bi prekitali kontinuitet kreativnog izražavanja, pa smo svjedoci određenog broja *online* izložbi, predstava, performansa, koncerata i dr. Treba napomenuti da se multimedija i pristup *online* mogućnostima, u ovom slučaju umjetničkog izražavanja, pojavila mnogo ranije, i kao da smo svi prošli uvertiru, nesvjesno pripremajući se za scenarij kao što je pandemija koja je obuhvatila cijeli svijet.

Kao umjetnik mogu tvrditi da umjetnost posjeduje snagu da čovjeka probudi, usmjeri u bolje. I možda je najbolja definicija ona koju je dao Andrej Tarkovski: “Svrha umjetnosti nije, kako

se obično misli, prenošenje ideja, propagiranje misli. Svrha umjetnosti je pripremiti čovjeka za smrt, preorati mu, uznemiriti dušu, čineći je tako sposobnom da se okrene dobru.” I politički i ekonomski prohtjevi, kao i osnovne ljudske potrebe, bit će zadovoljeni. Ono što treba očuvati je duhovna dimenzija bića. Konzumerizam je čovjeka pretvorio u roba materiji, koja ili mu ne treba ili je uzima previše, pa se stanje pandemije, koje je cijeli svijet stavilo na kratko čekanje, možda može shvatiti kao opomena.

Pročišćenje samog sebe, odnosa s drugim, odnosa prema prirodi, prema domovini i sl. zasigurno će dovesti do balansa između materijalnog i duhovnog, koji je evidentno poremećen, i u tom slučaju udar najavljenih globalnih promjena mogao bi se ublažiti. Glad za materijalnim ponekad baca sjenu i na duh Sarajeva, a napunjena nutrina materijom oslabi čula kojim se osjeti miris grada, simfonija satkana od ezana i zvona, inspiracija koja se razlije dužinom grada, ne bi li pronašla bar malo mjesta da se ulije u nečija prsa...

Svjestan da nisam ni političar ni ekonomista, ali, evo, kao umjetnik i u ovo pandemijsko doba ovu temu sam uzeo kao komad gline i, posmatrajući je u rukama dok vajam, znam da ću promjenama forme barem pokušati doći do oblika kojim ću biti zadovoljan u konačnici. Promjene, preispitivanja i potraga za bitnim su neophodni ovom društvu, kako bi došlo do spoznaje da u svakoj prilici ili neprilici pronađe smisao i izvuče pouku.

Naviknu se oči i na mutna stakla prozora,  
misleći da je svijet iza stakla baš takav.  
Razbijenim prozorom iznenade se oči  
vidjevši da svijet i nije onakav.

# CRACKS IN THE COSMODICY: CORONAVIRUS, LISBON, AND THE SUBLIME AS SEEN FROM SARAJEVO

Desmond Maurer

The eternal silence of these infinite spaces frightens me.  
Pascal, *Pensées*, 206

Plague is nothing new to human history. What is new is the simultaneous expectation of immunity<sup>1</sup> and the panicky realisation that this expectation is dangerously unfounded in anything but our hubris. The hubris lies in our fundamental assumption that absolute control, rather than damage limitation, remains not merely possible but our best course, even a form of categorical imperative, because it is the quintessence of our autonomy. It coexists with the suspicion that this autonomy is an illusion and that the plague is not merely a blow from outside, but the expression of an ultimately heteronomous position – the reality that we are subject to external determination, and that this determination may actually be by nothing, by chance, and so by chaos, that the principle of our existence is a form of crumbling towards the entropy-inducing Abyss.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Or, if not that, then that plague can be beaten, that it will not ultimately win, that there will be no inevitable mourning of the dead followed by equally inevitable moving on along the cycle of life-and-death.
  - 2 Anticipating our discussion below, we may call this the contemporary Fall from the Sublime towards Horror. Our residual negentropic urge seeks to re-establish some solid footing for ourselves and, given our current inability to imagine a principle beyond the Abyss, the only purchase available to us lies in ourselves as our own order-establishing principle before it. This is the bootstrapping of our own autonomy, its self-founding in the face of



One contemporary image of this complex is the zombie – initially a figure of Voodoo ritual related to the raising of the dead in heteronomous form (under the will of the priest or sorcerer, but mediated by occult forces), this has become in the modern imaginary an instance of plague, a contagion that, as Žižek points out, takes the form of the return of the repressed, the Uncanny or the Thing within the familiar, and so of the death drive turned against us and our civilisation.<sup>3</sup>

In the contemporary imagination, pandemic and plague thus almost always turn the afflicted into the Enemy Thing rather than victims and they do so by a colonisation of the mind that renders

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the Abyss. It is the ultra-Kantianism of the exhausted (the ultra-Montan-ism of Protestantism). And we are exhausted precisely because we can no longer trust our Kantian autonomy – we suspect the categorical imperative of somehow being a trap, of being something that infects us with no more than the appearance of autonomy (Descartes' demon transformed into the very principle of the Cogito – I appear to think, so what exactly is the Thing that is through me? Not even Ryle's Ghost in the machine). In the end, the antinomy of autonomy is that autonomy still involves the Law. The true antinomial recognises no law, only decision, ultimately only whim, but then, that too raises the spectre of overdetermination by a heteronomous source...

- 3 The zombie is what we all actually are, under the illusion of our autonomous action within the capitalist order: *heteronomata* (as opposed to *autotomata*) of consumption, programmed habit imposed on mere life. But capitalism at least provides a principle. It is both entropic and negentropic at once – Schumpeter's creative destruction. The point of zombie contagiousness is thus that we, human beings, are the bearers of a disease that lives in and through us – which is the anti-civilisational impulse of modern civilisation, its tendency to destroy itself, its need to be another Rome, whose self-induced collapse will usher in a new barbarian age or, increasingly, the End Times (in the contemporary view, the zombie plague is generally a man-made virus that has escaped our control, just like the current fantasy of the Wuhan lab – as always, that it may be true does not stop it being a formation of the imaginary; in fact it can only be true if it is already a formation of the imaginary. How else could it hit its mark?). It is therefore worth noting that not merely were we warned of the supposed “Black Swan” of the pandemic by any number of commentators, including Nassim Taib in his book of the same name (he considers the Covid-19 event a very white swan, by the way), but it has been the major premise of any number of television series and novels and films over the past several decades, and in almost all cases we see not an empathy-inducing image of death and suffering, but a representation of how the infected turn against those who have not yet joined them and the reduction of our residual autonomy to heteronomic mere life (or a form of quasi-life). The night is dark and full of terrors.

them monomaniac in their will to assault those whom they must infect and reduce, until none are left outside the collective It.<sup>4</sup>

How is this relevant to our present situation? The rush to decisive over-action to the coronavirus pandemic that this imaginary complex has helped to underwrite is fundamentally a shoring up of our ideologically guaranteed but beleaguered autonomy, which is itself the final result of nearly three millennia of progressive human self-divinisation. It has had and will continue to have massive social and economic consequences, without even the most rudimentary cost-benefit analysis or consideration of the ways our remedies may end up being worse than a more humbly managerial approach to the disease itself.<sup>5</sup>

There have been voices asking whether the actions taken to shut down so many branches of social activity, employment, and production, and the now certain consequences of depression, mass unemployment, lost growth, mounting public debt, and of having ignored other areas of need and vulnerability (including the early diagnosis of various conditions, failure to continue necessary treatments, psychosocial consequences, increased mental health issues, increases in alcoholism and dependency, intrafamilial violence, etc) may not entail a human cost as great or even greater than that supposedly avoided by the restrictive measures imposed.<sup>6</sup>

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- 4 That this generally leads to the simultaneous dissolution of the body, its falling apart, is not a coincidence. The integrity of the body depends on the self-directedness of the mind. The main alternative to dissolution is cyborgisation, which creates rigid heteronomy, rather than the dissolute heteronomy of raving and rage. *I Zombie* or *Borg* would appear to be our choices.
  - 5 I am, of course, not talking about the response of scientists, many of whom have conducted scientific discourses in a responsible fashion and with an admirable respect for what is not known, though not always an adequate understanding of the limitations of their own field of science and its implications for any general management of the problem and the issue (for example, many have prioritised their technical area of intervention over the exceptionally important area of global and so political judgement, which weighs the relative claims, without claiming the expertise to judge in each area). The rush to control, or rather an appearance of control, has been at the level of social and political discourse, the authorities and the police, the schools and media, the apparatuses of the state and the disciplinary society.
  - 6 For context, it is worth pointing out the studies that showed without a doubt how both the Eastern European processes of post-Communist transition and the financial crisis of 2008, while economic in essence, nonetheless had major health consequences, that led to significant reductions in life ex-

Surely, then, it is fair to ask not just why we shut everything down, but why did we suppose we could prevent death and suffering without causing other death and suffering by the very actions we took to exorcise them? Why did we indulge in the fantasy of absolute control? Has it all been a sort of bureaucratic Malinowskian magic? We have stood against the void and busied ourselves, hoping that scientific ritual will hold back the dark. For what?

Between us and heaven or hell there is only life, which is  
the frailest thing in the world.  
Pascal, *Pensées*, 212

Perhaps because the plague has exposed the fear at the heart of our inauthentic relationship to our social and political worlds and so to what should be our cosmic contexts. The general human pattern is for such worlds to be redeemable by a narrative of cosmody, which is the justification and reestablishment of social and political order as rooted in a eu-cosmic ground. A society that does not posit a eu-cosmic ground does not tend to survive.

The plague has exposed our fear that our context is not in fact benign, and that this is true not just of the natural world, which may turn against us and prove a less than welcoming home, but of our political and social worlds, from which we have become equally estranged. Even more than this, it exposes our fear that the reason the natural world has turned inhospitable is because we have transgressed against it, not least by the creation

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pectancy amongst the population groups worst hit by the crisis, particularly men – which may help explain why these countries have apparently fared better in the current crisis: they have fewer living members of the most vulnerable categories in the first place, thanks to prior attrition. The same appears to be true of the African path through the crisis. Similarly, the human cost of the Bosnian war of 1991 to 1995 is most inadequately represented by the numbers of those directly killed in conflict during it. The cumulative impact is better viewed through the prism of the country's pre-war population and per capita GDP, morbidity figures, life expectancy, and so forth, and the figures now, 25 years after its end. The epidemic's human cost and even its cost in lives will not be measurable only in terms of the excess deaths during the period of its reign. To this we shall have to add the cost in suffering and lives of the economic and social measures taken to combat it.

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of corrupt communities and unjust social and political orders that exploit both us and it mercilessly and soullessly. The world has turned vengeful and we face its wrath, whose justification is our nullity, the littleness within us that prompts us to grandiose overreach and at the same time makes us imagine ourselves as a uniquely destabilising factor in the cosmos. Somehow or other, even in our nullity, it is still all about us, a structure that is familiar from the phenomenology of the soteriological religions.

And this, like plague, is nothing new in human history. It is the oldest, most venerable, and most universal response to plague – to treat it as an affliction that allows us to reinterpret our relationship to the cosmic order and to each other, whether it comes as a result of transgression, hubris, sin, or innate evil (ours or the world's). Plague invites, in fact it invokes theodicy.

The question then becomes, what theodicy is possible after the death of God and of Man? As we have mentioned, cosmodycy suggests sociodycy. Theodicy often does the opposite. As we justify to ourselves the ways of God, we create a transcendent critique of our society and of our political order, which is why the universal response to plague is to find the pressure points within society, to explore its structures of injustice, and to allocate blame (or responsibility). Once we could no longer do this in terms of God or in terms of Man (which are essentially the same idea - ask Nietzsche), we found ourselves doing it in terms of Nature, but now Nature too is dead, which, as our Zombies warn us, is not the same as gone. It has become, like God and like Man, an evil revenant and a source of harm. What remains to be determined is whether we deserve that harm or it is an unjust persecution.

This is revealing of the contradiction at the heart of our current self-understanding. We live in the age of the Triple Death, of God, of Man, and of Nature, and we just about still manage to do so as a self-divinised being (*Dasein*) to whom the world presents itself. There, thanks to that triple death, we were supposed finally to be at home, a home to be appointed as we see fit, but we increasingly discover that it really is not our home. We, it turns out, are the home invaders and the body snatchers.

Our self-divinisation is thus brought to breaking point by a situation in which we are not ultimately responsible and cannot fix things, yet we somehow remain contingently responsible for the crisis and disaster threatening to overwhelm us. We live in an

age of catastrophism, where the catastrophe is caused by accident, the unintended consequence of inadvertence or obliviousness. This is a world in which we have to accept and get over misfortune, without the possibility of redeeming it through an economy of meaning (of glory, of salvation, of mystical apprehension). It is as though we, as *Dasein*, were being-towards-the-world, but the world looked us up and down, turned round, looked past us, and yelled *Next!*

This creates major problems for any political or social order. The question of the legitimacy or justification of the social and political order is always a cosmic matter and so a matter of the divine and the self, which are linked through the concept of nature. The cosmos is the order of all things and the divine is the principle of value. That the cosmos is an order is a matter of ontological phenomenology (of the simple fact that we, as *Dasein*, intuit a world), but that it is grounded in the divine and consequently beneficent is a matter of ontic preference or judgement, albeit one that is implicit in the original concept of cosmos, which is the Greek for beautiful order and bears a connotation of being right and best. A cosmodycy is inherently a justification of the cosmic order as beautiful, as eu-cosmic, and so of the political and social order as rooted in a *positive* ground (in Greek a dys-cosmic or kako-cosmic order would be an oxymoron). For us, however, to conceive of the current political and social order as so rooted is a difficult ask. Even that it could be so rooted seems an increasingly remote possibility. How well we reconcile ourselves to the shortcomings of our cosmic context (social, political, and natural) and the narratives we weave around them determines how at home we feel in this world.

This rightness of the world is intimately linked to the aesthetic judgement.

According to Kant, the judgement of the beautiful recognises the inherence of an apparently (but not actually) teleological pattern, an order suggesting created origin and purpose within natural phenomena (things are slightly different with regard to works of art). It involves a situation whereby there is pleasure without interest. That corresponds to feeling at home in the world.

The judgement of the sublime involves a different intuition: that faced with something that defies rational understanding and where there is no evident pattern we nonetheless sense an over-

arching meaningfulness or order, which is subject to or structured by a lack, but transcends and redeems not just that lack but the whole and consequently us too. Experience of the sublime is characterised by terror or awe or a similar emotion in the absence of pain. It is the overarching framework of imputed purposiveness or meaningfulness that removes the immediacy of threat and so allows the experience to be sublime rather than terrifying.

Beauty thus involves immanence and the sublime transcendence.<sup>7</sup> The alternatives of the beautiful and the sublime and the secret links between them inform our stance towards nature, or the world, and they provoke responses of humility and pride, acceptance and anxiety, adjustment or the need for control.<sup>8</sup>

As noted, the sublime is that which we regard with an intuition of some grand reason or plan or teleology behind it, but which our understanding cannot quite comprehend or reduce to that. Our intuition tells us that there is something that could perhaps be comprehended but that it transcends *our* understanding, and so the terror that it represents is both infinite and brought

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7 For St Anselm, theology was faith seeking understanding, which is the structure of the sublime seeking to become the beautiful, seeking a form of transcendent immanence. The greatest contest of the Western mediaeval soul raged on this question, as Abelard was pitted against St Bernard, the vision of knowledge against the vision of love, the claim to restore the perfect knowledge of Adam which underlies the concepts of the University (the Scholastic idea of the restoration of Universal Knowledge) and of Baconian science (the growth of knowledge through experience was expected by his epigones to allow in the Royal Society the creation of an analogue to his New Atlantis, which preserved Man's universal knowledge from before the Fall), against God's sublimity and the counsel of surrender and submission to His love. The Reformation further undermined the bounds to Man's self-estimation as it swept away the structures of mediation, all in the name of submission to His love. Our direct insight into the beauty of the world combined with our supposedly direct relationship to God, unmediated by ritual or learning. Knowledge of God came from our direct experience of Him in the self. Humility before God became pride before the world.

8 If all human societies up to modernity have grounded themselves in some form of theodicy and cosmody, so that pain, what could not be borne or understood, disaster (which literally means the unfortunate conjunction of stars) and catastrophe (the sudden overturning of things) were all made bearable because placed within a framework of the sublime (or in periods of greater self-satisfaction of the beautiful: the beautiful we know, the sublime knows us), what then of modernity and of the post-modern annex we now inhabit?

within limits. God is a symbol of the sublime (or vice versa) and theodicy is the understanding not that all things are justified because one can go out and justify them oneself but because there is a principle beyond, which we may not understand, but which we intuit and accept no matter how terrifying the gap between our acceptance and that ungraspable principle.

Gnosticism is when we do not accept that principle as good but at best as indifferent and more likely as evil. We may then posit a good Other behind that Evil one, so that our alienation in this world may be ended by transcending it for another beyond or by transforming it against the Lord of this World. This is in effect a reduction of Gnosticism to theodicy or what we might term a dark theodicy that rejects cosmodycy.

Dualism is the positing of equal parallel principles, where there is partial theodicy, but no cosmodycy, except one contingent upon some ultimate but uncertain victory of light over dark. There is good in the world, but the world is not finally good in itself.

All three are structures of the sublime, but only the first is both a theodicy and a cosmodycy, as only it posits a justification of the ways of God and this cosmic order to man.

True theodicy is thus not Leibnizian and of the beautiful, but Pascalian and tends towards the sublime, as it posits that there are things greater than us and somehow that is okay. Cosmodycy tends towards the beautiful, as for it the order of the visible cosmos is justified and in principle beautiful.<sup>9</sup>

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9 When both combine, there is a creative tension between the two principles, which is termed the analogy of being in Catholic theology. The cosmos is justified from above and below, as God and his legitimation of the Cosmos approach from both directions, through the innately beautiful natural order and the transcendence of God as the justifying principle above an order that always falls short, that intimates something beyond, that is terrifying and love at once, and for which human beings, the beings that are *there* and through which the *thereness* of it all comes, are the point of connection, the linchpin. This combined model, which is analogous to the Muslim one, allows for the possibility that the beauty of the cosmos may at times disappear from our view or our understanding of it implode in the face of terrible events, but that the sublime structure of the transcendent divine nonetheless allows it to be redeemed.



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Atheism shows strength of mind, but only to a certain degree.  
Pascal, *Pensées*, 225

Modernity undermined all honest theodicy, because it took the traditional doctrine of Man and turned it inside out. Decentred man became a contradictory nothing-and-all, thanks to the pragmatic adequacy of his knowledge (or knowing faculty) to the world and its principles. In the 17th century, this was conceived of as our growing into Adam's legacy and so as a gift from God. By the 18th, it was grounded in human nature. The myth of the Fall and subsequent Rise of Man had become the narrative of progress, from the lower to the higher, of the emergence of Man. The theodiceal moment became an anthropodiceal one, in which all things were justified by Man's unique relationship to Nature. This natural anthropodicy was thus dependent upon the cosmody of Nature and so on beauty. Our knowledge, our science, or rather the possibility of it, became the principle that bound the sublime, so, now that it has run up against its own limits, all hell threatens literally to break loose.

It may be useful to consider the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. The destruction was immense, but its impact upon the European mind was not determined by that, just as the impact of the coronavirus is not determined by the number of deaths but by their happening in the West rather than elsewhere. Who at that time would have known whether the earthquake's impact was unprecedented? How could they have known? And yet it shattered the European mind, which can only be because the European mind had already been prepared for shattering, just as the mind of the West has been waiting the moment of its own vulnerability in our own time.<sup>10</sup>

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10 The world was good. And man was good. And man could rely on himself, draw on the resources within himself, and so long as he sloughed off the corruption of the past, produce a good social and political order within a world that was fundamentally good, albeit, to misquote St Augustine, in some particulars not yet. This theodicy was this-worldly. This, and precisely this, was the best of all possible worlds.

The traditional *cosmion*, that brought together the cosmic, political and social order and the human being as individual in the fundamental quaternion of human existence, grounded them in a relationship to the transcendental, which was the location of the *eschaton*, the end or *summum bonum* of the individual. By the Enlightenment, the *cosmion* had been brought down to earth, and the *eschaton* was in the process of being immanentized and



Prior to Lisbon, the European experience of God-in-the-world was essentially one of beauty and there was a prevailing view that Truth, Beauty, and the Good were one. The proof of God lay in the order and beauty of the world, which was evident to all, and was uniquely true. This was the view parodied famously by Voltaire in his *Candide*, precisely because of the Lisbon Earthquake. And it was the Lisbon Earthquake that shook the young Goethe to his very foundations, becoming the overturned ground on which he built his new understanding of the world, God, and the self, as examined so thoroughly by Hans Blumenberg. Prometheus arises from the rubble of Lisbon, his shackles shattered, God absent or ill-intentioned.<sup>11</sup> If there was no stable

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socialised through the doctrine of progress and the development of this-worldly projects to achieve the New Jerusalem on Earth. The *eschaton* or *summum bonum* was on its way to becoming identified with the *eschata*, the final things of the End Days. The soteriological narrative which had been experienced in terms of the individual lifetime and a certain historical narrative (because Christianity gave birth to History) now became focused upon a this-worldly context, within which it was to be played out, as a fundamentally social drama.

As a result, the thinkers of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century were pre-prepared for a cataclysmic event to undermine their faith in God, or rather their faith that this world was the manifestation of God's will and therefore the best of all possible worlds. At best, it was the place from which one had to start in order to attain the best of all feasible worlds. This was a major religious change, comparable to the contest between Christianity and Gnosticism in late antiquity, precisely because each was over the issue of whether the world is good, rational, and a manifestation of God's will, and therefore whether or not our lives within it are struggle and hardship or as good as it gets, and finally whether or not our action in this world can have any impact upon it as the arena for our attainment of happiness, or should be oriented towards attaining happiness outside of it, but nonetheless at least partially earned within it. These are major differences in outlook and produce very different patterns of behaviour. The position of the individual within them is key because it is the robustness or fragility of individual life within its perceived cosmic context that gives its flavour to any particular epoch.

- 11 This has been diagnosed as a new Gnosticism, but the situation is not quite so simple. As the Spinozastreit initiated by Jacobi when he revealed Lessing's covertly pantheist views, which he had discovered on shown him Goethe's Prometheus fragment, showed, this was the view that underlay Lessing's reoccupation of the Spinozist position in his Education of the Human Race and it involved contradictory tendencies to pantheism and to the Gnostic this-worldly divinisation of man in revolt less against the transcendent God than against the false or glib or self-serving theodical uses made of Him. The 19<sup>th</sup> century would work out this view through the nar-

ground in the world or in God, he would find ground in himself and in others like him (Napoleon), ultimately in what Nietzsche, thinking of Goethe, would call the Superman.<sup>12</sup>

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rative of alienation and the myth of the unfolding of the hidden intentions of God through Nature.

- 12 The concept of beauty as developed in German classicism by Winckelmann and Lessing contains within itself the yearning for the sublime. At its highest expression it is already headed towards self-dissolution. Winckelmann expressed the ideal of beauty as the motor of art in his masterpiece *The History of Art in Antiquity*, which was published in 1764. For him, the beautiful is the result of abstraction and idealisation from the natural so that the human imagination or faculty of fantasy composes a non-existent ideal that brings out the potential in nature and expresses the order within it. This ideal is thus super-human or all too human, rather than supra or beyond human. He found this most especially in the male form, his focus on which was at least partly to do with his homosexuality, but not entirely (Nietzsche was not gay, only his science). And here we see the entry of the sublime. The attractiveness of female beauty to the male gaze has a clear purpose to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century mind, if not to the 21<sup>st</sup>-century one. This is clearly expressed in Kant's views on beauty. The question of the beauty of the male form was less obvious, not least because female lust for the male was socially disorienting, while male lust for the male was considered unnatural. Yet one of Winckelmann's examples of perfect execution is the fact that a sheet of paper could be passed between the buttocks of the Belvedere Torso, while his other examples included the perfect expression of the youthful human form in the Apollo Belvedere and the Antinous, the human form at the point of flowering into autonomy. This is not a merely technical observation. It is of course related to the way in which philosophers from the Renaissance on had had to confront the existence of the Greek vice at the heart of Plato's philosophy and allegorise it away, not as a flaw, but a secret that threatened the coherence of the system whose truth they required. An ideal of man was needed and that meant that man not woman was identified with the sublime. The ideal of man became the ideal of mimesis rather than physical reproduction, reflecting the homoerotic moment at the heart of social and spiritual reproduction (*Eros* here refers to the de-sexualised erotic love that was invented as Platonic and that is different from the socially all-embracing *agape*, or love of one's fellow). The Lisbon earthquake had shaken the rule of *agape* and made room for the reign of a supposedly de-sexualised *eros* – the passionate friendship, the meeting of minds, the merging of souls, the introjection of the sublime where previously the beautiful had held sway. In its absence, there was solitude, whose function was the building up of the self through interaction with the best the world had brought forth, in the form of art and writings that we now call culture. And that self would be the object of the *Eros* of others in a way entirely unlike the standard Greek relationship of elder lover and younger beloved, whose role was to be formed through the relationship with his mentor (through mimesis). The love has become the superior

Goethe's *Prometheus* seemed at first to be a revolt but was actually a deicide. As with Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (always Kant), God had become a postulate, no longer a reality, and the anger felt was not at God *per se* but at the theodiceal uses of Him. The death of God is thus followed by the elevation of Nature (Hegel/Schelling) and the final divinization of Man (Feuerbach), whose natural child was Marx (and Comte and even Kierkegaard). Then came the immanentisation of not just the eschaton but of the apocalypse, ushering in the reign of the political religions, which ended only in 1945 and strangely enough was actually followed by the millennium, though it only lasted to 1990. (In spite of what people felt at the time, the continuation of Soviet Communism from 1945 to 1990 was not a survival, except in the Tylorian sense. It was already Zombie Communism that simply did not yet know that it was dead). There is a progression from the collapse of theodicy and the death of God to the establishment of a cosmodicy and the reign of Man, whose destiny was supposedly to reconcile Nature and Society in the form of the Human through History. This too failed with the implosion of the political religions and the end of Man, but the cosmodiceal frame survived for a while at least and provided the context for the sociodicy of the Beautiful rather than of the Sublime (the millennium referred to above, or the Golden Age of Keynesian welfare capitalism). Until it no longer could.

Which is where Sarajevo finally comes in.

True fear is joined to hope, because it is born of faith, and because men hope in the God in whom they believe. False fear is joined to despair, because men fear the God in whom they have no belief. The former fear to lose Him; the latter fear to find Him.

Pascal, *Pensées*, 262

The significance of the Sarajevo siege is that it did thirty years ago what the coronavirus has done now. Or rather, it initi-

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beloved, the object of admiration on account of that superiority. In a way, the ancient exemplar for this is still Platonic, as it is the fascination which Socrates held for Alcibiades, the secret treasure or *agalma* the ugly man contained within. Present beauty is thus transformed by an engine of sublimity, the new word for which was *Bildung*, whose goal is the autonomy of the self, its divinization in the here and now.

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ated the process we are now seeing the fruit of. It has had a slow burning but highly corrosive impact upon the idea of justification in the political order in the West. Russia's Putin has spent the thirty years since capitalising on it, widening the constitutive fissure in the cosmodicy of late modernity, just as the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 shattered the Leibnizian theodicy of classical modernity but it took a further 30 years or so for the last king actually to be strangled with the guts of the last priest.

The key intermediate points in the progression were 9/11, the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the bungled response to the 2008 financial crisis, and the duplicitous response to the Arab Spring and its Syrian aftermath. They are all connected in a chain of progressive delegitimation which has seen precious few counter-moves by those who represent the vested power structures of the West to restore their fundamental legitimacy. And what has been delegitimated is progressively our concept of not just the goodness of the existing political and social order but of the potential goodness of any political and social order and of its relationship to the natural order as based upon harmony and rightness. The key connecting signifier here is oil, as the commodity that is at the heart of corruption in both the natural and the sociopolitical orders, but the forms of this discourse can be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*.

Such a thesis makes it natural to ask whether I have not overlooked a great and obvious event, an event to overlook which is a modern form of blasphemy. I am of course referring to the Holocaust, or to Auschwitz, after which there is no art or poetry, because the meaning of Man and the grand narratives are banished: not just in abeyance, but not quite impossible either. Surely, Auschwitz was the constitutive crack in the cosmodicy of modernity, the usherer-in of post-modernity, wasn't it?

Art was impossible after Auschwitz in the same way as God was dead for Nietzsche, which is to say renewed through its/His impossibility as the point of departure for the understanding of human being in the world. Without the death of God there could be no self-overcoming of Man, and Art was, of course, the vehicle for the self-overcoming of Man.

Before Auschwitz, this self-overcoming was into something greater than mere men or even mere man: Promethean Man, the maker of History, of whom men were mere instances, to be gath-

ered and rendered actual in the Leader or the Great Man, the Man of Genius. After Auschwitz, the greatness had to lie outside of newly chastened man and the vehicles of his fantasy (the locomotives of History), whose gaze had been fixed on the Future and on the transformations and sacrifices required to reach it. Into the frame created by their absences stepped, for a time, Nature, which is also the Present. History could no longer be the machine for the simultaneous accomplishment and deferral of the End Times on Earth, for which all would be sacrificed and transformed. History was the immanent frame of human life in the Present, under the laws of Nature, which require the fulfilment of our individual teleologies in the here and now, rather than our subordination to a temporal teleological chain that transcends us. Auschwitz thus ushered in a third age of Nature (the first was the Hellenistic and Augustan period of antiquity, the second was the Augustan and Enlightenment period of modernity). And the mediator of this age was the natural or this-worldly post-ideological polity, the enabling frame of the consumer society.<sup>13</sup>

13 This has been the negative theology of the *Deus Absconditus* taken to its extreme and is why Auschwitz is, as Lyotard argues in his book, *The Differend*, the emblematic name of an event and not the definition of a class of crimes. Genocide requires an entire political, legal, institutional and conceptual apparatus to facilitate the conversion of an event into a fact or a recognised instance of constituted class, with all the power relations that supposes for the emergence of “Truth”. When caught under the “emblematic name” or under its own “proper name”, an event of this sort partakes of an entirely different phenomenological structure, one which refers to an entirely other set of institutional and intersubjective grounds. It is an intervention rather than an attempted resolution and it provokes the relations of power rather than functioning as their operation. As such, it issues from trauma rather than attempting its suture. Of course it may become, as a name, a displaced signifier and so a symptom, but it will continue to act through its displacement simultaneously to disrupt the power game (think of it as a ramped-up Wittgensteinian language game) of the dominant international structures and as an alibi of the local structures of dominance. As such, the event is converted through its subsumption under an emblematic name into an essentially contested signifier, a point at which incompatible discourses meet and generate structures of difference, of opposition, and of escalating fission.

As Lyotard has explained, the Holocaust is the “proper name” of a series of events in their totality, events which took place in the run-up to and during the Second World War, and which relate to the mass killing of the Jews of Europe by a variety of perpetrator groups in a variety of ways, under the impulse given by the Nazis and their Final Solution. Precisely because it is

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Man is neither angel nor brute, and the unfortunate thing is that he who would act the angel acts the brute.

Pascal, *Pensées*, 358

As an event, rather than an instance of the genocide concept, Auschwitz and the Holocaust shattered a certain world and rendered impossible faith in certain types of legitimation narrative, but faith subsisted in the cosmodicy and the sociodicy that remained. This was the age of Keynes. Man was dead, but man survived, increasingly as a decentred point within the frame of Nature, which had replaced History. A fissure had thus opened up, but procedures of reclamation still appeared to exist, as evidenced by 1968, amongst other events (including the entire series that make up the history of the European Union). The structure of the Sublime remained effective. In the end, and no matter how harsh this sounds, those who had survived the trauma of witnessing the Holocaust found that one could nonetheless build on it, and it soon emerged there was no lack of moral entrepreneurs

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a proper name, it cannot be transferred to anything else and it is incomparable. Auschwitz, however, is both the “proper name” for the most murderous and most notorious death camp of that process and the “emblematic name” for phenomena of that sort, which it does not name, but stands as emblem for. It intimates them and structures the field of such phenomena, as the master signifier. As such, it mediates between the incomparable nature of the Holocaust and the existence of the equivalising concept of Genocide.

Genocide is a legal concept formed around the incomparable event of the Holocaust for use in particular legal, political, and institutional discourses, and it bears within itself this contradictory and double origin. It was developed prior to the Holocaust, but redeveloped in response to it, precisely in order to allow it to be thought, but also to bring it into connection with and under the same concept as “similar” events. It was thus a response to the special nature and uniqueness of the Holocaust, and an attempt to render it through a universal concept. Which has led to the absurd situation that its application to the very event that originally gave rise to it or, more precisely, to the discourse of creating and establishing it as a functioning juridical concept (the Armenian genocide) has been increasingly denied by those concerned to maintain the uniqueness of the paradigm case (specialists in genocide, but particularly specialists in the Holocaust).

As again Lyotard has suggested, this relationship of the Holocaust to genocide bears more than an intimation of the sublime. The Holocaust and Auschwitz are the structuring event of the post-war order, that from which it derived its “inner greatness”. That order was built around the impossibility of genocide, an impossibility that has since been preserved by denying that any particular instance actually comes under the rule.

willing to do so, so long as it was understood that chastened man, facing the Abyss, would have to put his faith in structures and processes that transcended him, but which were themselves not guaranteed by God, because He was dead, and which man had not himself created and was not the driver of, because Man too was dead. All Man-made structures were in crisis, and what was required was a return to redemptive Nature to provide a framework, a fertile womb for the gestation of man-friendly structures.

In the 1970s, Juergen Habermas declared the legitimation crisis, which was not a matter of catastrophism, but a narrative of reclamation through cognitive and social humility, as is every post-World War II ideology in the West. Somehow or other, you could still be a socialist after Auschwitz, and you could certainly be an ecologist, and you could be a Keynesian, but the ultimate in cognitive humility came with the triumph of the Popper-Hayek synthesis of *laissez-faire* and piece-meal tinkering with a state apparatus whose only ambition was to let a thousand capitalist flowers bloom.

A decade later, it was Lyotard who declared the end of Grand Narratives and provided a foundation myth for post-modernism which is the nursery rhyme version of the Sublime.

And another decade later, Francis Fukuyama declared the end of History, which was less the end of grand narratives, than their somewhat deflated and anticlimactic fulfilment in what we may term the late capitalist state of “good-enough” government. This was as good as it got – the best, if not of all possible worlds, at least of any that might be possible here, given the material we have to work with. We had reached the Pareto equilibrium of historical development. Because no one “serious” had ever doubted you could still be a capitalist after Auschwitz. Strangely, the Holocaust (and the Gulag and the coup against Allende in Chile and Vietnam/Cambodia and any number of other events, which were not Terror because they were not in the mainstream of History) meant Hegel had been right. This was the sublimity of the present and we may call it really existing Hegelianism, the return of pragmatic Idealism.

To return to Sarajevo, in what way then was it a difference that made a difference? Certainly not because of Sarajevo.<sup>14</sup> The

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14 Generally speaking, individual instances of human fragility in the face of the Absolute do count, just not in their own particularity. They count in the



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immediate response to the Yugoslav wars in much of the West was ignorance and indifference. In time, it turned to disgust and distrust. This shift played out over 10 years, from that initial “hour of Europe” and disgust at its failure to act to the “hour of America” and disgust at its final willingness to act in Kosovo. The debacles of the Iraqi and Afghanistan wars were a follow on from the hubris that the Yugoslav wars had engendered in the foreign policy establishments of the UK and the US and the reactions against it by left-oriented intelligentsia and publics, primarily of those two countries. Milošević’s final but pyrrhic victory may ultimately have been to undermine public trust in the Western democracies as thoroughly as he prevented the emergence of democratic communities and processes in the Balkans. The fact that intervention in Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan, and in the subsequent Arab spring would have been fully legitimate in the eyes of History, if sincere and properly followed through, does not absolve those of us who supported it of naïveté. Those who planned it can seem sometimes like chocolate soldiers, their incompetence matched only by their hubris (shades of the present), but there is always the possibility that they achieved more or less what they wanted, the continued disabling of large and important parts of the globe, their subordination to external geopolitical interests, and the extension of a state of the exception over large parts of the globe, including, more or less, the leading democracies themselves. This is democracy legitimated by its functional negation and a real concentration of power. It is democracy exposed as its opposite. Or so it has seemed to many.

So, what has changed? After all, anyone who supposes that the coronavirus crisis is any more likely than Sarajevo to change the world economic and social order fundamentally should be on medication, if they are not already. The coronavirus will end globalisation? Except, globalisation was already consolidating and, from that perspective, the coronavirus response is just clearing house. To suppose anything else is to indulge in wish fulfilment, which is not a crime, but not a valid research methodology either.

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process of forming the opinion that matters of those who matter, and only subsequently the opinion that does not matter of those who don’t matter, but whose acquiescence nonetheless adds weight – the chattering classes (*la clase discutidora*, as Donoso Cortes called it) and, the rubber stamp of last resort, the people.



It is the same with the environment and with Eurocentrism. These were changes already underway. The most the crisis can do is provide a point of supersaturation for a solution that was already past the tipping point but had not realised the change. As with Lisbon, the public mood has long been pre-prepared for the “event that changes everything”.

So, what has changed? Ultimately, it is that Nature too is dead, and the prophecy of the triple death, like the hero an essential part of every Indo-European narrative of the long durée, is finally fulfilled. And with the death of Nature has come the death of the natural frame of politics. On the other hand, as the reference to Indo-European narrative should suggest, even within the framework of the post-modern we remain within the long durée narratives of our culture, which is to say of the cultural mechanisms through which thought arrives in us to consciousness. If God, Man, and Nature are dead, precisely that it is a *triple* death should give us pause. We remain, as always, within the grip of mythic narrative, even when we claim to have overcome narrative. Perhaps then most of all. The coronavirus threatened to enfold us within a narrative that was too strong. The nature of plague as symbol had to exert itself and function as a way for the primacy of the political and the social over the economic to be expressed, but there will be consequences. We have expressed our sociopolitical nature, or rather the fact that we are sociopolitical by nature, but we have done so in a way that profoundly impacts upon the consciousness of everyone. We have been made to feel radically social by social distancing. We have engaged in rituals of social renewal, without knowing that’s what we’ve been doing, and we have put the symbolism of *homo economicus* at a little bit of a distance, in favour of *homo solidarius*. This has necessarily involved a communal act of sacrifice. We consciously looked and said, what is of questionable value we shall value, in the face of economic efficiency, and regardless of the sacrifices that this will bring outside the realm of economic efficiency. We choose to believe at the moment that our choice is positive. Well we would, wouldn’t we. But the price we have paid for it is our belief in the goodness or the effectiveness of either the political system or its cosmic frame. If the bloom of beauty is long gone, the guarantee that sublimity once offered has also dissolved into air. The frame has sundered and the cracks in the cosmodicy are

widening. The Abyss is impatiently making its presence known through them. Our choice seems to be between another Gnosticism and a dualism. Neither makes for a comfortable feeling of being at home in the world or even in our own skins.

# STRAH - TEMELJNA OZNAKA ZA ISKUSTVO EPOHE

Rusmir Šadić

Temeljna oznaka “duhovne situacije vremena” u kojem živimo je *strah*. Najprije strah od neizvjesnosti, nesigurnosti, neslobode, nepoznatog, smrti i, konačno, strah od Drugog. Tokom proteklih mjeseci, odnosno za vrijeme pandemije Covid-19, utemeljen je pojam “socijalna distanca”, koji se u svojoj neopozivoj nužnosti i praksi pokazuje kao uvjet opstanka. Zašto? Drugi nam može prenijeti smrt. On može biti izvor naše smrti. Zapravo, taj drugi je samo oličenje naše smrti. Konačno, u žurnom pokušaju da već na početku imenujemo stanje u koje smo ušli i u kojem se navikavamo živjeti, čini se da bi nam Sardarova oznaka u samo dva poteza ponudila najjasniju sliku. Dobro došli u *postnormalna društva*.

Strahujemo od različitih fenomena. Jedni strahuju na razini vlastite egzistencije, u strahu da bi u globalnoj igri neoliberalne ekonomije baš oni mogli biti kolateralna šteta i postati broj na statistici nezaposlenih. Drugi od neizvjesnosti sabranoj u pitanju da li će novac, zadobiven za vrijeme operacije “doktrina šoka”, moći potrošiti tokom ljeta. A treći od svakog novog šuškanja i jeze koji bude pojmovi fašizma, totalitarizma, koji su neizravno zazivani tokom sjećanja na “nevino pale” pripadnike nacističkih postrojbi, čime se iznova ali neočekivano dogodila nova politizacija religije u našoj neposrednoj blizini. Ali o toj vrsti straha nešto kasnije.

Izlaz iz straha od neizvjesnosti i nesigurnosti u koji smo s ukročili sa širenjem pandemije Covid-19 moći ćemo tražiti samo posredstvom onih koji su nas u to stanje uveli. Naravno, riječ je o medijima. Jedino oni imaju “moć” da provedu proces “rašćaranja” i povrate racionalnost na mjesto odakle je protjerana.

Naime, mediji su nas svojim vrijednim i neumornim prenošenjem brojeva i podataka o novim oboljelim, o broju smrtnih slučajeva, o zabranama, o opasnostima, kaznama i prijetnjama, a rjeđe o krađama i nevidljivim tenderima, uveli u stanje hipnotizirane svijesti. Od neviđenog pritiska informacija, koje su nas svakodnevno podučavale samo jednoj istini, postali smo stvarni zarobljenici, ali ne samo unutar vlastitih domova. Naši umovi su postali opsjednuti. Zavladao je strah, tako primjetan i očit, a u isto vrijeme tako fluidan i neuhvatljiv. Međutim, izlaz je, kako rekosmo, sasvim jednostavan i očekivan. Strah će nestati onog trenutka kada mediji obznane da “opasnost više ne postoji”. Više neće biti važno da li je to istina ili ne, bit će dovoljno čuti informaciju i vidjeti sliku, i okovi će biti skinuti.

Da bi nas vlast/politika uvjerala u istinitost takvih navoda, ponudit će nam nove trenutke sreće, a to je mogućnost samorealizacije u toliko sanjanim novim konzumerističkim poduhvatima. Kupovinu ćemo iskušati kao ponovno ostvarenje slobode u njevoj punini. Ponovo će zaživjeti *društvo spektakla*. Vijesti više neće biti važne, broj umrlih u drugim zemljama bit će irelevantan, jer nas je neoliberalni kapitalizam ponovo uveo u svoju igru (čin 2.), čija pravila sada kažu da se ne umire od virusa nego od štednje. Zato je jedini izlaz u potrošnji, što znači da se hramovi za postmoderne hodočasnike moraju otvoriti.

Ta trka kao permanentno dahtanje na putu da se ne propusti događaj-veza-rasprodaja-sniženje stvara ozračje “svepristune hektičnosti”. Ipak, konačni smisao stvarima života, istaknut će Liesman, daje tek *ponavljanje* neke radnje. To znači da će tek ponavljanje kupovine ili mogućnost njene beskonačne reprodukcije otkriti puninu tog neobičnog iskustva. Mogućnost *drugog puta* je ono što daje značaj istom činu u prvoj izvedbi.<sup>1</sup> Ono što je neponovljivo, ono je slučajno i konačno kontingentno, te je moglo i ne biti. Vrijednost neponovljivih događaja, zaključuje Liesman na tragu Gilles Deleuzea, nikad se ne može odrediti, jer tek *ponavljanje* stvara *diferencijaciju* koja omogućava komparativno sagledavanje.

U današnjem konzumerističkom društvu više se ne radi o zadovoljavanju potreba. Ono što je pokretač današnje obuzetosti kupovinom i potrošnjom nisu potrebe nego *žudnja*. To je mnogo

1 Liesman, Konrad Paul, *Budućnost dolazi*, Zagreb-Graz: Alinea, 2008.

nepostojanija, neuhvatljivija, sebi dovoljna tvorevina koja ne treba uzrok niti neko opravdanje. Ona je svrha sebi. Ta žudnja je mnogo nezadovoljiva i mnogo *fluidnija* od realne potrebe. Opća težnja vremena u kojem živimo je da se ono što je danas luksuz sutra pretvori u potrebu te da se razmak između onog danas i sutra svede na najmanju moguću mjeru. Opsjednutost kupovinom i šopinzinga je postala poput *dnevnog obreda*, to se mora ponavljati svakodnevno. Tržni centri su poput “hramova za postmoderne hodočasnike”, to su oaze mira u kojima sve miriše i privlači kao da ne pripada onom izvanjskom svijetu.<sup>2</sup> A što je najvažnije, tu smo potpuno sigurni i niko nas ne može uzrujavati. Imamo obezbjeđenje. Povrh toga, tu se “istinski” identificiramo s ostalima, kao da svi uzvikuju: sad smo svi jednaki. Ona dimenzija vremena, koja jedino ima vrijednost u takvom svijetu, jeste ona trenutno, SADA. Svaki oblik budućeg, a pogotovo vječnog, nema smisla. Naš način življenja je snažno determiniran rezultatima znanstveno-tehnološkog doba i vulgarnog konzumerističkog duha. Naši pogledi se vješto usmjeravaju ili bivaju vođeni od strane onih koji “brinu” o upravljanju našom svijesti. Prihvatljivo je samo ono što može izdržati pravila potrošačkog mentaliteta i zvukom postmodernih sirena pozvati nas ka tržišnim centrima kao najsvetijim hramovima. Te melodije i slike, pored svoje primarne zadaće, trebaju nas dovesti do toga da zaboravimo melodiju svoga naja i trag Attarovog Simurga, kako bi svako *sjećanje* i *povratak* postali stranim i nemogućim. Konačno, čovjek se treba otrgnuti od onoga što ga čini čovjekom.

### Ka stvarnoj sreći ili pukom prividu

U nastojanju da filozofski odgovornije rasvijetlimo pojam sreće i njene istinske vezanosti za prakse i pravila pod kojima se nudi u “postnormalnim vremenima”, pozvat ćemo se na iznimno vrijednu knjigu francuskog filozofa Alaina Badioua, koja nosi naslov *Metafizika realne sreće (Métaphysique du bonheur réel)*. Danas se unutar zapadnog svijeta susrećemo s višestrukim pritiskom na ono što Alan Badiou naziva “željom za filozofijom”. Riječ je o mišljenju i djelovanju koje teži realnoj sreći, a ne onome što je njen privid u potrošačkom zadovoljstvu. Čovjek teži

2 Vidjeti: Bauman, Zygmunt, *Tekuća modernost*, Zagreb: Pelago, 2011.

pravom životu, a ne njegovoj kopiji. Unutarnji znak ili afekt takvog života je *sreća* koja je univerzalna, jer ju je moguće dijeliti s drugima. Ona ne smije biti svodiva na trenutno iskušavanje zadovoljstva. Na tom putu postoje četiri dimenzije (želje) za filozofijom, od čije realizacije ovisi univerzalna sreća – dimenzija otpora, dimenzija logike (racionalnosti), dimenzija univerzalnosti, dimenzija rizika. Današnji svijet se protivi takvim principima.

Naime, ideja otpora spram neslobode i nekritičkog potčinjavanja gotovo je nespojiva s našim svijetom, upravo zato što se on pokazuje izvorom i imenom za slobodu. Francis Fukuyama nas je “podučio” da smo s liberalnom demokratijom, najvišim oblikom slobode, dosegli “kraj povijesti” te da se ne može zamisliti nikakav daljnji napredak izvan već ostvarenog. Konačno je dosegnuto ono što je bilo ideal. Slijedi da su svaka pobuna, otpor ili kritika korak u pogrešnom smjeru. Stoga je svaki poziv na oslobađanje (čovjeka, mišljenja, svijeta, prostora) već unutar sebe proturječan.

Nadalje, dimenzija logike ili zdrave racionalnosti želi ukazati na vladajuću dijalektiku između pojmova i činjenica. Međutim, naš svijet je nepodesan za takvu vrstu logike upravo zbog njegove potčinjenosti “nelogičnoj dimenziji komunikacije”. Komunikacija je u svom najnovijem postavu dovedena do razine da, uspostavljajući nove principe i veze, razgrađuje one koje smo ranije poznavali. Sve je pretvorno u sliku i broj piksela, a ključne riječi postaju brzina, roba, promet. Počinjemo se navikavati da više vjerujemo onome što *vidimo* nego onome što *čujemo*. Slika ima mnogo veću vrijednost od same riječi, jer se vodimo logikom da čovjek može zaobići istinu, dok slika nikad ne laže. U našem vremenu i svijesti *slika* tako snažno posreduje *stvarnost* da u konačnici upravo njoj imamo zahvaliti mogućnost da se zajedno s Husserlom vratimo “ka samim stvarima” i tako odgonetnemo istinu o njima. Taj novi vid komunikacije – koja ne trpi zakonitosti istinske logike – nudi nam trenutni spektakl, potajno nas pozivajući da zanemarimo *sjećanje* i slavimo veliko *Sada*.

Također, ovaj svijet je nepodesan i za univerzalno, iz prostog razloga što u njemu ekskluzivno pravo na to ime jedino ima novac. Jedino u njemu prebiva svaki znak univerzalnosti.<sup>3</sup> Za

3 Vidjeti: Badiou, Alan, *Metafizika realne sreće*, Beograd: Fakultet za medije i komunikaciju, 2015, 16.

njega možete dobiti sve ili bez njega ne možete imati ništa. Drugim riječima, on je najrodniji predstavnik Kapitala koji postaje ime za bitak u doba neoliberalne kapitalističke hegemonije. I kako je novac oznaka za univerzalno, kapital je ime za sreću, koja je ipak pridržana za neveliki broj ljudi. Drugima biva dato onoliko koliko im je potrebno za “dostojan” život.

Konačno, naš svijet nastoji izbjeći svaki mogući rizik. Što u se u konačnici i nama može činiti pohvalnim. Ipak, pokušaj da se izbjegne susret s tim fantomom vodi ka uvođenju apsolutnog proračuna u svakom segmentu društva. Cilj je ponovo isti, uvećanje kapitala, dok je posljedica sužavanje slobode i mogućnosti izbora. Ipak, čini se da ne postoji dimenzija društva koja bi mogla izbjeći takvom “zagrljaju”. Naš izbor se svodi na “uklapanje” u slobodan prostor ili polje gdje još ima mjesta. Možemo birati samo unutar onog gdje nam se kaže da biramo. Ipak, svi smo slobodni. Moj izbor znači determiniranost izvanjskim uvjetima i postuliranje kvantitativne ontologije i epistemologije. O takvoj vrsti kontrole i nadzora opsežno je pisao i Michel Foucault u brojnim djelima, ali ćemo eksplikaciju njegovih filozofskih pozicija ostaviti za drugu priliku.<sup>4</sup>

Cilj svih ovih pritisaka je da se ideja pravog života svede na privid, dok bi istinska sreća trebala biti zamijenjena njenom instant verzijom u formi konzumerističkog zadovoljstva. Prvi korak na putu ostvarenja pravog života je upravo raskrivanje razlike između realne sreće i privida koji zovemo istim imenom. Kada to postignemo, bit će pokazano da se pitanje realne sreće pokazuje kroz odgovor na pitanje istinske slobode. Koliko smo slobodni? Slijedeći Badioua zaključit ćemo da je oslobođenje –

4 Pitanje kontrole, vladanja i nadziranja jedan je od središnjih problema Foucaultove filozofije razvijane u brojnim djelima, pri svim u *Nadzirati i kažnjavati*, *Rađanje klinike*, kao i u nedovršenom djelu *Vladanje sobom i drugima*. Ipak, sve treba gledati u kontekstu Foucaultovog raskrivanja fenomena moći koji povezuje sva njegova djela i objavljena predavanja. Michel Foucault je smatrao da principi kontrole i discipliniranja tijela u zatvorima, imaju svoje parnjake u društvu, koje je utemeljeno po istom principu. Stoga će Foucault biti zaokupljen utemeljenjem biopolitike kao koncepta kojim će Foucault ukazivati na novi oblik kontrole i represije ili jednostavno, *umijeće vladanja*. Premda se pokazuje kao istinska “briga” države za biološko blagostanje populacije, biopolitika se kod Foucaulta iščitava kao totalni nadzor i regulacija života pomoću znanosti (biomedicine), tehnologije (biotehnologije) i etike (bioetike). Vidjeti više u: Foucault, Michel, *Rađanje biopolitike*, Zagreb: Mizantrop, 2016.

prije svega *vremena* – prvi uvjet naše sreće. Zato filozofija danas ima najvažniju zadaću u tome da “zaustavi” vrijeme, kako bi mogla kazati svoj sud ili kako bi čovjek barem na trenutak mogao promisliti o svojoj zarobljenosti i uklopljenosti u vrtlog postmodernog ludila. A sada se ponovo vraćamo pojmu straha kao središnjem pitanju predmetne refleksije.

## Strah od smrti

Najopasniji strah je onaj koji je disperziran, neuhvatljiv, fluidan. Strah je ime za neizvjesnost s kojom se suočavamo, naročito onda kada nepoznajemo niti izvor a niti metodu borbe protiv opasnosti. Nema sumnje da čovjek dijeli strah sa životinjama, ali jedino čovjek ima svijest o strahu. Iako nas je Heidegger podučio da je temeljna oznaka tubitka to da je bitak-u-svijetu, što će reći uvijek *tu*, otvoren i isporučen svijetu kao takvom, nasuprot monadama koje su zatvorene u sebe i samodovoljne, ipak ta otvorenost u isto vrijeme znači i “izloženost opasnosti” ili ranjivost te nam svijest o toj činjenici također proizvodi strah. Strah narasta usljed spoznaje o mogućnosti da *Titanik* našeg društva udari o neki novi ledeni brijeg koji će biti uzrok potopa i posljednje balade koju ćemo čuti. Živjeti u magli znači uvijek iznova slutiti da se pored finansijskog, ekonomskog, socijalnog, ekološkog ili pandemijskog ledenog brijega možemo susresti licem u lice s nekim novim ledenim brijegom koji se pomalja iz magle, a za koji nismo ni znali da je tu.

Strah na svojoj najvišoj razini je vezan za događaj koji je *neizbježan*, *neopoziv* i apsolutno *nepoznat*. Ime za taj događaj je *smrt*. Smrt nam je nepoznata, jer za razliku od svega drugoga ona nema ni prošlost niti budućnost. Oko nje nema pregovora niti se najavljuje onome koga posjećuje. Smrt je “otjelotvorenje nepoznatog” (Bauman) i uvijek nas zatiče nespremne.<sup>5</sup> Ipak, smrt je uvijek tu, ali se skriva. Njen nastup je obznana kraja. Stoga ne čudi što je Heidegger vidi integralnim dijelom našeg života ili nas samih, jer je logično da smrt može nastupiti samo u životu. I svi će se složiti da je kraj smrti istovremeno i kraj života.

Strah od virusa korona zapravo je strah od smrti i nepoznatog. Zanimljivo je da čovjek toliko strahuje od onog čemu u

5 Bauman, Zygmunt, *Fluidni strah*, Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2010, 41.



susret svaki dan korača, istovremeno znajući da mu je jedna od najprirodnijih karakteristika *konačnost*. Bauman će reći da tek smrt fenomenu *konačnosti* daje njegovo pravo značenje i razumijevanje. Bez smrti taj pojam bi bio prazan i potpuno nejasan. I uprkos tome što o smrti mnogo toga “znamo”, ona nam ostaje najveća nepoznanica. I vjerovatno je tu izvor svog straha koji spram nje osjećamo. Smrtnost/konačnost je ono što temeljno određuje našu egzistenciju.

Smrt drugog nas ne pogađa u onom mjeri u kojoj strahujemo od vlastite smrti. Prosto, jer je to *njegova* a ne *naša* smrt. I zato u glavnini slučajeva smrt drugog vidimo kao *činjenicu*, dok je smrt kojoj mi idemo u susret istinski nadolazeći *događaj*. U nekom smislu s Finkom bismo se mogli složiti da to može biti označeno i kao “posljednji događaj”, ali iza kojeg ne slijedi Ništa (ili kako on kaže “iza kojeg ne dolazi ništa”). Naprotiv, smrt može biti posljednji događaj unutar fenomenalnog svijeta, ali ne i apsolutno posljednji. Iza događaja slijedi Događaj. Slijedi drama eshatološkog Događaja ili susret s mišljenim i nemišljenim, učinjenim i dogođenim. I shodno gornjem Baumanovu uvidu kako tek smrt pojmu konačnosti daje značenje i mogućnost da bude shvaćena, mi ćemo reći da tek Događaj onom “posljednjem događaju” daje njegov smisao. Međutim, nekada nas i činjenice pogađaju kao istinski događaji, pa bismo bili spremni umrijeti umjesto drugoga. Naprosto zato što nas njegova smrt pogađa jednako ili više nego vlastita. Iako su to rijetki slučajevi, taj fenomen osvjetljava jednu drugu činjenicu koja kaže da mi ne umireno *sebi* nego *drugome*. Taj drugi je onaj ko uviđa našu smrt, *naslućuje* i *misli* ono što iza nje “slijedi”. Premda je riječ o jednom od osnovnih fenomena ljudskog postojanja, Fink će primijetiti kako “raznolikost maski pod kojima smrt nastupa u ljudskom životu i potvrđuje svoju apsolutnu vladavinu otežava u samom početku pravi zahvat pojma.”<sup>6</sup> Ona se, tako reći, ne može “uhvatiti” u jedan aspekt; ona sama, kojoj neizbežno pripadamo, stalno ponovo klizi iz pojmovne mreže. Ali u jedno nema sumnje, samo smrt drugog možemo prekoračiti i dalje nastaviti, vlastita smrt je istinska “granična situacija”.

6 Fink, Eugen, *Osnovni fenomeni ljudskog postojanja*, Beograd: Nolit, 1984.

## Strah od zla

Jedan od najdominantnijih strahova kod čovjeka jeste *strah od zla* kao takvog. Međutim, da bi se osvijetlila ta dimenzija straha, nužno je odgovoriti na pitanje *šta je zlo?* S tim će se složiti i Zygmunt Bauman koji u knjizi *Fluidni strah* piše:

Zlo i strah su sijamski blizanci. Ne možete sresti jednog a da ne sretnete drugog. Ili su to možda dva imena za jedno iskustvo – jedno ime se odnosi na ono što vidimo ili čujemo, drugo se odnosi na ono što osjećamo; jedno ukazuje na nešto spolja, drugo na ono unutra, na nas same. Ono čega se plašimo jeste zlo. Ali šta je zlo?<sup>7</sup>

U nastojanju da odredimo i imenujemo neke fenomene ili stvari obično koristimo različite termine i riječi, kako bismo bili što bliže suštini onog o čemu nešto nastojimo reći. Međutim, povijest i iskustvo nam pokazuju da ne samo da često ne pogađamo, nego da u mnogim slučajevima namjerno biramo pogrešne ili pojmove čije značenje ne odgovara ili prikriva stvarni karakter fenomena o kome hoćemo govoriti. Drugim riječima, ne imenujemo stvari na ispravan način. Takav slučaj je i s fenomenom zla.

Zlo se kao fenomen javlja i onda kada se istina nastoji potisnuti, odnosno kada se određeni narativ i entitet, kao nešto partikularno, želi uzdignuti na razinu univerzalnog značenja i učiniti apsolutno važećim u istinitosnom smislu. Svi drugi narativi time prestaju vrijediti, a u drugom činu prestaju imati legitimitet postojanja, jer ugrožavaju postojanje apsolutno važećeg narativa. Takav narativ, njegovu apsolutizaciju i sam korijen ideološkog zla pronalazimo u srpskoj mitologiji i pripadajućim interpretacijama.

Ta mitologija je konstruirala vlastitu sliku “stvarnosti”, u kojoj su Bošnjaci nastavljajući i prirodni nasljednici ideje, vjere i svjetonazora Osmanlija, koji su na Kosovu polju 1389. ubili kneza Lazara. Srpska mitologija je od smrti Lazara napravila kraj srpske nezavisnosti i početak petostoljetnog ropstva na osmanskom vlašću. Izdajnik Vuk Branković, koji je odao srpske planove, simbol je Slavena i Bošnjaka, tj. onih koji su svoju vjeru prodali i odmetnuli se od svog naroda. Devedesete godine su za Srbe značile uskrsnuće kneza Lazara i oslobođenje srpske nacije. S tim u vezi bilo bi iznimno važno načiniti jedan dekonstruktivistički pristup koji bi pokazao povijesnu genealogiju zla u kon-

7 Bauman, Zygmunt, *Fluidni strah*, Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2010, 67.

kretnom obliku (genocidi i zločini) te bi u konkretnom slučaju otkrio u kojoj mjeri je samo zlo jedna od fundamentalnih odlika bitka nekog bića, u ovom slučaju bitka društvenog bića Srba. Ipak, to ostaje izvan temeljne intencije i okvira ovog članka.

Ako bismo prihvatili određenje po kojem zlo podrazumijeva neke radnje ili djelovanja, koji drugome nanose bol ili patnju, te se prisjetili Thomasa Hobsa, koji kaže da je najveće zlo nasilna smrt, onda nam se primjer etničkog čišćenja i genocida u Bosni i Hercegovini nadaje kao “slučaj” vrlo konkretnog i povijesno najradikalnijeg ozbiljenja zla.<sup>8</sup> Kako je već poznato, riječ je o sistemskom, planskom, politički dirigiranom te vojno kontroliranom i realiziranom zarobljavanju, transportovanju i ubijanju grupa od deset, stotinu, pa do osam hiljada Bošnjaka, koje su direktno sproveli konkretni počinioci u poznatom mjestu i vremenu. Imajući u vidu ukupnu povijest Bošnjaka, treba istaći kako je to bila samo jedna od epizoda manifestacije zla nad njihovom sudbinom. Nažalost, nakon Srebrenice, Holokaust u Aušvicu više nije neuporediv i jedinstven. Uprkos Adornovom ukazivanju na novi kategorički imperativ, koji je postulirao sam Hitler svojim zločinom, a koji glasi da se takvo što nikada više ne bi smjelo dogoditi, ipak se dogodilo, i to ponovo na tlu Evrope i vrlo neometano. Na prostoru koji je bio *zaštićen*, a pokazat će se upravo za takvo što *pripremljen*.

Ono na što Walter Benjamin upozorava, a što ima naročitu važnost nakon okončanja rata jeste zadaća povjesničara – ali ne samo njega, nego i svakog ozbiljnog znanstvenika koji se na bilo koji način bavi tim fenomenom – koja se ne sastoji samo u tome da se “uskrsne Kartaga”, odnosno da se *priča o istrebljenju* i etničkom čišćenju, nego, na prvi pogled paradoksalno, da se *spase mrtvi*. Ta zadaća se ogleda u tome da se *izbjegne suradnja* sa zločinačkim režimom i svakim diskursom totalitarizma i ideologije. Suradnja u ovom kontekstu znači *pristati na iskrivljenje* ili falsifikaciju činjenica koje bi vodile relativizaciji i konačnoj reviziji događaja/fenomena. Zato svaki znanstvenik mora pokazati dostojanstvo i krajnju ozbiljnost kako ne bi postao *suučesnik*, što je po Benjaminu mnogo pogubnije, a što je sebi dopustio skori nobelovac Hanke. Štaviše, budući je žrtva pretrpila određenu traumu koja je po sebi nijema i vodi nijemosti, a nijemost je ono što

8 O fenomenu zla i njegovim “oblicima” vidjeti više u: Svendsen, Lars H., *Filozofija zla*, Zagreb: TIM Press, 2011.

ostaje nezabilježeno, Walter Benjamin smatra kako svako ko drži do sebe kao čovjek i intelektualac mora pomoći da *povijest traume* dobije svoj glas, odnosno da šutnja ne postane glavno obilježje same povijesti.<sup>9</sup> Tako se temeljna uloga *filozofa povijesti* ogleda u *dekonstrukciji* “konceptije povijesti”, kako bi se pokazalo da je njen varljivi kontinuitet zapravo proces ušutkivanja, dok je *zadaća* historičara/povjesničara *rekonstruirati* ono što je povijest ušutkala, dati glas mrtvima i iznova oživiti nezabilježenu, ušutkanu, skrivenu priču potlačenih.

Konačno, Zigmunt Bauman nam u svojoj analizi 20 stoljeća, pod naslovom *Tekuće zlo*, pokazuje da je zlo itekako živo, ali da ono mijenja svoju formu te da iz krutog i čvrstog prelazi u fluidno stanje. Drugim riječima, nakon destrukcije, ubijanja i nasilne smrti, zlo se nastavlja javljati, ali u promijenjenom obliku. Bauman ga prepoznaje pod dva vida, a to su “gubitak pamćenja” i “moralna amnezija”<sup>10</sup>. Zlo pod prvim vidom nam govori kako se danas više nije pohvalno *sjećati*, jer to navodno vraća u prošlost koja zarobljava. Poznata krilatica glasi da treba gledati u budućnost i u veliko Sada. To će naravno biti prvi korak relativizacije *događaja* i *žrtve*, a potom i otvoren prostor za revizionističke poduhvate, kojih ne nedostaje. Uz to nedvojbeno ide i “moralna amnezija”, kao drugi vid zla u njegovom fluidnom ruhu, a koja jasno podcrtava kako čovjek prestaje biti osjetljiv. Taj strašni gubitak moralne osjetljivosti vodi ka tome da se drugi ne tretira kao biće, čovjek, nego kao broj, statistika, predmet kontrole, vladanja i nadziranja. Istinitost takvih uvida pokazala se ne samo tokom rata, nego i u vremenu mira i “blagostanja”. Jedna od posljednjih velikih i nedovršenih drama, koja svjedoči u korist istinitosti ovih navoda, svakako je migrantska kriza, koja je pokazala koliko smo odmakli od ideologije, fašizma, rasizma i žice.

I upravo je to momenat do kojeg smo htjeli doći u gornjem pokušaju raskrivanja fenomena zla. Strah od zla nije strah od ponovnog buđenja partikularne i nama poznate ideologije s bogatom poviješću stvaranja mitskih slika. Mi smo danas mnogo svjesniji nego ranije da takva ideologija, danas uvijena u oficijelnu ali ušminkanu politiku, ima svoj napregnuti kontinuitet i odlučnost da nikada ne odustane od *kidisanja* na druge. Istina, određena

9 Vidjeti: Felman, Shoshana, *Pravno nesvjesno – suđenje i traume u dvadesetom stoljeću*, Zagreb: Deltakont, 2007.

10 Bauman, Zigmunt, *Tekuće zlo*, Zagreb: TIM Press, 2017, 13.

vrsta diskontinuiteta se na kratko javila u postmiloševićevskoj Srbiji s imenima hrabrih koji su ulijevali nadu da bi se kopernikanski obrat ipak mogao dogoditi. Na žalost, dogodila se smrt koja je pronijela jasnu poruku: “Nema skretanja s prethodno zacrtanog puta”. Ali pored toga, ono što uistinu budi strah sadržano je u sasvim opravdanoj sumnji da bi se zlo moglo pojaviti u mnogo značajnijoj i okrutnijoj formi, a pri tome bi ponovo moglo doći prilično neopaženo i pod maskom. Naime, mnogi strahuju da fašizam nije stvar prošlosti i da elementi koji pripadaju toj ideologiji postaju sve prisutniji unutar javnog diskursa. Ono što još više zabrinjava jeste činjenica da ta pojava nije vezana isključivo za jedna prostor ili zajednice, nego je posrijedi snažno disperzirana neman, koja je odlučna u nastojanju da preživi i ponovo uzdigne glavu. Tako će i Rob Reimen u knjizi *Vječiti povratak fašizma*<sup>11</sup> podsjetiti na ponovnu opasnost, ali i njegovu evropsku povijest. “Korijeni su mu u našoj kulturi masovnog društva lišenog duha” – ističe Reimen. U tom kontekstu treba gledati i protivljenje sarajevske i bosanskohercegovačke javnosti spram mise zadušnice, sada već održane u sarajevskoj katedrali posvećene “žrtvama” Bleiburga. Sarajevo se pobunilo protiv nastojanja da se “žrtvom” imenuju oni koji su pripadali nacističkim odredima i počinili mnoge zločine. Sarajevo je u tome vidjelo pokušaj revizije određenih povijesnih činjenica te unutar sebe nije moglo prihvatiti činjenicu da je na takvu igru mogla pristati Katolička crkva, koja je u ovom slučaju bez sumnje snažno zloupotrijebljena. Također, Sarajevo nije moglo prihvatiti ni činjenicu da se nešto takvo događaja u Sarajevu, koje je upravo bilo žrtvom tih ali i drugih ideologija. Zato se danima i postavljalo pitanje *zašto Sarajevo*. Pa iako smo imali priliku slušati tumačenja koja su krivca tražili u pandemiji Covid-19 i obavezi da upravo sarajevski kardinal održi misu, budući je istu obavezu navodno preuzeo već prošle godine, čini nam se da stvari stoje drugačije. U pokušaju odgovora na ovo pitanje referirat ćemo se na zaključak Hermana Knella, koji je proveo ozbiljno istraživanje kako bi pronašao odgovor zašto Würzburg. Würzburg je grad u Njemačkoj koji je izabran da bude uništen u trenutku kada je Njemačka (16. 03. 1945.) već bila na koljenima. Herman Knell se bavio pitanjem zašto baš Würzburg između drugih gradova. Šta ga je dele-

11 Reimen, Rob, *Vječiti povratak fašizma*, Zagreb: TIM Press, 2015.

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giralu da bude izabran. Nakon detaljnog istraživanja, uvida u korespondenciju i vojnu dokumentaciju, uslijedio je jedini racionalan odgovor: Würzburg je bio “lahka i bezrizična meta”<sup>12</sup>. Čini nam se da je tako i sa Sarajevom, čemu još treba pridodati da su određeni politički krugovi računali na protivljenje građana, nakon čega bi se Sarajevo i Bosna ponovo mogli označiti kao mjesto na kome se ugrožavaju prava drugih, osobito pripadnika jednog naroda, pa čak i pravo na vjerski obred.

## Riječ na kraju

Konačno, strah opstaje na različitim razinama iskustva i pod najrazličitijim formama. Nekada je to najvlastitije iskustvo neizvjesnosti i nepoznatog, drugi puta temeljena formula za sveprožimajući duh našeg doba. Njegov “miris” se svugdje osjeća, uprkos sve većim ulaganjima u bezbjednost i sigurnost naših društava. Strah u vremenu fluidne modernosti ostaje neuhvatljiv i teško odrediv, on klizi i izmiče, pojavljuje se gdje ga i ne očekujemo, a kohabitira s onima na koje nikada ne bismo posumnjali. Strah je drugo ime *neizvjesnosti* postnormalnih društava i neprestano nadolazećih *opasnosti* pod vidom finansijskog rizika, cunamija, zemljotresa, pandemija, globalnog zagrijavanja, novih ratova i totalitarnih ideologija.

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12 Vidjeti: Knell, Hermna, *To Destroy a City: Strategic Bombing and its Human Consequences in World War II*, Da Capo Press, 2003.

# NOTES SUR LE MONDE A L'ARRET

**Miloš Lazin**

Tandis que j'écris ces empreintes pandémiques noircissant progressivement le blanc de l'écran, je ne suis pas sûr que je pourrais à la fin les signer avec confiance et aussi qu'au moment de les lire vous serez dans la possibilité de reconnaître ce qui aura été noté. Tout est ébranlé! Les anciennes certitudes se sont évaporées en pures chimères. L'inconnaissabilité est universelle!

Nous nous défendons de la vacuité par la peur, personnelle et collective; l'obéissance en tant que force structurante de notre comportement confiné. Les instances de pouvoir n'ont pas eu de peine pour mettre en œuvre dans le monde des mesures drastiques de limitations d'actions et de déplacements bien que la plupart d'entre elles ait tardé à percevoir le danger croissant ; quand elles ont réagi finalement – elles l'ont fait de façon draconienne et efficace.

La soumission et la peur ont provoqué des suspicions entre les gens. Les masques dissimulent les visages des passants fortuits mais pour autant soulignent dans leurs yeux un jet d'aver-sion: la personne (assez rare) rencontrée par hasard comme incarnation potentielle du virus! Car lui, ce virus, est aussi inconnu, invisible, que péremptoirement imprévisible; lorsque la réalité nous devient méconnaissable – la peur en dispose.

Les formes élémentaires de la communication sont remises en question et les nouvelles ne sont pas encore conçues. Nous comblons le vide d'une socialisation par le biais des assistances électroniques sans fil: j'appelle et m'appellent les cousins et les amis dispersés dans le monde (mon voisin, je ne le vois pas ou ne le reconnais pas sous son masque). Nous décaméronisons le danger insondable: le cocon de chaleur plane à la recherche des coordonnées perdues. Un instant, nous nous demandons: où est la

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menace quand nous pouvons avec délice reconstruire en jacasseries le monde d'hier? Nous avons contracté l'existence dans le verbiage. Mais dès que nous l'avons achevé, nous en sommes réduits à des actions basiques d'autoconservation. Les projections d'activité physique pendant la détention publique n'ont pas dépassé 24 heures et un espace d'une centaine de mètres autour du lieu de retranchement... exigü mais sécurisé! Car en dehors de notre tranchée, c'est la désolation!

Nous avons commencé à le mesurer à l'achèvement de l'assignation contrainte et acceptée à résidence. Mais c'est comme si nous étions privés du droit de reconquérir ce «no man's land» actuel par nous-mêmes; comme chez Orwell, nous sont tracés nos droits et les buts de nos déplacements (aller-retour au travail, sortie aux courses ou chez le médecin), les formes de comportement (“la distanciation sociale”), même l'habit (le masque), les formes de communication sociale (le salut réduit au seul coup de coude) et tout cela sous la menace, pas vraiment définie, de la “surveillance numérique” par téléphones intelligents. Comme si des actions contraires aux prescriptions, c'est-à-dire inappropriées, devaient continuer à être dissimulées: un jeune homme et une jeune fille à Paris confient au journal *Le Monde* que, tous deux célibataires, ont recherché un partenaire potentiel sur internet pendant le confinement et, pour “passer aux choses concrètes”, se sont fixés leur premier rendez-vous dans le seul lieu autorisé de circulation humaine à ce moment-là, – un centre commercial. Le couple s'est ensuite décidé pour un espace commun de confinement; une aventure sensible et sentimentale comme un risque sanitaire mais aussi moral et policier...

Les autorités présentent le comportement limité et strictement contrôlé des citoyens comme une mesure exclusivement sanitaire. Autant elles ont minimisé le danger lorsqu'il s'est propagé en Extrême Orient l'hiver dernier, autant face à l'arrivée du printemps elles l'ont accueilli comme une justification de subordination à l'administration de l'État. De la sorte, la biologie et la protection sanitaire et hygiénique remplacent l'idéologie, la politique mais aussi les patries et les États? Une dictature bio-sanitaire ?

Mais notre monde mondialisé est habitué au mimétisme de l'ordre social: le capitalisme financier s'est au cours des dernières décennies présenté non seulement comme l'unique système pos-



sible mais comme la réalité elle-même, soi-disant privée de contraintes politiques et d'idéologies dans notre "posthistoire", liquidées, disent-ils, par la cascade des effondrements des régimes communistes à la fin des années 1980. L'invention théorique de l'École de Chicago a été proposée comme une stratégie économique et politique pour sortir de la "crise pétrolière" de 1973 et des récession et inflation qui ont suivi et a été acceptée tacitement quelques années plus tard comme la doctrine idéologique des politiques libérales de Margaret Thatcher et Ronald Reagan.

L'efficacité du mimétisme est hallucinante! Car il parvient à dissimuler sous le tapis le fait que ce capitalisme sans marchandises ni productions, fondé sur les prêts, les transactions monétaires et des prix extrêmement arbitraires et fluctuants fonctionne grâce à une énorme machinerie de production étatique, nationaliste, communiste dont les habitants représentent un quart de la population mondiale, et en plus sur l'exploitation d'une force de travail bon marché qui a été convaincue d'avoir eu le malheur d'être pillée par les régimes communistes européens alors déchus à la fin des années 80. Le capitalisme financier repose sur une dictature (post-)communiste et ses marchés appauvris et affamés.

Il est symptomatique que les deux dogmes, désormais associés dans un accord d'exploitation, jouent avec le temps, abolissant partiellement sa durée : le communisme dépouille le présent au nom d'un "avenir radieux", la finance chicogoane glorifie le présent en abrogeant le futur ("rien de mieux que l'instant présent") et en oubliant le passé (le postmodernisme en tant que produit spirituel, culturel et artistique indirect ou du moins simultané l'aide dans le processus d'oubli collectif).

Cet accord tacite a ouvert la voie à deux procès: d'une part, le renforcement de diverses formes de dictatures dans les pays encore communistes ou bien nouvellement "postcommunistes" qui assurent la production mondiale à l'aide d'une force de travail massive à bas prix; d'autre part, l'affaiblissement du pouvoir et de l'autorité des organes d'État et de leurs exécuteurs dans les pays qui s'enorgueillissent d'une tradition démocratique et de plusieurs décennies de croissance économique. Le pouvoir économique passe, même s'il est sujet à caution, dans la propriété du grand capital mondial non productif; il ne se fonde pas sur la possession ou la production mais sur les prêts bancaires bon marché et leur

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manipulation. Sur le plan de la stratégie économique, le capitalisme financier renverse la formule keynésienne: au lieu d'augmenter les revenus des salariés au nom du renforcement de leur pouvoir d'achat et donc de la production, les "classiques" de l'École de Chicago ont théoriquement conçu la croissance économique sur une augmentation stratégique du chômage, un affaiblissement de la situation et du pouvoir d'achat des salariés et un affermissement du statut des débiteurs, pour les uns comme pour les autres (avec des intérêts incertains). Ainsi, les banques deviennent un facteur essentiel de la machine économique. Les monnaies, dans leur pouvoir absolu, ont perdu leur caractère étatique et leur force économique et ont acquis l'inviolabilité: quelle que soit la manière dont elles fonctionnent sur le marché, elles ne perdent pas de leur valeur. L'argent ne nécessite pas de marchandises car il se reproduit lui-même.

La distanciation de l'économie de la production, des gouvernants de la gestion de l'État et de la société, et du système démocratique de gouvernance efficace ont conduit à une dépolitisation planétaire. Les instruments de la démocratie sont atrophiés sans la capacité de contrôler les puissants de ce monde (cachés derrière les banques et le capital) qui ne sont élus par personne et de moins en moins contrôlés par qui que ce soit. Les sociétés en tant qu'espaces d'action politique sont considérablement affaiblies, sans instruments efficaces de pouvoir de régulation (des partis politiques et des syndicats dégradés). D'où une sorte de lumpen-prolétarianisation de la classe ouvrière comme des classes moyennes (le pivot social) et cela non seulement par l'insécurité financière chronique, mais essentiellement par l'affaiblissement de leur rôle et leur fonction sociale. C'est pourquoi dans les "pays développés" couvent des protestations sociales nombreuses mais dispersées, peinant à trouver une articulation politique concrète (Podemos, le mouvement Cinq étoiles, Syriza, les "Gilets jaunes"), et dans les sociétés sous-développées, les démocraties "en transition", "nouvelles" ou "futures" défont sur les pentes de privations étatique, économique et citoyenne (la Bosnie-Herzégovine n'est qu'un exemple de fiction étatique postmoderne).

De cette faille nous nous sommes engouffrés dans le trou noir de la pandémie. La globalisation, bien qu'établie sur l'injustice, a nourri l'illusion de la souveraineté individuelle ou commu-

nautaire, c'est-à-dire qu'elle a ouvert presque à chacun la possibilité théorique de survie ou de monter dans l'échelle sociale et donc la possibilité d'acquisition d'une confiance en soi ou au moins de se battre pour l'obtenir. Nous avons cru que le monde nous appartenait ou qu'il pourrait nous appartenir! L'absolutisation de l'instant présent dans les perspectives collectives a fait abstraction du temps comme durée, diminué le risque d'inespéré, créé une chimère de l'Éternel si nécessaire pour les communautés humaines, reprenant à son compte le rôle qu'ont joué et quelque part jouent encore les mythes, les religions ou les idéologies. Il faut reconnaître que notre conscience de soi mondialisée nous a plutôt bien désaccoutumés de l'incertitude sociale (il est vrai, en accroissant l'incertitude personnelle). Paradoxalement, la sécurité nous a aussi été fournie par une augmentation drastique des disparités sociales au cours des quatre dernières décennies : chacun pouvait, quel que soit le degré d'injustice sociale dans lequel il se trouvait, se consoler en se disant qu' "il y a encore pire" (la vie sous les régimes communistes était caractérisée par une dépression égalisatrice collective en raison d'un renvoi du "meilleur lendemain" à un futur improbable). La propagation de la pandémie a peut-être dans la phase de l'annonce été facilitée par la conviction qu'elle allait nous esquiver, qu'elle ne nous menace pas tous parce que "nous ne sommes pas tous les mêmes". Elle nous a stupéfaits par la révélation que nous sommes devenus invariablement égaux dans le danger!

L'efficacité de l'amnésie pandémique est démontrée par l'impuissance à déterminer la nature du virus, les raisons et la durée de sa marche conquérante. Et c'est peut-être là la reconnaissance la plus amère du vide apparu en nous et autour de nous: on ne peut pas l'expliquer! Ni y échapper. Il n'y a pas de coupable! Ni de culpabilité. Une impuissance qui anéantit même l'exaspération. Dans ma mémoire sensuelle, la tragédie de Sarajevo en 1992-95 est consignée comme une injustice insurmontable de responsabilité collective (qui ne restreint pas celle personnelle, la mienne et celle des autres). Et dans mes nuits qu'ont comme des fissures lacérées mes apaisantes journées de quarantaine, la détention pandémique m'est apparue comme un *deus ex machina* mais avec un arbitraire qui ne purge pas comme dans les tragédies antiques, mais punit. Avec ce destin absurde nous sommes privés de la consolation d'être les victimes d'une injustice, et

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sommes ainsi assimilés aux héros du “théâtre de l'absurde” de Beckett. Les habitants de Sarajevo ont été les victimes d'un agresseur identifié et d'observateurs officiels passifs. Le malheur est aujourd'hui planétaire et égalitaire, mais porte un nom pour lequel nous ne trouvons ni contenu ni sens.

Et à ça, il nous semble incertain de déterminer le temps. Les idéologies du communisme et du capitalisme financier nous ont accoutumés à une temporalité mutilée. La Covid-19 fait abstraction de la durée! Les organismes d'État ont effectué une périodisation de la pandémie par des mesures sanitaires mais il s'est rapidement révélé que la longueur et le caractère de chacune de ces périodes étaient de la fabulation d'impuissance: le degré de la menace variait mais elle n'était pas refoulée. Pas de terme pour l'instant! La périodisation d'Eric J. Hobsbawm est presque généralement admise qu'après un court XXe siècle, le XXIe a commencé en 1991. On pourrait très probablement affirmer qu'il a vécu sa première cassure en 2020... ou peut-être il se prépare seulement à commencer, nous laissant dans une incertitude totale?

La pandémie a aussi révélé l'envers de la mondialisation; le virus a conquis le monde mais les États et les sociétés ne se sont pas attaqués à sa propagation de concert mais individuellement. Même dans le cadre des accords des organisations internationales, l'Union européenne par exemple ou la troïka nord-américaine, aucune mesure commune n'a été prise. Voilà pourquoi la contagion a bien été mondiale et la mise en quarantaine planétaire un frein perméable à sa propagation mais les interdictions et les restrictions proclamées ont différé d'un pays à l'autre, et même entre États frontaliers. Le renouvellement progressif des activités existentielles de base s'est également effectué de manière parcellaire. Ces deux processus menés localement ont aussi dévoilé des différences entre régions d'un pays, entre les métropoles et les zones rurales, qui couvaient sous les proclamations unificatrices d'identité culturelle nationale ou étatique qui seraient valables “pour tous”. Paradoxalement, la pandémie et la quarantaine ont affirmé les spécificités culturelles et mis à nu la mondialisation comme une puissante illusion qui les masquait. La difficulté, c'est que nous avons cru dans le cadre et à l'aide de cette illusion que nous communiquions planétairement. Nous discernons les raisons du malentendu planétaire : la mondialisation est avant tout une zone mercantile.

Dans la période du décodage mental de la pandémie, nous avons pu constater que les puissants de la finance, de la production, du commerce et de la banque se sont retirés de la scène selon un principe non écrit d'extraterritorialité. Les pouvoirs exécutifs des États ont été délaissés. Mais dans la série des révélations que la contagion en tant que situation exceptionnelle a dévoilées, il y a aussi l'impuissance des organes du pouvoir; d'un côté, les anciens leviers de l'administration étatique comme l'économie, la planification, les finances, les monnaies ont déjà été privatisées; de l'autre côté, avec la massification des communications électroniques, les détenteurs du pouvoir ont perdu leur invulnérabilité dans la parole et le contrôle de l'opinion publique. La pandémie nous révèle la politique moins comme une gestion de l'État et une direction de la société mais plutôt comme une performance en communication à faible enjeu. La sentimentalisation des comportements et le pathétisme des discours audio et vidéo des politiciens ont remplacé une stratégie de gouvernance dans laquelle chaque citoyen pourrait trouver un cadre et un rôle. Le déclin de la confiance publique dans le pouvoir de gestion des "puissants" qui a suivi a été l'une des raisons de la désorientation de leur action.

Décontenancés, nous nous sommes arrêtés à une sorte de point zéro de compréhension, non seulement concernant une maladie perverse et inconnue et l'issue à la pandémie qu'elle provoque, mais aussi de ce qu'on avait accepté comme "réel" et de ses actants. Pour autant que nous qualifions de culture les déterminants de notre comportement, de notre compréhension et notre opinion, le danger existe d'une déculturation. La crainte qu'un comportement adopté depuis l'enfance puisse conduire à une diffusion de la contagion menace en période de mascarade organisée dans l'anonymat d'actions strictement contrôlées une désaccoutumance de gestes, de mimiques, de situations reconnaissables. Un changement de comportement entraîne un changement de sa pratique et de sa lecture. Et pour autant si nous guérissons à moyen terme, les traces des blessures resteront-elles aussi bien dans l'action consciente que dans la réaction inconsciente? En question sont des mutations que nous ne serons pas en mesure de reconnaître toujours, et nous pourrons encore plus difficilement contrôler et considérer. Une période irrévocable de déstabilisation personnelle et collective se dresse devant nous, que ce col-

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lectif soit celui de la famille, le cercle dans lequel nous évoluons et œuvrons, la communauté professionnelle, le lieu de séjour, la société, la nation, l'État, jusqu'à l'idée même du monde.

Devrons-nous inventer de nouvelles formes d'interpellation, de mouvement, de socialisation? Et même des formules langagières! L'expression "main dans la main" deviendra-t-elle sans fondement? Et même après, en tant que détermination temporelle, n'a plus de raison d'existence. Le citoyen a perdu le droit à sa planification et son organisation et donc le contrôle au moins partiel de son propre avenir. Désormais, cela ne dépend plus de nos intentions que nous forgeons par l'expérience et le vécu; un jour ou deux après notre enfouissement, nous avons compris que le temps aussi avait contracté le virus, c'est-à-dire était devenu une détermination biologique. Et que le virus lui-même s'était désincarné; il pense par nous et nous par lui. Et il existe à travers nous même lorsque nous n'en sommes pas les porteurs. Or peut-être que nous le sommes? Au figuré aussi? Combien de temps durera cette situation?

Dans les inévitables tentatives de projections sur le monde d'après le coronavirus, nous nous rassurons actuellement en nous servant des analogies intellectualistes du passé: que le virus pourrait être le commencement de la fin du monde causée par la destruction humaine inconsciemment systématique et qu'il faudrait que nous l'utilisions comme le seuil d'une "renaissance écologique"; que l'abolition pendant la quarantaine des habitudes, des réflexes, des conventions du comportement nous permettra "un nouveau départ", "plus humain", "plus frais", "plus sain", que le virus parviendra à mettre fin, ou au moins à atténuer, la "réalité" instituée par le capitalisme financier et nous conduire à une réalité "meilleure", "vraie" (une rétro-utopie). C'est ainsi que nous élevons le virus au niveau de phénomène surnaturel.

La vie post-pandémique est d'une grande incertitude et elle sera conditionnée par le mode, la forme et la durée de la "normalisation". La récession virale aura inévitablement des conséquences psychologiques et sociales sur les vivants et construira certainement une riche mémoire commune pour nos descendants. Combien ces dépôts successifs et indésirables demeureront dans l'inconscient collectif, avec d'imprévisibles conséquences sociales, et combien contribueront à une nouvelle lecture et une compréhension de représentations, de comportements et d'actions

communes jusque-là, cela dépend de la conjoncture économique et politique. En concluant ces lignes, il semble que les autorités politiques et gouvernementales sortiront de cette phase d'une vie de danger maximal encore plus affaiblies qu'elles n'y sont entrées en raison de la méfiance qu'elles ont provoquée chez les citoyens par leur maladresse et leur incompétence dans l'organisation des mesures sanitaires.

Il faudrait aussi prendre en compte dans les projections actuelles des contours incertains du monde après le virus des conséquences des pertes économiques incommensurables ainsi que des modalités et des spécificités de leur soutenabilité. Les cris de détresse des secteurs économiques et des métiers occupent en ce moment une bonne part de l'espace médiatique. On pourrait avoir l'impression que prévaut une recette fragmentaire d'assainissement des dommages qui néglige le fait les dégâts sont généraux et presque irrémédiables. Seul un programme de relance économique systémique pourrait contribuer au dépassement de sentiments collectifs de ravage. Qui va le mettre en place et l'organiser? Qui va savoir stimuler les citoyens pour contribuer par leur travail au redressement commun, de donner un sens à cet effort et d'y trouver une satisfaction?

Dans ce processus, le comportement de la puissance principale actuelle, le capital bancaire et commercial, est extrêmement incertain. Vu de côté, il se tient momentanément en "observateur", attendant que d'autres préparent les conditions d'une "normalisation". Les valeurs sur les bourses mondiales, après des taux négatifs en mars et avril, ont déjà augmenté en mai, en partie grâce à l'industrie numérique qui a travaillé à plein régime pendant le "vide économique" (et ouvert des espaces de nouvelles pratiques de masse, ses futurs services potentiels), mais aussi la spéculation des actionnaires qui misent sur une reprise économique relativement rapide à cause du besoin des gens de travailler et gagner de l'argent et celui des autorités d'une "normalisation" de notre quotidien. Les analystes experts constatent cependant que "l'écart entre la bourse et l'économie se renforce" (Wall Street Journal du 8 mai 2020) car il y a déjà "une décennie que la bourse s'écarte de la vie réelle" ("Repeat After Me: The Markets Are Not the Economy", New York Times, 10 mai 2020)! Cela pourrait par conséquent mener après la "reconstruction" à une amélioration de la situation financière (les banques, les cor-

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porations) et une détérioration de l'économie (les secteurs de la production et des services aux opportunités d'investissement réduites), et à une augmentation du nombre de chômeurs et une aggravation des conditions de travail des salariés par rapport à la période pré-pandémique.

L'image du monde que nous avons et partageons est titubante et non renouvelable. Qui est prêt, et dans quelle mesure, à prendre une part dans la construction d'une "nouvelle" image ou dans le recollage des restes de l' "ancienne" et selon quelles motivations? Existe-t-il dans la situation actuelle un terrain pour l'effort créatif humain ou est-il plus fertile pour le désespoir mélancolique? La reconstruction entraînera-t-elle un émiettement de la vision du monde et le renforcement des particularismes ou les forces unificatrices imposeront-elles le vide de leurs intérêts? Quelles formes gagneront l'écoute et l'échange si nécessaires entre les différences et les cultures? Est-ce que la réflexion et l'introduction d'un "nouvel" ordre sanitaire, hygiénique, écologique, économique, social, genré, planétaire... sont possibles face au "rapport de forces" dans la constellation antérieure et actuelle? Qui en fondera une nouvelle et sur quelles bases?

Le monde post-pandémique s'offre à nous comme un espace enchanté d'observation anthropologique.

Traduit du serbo-croate par Nicolas Rajević



# ZAPISI IZ ZAUSTAVLJENOG SVETA

Miloš Lazin

Dok ispisujem ove pandemijske otiske, crneći postupno belinu ekrana, nisam siguran da li ću ih moći na kraju sa samopouzdanjem potpisati, a još manje da li ćete u trenutku čitanja biti u mogućnosti da zabeleženo prepoznate. Sve je poljuljano! Nekadašnje izvesnosti su se isfronclale u puke zablude. Nepouzdanost je sveobuhvatna!

Od praznine se branimo *strahom*, ličnim i kolektivnim; *poslušnost* kao strukturirajuća odrednica našeg karantinskog ophođenja. Vladajuće instance nisu bile na mukama da po svetu sprovedu drastične mere ograničenja delanja i kretanja, iako je dobar deo njih kasnio u sagledavanju nadolazeće opasnosti; kad su iznebuha reagovale – učinile su to drastično i uspešno.

Pokoravanje i strah su uzrokovali međuljudsko *podozrenje*. Maske skrivaju lica slučajnih prolaznika, ali zato ističu iz očiju im izbijajući zazor: mimoilazeći kao potencijalno otelotvorenje virusa! Jer on, taj virus, koliko je nepoznat, nevidljiv, toliko je i ubedljivo nepredvidiv; kad nam stvarnost postane neprepoznatljiva – konstituiše je strah.

Bazne forme javnog komuniciranja su dovedene u pitanje, a nove još nisu osmišljene. Prazninu popunjavamo odruštvljavanjem preko bežičnih elektronskih pomagala: zovem i zovu me rođaci i prijatelji razasuti po svetu (komšiju ne vidim ili pod maskom ne prepoznajem). Dekameronizujemo nedokučivu opasnost: čaura topline leonuje u potrazi za izgubljenim koordinatama. Na čas se pitamo: a gde je pretnja kad možemo s uživanjem da časakanjem rekonstruišemo jučerašnji svet? Postojanje smo skvrčili u razgovor. Ali čim ga okončamo, svodimo se na bazne radnje samoodržanja; projekcije fizičkog delanja u vreme javnog zatočenja nisu prelazile 24 časa i prostor od par stotina metara

oko mesta ukopavanja... Suženo, al' bezbedno! Jer van ukopa je pustoš.

Počeli smo da je premeravamo po okončanju prinudnog i prihvaćenog kućnog pritvora. Ali kao da nam se oduzima pravo da tu sada "ničiju zemlju" samostalno povratimo; orvelovski su nam trasirani pravci i ciljevi kretanja (odlazak na posao, u kupovinu namirnica ili kod lekara), forme ponašanja ("socijalna distanca"), čak oblačenja (maske), oblici društvenog komuniciranja (pozdrav sveden na "laktanje"), a sve pod pretnjom, ne baš definisanog, "digitalnog nadzora" pametnim telefonima. Kao da nepropisane, znači nesvršishodne, radnje moraju do daljnjeg biti u najmanju ruku kamuflirane: mladić i devojka se ispovedaju pariskom *Le Mondu* da su, oboje samci u francuskoj prestonici, tražili tokom kontumacije potencijalnog partnera preko internet mreže te, da bi "prešli na konkretno", zakazali prvi susret u jedinom legalnom objektu ljudskog mimoilaženja u tom trenutku – samoposluzi. Pâr se nadalje odlučio za zajednički karantinski prostor; čulna ili sentimentalna avantura kao sanitarni, ali i ćudoredni i redarstveni rizik...

Vlasti predstavljaju nametnuto ograničeno i strogo kontrolisano ponašanje građana kao isključivo zdravstvenu meru. Kolikogod da su omalovažavale opasnost dok se prošle zime širila na dalekoistočnoj distanci, toliko su je pred nadolazeće proleće dočekali kao opravdanje zavođenja državne uprave. Tako biologija, sanitarna i zdravstvena zaštita zamenjuju ideologije, politike, ali i domovine i države? Sanitarno-biološka diktatura?

Ali na *mimikriju društvenog uređenja* je naš mondijalizovani svet naviknut: finansijski kapitalizam se par poslednjih decenija predstavlja ne samo kao jedini mogući poredak, već *stvarnost sama*, navodno "postistorijski" lišena i političke prinude i ideološke zasnovanosti, likvidiranih, kažu, kaskadom "padova komunizma" krajem osamdesetih. Teoretska kovanica "čikaške škole" je ponuđena kao ekonomska i politička strategija izlaska iz "naftne krize" 1973. te recesije i inflacije koje su usledile i dogovorno-prećutno par godina kasnije usvojena kao ideološka doktrina liberalnih politika Margaret Tačer (Thatcher) i Ronalda Regana (Reagan).

Efikasnost mimikrije je halucinantna! Jer uspeva da gurne ispod tepiha činjenicu da taj kapitalizam bez robe i proizvodnje, zasnovan na kreditima, novčanim transakcijama i krajnje proi-

zvoljnim i fluktuirajućim cenama, funkcionise zahvaljujući ogromnoj proizvodnoj, državnoj, nacionalističkoj, komunističkoj mašineriji, čiji žitelji čine četvrtinu stanovništva planete, i dodatno na eksploataciji pojeftinjene radne snage, koja se ubeđuje da je imala nesreću da do pre trideset godina bude pljačkana od strane tada propalih evropskih komunističkih režima. Finansijski kapitalizam počiva na (post)komunističkoj diktaturi i njenim osiromašenim a gladnim tržištima.

Simptomatično je da se obe, sada poslovnim *dealom* udružene, dogme poigravaju vremenom, delimično poništavajući njegovo trajanje: komunistička obeznačava sadašnjost u ime “svetle budućnosti”, čikaško-finansijska glorifikuje prezent, ukidajući futur (“bolje od trenutnog ne može biti”) a zaboravljajući perfekt (postmodernizam kao njen indirektni, ili bar simultani, duhovni, kulturni i umetnički produkt joj ispomaže u procesu kolektivnog zaborava).

Sistem je otvorio prostor dvama procesima: s jedne strane, jačanju različitih oblika diktatura u još uvek komunističkim ili novopečnim “postkomunističkim” zemljama (“istočnim”), koje obezbeđuju svetsku proizvodnju uz pomoć masovne radne snage u bescenje, s druge, slabljenju moći i autoriteta državnih organa i njihovih izvršitelja u zemljama koje se ponose demokratskom tradicijom i višedecenijskim ekonomskim rastom (“zapadnim”). Ekonomska moć prelazi u, ma kako nepouzđano, vlasništvo svetuskog krupnog neproizvodnog kapitala; ne zasniva se na posedu ili proizvodnji, već na prejeftinim bankarskim kreditima i njihovoj manipulaciji. Na planu ekonomske strategije finansijski kapitalizam okreće kejnezijansku formulu naopačke: umesto povećanja prihoda zaposlenim u ime jačanja njihove potrošačke moći a samim tim i proizvodnje “klasici”, čikaške škole su teoretski osmislile ekonomski rast na strateškom povećanju nezaposlenosti, slabljenju položaja i kupovne moći zaposlenih, a jačanju dužničkog statusa i jednih i drugih (s nepouzđanim kamatama). Tako ključni faktor ekonomskog stroja postaju banke. Valute, u njihovoj apsolutnoj vlasti, izgubile su državnost i ekonomsku snagu, a stekle finansijsku neprikosnovenost: kako god na tržištu funkcionisale, ne gube na vrednosti. Roba novcu ne treba, jer iznova reprodukuje samog sebe.

Oneobičavanje proizvodnje kao ekonomskog motora, države kao društvenog i finansijskog regulatora, demokratije kao

uprave, dovelo je do planetarne depolitizacije. Instrumenti demokratije su apstrahovani, jer ne mogu ugroziti upravljače (skrivena iza banaka i kapitala) koje niko ne bira, a sve manje iko kontroliše. Društva kao prostor političkog delovanja su znatno oslabljena, bez efikasnih instrumenata regulativne moći (ražalovane političke stranke i sindikati). Odatle svojevrsna lumpenproletarizacija radničke ali i srednje klase (društvenog stožera), i to ne samo preko hronične finansijske nesigurnosti, već prevashodno preko slabljenja njihove socijalne uloge i funkcije. Stoga u “razvijenim zemljama” tinjaju brojni ali raštrkani društveni protesti, na mucu da pronađu konkretniju političku artikulaciju (Podemos, pokret pet zvezdica, Siriza, “žuti prsluci”), a društva nerazvijene, “tranzicijske”, “nove” ili “buduće” demokratije obamiru na obroncima državne, ekonomske i klasne obespravljenosti (Bosna i Hercegovina je samo jedan od primera savremene državotvorne fikcije).

S tog procepa smo sklizali u crnu rupu pandemije. Globalizacija je, ma koliko zasnovana na nepravdi, hranila iluziju pojedinačne ili grupne suverenosti, znači otvarala gotovo svakom bar teoretsku mogućnost opstanka ili kretanja na društvenoj lestvici i samim tim mogućnost sticanja samopouzdanja ili bar borbe za njega. Verovali smo da nam svet pripada ili da bi nam mogao pripasti! Apsolutizacija *sadašnjeg trenutka* je u kolektivnim viđenjima apstrahovala vreme kao trajanje, utomljavala opasnost iznenađenja, stvarala ljudskim zajednicama toliko potrebnu *himeru večnosti*, preuzimajući ulogu koju su igrali, a negde i igraju mitovi, religije, ideologije. Mora se priznati da nas je mondijalizovana samosvest dobrano odučila od društvene *neizvesnosti* (istina, povećavajući ličnu). Sigurnost nam je, paradoksalno, pružalo i drastično povećanje socijalnih razlika u poslednje četiri decenije: svako je mogao, bez obzira na kojoj stepenici socijalne nepravde se zatekao, tešiti se da “ima još gore” (život u komunističkim režimima je karakterisala kolektivno egalizirajuća depresija zbog odlaganja “boljeg sutra”, do u nedogled). Širenje pandemije je u fazi obznanjenja možda i olakšavano uverenjem da će *nas* mimoići, da ne preti svima, jer “nismo svi isti”. Zaprepastila nas je otkrovenjem da smo to postali!

Efikasnost pandemijske amnezije se dokazuje nemoći utvrđivanja prirode virusa, razloga i trajanja njegovog osvajačkog pohoda. I to je možda najgorče prepoznavanje nastale praznine u nama i oko nas: ne može se objasniti! Ni izbeći. Krivca nema! Ni

krivice. Nemoć koja potire i ogorčenje. U mojoj duševnoj arhivi sarajevska tragedija 1992-1995. je pohranjena kao *nepremostiva nepravda* kolektivne odgovornosti (što ne umanjuju ličnu, moju i drugih). I u noćima koje su kao pukline prorezivale moje uspokojavajuće karantinske dane, pandemijsko zatočenje mi se ukazivalo *deus ex machinalnim*, ali proizvoljnošću koja ne oslobađa kao u antičkim tragedijama, već kažnjava. Tim apsurdnim usudom nam je oduzeta uteha da smo žrtve *nepravde*, čime smo izjednačeni s junacima Beketovog “teatra apsurdna”. Žitelji Sarajeva su bili žrtve *identifikovanog* agresora i zvaničnih a pasivnih *promatrača*. Nesreća je danas planetarna i egalitaristička, ali imena kojem ne nalazimo sadržaj ni smisao.

Kao što nam se čini neizvesnim i dalje određivanje vremena, i komunistička i ideologija finansijskog kapitalizma su nas naučile na *osakaćeno* vreme. Korona apstrahuje *trajanje*! Državni organi su sanitarnim merama vršili periodizaciju pandemije, ali se brzo otkrivalo da su i dužina i karakter svakog od tih perioda fabuliranje nemoći: stepen pretnje je varirao, ali ona nije suzbijana. Za sada roka nema! Gotovo je opšteprihvaćena periodizacija Erika Hobzbowma (Eric J. Hobsbawm) da je, nakon “kratkog” XX, XXI vek počeo 1991. S velikom verovatnoćom bi mogli ustvrditi da je on svoj prvi lom doživeo 2020. godine... a možda tek ove godine sviće?

Pandemija je, takođe, otkrila naličje mondijalizacije; virus je osvojio svet, ali se države i društva nisu hvatale u koštac s njegovim širenjem zajednički, već pojedinačno. Čak ni u okviru ugovornih međunarodnih formacija, Evropske unije, na primer, ili trojke severnoameričkog kontinenta, zajedničke mere nisu poduzimane. Stoga zaraza jeste bila svetska i karantin porozna planetarno primenjivana kočnica njenog širenja, ali proklamovane zabrane i restrikcije su se razlikovale od zemlje do zemlje, čak i među pograničnim. I postupne obnove baznih egzistencijalnih aktivnosti su se sprovodile parcelizovano. Oba lokalno sprovedena procesa su razotkrila i potisnute razlike između regiona jedne zemlje, između metropola i ruralnih prostora, koje su tinjale ispod dosadašnjih unifikatorskih proklamacija nacionalnog ili državnog kulturnog identiteta, koji bi važio “za sve”. Paradoksalno, pandemija i karantin su afirmisali *kulturne specifičnosti* i razotkrili mondijalizaciju kao snažni dobro skrivani privid koji ih je maskirao. Poteškoća je što smo verovali da u okviru i uz pomoć tog pri-

vida komuniciramo planetarno. Spoznajemo razloge planetarnog nesporazuma; mondijalizacija je prvenstveno tržišna zona.

U periodu mentalnog dekodiranja pandemije mogli smo konstatovati da su se finansijski moćnici, proizvodni, trgovinski i bankarski, povukli s poprišta po nekom nepisanom principu eksteritorijalnosti. Izvršne vlasti država su ostale usamljene. Ali, u seriji otkrovenja koja nam je zaraza kao vanredna situacija razgolitila je i nemoć vladajućih organa; s jedne strane, negdanje poluge državne uprave, kao ekonomija, planiranje, finansije i valute, su već privatizovane, s druge, elektronskim bežičnim masovnim umrežavanjem vlastodršci su izgubili neprikosnovenost u formulisanju i kontroli javnog mnjenja. Pandemija nam otkriva politiku manje kao upravljanje državom i rukovođenje društvom, a pre kao komunikacijski performans niskog uloga. Sentimentalizacija ponašanja i patetizacija diskursa političara u audio i video nastupima je zamenila rukovođenje i društvenu strategiju u kojoj bi građani mogli pronaći okrilje i funkciju. Pad poverenja javnosti u upravljačke moći “moćnika” koji je usledio je bio i jedan od razloga njihove akcione dezorijentacije.

Zatečen, svet je u poimanju sebe zastao na nekakvoj nultoj tački, ne samo svesti o opakoj i nepoznatoj bolesti i izvesnosti ishoda pandemije, već i razumevanja i određivanja stvarnosti i njenih aktera. Ukoliko *kulturom* nazivamo odrednice naših ponašanja, razumevanja i mišljenja, nazire se opasnost dekulturnalizacije. Strah da od malena usvojeno ponašanje može dovesti do širenja zaraze preti u periodu organizovanog maskiranja u anonimuse strogo kontrolisana delanja odvikavanjem od prepoznatljivih gesta, mimike, situacija. Promena ponašanja dovodi do promene njegove izvedbe, pa i čitanja. I ukoliko na srednji rok sanitarno ozdravimo, ranjivi tragovi će ostati kako u svesnom delanju, tako i u nesvesnom reagovanju? U pitanju su méne koje nećemo biti u stanju da prepoznamo uvek, a još ćemo ih teže moći kontrolisati i promišljati. Predstoji nam neopozivo period lične i kolektivne *destabilizacije*, bio taj kolektiv porodica, krug u kojem se krećemo i delamo, radna zajednica, mesto boravka, društvo, nacija, država, do same ideje sveta.

Moraćemo li da osmišljavamo nove oblike obraćanja, kretanja, socijalizacije? Pa čak i govornih formula! Da li će sintagma “iz ruke u ruku” postati nesvršishodna? Ali i *posle*, kao vremenska odrednica, se obespostojila. Građanin je izgubio pravo nje-

nog planiranja i organizacije i tako bar delimičnu kontrolu sopstvene *budućnosti*. Odsad ne zavisi od naših namera koje kujemo iskustvom i proživljenim; dan-dva nakon ukopavanja smo shvatili da se i *vreme ovirusilo*, odnosno postalo biološka odrednica. A da se sam virus rastelovio; misli nama a mi njime. I postoji nama, čak i kada nismo njegovi nosioci. A možda i jesmo? I figurativno? Koliko će to stanje potrajati?

U neminovnim pokušajima projekcije postkorona sveta trenutno se tešimo posezanjem za intelektualističkim analogijama prošlosti: da bi virus mogao biti početak kraja sveta uzrokovanog čovekovim, nesvesno sistematskim uništavanjem planete i da bi trebalo da ga iskoristimo kao prag “ekološkog preporoda”; da će nam poništavanje navika, refleksa, konvencija ponašanja tokom karantinske laboratorije omogućiti “novi početak”, “humaniji”, “svežiji”, “zdraviji”; da će virus uspeti da okonča, bar ublaži, finansijskim kapitalizmom ustrojenu “stvarnost” i odvede nas u nekakvu “svetlu” (retroutopija). Virus tako uzdižemo u natprirodnu pojavu...

Postpandemijski život je velika neizvesnost, a predusloviće ga način, oblik i dužina “normalizacije”. Virusni zastoj će neminovno ostaviti kolektivne psihološke i socijalne posledice na živuće i izvesno izgraditi bogato kolektivno pamćenje nadolazećim. Koliko će te naslage nasledenog a neželjenog ostati u kolektivno podsvesnom, s nesagledivim društvenim posledicama, a koliko će doprineti nekim formama osvešćenja u odnosu na dosadašnje zajedničke predstave, ponašanje i delanje zavisi od ekonomske i političke konjunktura. Dok zaključujem ove redove, čini se da će političke i instance vlasti izaći iz ove nulte faze života maksimalne zdravstvene opasnosti, još oslabljenije no što su u nju ušle, zbog nepoverenja koje su kod građana izazvale nespretnošću i nekvalifikovanošću u organizaciji sanitarnih mera.

U sadašnje projekcije kontura neizvesnog “postkorona sveta” bi trebalo uzeti u obzir i posledice nemerljivih ekonomskih gubitaka i načine i osobenosti njihova podnošenja. Vapaji za pomoć sektora i profesija zauzimaju trenutno dobar deo medijskog prostora. Stiče se utisak da prevladava segmentarni recept saniranja štete koji prenebregava da je *opšta* i gotovo nenadoknativa. Jedino program ekonomske obnove može doprineti prevazilaženju kolektivnog osećaja oštećenosti. Ko će ga pokrenuti i organizovati? Ko će umeti da građane podstakne da radom dopri-



nesu svom i zajedničkom oporavku, da tom naporu daju smisao i pronađu u njemu satisfakciju?

Krajnje je u ovom procesu neizvesno ponašanje ključnog sadašnjeg moćnika, bankarsko-trgovinskog kapitala. Gledano sa strane, trenutno se drži “posmatrački”, očekujući da drugi pripreme uslove “normalizacije”. Vrednosti na svetskim berzama su, nakon negativnih stopa u martu i aprilu, već u maju porasle, delimično zahvaljujući numeričkoj industriji koja je tokom “ekonomskog vakuuma” radila puno parom (i otvorila prostore nove masovne prakse svojih budućih potencijalnih usluga), ali i spekulacijama akcionara (rekao bih “akcijaša” kad termin ne bi pretio da izazove zabunu) koji računaju na relativno brz ekonomski oporavak zbog potrebe ljudi za zaposlenjem i zaradom, a vlasti za “normalizacijom” života. Stručni analitičari, međutim, konstatuju da “jača razlaz između berze i ekonomije” (*Wall Street Journal*, 8. maj 2020), jer se već “deceniju Berza odvaja od realnog života” (“Repeat After Me: The Markets Are Not the Economy”, *New York Times*, 10. maj 2020)! Stoga bi nakon “obnove” moglo doći do poboljšanja finansijske situacije (banke, korporacije), a pogoršanja ekonomske (proizvodni i servisni sektor smanjenih investicionih mogućnosti) te do povećanja broja nezaposlenih i pogoršanja uslova rada zaposlenih u odnosu na predpandemijski period.

Slika sveta, koju smo imali i delili, poljuljana je te neobnoviva. Ko je i koliko spreman da u izgradnji “nove” ili kolažiranju ostataka stare učestvuje i s kojim motivima? Postoji li u novonastaloj situaciji tlo za čovekov stvaralački napor ili je pre plodno za melanholični očaj? Hoće li obnova odvesti umrvljavanju predstave o svetu i snaženju partikularizama ili će unifikatorske sile nametnuti prazninu svojih interesa? Koje oblike će dobiti toliko potrebni osluškivanje i razmena između razlika i kultura? Da li je promišljanje i uvođenje “novog” poretka, sanitarnog, zdravstvenog, ekološkog, ekonomskog, društvenog, rodnog, planetarnog... moguće pri “odnosu snaga” u dosadašnjoj i trenutnoj konstelaciji? Ko će i na osnovu čega ustrojavati novu?

Pospandemijski svet se nudi kao magični prostor antropološkog promatranja...



# GLOBAL SOLUTIONS TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS

**Emir Habul**

My experience of the restrictive measures introduced by the government in the second half of March in response to the pandemic has not been as punishment. I have used the opportunity to work *online* to make frequent visits to Fojnica, a spa resort some 50 km west of Sarajevo.

The blossoming fruit trees, the murmuring of the water in the channels that cut through the garden, the springtime greening of the surrounding hills and countryside, and the season of springtime garden tasks have made time in the country a balm to soul and body alike. In my youth, I had no time for talk of working in the garden. In my teenage and student days, nothing bored me more thoroughly than my uncle Asif's stories of gardening, choosing seedlings, and caring for plants. I told everyone at home that it was the most boring work in the world and that I would never have anything to do with it. Not merely did I break this "promise of my youth" long ago, but I have also become the most assiduous continuer of my late uncle's garden tasks: as soon as I sense that I'm talking to some with even the slightest interest, I corner them and talk about my garden with the passion of an addict, complaining of my quest for the tomatoes of my youth (today's have neither the taste or fragrance of the old varieties) and sharing my wisdom on the topic of organic growing.

In the age of the coronavirus and mandatory social isolation, there is nothing finer than the delicious fatigue that comes after work in the garden, as one relaxes with a good book. The peak of satisfaction, however, is inspecting the garden and the plants' progress in the early morning hours. With the coronavirus far off somewhere!

Many Sarajevans have been following a similar prescription, returning to long abandoned villages or withdrawing to weekend cottages, and inspiring spiteful commentary on social networks:

- Why is the city so empty?
- Because the peasants have gone back to their villages!

### An historical reflex – flight from the cities

Going to the country is hardly an invention of modernity. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century, fear of plague epidemics has forced the rich to flee the towns. The countryside has thus long been recognised as a safe refuge from contagious disease. On the other hand, country life in itself also provided an important motive for leaving central European towns. One sees this clearly with Boccaccio's ladies and gentlemen in the *Decameron*. Lewis Mumford, in his classic *The City in History*, describes people fleeing Florence “because of corpses of the dead and the stink of the living for country villas on Mt. Fiesole, whose location is proof of how much the Etruscans appreciated healthy terrain/  
**zbog leševa umrlih i smrada živih u ladanjske vile na brdu Fiesole koje svojim smještajem dokazuje kako su Etrušćani znali cijeniti zdravi teren.**”

In one of the better books about the city under Mt. Srd, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika/Dubrovnik's Great Age*, Radovan Samardžić recounts how a plague epidemic during the second half of the 17th century caused the nobility and sea captains to flee the packed town, which the plague had entered, for their summer palaces in Slano, Zaton, on Pelješac, and on the surrounding islands, to wait for the contagion to pass. During the second half of the 17th century, the Republic of Dubrovnik built its Lazarette, where travellers had to spend 40 days before being allowed into the town. The archives provide evidence of how it was possible, with adequate payment, to avoid or shorten that period of residence, which was often enough precisely how the contagion managed to pass inside the walls of Dubrovnik.

The practice of escaping to the countryside during periods of epidemic was not unknown in Bosnia and Herzegovina either. In his autobiography, *My Generation*, a leading organiser of the 1941 uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Avdo Humo, wrote of his grandfather, starting with the year “of Bonaparte's march on

Moscow” (1812), and describes the appearance of plague, brought by a Turkish soldier, which managed within a very short period of time to kill a third of the inhabitants of Mostar, who lived in tightly packed neighbourhoods or *mahalas*. The Humo family (Avdo's grandfather was only three months old) took to its village in the region of Western Herzegovina to wait for the contagion to pass. That same century, plague harrowed the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina on two more occasions, affecting the Muslim population, which lived tightly packed in the city mahallas, disproportionately.

Leafing through the book, I was reminded of something an older colleague used to say: One should only read the best books. And it is in such books that one finds, amongst other matter, descriptions of how people behaved as epidemics ravaged the country in waves and decimated the population, of their fatal consequences, of withdrawal into the countryside “until the evil passes”, and of many other situations, with which to compare our own experiences avoiding the coronavirus in 2020.

Mula Mustafa Bašeskija's *Chronicle* is another such book that provides evidence of life in Sarajevo during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He talks of plagues and epidemics in some 20 places. There was a major epidemic in Sarajevo in 1762/63. Interestingly, the chronicler did not approve of flight to the countryside. He left us his record of the epidemic as verses condemning the behaviour of his fellow townsfolk:

Only the ignorant take flight  
from plague and our city;  
while the truly devout stay patiently  
and peacefully where they belong.

Agreeing with the devout view, Bašeskija concludes:

[...] he who believes, knows that there is no escaping destiny.

Most likely, it was the wealthier who could withdraw in this way to “vacation homes” around Sarajevo (the term he uses is more or less equivalent to “country houses”) and wait for the epidemic to exhaust itself.

Reading Bašeskija and other good books (the Franciscan Nikola Lašvanin of Fojnica describing the plague in 1732; Bono Bonić and Jako Baltić, friars from Kraljeva Sutjeska, writing on the plague in 1783), helps one understand human powerlessness

in the face of contagion and the scale of suffering in this country of ours. To form some sort of image for yourselves, try to imagine what Bosnia must have looked like in those days, with no trained doctors or hospitals (Sarajevo got its first hospital only a hundred years later) or organised preventive measures.

Around 300 people died each day from the plague Friar Nikola Lašvanin wrote about, and it lasted, with interruptions, for around 10 years. In a letter about the epidemic to the Sultan, the chief men of Bosnia stated that “it has put around 20,000 fighting men below ground.” (Imamović, 1995)

Bašeskija provides a more precise account of the approximately 15,000 people killed in the epidemic of 1762/63 by totting up the figures of dead for the 100 wards or *mahalas* that then existed in the town. That was approximately half the population of the city at the time! Ten years later, the chronicler writes that plague appeared again. “After St. George's day (an ancient Slavic holiday celebrated by members of all religious groups on 6 May), there were between 20 and 30 funerals a day celebrated at the Imperial Mosque and the same number at the Bay's mosque.” This wave, Bašeskija tells us, took some 8,000 souls!

But misery loves company. The chronicler also talks of years of drought, and of plagues of insects that devoured the leaves and shoots, of famine scourging Sarajevo, so that they “ground the dried fruit to use for flour.”

## The happiest part of history

With what we have learned about the epidemics of the past and their consequences and taking personal stock of the current pandemic, most of us would no doubt agree how lucky we are to live in the 21st-century! As Yuval Noah Harari has pointed out (*Homo Deus*, 2019), we are privileged inhabitants of Earth, precisely because we are living through the best period of human history.

The coronavirus pandemic and the epidemics of history are not really analogous or indeed comparable in any respect. Compared to past times, this pandemic has been a breeze. As of mid-May 2020, only around 2000 individuals had tested positive with Covid 19 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the dead numbered just over 100. There are, of course, concrete personal des-

tinies and the pain of the survivors behind each of these statistics. The good news is that by the second half of May the contagion was waning in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These statistics are rather better than for most other European countries, largely thanks to the measures taken, the population's social (self)discipline and awareness of the risk of contagion, but also to a large dose of luck. Fear too has contributed, as restrictive measures have been largely implemented without any need for coercion, as the population has avoided physical contact.

What lasting trace has the pandemic left behind it, what consequences, what shall we remember it by, and what compare it with?

The pandemic has been a major experience. Many have found their lifestyle changed, freedom of movement limited, and life reduced to their family circle, in ways that recall the wartime siege of Sarajevo from 1992 to 95. Perhaps it is comparable in certain ways, but there are many differences too. The crucial thing is that Sarajevo has not been at the centre of world attention during the pandemic. Nobody is particularly interested.

Twenty eight years ago, Sarajevo was the main news on all television screens and in all the leading newspapers. Just a reminder: the city was besieged and shelled by the Bosnian Serb army, its population starved and slaughtered. Despite all of which, it fought on grimly to preserve its multi-ethnic paradigm.

But let us return to the coronavirus. What has the pandemic shown us?

We may mourn the now significantly undermined myth of friends in the Islamic world (princes from the Emirates and Turkey did send significant assistance to neighbouring countries), but it would seem material interests have won out.

Also undermined is the myth of solidarity.

One often hears cited Ivo Andrić's observation "that nothing binds people together so much as misfortune shared and happily survived." During the time of siege and surviving on humanitarian aid, there was a widespread perception of equality and justice (there's not much but it's the same for everyone). Now, thanks to a **ramshackle** government and pervasive corruption, the plague time will be remembered for medical equipment procured at multiples of the real price.

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The delegates and officers of the people do not share the people's destiny.

While more than 30,000 workers have been laid off and a still unconfirmed number of companies have experienced massive losses (entire sectors of the economy – transport, tourism, the hospitality sector, all closed as a result of preventive measures), the economic and financial crisis caused by the pandemic has barely touched those on the public payroll. HDZ delegates slashed to ribbons a proposal by the vice president of the Federation that members of Parliament should forego a payment of around €500. The prime minister of Sarajevo Canton explained that they couldn't cut government employees' salaries, because “they are protected by the collective contract.” Nor did the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Administrative Committee accept a call to withhold deputies' salaries when Parliament was not in session.

This lack of solidarity is not, however, a local specialty.

Abdelaali el-Badaoui, the founder of a Paris cooperative whose mission is to make healthcare accessible to all, has thundered over the social networks: “The coronavirus didn't create the social crisis. The virus simply showed the degree of misery so many people already live in today. In society's struggle with the virus, not everyone is equal, but they should be.”

What else have we learned in the pandemic?

The fundamental lesson is that the world is so connected that both good and bad easily cross borders (particularly the latter); it's just a question of time. The pandemic crisscrossed the planet in less than two months. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, according to Prof Fikret Karčić (*Oslobođenje*, April/May 2020), it took a virus that started in the steppes of Asia three years to reach Europe. The virus from Wuhan had already reached our country by mid-March.

## International context

Our country has multiple connections with the world.

History teaches us that Bosnia and Herzegovina has survived within the framework of broader integrative structures – the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, not one but two Yugoslavias (the kingdom of the Karađorđević dynasty

and Tito's) – and international agreements – the piece of Sremski Karlovci, when the country's borders were established, the Berlin Congress of 1878, when it was decided that the country would be entrusted to the dual monarchy to be administered, the Treaty of Versailles, which gave birth to the first Yugoslavia, and finally, the Dayton peace agreement of 1995. This agreement, still in force, was imposed by the great powers as an international solution, mechanically dividing the country, deepening the nationalist projects, and rendering the institutions of government ineffective. As a state, Bosnia and Herzegovina has since then been “hanging by a thread”, as separatist forces of varying degrees of intensity, overt and covert, do their systematic best to bury it.

Paradoxically, the argument offered is the ineffectiveness of institutions, which was on full display during the time of emergency, when each entity made its decisions by and for itself. This was a direct consequence of the Dayton agreement, which created a weak state with two strong, albeit asymmetric entities – a centralised Republika Srpska and a fragmented Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, itself organised into 10 cantons. Because the war ended without a clear winner, leaving all the major wartime protagonists still on the political stage, a Frankenstein state bereft of internal sovereignty was produced and organised around three separate interests: the Bosniak's want an integrated state, the Croats want absolute autonomy and full authority in Croat majority areas, as well as full equality in the allocation of pooled functions at entity and state level, while the Serbs want to convert the Republika Srpska from an entity into a state. “At the appropriate international moment, the Republika Srpska will leave Bosnia and Herzegovina,” is the guiding political idea of the Bosnian Serb leader, Milorad Dodik.

Both corona and the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina are results of broader global processes. And it is only within the framework of such global processes that a solution will be found. Dayton cannot be changed or repealed by local actors alone, any more than the virus can be stopped by nationalist isolationism.

# GLOBALNA RJEŠENJA ZA GLOBALNE PROBLEME

**Emir Habul**

Restriktivne mjere koje su vlasti uvele u drugoj polovini marta kao odgovor na pandemiju nisam doživio kao kaznu. Mogućnost da se radi *online* iskoristio sam za česte boravke u Fojnici, banj-skom mjestu pedesetak kilometara zapadno od Sarajeva.

Probaralo voće, šum vode u jazovima koji prolaze kroz bašče, proljetno zelenilo okolnog brdskog krajolika i sezona proljetnih vrtnih radova čine boravak u prirodi kao melem za dušu i tijelo. U mladosti sam prezirao i samu priču o radu u vrtu. U tinejdžerskim i studentskim danima nije mi bilo ništa dosadnije od priče mog daidže Asifa o baštovanskim radovima, odabiru sadnica i njegovanju biljaka. Tada sam ukućanima govorio kako je to najdosadniji posao na svijetu i kako se ja njime nikada neću baviti. I ne samo da sam davno prekršio “obecanje iz mladosti”, već sam postao revnosniji propagator vrtnih radova od svog rahmetli daidže: ako osjetim da sagovornik pokazuje i najmanje zanimanje, zguram ga u čošak i sa strašću ovisnika pričam o vrtu, žalim se kako tražim okus paradajza iz mladosti (ovaj današnji nema ni ukus ni miris starih sorti) i mudrujem o organskom uzgoju.

U vrijeme virusa korona i propisane socijalne izolacije nema ništa ljepše od slatkog umora poslije rada u vrtu i odmora uz dobru knjigu. A vrhunac zadovoljstva je u ranim jutarnjim satima baciti pogled na vrt i gledati kako biljke napreduju. A virus korona je negdje tamo daleko! Sličan recept primijenile su mnoge Sarajlije vraćajući se u davno napuštena sela ili su se sklonili u svoje vikendice, što je na društvenim mrežama proizvelo niz pakosnih komentara tipa: zašto je grad pust? zato što su se seljaci vratili na selo?!



## Historijski refleksi – bježanje iz gradova

Odlazak na selo nije izmišljotina savremenika. Od 13. stoljeća strah od epidemije kuge natjerao je bogate da bježe iz svojih gradova. Selo je prepoznato kao sigurno utočište od zaraznih bolesti. S druge strane, važan motiv napuštanja srednjoevropskih gradova bio je i ladanjski život. Ovo se jasno prepoznaje kod Bokačovih dama i gospode u Dekameronu. Luis Mumford u klasičnom djelu *Grad u historiji* (Zagreb, 1968.) opisuje kako se iz Firence bježalo “zbog leševa umrlih i smrada živih u ladanjske vile na brdu Fiesole koje svojim smještajem dokazuje kako su Etrušćani znali cijeniti zdravi teren”.

I Radovan Samardžić u jednoj od najboljih knjiga o gradu ispod Srđa, “Veliki vek Dubrovnika” podsjeća kako su dubrovačka vlastela i kapetani u vrijeme epidemija kuge u drugoj polovini 17. stoljeća bježali iz pretrpanog grada, kojeg bi zahvatila kuga, u svoje ljetnikovce u Slanom, Zatonu, na Pelješac, ili su na obližnjim otocima čekali da zaraza prođe. U drugoj polovici 17. stoljeća Dubrovačka republika izgradila je Lazarete u kojima su svi putnici morali provesti 40 dana da bi dobili dopuštenje da uđu u grad. Arhive svjedoče kako se uz adekvatan mito taj boravak zaobilazio ili skraćivao, a nerijetko je tako i sama zaraza ulazila unutar zidina Dubrovnika.

Praksa bježanja na selo u vremenima epidemija zabilježena je i u Bosni i Hercegovini. U nedavno objavljenoj autobiografskoj knjizi “Moja generacija”, jedan od najznačajnijih organizatora ustanka 1941. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini Avdo Humo u epizodi o svom djedu, koju počinje godinom “kada je Bonaparta krenuo na Moskvu” (1812.), piše o pojavi kuge koju je donio neki turski vojnik, a koja je za kratko vrijeme pomorila trećinu Mostaraca koji su živjeli u gusto naseljenim mahalama. Porodica Humo (Avdin djed je imao tri mjeseca) tada se preselila u svoje selo na području zapadne Hercegovine, čekajući da zaraza prođe. U tom stoljeću kuga je još u dva navrata harala po bosanskohercegovačkim kasabama, a najveća žrtva bilo je muslimansko stanovništvo, koje je živjelo gusto naseljeno u gradskim mahalama.

Listajući ove knjige, sjetio sam se rečenice jednog starijeg kolege: treba čitati samo najbolje knjige. A u takvim knjigama, između ostalog, piše kako su se ljudi ponašali u vrijeme epidemi-

ja koje su harale u talasima i desetkovale stanovništvo, o njihovim pogubnim posljedicama, o sklanjanju na selo “dok zlo ne prođe” i mnogo drugih situacija s kojima svako može porediti vlastito iskustvo bježanja od virusa korona iz 2020.godine.

Jedna od takvih knjiga je i “Ljetopis”, u kojem je Mula Mustafa Bašeskija ostavio svjedočanstvo o životu u Sarajevu u drugoj polovini 18 stoljeća. O kugama i epidemijama govori na dvadeset mjesta. Velika epidemija harala je Sarajevom 1762/63. godine. Zanimljivo je da ljetopisac ne opravdava bježanje na selo. Zapis o toj epidemiji ostavio je u stihu kojim osuđuje ponašanje sugrađana:

Samo nezalice počеше bježati,  
od kuge iz našeg grada;  
dok pravi vjernici ostadoše strpljivo,  
i mirno na svojim mjestima.  
U skladu sa stavom vjernika, Bašeskija zaključuje:  
[...] ko vjeruje, zna, da se ne može pobjeći od sudbine.

Sve su prilike da su se imućniji sklanjali u svoje “ishodne kuće” u okolini Sarajeva (termin najpribližniji značenju “ladanjske kuće”), čekajući da se epidemija ispuše.

Čitajući Bašeskiju i druge dobre knjige (Fra Nikola Lašvanin iz Fojnice opisuje kugu iz 1732; Fra Bono Bonić i fra Jako Baltić, redovnici iz Kraljeve Sutjeske, pišu o kugi 1783.godine), pomažu u shvatanju nemoći ljudi pred zarazama i razmjerama stradanja na našim prostorima. Da biste sami sebi predočili neku sliku, pokušajte zamisliti kako je izgledala Bosna u to vrijeme, bez školovanih ljekara, bolnica (Sarajevo će dobiti bolnicu tek sto godina kasnije) i bez organizirane prevencije.

Od kuge o kojoj svjedoči fra Nikola Lašvanin, a koja je s prekidima trajala deset godina, dnevno je umiralo i do 300 soba. U jednom pismu sultanu, koje se odnosi na ovu epidemiju, bosanski prvaci navode da je “otišlo pod zemlju oko 20.000 junaka”. (Imamović, *Istorija Bošnjaka*, 1995)

Bašeskija iznosi preciznu računnicu, zbrajajući umrle u sto tadašnjih gradskih mahala, da je epidemija 1762/63. pokosila 15.000 osoba. To je otprilike polovina stanovništva tadašnjeg Sarajeva! Deset godina kasnije ovaj ljetopisac zapisuje kako se kuga ponovo pojavila. “Iza Jurjeva (staroslovenski praznik koji slave pripadnici svih konfesija i obilježava se 6.maja) klanjalo se

po 20–30 dženaza dnevno pred Carevom, i isto toliko pred Begovom džamijom.” Od ovog talasa, informira nas Bašeskija, umrlo je 8.000 duša!

Ali nesreća nikada ne dolazi sama. Ljetopisac govori i o sušnim godinama, o napastima buba koje su pojele lišće, o gladi koja je harala Sarajevom, pa se “mljelo suho voće i upotrebljavalo kao brašno”.

## Najsretniji komad historije

Kada se informirate o epidemijama u prošlosti i njihovim posljedicama, svako bi, svodeći vlastiti račun aktuelne pandemije, mogao zaključiti: sretni smo što živimo u 21. stoljeću! Mi smo privilegirani stanovnici Zemlje, jer, kako kaže Juval Noa Harari (*Homo Deus*, 2019), živimo u najboljem periodu ljudske povijesti.

Nikakve analogije niti po jednom elementu nisu uporedive današnja Covid-19 pandemija i epidemije u historiji. U odnosu na prošla vremena, ova pandemija je prava pjesma. Polovinom maja 2020. godine, u cijeloj Bosni i Hercegovini broj pozitivnih na virus korona je nešto iznad dvije hiljade, a broj umrlih od Covid-19 bolesti je nešto iznad stotinu. Naravno, iza svakog statističkog podatka stoje konkretne sudbine i bol najbližih. Dobra je vijest da u Bosni i Hercegovini u drugoj polovini maja zaraza jenjava.

Ovako povoljne statistike u odnosu na većinu evropskih zemalja rezultat su provedenih mjera, društvene (samo)discipline stanovništva, svijesti o opasnosti od zaraze, a dobrim dijelom treba zahvaliti i sreći. I strah je učinio svoje, pa su restriktivne mjere uglavnom provedene bez prisile, a stanovništvo je izbjegavalo fizičke kontakte.

Koji je trag ostavila pandemija, koje posljedice, po čemu je pamtni, s čim upoređivati?

Pandemija je i veliko iskustvo. Za mnoge su promijenjen način života, ograničena sloboda kretanja i život u krugu porodice bili uporedivi s vremenima ratne opsade Sarajeva 1992–1995. Možda se neki elementi i mogu porediti, ali su razlike brojne. Ključna je stvar što Sarajevo u vrijeme pandemije nije centar svijeta. I nije nikome zanimljivo.

Prije dvadeset i osam godina Sarajevo je glavna vijest na svim velikim televizijama i vodećim novinama. Samo da podsjetim: ovaj grad je pod opsadom vojske bosanskih Srba bio granatiran, a stanovništvo izgladnjivano i ubijano. I uprkos svemu, grčevito se borio da sačuva svoju multietničku paradigmu.

Ali vratimo se virusu korona. Šta nam je pokazala (i pokazuje) pandemija?

Možemo lamentirati o značajno načetom mitu o prijateljima u islamskom svijetu (prinčevi iz Emirata i Turska značajnu pomoć poslali su susjednim zemljama), ali se pokazalo da su nadjačali interesi.

Načeti su mit o solidarnosti.

Često je citirana misao Ive Andriće “kako ljude ništa ne vezuje tako kao zajednička i sretno preživljena nesreća”. U vrijeme opsade i preživljenja na humanitarnoj pomoći bila je prisutna percepcija o jednakosti i pravdi (malo ali svima isto). Sada, zahvaljujući trapavoj vlasti i sveprisutnoj korupciji, ostat će zapamćeno da se medicinska oprema nabavljala po višestruko uvećanim cijenama.

Narodni izabranici i činovnici ne dijele sudbinu naroda.

Dok je više od 30.000 radnika dobilo otkaz, dok još uvijek neutvrđen broj firmi bilježi ogromne gubitke (cijeli privredni sektori – saobraćaj, turizam, ugostiteljstvo bili su zatvoreni zbog posljedica mjera), budžetske korisnike ekonomska i finansijska kriza izvana pandemijom nije ni dotakla. Zastupnici Hrvatske demokratske zajednice na nož su dočekali prijedlog potpredsjednice Federacije da se parlamentarci odreknu paušala koji iznosi oko 500 eura. Premijer Kantona Sarajevo rekao je kako ne mogu smanjivati plaću državnim službenicima, jer “njih štiti kolektivni ugovor”. Ni Administrativna komisija Parlamentarne skupštine Bosne i Hercegovine nije prihvatila inicijativu da se zastupnicima ne isplaćuju plaće kada Parlament ne zasjeda.

Izostanak solidarnosti nije samo domaća specifičnost.

Abdel Ali el-Bedaoui, osnivač pariške udruge, čiji je cilj da zdravstvo bude dostupno svima, grmi preko društvenih mreža: “Virus korona nije stvorio društvenu krizu. Virus je jednostavno pokazao razinu bijede u kojoj mnogi ljudi žive već danas. U borbi društva s bolešću nisu svi jednaki, a trebali bi biti.”

Šta smo još naučili u pandemiji?

Osnovna je lekcija da je svijet toliko uvezan, da i dobro i loše prelazi granice (pogotovo ovog drugo), samo je pitanje vremena. Pandemija je premrežila cijelu planetu za manje od dva mjeseca. Virusu kuge u 15 stoljeću, kako piše prof. Fikret Karčić (Oslobođenje, april/maj 2020), koji je krenuo iz stepa Azije, trebalo je tri godine da dobaci do Evrope. Virus iz Wuhana stigao je u našu zemlju već sredinom marta.

## Međunarodni kontekst

Naša zemlja je višestruko povezana sa svijetom.

Historija nas uči da je Bosna i Hercegovina opstajala u okviru širih integracija – Otomanskog Carstva, Austrougarske Monarhije, u okviru dviju Jugoslavija (kraljevine pod dinastijom Karađorđevića i Titove) – međunarodnih sporazuma – Karlovački mir, kojim su utvrđene granice, Berlinski kongres 1878, čijim je odlukama naša zemlja povjerena Carskoj i kraljevskoj Monarhiji na upravljanje, Versajski ugovor, kojim je nastala prva Jugoslavija – i, na koncu, Mirovnog sporazuma iz Dejtona 1995. godine. Ovaj važeći sporazum, koji su nametnule velike sile kao međunarodno rješenje, mehanički je podijelio zemlju, produbio nacionalne ideje i državne institucije učinio neefikasnim. Bosna i Hercegovina kao država od tada “visi o tanku koncu”. Separatističke snage s različitim intenzitetom, otvoreno ili prikriveno, sustavno je žele sahraniti.

Paradoksalno je da se kao argument poteže neefikasnost institucija, što je bilo očigledno u vrijeme vanrednih mjera, jer je svaki entitet donosio odluke za sebe. A to je omogućio Dejtonski sporazum, koji je napravio slabu državu s dva jaka asimetrična entiteta – centraliziranu Republiku Srpsku i fragmentiranu Federaciju Bosne i Hercegovine, koja je organizirana u deset kantona. Zahvaljujući činjenici da je rat završen bez pobjednika, da su svi ratni protagonisti i dalje ostali na političkoj sceni, napravljena je frankeštajn država bez unutrašnjeg suvereniteta i s tri odvojena interesa: Bošnjaci bi voljeli potpuno integriranu državu, Hrvati potpunu autonomiju i punu vlast na prostorima s hrvatskom većinom te punu ravnopravnost u podjeli zajedničkih funkcija u entitetu i državi, a Srbi entitet Republiku Srpsku pretvaraju u državu. “U povoljnom međunarodnom trenutku

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Republika Srpska će izaći iz Bosne i Hercegovine”, to je ideja vodilja politike vođe bosanskih Srba, Milorada Dodika.

I korona i ustavno uređenje Bosne i Hercegovine rezultat su širih svjetskih procesa. I samo u okviru takvih globalnih procesa može se naći rješenje. Svijet je toliko povezan da su za globalne probleme potrebna globalna rješenja. Niti se Dejton može mijenjati ili odbaciti s lokalnim akterima, niti će virus spriječiti nacionalistički izolacionizam.

# SCIENCE, NEOLIBERALISM, AND EDUCATION IN A PANDEMIC AGE

Senadin Lavić

## Science and the world of neoliberal fundamentalism

The globalisation process and the coronavirus pandemic have unmasked Neoliberalism's destructive relationship to science, education, and healthcare. Society's critical condition makes clear how the dominant politics of populism undermine science and subordinate it to questionable ideological models. We see fully revealed Bosnian society's lack of convincing social scientific analysis of these phenomena and processes or, indeed, of any generally humanist orientation in education or everyday life. Sociological analysis and the economic picture inform how the millions who make up a given population are oriented, both in peace and under conditions of crisis. Science is a necessity under both sets of conditions, as a pillar supporting society. Nothing can replace it – no ideology can substitute for what science alone can do. No serious politics can ignore or substitute for the rational conduct of human life through knowledge institutions, particularly not during a crisis. Faith in science flows from humanist assumptions about humanity, not from the neoliberal imperative of the rule of market capitalism. Global economic collapse always reveals how fundamentally antihumanist market doctrines are, but the central problems of human life cannot be resolved through war! Man should be the measure of things – *homo mensura!*<sup>1</sup>

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1 Henry A. Giroux, in his book *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education*, demonstrates how neoliberal politics, practice, and forms of material and symbolic violence, have radically reshaped the mission and practice of

## Scientific and technological progress and human progress are not the same thing.

The modern age's view of knowledge places it at the very heart of human life. But, how should we define knowledge? Put simply, knowledge is a set of views or opinions on a given phenomenon or process in society or nature that can be expressed within a coherent scientific theory. Any such view or theory can be checked, analysed, and tested to the point of total falsification or rejection by those who are interested in scientific results, keeping actively in mind that knowledge is always rooted in particular contexts.<sup>2</sup> Scientific knowledge grounds its views on the investigations and communication community of researchers, who “produce” views or expressions about things that we know in advance cannot be definitive but nonetheless have a certain degree of back-up, precisely because they have been checked, tested, described, understood, and discussed by the members of a scientific communication community. Scientific knowledge is fragile and subject to constant verification. It can of course be caught up in “the global politics of education” under the aegis of neoliberalism, whose premises are unfortunately not humanist ones.

Under the life-threatening conditions called forth by the coronavirus pandemic, the myths of human omnipotence, natural-scientific rationality, and the technological supremacy associated with them have collapsed. This image developed in European history as part of the grand narrative of never-ending progress. Now, sceptical objections are suddenly popping up everywhere, as are viewpoints that testify to science's powerlessness in the face of the pandemic threat. It is disappointing, perhaps, but ultimately healing to realise that worldwide natural-scientific and technological progress do not of themselves entail human progress or promote the freedom, security, dignity, and moral capacity of human beings and their generosity towards other members

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higher education, profoundly and strategically changing generations of young people searching for knowledge. Giroux believes that the neoliberal system of education is transforming the role of the universities in society and pleads for the university as a place of critical thought and study. (Henry A. Giroux, *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education*, Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2014)

- 2 Hans Jörg Sandkühler (Hrsg.), *Wissen. Wissenskulturen und die Kontextualität des Wissens*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2014.



of the human community. Such healing disappointment opens up the possibility that the market mechanism's collapse and that of the ideology of infinite profit may actually allow some idea to be developed of different interpersonal relations and new economic and business relations.

Where constant insistence on the system as all and the individual as carried along by it is most prevalent is where one also finds interpersonal disappointment to be most common. People only learn after the fact that the system does not care about them, no matter that they have worked and paid all their lives to sustain its elements! The system spends people and has become its own purpose. At a certain point, it becomes a one-dimensional box in which nothing new can appear or speak! A totalitarian hegemonic order seeks the reduction of all voices to a single exclamation of the frightened. This is why media cynicism and irresponsible pit-bulls leap to dismember the different, non-identical, or heterodox thought that questions control, domination, subordination, or slavery.<sup>3</sup>

Crisis conditions, like the pandemic threat, have revealed to us how Homo Sapiens is caught in a *Gestell*, set in a framework that acts as a cage constructed by the capitalist form of rationality, which today prefers to be called neoliberal capitalism and is based upon the absolute measure of the market! The question that motivates us is *what is it that, in the "neoliberal conception of freedom", stands at the centre, man or capital (?)*, and it rings out across the contemporary world. Neoliberalism may accuse the poor and unsuccessful of being insufficiently committed to the market or ready for market competition. In the same way, the neoliberal epidemiological model can always accuse the old and feeble, the sick, of failing to keep the isolation measures and being responsible for having been "caught" by the coronavirus and the Covid-19 plague. The system of neoliberal capitalism imposes information through controlled media, monitors the activity of individuals, guides our perceptions, prevents disavowal of the grand illusions and myths, tacitly supports the lies about

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3 Which is why one can, temporarily, send up a test balloon on "territories for religious groups", in order to relativise the importance of the idea of a whole Bosnia. In this way, one can demonise everyone who has been trying to preserve and develop a discourse of Bosnian citizenship-based identity! Ethnic politics always claim that is the Others who reject a normal state.

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human history that religious institutions have promoted, establishes rulers to serve it, and ensures the domination of Big Pharma and the management of disease in humans...

Neoliberal capitalism subordinates to itself the entirety of human social life. It long ago scaled the factory walls to permeate every pore of life. It marched on the field of science, converting it into a tool of big capital and multinational corporations in an age of neoliberal capitalist fundamentalism for which the *market* is the measuring criterion of all human knowledge and activity. There is an associated *pedagogy* that persuades us that what we have is the best of all possible “education systems”. In Europe, an idea has surfaced of *open access to knowledge*. The principles of neoliberal capitalism have penetrated the University and scientific and academic work, so that the University is now subject to the same measure of performance as any other enterprise or facility in the capitalist constellation.

The University is “caught” in a bureaucratic network that imposes a set of procedures and rules on science that have nothing to do with it, but everything to do with covert control and administration of the University itself. The University has lost its autonomy and is no longer a place of free thought, of creative and critical intellect, or of the Enlightenment aspiration of a quest for knowledge. Controlled by bureaucracies, themselves informed by concrete political ideology and under orders from neoliberal capitalism that the market is to be the measure of knowledge and science, we have finally entered a cul-de-sac and lost all orientation. Which is why the question looms in front of us: what is the national university for, today? When science stagnates or treads water in a given society it is a sure sign that that society is no longer on the path towards civilisation and is in fact in great risk of falling victim to a colonial venture on the part of hegemonic projects. The loss of love for knowledge and truth is the beginning of the captivity of the mind.

The noticeable stagnation of scientific research is accompanied by a falling off of scientific rationality within society, which makes way for spontaneous ideological representations of things and events. Prejudices and cultural myths take the stage, reenchanting the world in superstition and irrationality. There is an obvious abuse of religion, which attempts to exclude science from social life. Religion seeks its own place and finds it in poli-

tics, together with power and authority – Agamben has noted how it is migrating into science. Social ontology has remarked an onslaught of common-sense representations of matters related to humanity’s social being. In poor societies, science, unfortunately, appears to be a place where religion confirms its dominance and ruthlessly excludes scholarship from any description of social and historical phenomena or bio-medical processes, reducing everything to a simple quasi-theological explanation for the superstitious and uneducated. Scholarship (and science) are forced into a relationship of vassaldom and thoroughly undermined in comparison to the “guardians of the sacred mysteries” and the hand kissers of prominent priests.

In addition to its destructive effect on scientific rationality, the worldwide coronavirus pandemic has shown that the neoliberal attack on healthcare has placed dozens of states in great uncertainty (at great risk), and their citizens in danger. A clear need has arisen for the nation state and the international community to become more concerned about public health and seriously increase investment in social services. The health of millions of people depend upon having good doctors and the necessary equipment for them to do their jobs. The healthcare system in Bosnia has proven fragile and highly sensitive, but medical interventions themselves have been extremely effective, so that the overall picture in health is more a result of the efforts of individual doctors than of a well-functioning system of care.

In this process of major transformations in knowledge and of the associated social forms, an awareness has been emerging that today’s world finds itself at an epochal turning point and must seek a new path towards the future. There will certainly be change regarding the neoliberal capitalist leviathan, which has used the world as its playground, thanks to globalisation, and established an unimaginable hegemony, unprecedented in history. Alex Demirović has seen in neoliberalism a pragmatic ideology of destruction!<sup>4</sup> In his book *The Neoliberal Hegemony/*

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4 In his text on “Neoliberalismus und Hegemonie” Alex Demirović develops the idea of neoliberalism as a pragmatic ideology of destruction. He says: “Predlažem da se neoliberalizam pojmi kao praktična ideologija aktera kapitala. Kao takav, on je prije svega (kontra) revolucionaran i destruktivan; on organizira transformaciju društvenih odnosa pod kapitalističkim uvjetima. No, neoliberalizam, čak i ako želi organizirati cjelokupni način života,

*Neoliberalna hegemonija*, Braco Kovačević points out: “very powerful processes of globalisation have led to a major reinforcement of the neoliberal project for organising society and so to erosion of the welfare state. Instead of government-provided social protection and social funding for culture, science, health-care, and education, neoliberalism has imposed a hegemony that minimises the role of the state and society and, under the strong influence of transnational capital, has introduced the market principle of social organisation, resulting in extreme increases in unemployment, misery, and poverty, falling living standards, and the creation of enormous differences in prosperity between the rich and poor at both the global and the local levels. And so we find that globalisation is at the same time glocalisation.”<sup>5</sup>

## The question of humanity's future in the age of the coronavirus pandemic or the question of humanism

Crude ethnic politics and populism have exploited the coronavirus pandemic crisis to pursue their own goals – revealing themselves as a result to be absolutely immoral forms of political action. Some populist leaders have used the state of emergency

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nije neovisna ideologija u smislu sveobuhvatnog konceptualnog svjetonazora buržoaske klase; radije formulira privredne i korporativne interese buržoazije i svodi način života na nekoliko ekonomskih aspekata. Na razini masovne demokratije države blagostanja, usprkos državnoj vladavini koja je ušla u krizu demokratizacijom i ustupcima, političkoj i kulturnoj situaciji koja se smatrala subverzivnom, kasnoburžoaskom i postmodernom, te društvenim snagama koje su bile uključene u borbe oko znanja odozdo, za nove identitete, protiv kolonijalizma, rasizma i nacionalizma, da se otvori promjenljivost i budućnost društva, radi se o osvjeđenju i ponovnom uspostavljanju temelja buržoaske vladavine povratkom na vladavinu samog tržišta: zaštita privatnog vlasništva nad sredstvima za proizvodnju, zakonski propisi koji stvaraju stabilan horizont poduzetničkih očekivanja, općenito visoka razina očekivanja državnom zaštitom tržišta, te konačno društveni razvoj koji je određen putem kontingencije tržišta, tj. odricanje od razuma kao svjesne kontrole i usmjerenja koegzistencije od strane svih i slobode natjecanja kao načela same evolucije.” (Alex Demirović, “Neoliberalismus und Hegemonie”, in: Christoph Butterwegge, Bettina Lösch, Ralf Ptak (Hrsg.) *Neoliberalismus. Analysen und Alternativen*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008, 19)

5 Braco Kovačević, *Neoliberalna hegemonija*, Banjaluka: EDC, 2019, p. 11.

to monopolise every form of authority, and so made clear their lack of responsibility towards their fellow citizens.

The Latin word *humanitas* means humanity, that which makes a human being a person, human dignity, philanthropy, love for one's neighbour, et cetera. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, philosophical anthropology reached the insight that human beings are defined by our deficiency, by what we lack, full of faults, highly fragile, and powerless to compete with other species in open physical conflict, because we are so vulnerable, et cetera.<sup>6</sup> This is why we have developed so many extensions to our being over the course of history as well as such confidence in our own rationality and methodical behaviour, which is what distinguishes us from most other species in nature. We call these creations of ours culture or human constructs within nature that allow us to survive. Within this culture of ours, we have created a number of images of ourselves through which we define ourselves. According to one cultural or civilisational pattern, we may be defined as beings of spirit, while in another we are beings of matter or earth, in the third beings of time, and in a fourth beings of obliviousness, et cetera. Behind such definitions there is always a single thought about or understanding of human beings, which corresponds to the form of the culture, to the level of knowledge attained, and the general development of human communities. This is always an expression of a profound metaphysics that stands behind the self-exposure of being in history! There is, however, no eternally given essence of human being that is self-identical across all cultures and peoples and times!

At this time of the coronavirus pandemic and Covid 19 plague, new questions are opening up regarding the true meaning of neoliberal capitalism's functioning, of the ideal of human freedom, humanism, and of future goals. The world as envisaged by neoliberal capitalism is a world without *homo humanus*. It appears, unfortunately, that our worth to neoliberal values lies in our being a being that satisfies its needs through the market and so acts as a consumer. This image of consumer man/*homo consumens* places us in front of a narrow circle of possible choices within the consumerist frame and extinguishes any need for liberation of our human potential or development of the *ideal of*

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6 See especially works by such authors as Max Scheller, Arnold Gehlen, Hellmut Plessner, et cetera.

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*human freedom/autonomy* as the point of human living. Have we irretrievably lost the ideal of humanity as noble, merciful, benevolent? If those characteristics disappear, will the human species die out, as happened with some of our near kin? How shall we in future determine our *humanitas* and what it is to be human?

### Perspectives – the need to develop a Bosnian nation state

The age of the coronavirus pandemic has once again shown **the importance of the nationstate**. In recent decades, the heralds of neoliberal capitalism and the handlers of the many currents of globalisation have tendered the view that the end of the national state has come and that various forms of supranational association will very soon take the stage of history. Some have already sung the nation state off the stage. We have, however, seen how quickly, overnight, national boundaries have come to the fore once again within Europe and across the world in attempts to provide protection from the spread of the coronavirus pandemic. Once again it seems that the nation state is the best operating system for political organisation for most citizens. Of course, this does not sit well with the requirements of new capitalist greed for a “free market” and profit. Nonetheless, the importance of the border has been revealed once again as a form of protection of space from misfortune and the enemy.

The coronavirus pandemic has not halted the epidemic virus of fascism in the Balkans, however, introduced into the post Yugoslav space in the 1990s, which has inflicted untold human suffering and misery. Which is what makes the question of the preservation of Bosnia and its continued development within the framework of the European cultural and historical context so crucial! The attack on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1990s and the associated genocide were government projects of the Milošević regime. But one should always remember that *Milošević was not alone*, and that in fact all the indications are of a state-organised Serbian course of action that extended both vertically and horizontally. He was, in fact, at the head of a legal and political aggressive and predatory organisation! This criminal regime organised, promoted, and carried out an attack

on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that resulted in the creation of the so-called “Serb territory on the soil of Bosnia”, which, thanks to various machinations of the international community and a series of staged negotiations, was in 1995 turned into an entity, in an attempt to legalise that criminal and genocidal territory publicly. It is not, however, *nota bene*, possible ever to normalise an act of genocide and crime, despite all the local and international deluders of the public and the staging of large-scale spectacular scenes of “peace achieved”. As human beings, we can never accept that the interpersonal order is created through crime and genocide! Nor can we ever forget that the Greater Serbian act of genocide continues to exist on mass graves!

Under conditions where our neighbours anti-Bosnian politics continue, it is clear that half of Bosnia remains under occupation by the Greater Serbian wartime project of the 1990s, insofar as the peace agreement has not been honoured and there has been no turn away from the destruction of Bosnia. It is exceptionally important therefore to remember Bosnia's borders and reject any attempts to decompose the fabric of Bosnia from within, through cross-border borrowings of identity from Serbia. It is clear that Bosnia-Herzegovina has to change its current political system if the state is to be freed of neofascist ideologies and its citizens afforded the proper enjoyment of all their human rights and freedoms. The citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina can only all experience equality within the framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a European nation state that promotes the equality of all its citizens throughout the state. Current ethnic and religious advocacy of a consociational federalisation of the state are essentially replaying the wars of conquest and tribal ideologies of the 19th century. Consociational federalism and the narrative of so-called “constitutive peoples” represent an immoral and irresponsible attempt to have the situation created in Bosnia by genocide and war crimes recognised as reality on the ground and so create the hegemony of specific political groups and their political interests.

In such a political swamp, stirred up by various forms of neofascism, chauvinism, and primitive populism, one may begin to understand the fundamental importance of the idea that a Bosnian identity based on a Bosnian nation state offers a political



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concept that teaches us that the state is more than a community of tribes. Bosnia must seek its measure of existence in the expanses opened up between the disappeared socialist model of life and that of capitalist economic activity, with all its new knowledge and technologies. The citizens of Bosnia must be ceaselessly reminded that there are no “legitimate representatives of the constitutive peoples”, and those who claim to be are certainly incapable of guaranteeing anybody freedom, dignity, or their human rights. This is the crucial deception of ethnic politics and anti-Bosnian political activity. In European history, they hit upon the model of the nation state as the only one that ensures these values. Bosnia needs a clear path to the future. In addition to the political model of the nationstate, today we also need to find a new model of the economic order capable of moving us past unrealistic representations of “socialist” or “capitalist” forms of economic life. The intention here is clear: to build on prior achievements and seek something new that can provide a qualitative move beyond the dogmas of socialist and capitalist economic and social forms of human life. Both these projects have proven to be impossible eschatological constructs that lead only to dystopian landscapes.

Translated by Desmond Maurer



# ZNANOST, NEOLIBERALIZAM I OBRAZOVANJE U PANDEMIJSKOM VREMENU

Senadin Lavić

## Znanost i svijet neoliberalnog fundamentalizma

Destruktivni odnos neoliberalizma prema nauci, obrazovanju i zdravstvu najbolje se pokazuje u globalizacijskom procesu i Covid-19 pandemiji. Krizno stanje društva jasno pokazuje kako dominantna politika populizma obesmišljava znanost i podčinjava je spornim ideološkim modelima. U punom kapacitetu raskriva se činjenica da u bosanskom društvu nedostaju uvjerljive *društveno-znanstvene analize* pojava i procesa te opća humanistička orijentacija u sistemu obrazovanja i svakodnevnom životu. Sociološka analiza i ekonomska (privredna) slika stanja osiguravaju orijentaciju za milione članova jedne populacije i u miru i u kriznim stanjima. Stoga je znanost neophodna za oba stanja, jer se ona pojavljuje kao stožer jednog društva. Ona se ničim ne može zamijeniti – nikakva ideologija ne može nadomjestiti ono što samo znanost može uraditi. Racionalno vođenje ljudskog života preko institucija znanja ne može se zanemariti ili nadomjestiti ni u jednoj ozbiljnoj politici, ali ni u kriznom stanju. Pritom, povjerenje u znanost mora poteći iz humanističkih pretpostavki čovječanstva kao cjeline, a ne iz nekog neoliberalnog naloga kapitalističkog diktata tržišta. Svjetski ekonomski krah uvijek pokazuje kako su tržišne dogme bile antihumanističke, a problemi ljudskog života ne mogu se riješiti ratovima! Čovjek bi trebao biti mjera stvari – *homo mensura!*<sup>1</sup>

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1 Henry A. Giroux u knjizi *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education* pokazuje kako su neoliberalne politike, prakse i načini materijalnog i sim-

## Znanstvenotehnološki napredak nije ujedno i humani napredak.

Etabliran je uvid o znanju u modernom vremenu kojim se ono pozicionira u samo središte ljudskog života. Kako možemo definirati znanje? Jednostavno kazano, znanje je skup stavova ili misli o nekoj pojavi ili procesu u društvu i prirodi koji se izražavaju u koherentnoj naučnoj teoriji. Svaki takav stav i teorija mogu se provjeriti, analizirati i preispitati do stanja totalne falsifikacije ili opovrgavanja od strane onih koji su zainteresirani za naučne rezultate, uz djelatnu svijest da je znanje uvijek postojano u nekom kontekstu.<sup>2</sup> Naučno znanje svoje stavove temelji na istraživanjima i komunikativnoj zajednici istraživača koji “proizvode” stavove ili iskaze o nečemu za koje unaprijed znamo da nisu definitivni, ali da imaju određen stepen sigurnosti koja proizlazi iz provjeravanja, testiranja, deskripcija, razumijevanja i dijaloga članova znanstvene komunikativne zajednice. Naučno znanje je krhko i podložno stalnim provjeravanjima. Ono može biti uhvaćeno u “globalnu politiku obrazovanja” pod neoliberalnom egidom, a njene premise, nažalost, nisu humanističke.

U stanju prijetnje životu, koja je izazvana Covid-19 pandemijom, raspada se mit o svemoći čovjeka i prirodoznanstvene racionalnosti i uz nju povezane tehnološke nadmoći. Ta slika je razvijena u evropskoj povijesti kroz veliku naraciju o *napretku* kao beskonačnom procesu. Najednom se pojavljuju skeptički prigovori i uvidi preko kojih se osvjedočava stanje nemoći znanosti pred pandemijskom opasnošću. Razočaravajuće je, ali ljekovito u konačnici, saznanje da prirodoznanstveni i tehnološki napredak svijeta ne osigurava *humani* napredak, odnosno ne poboljšava slobodu, sigurnost, dostojanstvo i moralni kapacitet ljudskog bića i njegovu širokogrudnost prema drugim članovima zajednice. Iz takve ljekovite razočaranosti otvara se mogućnost da krah tržišnog mehanizma i ideologije profita *ad infinitum* utiče na

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boličkog nasilja radikalno preoblikovali misiju i praksu visokoobrazovnih sistema, čime se dubinski i strateški mijenjaju generacije mladih ljudi koji tragaju za znanjem. Giroux smatra da neoliberalni sistem obrazovanja transformira ulogu univerziteta u društvu i pledira za univerzitet kao mjesto kritičkog mišljenja i studiranja. (Giroux, Henry A., *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education*, Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2014)

- 2 Sandkühler, Hans Jörg (Hrsg.), *Wissen. Wissenskulturen und die Kontextualität des Wissens*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2014.

razvitak ideje o drugačijim međuljudskim odnosima i novim ekonomskim poslovnim odnosima.

Tamo gdje se neprestano ističe da je sistem sve, a pojedinac samo privjesak tog sistema, najčešća su razočarenja među ljudima. Tek naknadno ljudi nauče da sistem ne brine o njima, bez obzira što su cijeli svoj život radili i plaćali održavanje elemenata društvenog sistema! Sistem troši ljude i sam je sebi postao svrha. On u jednom momentu postaje jednodimenzionalna kutija u kojoj se ništa novo ne može pojaviti, dakle, ni govoriti! Totalitarni hegemonijski poredak ima intenciju da sve glasove svede na jednu izjavu uplašanih. Zato medijski cinizam i njegovi pitbulovi bez javne odgovornosti skaču da rastrgaju svaku drugačiju, neidentičnu, odstupajuću misao koja dovodi u pitanje kontrolu, vladavinu, podčinjenost, ropstvo.<sup>3</sup>

U kriznom stanju pod pandemijskom prijetnjom vidi se kako je čovjek ili vrsta *homo sapiens* uhvaćena u *Gestell*, postavljena u postav, stavljena u krletku ili kafez, koji je konstruiran kapitalističkim oblikom racionalnosti koji se danas voli nazivati **neoliberalni kapitalizam**, zasnovan na apsolutnom mjerilu tržišta! Pitanje koje nas motivira: *da li u "neoliberalnoj zamisli slobode" u centru stoji čovjek ili kapital (?)*, odzvanja savremenim svijetom. Neoliberalizam može optužiti siromašne i neuspješne da se ne zalažu dovoljno na tržištu i da nisu spremni za tržišnu utakmicu. Na isti način neoliberalni epidemiološki model može uvijek optužiti stare i nemoćne, one koji su bolesni, što se nisu pridržavali mjera izolacije i da su sami krivi što ih je "zakačio" virus korona i bolest Covid-19. Sistem neoliberalnog kapitalizma nameće informacije preko kontroliranih medija, prati djelovanje pojedinaca, usmjerava percepciju, sprječava dezavuiranje velikih obmana i mitova, prešućuje laži ljudske povijesti koje je frizirala religijska institucija, postavlja vladare koji služe neoliberalnom kapitalizmu, osigurava dominaciju farmaceutskih kompanija i kontrole bolesti kod ljudi...

Neoliberalni kapitalizam podčinjava sebi cjelinu ljudskog društvenog života. On se odavno prelio preko zidova tvorničkih

3 Zato se može plasirati, povremeno, i balon o "teritoriji za religijsku grupu", da bi se relativizirala važnost misli o cjelovitoj Bosni. Na taj način se demoniziraju svi oni koji pokušavaju očuvati i razvijati mišljenje o bosanskom državljanском identitetu! Etnopolitika uvijek govori da oni Drugi neće normalnu državu.

hala i uvukao u sve pore života. Tako je umarširao u polje znanosti, pri čemu je znanost pretvorena u sredstvo krupnog kapitala i multinacionalnih kompanija u epohi neoliberalnog kapitalističkog fundamentalizma, u kojem je *tržište* mjera i kriterij svih ljudskih znanja i aktivnosti. Njemu odgovara komplementarna *pedagogija*, koja nas uvjerava da je na djelu najbolji mogući “sistem obrazovanja”. U Evropi se pojavila ideja za *open access to knowledge*. Principi neoliberalnog kapitalizma prodrli su na univerzitet i naučni rad, a to znači da je univerzitet potpao pod mjera koja određuju rad bilo kojeg drugog preduzeća i pogona u kapitalističkoj organizaciji.

Univerzitet je “uhvaćen” u birokratsku mrežu koja nameće znanosti skup procedura i pravila koji nema veze s njom, nego s prikrivenom kontrolom i upravom univerziteta. Univerzitet je izgubio autonomiju i više nije mjesto slobodnog mišljenja, stvaralačko-kritičkog uma i prosvjetiteljskog zanosa čovjeka koji traga za znanjem. Pod kontrolama birokratije, koja ima sigurnu političko-ideološku pozadinu, i uz direktive neoliberalnog kapitalizma da je tržište mjera znanja i znanosti dovedeni smo u čorsokak i gubitak orijentacije. Zato pred nama iskrsava pitanje: čemu služi nacionalni univerzitet danas? Zastoj ili stagniranje nauke u jednom društvu, dakle, siguran je znak da je ono skrenulo s civilizacijskog puta i da se nalazi u velikoj opasnosti pred kolonizacijskim poduzetništvom hegemonijskih pothvata. Gubitak ljubavi prema znanju i istini početak je ropske svijesti.

Uz primjetno stagniranje znanstvenog istraživanja nadolazi slabljenje znanstvene racionalnosti u društvu i ono se prepušta proizvoljnim, ideologiziranim predstavama o pojavama i događanjima. Na scenu stupaju brojne predrasude i kulturni mitovi kojima se svijet ponovo začarava u sujevjerje i iracionalnost. Očita je zloupotreba **religije** koja pokušava istisnuti nauku iz života društva! Religija traži svoje mjesto i nalazi ga u politici, uz moć i vlast – Agamben primjećuje da se useljava u nauku. Socijalna ontologija bilježi nadolazak zdravorazumskih predstava o pojavama u društvenom bitku čovječanstva. Znanost se, nažalost, pokazuje u siromašnom društvu kao mjesto preko kojeg se religija potvrđuje kao dominantna. Ona bez imalo milosti isključuje nauku iz svakog opisa povijesno-društvenih pojava ili biomedicinskih procesa, svodeći sve na jednostavna kvaziteološka objašnjenja za sujevjerne i neobrazovane. Nauka se gura u vazalni

odnos i postaje obesmišljena u odnosu na “znanke svetih tajni” i rukoljupce uglednih sveštenika.

Pored destrukcije znanstvene racionalnosti, Covid-19 pandemija širom svijeta je pokazala da je **neoliberalni upad u zdravlje** doveo desetine država pred veliku neizvjesnost, a građane u opasnost. Pred države-nacije i internacionalnu zajednicu isplivala je jasna potreba za većom brigom oko javnog zdravlja i povećanjem ozbiljnih ulaganja u socijalne usluge. Od kvalitetnih ljekara i neophodne opreme za njihov rad zavisi zdravlje miliona ljudi. U Bosni se pokazalo da je zdravstveni sistem krhak i vrlo osjetljiv, ali da su ljekarski zahvati vrlo učinkoviti, tako da je zdravstvena slika uglavnom rezultat pojedinačnog ljekarskog rada, a ne savršene systemske brige.

U procesu velikih transformacija znanja i njime oblikovanih društvenih formi razvijena je svijest da se današnji svijet nalazi na tački epohalnog zaokreta i traženja novog puta u budućnost. Sigurno je da će doći do promjena u vezi s neoliberalnim kapitalističkim Levijatonom, koji preko globalizacije eksploatira cijeli svijet kao svoje poprište i ostvaruje nezamislivu hegemoniju, do sada neviđenu u povijesti. Alex Demirović je u neoliberalizmu vidio praktičnu ideologiju uništenja!<sup>4</sup> U knjizi *Neoliberalna*

4 U tekstu “Neoliberalismus und Hegemonie” Alex Demirović razvija ideju o neoliberalizmu kao praktičnoj ideologiji razaranja/uništenja. On kazuje: “Predlažem da se neoliberalizam pojmi kao praktična ideologija aktera kapitala. Kao takav, on je prije svega (kontra) revolucionaran i destruktivan; on organizira transformaciju društvenih odnosa pod kapitalističkim uvjetima. No, neoliberalizam, čak i ako želi organizirati cjelokupni način života, nije neovisna ideologija u smislu sveobuhvatnog konceptualnog svjetonazora buržoaske klase; radije formulira privredne i korporativne interese buržoazije i svodi način života na nekoliko ekonomskih aspekata. Na razini masovne demokratije države blagostanja, usprkos državnoj vladavini koja je ušla u krizu demokratizacijom i ustupcima, političkoj i kulturnoj situaciji koja se smatrala subverzivnom, kasnoburžoaskom i postmodernom, te društvenim snagama koje su bile uključene u borbe oko znanja odozdo, za nove identitete, protiv kolonijalizma, rasizma i nacionalizma, da se otvori promjenljivost i budućnost društva, radi se o osvjeđenju i ponovnom uspostavljanju temelja buržoaske vladavine povratkom na vladavinu samog tržišta: zaštita privatnog vlasništva nad sredstvima za proizvodnju, zakonski propisi koji stvaraju stabilan horizont poduzetničkih očekivanja, općenito visoka razina očekivanja državnom zaštitom tržišta, te konačno društveni razvoj koji je određen putem kontingencije tržišta, tj. odricanje od razuma kao svjesne kontrole i usmjerenja koegzistencije od strane svih i slobode natjecanja kao načela same evolucije.” (Demirović, Alex, “Neo-

*hegemonija* Braco Kovačević podsjeća: “Veoma moćni globalizacijski procesi su doveli do snažnog jačanja neoliberalnog projekta organizovanja društva i, zbog toga, do erodiranja socijalne države, odnosno države blagostanja. Na mjesto državne socijalne zaštite i socijalnih izdavanja za kulturu, nauku, zdravstvo, školstvo, neoliberalizam je nametnuo hegemoniju kojom je minimizirao ulogu države u društvu i, pod snažnim uticajem transnacionalnog kapitala, uveo tržišni princip organizovanja društava koji je doveo do ekstremnog povećanja nezaposlenosti, bijede i siromaštva, pada životnog standarda, stvaranja ogromnih socijalnih razlika između bogatih i siromašnih na globalnom i lokalnom nivou. Tako se pokazuje da je *globalizacija* istovremeno i *glokalizacija*.”<sup>5</sup>

## Pitanje o budućnosti čovjeka u dobu Covid-19 pandemije ili pitanje o humanizmu

Rudimentarna etnopolitika i populizam koriste krizno stanje Covid-19 pandemije da bi ostvarili svoje ciljeve – stoga su apsolutno nemoralna politička forma djelovanja. Neki populistički lideri su kroz vanredno stanje ostvarili monopoliziranje svakog oblika vlasti, ali su pokazali da su neodgovorni prema građanima.

Latinska riječ *humanitas* misli: ljudskost, čovječnost, ono što čini čovjeka čovjekom, ljudsko dostojanstvo; čovjekoljubivost, ljubav prema bližnjem itd. Filozofska antropologija dolazi u 20. stoljeću do uvida da je čovjek *deficijentno* biće, biće nedostatka, puno mahana, vrlo krhko, čak nemoćno da se nosi s drugim vrstama u otvorenom fizičkom konfliktu, jer je vrlo ranjivo itd.<sup>6</sup> Stoga je čovjek kroz povijest izgradio brojne *ekstenzije* svoga bića i razvio povjerenje u vlastitu racionalnost i metodske postupanje, što ga je diferenciralo od većine drugih vrsta u prirodi. To što je on stvorio nazivamo *kultura* ili ljudska građevina u prirodi koja mu osigurava da preživi. U toj ljudskoj kulturi stvo-

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liberalismus und Hegemonie”, u: Butterwegge, Christoph, Bettina Lösch, Ralf Ptak (Hrsg.), *Neoliberalismus. Analysen und Alternativen*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008, 19)

5 Kovačević, Braco, *Neoliberalna hegemonija*, Banjaluka: EDC, 2019, 11.

6 Prije svega u radovima autora kakvi su Max Scheller, Arnold Gehlen, Helmut Plessner i drugi.

rene su brojne slike o čovjeku kojima je on definiran. U jednoj kulturno-civilizacijskoj formi on je određen kao biće duha, u drugoj kao biće materije ili zemlje, u trećoj kao biće vremena, u četvrtoj kao biće zaborava itd. Ta određenja pokrivaju jednu misao o čovjeku ili jedno razumijevanje čovjeka koje odgovara kulturnoj formi, razini dostignutih znanja i općoj razvijenosti ljudskih zajednica. Ta određenja uvijek su izraz jedne dubinske metafizike koja stoji iza svakog izlaganja bića u povijesti! Ne postoji, međutim, jedna vječno data suština čovjeka koja bi bila identična za sve kulture i narode u svim vremenima!

U dobu virusa korona i pandemije bolesti Covid-19 otvaraju se nova pitanja o smislu funkcioniranja neoliberalnog kapitalizma, ideala ljudske slobode, humanizma i ciljeva budućnosti. Svijet koji priprema neoliberalni kapitalizam je svijet bez *homo humanusa*. Čini se, nažalost, da neoliberalnim vrijednostima čovjek služi kao biće koje zadovoljava svoje potrebe na tržištu i pojavljuje se kao potrošač roba. Ova slika o *homo consumensu* dovodi čovjeka pred uzak krug mogućnosti izbora u konzumer-skom postavu i gasi svaku potrebu za oslobađanjem ljudskog potencijala i razvijanje *ideala slobode* čovjeka kao smisla ljudskog življenja. Da li je nepovratno izgubljen ideal čovjeka kao plemenitog, milosrdnog, dobrohtonog? Ako nestanu te karakteristike, da li će čovjek kao vrsta izumrijeti, kako se to desilo nekim njegovim srodnicima? Kako ćemo u budućnosti odrediti *humanitas* čovjeka i šta je to humano?

### Perspektive – nužnost razvijanja bosanske države-nacije

U dobu Covid-19 pandemije ponovo je pokazan **značaj države-nacije**. U posljednjim decenijama glasnici neoliberalnog kapitalizma i upravljači brojnim tokovima globalizacije iznosili su stavove kako je došao kraj nacionalnoj državi i da će vrlo brzo na povijesnu scenu stupiti razni oblici nadnacionalnih oblika udruživanja. Neki su već otpjevali pjesmu rastanka s državom-nacijom. Pokazalo se, međutim, kako su brzo, preko noći, unutar Evrope i širom svijeta ponovo naglašene državne granice u pothvatima zaštite od širenja virusa korona. Čini se i dalje da je država-nacija najbolji operativni sistem političke organizacije za



većinu građana. Naravno, to ne odgovara potrebama neoliberalne kapitalističke pohlepe za “slobodnim tržištem” i profitom. Ponovo se, dakle, pokazala važnost *granica* u smislu zaštite prostora od nepogode ili od neprijatelja.

Uz pandemiju i virus korona ne posustaje na Balkanu epidemija “*virusa*” fašizma, koji je na prostoru bivše jugoslavenske države pušten 1990-ih i nanio nesagledive ljudske patnje i stradanja. Zato je krucijalno pitanje *očuvanje Bosne* i njeno daljnje razvijanje u sklopu evropskog kulturno-povijesnog konteksta! Agresija na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1990-ih i genocid su državni projekti “Miloševićevog režim”. Ono što treba posebno naglasiti jeste činjenica da *Milošević nije bio sam*. Naprotiv, sve ukazuje na organiziranu državnu/srbijansku aktivnost po vertikali i horizontali, dakle, on je bio na čelu pravno-političke, agresivne i osvajačke organizacije! Taj zločinački režim je organizirao, podsticao i izveo agresiju na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu, što je rezultiralo stvaranjem tzv. “srpske teritorije na tlu Bosne”, koja je raznim vrstama mahinacija *International community*, nakon brojnih pregovaračkih scenarija, 1995. godine pretvorena u entitet, što je bio pokušaj da se javno legalizira zločinačka genocidna teritorija. Ali, nota bene, nikada se ne može normalizirati djelo genocida i zločina bez obzira na domaće i internacionalne obmanjivače javnosti i pravljenje velikih i spektakularnih scena “postizanja mira”. Kao ljudska bića nikada ne možemo prihvatiti da se zločinima i genocidom stvara poredak među ljudima! Nikada se neće zaboraviti da velikosrbijansko djelo genocida ostaje postojati na masovnim grobnicama!

U okolnostima nastavljanja antibosanske politike susjeda jasno se pokazuje da je pola Bosne *okupirano* od velikosrbijanskog ratnog pothvata 1990-ih, odnosno da se nije ispoštovao mirovni ugovor i da se nije odustalo od uništenja Bosne. Stoga je izuzetno važno podsjećati na *granice Bosne* i dezavuirati pokušaje da se prekograničnim posuđivanjem identiteta iz Srbije iznutra razruši bosansko tkivo. Jasno je da Bosna i Hercegovina mora izmijeniti postojeći politički sistem, kako bi se država oslobodila od neofašističkih ideologija i omogućilo građanima uživanje svih ljudskih prava i sloboda. Jednakopravnost svih građana Bosne i Hercegovine može se ostvariti samo u evropskoj državi-naciji Bosni i Hercegovini, koja preferira jednakost svih građana na svakom dijelu države. Današnji etničko-religijski konsocijacijski



zagovori federalizacije države predstavljaju recidiv ratnih osvajanja i ideologija plemena iz 19. stoljeća. Konsocijacijski federalizam i narativ o tzv. “konstitutivnim narodima” predstavljaju pokušaj da se nemoralno i bez odgovornosti, genocidom i ratnim zločinima stvoreno stanje u Bosni prihvati kao realnost i tako ostvari hegemonija pojedinih političkih grupacija i njihovih političkih interesa.

U takvom političkom mutljagu, koji je podgrijavan raznim oblicima neofašizma, šovinizma i primitivnog populizma, postaje razumljiva apsolutna važnost ideje da je ***bosanski nacionalni/državni identitet*** politički koncept koji nas uči da država nije zajednica plemena. U prostranstvu između nestalog socijalističkog modela života i kapitalističkog privređivanja, uz nova znanja i tehnologije, Bosna treba pronaći svoju mjeru postojanja. Neprestano treba podsjećati građane Bosne da ne postoje nikakvi “legitimni predstavnici konstitutivnih naroda” koji nekome mogu garantirati slobodu, dostojanstvo ili ljudska prava. To je krucijalna podvala etnopolitike i antibosanskog političkog djelovanja. U evropskoj povijesti nadošlo se do modela države-nacije koja to jedino osigurava. Bosna treba jasnu putanju u budućnost. Uz politički model države-nacije danas se mora tražiti i neki novi model ekonomskog poretka koji će prevazići nerealne predstave o “socijalističkom” i “kapitalističkom” načinu privređivanja. Intencija je ovdje jasna: da se uz dosadašnja dostignuća traži nešto novo što bi kvalitativno prevazišlo i dogme socijalističkog i kapitalističkog ekonomsko-društvenog oblika življenja ljudi. Oba projekta su se pokazala neizvodivim eshatološkim konstruktima koji su doveli do distopijskih krajolika života.

**The second panel / Drugi panel**

**THE CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT  
ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE /  
KRIZA I NJEZINI UTJECAJI  
NA DRUŠTVO I KULTURU**



# STAND-UP TRAGEDY: SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PANDEMIC FROM ISOLATION IN SARAJEVO

Almir Bašović

CAMILLE: (...) At some point we must remove our masks. Then, we shall see all around us, like in a room of mirrors, countless indestructible ancient sheeps heads, nothing more and nothing less.  
George Büchner, *Danton's death*

## I The crown pandemic and the royal plague

Over the past few months, we have seen and heard our fill in the media of various “tragedies” associated with the coronavirus pandemic that has beset us. Given its propensity for doling out tragedy by the spadeful, there is a bitter irony in the corona or crown pandemic having received that name for the viral particles whose spikes suggest a crown. The very word pandemic suggests, etymologically, that this is an event of relevance to all the peoples of the planet, just as the events in tragedy take place in royal families but always have a relevance to the broadest social communities and are connected with cosmic principles. That bitter irony lies in this “crowned” virus’ having passed to human beings from animals, beings without a role in classical tragedy, but who were important enough to Aristophanes comedies for him to have created choruses of birds, frogs, and wasps... Unlike her sublime sister, tragedy, which posited the cosmos as her frame and celebrated order, old Attic comedy celebrated chaos as the life-giving principle, as a reminder that the harmony the *polis* celebrates in tragedy has little to do with realism, representing rather an ideal towards which society aspires. The last period in

European culture capable of tragedy as a form ended when Jean Racine closed his dramatic oeuvre, in which the tragic hero confronts an indifferent God, and it would seem that the pandemic, an event of concern to our entire world, was also started by a fairly indifferent bat in a condition of hibernation, from whom the virus passed directly to human beings. Viruses had not been discovered in ancient Greece, and such sicknesses were still geographically limited, still epidemics, so that phenomena like the plague were associated with punishments sent by God to a city, like Apollo in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, that most famous of Greek tragedies.

In his *Histoire du Theatre*, Robert Pignarre writes: “Tragedy evokes the painful birth of order in both its forms: in the religious form (of the conflict of man and heaven) and in the political (the conflict of the individual and authority). At both levels, the discussion centres on the idea of the law.”<sup>1</sup> In the case of our pandemic, it would appear that the conflict between man and heaven has been replaced by “conflict” between human beings and some far-off dark cave in China, so that what we are left with today of the idea of law in tragedy, as Pignarre defines it, is the political vision, the conflict between the individual and authority. This tragic vision is already set up in the introductory scene to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, in which the priest addresses Oedipus in front of the Palace, in the presence of the chorus, and talks of the plague that has attacked Thebes:

For the city, as you yourself see, is now sorely  
vexed, and can no longer lift her head  
from beneath the angry waves of death.  
A blight has fallen on the fruitful blossoms of the land,  
the herds among the pastures,  
the barren pangs of women.  
And the flaming god, the malign plague,  
has swooped upon us, and ravages the town<sup>2</sup>

Reminding Oedipus of the city's gratitude to him for having saved it from the terrifying Sphinx, the priest begs him to save it

1 R. Pignarre, *Povijest kazališta*, prevela Alka Škiljan, Zagreb, 1970, str. 22.

2 *Oedipus Rex*, lines 22-28, Storr translation, available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Sophocles/oedipus.html>

once more, reducing as he does so human life to the political aspect of authority:

With good omen you provided us that past happiness:  
 show yourself the same now too,  
 since if you are to rule this land just as you do now,  
 it is better to be lord of men than of a wasteland.  
 Neither walled town nor ship is anything,  
 if it is empty and no men dwell within.<sup>3</sup>

It is a feature of dramatic characters in the closed form of drama, as Volker Klotz defines it, that they are at once individuals and functions, reacting as people but also always reflecting their role as fixed representatives of a particular world-view, so that they see not just themselves but their partners in terms of their roles.<sup>4</sup> Sophocles' Oedipus accepts the role to which he is interpellated in the introduction and, more or less to the end of the tragedy, he views all the other dramatic personae very much through the role his position of authority imposes upon him. The *anagnorisis* or dramatic moment of recognition in this play has to do with revealing the culprit for the murder of Laius the son of Labdacus, on whose account Apollo has sent the plague to Thebes. It also has to do with Oedipus' awful discovery of his origin and the fact that he has in ignorance killed his own father and married his own mother. This recognition also has to do with the realisation that Oedipus is in fact not just a ruler but also and above all a human being, who are not to be called happy until they have seen their end...

In his text, *Pozorište ili o k(r)uženju otrova. Epidemijski apokrif*,<sup>5</sup> Svetislav Jovanov draws attention to certain important things about the plague in Sophocles' tragedy, noting that Sophocles introduced significant changes to the original myth of Oedipus, including the motif of the epidemic, which corresponds to historical events and in particular the typhus epidemic in Athens at the time. By using the language of taboo for the plague to underline the misfortune of fictional Thebes, Sophocles was, according to Jovanov, clearly alluding within the tragedy to the depth of the crisis affecting his Athens, insofar as "the miasma of

3 Ibid., lines 52-57.

4 V. Klotz, *Zatvorena i otvorena forma u drami*, prevela Drinka Gojković, Beograd, 1995, p. 48-49.

5 S. Jovanov, *Pozorište ili o k(r)uženju otrova. Epidemijski apokrif*, Rukopis

the crime” is not limited to Oedipus and his kin alone, but is infecting the entire area. This suggests that the tragedy confronts us not only with a tragic crisis in fictional Thebes but with the general dissolution of family and social values in Sophocles' Athens. (Today, one might say, in tune with the pandemic mode, that Sophocles was subtly warning, at the symbolic level, that his Athens was also a major cluster.)

Insofar as our situation with the coronavirus resembles that of Oedipus, for example by leading us to cover up the death of a close relative in veils of ignorance, this pandemic may also provide an opportunity for a certain degree of dramatic recognition (anagnorisis). Or, perhaps, we may give thought to why our situation seems so much more akin to comedy than tragedy. In his *Very Short Introduction to Tragedy*, Adrian Poole says the word tragedy affirms that *this* death is exceptional.<sup>6</sup> So, it may make sense to ask whether any such form of exceptional death exists in *this* time of pandemic, when everything is converted into the terror of statistics and graphs, presented on a daily basis by journalists and analysts taking over the role of the Herald, and all too often taking an apparently perverse delight in that role?

Perhaps the comparison with tragedy is no longer possible because one crucial element is not possible. From Aristotle to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing to Emile Steiger, pathos has been considered the most important element of tragedy. Pathos is connected with how events are presented in drama, as it facilitates fellow-feeling with the existential situation of the tragic hero. Francis Fergusson points out that “The Sophoclean pathos can only be conveyed by the chorus and its existence, with its less than individual mode of being.”<sup>7</sup> Perhaps we should be looking at all these events associated with the pandemic from the outside, as was customary for most of the commediographic tradition, for the simple reason that the choir has had to fall silent. It is no longer permitted to go out in front of the Royal Palace, because, as we know, today the choir is in isolation.

6 A. Poole, *Tragedija. Sasvim kratak uvod*, preveo Nebojša Marić, Beograd, 2011, p. 7.

7 F. Fergusson, *The Idea of a Theater*, Princeton, 1949, p. 52.

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## II Isolation and utopia

There is a certain irony in isolation having become one of the sacred words of our pandemic, since it is derived etymologically from the Latin for island, which in turn suggests the phenomenon of utopia. Thomas More, creator of the genre (or more precisely, the individual whose book gave the genre its name) places his Utopia on an island, and geographical isolation has been a fundamental structural element of all later utopias. It is not without interest that at much the same time as More was dreaming of an ideal social order without private property or money, a society in which even the rulers could be replaced for bad behaviour, *The Tempest*, William Shakespeare's last play, also appeared, with its similar theme of the relationship between the individual and authority on an island setting.

*The Tempest* is built around Prospero's "direction" of events on a desert island to recover his usurped authority, but the "show" he puts on has the rhythm of a mediaeval miracle play. Nearly all the characters are led through the central theme of power through thematic segments whose shared pattern is: test-transgression-repentance-salvation. In his famous book, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, Jan Kott made a major contribution to undermining the tradition that considers the *Tempest* a sort of romantic utopia and a comedy with a happy end. He demonstrates convincingly that Prospero's final monologue, in which the ruler renounces his magical wand of power, can be read as an expression of despair by an individual who, in spite of having recovered his title successfully, has realised he cannot change history. Prospero's relinquishing of the magical wand, restores him fully to humanity and makes him a programmatic character for the modern drama, as defined by Peter Szondi:

The Drama of modernity came into being in the Renaissance. It was the result of a bold intellectual effort made by a newly self-conscious being, who after the collapse of the medieval world views sought to create an artistic reality within which he could fix and mirror himself on the basis of interpersonal relationships alone. Man entered the drama only as a fellow human being, so to speak. The sphere of the "between" seemed to be the essential part



of his being, freedom and obligation, will and decision the most important of his attributes.<sup>8</sup>

It is strange how the pandemic has sensitized us to these characteristics of modern man, as set out in Szondi's definition of the modern drama. Because of physical distancing, which for some reason we call social, and in spite of the simultaneous multiplication of tools and ways of communicating through so-called social networks, we seem to have become suddenly aware that each of us is just such an *individual-amongst-others* and it seems to have become crucially important to us. Moreover, the coronavirus has suddenly taken away our trust in all our magical wands of technological progress, making the initial verses of Prospero's epilogue resonate that bit more clearly with us now:

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,  
And what strength I have's mine own,  
Which is most faint now, 'tis true.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, this human frailty, which the pandemic has disclosed or reminded us of, may yet provide a reason for solidarity or some new utopia. Referring to the careful and persistent preservation of the tradition of utopian thought, in his political essay, *All Roads Lead to Utopia*, Ilija Trojanow writes:

Despite a system that rewards avarice and greed, we meet with acts of solidarity, mutual assistance, and shared solutions, every day. These small and great acts of generosity contribute more to the harmony of society than the profitable functioning of all the quantifiable processes that serve to secure power and wealth for a narrow stratum of people.<sup>10</sup>

Shakespeare's last play offers a form of commentary on the cynical optimism of those whose main concern during the pandemic has been to attain or hold onto power. At the beginning of *The Tempest*, characters who have just survived a shipwreck are busy conspiring against the king, preparing to kill him and take power in Milan, a place they may never see again, for all they

8 P. Szondi, "Theory of the Modern Drama, parts I-II," *boundary*, 2, 11.3, *The Criticism of Peter Szondi*, Spring 1983, p. 194.

9 W. Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, available at <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/tempest/full.html>

10 I. Trojanow, "Svi putevi vode u Utopiju", trans. Vahidin Preljević, in: *Život*, no. 3-4/2019, p. 56.

know. It would seem that those who concern themselves with power during the pandemic are certain that enough people will survive for the towers and ships Sophocles' priest mentions to Oedipus to retain their value. In his essay on *The Tempest*, Kott writes that the attempted putsch in the desert island is in fact a selfless act, one of pure madness, which he compares to the theft of bag of gold in the desert, amongst men condemned to die of thirst, adding: "The history of humankind is madness, but to show that madness, one must stage it on a desert isle."<sup>11</sup>

Have not certain important forms of madness become visible in our world precisely during our time of isolation, and have not questions of social injustice taken on a rare currency? In his essay, Trojanow concludes that material inequality overdetermines political inequality and that the intimidated stratum compensates for its condition by viewing and reading dystopias and visions of the end of the world, because flight into imaginary fears makes it easier to avoid the real fight. Will the real fears of pandemic change this state of affairs? Because, as Trojanow says, it is those who have the privilege not to fight for their survival who allow the dystopias to creep over them.

### III White plague, black health

The great Sarajevo chronicler Mula Mustafa Bašeskija noted that the plague that scourged Sarajevo in the 18<sup>th</sup> century first appeared in the poorer *mahalas* or town wards, leading the citizens of quality to suppose it would pass them by. Reading the media reports that literally inundate us with information on this actor or that footballer having tested positive for the coronavirus, we could have been forgiven, at the beginning of the pandemic, for supposing that only the very rich were falling sick of this virus. In his play, *The White Plague*, Karel Čapek touches upon this relationship interestingly.

The basic dramatic situation in the play has to do with a pandemic caused by a virus, the titular white disease, which comes from China, just like ours today. Čapek's doctor, Galen, has found a cure but only wants to cure the poor and refuses to help the rich,

11 J. Kott, *Šekspir naš savremenik*, trans. Petar Vujičić, Beograd, 1963, pp. 192-193.

calling on the rulers to renounce war first if they want him to help them against the disease. At the centre of the drama, which today we would term a near dystopian one, Čapek places a character who dreams of a world without war and so of a sort of utopia. In his preface, more timely now than when it was written, Čapek practically describes the situation today in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Amongst other things, he writes:

One of the most distinctive features of post-war mankind is a retreat from humanity. This word implies a pious respect for life and for human rights, a love for freedom and peace, the striving for truth and justice, and other ethical postulates which have been considered until now in the mentality of the European tradition as the purpose of human evolution. As is well known, in other countries and nations quite different traditions grew up. It is not a human being, but a class, a nation, a state, or a race that is the conveyer of all rights and is the sole object of respect, is sovereign: nothing is above it, and nothing can morally restrict its will or prerogatives. The state, the nation, and the regime is compressed within an all-powerful authority. The individual, with his freedom of spirit and conscience, with the right to live, with human self-determination, is completely subordinated, physically and morally, to the so-called group. In other words, the individual is dependent on an autocratic and imposed system.<sup>12</sup>

#### IV New wave, old questions

At the end of Sophocles tragedy, the *Oedipus Rex*, the chorus suggest a new beginning. Shakespeare ended his play, *The Tempest*, with Prospero's plea for forgiveness. At the end of *The White Plague*, Čapek offers us a glimmer of hope, through the characters of a pair of sincere and reasonable young men, representatives of the coming generation. When our pandemic subsides, we shall, it would seem, be left with only a few questions: Will there be a new wave of the pandemic? Will, in an inversion of Marx's famous formulation, farce repeat itself this time as tragedy? At the beginning of Sophocles tragedy, Oedipus tells the gathered citizenry of Thebes:

12 Karel Čapek, Renata Flint, and Robert M. Philmus, "Preface to "Bila Nemoc"," *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 1-6.

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My piteous children, I know quite well  
the desires with which you have come:  
I know well that you all are sick, and though you are sick  
I know well that there is not one of you who is as sick as I.  
Your pain comes on each of you for himself alone,  
and for no other, but my soul is in pain  
at once for the city, for myself, and for you.<sup>13</sup>

If there is a new wave of the pandemic, will we find ourselves looking again at the same faces in the media, that made us laugh, so unintentionally, with their statements and their behaviour, a sort of improv, as it were? Will we find ourselves surprised once again by this mob of “stand-up tragedians” with their parodies of Oedipus, whose words seem not to bind them in any way? Shall we believe them if they start persuading us again how much they care for us all and that everything they do they do for our welfare? Shall we start wearing masks again to cover our faces, the sites of our uniqueness, and will those new masks succeed in hiding the fact that we long ago lost any sense not just of the tragic idea of the law but of good old-fashioned shame?

Translated by Desmond Maurer

For the bibliography see the Bosnian version or the footnotes to this translation.

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13 Oedipus Rex, Storr translation, 58-64.

# STAND UP TRAGEDIJA: NEKOLIKO REFLEKSIJA O PANDEMIJI IZ SARAJEVSKE IZOLACIJE

Almir Bašović

CAMILLE: [...] Trebali bismo u neko doba skinuti maske. Tada bismo, kao u sobi ogleдалa, svuda okolo vidjeli prastare, bezbrojne i neuništive ovčije glave, ništa više i ništa manje.  
George Büchner, *Dantonova smrt*

## I Krunska pandemija i kraljevska kuga

Zadnjih par mjeseci smo se po medijima nagledali i naslušali izvještaja o raznim “tragedijama” vezanim za pandemiju Covid-19 koja nas je zadesila. Ima neke gorke ironije u tome što je virus korona, sa svojom sklonošću ka svakodnevnom štancanju tragedija, takvo ime dobila zbog oblika virusnih čestica čiji obodi podsjećaju na krunu. Sama riječ pandemija etimološki upućuje na to da se tu radi o događaju koji se tiče svih naroda na planeti, onako kako su se u tragediji događaji u kraljevskim porodicama uvijek ticali najšire društvene zajednice i povezivali se s kosmičkim principima. Gorka ironija ogleđa se i u tome što je ovaj “okrunjeni” virus na čovjeka prešao sa životinja, dakle s bića koja nisu imala šta tražiti u klasičnoj tragediji, već su važno mjesto dobijala u Aristofanovim komedijama, u kojima se hor sastojao od ptica, žaba, osa... Za razliku od svoje uzvišene sestre tragedije, koja je za okvir imala kosmos i koja je slavila red, stara komedija je slavila kaos kao životodavni princip, podsjećajući da harmonija koju tragedijom slavi polis nema veze s realizmom, nego predstavlja ideal kojem jedno društvo teži. Zadnja epoha u evropskoj kulturi koja je bila sposobna za tragediju kao formu završila je nakon što je Jean Racine završio svoj dramski opus u kojem se

tragički heroj suočavao s ravnodušnim bogom, a izgleda da je pandemija kao događaj koji se tiče čitavog našeg svijeta pokrenut od strane poprilično ravnodušnog šišmiša u stanju hibernacije, s kojeg je virus posrednim putem prešao na čovjeka. Virusi u antičkoj Grčkoj još nisu bili otkriveni, bolesti su još uvijek bile prostorno ograničene, dakle na razini epidemije, tako da su se pojave poput kuge vezivale za kaznu koju na neki grad šalje neki bog, naprimjer Apolon u Sofoklovoj drami *Kralj Edip* – toj najslavnijoj grčkoj tragediji.

U svojoj knjizi *Povijest kazališta* Robert Pignarre piše: “Tragedija evocira bolno rađanje poretka u njegova dva vida: u religioznom (sukob čovjeka i nebesa) i političkom vidu (sukob pojedinca i vlasti). I na jednom i na drugom planu u središtu raspravljanja nalazi se ideja zakona.” (Pignarre 1970, 22) Sukob čovjeka i nebesa u slučaju ove naše pandemije zamijenjen je izgleda “sukobom” čovjeka i neke nama daleke, mračne pećine u Kini, pa nam od ideje zakona i tragedije, kako je definira Pignarre, danas eventualno ostaje njen politički vid, odnosno sukob pojedinca i vlasti. Taj vid tragedije tematizira se već u uvodnoj sceni Sofoklove tragedije *Kralj Edip*, u kojoj Svećenik ispred palače u prisustvu hora izvještava Edipa o kugi koja je napala Tebu:

Ta grad se, kako i sam vidiš, silno već  
Koleba, iz dubine sad na vale, smrt,  
Promolit glave svoje više ne može,  
Plod zemljici mu gine u zametku već,  
A gine stado, govedo mu na paši,  
I porod gine ženama u utrobi.  
Grad ošinu i bije bog vatronoša.

(Rac i Majnarić 1990, 130)

Podsjećajući Edipa na zahvalnost Tebe zbog toga što ju je u prošlosti izbavio od strašne Sfinge, Svećenik moli Edipa da još jednom spasi grad, svodeći pritom ljudski život upravo na politički aspekt vlasti:

Ti sreću vrati daj i sada takav bud!  
Jer uzvladaš li, kako vladaš, zemljom tom,  
E vladat ljudima negol' praznom ljepše je.  
Ta ništa ne vrijedi ni kula a ni brod  
Bez ljudi, ako nikog nema u njima.

(Rac i Majnarić 1990, 131)

Osobine dramskih liknosti iz drame zatvorene forme, kako je definira Volker Klotz, ogledaju se u tome što su te liknosti istovremeno individue i funkcije, one reagiraju kao čovjek, ali imajući u vidu ulogu određenog nosioca pogleda na svijet, pri čemu one ne vide u ulogama samo sebe nego i svoje partnere. (Klotz 1995, 48–49) Sofoklov Edip pristaje na ulogu koja mu je u uvodu namijenjena i sve negdje do pred kraj tragedije on ostale dramske liknosti posmatra upravo kroz tu ulogu koju mu nameće njegova pozicija vlasti. Prepoznavanje kao dramska radnja u ovom komadu tiče se i otkrivanja krivca za ubistvo Laja Labdaka zbog kojeg Apolon šalje kugu na Tebu, tiče se i Edipove strašne spoznaje o svom porijeklu i otkrivanja činjenice da je on u neznanju ubio vlastitog oca i oženio vlastitu majku. To prepoznavanje tiče se i saznanja da Edip ipak nije samo vladar, već je prije svega i iznad svega čovjek za kojeg ne treba reći da je sretan dok ne vidiš njegov kraj...

U svom tekstu *Pozorište ili o k(r)uženju otrova. Epidemijski apokrif* Svetislav Jovanov upozorava na nekoliko važnih stvari koje se tiču kuge u ovoj Sofoklovoj tragediji. On piše kako je Sofokle u izvorni mit o Edipu unio nekoliko značajnih izmjena, među koje spada i uvođenje motiva epidemije, a što korespondira s historijskim zbivanjima i epidemijom tifusa koja je u to vrijeme bila prisutna u Ateni. Naglašavajući nesreću fiktivne Tebe upotrebom “tabu izraza” za kugu, Sofokle je, kako kaže Jovanov, zapravo u svojoj tragediji aludirao na dubinu krize u Ateni svog doba, jer “ljaga zločina” ne mora obuhvatiti samo Edipa i njegov rod, ona može okužiti čitavu oblast. To dovodi do zaključka da se u toj tragediji ne predočava samo tragička kriza fiktivne Tebe, već i opći raspad porodičnih i društvenih vrijednosti Sofoklove Atene. (Danas bi se u skladu s pandemijskom modom reklo kako je na simboličkoj ravni Sofokle suptilno upozoravao na to da je i njegova Atena jedan veliki klaster.)

S obzirom na to da naša situacija s virusom korona potencijalno liči na Edipovu, jer naprimjer može dovesti do toga da smrt nekog bližnjeg skrivimo u potpunom neznanju, možda bi nam ova pandemija mogla biti i prilika za izvjesno prepoznavanje? Ili bismo barem mogli razmisliti o razlozima zbog kojih je naša današnja situacija puno bliža komediji nego tragediji? Naprimjer, u svojoj knjizi *Tragedija. Sasvim kratak uvod* Adrian Poole kaže da riječ tragedija potvrđuje da je baš ova smrt izuzetna. (Poole 2011, 7) Možda bi imalo smisla pitanje: postoji li izuzetna smrt u

ovo vrijeme pandemije kada se sve pretvara u teror statistike i grafikona, koji nam svakodnevno nude novinari i razni analitičari, preuzimajući ulogu Glasnika i prečesto, gotovo perverzno uživajući u toj ulozi?

Ili nam usporedba s tragedijom danas nije moguća, jer nije moguć jedan njen važni element. Od Aristotela preko Gottholda Ephraima Lessinga, do Emila Staigera *pathos* se tretira kao najvažniji element tragedije. *Pathos* je povezan s načinom na koji se predstavljaju događaji u drami. Omogućuje suosjećanje s egzistencijalnom situacijom tragičkog heroja. Francis Fergusson piše kako se “sofoklovski pathos može prenijeti samo kroz hor i njegovo postojanje, koje nije sasvim individualno”. (Fergusson 1979, 79) Možda sve ove događaje vezane za pandemiju moramo gledati izvana, dakle onako kako je to uobičajeno u većem dijelu komediografske tradicije, i to iz prostog razloga što hor mora šutjeti. Njemu nije dozvoljen izlazak pred kraljevu palaču, jer kao što znamo – današnji hor nalazi se u izolaciji.

## II Izolacija i utopija

Ima neke ironije u tome što izolacija, jedna od svetih riječi ove naše pandemije, etimološki dolazi od latinske riječi za ostrvo, a to pomalo priziva fenomen utopije. Thomas More, tvorac žanra (tačnije rečeno: onaj koji je svojom knjigom ovom žanru dao ime), svoju *Utopiju* smješta upravo na ostrvo, a prostorna izoliranost čini osnovni strukturalni element i svih kasnijih utopija. Zanimljivo je da gotovo u isto vrijeme kada More mašta o idealnom društvenom uređenju bez privatne svojine i bez novca, o društvu u kojem bi čak i vladari mogli biti smijenjeni uslijed nedoličnog ponašanja, nastaje *Bura* – posljednja drama Williama Shakespearea – u kojoj se također tematizira odnos pojedinca i vlasti i koja je također smještena na ostrvo.

*Bura* je komad koji se zasniva na Prosperovom “režiranju” događaja na nekom pustom ostrvu koji će mu omogućiti da vrati nepravedno oduzetu vlast, a ta “predstava” ima ritam srednjovjekovnog mirakuluma. Gotovo svi likovi se kroz centralnu temu moći provedu kroz segmente sižea građenog kao: iskušenje-sagřešenje-pokajanje-spasenje. U svojoj slavnoj knjizi Šekspir *naš savremenik* Jan Kott je dao veliki doprinos osporavanju tradicije unutar koje se ovaj komad čitao kao neka vrsta romantičar-



ske utopije i komedije sa sretnim krajem. On uvjerljivo pokazuje da se završni Prosperov monolog, u kojem se taj vladar odriče svoje čarobne palice moći, može čitati i kao iskaz očajanja čovjeka koji, uprkos tome što je uspio vratiti titulu, shvata kako nije u stanju mijenjati historiju. To Prosperovo odricanje od čarobne palice, koje ga potpuno vraća među ljude, čini od njega uzoran lik moderne drame, kako je definira Peter Szondi:

Drama novog doba nastala je u renesansi. Velika je duhovna smelost ležala u nastojanju čoveka, koji se povratio posle raspada srednjovekovne slike sveta, da stvarnost dela u kojem je hteo sebe da utvrdi i odslika izgradi samo reprodukujući međuljudske odnose. Čovek je, u neku ruku, u dramu ušao samo kao čovek-između-drugih-ljudi. Sfera ovog 'između' činila mu se suštinskom sferom njegovog postojanja; sloboda i vezanost, volja i odluka – najvažnijim njegovim određenjima. (Szondi 1995,13)

Čudno je kako nas je pandemija upozorila na ove osobine čovjeka modernog doba, vidljive iz Szondijeve definicije moderne drame. Zbog fizičke distance, koju smo zbog nečeg nazvali društvenom, uprkos istovremenom umnožavanju sredstava i načina komunikacije putem tzv. društvenih mreža, kao da smo osvijestili da je svako od nas čovjek-između-drugih-ljudi i kao da nam je to odjednom postalo presudno važno. Također, virus korona odjednom nam je oduzeo povjerenje u sve naše čarobne palice tehnološkog napretka, zbog čega bi nam jasnije mogli zvučati početni stihovi iz Prosperovog Epiloga u kojima on kaže:

Ode moja snaga sva,  
Te sam slab tek čovjek ja.

(Shakespeare 1951, 81)

Upravo bi sva naša ljudska slabost, koju je razotkrila ili na koju nas je podsjetila pandemija, možda mogla biti razlog za solidarnost ili za neku novu utopiju. Pozivajući na brižljivo i uporno njegovanje tradicije utopijskog mišljenja, Ilija Trojanow u svom političkom eseju *Svi putevi vode u Utopiju* piše:

Uprkos sistemu koji nagrađuje koristoljublje i pohlepu, svakodnevno nailazimo na solidarno djelovanje, uzajamnu pomoć, zajednička rješenja. Ova mala i velika darivanja više doprinose ravnoteži u društvu od profitabilnog funkcioniranja svih onih mjerljivih procesa, koji služe samo tome da osiguraju moć i bogatstvo jednom uskom sloju ljudi. (Trojanow 2019, 56)

Posljednji Shakespeareov komad bi nam mogao svjedočiti i o jednoj vrsti ciničnog optimizma onih koji tokom pandemije brinu o osvajanju ili učvršćivanju vlasti. Naime, na početku *Bure likovi* koji su upravo preživjeli brodolom kuju zavjeru protiv kralja, spremaju se da ga ubiju i da preuzmu vlast u Milanu, mjestu za koje ne znaju hoće li ga ikad više vidjeti svojim očima. Izgleda da su oni koji se tokom pandemije bave vlašću sigurni kako će preživjeti dovoljno ljudi koji bi dali vrijednost onim kulama i brodovima o kojima kod Sofokla Svećenik govori Edipu. U svom eseju o *Buri* Kott piše kako je pokušaj puča na pustom ostrvu u stvari nekoristoljubiv čin, čisto ludilo. Poredi ga s krađom vreće zlata u pustinji, među osuđennicima na smrt od žeđi, i dodaje: “Istorija čovječanstva je ludilo, ali da bi se to ludilo pokazalo treba ga odigrati na pustom ostrvu.” (Kott 1963, 192–93)

Nisu li upravo tokom ove naše izolacije na vidjelo izašla neka važna ludila našeg svijeta i nisu li se kao rijetko kada aktualizirala pitanja vezana za društvenu nepravdu? Trojanow u svom eseju zaključuje da materijalna nejednakost uvjetuje političku nejednakost i da uplašeni sloj to stanje kompenzira gledanjem ili čitanjem distopija i vizija o smaku svijeta, jer bijeg u izmišljene strahote olakšava izbjegavanje stvarne borbe. Hoće li možda stvarne strahote pandemije promijeniti ovakvo stanje stvari? Jer, kako kaže Trojanow, upravo oni koji imaju privilegiju da se ne moraju boriti za opstanak dopuštaju distopijama da ih uljuljkaju.

### III Bijela bolest, crno zdravlje

Naš veliki sarajevski ljetopisac Mula Mustafa Bašeskija zabilježio je da se kuga, koja je harala Sarajevom u 18. stoljeću, prvo pojavila po sirotinjskim mahalama, zbog čega se uglednim građanima činilo da će ta bolest njih nekako zaobići. Čitajući izvještaje medija koji nas doslovno zasipaju informacijama o tome koji je glumac ili fudbaler pozitivan na virus korona, na početku pandemije se mogao steći dojam da od tog virusa oboljevaju isključivo bogataši. U svom komadu *Bijela bolest* Karel Čapek se na zanimljiv način bavi upravo ovim odnosom.

Naime, u tom komadu temeljna dramska situacija bazira se na pandemiji izazvanoj virusom bijele bolesti koji, baš kao i ovaj naš današnji, dolazi iz Kine. Čapekov ljekar Galen pronašao je lijek, ali on želi liječiti isključivo siromašne te odbija liječiti

bogate, tražeći od vladara da se odreknu ratova ukoliko žele da im on pomogne protiv bolesti. U centar drame, koju bismo danas proglasili dramom bliskoj distopiji, Čapek stavlja lik koji mašta o svijetu bez rata, dakle o jednoj vrsti utopije. U predgovoru toj svojoj drami, danas aktualnijoj nego u vrijeme kada je nastala, Čapek kao da opisuje današnje stanje stvari u Bosni i Hercegovini. On tu između ostalog piše:

Jedno od karakterističnih obilježja naroda poslije rata je dizanje ruku od nečega čemu se, tu i tamo, gotovo s prezirom, pripisuje ljudskost – riječ koja uključuje poštovanje života i ljudskih prava, ljubav prema slobodi i miru, težnja za istinom i pravednošću, te drugim moralnim postulatima. Sve ono što je do sada bilo, u duhu evropske tradicije, smatrano temeljem ljudskog razvoja. Kao što je poznato, u nekim zemljama i njihovim narodima uzeo je maha potpuno drugačiji duh; to nije čovjek. Klasa, država, nacija ili rasa su nosioci svih prava i jedini su predmet poštivanja, ali više nisu poštovani; ništa nije iznad toga što bi ih etički ograničilo u njihovoj volji i pravu. Država, nacija, režim obdareni su beskompromisnim autoritetom; pojedinac sa svojom slobodom duha i savjesti, s pravom na život, s ljudskim samoopredjeljenjem fizički i moralno apsolutno je podređen takozvanom kolektivnom, ali u osnovi čisto autokratskom i nasilno nametnutom redu. (Čapek 2014, 226–27)

#### IV Novi val, stara pitanja

Na kraju Sofoklove tragedije *Kralj Edip* hor sugerira novi početak. Svoju dramu *Bura* Shakespeare završava Prosperovom molbom za oprostom. Čapek nam na kraju *Bijele bolesti* kroz likove dvojice iskrenih i razumnih mladića, predstavnika buduće generacije, ipak nudi tračak nade. Nakon što se ova naša pandemija smiri, mi ćemo izgleda imati samo neka pitanja: Hoće li biti novog vala pandemije? Hoće li se, obrnuto od one slavne Marxove formulacije, ovoga puta farsa ponoviti kao tragedija? Na početku Sofoklove tragedije, Edip okupljenim građanima Tebe kaže:

O sinci jadni, znam, nij' nepoznato mi,  
 Sa željom kojom dođoste. Ta dobro znam,  
 Da svi mi patite, al' makar patite,  
 Baš niko od vas se ne pati, koliko ja.  
 Vaš bol se tiče pojedinca, svakoga

Za sebe, nikog drugog; moja duša grad  
Pa mene a i tebe žali zajedno.

(Rac i Majnarić 1990, 131)

Hoćemo li mi u slučaju novog vala pandemije opet po medijima gledati likove koji nas i ne htijući svojim izjavama i ponašanjem zasmijavaju onako usput, takoreć s nogu? Hoće li nas ponovo zaskočiti svi ti silni “*stand up* tragičari” koji parodiraju Edipa, jer njih izgovorena riječ ni na šta ne obavezuje? Hoćemo li im povjerovati ako nas opet počnu uvjeravati da brinu za sve nas i da sve što rade zapravo rade za naše dobro? Hoćemo li ponovo nositi maske koje nam pokrivaju lice, mjesto naše nepovnljivosti, i hoće li te nove maske uspjati sakriti činjenicu da smo odavno izgubili osjećanje i za tragičku ideju zakona i za stari dobri obraz?

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# ON THE KUMRA DOVE, SARAJEVO TOWN HALL, AND SEEKING THE SIMURGH: CULTURAL HERITAGE DURING THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Amra Hadžimuhamedović

It was in China, late one moonless night,  
the Simurgh first appeared to mortal sight.  
He let a feather float down through the air  
And rumours of his fame spread everywhere.  
Throughout the world men separately conceived  
An image of its shape, and all believed  
Their private fantasies uniquely true!  
(In China still this feather is on view,  
Whence comes the saying you have heard, no doubt,  
“Seek Knowledge, unto China seek it out.”)  
Attar, 1984.

In the history of the reception of cultural heritage, the focus of attention began to shift systematically from material to intangible bearers of value at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The roots of this change in approach lay in the deconstruction of modernist doctrine and the aspiration to base dealing with heritage on an understanding of traditional value systems and the maintenance of social continuity. Over the past two decades, the theory of cultural heritage protection and conservation has undergone a revolution, based upon geographic, historical, and cultural contextualisation and on placing people at its heart. William Logan presents this shift, which runs through theory, doctrine, and practice, as due to our having realised that heritage is incarnated in people and not in inanimate objects (2007).

After the UNESCO General Assembly adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003, far more weight has been given to the decisive importance of intangible components for material heritage, whether movable or not, and its influence over how we envisage, recreate, and protect living heritage in people-centred ways. Protecting and particularly restoring and reconstructing cultural heritage in ways that focus on people, their destiny, and their welfare stem from the undeniable need we have for proof of continuity and community when recovering from social trauma, whether caused by wars or natural disasters. A diagram of heritage's dependence on heritage communities would show two overlapping circles: heritage and the heritage community are in irrefragable and constant relations of mutual constitution, development, and maintenance.<sup>1</sup>

The perpetrators of war crimes in Bosnia, Mali, Kosovo, Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, Yemen, Myanmar, and other places noted for human suffering caused by armed conflict have clearly understood that destroying heritage helps destroy communities, just as destroying communities deprives heritage of its intangible carriers of value, causing it to disappear. The Bosnian experience of re-establishing destroyed heritage and its contribution to healing social trauma and progress towards a natural condition of justice and security has contributed significantly to an ongoing revolution in the global reception of cultural heritage and people-centred approaches to conservation.<sup>2</sup> Two concepts have dominated the discourse on cultural heritage at the global level: *living heritage* and the *people-centred approach to heritage*.

*Living heritage* entails thinking cultural heritage in terms of the community directly identified with it, which sustains and gradually adapts its functioning to changes in context, and so as

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- 1 The concept of the *heritage community* was introduced and defined in article 2, point b of the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, adopted in the Portuguese town of Faro in 2005, and so known as the Faro Convention – “a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.”
  - 2 The concept of a *people-centred approach to heritage*, is set out in ICCROM's *People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: Living Heritage* and in various documents of the World Bank, UNESCO, and CURE. See bibliography.

a contribution to that community's sustainability. Heritage belongs to people, and people have an obligation to protect it but also the right to adapt it functionally and symbolically to their needs, so long as how the circles in the above mentioned diagram of the interdependence of heritage and the community are connected to each other allows them both to turn continuously. One can also define it in terms of a modified version of John Ruskin's well-known view on monuments, taking his first two sentences not as a prohibition but as a confirmation: "We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us." (1859, p. 187) Living heritage secures the connection with past and future generations, but we retain the full right to adapt them to our present needs, because they are ours, within limits set by the need to ensure continuity.

The original definition of living heritage, given by UNESCO in relation to the 2003 convention, only mentions intangible heritage, as borne, preserved, represented, and reinterpreted by people. The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) has broadened the definition to cover material heritage, in its programme on *People-centred approaches to the conservation of cultural heritage: living heritage*, stressing certain key characteristics: continuity of cultural expression, care for heritage, and immediate connection with the associated community (Court & Wijesuriya, 2015).

As soon as the pandemic was declared, ICCROM experts presented documents outlining the skills available to assess the impact of pandemic-caused conditions on museum, gallery, archive, library, and other similar collections, and on the communities that are the bearers and guardians of intangible heritage, as well as on the local economies that receive direct and indirect gains from managing heritage. A series of lectures and discussions were organised and made available to the professional public, presenting experiences from various parts of the world and on issues of significance for the future custody of heritage both during and after the pandemic.

ICCROM and UNESCO are the two most important international and intergovernmental organisations for developing cultural heritage protection strategy during the Covid 19 pandemic and their activities have been grounded in the people-centred

approach. Built and natural heritage and cultural landscapes remain somewhat on the margins of these activities, for the simple reason that there is no way to assess Covid 19's direct impact on them except through the management of protected areas. Reports that heritage vulnerability levels may in some cases have reduced, compared to pre-pandemic, reflects the fact that heritage, cultural landscapes, and natural heritage do not showcase in equally dramatic fashion the fate of the people and communities they are bound to and whose lives are just as much at risk from disease and income drying up as during natural disasters and armed conflict. There is certainly no reason to suppose that there will be no long-term negative fallout from the pandemic's dramatic impact on people and incomes in the cultural heritage protection sector.

The general view that the Covid 19 pandemic is different from better understood disasters, whose impact on heritage is more direct, generally considered proportional to the impact on human lives and social patterns, suggests we need to look at our approaches, concepts, and ways of acting again.

Have built cultural heritage, natural heritage, or cultural landscapes been included in any way in institutional action plans in Sarajevo during the Covid 19 crisis? Have tools been developed to assess their condition or set out ways of doing something? Have resources been developed for remote monitoring and threat warnings? Have inter-institutional protocols been established that include decision-making and implementation processes for measures for the protection, use, and interpretation of cultural heritage under conditions of limited physical contact? Has there been any assessment of the direct long-term impact of changes to the cultural heritage budget? Have unsupervised building works, illegal archaeological digs, or the unauthorised demolition of built heritage taken place while institutions have been working under changed circumstances? Has a list been drawn up of the most sensitive material and intangible heritage or of the needs of institutions that care for heritage with a view to mitigating the consequences of suspending their work? Has Sarajevo's cultural and natural heritage protection strategy anything to learn from post-pandemic solutions being sought in other parts of the world and collected and made publicly available by international organisations through modern media? What role has



heritage to play in managing a crisis that is directly affecting human beings? Does Sarajevo's heritage offer any internal basis for an approach that supports social stability and urban sustainability? Does the pandemic situation offer us a chance to rethink the role of cultural heritage? These questions form a basic framework for developing a cultural heritage management strategy for Sarajevo both during and after the Covid 19 crisis.

We will now look at some possible responses to questions of how to approach Sarajevo's cultural heritage and contribute to the worldwide discourse on protection with reference to two vignettes – the *kumra* or collared dove and Vijećnica (Sarajevo's Town Hall).

The first vignette is related to the quote given at the beginning of the text, which is from *The Conference of the Birds*, an epic composed by the Persian poet Farid ud-Din Attar in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Events that happened at the same time during the spring of 2020 refer us back to the allegory contained in this work. The birds, searching for a ruler, decide to journey across seven valleys – each of which is a metaphor for liberation from the causes of alienation and so for defragmentation – to the place where the mysterious Simurgh lives.

The hoopoe leads the other birds, one by one, on their journey through a story about people and their past. This bird, which used to inhabit the gardens and orchards of Sarajevo's houses, is known in Bosnia as Solomon's hoopoe. The stories from Attar's epic have penetrated Bosnian heritage deeply, in a variety of adapted forms, but generally without any direct knowledge of where they come from, just as there is a deep-rooted belief here that Solomon's hoopoe was the bird that conversed with God's prophet, Solomon, as reported in the Qur'an: "And Solomon was David's heir, and he said, 'Men, we have been taught the speech of the birds, and we have been given of everything; surely this is indeed the manifest bounty.'" (27:16)

In March 2020, as people shut themselves up in their houses, thanks to the Sarajevo Canton government's measures against the Covid 19 virus, the collared dove or *kumra* once again made itself heard in the Sarajevo neighbourhood of Koševo, after many years of silence. In Bosnian folk tradition, this bird is thought to be warning people, "Kupuj kruh!"/"Buy bread!", with its incessant three-syllable call that once filled the historical urban land-

scapes of Bosnia. The call of the *kumra* was once part of the cultural idiom of Bosnian towns. Ornithological studies have shown that it is selective about which cities to build its nest in and that Sarajevo was, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, its most northerly habitat in Bosnia (Rucner, 1952). Both the dove and Solomon's hoopoe historically nest close to people in our towns - the *kumra* in minarets, towers, roofs and tall cypresses, the hoopoe in gardens and orchards. This spring, as the leaves and blossoms were just appearing on the branches and people were confined to their homes, the silence was filled with the warbling not just of the *kumra* but of various birds whose song had for years been drowned out by the regular sounds of human dominance of urban space.

I could not write this text on interpreting Bosnian cultural heritage in Sarajevo, at a time when professional discussions have been marked by an unprecedented global threat to human lives, incomes, and cultural and social patterns (ICCROM, 2020), without wondering whether those self-same social and cultural patterns themselves involve a certain betrayal of cultural heritage.

Sarajevo's historic core, which we may conditionally designate as the area bounded to the east by Bentbaša, to the west by Marin-dvor, to the north by Koševo and Sedrenik, and to the south by the slopes of Trebević, has retained certain characteristics of a garden city in its physical structure, with both individual and collective units of housing surrounded by greenery.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Evlija Čelebija described Sarajevo as follows:

The northern, northeastern, and western sides of this high town, located on terrain crisscrossed by hills and valleys, with gentle slopes on both banks of the Miljacka, are covered by clusters of handsome and attractive houses of one or two storeys, with chimneys, and kitchen and pleasure gardens, spread out in the natural amphitheatres. (Čelebi, 1996)

The oldest part of Sarajevo's historic urban landscape came into being as a group of residential clusters, comprising a multiplicity of functionally, communicational, and visually separate areas, which correspond to Michel Foucault's definition of the fifth principle of heterotopia: each individual historical residential unit is physically separate from everything outside it and represents a world within a world (1984). While this typology of

space, composed of heterotopias that are not mutually exclusive, has been lost in the period of modernity, green spaces that are neither gardens nor parks have to some degree managed to preserve the character of a garden city.

That separate world of the Sarajevo residential unit provided all the necessary conditions for attaining harmony between people, buildings, and nature. Birds, bees, ants, different forms of fruit, trees, and plants populated Bosnian stories and Bosnian space and were invested with symbolic meanings and roles as the heralds of events and phenomena. Such traditions provided the backbone for the traditional Bosnian culture of rights, which has been maintained over the centuries by Bosnian heritage. It provides the basis for the strict social rule that forbids the killing of Solomon's hoopoe or driving away or harming the collared dove, that says certain trees should not be cut down or birds nests are not to be destroyed, et cetera. Husaga Čišić bears witness to cultural heritage on the relationship of the kumra dove and people in the Bosnian towns the dove chose for its home, using an example from Mostar: "Here, she enjoyed absolute immunity, because in the old days no one from Mostar would have held back from clipping you around the ear if you threw a stone or anything at her." (2007)

This social law also held with regard to details in the built environment, of which I will only mention a few: one finds half-globe shaped indentations at the top of gravestones made to collect rainwater for the birds and bees to drink, just as one finds stones with similar indentations for the same reason placed in front of houses and mosques, and holes left in the gable walls or under the eaves to allow doves and bats into the attic space.

As people withdrew from Sarajevo's historic urban landscape into their homes in March 2020, it allowed the communities of animals and plants that make up, maintain, use, and contribute to that landscape and culture to revive quickly and spontaneously. The disproportionate and often contradictory impact of the Covid 19 crisis on people and their environment raises the question of how justified the people-centred approach to protecting cultural heritage really is.

The misconception that people can manage the planet has never found itself so globally dispersed over so short a period. The lesson to be learned from the pandemic situation is that putting people at the centre of our post-pandemic approach to herit-

age will suppress and put at risk any holism of action, as it shatters the unity of heritage and contributes to its depreciation.

Should we view the Covid 19 virus in symbolic terms as “the Simurgh’s feather, released into the moonless night in China”? In Attar’s epic, thirty birds set off on an allegorical journey based on the map of China, across valleys that symbolize overcoming the weaknesses leaderless communities and individuals face, until they reached their destination, where they recognised their king, the Simurgh, in their combined reflection on the surface of the lake. *Simurgh* is a compound Persian word, made up of *si* – thirty and *murgh* – bird.

An approach that replaced anthropocentricity with holism and balance, achieving a unity of people, nature, and cultural heritage, could help give cultural heritage a significant role in the post-pandemic reconciliation of human beings and nature. The need for such an approach has already been intimated in academic discussions, most often in the fields of cultural geography and cultural anthropology. For example, Amos Rapoport referred to his holistic studies as based on a Man-Environment approach (1976).

Possible plans for future action, conceptualisation and doctrinal formalisation based on the lessons and experiences of the Covid 19 pandemic could take the form of building upon research into climate change’s impact on cultural heritage and heritage’s inherent potential to reduce the risk such change represents for people and their surroundings. Such research and publications often refer to the holistic approach as the ecology of cultural heritage. (Brabec & Chilton, 2015) (Rana, 1955) Ecology is formed from the Greek words *oikos* - house and *logos* – discourse or science, and it has the potential semantic reach to define heritage in a way that includes human beings while excluding anthropocentricity towards our built and natural habitats.

Experience in other parts of the world suggests that the need for new approaches comes directly from heritage communities themselves. In the complicated discussions over Maori rights to rivers and freshwater in New Zealand, two ontologies have faced off over the legal determination of the role of heritage communities in heritage – the modern approach, which posits the formal and legal possibility of ownership or usufruct of cultural goods, and the traditional Maori approach, which considers the community to be custodian of what our ancestors have left in our care.

Denial of human superiority to the river within the traditional approach forms part of the Maori cultural universe and is evident in the Maori refusal to seek rights over the river in court. The Whanganui River received the status of a legal person, to which people lent their voices for the process in court. This conceptual opposition of possession to care and the instrumental to the intrinsic value of cultural and natural heritage still does not allow a sufficiently reconciling interpenetration of the different ontologies to avoid the subordination of one to the other, even in this case from New Zealand (Salmond, 2014).

The kumra in our text is not presented as such a case, but as a signifier of something that points to the need for a revolution in how we think about heritage and the heritage community and the individual's place and role. As I write this, the kumra dove is making its voice heard, along with at least four other types of bird, below the window of my study – which has been my office and place of virtual professional meetings for the more than 60 days that global measures of physical distancing and isolation have been in implementation. The garden is the only area available to me for fieldwork, but changes in it have allowed me to draw conclusions with implications for the global situation. I don't know what the other birds that have exercised their right to return to my Sarajevo garden are, because before the pandemic I had not heard their warbling for so many years that I don't recognise it.

The Bosnian culture of rights recognises an obligation towards the kumra dove. Its right to be protected is inherent in Bosnian cultural tradition. Not one of the folktales that refer to its presence in the urban cultural landscape mentions any benefit to people as the reason for looking after and not hurting the bird.

The second vignette I want to use to show the place of Sarajevo's built heritage in public discourse during the time of the Covid 19 pandemic is Sarajevo's town hall, Vijećnica. The entirety of Sarajevo's cultural heritage has been reduced to Vijećnica's usefulness as a political tool. It is the only unit of our built heritage that has been included in public discourse during the period of the pandemic, and its interpretation has been the only heritage-related activity made in Sarajevo between 16 March and 16 May 2020.

Vijećnica is located at the heart of Sarajevo, in that part where the city's development began in the 15th century. It was

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built between 1892 and 1895 and its stylised Mamluk façade is a record of the Austro-Hungarian authorities' Orientalist fantasies of Bosnia and her people, which were physically close, but socially distant. The various interpretations of it in works by Bosnian historians provide a record of years of academic confusion. Its destruction in August 1992 by incendiary rockets launched from weapons belonging to the Serb army, when books, manuscripts and documents of incalculable value from the National and University Library's collections burned, only serves to confirm that army and its ideologized leaders' Orientalist obsession with all traces of the dangerous "Turkish race", as they described the Muslims in Bosnia in their racial theories.

The spontaneous transformation of Vijećnica's ruins during and after the war into a stage for concerts, exhibitions, and encounters by artists from all round the world read a new meaning onto them and documented Sarajevo's cultural resistance to the siege and the power of fragmented heritage to keep the town alive. The reconstruction of Sarajevo's Vijećnica, which hid away all traces of its destruction, is blinding and documents the policy of the European Union, which financed the reconstruction, and the Bosnian government, which is to conceal and instrumentalise memory.

The completion of reconstruction works was marked on May 9 2014 with a 3D mapping projection onto the main façade, whose authors were seven artists from the Knapp studio. This covering over of the recently re-built walls with light, images, film, and documents was a symbolic reminder of the ephemeral nature of the material and the durability of memory. At no point in its history has Vijećnica not been at the heart of Sarajevo or a space where the city's strength is sublimated, as in this brief pixelization of its stone and demonstration of the durability of memory. How the content was presented and its interaction with the architecture meant the projection usurped the story of the building, its significance, destruction, and rebuilding, which has been silenced by reconstruction.

Vijećnica's monumental geographic, historical, and symbolic significance within Sarajevo's historic urban landscape was underlined by this overlapping of the physical façade by the projection, a palimpsest in which the projection nonetheless fades in the end and Vijećnica becomes a place of symbolisation of the

destiny of the town, its people, and the triumph of its re-establishment out of dissolution.

The use of heritage as a background for projections is a well-known technique for interpreting and instrumentalizing cultural heritage. It has been applied to cathedrals in Rheims, Chartres, Amiens, Strasbourg, Notre Dame de Paris, Santiago di Compostela, the Duomo in Milan, as well as on the great Wall of China, the Opera House in Sydney, the Taj Mahal, and many others (Schmitt et al., 2020). Such projections may have artistic, educational, cultural, social, commercial, or political aspects. The content may be related to the building and contribute to its interpretation or may be totally unrelated and simply be using its significance and recognition factor to seal the message the projection contains (Nofal, et al., 2018).

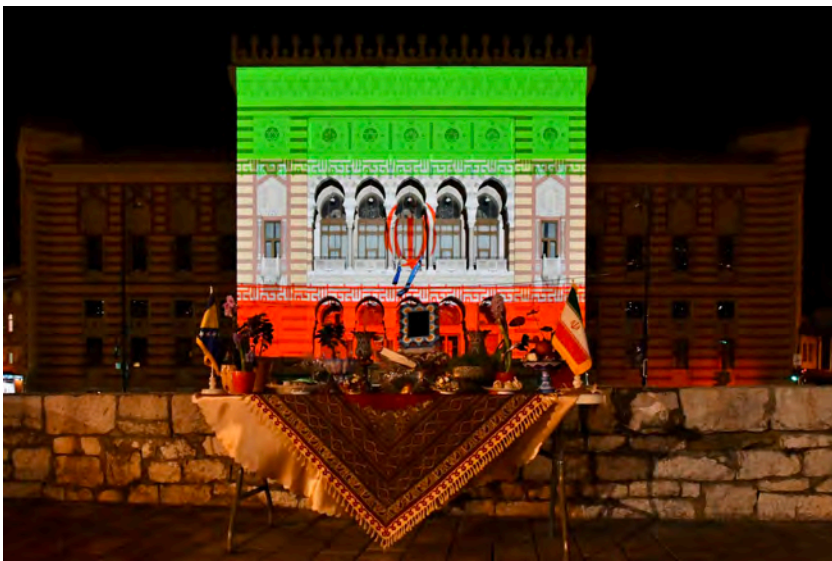
During the Covid 19 crisis, 3D mapping of cultural heritage has become a tool of symbolic social connection in various parts of the world, as the obligation of physical distancing has become mandatory, but also of pointing out that concern for cultural heritage and cultural institutions must not be marginalised in the public sphere. Sarajevo's Vijećnica has only apparently become part of this global phenomenon through the mediation of 3D mapping.



*Figure 1. The Italian flag projected onto Vijećnica, author Davorin Sekulić / Klix.ba*



During the Covid 19 disaster, the town hall has shared the destiny of other cultural buildings and institutions, closed to visitors and denied income from ticket sales. Its front façade has become a canvas for political mapping. The building is once again fragmented, functionally, symbolically, and aesthetically. What benefit does heritage in Sarajevo draw from such projections onto the façade of Vijećnica? As a monumental, well-positioned, and recognisable screen, during the time of Covid 19, Vijećnica has in reality been closed off in isolation and hidden behind a mask of diplomatic and political messages. Showing the solidarity of the administration of the city of Sarajevo with countries where the virus has been most fatally active, Italy, Iran, Spain, and the US, by projections onto Vijećnica is a grotesque continuation of the reduction of its value to its economic and political usefulness.



*Figure 2. The Iranian national flag projected onto the façade of Vijećnica to show solidarity with Iranian victims of the coronavirus pandemic, author Ivan Šebalj, courtesy of Klix.ba*





Figure 3. The Turkish national flag projected onto Vijećnica to show gratitude for donations of medical materials, courtesy of Klix.ba



Figure 4. The US flag projected onto Vijećnica to show solidarity for the victims of COVID-19, courtesy of Klix.ba



Figure 5. Projection of the Haggadah, author Ivan Šebalj, courtesy of Klix.ba

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On the day that the Archbishop of Vrhbosnia Vinko Puljić served mass in Sarajevo cathedral in memory of killed members and supporters of the fascist Second World War Independent State Of Croatia and that the citizens of Sarajevo, still living the trauma of the siege at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, took their protest against his act to the streets of the town, a photograph of the Sarajevo Haggadah, a priceless mediaeval Jewish codex from Spain, housed at the National Museum, was projected onto Vijećnica, in memory of the victims of fascism. The Sarajevo Haggadah was saved during the Second World War, bearing witness to the supreme value of Bosnian heritage and culture, its inclusivity.

The National Museum, all its collections, and its employees have been left with neither income nor budget during the entire period of the Covid 19 pandemic. Political instrumentalisation of the Haggadah has here joined forces with the instrumentalisation of Vijećnica. Instead of an integrated, holistic approach, instead of an ecology of cultural heritage, heritage, institutions, experts, and knowledge-bearers have been left outside of public politics' sphere of interest or responsibility. The intangible film of media sliding into kitsch over the main façade of Vijećnica is more indicative of the threat of cultural obliviousness than of any connection with the world. The pixelisation of the façade no longer symbolises the capacity of fragments to take on the meaning of the whole and facilitate recomposition and renewal so much as the suspicion that Bosnian heritage has been deprived of its custodians. The time for a conference of the birds and the journey to the Simurgh arrived long ago.

Translated by Desmond Maurer

For the bibliography see the Bosnian version.

## O PTICI KUMRI, SARAJEVSKOJ VIJEĆNICI I TRAŽENJU SIMURGA: KULTURNO NASLIJEĐE U VRIJEME PANDEMIJE COVID-19

Amra Hadžimuhamedović

Bješe to u Kini jedne mračne noći  
Simurg izađe prvi put pred ljudske oči  
Ispusti pero da polahko kroz zrak pada  
A priča o slavi njegovoj proširi se tada  
Po cijelom svijetu zamišljao ga je u sebi drukčije svako  
I svako uvjeren da izgleda baš tako  
(U Kini pero ono moglo se vidjeti još  
I onda kad stiže riječ o kojoj, bez sumnje, čuli ste  
“Znanje tražite i radi njega do Kine idite.”)  
Attar, 1984.<sup>1</sup>

U historiji recepcije kulturnog naslijeđa od početka dvadeset prvog stoljeća središte pažnje je sustavno pomjerano s materijalnih prema neopipljivim nositeljima vrijednosti. Takav pristup rezultat je dekonstruiranja modernističke doktrine i nastojanja da odnos prema naslijeđu bude zasnovan na razumijevanju tradicio-

1 Englski tekst izvoda iz epa, koji je ovdje na bosanski prevela autorica:  
It was in China, late one moonless night,  
the Simurgh first appeared to mortal sight.  
He let a feather float down through the air  
And rumours of his fame spread everywhere.  
Throughout the world men separately conceived  
An image of its shape, and all believed  
Their private fantasies uniquely true!  
(In China still this feather is on view,  
Whence comes the saying you have heard, no doubt,  
“Seek Knowledge, unto China seek it out.”)

nalnih sustava vrijednosti i metoda održanja društvenog kontinuiteta. U protekla dva desetljeća zaokret u teoriji zaštite kulturnog naslijeđa i konzervacije zasnovan je na njihovom geografskom, historijskom i kulturnom kontekstualiziranju, s jedne, i postavljanju ljudi u središte i teorije i praktične konzervacije, s druge strane. William Logan tu promjenu, koja prožima i teoriju, i doktrinu, i praksu, predstavlja kao rezultat spoznaje da je naslijeđe više utjelovljeno u ljudima nego u bezdušnim objektima. (Logan 2007)

Otkada je Generalna skupština UNESCO-a donijela Konvenciju o čuvanju nematerijalnog naslijeđa (2003), prevlađujući i odlučujući značaj nematerijalnih komponenti u materijalnom, i pokretnom i nepokretnom, naslijeđu utjecao je sve snažnije na sposobnost poimanja i izvođenja zamisli živog naslijeđa i djelovanja na njegovoj zaštiti u čijem središtu su ljudi. Štićenje, a osobito restauracija i rekonstrukcija kulturnog naslijeđa, usredotočeno na ljude, njihove sudbine i njihov boljitak, proističe iz neporecive potrebe za dokazima ljudske trajnosti i zajedništva u stanjima oporavka nakon društvenih trauma izazvanih ratovima i prirodnim nesrećama. Dijagram neprekinute ovisnosti naslijeđa i baštinske zajednice je poput dva međusobno zapregnuta točka: naslijeđe i baštinska zajednica neizbježno i neprestano uspostavljaju, razvijaju i održavaju jedno drugo.<sup>2</sup>

Počiniteljima ratnih zločina u Bosni, Maliju, Kosovu, Iraku, Nigeriji, Siriji, Jemenu, Mijanmaru i na drugim mjestima gdje su ljudske patnje izazvane oružanim nasiljem, jasno je da razaranjem naslijeđa bivaju uništene zajednice, a uništenjem zajednice naslijeđe gubi nematerijalne nositelje vrijednosti i nestaje. Bosansko iskustvo o sposobnosti procesa ponovne uspostave srušenog naslijeđa da doprinese liječenju društvene traume i unapređenju puta prema postizanju naravnog stanja pravde i sigurnosti, značajno je doprinijelo zaokretu u globalnoj recepciji kulturnog naslijeđa i pristupima njegovoj konzervaciji usredotočenoj na lju-

2 Baštinska zajednica je prijevod pojma *heritage community*, koji je uspostavljen i definiran članom 2, tačke b. Okvirne konvencije Vijeća Evrope o vrijednosti naslijeđa za društvo (Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, usvojena u portugalskom gradu Faro 2005. godine, po čemu je poznata kao Faro konvencija – “baštinska zajednica se sastoji od ljudi koji vrednuju one vidove kulturnog naslijeđa koje žele, unutar okvira javnog djelovanja, održati i prenijeti budućim naraštajima”.

de.<sup>3</sup> Dva pojma, proistekla iz toga, ovladala su svim sadašnjim diskursima o kulturnom naslijeđu na globalnoj razini: živo naslijeđe i *pristup naslijeđu usredotočen na ljude*.

Živo naslijeđe označava poimanje kulturnog naslijeđa u stalnoj uzajamnosti sa zajednicom koja se s njim izravno identificira, koja održava i postupno prilagođava njegovu funkciju promjenama konteksta kao zaloga vlastite održivosti. Naslijeđe pripada ljudima. Ljudi imaju obavezu da ga štite i pravo da ga funkcionalno i simbolički prilagođavaju svojoj potrebi u onoj mjeri u kojoj spregnutost točkova u dijagramu međusobne ovisnosti naslijeđa i zajednice omogućava neprestanu vrtnju oba točka. Definicija živog naslijeđa može biti izvedena i modificiranjem poznatog stava Johna Ruskina o odnosu prema spomenicima, tako što bi njegove prve dvije rečenice bile preoblikovane iz negacije u potvrdu. John Ruskin kaže “Bez obzira na sve, mi nemamo pravo ni da ih taknemo. Oni nisu naši. Pripadaju dijelom onima koji su ih sagradili, a dijelom svim naraštajima čovječanstva koji će doći poslije nas.” (Ruskin 1859, 163) Živo naslijeđe osigurava vezu s prošlim i budućim naraštajima, ali imamo sva prava da ih, u ograničenjima koje osiguranje tog kontinuiteta nameće, prilagođavamo svojoj sadašnjoj potrebi, jer oni su naši.

Izvorna definicija živog naslijeđa koju nudi UNESCO u vezi s Konvencijom iz 2003. godine obuhvata isključivo neopipljivo naslijeđe koje nose, čuvaju, predstavljaju i reinterpreteriraju ljudi. Međunarodno sjedište za proučavanje zaštite i restauracije kulturnog naslijeđa (ICCROM) u svom programu *Pristupi konzervaciji kulturnog naslijeđa usredotočeni na ljude: živo naslijeđe* tu definiciju proširuje na materijalno naslijeđe, naglašavajući njegove ključne odrednice: ustrajnost kulturnih izraza, briga o naslijeđu i izravna povezanosti s pripadajućom zajednicom. (Court & Wijesuriya 2015)

Odmah nakon proglašenja pandemije, stručnjaci ICCROM-a su predstavili dokumente s ponuđenim vještinama za procjenu

3 “Pristup naslijeđu usredotočen na ljude” je prijevod pojma *people-centred approach to heritage*, koji je sadržan i definiran u programu ICCROM-a “Pristupi konzervaciji kulturnog naslijeđa usredotočeni na ljude: živo naslijeđe” (*People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: Living Heritage*) i u dokumentu Svjetske banke i UNESCO-a CURE (Okosnica kulture u rekonstrukciji i oporavku gradova) (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Bank, 2018)

utjecaja stanja izazvanog pandemijom na zbirke u muzejima, galerijama, arhivima, bibliotekama i drugim sličnim ustanovama, na zajednice koje su nositelji i čuvari nematerijalnog naslijeđa, kao i na lokalne ekonomije koje uključuju izravnu i neizravnu dobit od upravljanja naslijeđem. Organiziran je niz stručnoj javnosti dostupnih predavanja i razgovora o iskustvima iz različitih dijelova svijeta, o pitanjima značajnim za budućnost brige o naslijeđu u razdoblju u toku i nakon pandemije.

Djelovanje ICCROM-a i UNESCO-a kao dviju najznačajnijih međunarodnih međuvladinih organizacija za uspostavu strategije zaštite kulturnog naslijeđa u vrijeme Covid-19 pandemije utemeljeno je na pristupu zaštiti naslijeđa usredotočenom na ljude. Graditeljsko i prirodno naslijeđe i kulturni krajolici su ostali na margini tog djelovanja iz jednostavnog razloga što, osim u vezi s upravljanjem zaštićenim prostorima, nije moguće utvrditi izravni utjecaj virusa korona na njih. Izvještaji da je razina ugroženosti naslijeđa u nekim slučajevima smanjena u odnosu na onu prije pandemije ukazuju da graditeljsko naslijeđe, kulturni krajolici i prirodno naslijeđe ne portretiraju na jednako dramatičan način sudbinu ljudi i zajednice koji su za njih vezani, a čiji su životi ugroženi bolešću ili presušivanjem prihoda, kao što je to u slučaju prirodnih nesreća i oružanih sukoba. To nikako ne znači da će izostatiti dugoročni negativni učinci dramatičnog utjecaja pandemije na ljude i prihode u sektoru zaštite kulturnog naslijeđa.

Opći stav da je pandemija Covid-19 drugačija od poznatih nesreća, koje imaju izravan utjecaj na naslijeđe, koji je u najvećem broju srazmjeran utjecaju na ljudske živote i društvene obrasce, upućuje na potrebu preispitivanja pristupa, pojmova i načina djelovanja.

Jesu li graditeljsko kulturno naslijeđe, prirodno naslijeđe i kulturni krajolici u bilo kojem obliku uključeni u programe institucionalnog djelovanja u Sarajevu u vremenu korona krize? Jesu li razvijeni alati za procjenu njihovog stanja i utvrđivanje načina djelovanja? Jesu li razvijena sredstva za praćenje stanja s udaljenosti i upozoravanje na ugroženost? Jesu li uspostavljeni međuinstitucionalni protokoli, koji uključuju procese odlučivanja i provođenja mjera koje se odnose na zaštitu, korištenje i interpretaciju kulturnog naslijeđa u uvjetima ograničenih fizičkih kontakata? Je li napravljena procjena izravnih i dugoročnih utjecaja izmijenjenog budžeta za zaštitu naslijeđa? Jesu li se nekontrolira-



ni građevinski radovi, nezakonita arheološka iskopavanja ili bespravno rušenje objekata graditeljskog naslijeđa događali u vremenu kad su institucije radile u izmijenjenim uslovima? Jesu li sačinjene liste najosjetljivijeg materijalnog i nematerijalnog naslijeđa i utvrđene potrebe institucija koje o naslijeđu brinu za ublažavanje posljedica prekida u njihovom radu? Međunarodne organizacije putem savremenih sredstava komuniciranja sabiru i predstavljaju načine traženja postpandemijskih rješenja u različitim dijelovima svijeta i utvrđuju ključna otvorena pitanja. Koliko su ta znanja primijenjena i primjenjiva u prilagođavanju strategije zaštite kulturnog i prirodnog naslijeđa pandemijom izmijenjenim ekonomskim i društvenim uvjetima u Sarajevu? Kakva je uloga naslijeđa u upravljanju krizom koja izravno pogađa ljudska bića? Daje li sarajevsko naslijeđe mogućnost da u njemu samom bude nađen temelj za pristup koji će osigurati društvenu stabilnost i održivost grada? Je li stanje pandemije poticaj za zaokret u poimanju uloge kulturnog naslijeđa? Ta su pitanja osnovni okvir za izradu strategije upravljanja kulturnim naslijeđem u Sarajevu u vremenu korona krize i nakon nje.

Naznake o nekim pitanjima odnosa prema kulturnom naslijeđu u Sarajevu i mogućem doprinosu globalnom diskursu o njegovoj zaštiti u vremenu koje dolazi bit će izvedene iz dviju vinjeta – o ptici kumri i sarajevskoj Vijećnici.

Prva vinjeta je vezana za navod na početku ovog teksta, posuđen iz epa *Sabor ptica*, kojeg je perzijski pjesnik Farid ud-Din Attar napisao u 12. stoljeću. Nekoliko istovremenih pojava u proljeće 2020. godine vraća nas na gonetanje alegorije sadržane u tom djelu. Ptice, tražeći svog vladara, odluče putovati preko sedam dolina – svaka od njih je metafora oslobađanja od uzroka otuđenosti i defragmentiranosti – do mjesta gdje je tajanstvena ptica Simurg.

Pupovka vodi ostale ptice, jednu po jednu, na tom putu kroz priče o ljudima i njihovoj prošlosti. Ta ptica, koja je nastanjivala bašče i voćnjake uz sarajevske kuće, u Bosni je poznata i kao Sulejmanova pupovka. U bosanskom naslijeđu su, u različitim prilagođenim oblicima, najčešće bez izravnog znanja o njihovom porijeklu, duboko ukorijenjene poučne priče iz Attarovog epa, jednako kako je ukorijenjeno vjerovanje da je Sulejmanova pupovka ptica koja je razgovarala s Božijim poslanikom Sulejmanom, za koga je u Kur'anu kazano: "I Sulejman naslijedi

Davuda, i reče: ‘O ljudi, poučeni smo govoru ptica, a dato nam je svega; ovo je sigurno obilje očito.’” (27:16)

U martu 2020. godine, kada su ljudi, uslijed mjera Vlade Kantona Sarajevo za sprječavanje širenja zaraze virusom korona, bili zatvoreni u svojim kućama, oglasila se u sarajevskom naselju Koševo, nakon više godina tihovanja, ptica kumra. To je ptica za koju u bosanskom narodnom predanju kažu da govori opomenu ljudima: “Kupuj kruh!” i koja je tim zvukom ispunjavala bosanske historijske urbane krajolike. Oglašavanje kumre u bosanskim gradovima bilo je dio njihovog kulturnog iskaza. Ornitološka istraživanja pokazuju da kumra bira gradove u kojima svija gnijezda i da je Sarajevo polovinom dvadesetog stoljeća bilo njeno najsjevernije stanište u Bosni. (Rucner 1952) I kumra i Sulejmanova pupovka su se u bosanskim historijskim naseljima gnijezdile blizu ljudi – kumra u munarama, tornjevima, krovovima ili visokim čempresima, a Sulejmanova pupovka u baščama i voćnjacima. Ovog proljeća uz kumru, u tek olistalom i obeharalom granju, tišinu ispunjava cvrkut različitih ptica, koji je godinama bio zaglušen uobičajenim zvukovima koje prave ljudi.

Ovaj tekst o interpretaciji bosanskog kulturnog naslijeđa u Sarajevu, u razdoblju koje je u stručnim raspravama označeno kao do sad nezapamćena globalna prijetnja ljudskim životima, prihodima, kulturnim i društvenim obrascima (ICCROM 2020), ne može biti napisan bez dvojenja da li su ti društveni i kulturni obrasci nastali kao rezultat pronevjere kulturnog naslijeđa.

Fizička struktura historijske jezgre Sarajeva – koju uvjetno možemo odrediti kao prostor čija je krajnja istočna granica na Bendbaši, zapadna na Marindvoru, sjeverna na Koševu i Sedreniku, a južna na padinama Trebevića – zadržala je neke odlike vrtlog grada, u kome su i individualne i kolektivne stambene zgrade okružene zelenilom.

Evlija Člebija u 17. stoljeću opisuje Sarajevo na sljedeći način:

Na sjevernoj, sjeveroistočnoj i zapadnoj strani ovog visokog grada na terenu ispresijecanom brdima i dolinama, po pitomim brežuljcima, s desne i s lijeve strane Miljacke, po vrtovima i baščama, nanizane su amfiteatralno, u grupama, krasne i prijatne kuće sa dimnjacima, prizemne i na sprat. (Čelebi 1996)



Najstariji dio sarajevskog historijskog urbanog krajolika, koji je nastajao kao skupina stambenih grozdova, sastavljen je od mnoštva međusobno funkcionalno, komunikacijski i vizualno odvojenih prostora, koji odgovaraju definiciji petog počela heterotopije kod Michaela Foucaulta: svaka pojedinačna historijska stambena cjelina je fizički odvojena od svega izvan nje i predstavlja svijet u svijetu. (Foucault 1984) Iako je ta tipologija prostora, sastavljenog od heterotopija koje se međusobno ne isključuju, izgubljena u vremenu moderne, zeleni prostori, koji nisu ni bašče ni parkovi, dijelom su sačuvali narav vrtnog grada.

Taj izdvojeni svijet sarajevske stambene cjeline osiguravao je sve uvjete za postizanje sklada među ljudima, građevinama i prirodom. Ptice, pčele, mravi, različito voće, drveće i bilje ispunjavali su bosanska predanja i bosanske prostore te u njima dobijali simbolička značenja i uloge navjestitelja događaja i pojava. Ta predanja su u stoljećima održanja bosanskog naslijeđa bila okosnica za običajno pravo. Iz njih je izvođen strogi društveni zakon na osnovi kojeg je zabranjeno ubiti Sulejmanovu pupavku, nije dopušteno tjerati ili ozlijediti kumru, neka stabla nije dobro sjeći, ptičije gnijezdo ne smije biti razoreno itd. O kulturnom naslijeđu odnosa kumre i ljudi u onim bosanskim gradovima koje je ta ptica nastanjivala svjedoči Husaga Čišić na primjeru Mostara: "Ovdje je uživala potpuni imunitet, jer u starije vrijeme nije bilo Mostarca koji ti ne bi dao po glavi, ako bi se na nju bacio kamenom ili nečim drugim." (Čišić 2007)

Taj društveni zakon propisivao je pojedinosti i u graditeljstvu, od kojih izdvajam samo neke: na vrhovima nadgrobnih kamenova ostavljane su poluloptaste udubine za skupljanje kišnice kojom se napajaju pčele i ptice, a ispred kuća i džamija su postavljeni kamenovi s istim takvim udubinama i istom svrhom, dok su pri zidanju kuća na zabatima ili ispod streha ostavljane šupljine, kako bi se kumre i šišmiši mogli nastaniti na tavanima.

Povlačenje ljudi iz sarajevskog historijskog urbanog krajolika u unutarnjost svojih kuća u martu 2020. godine omogućilo je spontano i brzo oživljavanje zajednica životinja i bilja, koje taj krajolik i tu kulturu tvore, održavaju, koriste i doprinose im. Nesrazmjer i, nerijetko, oprečnost utjecaja korona krize na ljude i njihovo okruženje nameće pitanje o opravdanosti pristupa zaštiti kulturnog naslijeđa usredotočenog na ljude.

Zabluda da ljudi imaju moć upravljanja planetom nikada nije u tako kratkom vremenu tako globalno raspršena. Naučena lekcija iz stanja pandemije je da postavljanje ljudi u središte postpandemijskih pristupa naslijeđu potiskuje i ugrožava cjelovitost djelovanja, fragmentira jednost naslijeđa i na taj način doprinosi njegovom obezvređivanju.

Je li virus koronu moguće simbolizirati “perom Simurga, ispuštenim u noći bez mjesečine, u Kini”? U Attarovom epu trideset ptica u alegoričnom putovanju, na osnovi putokaza iz Kine, preko dolina savladavanja slabosti s kojima se zajednica i osobe bez vladara susreću, stiže do cilja, gdje na površini jezera prepoznaju svog kralja Simurga u zajedničkom vlastitom odrazu. Simurg je perzijska složenica od riječi *si* – trideset i *murgh* – ptica.

Pristup u kome je, umjesto antropocentričnosti, osigurana cjelovitost i ravnoteža, u kome je dostignuto jedinstvo ljudi, prirode i kulturnog naslijeđa mogao bi osigurati da kulturno naslijeđe preuzme značajnu ulogu u postpandemijskom pomirenju čovjeka i prirode. Potreba za takvim pristupom je već ranije nagoviještena u akademskom diskursu, najčešće u polju kulturne geografije i kulturne antropologije. Amos Rapoport je, naprimjer, svoja bavljenja cjelinom nazivao studijama čovjek-okoline. (Rapoport 1976)

Rješenje za buduća djelovanja, pojmovna i doktrinarna određenja, koja će biti utemeljena na poukama i iskustvima iz pandemije Covid-19, može predstavljati nadogradnju istraživanjima utjecaja klimatskih promjena na kulturno naslijeđe i potencijala naslijeđa da umanjí rizike od tih promjena na ljude i njihovo okruženje. U tim istraživanjima i objavljenim radovima holistički pristup naslijeđu je imenovan ekologijom kulturnog naslijeđa. (Brabec & Chilton, 2015; Rana, 1955) Ekologija je složenica grčkih riječi *oikos* – kuća i *logos* – nauka. Ima mogućnost semantičkog obuhvata naslijeđa koje uključuje čovjeka, ali isključuje antropocentričnost u njegovom građenom i prirodnom staništu.

Nekoliko iskustava u drugim dijelovima svijeta ukazuje da je potreba za novim pristupima potekla izravno iz baštinskih zajednica. U slučaju složene rasprave o pravu Maora na rijeke i slatke vode u Novom Zelandu, dvije ontologije su sučeljene na pravnom određenju uloge baštinske zajednice u odnosu na baštinu – moderna, u kojoj je je formalno-pravno moguće biti posjednik ili korisnik kulturnog dobra, i tradicionalna maorska, u kojoj

je zajednica čuvar onoga što su joj preci ostavili u odgovornost. Odricanje bilo kakve ljudske nadmoći u tradicionalnom odnosu s rijekom, koja je dio maorskog kulturnog univerzuma, pokazano je u odbijanju Maora da u sudskom postupku traže svoje pravo na rijeku. Rijeka Whanganui je dobila položaj pravnog lica, a ljudi su joj samo posudili glas u postupku pred sudom. Razlike u odnosu na pojmove: posjedovanje ili čuvanje instrumentalne ili intrinzične vrijednosti kulturnog i prirodnog naslijeđa u tom novozeleskom slučaju još uvijek ne dopuštaju dovoljno pomirujuće preplitanje različitih ontologija bez potčinjavanja jedne drugoj. (Salmond 2014)

Ptica kumra u ovom tekstu nije predstavljena kao slučaj, nego kao oznaka pojave koja upućuje na potreban zaokret u poimanju naslijeđa, mjesta i uloge baštinske zajednice i pojedinca. Dok ovo pišem, kumra se, s još najmanje četiri ptice, oglašava ispod prozora moje radne sobe, mog ureda i mjesta virtualnih profesionalnih sastanaka u posljednjih više od 60 dana provođenja globalnih mjera fizičkog distanciranja i izolacije. Ta bašča je jedini dostupan prostor mog terenskog istraživanja, ali promjena u njoj omogućava izvođenje zaključaka s refleksijom na globalno stanje. Ne znam koje su to još ptice ostvarile pravo na povratak u moju sarajevsku bašču, jer im prije pandemije cvrkut nisam čula toliko godina da ga ne prepoznajem.

U bosanskom običajnom pravu uspostavljena je obaveza ljudi prema kumri. Njeno pravo na zaštitu je intrinzično bosanskom kulturnom predanju. Ni u jednoj narodnoj priči o prisutnosti kumre u gradskom kulturnom krajoliku nije istaknuta ni jedna korist od nje ljudima kao razlog obaveze njenog čuvanja i nepovređivanja.

Druga vinjeta koja pokazuje sarajevsko graditeljsko naslijeđe u javnom diskursu u vrijeme pademije Covid-19 je sarajevska Vijećnica. Ukupnost sarajevskog kulturnog naslijeđa svedena je na funkciju Vijećnice kao političkog medija. To je jedini objekat graditeljskog naslijeđa koji je uključen u javno djelovanje u vrijeme pandemije, a njegova interpretacija jedina aktivnost vezana za naslijeđe koju je moguće prepoznati u Sarajevu od 16. marta do 16. maja 2020.

Vijećnica je smještena u samom središtu Sarajevu, uz dio s kojeg je razvoj grada počeo u 15. stoljeću. Njeno građenje 1892–1895. i njeno stilsko oblačenje u memlučke fasade dokumentiraju

orijentalističke fantazije austrougarske vlasti o Bosni i njenim ljudima, koji su zauvijek fizički blizu a društveno distancirani. Njena interpretacija u djelima bosanskih historičara dokumentira godinama nametanu akademsku zbunjenost. Njeno razaranje u avgustu 1992. zapaljivim projektilima, ispaljenim iz oruđa srpske vojske, u kojem su izgorjele zbirke knjiga, rukopisa i dokumenata Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke neprocjenjive vrijednosti, potvrđuje orijentalističku opsjednutost te vojske i njenih ideoloških vođa svim izrazima opasne “turske rase”, kako u svojim rasnim teorijama označavaju muslimane u Bosni.

Spontano pretvaranje ruševine Vijećnice u toku rata i nakon njega u scenu za koncerte, izložbe i susrete umjetnika iz cijelog svijeta učitava joj novo značenje i dokumentira kulturni otpor opsadi Sarajeva, kao i moć fragmentiranog naslijeđa da grad održi živim. Blještava rekonstrukcija sarajevske Vijećnice, kojom su skriveni svi tragovi njenog razaranja, dokumentira politiku Evropske unije, koja je tu rekonstrukciju financirala, i javnu bosansku politiku o prekrivanju i instrumentaliziranju pamćenja.

Završetak radova rekonstrukcije obilježen je 9. maja 2014. godine *3D mapping* projekcijom na glavnom pročelju, čiji su autori sedmorica umjetnika iz studija Knapp. To rastakanje tek ponovno uspostavljenih zidova svjetlom, slikama, filmom, dokumentima simbolično je podsjećalo na efemernost materije i istrajnost pamćenja. Vijećnica ni u jednom razdoblju svoje historije nije bila središte Sarajeva i prostor sublimiranja njegove snage kao u tom kratkom pikseliziranju kamena i pokazivanjem trajnosti pamćenja. Načinom predstavljanja sadržaja i njegovim kombiniranjem s arhitekturom projekcija je nadomjestila priču o gradnji, značaju, razaranju i obnovi Vijećnice, koja je zataškana pri rekonstrukciji.

Monumentalnost geografskog, historijskog i simboličkog značenja Vijećnice u sarajevskom historijskom urbanom krajoliku potcrtana je tim preklapanjem fizičke fasade s projekcijom, tim palimpsestom u kojem projekcija na kraju blijedi, a Vijećnica postaje mjesto simboliziranja sudbine grada, njegovih ljudi i trijumfa njegove ponovne uspostave iz rasutosti.

Metoda korištenja naslijeđa kao podloge za različite projekcije poznata je tehnika interpretacije ili instrumentalizacije kulturnog naslijeđa. Primjenjivana je na katedralama u Reimsu,

Chatreu, Amiensu, Strasbourgu, Notre-Dame u Parizu, na Santiago di Compostelau, na Duomo u Milanu, ali i na Kineskom zidu, Operi u Sidneju, Taj Mahalu, između ostalih. (Schmitt, et al. 2020) Projekcije mogu imati: umjetničku, obrazovnu, kulturnu, društvenu, komercijalnu i političku narav. Sadržaj može biti u vezi s objektom i doprinositi njegovoj interpretaciji, ali može biti i potpuno nepovezan s njim i koristiti značaj i prepoznatljivost objekta za upečatljivost poruke koju projekcija sadrži. (Nofal, et al. 2018)

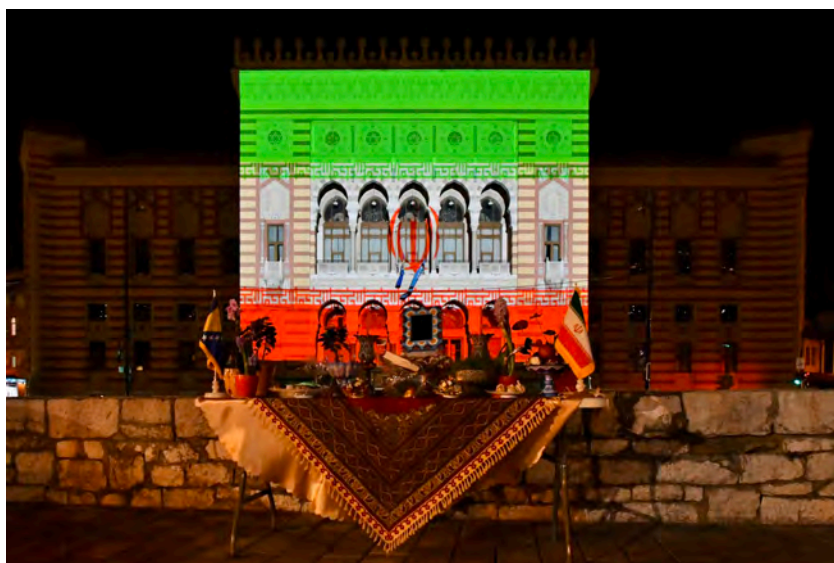
3D mapiranje kulturnog naslijeđa u različitim dijelovima svijeta postalo je sredstvo simboličkog društvenog povezivanja u vremenu nametnute obaveze fizičkog distanciranja, ali i skretanja pažnje da briga o naslijeđu i kulturnim institucijama na smije ostati na marginama javnog djelovanja. Vijećnica u Sarajevu je posredstvom 3D mapiranja samo prividno postala dio te globalne pojave.



*Slika 1. Italijanska zastava projicirana na Vijećnicu, autor Davorin Sekulić / Klix.ba*

Ona u vremenu Covid-19 nesreće dijeli sudbinu ostalih objekata i institucija kulture. Zatvorena je za posjete i izostaje dobit od ulaznica. Njena glavna fasada je postala podloga za političko mapiranje. Tako je objekat ponovno fragmentiran funkcionalno, simbolički i estetski. Šta je korist koju naslijeđe ima od projekcija

na fasadi Vijećnice? Dok je njena čeona fasada postala monumentalni, dobro pozicionirani, prepoznatljiv ekran za odnose s javnošću sarajevskog gradonačelnika, Vijećnica je u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19 zapravo zatvorena u izolaciju i skrivena iza maski diplomatskih i političkih poruka. Pokazivanje solidarnosti uprave grada Sarajeva sa zemljama u kojima je virus imao najpogubnije djelovanje, Italijom, Iranom, Španijom, Amerikom, projekcijama na Vijećnici, groteskni je nastavak svođenja njenih vrijednosti na ekonomsku i političku korist.



*Slika 2. Iranska državna zastava projicirana na fasadu Vijećnice u znak solidarnosti s iranskim žrtvama COVID-19 pandemije, autor Ivan Šebalj / Klix.ba*



*Slika 3. Turska državna zastava projicirana na Vijećnicu u znak zahvalnosti za donaciju medicinskog materijala, Klix.ba*





Slika 4. Američka zastava projicirana na Vijećnicu u znak solidarnosti sa žrtvama COVID-19, Klix.ba



Slika 5. Projekcija Hagade, autor Ivan Šebalj / Klix.ba

Na dan kad je u sarajevskoj Katedrali nadbiskup vrhbosanski Vinko Puljić služio misu u znak sjećanja na pogubljene pripadnike i podržavatelje fašističke Nezavisne Države Hrvatske iz Drugog svjetskog rata, a na ulicama Sarajeva građani, koji još žive traumu opsade grada s kraja dvadesetog stoljeća, iskazivali svoj protest, na Vijećnicu je, kao sjećanje na žrtve fašizma, projicirana fotografija sarajevske Hagade, srednjevjekovnog jevrejskog kodeksa visoke vrijednosti iz Španije, koji se čuva u

Zemaljskom muzeju. Sarajevska Hagada je u Drugom svjetskom ratu sačuvana, svjedočeći da je najveća vrijednost bosanskog naslijeđa njegova inkluzivnost.

Zemaljski muzej, sve njegove kolekcije i uposlenici su u vrijeme Covid-19 pandemije ostali bez primanja i budžeta. Instrumentaliziranju Vijećnice pridruženo je političko instrumentaliziranje Hagade. Umjesto integriranog, holističkog pristupa, umjesto ekologije kulturnog naslijeđa, naslijeđe, institucije, stručnjaci, nositelji znanja ostali su izvan zanimanja i odgovornosti javne politike. Neopipljivi sloj medija koji preko glavne fasade Vijećnice klizi u kič, više od povezivanja sa svijetom ukazuje na prijeteći kulturni zaborav. Pikselizacija fasade više ne simbolizira sposobnost fragmenata da preuzmu značenje cjeline i omogućuje njenu ponovnu uspostavu obnavljanja, nego slutnju da je bosansko naslijeđe ostalo bez čuvara. Odavno je vrijeme za “sabor ptica” i zapućivanje prema Simurgu.

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# SARAJEVO AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN SOCIAL CHANGE CAUSED BY THE PANDEMIC

Ivo Marković

The coronavirus – Covid 19 pandemic of 2020 is an epoch-making turning point that intimates a new future in many areas of life. The human temptation to follow the line of least resistance can be problematic, because in times of peace and prosperity people relax and do not conduct their lives or the business of the world at the necessary level of responsibility. And so our world has begun to teeter towards increasing inequality that provokes social unrest, political conflict, environmental destruction, and irresponsible unpreparedness for catastrophe. Any number of scientists predicted that humanity would face the threat of a pandemic of precisely the sort that has happened and that it could well be more dangerous than that of an atomic or any other form of weapon of mass destruction, but the individuals responsible, at the level of individual states and global institutions, failed to react appropriately by preparing for such a threat which is what has made this coronavirus pandemic such a destructive shock for our world. This lethargy and flight to where resistance is least is so powerful as to stifle all practical resistance, from individuals, peoples, and even civilisations, which then end in catastrophe and fail. The holy books are full of warnings, such as *Perditio tua ex te* (Hos 13.9) – *your damnation comes from you yourself*, of catastrophes caused by human fault and then conversion after the catastrophe. The corona crisis will also almost certainly shake humanity awake and initiate life changes that would have been unthinkable before the crisis.

## Fundamental features of the world before the pandemic

1. Pervasive globalisation controlled by US-led liberal capitalism. Liberal capitalism's fundamental characteristic is greed. For all its greed, it remains the most efficient economic model, but it is nonetheless a terrible thing for humanity to be led by greed. It can be effective at enriching individuals and oligarchies, but deepens the gap between rich and poor, creating social conflict, and irresponsibly exploiting natural resources and destroying the environment.

2. Major international companies paying for politicians' campaigns, who in return listen to them, in practice ceding political control over the entire world and allowing them to alienate the sovereignty of states and enrich themselves by looting the state and disenfranchising the middle classes. This has provoked revolt amongst the impoverished middle classes against rich political elites around the world, prompting distrust in globalisation and democracy, and enclosure within collectivist ideological frameworks like nationalism, movements for national sovereignty, religious exclusivism, racism, and elitism. Such disturbed social relations have put disturbed politicians in power, from Trump in the US, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Orban in Hungary, Erdogan in Turkey, Putin in Russia, Vučić in Serbia, to Johnson in Britain, et cetera.

3. All the achievements of civilisation and landmarks of social democracy, human rights, personal liberties, freedom of religion and opinion, freedom of speech, political correctness, environmental protection programs and moves to protect life more generally, et cetera, came all of a sudden to look to the disenfranchised masses like tools of seduction for the political elites to manipulate with and use to keep them in subordination... As a result, irrational ideologies, conspiracy theories, fear, and distrust have welled up, to be taken comprehensive advantage of by right-wing populist parties, which then take power under idealised leaders with a tendency towards totalitarianism.

4. Globalisation, controlled by liberal capitalism, has created conflicts around the globe, started so-called proxy wars, whose outcomes allowed it to impose its own interests, and supported dictatorships that suited it, and so prevented progress in

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any number of states. An impoverished world gives birth to lots of children – the word proletarian comes from the Latin *proles* = progeny, and it literally means a man with many children – but the result is these countries can't offer proper life chances to so many people, creating a need for their populations to migrate. There are around 70 million refugees from armed conflict and probably even more economic migrants in the world today, seeking better life chances in richer countries, particularly those where the birthrate too low for the population to reproduce itself. The political manipulation of the issue of refugees and migrants within a context of people shutting themselves behind narrowly defined boundaries of sovereignty has turned our world into one of fear and distrust, with a loss of solidarity and compassion.

5. The feminist movement, the movement for gender partnership instead of patriarchal authority, has long been one of the more positive trends for humanity. It has inspired the LBTQI movement to pluck various forms of homosexual out of their despised position and integrate them as accepted members of humanity. The movement has gone from strength to strength, is well organised, and has achieved great social power, transcending standard social boundaries, and has succeeded in its fight for the recognition of homosexual marriage, which has however negatively affected the family's status as the central reproductive unit of society, as well as for the adoption of children without fully weighing what is best for the child, and have even begun to form their own culture and mould various aspects of social life to accord with it. This rapid penetration of conservative societies and more particularly of the traditional religions by homosexual culture has provoked a defensive reaction and a powerful counterpunch of stigmatisation of the LGBTQI movement as a form of civilisational decline and decadence. Closed populist ideologies have embraced this reaction enthusiastically, indulging in the demonisation of all forms of homosexuality and reinforcing social divisions and distrust.

6. Unprecedented progress in electronic and digital technologies has fostered the development of artificial intelligence and the stirrings of a fourth Industrial Revolution that will be able not just to create robots to replace manual human labour but comm-bots – machines that communicate with people and can independently carry out the most complex of tasks. Like every revolu-

tion, this fourth Industrial Revolution is likely to create complex social conflicts, if these machines remain in the ownership of only a small group of the wealthy, with no participation by the majority of humankind. The first real effect of this fourth Industrial Revolution is, however, the unprecedented power it provides for the information-based manipulation of people. Previously, information-based manipulation has been economic and ideological, and humanity has developed feedback mechanisms against it and an increase in awareness that has reduced its impact. The new power of manipulation is based upon the analysis of enormous quantities of data and mass media promotion whose goals and impact the masses of humankind have no way of discovering, so they fall victim to it. This new manipulation is already producing lack of confidence in democracy and in the media, and is creating spiritual insecurity and distrust and even mental illness.

7. In the areas of spirituality, culture, and religion, globalisation has facilitated a pervasive interpenetration of cultures and dialogue between religions and confessions. In the encounter of cultures, it has become practically impossible for one culture to assimilate and destroy a less developed one, but cultures quite regularly interpenetrate, producing new forms.<sup>1</sup> The traditional religions have shifted from relations of exclusivity to mutual acceptance, in the form of an inclusivity that posits one's own religion as universal, while incorporating others as lower forms. From this untenable position, the religions struggle with their own dogmatic traditions to get to positions of equal mutual plural respect for all religions and worldviews. On the social and political terrain, there is an exceptionally conflictual relationship between the society-state complex and religion. In Islamic countries, social theocracy dominates, more or less equating the state and the religious authorities, which places other religions and worldviews in a subordinate, unequal, and not infrequently persecuted status. In democratic countries, there is an ongoing trend towards the political manipulation of the religions, particularly from the perspective of the ideologies of populist closure.

8. The greatest evil done by modern technical civilisation has been the catastrophic destruction of the environment and of

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1 John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, Grand Central Publishing, 1988.

life more generally. Many scientists believe that the coronavirus is a consequence of having disturbed the balance of nature. Nature does not like to be played with and can respond cruelly in areas where human beings interfere with her rhythms. The present technological basis of the world rests predominantly on burning fossil fuels, like coal and oil, and the rain forest, creating enormous quantities of carbon dioxide and other similar gases and giving rise to the greenhouse effect, endangering all life on earth, and representing a particular threat to certain animal and plant species. A lack of human awareness and of limits to our power, that not everything that is possible is permissible, contribute to this threat to life. Humankind is not mature enough for the power it wields over the genetic manipulation of the bases of life, a power capable of producing such monstrous phenomena as the coronavirus. And so, euthanasia, birth control that does not respect the value of life, the slaughter of animals and the destruction of the plant world in disregard of animal and plant rights – these are all phenomena that indicate humanity's immaturity. Global agreements to protect life show clearly that the world at present lacks mechanisms for establishing a responsible and effective approach to protecting life.

9. Humankind lacks the institutions needed to deal with and manage all these major problems and conflicts created by liberal capitalism. Global institutions like the United Nations have been too much under the control of political power and subject to political influence and conflict, and have not even come close to facing up to the growing needs for coordination in a globalised world.

### The world after the 2020 coronavirus pandemic.

In his novel *La Peste*, Albert Camus wrote that people **“thought that everything still was possible for them; which presupposed that pestilences were impossible. They went on doing business, arranged for journeys, and formed views. How should they have given a thought to anything like plague, which rules out any future?”** The experience of the pandemic, which is causing people to die helplessly in mass numbers, has caused all of life to contract: **“At first they told us, “We are closing the skies” (what a term!). Afterward the**

**beloved cafés were shut down, the theaters, the sports fields, the museums. The kindergartens, the schools, the universities. One after the other, humanity is extinguishing its lanterns.**<sup>2</sup> More than anything, the Covid 19 crisis may cause humanity to sober up, wise up a little, gain some self-awareness, and get people to understand, at least to some degree, that we can no longer live as we have, that we have to show solidarity, be fairer, more responsible towards all life. From stirrings which are already appearing it is possible at least to guess at and perhaps even partially predict what the future after the pandemic may hold.

1. All these predictions may be stymied if the corona crisis deepens or humanity does not overcome the pandemic but ends up forced to live with it as a way of life. In that case, one may really talk of a dark future for humanity, an increase in widespread poverty and a loss of orientation and self-awareness. Plagues are archetypal, deeply imprinted in our subconscious, and their very appearance has associations of a danger stronger than us, a sense that humanity has lost its limitless power and the autonomy it attained in the modern age. Should it prove impossible to open up social meeting places, like bars, cafés, and restaurants, and should digital shopping and the online marketplace increase significantly, and larger gatherings continue to be banned, this will create not just mass unemployment but personal dissatisfaction that will grow with the continued lack of social interaction, integration, and a general lack of socialisation. The mental disorders that the modern rhythm of life has created, like anxiety, loss of meaning, and a sense of individualistic loneliness, may find themselves deepening even further, though it is, honestly speaking, difficult to predict how an extension of the crisis may negatively affect the treatment of mental health.

2. We may legitimately expect the results of any turning point after the pandemic to manifest quickly in such phenomena as mass unemployment, hunger, and poverty, so that the small number of extremely rich individuals will not be able to hold onto their wealth. Insofar as every great fortune is a result of unjust relations and so of injustice, it would not be good for them

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2 David Grossman, The plague is a formative event. When it fades, new possibilities will emerge, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-plagueis-a-formative-event-when-it-fades-new-possibilities-will-emerge-1.8687842> (24.3.2020).

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to hold onto their wealth out of pure selfishness, as it could provoke social explosions. The multitude of the impoverished will certainly push for better protection of workers' rights, whether by greater participation in the ownership of digital apparatuses and for a more just division of profits. Rich countries have already shown responsibility by distributing substantial economic assistance to undeveloped countries for economic renewal and in humanitarian aid. Solidarity is a natural human phenomenon which grows the more we encounter suffering and we may legitimately expect it to outgrow the panic that leads to closure within the human herd.

3. The most powerful effect the corona crisis has created has been the wholesale transfer of many aspects of life onto the Internet. The Internet is certainly a superb technological achievement which humanity has not yet taken anything like as far as the potential it offers. Many offices have already been replaced by home offices and workplaces transferred to people's homes. Zoom conferences, online classes, schools, faculties, conferences and projects, like the one for which this paper has been written, online stores, transition to digital payment and the withdrawal of cash from circulation, medicine, Internet communications, religious practice, all these areas and more have taken an irreversible step into the world of digital communications.

4. An equally impactful change caused by the corona crisis has been the reduction in the burning of fossil fuels and just a few months have been enough for nature to show signs of recovery: the ozone hole is closing, the production of carbon gases has been reduced, the destruction of the rainforests has paused, and animals have had living space returned to them. One may legitimately expect humankind to invest far more heavily in renewable sources of energy and conservation. One may also legitimately expect humanity to adopt ethical and legal norms and set proper boundaries to its scientific power, particularly in the area of genetic manipulation and of the protection of all life, more generally.

5. We may certainly expect the world order to be largely reconstituted, and for humankind to create new global institutions that will be able to respond to the challenges of globalisation. Naturally, there is always a threat that some other power will assume lordship over globalisation in place of liberal capital-



ism, China perhaps, so that the world is once again exposed to selfish diktat rather than a balance of interests. The fact that liberal capitalism, which used greed as the motor of the economy, was born in the Anglo-Saxon world reflects poorly on that civilisation. It is fair to ask which civilisation will take over global leadership. The collectivist culture of China does not have sufficient understanding for the scope of human rights and liberties or for individual human dignity, for which European civilisation has always fought. It is therefore important that European civilisation not lose its necessary influence on shaping our world if we are to avoid a repeat of such catastrophic experiences as fascism and communism.

6. Information-based cyber manipulation is a major threat to humanity that the corona crisis may well reinforce. The current return of totalitarian regimes around the world has enabled new despots to turn digital data into a tool for ruling over people. For example, testing for the virus can also be used to gather enormous quantities of genetic data about people. Similarly, creating a vaccine could provide an opportunity to inject people with reagents that would allow their movements to be monitored, along with their health, and so forth. Even just possession of the bare minimum of technical tools, like mobile phones, computers, the Internet, or inserting chips into the human body, can be of great service to unethical forms of rule over people.

7. Our individualistic civilisation has largely forgotten that human beings are necessarily social and relational beings, whose centre does not lie within themselves, but in relation to those they love. As our civilisation has developed in this direction, it has brought about a forgetting of this closeness to people without whom the individual cannot come into being or develop and grow or live. The present trend of retreat to our homes may help restore our awareness of the importance of other people, and increase our ability as human beings to be higher beings of love, improve the quality of our family relations, and create a better environment for our children to grow up in.

## The fate of culture, religion, and sport after the corona crisis

There is one thing that links culture, religion, and sport, and that is our leaving everyday life for an environment in which our forgotten and suppressed powers, abilities, and needs literally explode. In his book *Homo Ludens*,<sup>3</sup> Johan Huizinga discovered for us the importance of the playground for play, an insight developed by H.G. Gadamer. In play, the player steps outside the self, “loses himself in the game,”<sup>4</sup> ... “In the game, all the meaningful relations which render human life active and secure are not so much excluded as curiously suspended.”<sup>5</sup> This deviation may be seen in the fact that “human play seeks its own playgrounds... which position that play in a world that is closed off from the world of interests.”<sup>6</sup> So just a play seeks a playground art seeks galleries, museums, theatres, concert halls, while for religion places dedicated to our relations with God are equally important places. During the corona crisis, sport and religion have largely transferred onto the Internet, and culture even more so. It is possible that in the long-term the stadiums may remain empty and sport lovers learn to watch competitions on screen. While churches, mosques, synagogues, pagodas, and other similar sacred places have been closed, religious rituals and services have largely migrated to the Internet and people have learned to live their intimate faith within themselves and in an ever closer community of believers within their family circle and among friends. After the coronavirus, culture will probably display the following characteristics:

1. Culture will move wholesale to the Internet. Just as the pandemic has strengthened the presence of the Internet in our lives, it fosters the integration of culture into global life and the world will surely be more powerfully enriched by culture. Even before the corona crisis, museums, galleries, and particularly video culture, theatre, and music had

3 Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens, A study of the play element in culture*, Beacon Press, Boston 1955. He established the use of the concept for a fundamental feature of human beings.

4 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, J.C.B. Mohr Tübingen 1965, 97.

5 Gadamer, 97-98.

6 Gadamer, 102.

an extensive presence on the Internet. Art will no longer be able to survive or carry out its mission without the Internet, and all exhibitions, shows, and concerts will simply have to be available on the Internet to survive and be effective.

2. While the entire world will enjoy the fruits of culture and culture will become profitable on the Internet, because on the Internet anything that circulates is profitable to somebody, the artists and creatives will be shortchanged, robbed in the allocation of profits from culture. The owners of Internet content will literally loot culture, as they do now.
3. Consequently, impoverished and disenfranchised cultural workers face a battle to ensure that cultural policy manages to at least some degree to reclaim part of the profit from the trade in culture on the Internet. It is to be expected that social support for culture will also be measured in terms of cultural content present on the Internet.

### The cultural politics of Sarajevo after the pandemic

The city of Sarajevo has taken up residence in world memory as the European Jerusalem, because there religions, cultures, and civilisations meet, and as a town that, under siege, defended itself through culture, and where leading artists came to defend civilisation with culture rather than with weapons. Because of its multicultural nature, Sarajevo has proven itself through its strong artistic and creative power. This is all reflected in the tourism that has become a major economic lifeline for the city. If Sarajevo wants to retain and promote its unique identity, built up bloodily over the centuries, and developed through a spiritually interwoven life, it must take due account of art and of spiritual diversity as the most important aspects of life here. Sarajevo's task in this regard should be based on the following programs:

1. Sarajevo must have excellent research and teaching university centres – and it is important to stress that teaching centres cannot be excellent if they are not also centres of scientific and academic research. In practice that means a faculty of arts or philosophy with all the necessary constituent disciplines, an excellent Academy of music, an Academy of performing arts, an excellent theatre, a Philhar-

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monic with its own concert hall, a film studio, and all the appropriate more popular forms of the less sophisticated arts of entertainment.

2. Not just Sarajevo but Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole must give sufficient weight to the fact that they literally are naturally creative areas because they are areas of encounter between different forms of spirituality and interests. This means that Bosnia and Herzegovina has a solid basis for scientific and academic research where art, science, and more generally spirituality can influence each other. Such creative initiatives and cooperation could have a powerful impact on reconciliation and on building a dynamic democratic society. All educational fields should have their own research centres with concrete academic and scientific programs.
3. It is important that the city of Sarajevo support artistic creativity, and not just copycat reproduction. It should incentivise artists to create works of art, to compose, write, and film.
4. To maintain such a high and dynamic level of cultural creativity, the city must develop its artistic links with other cities and states and build up the appropriate infrastructure.
5. Appropriate weight must also be given to the fact that the religions have strong links through their spirituality to art and that cooperation between urban artistic categories and religious centres of spirituality can be a powerful stimulus to artistic creation and religious spirituality.
6. Sarajevo should develop the understanding that art is not as expensive as it may seem at first, because its impact is reflected in multiple ways on the economy of the town.
7. All artistic life in the town should be represented in multiple languages on the Internet. The accessibility of art on the Internet should be one of the criteria for social evaluation and support to particular branches of art.

Translated by Desmond Maurer

# SARAJEVO U KONTEKSTU ULOGE KULTURE U DRUŠTVENIM PROMJENAMA IZAZVANIM PANDEMIJOM

Ivo Marković

Pandemija Covid-19 2020. godine epohalno je prevratnički događaj koji zacrtava novu budućnost brojnih područja života. Problematično ljudsko iskušenje je linija manjeg otpora, jer se ljudi u vrijeme mira i blagostanja opuste i ne vode svoj život i svijet na nužnoj razini odgovornosti. Tako je naš svijet počeo srljati u sve veću nejednakost koja izaziva društvene nemire, političke lomove, uništenje okoliša i neodgovornu pripremljenost za katastrofe. Mnogi su znanstvenici predviđali da čovječanstvu prijeti pandemija kakva nas je sada zadesila i da bi ta pandemija mogla biti opasnija od prijetnje atomskog ili bilo kakvog drugog oružja za masovno uništenje. No, odgovorni ljudi ni na razini pojedinih država niti institucije na razini svijeta nisu adekvatno reagirali pripremom na takvu prijetnju i zato je ova Covid-19 pandemija tako razorno uzdrmla naš svijet. Ta tromost, bijeg u manji otpor, toliko je snažna da joj se praktički pojedinac, narodi i civilizacije ne mogu oduprijeti, pa završavaju u katastrofama i propadaju. Svete knjige prepune su upozorenja tipa *Perditio tua ex te* (Hos 13,9) – “Propast tvoja iz tebe dolazi”, što izaziva katastrofe prouzrokovane ljudskom krivnjom i onda obraćenje nakon katastrofe. Tako će nesporno i ova korona kriza probuditi čovječanstvo i pokrenuti izmjene života koje su prije te krize bile nezamislive.

## Osnovne značajke svijeta prije pandemije

1. Posvemašnja globalizacija koju je kontrolirao liberalni kapitalizam na čelu sa Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Temeljna značajka liberalnog kapitalizma je pohlepa. Iako je liberalni kapitalizam sa svojom pohlepom ekonomski najefikasniji model, ipak je užasno kada pohlepa vodi čovječanstvo. To može biti efikasno za bogaćenje pojedinaca i oligarhija, ali produbljuje jaz između bogatih i siromašnih, stvara društvene sukobe, neodgovorno eksploatira prirodne resurse i uništava okoliš.

2. Velike međunarodne kompanije plaćale su kampanje političarima koji su ih zauzvrat morali slušati i tako su praktički preuzeli političku kontrolu nad čitavim svijetom, oduzimale suverenitet državama i bogatile se pljačkom država i obespravljenih srednje klase. To je diljem svijeta izazvalo pobunu osiromašene srednje klase protiv bogatih političkih elita, nepovjerenje u globalizaciju, demokraciju, zatvaranje u grupaške ideološke okvire poput nacionalizma, državnog suverenizma, religiozne isključivosti, rasizma, elitizma. A onda poremećeni društveni odnosi dovode na vlast poremećene političare poput Trampa u Americi, Bolsonara u Brazilu, Orbana u Mađarskoj, Erdogana u Turskoj, Putina u Rusiji, Vučića u Srbiji, Johnsona u Britaniji itd.

3. Svi civilizacijski domašaji i standardi socijalne demokracije, ljudskih prava, osobnih sloboda, sloboda vjere i uvjerenja, slobode govora, političke korektnosti, programi borbe za zaštitu okoliša i života općenito i sl. obespravljenim masama najednom se čine zavodničkim sredstvima kojima političke elite manipuliraju i drže ih u podređenom položaju. Zbog toga bujaju iracionalne ideologije, konspirativne ideje, strah, nepovjerenje koje obilato koriste desne populističke političke partije i dolaze na vlast s idealiziranim vođama sklonim totalitarizmu.

4. Globalizacija pod kontrolom liberalnog kapitalizma stvarala je sukobe diljem svijeta, pokretala tzv. *proxy* ratove, čiji će rezultati omogućiti nametanje vlastitih interesa, podržavala diktature koje su joj odgovarale te tako onemogućavale napredak brojnih država. Osiromašeni svijet rađa puno djece – riječ proleter dolazi od lat. riječi *proles* = potomstvo, što doslovce znači čovjek s puno djece. Onda te zemlje nemaju mogućnosti za život tolikoga broja ljudi, što stvara nužnost za pokretom stanovništva.

Tako je u našem svijetu nastalo gotovo 70 milijuna izbjeglica od ratnih sukoba i vjerojatno još više ekonomskih selilaca, koji bolje životne šanse žele naći u bogatim zemljama, osobito u onima koje ne rađaju dostatno stanovništva za vlastitu reprodukciju. Politička manipulacija izbjeglicama i seliocima u kontekstu zatvaranja u uske suverenitete pretvarala je naš svijet u svijet straha i nepovjerenja, gubitka solidarnosti i suosjećanja.

5. Feministički pokret, pokret za partnerstvo spolova umjesto patrijarhalne nadmoći dugo je bio najpozitivniji trend čovječanstva. To je nadahnulo LBTQI pokret da razne vrste homoseksualaca izvadi iz prezira i integrira ih u prihvaćene članove čovječanstva. Taj se pokret osnažio, dobro organizirao i došao do velike društvene moći te je prekoračio standardne društvene granice, izborio se za homoseksualni brak te time poremetio obitelj kao središnju reproduktivnu stanicu društva, usvajanje djece bez dostatna uvažavanja perspektive dobra djeteta, čak počeo oblikovati vlastitu kulturu i prema njoj mnoge razine društvenog života. Taj nagli prodor homoseksualne kulture u konzervativna društva i osobito tradicionalne religije stvorio je obranaški pokret sa snažnim kontraefektom stigmatizacije LBTQI pokreta kao civilizacijske dekadencije. Populističke zatvorene ideologije obilato su prihvatile taj kontraefekt za sotonizaciju svih vrsta homoseksualaca i tako osnažile društvene podjele i nepovjerenje.

6. Neslućeni napredak elektroničke digitalne tehnologije omogućio je razvitak umjetne inteligencije i početak četvrte industrijske revolucije koja je sposobna napraviti ne samo robote koji zamjenjuju ljudski manualni rad, nego i robote – strojeve koji komuniciraju s ljudima i samostalno obavljaju najsloženije poslove. Kao i svaka revolucija, i ta četvrta industrijska revolucija može stvoriti složene društvene sukobe ukoliko ti strojevi budu u vlasništvu samo male grupe bogatih bez udjela većine čovječanstva. No, prvi aktualni efekt te četvrte industrijske revolucije je neslućena moć informatičke manipulacije ljudima. Dosadašnja informatička manipulacija bila je ekonomska i ideološka i prema njoj čovječanstvo je razvilo mehanizme kontrole i porast svijesti koja reducira njezine efekte. Nova moć manipulacije bazirana je na analizi goleme količine podataka i masovnoj medijskoj promociji, čije ciljeve i učinke mase čovječanstva ne mogu otkriti, pa postaju žrtve manipulacije. Ta nova manipulacija već proizvo-

di nepovjerenje u demokraciju, u medije, stvara duhovnu nesigurnost i nepovjerenje i čak psihičke bolesti.

7. Na području duhovnosti, kulture i religije globalizacija je omogućila posvemašnje prožimanje kultura i dijaloga među religijama i uvjerenjima. U susretu kultura praktički je nemoguće da jedna kultura proguta i uništi nerazvijeniju kulturu, nego se redovito kulture prožimaju i rezultiraju novim oblikom kulture.<sup>1</sup> Tradicionalne su religije prešle iz odnosa isključivosti u uzajamno prihvaćanje u obliku uključivosti, koja vlastitu religiju postavlja kao univerzalnu, a ostale uključuje kao niže vrste. Iz te neodržive pozicije religije se bore s vlastitim dogmatskim tradicijama da dođu do ravnopravnog uzajamnog pluralnog uvažavanja svih religija i svjetonazora. Na društveno-političkom području krajnje je konfliktan odnos društva-države i religije. U islamskih zemljama vlada društvena teokracija s više-manje postovjećenom državnom i religioznom vlašću, što ostale religije i svjetonazore dovodi u podređen, neravnopravan i često progoniteljski status. U demokratskih zemljama aktualan je trend političke manipulacije religijama, osobito u ideologijama populističke zatvorenosti.

8. Najveće zlo što ga je stvorila suvremena tehnička civilizacija je katastrofalno razaranje okoliša iz života uopće. Mnogi znanstvenici su uvjerenja da je virus korona posljedica poremećaja prirodne ravnoteže. Priroda se ne da igrati sa sobom i zna okrutno reagirati na područjima na kojima je čovjek ugrozio njezin ritam. Trenutna tehnološka osnova svijeta počiva pretežno na fosilnom sagorijevanju ugljena, nafte i prašuma, proizvodeći enormne količine ugljen dioksida i sličnih plinova koji stvaraju staklenički efekt i ugrožavaju sav život na zemlji, osobito neke životinjske i biljne vrste. Toj ugrozi života doprinosi i manjak ljudske svijesti i granice moći. Nije sve dopušteno što je moguće. Čovječanstvo nije zrelo za moć koju ima u genetskoj manipulaciji osnovom života, što također može izroditi fenomene poput virusa korona. Nadalje eutanazija, kontrola rađanja koja ne poštuje vrijednost života, ubijanje životinja i uništenje biljnog svijeta bez životinjskih i biljnih prava, sve su to fenomeni koji pokazuju nezrelost čovječanstva. Dogovori na razini svijeta za

1 Naisbitt, John, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, Grand Central Publishing, 1988.



očuvanje života pokazuju kako postojeći svijet nema mehanizme za odgovoran i efikasan odnos prema zaštiti života.

9. Za sve tolike probleme i sukobe koje je stvarao liberalni kapitalizam čovječanstvo nije imalo potrebne institucije koje bi rješavale i koordinirale te probleme. Institucije na razini svijeta, poput Ujedinjenih nacija, suviše su bile pod kontrolom političke moći i predmet političkog utjecaja i sukoba, pa ni približno nisu mogle izići u susret naraslim potrebama koordinacije globaliziranog svijeta.

## Svijet nakon Covid-19 pandemije 2020.

Albert Camus u svom romanu “Kuga” piše da su ljudi “mislili da je njima još uvijek sve moguće jer se pretpostavljalo da su pošasti nemoguće. Nastavili su uobičajeno poslovati, pripremati putovanja i formirati svoje poglede. Kako su oni mogli razmišljati o nečemu poput kuge koja isključuje svaku budućnost?” Iskustvo pandemije od koje nemoćno masovno umiru ljudi, od koje se sav život sužuje “u početku su nam rekli ‘zatvaramo nebo’ (kakav termin!). Nakon toga voljeni kafići su zatvoreni, kazališta, sportski tereni, muzeji. Vrtići, škole, univerziteti. Jedno za drugim čovječanstvo gasi svoje lampione.”<sup>2</sup> Korona kriza prije svega će sve čovječanstvo otrijezniti, malo opametiti, dozvati samosvijesti i protresti da će ljudi koliko-toliko shvatiti da ne možemo živjeti kao do sada, da moramo biti solidarniji, pravedniji, odgovorniji prema svemu životu. Iz naznaka koje se već naziru može se barem naslutiti i djelomice predviđati nadolazeća budućnost nakon pandemije.

1. Sva ta predviđanja mogla bi zaustaviti i korona krizu još više produbiti ukoliko čovječanstvo ne pobijedi ovu pandemiju i bude prisiljeno živjeti s njome kao načinom života. U tome se slučaju uistinu može govoriti o mračnoj budućnosti čovječanstva, porastu posvemašnjeg siromaštva i gubitku orijentacije i samo-svijesti. Kuge su arhetipski dubinski utkane u podsvijest čovječanstva i njihova pojava asocira opasnost koja je jača od čovjeka,

2 Grossman, D. *The Plague Is a Formative Event. When It Fades, New Possibilities Will Emerge* [online]. [pristupljeno 24. 03. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-plague-is-a-formative-event-when-it-fades-new-possibilities-will-emerge-1.8687842>

osjećaj da čovječanstvo gubi neograničenu moć i slobodu koje su dosegle u novome vijeku. Bude li nemoguće otvarati društvena susretništa poput lokala, kafića, restorana, budu li se digitalizirale prodavaonice i povećala online trgovina, zabranila masovna okupljanja, to će stvoriti ne samo masovnu nezaposlenost, nego i osobni nemir koji će nastati u nedostatku društvene interakcije, integracije i općeg manjka socijalizacije. Psihološki poremećaji koje je stvorio novovjekli ritam života, poput tjeskobe, gubitka smisla, osjećaja individualističke samoće, mogli bi se još više produbiti. No, uistinu je teško predvidjeti koliko bi produženje krize moglo pogodovati izlječenju mentalnoga zdravlja.

2. Opravdano je očekivati da će se rezultati toga zaokreta nakon pandemije ubrzo pokazati u pojavama masovne nezaposlenosti, gladi, neimaštine; mali broj ekstremno bogatih neće moći zadržati svoje bogatstvo, svako veliko bogatstvo rezultat je nepravednih odnosa, dakle nepravde. Ne bi bilo dobro da ga zadrže u svojoj sebičnosti, jer bi to moglo izazvati društvene eksplozije. Mnoštvo osiromašenih svakako će utjecati da se kvalitetnije zaštite radnička prava, da bude više udjela u vlasništvu digitaliziranih strojeva i da se pravednije raspodjeli zarada. Bogate zemlje već pokazuju odgovornost dodjelom obilate ekonomske pomoći nerazvijenim zemljama u obnovi ekonomije i humanitarne pomoći. Solidarnost je prirodan ljudski fenomen koji raste u susretu s patnjom i opravdano je očekivati da će biti snažniji od panike koja vodi u zatvorenost u ljudsko krdo.

3. Najsnažniji efekt koji je stvorila korona kriza je enormno prebacivanje mnogih razina života na internet. Internet je inače bio vrhunsko tehnološko dostignuće u koje čovječanstvo ni približno nije ušlo prema mogućnostima koje nudi. Već su masovno brojni uredi prebačeni u kućne urede i radna mjesta u domove u kojima ljudi žive. Zoom-konferencije, online nastava, škole, fakulteti, znanstveni skupovi i projekti, poput i ovoga za koji se piše ovaj rad, online trgovina, prelazak na digitalno plaćanje i uklanjanje novca iz prometa, medicina, internet komunikacija, religiozna praksa, sva su ta područja nepovratno zakoračila u digitalni komunikacijski svijet.

4. Jednako učinkovita promjena nastala korona krizom jest smanjenje sagorijevanja fosilnih goriva i već za samo par mjeseci priroda pokazuje naznake svoga ozdravljenja – zatvara se ozonska rupa, smanjuje se proizvodnja ugljičnih plinova, prestaje

razaranja prašuma, životinje dobivaju prostor za svoj život. Opravdano se može očekivati da će čovječanstvo masovnije investirati u obnovljive izvore i štednju energije. Također je opravdano očekivati da će čovječanstvo donijeti etičko-pravne norme za kontrolu granica svoje znanstvene moći, osobito u genetskoj manipulaciji i uopće u zaštiti svakoga života.

5. Svakako se može očekivati da će se svjetski poredak uvelike reorganizirati, da će čovječanstvo stvoriti institucije na razini svijeta koje će moći odgovoriti izazovima globalizacije. Normalno, uvijek postoji prijetnja da će netko drugi zagospodariti globalizacijom umjesto liberalnog kapitalizma, možda Kina, pa da svijet opet bude izložen sebičnom diktatu umjesto balansu interesa. Činjenica da je liberalni kapitalizam s pohlepom, osnovnim pokretačem ekonomije, nastao u anglosaksonskoj civilizaciji baca negativno svjetlo na tu civilizaciju. Stoga se opravdano postavlja pitanje koja će civilizacija preuzeti globalno vodstvo. Kolektivistička kultura Kine nema dostatno razumijevanje za domašaje ljudskih prava i sloboda, za ljudsko osobno dostojanstvo kakvo je izborila prije svega europska civilizacija. Zato bi bilo važno da europska civilizacija ne izgubi nužni utjecaj na oblikovanje našega svijeta, kako ne bi došlo do katastrofalnih iskustva kao što su bili fašizam i komunizam.

6. Velika prijetnja čovječanstvu koju može pojačati korona kriza je informatička *cyber* manipulacija. Trenutni povratak totalitističkih režima diljem svijeta omogućuje novim despotima da digitalne podatke pretvore u svoju moć vladanja nad ljudima. Primjerice, testiranja o virusu mogu se iskoristiti za prikupljanje enormne količine genetskih podataka o ljudima. Također stvaranje vakcine može omogućiti ubacivanje agenasa u ljude koji će omogućiti kontrolu kretanja, stanje zdravlja i sl. Samo nužno posjedovanje tehničkih sredstava, poput mobilnog telefona, kompjutera, interneta, ugrađenih čipova u ljudsko tijelo, mogu poslužiti nekorektnom vladanju ljudima.

7. Postojeća individualistička civilizacija uvelike je zaboravila da je čovjek nužno društveno i relaciono biće, čije središte nije u njemu samome, nego u relaciji s ljubljenom osobom. Takav razvitak civilizacije doveo je do zaborava bližnje osobe bez koje čovjek niti može nastati, niti se razvijati i rasti, niti živjeti. Postojeći trend povratka u dom mogao bi povratiti svijest o važnosti drugoga čovjeka, povećati ljudsku sposobnost da bude više

biće ljubavi, poboljšati kvalitetu obiteljskih odnosa i stvoriti kvalitetniji ambijent uzrasta djece.

## Sudbina kulture, religije i sporta nakon korona krize

Ima jedna poveznica koja uvezuje kulturu, religiju i sport, a to je izlazak iz svakodnevnog života u ambijent u kojemu doslovce eksplodiraju zaboravljene i zatrpane moći, sposobnosti i potrebe ljudi. Već je Johan Huizinga knjigom *Homo Ludens*<sup>3</sup> otkrio da je za igru bitno igralište, što je razradio H.G. Gadamer. U igri igrač odstupa i od sebe, igrač “gubi sebe u igri, [...] u igri svi smišljeni odnosi koji ljudski život čine aktivnim i sigurnim se ne isključuju, nego se radoznalo suspendiraju.”<sup>4</sup> To odstupanje vidi se u činjenici da “ljudska igra traži svoje igralište [...] koje igru stavlja u svijet zatvoren svijetu interesa.”<sup>5</sup> Posve jednako kao što igra traži igralište, umjetnost traži galerije, muzeje, kazališta, koncerte, a za religiju su jednako tako bitna mjesta posvećena odnosu prema Bogu. U korona krizi sport i religija su uvelike preselili na internet, a pogotovu kultura. Moglo bi se dogoditi da stadioni na duži rok ostanu prazni i da se zaljubljenici u sport nauče gledati natjecanja na ekranima, Dok su crkve, džamije, sinagoge, pagode i slična sveta mjesta bili zatvoreni, religiozni obredi uvelike su se preseliti na internet i ljudi su već naučili intimu svoje vjere živjeti u svojoj osobi i još tješnjem zajedništvu vjernika u krugu vlastite obitelji i prijatelja. Kultura nakon korona krize vjerojatno će imati sljedeće značajke:

1. Kultura se uvelike seli na internet. Budući da pandemija osnažuje prisutnost interneta u životu ljudi, to pogoduje integraciji kulture u život svijeta i svijet će sigurno biti snažnije obogaćen kulturom. Već su prije korona krize muzeji, galerije, a pogotovu video kultura, kazalište i glazba, obilato bili na internetu. Sada umjetnost jednostavno neće moći postojati i vršiti svoju misiju bez interneta, jed-

3 Huizinga, J. *Homo Ludens, A study of the play element in culture*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1955. Ustalio je upotrebu toga pojma kao temeljnu ljudsku značajku.

4 Gadamer, H. G. *Wahrheit und Methode*. Mohr Tübingen: J.C.B. 1965. 97–98.

5 Isto, 102.

nostavno sve izložbe, predstave, koncerti morat će biti dostupni na internetu kako bi opstali i djelovali.

2. Međutim, dok će sav svijet uživati plodove kulture i dok će kultura postati profitabilna na internetu, jer je na internetu sve što se vrti profitabilno nekome, sami umjetnički stvaratelji ostat će prikraćeni, opljačkani u raspodjeli profita od kulture, vlasnici internet sadržaja doslovce će pljačkati kulturu kako se to trenutno i zbiva.
3. Zato osiromašenim i obespravljenim kulturnim radnicima ostaje borba da u kulturnoj politici koliko koliko vrate dio zarade prometa kulture na internetu. Može se očekivati da će društvena podrška kulturi biti mjerena i kulturnim sadržajima prisutnima na internetu.

## Kulturna politika Sarajeva nakon pandemije

Grad Sarajevo instalirao se u pamćenje našega svijeta kao *europski Jeruzalem*, jer se u njemu susreću religije, kulture i civilizacije, grad koji se u opsadi branio kulturom i gdje su dolazili najjemenentniji umjetnici da umjesto oružjem kulturom brane civilizaciju. Zbog svoje multikulturalnosti Sarajevo se već dokazalo po snažnoj umjetničkoj stvaralačkoj moći. Sve se to reflektiralo na turizmu, koji je postao glavna privredna grana grada Sarajeva. Ukoliko Sarajevo želi zadržati i promicati taj svoj jedinstveni identitet, krvavo stjecan stoljećima i razvijan duhovno isprepletenim životom, mora voditi računa o umjetnosti i duhovnoj raznolikosti kao svojoj najbitnijoj strani života. Ta zadaća grada Sarajeva morala bi se zasnivati na sljedećim programima:

1. Sarajevo mora imati istraživačko obrazovne vrhunski sofisticirane univerzitetske centre – važno je naglasiti da obrazovni centri ne mogu biti vrhunski ako nisu i znanstveno-istraživački. To konkretno znači Filozofski fakultet sa svim potrebnim granama, vrhunsku Muzičku akademiju, Kazališnu akademiju, vrhunsko Kazalište – Pozorište, Filharmoniju s Koncertnom dvoranom, Filmski studio, kao i sve odgovarajuće popularne razine manje sofisticirane umjetnosti zabave.
2. Ne samo Sarajevo, nego i sva Bosna i Hercegovina moraju voditi račun da su doslovce prirodno kreativno područje

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zbog susretišta različitih duhovnosti i interesa. Ta znači da Bosna i Hercegovina ima solidne pretpostavke za znanstvena istraživanja i da se umjetnost, znanost i općenito duhovnost uzajamno potiču. Takva kreativna inicijativa i suradnja imale bi vrlo snažan utjecaj na pomirenje i izgradnju dinamičkog demokratskog društva. Sva obrazovna područja moraju se proglasiti istraživačkim centrima s konkretnim znanstvenim programima.

3. Vrlo je važno da grad Sarajevo potiče umjetničko stvaralaštvo, a ne samo reprodukciju, da potiče umjetnike da stvaraju umjetnička djela, komponiraju, pišu, snimaju.
4. Da bi grad Sarajevo zadržalo tako visoku i dinamičnu kulturnu kreativnost, mora razvijati umjetničku povezanost s drugim gradovima i državama i za te potrebe izgraditi odgovarajuću infrastrukturu.
5. Valja svakako voditi računa da su religije sa svojom duhovnošću vrlo povezane s umjetnošću. Suradnja gradskih umjetničkih razina s religijskim centrima duhovnosti snažno pokreće umjetničko stvaralaštvo i duhovnost religija.
6. Grad Sarajevo morao bi razviti svijest da umjetnost nije toliko skupa koliko se čini na prvi pogled, jer se učinci umjetnosti višestruko reflektiraju na ekonomiju grada.
7. Sav umjetnički život grada Sarajeva trebao bit biti zastupljen višejezično na internetu. Zastupljenost neke umjetnosti na internetu trebala bi biti jedna od kriterija društvenog vrednovanja i podrške određenoj grani umjetnosti.

# KULTURNA ODREDNICA KAO PARADIGMA; DEKONSTRUKCIJA SVIJESTI

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Balkanski prostor, a posebno naša zemlja, imali su veliki istorijski i kulturni pečat s istoka i zapada. Naslijeđena povijest u kombinaciji s epohom socijalizma i estetskim dostignućima modernih i postmodernih pokreta u kulturi, pomiješana sa sadašnjim zbivanjima, narušava kulturne i političke tokove u postkonfliktnom društvu Bosne i Hercegovine. Sva ta baština nije parcijalna niti kolektivna na etničkom principu. Umjetnici iz različitih sredina dali su taj jedinstveni pečat postovima modernih kulturnih pokreta, ali još uvijek opterećen duhovima jugoslavenske prošlosti i djelomičnim interesom svake etničke grupe. Podijeljeno u stvarnosti, ali nedjeljivo svojom supstancom i istorijskom porukom, kulturno naslijeđe je preživjelo enorman napad na samosvijest i simbole ove kulture. Kulturni radnici i umjetnici iz Bosne su, isključivo iz doba Jugoslavije, producirali i dali značajan doprinos u kinematografiji, muzici i književnosti u bivšoj državi te širom svijeta. Neke od ovih dostignuća u kulturnom sjećanju ove zemlje postaju teret za njenu sadašnjost i moguća nova promjena u društvenoj, kulturnoj i političkoj budućnosti.

Važno pitanje koje se postavlja jeste kako se ova kulturna pozadina, sa svim njenim proizvodima iz duge istorije, može uzeti za novu paradigmu socijalnog dijaloga i pomirenja između tih umjetnika i drugih relevantnih nosilaca društvenih procesa, kako bi se prevladala parcijalizirana svijesti pojedinaca i grupa sadašnjeg trenutka, smatrajući da mnogi od njih još uvijek nisu u potpunosti razjašnjeni, kakve su biografije i doprinos pojedinaca u tom smislu.



Slična pitanja moraju biti postavljena na institucionalnom i kulturnom nivou donosilaca odluka, ali ne u politici, nego u tim visokim umjetničkim krugovima za novi pristup, što znači stvoriti određeni “kulturni ustav” za buduće djelovanje i koegzistenciju.

Ovaj utjecaj se danas može osjetiti i to na značajan način. Kultura tako malog prostora imala je svjetski značajna dostignuća. Sami učesnici, nazvat ćemo ih kulturnim radnicima prema terminologiji tog vremena, koji su nastojali prikazati jedinstveni način života, emocije i svijest ovog prostora, ostavili su jak pečat koji se danas odražava u različitim oblicima. Neophodnost aktivnosti koje bi otvarale nova društvena pitanja o ulogama i doprinosu aktera koji su odrastali i formirali se u vremenu uspona socijalističkog samoupravljanja, krize šezdesetih, i ekonomskog uzleta u sedamdesetim, sve do novog vala koji prati književnost, muziku, i film. Danas ti umjetnici na jednoj strani kreiraju paradigmu stranu onome što su vjerovali zarad neke lažne simbolike dnevno-političkog jadikovanja.

### Faze razvoja memorijskog

Stvarani identitet i duhovnost ovog prostora potirani su dugi niz stoljeća, da bi pečat posebnosti dobili u srednjem vijeku, premda bez mogućnosti osnaživanja te svijesti zbog uvijek snažnijih i velikih osvajača koji dolaze ili prolaze ovim prostorom.

Važan doprinos nastanku i deosmanizaciji bosanske samobitnosti pojavljuje se u književnosti, orijentirajući se van imperijalnog kruga uz sublimaciju bosanskog izraza, gradeći autohtoni izričaj. Jedna vrsta vakuuma osjeti se i danas prevashodno u djelovanju onih koji ga drže vlastitim usponom nauštrb legitimacije jedinstvene kulture i kulturnog kao osnove za građenje odnosa na domaćem i međunarodnom planu. Razni pokreti i inicijative, poput pokreta za autonomiju, završavali su neuspjehom ili zaboravom zbog sluganstva i nepoznavanja vlastite povijesti i naslijeđa zanemarenog stoljećima.

Teška politička legitimacija, ratna i poslijeratna zbivanja, ideologija, historijski mitovi, ratni zločini i druga dnevna politička pitanja. Sve zajedno komplikuje situaciju u državi koja se mijenja, interferira i ohrabruje nove mitove. U nastojanju da se



dekonstruira period društveno-kulturnog razvoja u eri socijalizma, i prije, institucije koje su učestvovala na mnogim događajima u zemlji i van zemlje, pojedinci i grupe koje su oblikovale naučni, kulturni, ekonomski, javni i medijski prostor, bile su isprepletene s tenzijama u društvu.

Pojedini umjetnici, gostujući u različitim medijima, nastoje “rekonstruirati” taj neponovljivi kulturni imidž Bosne i Hercegovine koji je vladao tijekom 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća, stvarajući svojevrсни postmoderni “ideocentrizam” koji se koristi u svakodnevnim političkim prepirkama i rekonstrukcijama onoga što se dogodilo i zašto se dogodilo. S druge strane, takvo tumačenje bliže i dalje istorije direktno utječu na cijeli sistem vrijednosti koji nije *mainstream*, ali on živi kao oblik nelustrirane ideološke svijesti, koja postaje glasnogovornik nove težnje i ohrabrujući nove nesuglasice odozdo prema gore, sve do političkih interpretacija. Upravo je taj odnos, koji se ne može svesti na kulturu i njene produkte, važna determinanta događaja, koji preplavljaju političku, ekonomsku i svaku drugu sferu kulture te su doslovno protiv konačnog čina ove predstave.

Kultura je upravo taj faktor integracije u Bosni i Hercegovini što ga čini jedinstvenim, iako malim, ali prilično rasprostranjenim u svijetu i kreativnim potencijalom prilično moćnom mediju. Jedinstveni kulturni prostor je zasnovan na zajedničkim duhovnim vrijednostima, ne samo tokom socijalizma, već i mnogo duže, od srednjovjekovnog vremena gdje je bosanska kultura dobila pečat autonomnog konfesionalnog suživota. Perspektiva i značaj mitologije kroz istoriografiju odražava kulturni i umjetnički pokret, razni povijesni događaji su još uvijek nejasni i stvaraju dodatna pitanja i kontroverze, a tiču se razdoblja 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća.

Ponekad se čini da kultura i različiti oblici umjetnosti iz perspektive mlađih generacija komuniciraju i pokušavaju stvoriti novi oblik dijaloga, kao što je to slučaj u drugim sferama. Rekonstrukcija kulture i stapanje različitosti čine istinski značajna dostignuća, uključujući i područje Bosne i Hercegovine kroz istoriju, pa čak i danas odražavaju utjecaje istoka i zapada koji se zamjenjuju na njenom tlu. To je autentično hronološki slijed. Može se pratiti natrag od praistorijskog doba, sve do srednjovjekovne bosanske države, utjecaja Rima i Carigrada, Otomanske i Austro-Ugarske Imperije te perioda prve i druge Jugoslavije kroz

samoupravljanje, uz specifičan oblik socijalizma i rađanje nove kulturne elite u previranjima i novoj formi izražavanja, interpretirajući aktuelnu društvenu zbilju.

U Bosni i Hercegovini kulturno pitanje dobija još nekoliko dimenzija u svijetlu trenutne situacije, razdvajanja određenih kulturnih institucija, nemogućnosti finansiranja, nedostatka novih projekata i svođenje kulture i njenih protagonista na statističku grešku za različite svrhe od strane političkih elita. Upravo te elite ignorišu ili koriste kulturu i njene proizvode za sopstvene potrebe na nov način, "orkestrirajući" istoriju i dnevna politička pitanja koja umjetnost može da uobliči i predstavi u novom svjetlu, međutim od poticanja prosječnog, "konzumenti" se pretvaraju u glasače. Ovakva fragmentacija kulturnog simbolizma i politike od strane kolektiva podupire podjelu u sferi kulture, dijeleći bogatu kulturnu baštinu čitave memorije za razne svrhe. Ova faza postaje lišena bilo kakve estetske i umjetničke vrijednosti koja može da širi sferu određenih kulturnih segmenata i poimanja kulturnog kao jedne nove društvene svijesti.

Književnost je uvijek sjajan primjer očuvanja tog prostora koji po svojoj funkciji odražava individualnu svijest, doživljaj i poniranje u različite oblike svjetova i likova. Predratni i poslijeratni period uveliko se razlikuju ne samo zbog okruženja, već i zbog snažnijeg utjecaja i napora na kanale kulturnih proizvoda i njegovog krajnjeg cilja ili barem pogrešno shvaćenog i osuđivanog od strane onih gledatelja ili slušatelja koji su osujetili kulturni doprinos.

Bilo bi poželjno da se diskusija vrati na onu stranu koja nije obojena ideološkim ili nacionalnim diskursom u interpretaciji, ponovnoj evaluaciji i, veoma značajno, novim istraživanjima i naučnim otkrićima bogatog više milenijskog naslijeđa.

Pokretačka snaga ideje nije destrukcija već konstrukcija nove zbilje koja već pati i traži izlaz. Ukoliko nema te energije, proistječe da konflikt opstaje, produžava vijek trajanja i zadobija novu energiju u stvarnosti. Ono što je jednostavnije od mogućnosti, postalo je utopija realnosti, izgubljena paradigma stvaranja bitka od nebitka. Mogućnost za obrat je i potpuno odustajanje od sudjelovanja u tome bez pogovora, kroz snažnu borbu i otpor prema zidovima koji se grade u nama i pred nama i s kojima treba živjeti, za nekoga lakše za nekoga teže, mada ignorancija često vodi iz očekivanog u neželjeni, a možda i sasvim novi smjer kretanja koji polazi od samopriznavanja.

# THE EXPERIENCE OF PAIN AND DEATH IN BOSNIAK ORAL POETRY

Mirsad Kunić

Bosniak oral poetry, like others, has treated almost all possible topics – of joy and sorrow, fortune and misfortune, pain and wellbeing, love and hate, life and death, of the family and all manner of relations within the family, the topic of being born and growing up, of dying and passing on to the next world, the topic of heroism and overcoming obstacles, of facing yourself and others, the topic of gender relations – leaving almost nothing new for written literature to offer. Still, written forms appeared and spread, dominating the cultural space, finding reasons for their existence in the numerous ways of affecting the readers' awareness. When we juxtapose them in this way, examine their effectiveness, we find that oral literature found its *raison d'être* in the need to put the world into language, to describe events and experiences in words, to reproduce to the listener, while also producing, its mission was to win over the listener not with an idea or ideology, but with the skill of formulation. In general, written literature was initially fated to be uninventive, though it developed, paradoxically, like the whole of modern civilisation, on the principle of invention and innovation, striving to make up for its unfavourable starting position by impacting the reader in endless processes of individual and collective identifications. On the other hand, it compensated for its original inability to encompass reality by focusing on the relation towards that coverage and built whole strategies upon this. Within these relations, the position of the writer was and remains crucial, but that is not the topic of this article.

The oral poet or poetess had the ambition of encompassing within language the world around and the world within. The externality is, by its very nature, tied to space and time, and as

such reducible to events, finding its formulation in epic poetry, gendered as masculine. An encounter with the external led to the creation of a no less complex internal world, freed from spatial and temporal limitations, which found its formulation in oral poetry in lyrical and lyrical-epic poetry, gendered as feminine. In an attempt to reduce comprehensive externality to that which elicits a feeling of pain, and even to what we call the experience of pain, the absence of such elements in epic and their presence in lyrical and lyrical-epic poetry becomes immediately apparent. The cultural context has deprived the hero of the epic tradition – and the oral poet and his hero and the listeners of his performance – the possibility of such an encounter with reality, while, conversely, endowing the heroine – the oral poetess, her heroine and the female listener of her performance – with this experience and the possibility to escape spatial and temporal limitations.

The experience of pain, and therefore also death, can be reduced to female oral poetry, lyrical and lyrical-epic, though death also features in the male agonal vision of the world, but only death, without the experience of pain, for pain does not fit into the agonal world view. Much, though not enough, has been written about the male encounter with death in Bosniak and South Slavic epic poetry.

In a multitude of diverse oral poetry that deals with the experience of pain, we will attempt to focus on three, to our mind, paradigmatic motif variations – pain as longing, pain caused by an incantation or curse and incurable pain.

### Incurable Pain

The oral poetess has dealt with, we would say, a wide range of life experiences, which was simply inevitable if the mission was to encompass in language the whole world and everything in it. Indeed, that was the mission of oral literature and the reason it was able to provide us with such precious poetry. This meant that situations of facing the most difficult and incurable diseases also had to be dealt with in songs, where they were most often referred to as *moria*, plague, blight (anthrax)<sup>1</sup>. Though most probably of

1 In Kurtagić's collection, song 90 *Death of the Ajkuna Maiden* is about the death of a maiden caused by anthrax.

Italian origin, the word *moria* was meant to invoke by its sound and meaning all known and unknown diseases with fatal outcome<sup>2</sup>. However it is termed, one thing is certain – the incontestability of its origin and the tragedy of its outcome – which put it in stark contrast to the vulnerability and transience of the human compared to the inviolability and absolute power of the divine. The inexorability of this truth is told with painful simplicity in a decasyllabic couplet – *Bog naredi od Boga moriju / Pa pomori devet sokolova* [God ordered God's *moria* / To strike down ten hawks] (Kurtagić, Book I, song 95)<sup>3</sup> or *Pomoli se od Boga morija / Da umori Hasanaginicu* [God's *moria* appeared / To strike down Hasanaginica] (song 118). The truth thus told necessarily correlates with denotative precision. Vulnerable and transient humanity is allowed to repeat the truth within its existence between the beginning and the end and within language, which is open to all rhythmic and stylistic repetition. The truth of the *moria* remains indisputable even when a different scenario is attempted or achieved: *Nemoj mene, od Boga morijo / Nemoj mene mlade umoriti / Ven umori moga Hasanagu* [Not me, God's *moria* / Do not strike me down young / Strike down my Hasanaga] (song 118).

### Pain Caused by a Curse

The curse is a human act deriving from the human desire to conjure evil upon its recipient. It rests on the firm belief of the speaker in the ability to achieve a settling of accounts in this world. It relies on faith in the magic power of language, according to its encyclopaedia definition, and we would add – also on faith in the divine power of language. Its absolute satisfiability is achieved thanks to an unmistakable sense of justice, which can be correlated with the fact that this is a being wholly expressed orally. Conversely, the being of the letter, as we have all become, cannot achieve such justice, and it is the culture of literacy, to which the being of orality has irrevocably moved, that is to “blame”.

2 Most probably from the Italian *morte* meaning *death*.

3 All examples cited in the article are from the collection by Muharem Kurtagić *Muslim Folk Songs I-VI*, which is kept in the archives of Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb.

The magical or divine power of language, either way – philosophers would say it was the transcendental origin of language, but at the same time its ability to provide insight into the transcendent. The ancient man of orality found a pragmatic solution to further magically/divinely materialise this faith through acts of repetition. The man of letters, such as Muharem Kurtagić, the collector who noted down these songs, achieved this by writing the words in rhythmic units, verses, available for all manner of stylisations. Kurtagić wrote down these songs from oral poetesses whose names he duly noted beneath each song, thereby expressing respect towards those who knew the truth of language that justice can be achieved by sending out a curse. We hear about it from nine brothers upon whom God has sent the moria and who explain to their mother the real reason for their dying:

*Nije nama crna zemlja teška  
Nisu teške daske šimširove  
Selam kaži našim jaranima  
Što gledaju neka uzimaju  
Teška j', majko, divojačka kletva*

[It is not the black earth that lies heavy  
It is not the boxwood planks that lie heavy  
Send our greetings to our friends  
Let them take what they will  
It is the maiden's curse, mother, that is heavy]

(Kurtagić, Book I, song 95)

In this example, the curse is not understood only as the cause of death, but also of further suffering in the afterlife.

## Pain as Longing

We move through the examples from Kurtagić's collection, from the purely divine and the divine-human to the purely human. This path moves us along a vertical and is descending, and the channel within which this journey takes place is language, whose origin and power we must not lose sight of. Delving into language, as an evolutionary, but also an everyday ritual, necessarily focuses all our attention on its (stylistic) possibilities, which are not small, and one of them is multiplication and con-

veyance of meaning. Focusing on language creates the precondition to activate the stylistic and semantic possibilities of language, thereby allowing us to escape the difficult reality into a relaxed space before the fall – which is upwards.

In his collection, Kurtagić notes two variants of the song *Čudna jada od Mostara grada* [Mostar Town, Woe of Mine], better known for their musical iterations, primarily by Himzo Polovina, and later in modern arrangements by younger performers. Both songs, number 91 and 143 in Book I, are imagined as a conversation between a worried mother and her daughter “pining” for an absent sweetheart. In the first song, the only remedy for Biba’s love ache is to be found in their final encounter and bodily union, while in the other, the love ache develops into a state of illness from which there is no escape. The noun “bol” [pain], which in our usage takes the non-standard feminine gender, in the first case takes on the meaning usually associated with the phrase for amorous longing or yearning, while in the second song this meaning is abandoned and it reverts to its literal meaning.

With three syntagmas – incurable pain, pain caused by a curse, and pain as longing – we have endeavoured to encompass the extensive encounters between the world/reality and oral poetry, using examples from Muharem Kurtagić’s collection *Muslim Folk Songs*. Thus ordered, the syntagmas reveal the paradigmatic vertical of God-language-man, where language appears at the point of intersection between the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic plain. Man has intensified his being in language and through language by striving to rise up again, using the stylising possibilities of language, including the rhythmic effects of repeating, among other things, divine truths and the possibility of escaping denotational restrictions into a space of multiplication and conveyance of meaning. By focusing on three variations of the experience of pain and the simultaneous awareness of how man may be derived from the divine being and his complete situation in language, we have tried to recognise man’s propensity for ascent. While seemingly moving away from the Origin through language, as we have shown in our examples, the movement upwards becomes a return to the Origin. Pain as metaphor offers a salvation for that escape.

If we wish to further stylise the description of pain in oral Bosniak poetry, then we find the following solutions:

1. The cruel and tragic truth of incurable pain is accepted through initial and final repetitions of the truth about man's transience/mortality, which can stylistically be marked by the syntagma of pain as anaphora and epiphora, or as ep-analepsis;
2. Finding itself with one foot on the ground and the other in the air, the being of orality is in a position to test its sense of justice by invoking God's punishment on the perpetrator of the injustice and, having received a positive answer, this is then manifested as pain caused by a curse, as the truth of congruence between man's wish and God's command; there is nothing left to do but repeat consequential truths and for us to call that repetition – pain as epiphora;
3. Escaping from unequivocal demarcation into a space of contextual adoption of new meaning, the noun pain becomes able to encompass an experience that is not literally painful, but, on the contrary, completely open for the joy of giving yourself to the world and taking the world into yourself, which leads us to associate that type of pain with metaphor – pain as metaphor.

Anaphoric-epiphoric and epiphoric rituals of repetition and metaphoric ascents to a previous state, in addition to their innate recognisability, have found their grace of formulation in literary form: pain as anaphora and epiphora (epanalepsis) in a balladesque tendency towards tragic outcomes, and pain as metaphor in those more cheerful forms – the romance and the *sevdalinka*. In conclusion, the three variations of pain in our oral tradition cover both poles of man's overall being and further support our thesis on the comprehensive coverage of reality.

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

For the bibliography see the Bosnian version.



# ISKUSTVO BOLI<sup>1</sup> I SMRTI U BOŠNJAČKOJ USMENOJ POEZIJI

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Bošnjačka je usmena poezija, kao i druge, opjevala skoro sve moguće teme – radosti i tuge, sreće i nesreće, boli i zdravlja, ljubavi i mržnje, života i smrti, porodice i svih mogućih odnosa unutar nje, rađanja i odrastanja, umiranja i prelaska na drugi svijet, junaštva u savladavanju prepreka, suočavanja sa sobom i drugima, rodničkih odnosa – tako da pisanoj književnosti praktično nije ostalo ništa novo da ponudi. Pa, ipak se i pisana književnost pojavila, proširila i zadominirala kulturnim prostorom, nalazeći razloge svoga postojanja u brojnim mogućnostima djelovanja na svijest čitaoca. Kada ih na ovaj način stavimo jednu pored druge, podvrgnemo propitivanju svrhovitosti postojanja, dolazimo do zaključka da je usmena književnost svoje razloge nalazila u potrebi za stavljanjem svijeta u jezik, obuhvatom dogođenog i doživljenog riječima, a u reprodukcijskoj usmjerenosti na slušaoca, koja je istovremeno bila i produkcijska, misija joj je bila pridobiti tog istog slušaoca, ne idejom niti ideologijom, nego umijećem oblikovanja. Pisana je književnost tako, generalno, u startu ponijela usud neinventivnosti, premda se i sama, paradoksa li, kao i cjelokupna moderna civilizacija razvijala i opstajala na principu inventivnosti i inovativnosti, a svoju je startnu minus poziciju pokušavala kompenzirati uticajem na čitaoca u beskrajnim procesima individualnih i kolektivnih identifikacija. S druge strane, nemogućnost izvornog obuhvata stvarnosti nadomještala je fokusom na odnos prema takvom obuhvatu i na tom odnosu gradila čitave strategije. Od presudne je važnosti, u ovako postav-

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1 U svrhu dodatne stilizacije i semantizacije jezika ovoga rada svjesno odstupamo od predloženog standardnog oblika imenice bol u muškom rodu, zamjenjujući je kolokvijalnom inačicom istog oblika u ženskom rodu.

ljenim relacijama, bila i ostala pozicija pisca, ali to nije tema ovog, već novog rada.

Usmeni je pjesnik ili pjesnikinja imao ambiciju jezikom obuhvatiti svijet oko sebe i svijet unutar sebe. Posvemašnja vanjskost je, zbog svoje prirode, vezana za prostor i vrijeme te tako svodiva na događajnost, koja je svoje uobličenje našla u epskoj poeziji, rodno odredivoj kao muškoj. Iz susreta s vanjskim nastao je ništa manje kompleksan unutrašnji svijet, oslobođen prostornih i vremenskih ograničenja, a svoje usmenopjesničko uobličenje je našao u lirskoj i lirsko-epskoj poeziji, rodno odredivoj kao ženskoj. Kada se obuhvatnu vanjskost pokuša reducirati na ono šta kod subjekta izaziva osjećaj boli, pa i na ono šta smo nazvali iskustvo boli, onda je već u startu vidljivo odsustvo ovakvih sadržaja u epskoj, a prisustvo u lirskoj i lirsko-epskoj poeziji. Kulturni je kontekst akteru epske tradicije – i usmenome pjesniku, i njegovome junaku i slušaocima njegove izvedbe – uskratilo mogućnost takvog susreta sa stvarnošću, a, suprotno tome, obdario akterku – usmenu pjesnikinju, njenu junakinju i slušatelju njene izvedbe – takvim iskustvom i mogućnošću bijega iz prostorne i vremenske ograničenosti.

Iskustvo boli, a sljedbeno tome i smrti, rodno je svodivo na žensku usmenu poeziju, lirsku i lirsko-epsku, mada se i u muškoj agonalnoj viziji svijeta smrt nameće kao sadržaj – samo smrt, ali bez iskustva boli, jer se bol ne uklapa u agonalnu koncepciju svijeta. O temi muškog susreta sa smrću u bošnjačkoj i južnoslavenskim epikama pisano je, ali ne i dovoljno.

U mnoštvu raznolikih usmenopjesničkih sadržaja koji tretiraju iskustvo boli valja staviti fokus na tri, čini se, paradigmatične motivske varijacije – bol kao čežnja, urokom i kletvom izazvana bol i bol od koje nema lijeka.

## Bol od koje nema lijeka

Usmena je pjesnikinja opjevala širok spektar životnih iskustava, što se naprosto i moralo desiti ako su stvari bile postavljene tako da se jezikom pokuša obuhvatiti cijeli svijet, svi njegovi sadržaji. I to jeste bila postavka svijeta usmenosti koji nam je, upravo zbog toga, mogao podariti pjesme visoke vrijednosti. Tako nisu mogle biti zaobiđene ni situacije suočavanja s najtežim i neizlječivim bolestima, u pjesmama najčešće nazivanim morija,

kuga, aspa (crni prišt)<sup>2</sup>. Premda najvjerojatnije italijanskog porijekla, riječ morija je svojim zvučanjem i značenjem trebala pokriti sve poznate i nepoznate bolesti sa smrtnim ishodom.<sup>3</sup> Kako god da se imenuje, jedno je sigurno – neupitnost njenog porijekla i tragičnost ishoda – čime se snažno kontrastiraju ranjivost i prolaznost ljudskog spram nepovredivosti i apsolutne moći božanskog. Neumoljivost rečene istine kazana je bolnom jednostavnošću u dva deseterca – *Bog naredi od Boga moriju / Pa pomori devet sokolova* (Kurtagić, knjiga I, pjesma broj 95)<sup>4</sup> ili *Pomoli se od Boga morija / Da umori Hasanaginicu* (pjesma broj 118). Ovoj i ovakvoj istini nužno odgovara denotativna preciznost imenovanja. Ranjivoj i prolaznoj ljudskosti dato je da može ponavljati istinu, unutar svoga bivanja između početka i kraja i unutar jezika koji je otvoren za sva ritmička i stilska ponavljanja. Istina o moriji ostaje neupitna, čak i u situaciji kada se pokuša i uspijeva izdejtstvovati drugačiji scenario: *Nemoj mene, od Boga morijo / Nemoj mene mlade umoriti / Ven umori moga Hasanagu* (pjesma broj 118).

### Kletvom izazvana bol

Kletva je ljudski čin i ljudska želja, kojom se priziva zlo na onoga kome je upućena. Počiva na čvrstom uvjerenju onoga koji kazuje da može postići zemaljsko poravnanje računa. Počiva na vjeri u magijsku moć jezika, kaže se u enciklopedijskoj definiciji kletve, a valja dodati – i na vjeri u božansku moć jezika. Njena stoprocentna ispunjivost postignuta je zahvaljujući nepogrešivome osjećaju pravednosti, a što se može dovesti u vezu s činjenicom da se radi o biću koje sebe u cijelosti ispoljava u usmenosti. Obrnuto tome, može se zaključiti da biće pisma, u kakvo se svi danas ubrajamo, ne može postići takvu pravednost, za šta je “kriva” kultura pismenosti u koju se nepovratno uselilo nekadašnje biće usmenosti.

2 U Kurtagićevoj zbirci u pjesmi broj 90 *Smrt Ajkune divojke* pjeva se o smrti djevojke uzrokovanom od aspe.

3 Najvjerojatnije iz italijanskog jezika od riječi *morte* u značenju *smrt*.

4 Svi primjeri koje navodimo u radu uzeti su iz zbirke Muharema Kurtagića *Muslimanske narodne pjesme I-VI*, koja se čuva u arhivu Matice Hrvatske u Zagrebu.

Za magijsku ili božansku moć jezika, svejedno, filozofi bi rekli da se radi o transcendentnom porijeklu jezika, ali istovremeno i o njegovome svojstvu da može ostvariti uvid u transcendentno. (Pra)stari je čovjek usmenosti pronašao pragmatično rješenje da to svoje vjerovanje dodatno magijski / božanski materijalizira u postupcima ponavljanja. Čovjek pisma, u kojeg spada i Muharem Kurtagić, sakupljač i zapisivač ovih pjesama, to je postigao zapisivanjem riječi u ritmičke jedinice, stihove, raspoložive za svakojake stilizacije. Sakupljač Kurtagić zapisao je ove pjesme od svojih usmenih pjesnikinja, čija je imena uredno bilježio ispod svake pjesme, iskazujući time poštovanje prema onima koje su znale istinu jezika da se može postići pravda upućivanjem kletve. O tome nas izvještavaju devetero braće, onih na koje je Bog poslao moriju i koji svojoj majci pojašnjavaju stvarni razlog umiranja:

*Nije nama crna zemlja teška  
Nisu teške daske šimširove  
Selam kaži našim jaranima  
Što gledaju neka uzimaju  
Teška j', majko, divojačka kletva*

(Kurtagić, knjiga I, pjesma broj 95)

Kletva se u ovom primjeru ne uzima samo kao uzrok smrti, nego i kao dodatne muke u zagrobnome životu.

## Bol kao čežnja

Krećemo se, kroz primjere iz Kurtagićeve zbirke, od čisto božanskog, preko božansko-ljudskog do prostora čiste ljudskosti. Ovo kretanje odvija se po vertikali i ima putanju silaska, a kanal unutar kojega se odvija to putovanje naziva se jezik, čije se porijeklo i moć ne smije smetnuti s uma. Relaksirajući pad u jezik, kao evolucijski ali i svakodnevni ritualni čin, nužno usmjerava svu našu pažnju na njegove (stilske) mogućnosti koje nisu male, a jedna od njih je multipliciranje i prenošenje značenja. Fokusiranjem na jezik stvara se pretpostavka za aktivaciju stilskih i značenjskih potencijala jezika, a time i mogućnosti bijega iz tegobne stvarnosti u relaksirajući prostor prije pada – koji je gore.

U Kurtagićevoj zbirci zabilježene su dvije varijante pjesme *Čudna jada od Mostara grada*, poznatijih po svojim muzičkim

izvedbama, prvenstveno, Himze Polovine, a zatim i nekim novijim moderno aranžiranim izvedbama mlađih izvođača. I jedna i druga pjesma, broj 91 i 143 u knjizi I, zamišljene su kao razgovor zabrinute majke i kćerke koja “boluje” za odsutnim dragim. U prvoj pjesmi jedini lijek za Bibinu ljubavnu bol nalazi se u konačnom susretu i tjelesnom sjedinjenju, dok u drugoj ljubavna bol prerasta u bolesno stanje iz kojega nema izlaza. Imenica bol, koja u našoj upotrebi ima izvanstandardni ženski rod, u prvom slučaju preuzima značenje koje se izvorno vezuje za sintagmu ljubavna čežnja ili žudnja, dok se u slučaju druge pjesme preuzeto značenje odbacuje i ponovo vraća svome doslovnome značenju.

Trima sintagmama – neizlječiva bol, kletvom izazvana bol i bol kao čežnja – obuhvaćena su ekstenzivna susretanja svijeta / zbilje i usmene pjesme kroz nekoliko primjera iz zbirke Muharema Kurtagića *Muslimanske narodne pjesme*. Iz ovako postavljenog redosljeda sintagmi otvorio se uvid u paradigmatšku vertikalnu Bog-jezik-čovjek, pri čemu se jezik javlja onom tačkom u kojoj se sijeku sintagmatska i paradigmatška ravan. Svoje bivanje u jeziku i kroz jezik čovjek je intenzivirao pokušajima ponovnog uspona, koristeći stilizacijske potencijale jezika, a neki od tih potencijala su ritmični efekti ponavljanja, između ostalih, i božanskih istina te mogućnosti bijega iz denotacijskih ograničenja u prostor mutipliciranja i prenošenja značenja. Fokusom na tri varijacije iskustva boli i istovremenom sviješću o čovjekovoj izvodivosti iz božanskog bića i potpunoj smještenosti u jeziku prepoznaju se čovjekove težnje za usponom. S prividom udaljevanja od svoga Iskona a kroz jezik odvija se, kako se pokazalo na datim primjerima, istovremeni hod ka gore kao povratak Iskonu. Bol kao metafora nudi se spasonosnim rješenjem za taj bijeg.

Ako i sami poželimo dodatno stilizirati svoje kazivanje o boli u usmenoj bošnjačkoj poeziji, onda dolazimo do sljedećih rješenja:

1. Surova i tragična istina neizlječive boli prihvata se kroz početna i završna ponavljanja istine o čovjekovoj prolaznosti / smrtnosti, što se može stilski markirati sintagmom bol kao anafora i epifora, odnosno simploha;
2. Kada se, s jednom nogom na tlu a drugom u zraku, biće usmenosti nađe u situaciji da svoj osjećaj pravednosti testira prizivom Boga da kazni počinioца nepravde nad njim i kada dobije pozitivan odgovor, to se onda manifestira

kao kletvom izazvana bol, kao istina o podudaranju čovjekove želje i Božije volje; ništa drugo ne preostaje do ponavljanje posljedične istine, a takvo ponavljanje se može nazvati – bol kao epifora;

3. Bijegom iz jednoznačne markiranosti u prostor kontekstualnog preuzimanja novog značenja imenica bol je dobila mogućnost da pokrije jedno iskustvo koje nije doslovno bolno, već, naprotiv, potpuno otvoreno za radost davanja sebe svijetu i uzimanja svijeta sebi, što daje podsticaj da se ta vrsta boli veže za metaforu – bol kao metafora.

Anaforično-epiforični i epiforični rituali ponavljanja te metaforički uzeti u prethodno stanje, osim prirodnorodne prepoznatljivosti, svoju milost uobličjenja našli su i u književnorodnim oblicima: bol kao anafora i epifora (simploha) u baladesknoj privrženosti tragičnim ishodima, a bol kao metafora u onim vedrijim oblicima – romansi i sevdalinci. Ispostavlja se da tri varijacije boli u našoj usmenoj tradiciji pokrivaju oba pola čovjekovog ukupnog bivanja i dodatno pojačavaju našu tezu o ukupnosti zahvata zbiljskih sadržaja.

## Izvor

Kurtagić, Muharem. *Muslimanske narodne pjesme I-VI*. rukopisna zbirka.

# UZ SJEĆANJA NA SREBRENIČKI GENOCID

**Esnefa Smajlović-Muhić**

Nije prvi put da se u našoj zemlji i svijetu desila epidemija virusa. Desila su se čak slična ponašanja kao ona koja su bila u ratu. Recimo, ostanak kući mnogih stanovnika, izlazak iz kuće radi potrage za hranom, danas, namirnica i sl. Prisustvo straha, panike, izolacije, bespomoćnosti bilo je i tada u nazovi “zaštićenoj zoni” Srebrenici, ali i danas, u doba pandemije Covid-19, kad su stanovnici zatvoreni u svojim stanovima. Razlika je bila ta što je u ratu neprijatelj bio vidljiv, a u borbi s virusom on je nevidljiv. Ovaj nevidljivi neprijatelj kao da kroz svoje djelovanje poručuje ljudima da se promijene, da promijene način života, da žive zdravije i moralnije.

Stanovnici Srebrenice, kao i cijele Bosne i Hercegovine, pokazali su solidarnost tokom rata, ali i danas u borbi protiv virusa korona kroz aktivnosti mnogih volontera. Inače, u vremenima krize kod bosanskohercegovačkog naroda je evidentna velika solidarnost i širenje optimizma. Bosanski muslimani su i kroz vjeru, koja ličnu higijenu stavlja na visok stepen, ali i kroz tradiciju i kulturu življenja, koje ne trpe kretanje po kući u obući, čuvali svoje zdravlje. Kako su Srebreničani u skućenom prostoru sijali i sadili ono što im je trebalo za ishranu, tako i danas stručnjaci savjetuju stanovnicima isto to, prema datim mogućnostima.

## Uvod

Ako se vratimo u povijest, vidjećemo da su se skoro svakog stoljeća dešavale bolesti ovog i sličnog tipa virusa. Tako je 1720. godine harala kuga, od koje je prema podacima konačan broj

smrti, koje je ta pandemija izazvala diljem svijeta, procijenjen na oko 75 milijuna ljudi, odnosno oko polovice tadašnjeg stanovništva Evrope.<sup>1</sup> Kolera je izbila u Bengalu 1816. godine, ali se do 1820. proširila cijelom Indijom. Stotine hiljada Indijaca i desetine hiljada britanskih trupa umrlo je tokom ove pandemije. Izbijanje kolere se proširilo sve do Kine, Indonezije (gde je više od 100.000 ljudi podleglo samo na ostrvu Java) i Kaspijskog mora u Evropi odnosno Aziji, nakon čega je utihnulo.<sup>2</sup>

Španjolska groznica se dogodila 1920.godine, od španjolice (kako je nazivaju) je oboljela otprilike 1/3 stanovnika zemlje (između 500 i 600 milijuna), a smrtno ih je stradalo između 10 i 20% oboljelih.<sup>3</sup> Kako se navodi u mnogim izvorima, ova španska groznica se smatra jednom od najvećih katastrofa u povijesti čovječanstva i može se mjeriti s epidemijom kuge u 16. stoljeću.

## COVID-19 i druge epidemijske pošasti i naša spoznaja nakon borbe s njima

U decembru 2019. godine čuli smo svi za virus korona, koji je prvo zahvatio područje Kine. Čuli smo, ali se nismo toliko fokusirali na tu vijest. Nažalost, nakon tri mjeseca poslije zaraženog područja Kine, Italije, Španije, svih evropskih zemalja, kao i zemalja cijelog svijeta, Covid-19 je došla i u našu zemlju, među stanovnike Bosne i Hercegovine. Istraživanjem onoga što se dešava oko nas u zadnjih mjesec dana jasno je da je zabrinutost, koja se uvukla među stanovništvom širom Bosne i Hercegovine, pa tako i u grad Srebrenicu, opravdana.

Susret Srebreničana s najnovijom pandemijskom krizom, koju je uzrokovao virus korona, bio je nespreman. Generalno gledajući “mali ljudi” nikada ne mogu predvidjeti i unaprijed znati utvrditi ponašanje kada je upitanju opasnost velikih razmjera. Vlada, kantoni, krizni štabovi shvatili su ozbiljnost situacije i svakodnevno se oglašavali s novim informacijama o koroni, kako bi na najbolji način upoznali stanovništvo s ovim virusom, tako

1 *Doba kuge*. [pristupljeno 15. 05. 2020. godine].

2 *1720. kuga, 1820. kolera, 1920. španska groznica: Šta je sledeće?*. [pristupljeno 15. 05. 2020. godine].

3 *Španjolska gripa*. [pristupljeno 15. 05. 2020. godine].



da Bosna i Hercegovina kao zemlja nije zaostajala s uputama i smjernicama o mjerama zaštite za drugim državama.

Narod Bosne i Hercegovine poznat je po međusobnoj solidarnosti, i to je vrlina koja stoljećima krase stanovništvo naše zemlje. Ako se prisjetimo kriza, među koje ubrajamo agresiju na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992–1995. godine, veliku poplavu 2014. godine, zajedno s današnjom bolešću Covid-19, uzrokovane širenjem virusa korona, evidentna je, upravo, solidarnost među ljudima. Zahvala svakako u ovim danima pripada medicinskom osoblju i svim kriznim štabovima koji neumorno rade kako bi pomogli i olakšali stanovništvu. Pošto su građani upoznati s mjerama (samo)zaštite, njihova dužnost je da, prije svega, budu savjesni i odgovorni. Da bi sačuvali sebe, svoje porodice i druge, jedini lijek je izolacija, tj. samoizolacija u svojim domovima. Solidarnost ljudi se najbolje ispoljava u kriznim vremenima kad ona nadvlada sebičnost, pa osobe postaju osjećajnije, ranjivije, emotivnije. Tada preko volontera dijele hranu jedni drugima, javljaju se da kupuju namirnice starijim osobama ili aplaudiraju na prozorima svojih domova, dajući podršku medicinskoj ili nekoj drugoj struci. Motivisani gestom stanovnika Italije, i stanovnici Bosne i Hercegovine pružali su podršku aplauzom sa svojih balkona i prozora medicinskom osoblju, koje se nalazi na prvoj liniji tokom ove pošasti.

Kada je riječ o genocidu u Srebrenici, odnosno etničkom čišćenju jednog naroda (1992–1995), ostalo je upečatljivo da se u gradu nalazilo grotlo između 50.000 i 60.000 prognanih ljudi iz svojih domova s područja srebreničke i drugih podrinskih općina. U tim uslovima ratne krize teško je bilo smjestiti sve te ljude. Obično su se ustupali slobodni dijelovi prostorija u kućama, tako da su vlasnici svojih objekata za sebe zadržali samo ono što im je nužno potrebno u datom trenutku. Bilo je slučajeva gdje su ljudi spavali ispod nastrešnica zgrada i kuća.

Ipak, najveći problem je bio kako obezbjediti hranu? Ono što se uspijevalo spremati bilo je neslano ili s minimalnom količinom soli. Žene su ni od čega pokušavale spremati obrok za svoju porodicu. S nestašicom pšeničnog brašna, počela je upotreba kukuruznog brašna, a potom, zobi i ječma. Sretan je bio onaj ko je mogao doći do bilo koje vrste brašna. Narod se dosjetio da rese od ljeske, bere, suši i miješa s brašnom kako bi se povećala količina i dugotrajnost. (Smajlović-Muhić 2020, 28)

Ako uporedimo kriznu situaciju tokom agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Covid-19 pandemije pod sloganom “ostani kući”, uočljiva je velika sličnost. Srebreničani su bili u zaštićenoj zoni Ujedinjenih nacija, smješteni na jako malom prostoru. Izlazili su iz kuća kad su išli u potragu za hranom. Dok su za vrijeme pandemije od bojazni nevidljivog neprijatelja ljudi prinuđeni ostati u kući, a izlazili su iz prijeke potrebe, najčešće u potragu za namirnicama. Ono što je zajedničko za sve krize je prisustvo straha, izolacije, promjena samog ponašanja, panike, stresa, anksioznih smetnji, poremećaja spavanja i drugih zdravstvenih problema, a slično je današnjoj pandemiskoj krizi. U agresiji na Bosnu i Hercegovinu imali smo vidljivog neprijatelja i znali smo koje su linije razgraničenja, dok tokom pandemijske krize imamo nevidljivog neprijatelja, opasnog po cijeli svijet. Dovoljno je da izađemo iz naših stanova i dotaknemo šteku ulaznih vrata zgrade i da se zarazimo virusom.

Imamo nevidljivog neprijatelja zbog koga je cijeli svijet stao. Vrijeme je da priznamo koliko smo slabi i da nas je Covid-19 ujedinio. Nije važno kojoj vjeri pripadamo, koje boje je naša koža, da li smo stari ili mladi? Mi smo zapravo samo ljudi kojima je u ovom trenutku potrebna pomoć. Suosjećamo sa sugrađanima, suosjećamo sa svim ljudima diljem svijeta. Poslije ubrzanog života, koji je jednostavno nametnut svima nama, zapravo počinjemo shvatati njegovu vrijednost. Vrijeme je da shvatimo šta su prioriteti i da budemo zahvalni i ponizni te da se okrenemo duhovnim vrijednostima. Trebaju li nam ratovi, zemljotresi, poplave, kuge, kolere, španjolske groznice, Covid-19 da bismo shvatili kako moramo postati bolji ljudi? Da li ćemo se promijeniti poslije ovoga? Da li ćemo promijeniti navike? Da li ćemo biti topliji, osjećajnije kako bismo shvatili da je život kratak. Tek ostaje da se vidi u budućnosti. Sve su to opomene iz kojih trebaju svi učiti i izvući pouku. U tom smislu, virus korona je donio poruku cijelom čovječanstvu – promijenite svoj način života ili ćete biti uništeni.

## Solidarnost u vrijeme krize i širenje optimizma

Evidentno je da je virus korona zbližio ljude širom svijeta, u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i u Srebrenici. Od početka pandemije u Srebrenici je primjetan rad volontera. Grupe mladih ljudi dobro-

voljno se angažiraju i pomažu u radu službama Civilne zaštite i Crvenog križa. Njihov zadatak je da dostavljaju hranu i lijekove starijim osobama, ali i drugim stanovnicima na području općine Srebrenica kojima je ta pomoć potrebna. Uključeni su i u dezinfekciju stambenih zgrada. Lijepa riječ i ruka podrške je od velikog značaja u kriznim vremenima.

Na društvenim mrežama se pojavila poruka ljudi koji žele pomoći: “Ako nemate posao i ne primete ničiju pomoć, a ponešto vam je hrane, **molim vas da ne idete navečer u krevet gladni!** Javite mi se privatnom porukom na *messenger* bez srama. Naučen sam da gdje jedan može jesti, ima mjesta i za dvoje.” Porodica, prijatelji, komšije, koji se nisu dugo vremena čuli i vidjeli, u vrijeme pandemije su otvorili svoja srca, javljajući se i nudeći pomoć onima kojima je potrebno. Novac prilikom pandemije ništa nije značio. Svi su bili jednaki i u istoj opasnosti. Osim praćenja mjera zaštite, preostalo je samo biti optimističan i da taj svoj optimizam prenositi na druge.

Na temelju naših spoznaja o tradiciji Bosne i Hercegovine možemo zaključiti da ima više faktora iz kojih crpimo motivaciju za djelovanje. Naša temeljna vrijednost je čovjekoljublje. Iz naše tradicije se pamti da su stanovnici Bosne i Hercegovine spremni pomoći jedni drugima u svim vrstama krize. Tako je bilo kroz stoljeća. Također, vjera islam je zasnovana na higijeni. Medicinski stručnjaci, a potom i članovi kriznog štaba, osim izolacije savjetovali su pranje ruku toplom vodom i sapunom. Bošnjaci, muslimani su poznati po čistoti i održavanju higijene te po tome što je u njihovoj kulturi življenja i tradiciji uobičajeno da se ne hoda u obući po kući. Obuća je, kako znamo, samo jedan od izvora zaraze virusom.

U danima dok traje pandemija treba imati osjećaj empatije za naše starije iznad 65 godina u porodici, u komšiluku u gradu. Ovo je prilika da se, prije svega, pokaže odgovornost i požrtvovanost prema onima kojima je potrebna pomoć. A potrebna je mnogima. Potrebni su topla riječ, poziv, ohrabrenje da će sve ovo proći. Vjera, nada, lijepa misao bi trebale biti vodilje svih u ovim danima. Vjerovati je da ćemo, akobogda, izaći iz ove krize kao bolji ljudi.

## Posljedice minulih kriza i njihovo odražavanje na budućnost

Ne tako davno iza nas je još jedna u nizu kriza/elementarna nepogoda, a riječ je o poplavi koja je nanijela ogromne štete stanovništvu Bosne i Hercegovine u maju 2014. Iz korita su se izlile bosanske rijeke koje su poplavile više gradova i naseljenih mjesta. Bila su ugrožena mnogo veća bosanskohercegovačka područja, a hiljade kuća su bile poplavljene. Tada je Vlada Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine proglasila stanje prirodne nesreće 15. maja 2014. godine.<sup>4</sup> Ostala je upamćena briga stanovništva koji nisu bili ugroženi elementarnom nepogodom za svoje sugrađane. Iskazana je velika solidarnost kako iz Bosne i Hercegovine, tako i iz drugih zemalja. Pomoć je stizala počev od pojedinaca, nivoa vlasti, raznih institucija, nevladinih organizacija, Armije Bosne i Hercegovine i mnogih drugih. Poslije agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, to je bila najveća kriza koja je zadesila našu zemlju. Veliki broj pojedinaca i volonterskih grupa je dao svoj značajan doprinos u spašavanju stanovništva. Ljudi su pred vodenom stihijom u trenutku gubili sve što su godinama gradili. Nemoćni, bez doma, samo su nijemo posmatrali novonastalu situaciju, ne vjerujući šta se dešava. Zabrinutost je preplavila stanovništvo naše zemlje. Fotografije gradova pod vodom, sravnjenih naselja, uplakanih žena i djece obišle su svijet. U skupljanju humanitarne pomoći, koja je bila prijeko potrebna ugroženom stanovništvu, uključile su se mnoge organizacije i ustanove. Na još jedan način pokazalo se da su ljudi spremni pomoći u krizama ovog tipa.

U životu prolazimo kroz mnoge krize, velike i male. Sve je to sastavni dio života. S jedne strane, pisati o krizama koje prate stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine kroz minula stoljeća, pa sve do kraja 20. i početka 21. stoljeća, znači pisati o strahu, boli, gubitcima bližih članova porodice. Dok s druge znači pisati o empatiji, solidarnosti, plemenitosti, koje se bude za vrijeme kriza. Emocionalni problemi ljudi koji su se našli u krizi potvrđuju činjenicu da zasigurno krize ostavljaju negativne psihološke posljedice na sve članove porodice. Međutim, u našem društvu emocionalnost se smatra znakom slabosti ili psihičke nestabil-

4 *Hitna sjednica Vlade FBiH: Proglašeno stanje prirodne nesreće.* [pristupljeno 15. 05. 2020. godine].

nosti. Zbog toga je jako puno slučajeva s posttraumatskim stresnim poremećajem poslije svake krize. Iako je PTSP prisutan među preživjelim žrtvama velikih katastrofa, poput zemljotresa, poplava, kuge, požara, suše, tornada i drugih prirodnih nesreća, dugotrajniji je i intenzivniji među prognanicima i preživjelim žrtvama rata tj. žrtvama katastrofa počinjenih ljudskom rukom. Prirodne katastrofe se dešavaju i na njih se u nekoj mjeri ne može utjecati. Ostali problemi se mogu rješavati kvalitetnim dijalozima. Aktuelna pandemija virusa korone, kao i sve slične krize, osim direktnih posljedica na živote i zdravlje ljudi, sa sobom nosi i brojne prateće efekte, među kojima prednjači usporavanje ekonomije, koje će se tek u dogledno vrijeme se osjetiti.

Pogledajmo kako su se ponašali Srebreničani u vremenu krize.

Hatidža, kao i mještani sela, počeli su razmišljati o usjevima. Pošto je zima izvukla skoro sve zalihe hrane, moralo se razmišljati o sjetvi. U selu se proizvodilo i pripremalo dovoljno hrane za vlastite potrebe. Skoro svaka kuća je imala nešto od domaće stoke, kravu, ovce, koze, tako da je stanovništvo sačuvalo određene zalihe mesa, mlijeka, sira, kajmaka, masla. Sijala se pšenica, žito i bilo je dosta voća. Narod koji je živio na selu bio je u prednosti u odnosu na gradsko stanovništvo zbog vlastite proizvodnje hrane. Očekivalo se da će zavladati glad. Hatidža se dobro sjećala pripovijedanja svojih roditelja o prilikama iz II svjetskog rata. Insistirala je da se sije žito i sadi povrće kako bi osigurali hranu za zimu, iako niko tada nije ni pretpostavljao da će rat potrajati skoro četiri godine. Govorila bi Abdulahu: “Ulje ćemo zamijeniti maslom, šećer pekmezom i bestiljom.” (Smajlović-Muhić 2020, 23)

Putem medija se moglo vidjeti kako stručnjaci savjetuju da ubuduće stanovnici Bosne i Hercegovine više šetaju po prirodi i iskoriste sve raspoložive mogućnosti da siju i sade ono što im treba za ishranu.

## Zaključak

Mnogo puta su se dešavale pandemije u svijetu. One su sa sobom donosile strah stanovnicima cijele planete. U našem okruženju neka ponašanja stanovnika su podsjećala na ratna, kao što su ostanak kući osobama određene starosne dobi, njihov izlazak iz kuće radi potrage za hranom, prisustvo panike, straha i dr.

Nakon borbe sa nevidljivim neprijateljem, virusom korona, čovječanstvo je shvatilo da mora promijeniti neke svoje životne navike, da mora živjeti mnogo zdravije i moralnije. Čak u najvećem jeku borbe, mnogi volonteri su se solidarisali, nudili svoje humanitarne i socijalne aktivnosti u cilju pomaganja ugroženim kategorijama stanovništva. Optimistične osobe širile su svoj optimizam na druge. Vjera, inače, uči bosanske muslimane higijeni koja je izvor zdravlja, zatim da su vrijedni, marljivi, da žive od svog truda i rada. Ponovo će, nakon borbe protiv ovog virusa, biti aktuelno sisanje i sađenje svega što će našu ishranu učiniti kvalitetnijom, što mnogima neće pasti teško, jer ih je svemu tome učila njihova životna kultura.

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# USING CORONAVIRUS AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS AND MEDIA FREEDOM

**Mehmed Agović**

A characteristic of all major crises that cause a state of emergency in a country or community, such as coups, wars, natural disasters, or the current COVID-19 pandemic, is their impact on the role and behavior of the authorities and how they treat their citizens. That is when officials display their true nature and their tendencies towards autocratic decision-making “in the interest of the public” and for their own good. The first step consists of declaring a state of emergency or, in a milder form, a state of crisis, which entails suspension of democracy and the functioning of state institutions and a concentration of uncontrolled power in the hands of one or a very small number of people, who then translate their decisions into laws. Apart from suspending democracy, which is usually done for undefined periods of time, human rights and liberties suffer, and there are limitations to media freedom. For authorities with an autocratic approach, it is imperative that the public not know what they are doing during the state of emergency and that their procedures and regulations are not exposed to public scrutiny.

## I Freedom of Speech as the First Victim

Around the globe there are many examples of the (mis)use of the pandemic as an alibi for autocrats to implement their program and strengthen their power. The Russian government has introduced various measures of censorship and surveillance, and President Vladimir Putin has happily used the situation to carry

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out a set of constitutional amendments that allow him to extend his reign until 2036.<sup>1</sup> When he requested this from parliament, anti-corruption activists called for protests, but a few hours later all public gatherings were banned, to counter the threat of spreading the coronavirus. In Turkey, around 400 people were arrested for alleged provocative and alarming posts on social media about Covid-19. The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban suspended democratic institutions without hesitation and the ruling party, Fidesz, under the auspices of the pandemic, passed a bill in parliament that suspended citizens' human rights, including to freedom of speech. Media were placed under complete control of the government, including the public broadcaster and social media. Prime Minister Orban legally received unlimited authority. As a result, he was able to issue executive orders and, for example, imprison the authors of articles he deemed not in the interest of the ruling party's politics for up to five years. Many countries around the world have taken measures that have been seen as "normal" in crisis situations. The most widespread has been isolating citizens in their homes as a precaution against the spread of the virus; mandatory quarantine for people coming from abroad labelled as potentially infected with Coronavirus; selective bans on movement for certain age groups; and curfew. Due to potential breaches of privacy and misuse of personal data, much public attention has been given to geographical surveillance measures that track people's movements via electronic devices such as smartphones, watches, etc.

In the Balkans, the Serbian President, Aleksandar Vučić, has been the leader whose tendencies towards autocratic governance have been most visibly on display. Invoking the dangers of the COVID-19 pandemic and introducing a state of emergency, his government promptly suspended freedom of the media and passed a decree that gave the authorities complete control. This decision allowed prison sentences for journalists the government believed were "spreading panic among the public through their writing and information". The day after this decree was issued, a journalist from the private television station N1 was arrested for her reporting on infections and claims regarding poor conditions in a Novi Sad hospital, despite these claims being true. Under

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1 "The Pandemic Serves Putin's Purposes Very Nicely", *Vice*, 30.03.2020. <https://bit.ly/2WgqAJN> (05.05.2020.)



pressure and condemnation from international media organizations, the Serbian government had to pull back their decision to suspend media freedom. Interestingly, the media under attack through these government decrees were ones that are not close to the ruling Serbian Progressive Party and their allies and try to carry out their work professionally and in the interests of the nation. Vučić took over the role of communicating with the public regarding the pandemic. His addresses and statements caused confusion with viewers, as he first claimed the virus was “silly” and not dangerous, but later threatened that “there will not be enough space in cemeteries” if the public don’t respect his repressive measures. Nor did he forego the opportunity during the state of emergency to campaign for the upcoming parliamentary elections, which has triggered protests in the form of knocking on pots and pans from balconies, due to the curfew and bans on movement. A group of Serbian intellectuals has called for a boycott of the elections due to the suppression of all individual freedoms and freedom of media, stating that the “unconstitutionally declared state of emergency, which represents a coup d’état, has been instrumentalized by Aleksandar Vučić to favor his campaign, clashing with freethinking people, rebelling citizens, independent journalists and members of the opposition”.<sup>2</sup>

In the Bosnian and Herzegovinian entity of the Republika Srpska, the local government, following the Serbian model, enacted similar regulations, curtailing human rights and freedom of the press. After suspending parliament, the government adopted a statute which that banned causing panic and disorder during the state of emergency, which primarily targeted the media, but also the public on social media. A doctor from Prijedor, Maja Dragojević Stojić, was fined 1,000 KM, because the authorities assessed a statement she made to the press as fake news and spreading panic, when she claimed hospitals in the Republika Srpska were ill-equipped to work effectively during the pandemic and that they do not have enough respirators or adequate staff.

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2 “U diktaturi nema uslova za izbore”, *Danas*, 07.05.2020. <https://bit.ly/3fwHzPt> (08.05.2020)

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## II The Truth and/or fake news

International human rights organizations have warned that limiting freedom of speech and expression is particularly worrying and unacceptable in cases of people reporting corruption in government management of the recovery from the pandemic.<sup>3</sup> By law, such persons are guaranteed protection as whistleblowers who are not to be punished for their activities. The importance of this right to freedom of media and speech has been affirmed in the other Bosnian and Herzegovinian entity, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Local journalists uncovered suspicious dealings worth millions related to purchases of medical equipment and respirators to treat patients and stop the spread of the pandemic, conducted without the mandatory public tender process by the entity authorities in charge during the emergency. Journalists reporting on this were accused of spreading panic and disinformation and told not to meddle in affairs not within their remit. The reports nonetheless have resulted in an investigation which has confirmed the journalists' claims, while the man in charge of the entity crisis management board has been suspended from duty pending its completion.<sup>4</sup> In the Federation, no law has been passed to control media or against spreading panic, in contrast to the other entity, but their role has been reduced to an absurd degree. The authorities in control of living conditions during the pandemic have decided to hold press conferences without journalists, which they justified by the threat of spreading the virus. This has significantly reduced the scope for questioning procedures and decision making, especially on spending taxpay-

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- 3 Transparency International BiH has called on all public officials in BiH, especially the government of the Republika Srpska (RS), not to use repression against the public, including regulations forbidding and punishing incitement to panic and public unrest. Instead, the organization recommends the government invite citizens to share irregularities, misuse, and threats to public health they observe. <https://bit.ly/2Wjkubl> (07.05.2020.) The OSCE representative for the freedom of the media sent a request to the government of the RS to withdraw the regulation forbidding incitement to panic, after which it was revoked.
  - 4 As part of the investigation by the Office of the Prosecutor of BiH into the purchase of respirators for 10.5 million KM in the Federation, experts found that the equipment purchased does not meet the minimum basic requirements to treat patients in intensive care units, including those infected with Covid-19.

ers' money and international donations. The authorities decide which questions, submitted via email, are answered, and reduce communication with the public to daily press releases. Interestingly, the temptation to control information in pandemic times has proven irresistible to the crisis management board of Sarajevo Old Town municipality. Even if local government has no jurisdiction, they issued an order "forbid[ding] disturbance of the public peace and order by spreading fake news". The determination of what is fake news and implementation of the order were delegated to the "relevant authorities", while offenders were to get hefty monetary fines. Following pushback from the media and the public, the decision was not enforced, but not rescinded either.

In these times of emergency, citizens have been knowingly denied the rights to relevant information and freedom of speech that allow them access to and the exchange of information. This has, for example, rendered it impossible to question the management of public funds, the circumstances under which contracts are signed, whether particular purchases are useful and appropriate or not, or what will happen to medical equipment in the future ... The inevitable question is whether the public interest in declaring a state of emergency justifies depriving the public of relevant information about the government's public activities. The answer is no. In fact, extraordinary circumstances are an additional reason for the authorities to display transparency and allow the public access to information, if they wish to achieve trust and interact with citizens in their attempt to deal with the pandemic and operate in the interest of public health and safety. Without a free flow of timely information, decisions are made behind the public's back, while the state of emergency becomes fertile terrain for various forms of abuse and organized crime. The accumulation of power, in this specific case under cover of the coronavirus threat, entails the suspension of civil rights and freedoms. This is why government decisions during extraordinary circumstances need to be public and subject to public scrutiny. It is a common denominator of all governments that decisions to implement a state of emergency are made without prescribing conditions for their implementation or an expiration date. It seems as though autocrats have welcomed the coronavirus threat as heaven-sent to help them legally trample on human

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rights and freedoms and further strengthen their power. It is concerning that many governments across the world and their officials display how much more interested they are in preserving their own reputations than saving human lives.

### III The Corona Pandemic is not a War

In times of crisis, it is extremely important for the public that the media can inform them freely, without any external pressures, about major events, including information on health measures imposed by the government, which are vital for the population. Amnesty International announced that suppression of the freedom of the media and attacks on journalists, as well as others who criticize how governments are dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, are slowing down efforts to fight the virus. The same organization has also warned that censoring key information about the pandemic has become a global phenomenon. “If one of the basic rights to health is the right to timely and accurate information, in the case of Covid-19 it means that everyone has the right to access all available information about the ways in which the virus spreads, as well as the measures they could take to protect themselves.”<sup>5</sup> However, Amnesty International data suggests that governments worldwide have been arresting and imprisoning journalists and other media personnel for sharing exactly that kind of basic information, claiming they were spreading fake news. The problem is that, in most cases, it is the governments distinguishing between fake news and accurate information. Undoubtedly, a well-informed population is usually much more powerful and effective than a police “expert” on the dangers of being informed. Instead of criminalizing false expression, states should strengthen their efforts to ensure the spread of reliable, easily available fact-based information. For instance, the government of Finland has proven that a different stance towards the interests of the public is possible by treating freedom of the media as a political priority, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. Instead of practicing control and limiting information about the pandemic, this Scandinavian government, led largely

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5 Amnesty International, Global crackdown on journalists weakens efforts to tackle Covid-19, 02.05.2020. <https://bit.ly/3dBqO3K> (03.05.2020)

by young people,<sup>6</sup> has decided to engage over a thousand influential and reputable authors active on social media. They have been asked to contribute to informing the public by spreading information about the government's measures to curb the consequences of the pandemic.

The Covid-19 pandemic poses a serious threat to public health. However, recent practice suggests that some emergency measures established by governments to remedy and prevent the consequences of infection may also have discriminatory and detrimental consequences for the credibility of democratic institutions, human rights and freedom of the media. Besides, one can justifiably suspect that the duration of some of those measures may be extended even after the end of the crisis. It is therefore imperative that governments protect civil and political rights during and after the pandemic, led by the principle that all restrictions necessary to serve legitimate purpose in times of emergency have to be proportional to the threat, transparent, clearly presented to the public, and based on law. Freedom House, an international organization for the protection of human rights and promotion of democracy, has set out several basic principles for the protection of civil and political rights during the Covid-19 pandemic. Among others, they warn governments that “emergency restrictions that affect citizens’ basic rights, including freedom of assembly or movement, have to be limited in duration, subject to independent monitoring, imposed and extended based on transparent criteria. Individuals should have the possibility to seek legal remedy and compensation for all unnecessary or disproportionate infringements of their rights during the crisis.”<sup>7</sup> Freedom of the media is highlighted as an especially important governmental duty in times of crisis and danger. State censorship and other unnecessary restrictions of the free flow of information must not be imposed. It is essential that citizens have access to the internet and other communication platforms as well as timely reports on all relevant government activities.

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6 The Prime Minister of Finland, Sanna Marin from the Social Democratic Party, is 34 years old and thus the world's youngest Prime Minister. Katri Kulmuni, the Minister of Finance, is two years younger. Of the 19 ministers in the government of Finland, 12 are women.

7 Freedom House, Principles for protecting civil and political rights in the fight against Covid-19, 24.03.2020. <https://bit.ly/3boe6Ur> (06.05.2020.)

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Recent experience with the coronavirus pandemic has confirmed the practice of absolute state control over the public. Another (un)expected feature, which has manifested itself in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider Western Balkan region, is that people are actually quite prone to accept dictatorship. Afraid of illness, and ultimately death, they are easily manipulated by a state that presents itself as their saviour. Demanding that people choose between privacy and health is not useful and results in a false choice because it is possible to align both. It is possible to protect one's health and stop the Covid-19 pandemic without establishing totalitarian supervisory regimes, but by strengthening people's knowledge through information about the problem and their inclusion in solving it. The coronavirus pandemic is not a war, it is a health disaster, where the public is not an enemy that warrants threats of grave problems for not abiding by the orders of local crisis boards. As the President of Germany, Frank Walter Steinmeier, said recently, the coronavirus pandemic is "a test of our humanity in which each one of us has to show our best side. After the end of this crisis we should not be a society of fear and distrust, but a society with more trust and respect."<sup>8</sup>

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8 *Germany's president calls for patience, solidarity in face of pandemic*, Deutsche Welle, <https://bit.ly/3ea5HWA> (15.05.20)

# VIRUS(OM) KORONA PROTIV GRAĐANSKIH PRAVA I MEDIJSKIH SLOBODA

**Mehmed Agović**

Karakteristika svih velikih kriza koje uzrokuju vanrednu situaciju u državi i društvu, kao što su državni udari, ratovi, prirodne nepogode ili, u danas aktuelnom slučaju, pandemija Covid-19, jeste njihov odraz na ulogu i ponašanje vlasti i njen odnos prema građanima. Gotovo u pravilu tada zvaničnici u vlasti pokazuju svoju pravu ćud i sklonosti autokratskom obavljanju vlasti “u interesu građana” i za njihovo dobro. Prvi korak je proglašenje vanrednog stanja ili, u nešto blažoj varijanti, stanja nesreće, što podrazumijeva suspenziju demokratije i rada državnih institucija i koncentraciju nekontrolisane moći u rukama jednog ili vrlo malog boja ljudi koji svoje odluke pretvaraju u zakon. Osim ukidanja demokratije, što se u pravilu čini na neodređeno vrijeme, stradaju ljudska prava i slobode građana, među kojima je neizostavno ograničavanje medijskih sloboda. Za vlast autokratskim manirima važno je da javnost ne zna kako i šta ona radi u vanrednim okolnostima i da njeni postupci i uredbe ne budu izložene pogledu i sudu javnosti.

## I Prva žrtva sloboda govora

Brojni su primjeri u svijetu (zlo)upotrebe aktuelne pandemijske opasnosti kao pokriće autokratima za provođenje njihovih programa i učvršćivanje vlasti. Ruska vlada je pristupila različitim mjerama cenzure i nadgledanja, a predsjedniku Vladimiru Putinu vanredno stanje oko pandemije išlo je na ruku u vezi provođenja paketa ustavnih amandmana koji bi mu omogućili da

produži svoju vladavinu do 2036.<sup>1</sup> Nakon što je to zatražio od Parlamenta, uslijedili su pozivi antikorupcijskih aktivista na protest, ali su samo nekoliko sati kasnije zabranjena javna okupljanja s obrazloženjem opasnosti od širenja virusa korona. U Turskoj su vlasti uhapsile oko 400 ljudi zbog navodnih provokativnih i alarmantnih postova na društvenim medijima o pandemiji Covid-19. Mađarski premijer Viktor Orban je bez oklijevanja suspendovao demokratske institucije u zemlji i umjesto toga njegova vladajuća Fidesz partija je pod okriljem opasnosti od pandemije Covid-19 u parlamentu donijela zakon kojim su, pored ostalog, suspendirana ljudska prava građana, među kojima je i sloboda govora, a mediji su stavljeni pod punu kontrolu vlasti, uključujući i javni medijski servis i društvene mreže. Premijeru Orbanu su zakonom data neograničena ovlaštenja vladanja. Tako je, naprimjer, predviđeno da svojim dekretom može kazniti zatvorom do pet godina autora teksta u medijima za koji on ocijeni da nije u interesu tekuće vladajuće politike. U brojnim zemljama u svijetu poduzete su mjere koje se smatraju “normalnim” u vanrednim okolnostima. Najprisutnija je kućna izolacija stanovništva kao mjera suzbijanja širenja zaraze, prinudni karantini za građane koji dolaze iz inostranstva za koje se sumnja da su inficirani virusom korona, selektivna zabrana kretanja stanovništva određene starosne dobi<sup>2</sup>, a nije izostavljena ni mjera policijskog sata. Mjera nadzora stanovništva lociranjem njihovog kretanja putem elektronskih uređaja, kao što su pametni telefoni, satovi i slično, naišla je na posebnu pažnju javnosti zbog moguće zloupotrebe privatnosti ljudi i korištenja tako prikupljenih podataka u zakonom nedozvoljene svrhe.

Na Balkanu je svoju čud autokratskog vladanja najjasnije pokazao srbijanski predsjednik Aleksandar Vučić. U okolnostima opasnosti od pandemije Covid-19 njegova Vlada je, nakon uvođenja vanrednog stanja u zemlji, promptno suspendovala slobodu medija i donijela dekret kojim se vlastima omogućava njihova

- 1 Luhn, A. i Strange, T. 2020. *The Pandemic Serves Putin's Purposes Very Nicely* [online]. [pristupljeno 05. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://www.vice.com/en\\_us/article/939jb7/the-pandemic-serves-putins-purposes-very-nicely](https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/939jb7/the-pandemic-serves-putins-purposes-very-nicely)
- 2 Ustavni sud Bosne i Hercegovine proglasio je neustavnom mjeru Uprave civilne zaštite Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine kojom je bila propisana zabrana kretanja stanovništva starosne dobi do 18 godina i građanima iznad 65 godina starosti.



potpuna kontrola. Tom odlukom je predviđena mjera zatvora za novinare za koje vlada procijeni da su “svojim pisanjem i informacijama izazivali paniku kod stanovništva”. Već sljedeći dan od stupanja na snagu odluke pod takvom optužbom uhapšena je novinarka N1 televizije zbog njenih izvještaja o zarazi i navodima o lošoj situaciji u bolnici u Novom Sadu, iako su bili istiniti. Pod pritiskom javnosti i osudama nadležnih međunarodnih medijskih organizacija, Vlada Srbije je morala povući svoju odluku o suspenziji medijskih sloboda. Zanimljivo je da su pod udarom pomenutog Vladinog dekreta bili mediji koji nisu bliski vladajućoj Srpskoj naprednoj stranci i njenim saveznicima, već su nastojali u interesu javnosti profesionalno obavljati svoj posao. Predsjednik Srbije, Aleksandar Vučić, preuzeo je glavnu ulogu u komuniciranju s javnošću u vezi s epidemiološkom situacijom. U svojim istupima i izjavama izazivao je konfuziju i zbuñenost javnosti, najprije kako je virus “smiješan” i bezopasan, a poslije je čak javno zaprijetio građanima kako “neće biti dovoljno mjesta na grobljima” ako ne budu poštovali njegove represivne mjere. Nije propustio priliku da u okviru vanrednog stanja u zemlji vodi predizbornu kampanju za opšte parlamentarne izbore. Zbog toga su uslijedili brojni protesti građana tako što su, zbog zabrane kretanja i policijskog sata, lupali u šerpe i zviždali s balkona. Grupa srbijanskih intelektualaca pozvala je građane na bojkot izbora zbog gušenja svih individualnih sloboda i slobode medija, navodeći kako je “protivustavno proglašeno vanredno stanje, koje predstavlja i svojevrsni državni udar, Aleksandar Vučić iskoristio za vođenje funkcionerske kampanje, obračun sa slobodnomislećim ljudima, buntovnim građanima, nezavisnim novinarima i predstavnicima opozicije”<sup>3</sup>.

U bosanskohercegovačkom entitetu Republika Srpska lokalne vlasti su po uzoru na Srbiju donijeli slične propise o gušenju prava građana, uključujući i slobodu medija. Nakon suspenzije rada Parlamenta, donesena je Uredba o zabrani izazivanja panike i nereda za vrijeme vanrednog stanja koja se, prije svega, odnosila na medije, ali i građane koji se oglašavaju putem društvenih mreža. Doktorica iz Prijedora, Maja Dragojević Stojić, kažnjena

3 Beta. 2020. *Grupa profesora i intelektualaca: U diktaturi nema uslova za izbore*. [online]. [pristupljeno 08. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.danas.rs/politika/grupa-profesora-i-intelektualaca-u-diktaturi-nema-uslova-za-izbore/>

je s 1.000 KM, jer su u Kriznom štabu procijenili da izjavom u medijima kako su bolnice u Republici Srpskoj loše osposobljene za rad u uslovima pandemije te da nemaju dovoljno respiratora i adekvatnog stručnog osoblja, širi lažne vijesti i paniku među ljudima.

## II Istina i(li) lažne informacije

Iz međunarodnih organizacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava su upozorili kako je uskraćivanje prava na slobodu izražavanja i mišljena posebno sporno i nedopustivo u slučaju osoba koje prijavljuju korupciju u vezi s aktivnostima vlasti na poslovima u vezi s upravljanjem i sanacijom epidemije.<sup>4</sup> Takvim licima zakonom se posebno garantuje uloga zviždača koji ne smiju biti progonjeni zbog svojih aktivnosti. Opravdanost takvog prava na slobodu medija i govora potvrđena je u drugom bosanskohercegovačkom entitetu, Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine. Tamo su novinari otkrili milionske sumnjive poslove u kupovini odgovarajuće medicinske opreme i respiratora za liječenje oboljelih i zaustavljanje pandemije, koje su, bez obavezne procedure javnih nabavki, zaključivali entitetski zvaničnici u Federalnoj upravi Civilne zaštite. Novinari koji su o tome pisali optuženi su za širenje panike i dezinformacija s porukom da se ne miješaju u poslove koji nisu u njihovoj nadležnosti. Ipak, njihovo pisanje je rezultiralo pokretanjem istrage u kojoj su u cijelosti potvrđene sumnje novinara, a čelni čovjek ove institucije suspendovan je s dužnosti do okončanja istražnih radnji.<sup>5</sup> U Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine nije done-

- 4 Transparency International BiH pozivao je sve javne zvaničnike u Bosni i Hercegovini, a posebno vlast u Republici Srpskoj, da se ne koriste represijom protiv građana, kao što su propisi kojima se zabranjuje i kažnjava izazivanje panike i javnih nemira. Umjesto toga ta organizacija preporučuje da vlast pozove građane i s njima podijeli sve uočene nepravilnosti, zloupotrebe i prijetnje po javno zdravstvo. (*Zaštititi zviždače tokom pandemije COVID-19 i povući Uredbu o izazivanju panike*. 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 07. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://ti-bih.org/zastititi-zvisdzace-tokom-pandemije-covid-19-i-povuci-uredbu-o-izazivanju-panike/>) Zahtjev vlastima Republike Srpske da povuku Uredbu o zabrani izazivanja panike uputilo je i predstavnik OSCE-a za slobodu medija, nakon čega je uskoro taj propis i ukinut.
- 5 U nalazu vještaka u okviru istrage koju vodi Tužilaštva Bosne i Hercegovine o nabavci respiratora u entitetu Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine, plaćenih 10,5 miliona maraka, utvrđeno je da nabavljeni uređaji ne posjeduju ni

sena uredba o kontroli medija i zabrani širenja panike kao u drugom entitetu, ali je njihov rad sveden na besmisleni mjeru. Nadležne vlasti, koje upravljaju uslovima života u vrijeme pandemije, odlučile su držati konferencije za medije bez novinara, s obrazloženjem opasnosti od širenja zaraze. Tako su novinarima bitno reducirali mogućnost da propituju njihove postupke i način donošenja odluka, posebno u trošenju javnog novca i iz fondova međunarodnih donacija. Sami su vršili izbor pitanja koja bi na njihovu adresu stigla putem emaila i na koja će odgovoriti te su komuniciranje s javnošću svodili na dnevna saopštenja. Zanimljivo je da izazovu kontrole informacija u vrijeme Covid-19 pandemije nije odolio ni Štab civilne zaštite sarajevske Opštine Stari Grad. Iako za to lokalni nivo vlasti nema nikakve zakonske ovlasti, Krizni štab je donio naredbu kojom se “zabranjuje narušavanje javnog reda i mira izazivanjem panike širenjem lažnih vijesti”. Za utvrđivanje i određivanje šta je lažna vijest i provođenje ove naredbe zaduženi su “nadležni organi”, a za prekršioce su bile propisane visoke novčane kazne. Zbog negodovanja medija i javnosti, ova odluka nije provedena u praksi, ali nije ni povučena.

Građanima su u uslovima vanrednog stanja svjesno uskraćena prava na relevantne informacije i slobodu govora koja im omogućava dostupnost i razmjenu tih informacija. Zato nisu u stanju propitivati kako se upravlja javnim novcem, pod kojim se uslovima zaključuju ugovori i da li je neka kupovina svrsishodna ili ne, kakva je sudbina zdravstvene opreme tokom njene kasnije upotrebe... Stoga je neizostavno pitanje može li interes uvođenja vanrednog stanja opravdati uskraćivanje relevantnih informacija građanima o javnom djelovanju vlasti? Ne. Naprotiv, vanredne okolnosti za vlast trebaju biti razlog više za transparentnost i dostupnost informacija široj javnosti ukoliko žele ostvariti povjerenje i interakciju s građanima u saniranju posljedica pandemije i efikasnije djelovati u interesu javnog zdravstva. Ako nema slobodnog protoka informacija i obaveze za pravovremeno informisanje, odluke se donose iza leđa javnosti, a vanredno stanje postaje pogodan teren za razne vrste zloupotreba i organizovani kriminal. Gomilanje moći, u konkretnom slučaju pod oznakom

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minimum potrebnih bitnih karakteristika za adekvatan tretman pacijenata u jedinicama intenzivne terapije, među koje spadaju pacijenti s Covid-19 oboljenjem.

opasnosti od virusa korona, podrazumijeva ukidanje građanskih prava i sloboda. Zato je važno da odluke koje vlasti donose u vanrednim okolnostima budu javne i podložne nadzoru javnosti i razmatranju odgovornosti za njihov učinak. Zajedničko za svaku vlast je da su odluke o uvođenju vanrednog stanja donosili bez propisivanja uslova za njihovo provođenje i kraja njihovog trajanja. Čini se da su autokrati opasnost od virusa korona dočekali kao dar s neba da legalnim putem pogaze ljudska prava i slobode te dodatno ojačaju svoju vlast. Zabrinjavajuće je što su brojne vlade u svijetu i njihovi zvaničnici pokazali kako su više zainteresirani za zaštitu vlastite reputacije, nego za spašavanje ljudskih života.

### III Covid-19 pandemija nije rat

U uslovima krize za javnost je posebno važno da mediji mogu slobodno, bez bilo kakvih pritiska, informisati javnost o najvažnijim temama, uključujući i informacije o zdravstvenim mjerama koje su od vitalnog značaja za stanovništvo koje nadležne vlasti donose. Iz organizacije Amnesty International su saopštili kako gušenje slobode medija i napadi na novinare, kao i druge koji kritikuju postupanja svojih vlada u vezi s pandemijom Covid-19, usporavaju napore u borbi protiv virusa. Ova organizacija je također upozorila da je cenzurisanje ključnih informacija o pandemiji postalo globalni fenomen. “Ako je jedno od temeljnih obilježja prava na zdravlje i pravo na pravovremene i tačne informacije u slučaju pandemije Covid-19 to znači da svi imaju pravo na pristup svim dostupnim informacijama o načinu širenja virusa, kao i mjerama koje bi mogli poduzeti kako bi se zaštitili.”<sup>6</sup> Podaci organizacije Amnesty International, međutim, pokazuju kako su vlade širom svijeta hapsile i zatvarale novinare i druge medijske radnike zbog širenja upravo takvih osnovnih informacija, pod optužbom da su širili lažne vijesti. Problem je što su u većini slučajeva vlasti određivale šta su lažne, a šta tačne informacije. Bez sumnje, dobro informirano stanovništvo obično je daleko moćnije i efikasnije od nekog policijskog “stručnjaka”

6 *GLOBAL: CRACKDOWN ON JOURNALISTS WEAKENS EFFORTS TO TACKLE COVID-19*. 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 03. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.amnesty.org.au/global-crackdown-on-journalists-weakens-efforts-to-tackle-covid-19/>

za problematiku opasnosti od informisanja. Umjesto kriminalizacije lažnog izražavanja, države bi trebale pojačati svoje napore kako bi osigurale širenje pouzdanih, lahko dostupnih informacija, utemeljenih na dokazima. Vlada Finske, naprimjer, pokazala je kako je moguće prakticirati i drugačiji odnos prema interesu građana, pa zaštitu medijskih sloboda tretira kao politički prioritet, posebno u razdoblju ove pandemije Covid-19. Umjesto kontrole i doziranja informacija o pandemiji Covid-19, Vlada ove skandinavske zemlje, koju vode većinom mladi ljudi<sup>7</sup>, odlučila je pozvati na saradnju i više od hiljadu utjecajnih i renomiranih autora koji se pojavljuju na društvenim medijima. Od njih je zatraženo da pomognu u informisanju javnosti tako što će obrađivati i širiti informacije o mjerama koje vlada poduzima u saniranju posljedica pandemije.

Pandemija Covid-19 predstavlja ozbiljnu prijetnju javnom zdravlju. U praksi se, međutim, pokazalo da neke hitne mjere, koje vlasti donose u saniranju i prevenciji posljedica zaraze, mogu imati i diskriminatorne, štetne posljedice po kredibilitet demokratskih institucija, ljudska prava i slobodu medija. Osim toga, opravdano se može sumnjati da upotreba nekih od tih mjera može biti produžena i nakon prolaska krize i prestanka vanrednog stanja. Stoga je neophodno da vlade štite građanska i politička prava za vrijeme i nakon trajanja pandemije, rukovodeći se principom da svaka ograničenja, neophodna da služe legitimnoj svrsi u slučaju nepogode, trebaju biti proporcionalna prijetnji, transparentna, jasno predstavljena javnosti, utemeljena na zakonu. Međunarodna organizacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava i promociju demokratije "Freedom House" definisala je nekoliko osnovnih principa za zaštitu građanskih i političkih prava u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19. Pored ostalog, vladama preporučuje da "hitna ograničenja koja utiču na osnovna prava građana, uključujući slobodu okupljanja, udruživanja ili unutrašnjeg kretanja, trebaju biti ograničena u trajanju, da podliježu nezavisnom nadzoru, nameću se i proširuju na osnovu transparentnih kriterija. Pojedinci bi trebali imati mogućnost traženja pravnih lijekova i naknada za sve nepotrebne ili nesrazmjerne povrede prava počinjene tokom

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7 Predsjednica vlade Finske Sanna Marin iz Socijaldemokratske stranke ima 34 godine i najmlađa je premijer u svijetu. Dvije godine mlađa Katri Kulmuni na čelu je ministarstva finansija ove zemlje. U sastavu vlade, koju čini 19 ministara, na ministarskim pozicijama je 12 žena.

krize.”<sup>8</sup> Sloboda medija se ističe kao posebno važna obaveza vlasti u vremenima kriza i opasnosti. Ne bi trebalo uvoditi državnu cenzuru ili druga nepotrebna ograničenja slobodnog protoka informacija. Bitno je uložiti maksimalni napor da se građanima osigura i održi pristup internetu i drugim komunikacijskim platformama te da se pravovremeno obavještavaju o svim aktivnostima nadležnih tijela. Kazne za distribuciju lažnih podataka u osnovi su podložne proizvoljnoj primjeni i zloupotrebi i, umjesto toga, vlade bi trebale suzbijati alternativne činjenice pružanjem jasnih, tačnih i ažurnih informacija.

Iskustva s Covid-19 pandemijom potvrđuju praksu apsolutne kontrole države nad njenim građanima. Druga (ne)očekivana karakteristika tog stanja koja se pokazala u Bosni i Hercegovini, naprimjer, ali i u regionu, jeste da su građani zaista skloni prihvatiti diktaturu. Oni su strahom od bolesti, odnosno smrti, izmanipulisani od države koja se predstavlja kao njihov spasilac. Zahtijevati od ljudi da se opredijele između privatnosti i zdravlja nije svrsishodno i rezultira lažnim izborom, jer je moguće uskladiti i jedno i drugo. Moguće je zaštititi svoje zdravlje i zaustaviti pandemiju Covid-19 ne uspostavljanjem totalitarnih režima nadzora, već osnaživanjem građana znanjem o problemu i njihovim uključivanjem u njegovo rješavanje. Virus korona nije rat, to je zdravstvena nepogoda u kojoj građani nisu neprijateljska strana, pa da im se prijete da će imati velike probleme ako ne slušaju naredbe kriznih štabova. Virus korona je, kako nedavno reče njemački predsjednik Frank Walter Steinmeier, “test naše humanosti, u kojem svako od nas treba pokazati ono najbolje. Nakon prestanka ove krize ne bismo trebali biti društvo straha i nepovjerenja, već društvo s više povjerenja i uvažavanja.”<sup>9</sup>

8 *Principles for protecting civil and political rights in the fight against Covid-19*. 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 06. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://freedomhouse.org/article/principles-protecting-civil-and-political-rights-fight-against-covid-19>

9 Carter, L. 2020. *Germany's president calls for patience, solidarity in face of pandemic* [online]. [pristupljeno 15. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-president-calls-for-patience-solidarity-in-face-of-pandemic/a-53095804>

# COMMUNICATION AND THE CORONA VIRUS

**Fahira Fejzić Čengić and Mustafa Sefo**

## Introduction

Modern society's main characteristic is that it is an IT society. This is obvious at all levels, from the local and regional to the global. The modern human is a being of communication. Social psychological definitions say human beings are social by nature and so *need other human beings*, allowing the conclusion that communication is a basic and constant need. One definition of communication says it has no beginning and no end, that it lasts, uninterrupted, constant, in various ways, direct and indirect, in line with our needs and environment. The main goal is for us to satisfy our communication needs, in a particular way and to a particular degree, so as to ensure our survival by informing ourselves about people, events, phenomena, problems, achievements, danger, in a word, everything going on around us. Can machines and technology do this for us? The ongoing pandemic has allowed us to test this, in part.

## Society gets the media it deserves

A break in communication can represent an unnatural environment for human beings and have a negative impact on us as individuals and on society as a whole. Since communication is a dynamic phenomenon that changes and adapts constantly, it's important to realize that all social change is reflected in it. Following and researching historical currents and events and economic and political change in society and the world mean we can also monitor and explore the changes they give rise to in commu-



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nication. How we communicate at a given time helps us understand the condition of that society.

The main change in methods of communication took place together with the industrial revolution and industrialization, i.e. increases in production, trade, and transport. Each of these factors left a powerful impact and modified methods of communication. With the emergence and development of mass production came mass society and therefore the first mass media and mass communication, which evolved over time into what we know and are used to today. Every age as its characteristic form of communication. The development of technology has certainly contributed to the development of mass communication and long-distance communication. In short, print media as a form of mass communication appeared with the invention of the printing machine, while mass print, newspapers and magazines, leaflets, and advertisements have been a feature of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Radio emerged as an experiment before World War II, gaining momentum in the 1930s, television in the 1950s, and Internet communication emerged as a comprehensive network in the 1980s. First this was *analogue*, using wires, cables and “physical” connections, but in recent decades it has been exclusively in *digital* or wireless form.

The most important current concern of media philosophy is to identify technology’s consequences for human beings, of technopoly (society’s surrender to technology), excessive use of media, and dependence on screens in the production of a *narcissistic society*. More of these subjects on another occasion.

This is where the most important positive and negative trends associated with success in communications during periods of crisis. Which always remind one of the war. And all mass media were famously first used in war and pacified only later.

## Media on the Pandemic

Early 2020 saw the emergence of the corona virus, first in China, then Iran, and then it spread around the world, including to Europe, starting with Italy, affecting every single aspect of human life globally. The pandemic transformed everyday life and human activities across the whole world within a very short time span. The human race has been forced to adapt to a new life style



with no alternative. This is the time we are living in. Communication whose main task is to make things accessible and universal has from the very beginning helped citizens around the globe protect themselves from the virus. Mass communication via the media, that is. The media, as intermediaries in communications, have found themselves on the front line of the fight in several ways. Mandatory isolation, distancing, or creating distance between people as individuals, and other preventive measures, not being able to meet, chat, socialize, or go to work or any public place have made the media the only source of news and information for the public. Media consumption has peaked. Online communication has gained in importance and very quickly become the only way to exchange information worldwide, making it a crucial instrument of communication. Email and various computer programs, smartphones and social networking applications, standard social networks, and online portals have reached unprecedented levels of use. Applications have even been developed just to report on the corona virus. People have become heavily dependent on this information and these methods of communication, as they represent their only way of keeping informed.

Here we should mention that during these three to four months of quarantine and restricted movement, the only businesses to see 100% increase in income have been the mass media cartels and corporations like Amazon, Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube. From the very first reports of their increased profits, it has been apparent that their business approach is benefiting from the loss of “offline life”, on which human civilization has been based for thousands of years.

This form of communication has spread over many social sectors, but particularly education. People have never found themselves in such a situation. Due to our totally changed social circumstances, the media have been given additional tasks. They have adapted their programming, especially television, to the current communication needs of their audiences. This refers primarily to children as an audience of television, especially public interest broadcasting, which has expanded its educational programs and programs for children by introducing additional educational content for primary school age children, so that they do not lose out. The pandemic has also caused all public places, including places of worship, to be closed, with television now

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broadcasting Friday prayers, Easter Mass and Chinese New Year live, indirectly helping to “maintain” continuity through the mediatization of these religious rituals.

### Technique, Technology and Technopoly

Technology, with all its positive and negative features, is an integral part of modern society and has greatly helped continuity of life during the pandemic in many social fields: university lectures and exams continue to be held with the help of appropriate computer programs that students can follow from wherever they have to; sessions and meetings of a political, economic, cultural and religious nature continue to be held online; as are scientific conferences and business fora. All sorts of media, whether print, electronic, or new, have adapted their activities and content.

Communication’s main goal is to ensure matters of public interest are public, general, and accessible to everyone in society without exception, discrimination or privilege, and we can illustrate the importance of that goal using the example of the pandemic. What would happen if only privileged social groups had access to current information on the pandemic in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the rest of us didn’t? We would all be at risk of contracting the virus, as we would transmit the virus to each other. A very important special form of communication applies under such circumstances, namely crisis communication. It is very important to meet the communication needs of all social groups, especially vulnerable ones, which can be difficult even in normal circumstances. Disseminating good news and tracking information with accuracy and traceable sources is also of great importance. This includes information provided by epidemiologists, psychologists, sociologists, and economists. Understandably, not everyone has been up to the task, but it has been important that they turned up.

A major characteristic of information is timeliness, which is very important at present. Timely dissemination to the public through media of information on changes happening from hour to hour is crucial. The values of togetherness, solidarity and responsibility are currently showing their crucial role in society. In a consumerist and globalized world, in the era of the corona virus pandemic, it can be very difficult to select out the vital

information, because we are exposed not just to aggressive advertising of goods and products but also to a large surplus of information that can confuse and mislead us. Different media cope differently with this challenge, from better to worse, from professional to sensational. The importance of preserving the continuity of life activities during the pandemic deserves separate treatment on the media, because isolation does not automatically entail communicational and psycho-social isolation from our environment or the world. In a word, we have been living a life of *experiential and media minimalism*.

We surveyed a small sample of students at the Faculty of Political Studies, from the IV year and Master's programs, on how they have coped with pandemic living conditions. Few had anything positive to say, whether about online teaching or how the media has covered the pandemic. The offline world, the "world of life" as Foucault would say, represents an immediate and real form of life that people in Bosnia and Herzegovina find more important, comfortable, and more human. The complete isolation and lockdown of the elderly and children under 18 is unprecedented, as is the restriction to freedom, the most important category of the human mode of being. Only with time will we be able to assess the inevitable psychological and social consequences. Only with time's distance, will it be possible to assess the real effects of the global cessation of life as the race has known it for at least five thousand years. This will certainly have to be closely monitored and analyzed in various areas of human activity, from health to education, work, business, making do, travel, trade, and so on.

# KOMUNIKACIJA U PANDEMIJSKOM VREMENU

Fahira Fejzić Čengić i Mustafa Sefo

## Uvod

Glavna odlika modernog društva jeste da je ono informacijsko i tehnološko društvo. Ove odlike su primjetne na svim razinama, kako na lokalnoj, regionalnoj, te svakako najviše na globalnoj ravni, dok je moderni čovjek, čovjek komunikacije. Po sociopsihološkoj definiciji čovjek je po svojoj prirodi (ljudsko biće) društveno biće, dakle *treba mu drugi čovjek*. Iz ovoga možemo shvatiti da je komuniciranje jedna od osnovnih i neprestanih ljudskih potreba. Također, jedna od definicija komunikacije kaže da komunikacija nema početka niti kraja, to jeste da komunikacija stalno traje, bez prekida, konstantno i na različite načine, posredno ili neposredno, shodno potrebama čovjeka i okruženju u kojem se nalazi. Glavni cilj je da čovjek na određeni način i u određenoj količini zadovolji svoje potrebe za komunikacijom, prvenstveno kako bi sebi osigurao opstanak informirajući se o ljudima, događajima, pojavama, problemima, postignućima, opasnostima, jednom riječju – o tokovima sredine u kojoj se nalazi. *Može li mu to pružiti mašina, tehnika?* Dijelom smo to isprobavali u pandemiji koja još traje.

## Kakvo društvo takvi mediji

Prekid komunikacije na određeni način može predstavljati neprirodno stanje čovjeka te može rezultirati raznim negativnim posljedicama po individuu, ali i društvo u cjelini. Uzevši u obzir da je komunikacija po svojoj prirodi dinamičan fenomen, da se konstantno mijenja i prilagođava, trebamo znati da se sve društvene promjene odražavaju i na ovaj fenomen. Prateći i istražuju-

ći historijske tokove i događanja, ekonomske i političke promjene u društvu i svijetu, paralelno možemo pratiti i istraživati promjene koje se kao posljedica toga dešavaju u komunikaciji. I obratno, iz načina na koji se u određenom vremenu komunicira možemo razumjeti situaciju u određenom društvu.

Glavni preokret u načinu komunikacije desio se istovremeno kada i industrijske revolucije i industrijalizacija društva, odnosno s povećanjem proizvodnje dobara, trgovine i transporta. Svaki od tih elemenata ostavili su snažan utjecaj i doveli do promjena u načinima komunikacije. S pojavom i razvojem masovne proizvodnje dolazi do pojave masovnog društva, što rezultira pojavom prvih medija i komunikacije, koji vremenom evoluiraju u smislu u kojemu su nam poznati i uobičajeni danas. Stoga, svaka historijska epoha ima svoj karakterističan vid komunikacije. Razvoj tehnologije je svakako doprinio velikom razvoju masovne komunikacije i komunikacije na velike udaljenosti. Sažeto se može reći da se štampa kao vid masovne komunikacije javlja s pojavom stamparskog stroja, a masovni listovi, novine i časopisi, letci, oglasi su opća odlika 19. stoljeća, naravno i potom 20. I evo i sada u 21. stoljeću. Radio se kao eksperiment javio pred sami Drugi svjetski rat i dobio zamah 30-tih godina 20. stoljeća, televizija 50-tih godina 20. stoljeća, dok se internetska komunikacija kao sveobuhvatna mreža javlja 80-tih godina 20. stoljeća. I to najprije na *analogni način* sa i uz pomoć žica, kablova i “materijalne” konekcije, da bi se u posljednjoj deceniji ostvarivala isključivo kao *digitalni* ili bežični oblik komunikacije.

Trenutno je najvažnija briga *filozofije medija* propitivati kakve posljedice na čovjeka i društvo ostavljaju tehnika, tehnopolija, pretjerana posredovanost i ovisnost o ekranima u sferi proizvodnje *društva narcizma*. No, o tome nekom drugom prilikom.

Upravo na ovom mjestu nastat će i najvažniji pozitivni, ali i negativni trendovi vezani za uspjeh komunikacije u kriznim vremenima. A ona uvijek podsjećaju na ratna vremena. I poznato je da su svi masovni mediji prvotno korišteni u ratne svrhe, a da su se tek kasnije *pacifizirali*.

## Mediji o pandemiji

Početak 2020. godine dolazi do pojave virusa korona, prvo u Kini, potom u Iranu. Taj virus se polahko proširio u ostale

zemlje svijeta, i na evropski kontinent, ponajprije na Italiju, što se kasnije odrazilo na apsolutno sve aspekte ljudskog života na globalnom nivou. Širenje ovog virusa je za jako kratko vrijeme i vrlo naglo preoblikovala način života i ljudskog djelovanja u cijelom svijetu. Čovjek je bio primoran prilagoditi se novom načinu života, bez ikakve alternative. To je vrijeme koje upravo živimo. Komunikacija, kojoj je glavni zadatak činiti stvari opštim i svima dostupnim, od samog početka je najviše doprinijela tome da se građani cijelog svijeta u velikoj mjeri i na određeni način zaštite od virusa korona. Naravno, radi se o masovnoj i medijski posredovanoj komunikaciji. Mediji, posrednici u komunikaciji, našli su se na prvoj liniji borbe na više načina. Zbog obavezne izolacije, distance, odstojanja ili rastojanja među ljudima kao ličnostima, kao i ostalih mjera prevencije, nemogućnosti uobičajenog sastajanja i susreta ljudi jednih s drugima, razgovora, druženja, odlaska na radno mjesto ili na bilo koje javno mjesto, jedini izvor vijesti i informacija za publiku su postali mediji. Konzumiranje medija i medijskih sadržaja svih vrsta je dostiglo svoj vrhunac. *Online komunikacija* je dobila na značaju i važnosti te je vrlo brzo postala jedini i presudan način razmjene informacija u cijelom svijetu. Email i razni kompjuterski programi, pametni telefoni i mnoge društveno-mrežne aplikacije, standardne društvene mreže, online portali, imaju najveću upotrebu do sada. Čak su napravljeni posebni programi i aplikacije čiji je zadatak izvještavanje samo o virusu korona. Ljudi su postali ovisni o ovim informacijama i ovakvom načinu komunikacije, jer ne postoji drugi način da se informiraju.

S tim u vezi nije naodmet napomenuti da su tri, četiri mjeseca karantina ili zabrane kretanja ljudi jedini privredni i korporativni subjekti koji su doživjeli stopostotnu uvećanu zaradu upravo masmedijski karteli i korporacije, poput Amazona, Facebooka, Twittera, You Tube kanala. Već po prvim priznanjima o uvećanju njihovih poslovnih dobitaka i zarada očito je da upravo njima po konceptu rada najviše odgovara *gubljenje offline života*, na koji je ljudski rod kao kultura i civilizacija činio to hiljadama godina. Ovim načinom komunikacije su obuhvaćeni i pokriveni mnogi društveni sektori, a najviše sektor obrazovanja. U ovoj novonastaloj situaciji ljudi se nikada prije nisu zatekli. Mediji su, zbog totalno promijenjene društvene situacije koju upravo živimo, dobili dodatne zadatke osim uobičajenih. Svoje programe, poseb-

no medij televizije, prilagodili su trenutnim komunikacijskim potrebama publike. To se prije svega odnosi na djecu kao publiku, tj. televizije su, posebno one javnog karaktera, trajanje obrazovnih programa i programa za djecu proširile ubacivanjem različitih obrazovnih sadržaja koji se tiču osnovnoškolskog obrazovanja. Tako su omogućile djeci da ne gube planirano obrazovanje. Pandemija je uzrokovala i zatvaranje svih javnih mjesta, naprimjer vjerskih objekata, pa su neke televizije vršile prijenos džume namaza uživo, vaskršnjih, uskršnjih misa i kineske nove godine. Na taj način su posredno pomogle “održavanju” kontinuiteta *medijatazacijom* tih vjerskih obreda.

### Tehnika, tehnologija, tehnopolija

Tehnologija kao neodvojivi dio modernog društva, sa svim pozitivnim i negativnim svojstvima, uveliko je pomogla kontinuitetu života tokom pandemije na raznim društvenim poljima – univerzitetska predavanja i ispiti se nastavljaju održavati pomoću odgovarajućih kompjuterskih programa, preko kojih studenti mogu biti uključeni u nastavni proces odakle žele; razne sjednice i sastanci političkog, ekonomskog, kulturnog i vjerskog karaktera se održavaju online, kao i naučne konferencije, biznis forumi i slično. Sve vrste medija, štampani, elektronski i novi mediji, svoje su djelovanje i sadržaje prilagodili novonastaloj situaciji. Pandemija Covid-19 je upravo pokazala osnovni cilj komunikacije – činjenje stvari od javnog interesa, to jeste dostupnost informacija bez izuzetka, diskriminacije ili privilegije. Šta bi se desilo kad bi samo neke privilegirane društvene grupe imale pristup aktuelnim informacijama o pandemijskoj situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini, a druge ne? Tada bi i jedni i drugi bili izloženi riziku da se zaraze virusom, odnosno jedni drugima bi mogli preneti virus. Od velike važnosti je i posebna vrsta komuniciranja, tj. *krizno komuniciranje* koje se primjenjuje u ovakvim i sličnim situacijama. Jako je važno voditi računa o tome da se zadovolje komunikacijske potrebe svih društvenih grupa, posebno onih osjetljivih, što je inače teško i u normalnim okolnostima. Širenje dobrih vijesti i praćenje informacija čiju tačnost i izvore možemo provjeriti također je od velikog značaja. To su većinom informacije koje daju stručnjaci epidemiolozi, psiholozi, sociolozi, eko-

nomisti. I logično, nisu svi bili na visini potrebnog zadatka, ali je važnije da su se one ipak pojavljivale.

Jedna od glavnih karakteristika informacije je njena *pravovremenost* koja upravo sada nosi tu svoju najveću važnost. Pravovremeno informiranje publike putem medija o promjenama koje se dešavaju iz sata u sat je krucijalno. Vrijednosti društvenog zajedništva, solidarnosti i odgovornosti upravo sada pokazuju svoju presudnu ulogu u društvu. U potrošački uređenom i nastrojenom globalnom svijetu, i u doba pandemije Covid-19, jako je teško napraviti selekciju važnih i prijeko potrebnih informacija, jer nismo izloženi samo agresivnim potrošačkim reklamama roba i proizvoda, nego i velikom višku informacija koji nas dovodi u zabunu i vrlo lahko mogu odvesti u pogrešnom smjeru. Mediji su se različito snašli, u rasponu od boljeg do lošijega, od profesionalnog do senzacionalnoga. Važnost očuvanja kontinuiteta životnih aktivnosti u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19 je segment o kojem se posebno trebalo govoriti u medijima, jer izolacija ne povlači sa sobom komunikacijsku i psihosocijalnu izolaciju individue od sredine i svijeta, i povlačenje individue u sebe. Drukčije rečeno, živjeli smo *životni minimalizam i medijski minimalizam*.

Na manjem uzorku smo obavili anketno propitivanje među studentima Fakulteta političkih nauka s master studija, IV godina, o tome kako su se snašli u pandemijskim uvjetima života. Najveći broj njih nema nimalo pozitivna iskustva i stavove niti o online nastavi niti o načinu medijskog praćenja ove pandemije. Tako da offline svijet, "svijet života" kako bi kazao Fuko, predstavlja neposredni realni život, koji je puno važniji, prihvatljiviji i ljudskiji, po svemu sudeći, za sve građane Bosne i Hercegovine. Potpuna izolacija osoba treće dobi i djece do 18 godina je praksa bez presedana, dokidanje slobode, najvažnije kategorije ljudskog bića, koje će, vrijeme će pokazati, ostaviti neizbrisive psihološke i socijalne posljedice. Tek će s duže vremenske distance biti moguće procijeniti stvarne efekte globalnog zaustavljanja života kakav kao ljudski rod poznajemo barem pet hiljada godina, što će svakako trebati budno pratiti i analizirati u najrazličitijim oblastima ljudskog ostvarivanja, počev od zdravlja do edukacije, rada, privređivanja, preživljavanja, putovanja, trgovanja i slično.



# THE MODERNIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE WAKE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Omer Merzić

Through history pandemics and diseases have brought pain, suffering, and death, but after they pass and people start to carry on with life it becomes clear that the new situation offers an opportunity to implement new and beneficial changes. It is important to note that foreign faculties and universities implemented these changes long ago and have noted an improvement in higher education as a whole. These changes are beneficial to professors and students alike, but are also helpful to the staff and administration of universities. In normal circumstances these changes would be hard and complicated to implement, but some of them are now already in use, given that the whole system was compelled by the pandemic to change. It is only a question of whether the changes will be permanent and fully implemented after the threat of the pandemic recedes.

This is a great moment for the University of Sarajevo and its educational units to begin the transition to an eco-friendlier manner of functioning. A first step could be the implementation of a paperless model of operating.<sup>1</sup> This change would primarily

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1 In the last decade and more, numerous articles have been written and studies conducted. See: Gilani, S. M. M. et al. "Electronic document management: a paperless university model." *Computer Science and Information Technology*, 2009. *ICCSIT 2009. 2nd IEEE International Conference* (2009): 440-444., Meyer, B. "The Process of Implementing a Paperless Classroom in Teacher Education Using an Electronic Portfolio System." (2008)., Davis, Dan. "The Paperless Classroom: E-filing and E-evaluating Students' Work in English Composition." (2002)., Price, B. and Petre, M.

affect materials brought to lectures, tutorials, and seminars by professors. This material is in most cases unnecessary and superfluous and is usually discarded by the students shortly after they receive it. As well as being ecologically commendable, such a change is also economically beneficial. Another aspect of this transition is that it would be helpful to professors, since they would not be compelled to procure printed materials, distributing materials online instead. A minor difficulty arises for the students, as some materials are easier to use in printed form, but seeing as they received their materials online, they can use them on their electronic devices and print them on their own. These would primarily apply to syllabuses and instructions for seminars and tutorials but could be applied more broadly.

Another way of improving during this period is the establishment of a centralised depository for books and materials in electronic form. This depository could be at the University level, but it also could be fragmented, so that only the specific faculty or associated libraries have access to the materials.<sup>2</sup> This change, like the previous one, is already being implemented because of the pandemic and professors and students are being forced to distribute the necessary literature online, often illegally. Unfortunately, in the present situation, professors are solely responsible for distribution on their own initiative without any

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"Teaching programming through paperless assignments: an empirical evaluation of instructor feedback." *ACM SIGCSE Bulletin*, 29(3), (1997): 94-99., Noaman, A. Y. et al. "Higher education quality assessment model: towards achieving educational quality standard." *Studies in Higher Education*, (2015): 1-24., Meishar-Tal, Hagit and Shonfeld, Miri. "Students' writing and reading preferences in a paperless classroom," *Interactive Learning Environments*, 27:7 (2019): 908-918, Sextos Anastasios G. "A paperless course on structural engineering programming: investing in educational technology in the times of the Greek financial recession," *European Journal of Engineering Education*, 39:1, (2014): 18-30.

- 2 See: Frederiksen, Linda, et al. "Ebooks and Interlibrary Loan: Licensed to Fill?," *Journal of Interlibrary Loan, Document Delivery & Electronic Reserve*, 21:3, (2011): 117-131, Wells, David and Sallenbach, Anita, "Books and ebooks in an academic library," *The Australian Library Journal*, 64:3, (2015): 168-179, Yuan, Weijing, et al. "Ebooks Versus Print Books: Format Preferences in an Academic Library," *Collection Management*, 43:1, (2018): 28-48, Lam, Paul, et al., "Usability and usefulness of eBooks on PPCs: How students' opinions vary over time." *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology*, 25(1), (2009): 30-44.

help from University, faculty, or department. In the worst-case scenario students are forced to get by on their own, and as libraries, bookstores, and print shops are closed, their task is virtually impossible. The only option for them is to ask for help from older generations of student or to try their luck on the internet. This trend of establishing online libraries and book depositories is not new in other European universities which house academic and non-academic books, journals, magazines, and other helpful literature, as well as primary sources physically held at their libraries. Some foreign libraries have seen the impact of the pandemic and have offered the use of their online services for free during the pandemic. The implementation of such depositories would be helpful to professors, who would not be tasked with giving students the necessary literature or asking them to procure it. Another issue which would be solved by this is the inadequate number of physical books students need for their studies. This would also be resolved by using electronic books, which are used to some degree by some faculties already, but their distribution amongst students tends to be delegated by the professor to assistants or student representatives. The biggest problem with such types of online libraries is copyright, but there are numerous mechanisms that help prevent misuse of this system. Some are the implementation of software that permit students to access the book only online or to download the book and keep it for a limited amount of time, after which the book is erased automatically. This is a similar process to that with physical books, the difference is that the book is not returned at the end, but rather the copy is erased and there is the advantage of not needing numerous physical copies for students. Another positive side of such depositories and libraries is that they do not require a large amount of space and are easy to use and reachable, especially when students and professors are not able to physically get to places. This change could be a steppingstone towards implementation of another important and beneficial innovation in academia that is widely used in the rest of the World, anti-plagiarism software.

The pandemic is responsible for change in the way we teach. Face to face lectures have been replaced by online and video classes. Faculties that had an established distance learning curriculum did not face major obstacles in transition. But faculties that did not have faced major difficulties. It is true that this kind

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of learning is more popular in the technical and mathematical sciences than in the humanities and medical sciences. Nevertheless, the form of distance learning and online classes is well established elsewhere and in widespread use.<sup>3</sup> As pointed out earlier, faculties that had a distance learning program or the necessary foundations were at an advantage compared. Since this kind of teaching had already taken root in some faculties before the pandemic, they had a backup plan for the continuation of lectures, as well as a uniform way of conducting online classes and lectures with which students and lecturers were already familiar and trained in the necessary technology. It was in faculties that did not have established infrastructure that a problem arose, one that mainly concerned the students. Since there was no plan, the manner in which professors held lectures was left up to them to figure out led to the use of various applications and programs, to which the students had to adapt and learn to use, which in turn hindered their work and complicated the situation.

Following up this point, there is a need to create a plan for emergencies and exceptional times. Over the last decade we have seen that the University needs a plan for emergencies. This was evident in 2012 when a blizzard swept across South East of Europe and made everyday life impossible. It has also happened in 2020, with the COVID-19 epidemic. The University was not prepared in 2012 and has found itself in the same situation in 2020. When there is no plan and the professors and administration come up with the necessary responses on the go the proposed solutions are usually inadequate and put pressure on students, who already face the uncertainty that surrounds the emergency situation, on top of the stress of their normal studies, let alone any new situation regarding changes in how they attend lectures. All of this affects the mental health of the student population, which is not the main priority even in normal times. Another problem that has been grown with the pandemic situation is the problem of the student office and the services they facilitate. Like the pre-

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3 See: Merisotis, Jamie P. i Phipps, Ronald A. "What's the Difference?: Outcomes of Distance vs. Traditional Classroom-Based Learning , Change," *The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 31:3, (1999): 12-17, Moore, Joi L., et al. "e-Learning, online learning, and distance learning environments: Are they the same?," *The Internet and Higher Education*, 14:2, (2011): 129-135.

vious problems this too can be solved with the implementation of technology and the transfer of to an online service.

All these changes are tested and proven to work and are of use. They have been implemented in countries and universities around the world. These changes have been the subject of many interdisciplinary studies and books and papers have been published on the topics. Insofar as some of these changes have already been implemented because circumstances demanded it, we have already taken the first step towards the modernisation of the University of Sarajevo and all its units, as well as other institutions of higher learning across Bosnia and Herzegovina.

# KORIŠTENJE NOVONASTALE SITUACIJE VIRUSA KORONE U SVRHU MODERNIZACIJE NAČINA RADA VISOKOG OBRAZOVANJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Omer Merzić

Nakon svake pandemije i bolesti, koje su prvobitno donijele samo smrt i bol, došlo je do izražaja da su upravo ti mračni trenuci probudili strast za promjenu unutar ljudi. Tako bismo i mi trebali iskoristiti ovu novonastalu situaciju za poboljšanje. Prvobitno, ovo je važno, jer su strani fakulteti i univerziteti već odavno započeli promjene u cilju modernizacije te poboljšanja rad i poslovanja univerziteta. Promjene su također dovele do poboljšanja situacije te olakšanja profesorima, studentima i drugim uposlenicima fakulteta, kao i kompletnom sistemu. U nekim drugim trenucima ove promjene bi bile teže i komplikovanije za sprovesti, ali zbog trenutne situacije neke odluke su već donešene i sprovode se aktivno, samo je pitanje da li će tako ostati nakon završetka vanredne situacije.

Ovo je odličan trenutak da Univerzitet u Sarajevu i fakulteti počnu s tranzicijom na više ekološki način rada i upravljanja. Prvenstveno prelazak na “paperless” način rada.<sup>1</sup> To se najviše

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1 U posljednje dvije decenije veliki broj radova i djela je napisano na ovu temu. Vidjeti: Gilani, S. M. M. et al., “Electronic document management: a paperless university model”, *Computer Science and Information Technology, 2009. ICCSIT 2009. 2nd IEEE International Conference* (2009): 440-444; Meyer B., “The Process of Implementing a Paperless Classroom in Teacher Education Using an Electronic Portfolio System”, (2008); Davis, Dan, “The Paperless Classroom: E-filing and E-valuating Students' Work in English Composition”, (2002); Price, B. i Petre, M., “Teaching program-

odnosi na predavanja, vježbe i seminare na kojima predavač donosi isprintan materijal, u mnogim slučajevima nepotreban i suvišan, pa je često nakon predavanja odbačen od strane studenata. Osim što je ova praksa ekološki pohvalna, ona je i ekonomski povoljnija. Još jedan element koji se treba sagledati kod ovog načina rada je i to što u jednu ruku olakšava profesorima, jer oni više ne moraju brinuti da osiguraju studentima materijal. Jedini problem u nekim situacijama bi se ticao studenata, jer veliki broj materijala je lakše koristiti u printanoj formi. Ali, s obzirom na to da bi ih dobili u elektronskoj formi, studenti bi ih mogli koristiti preko elektronskih uređaja i na predavanjima. Ovo se najviše odnosi na materijale koji nisu prijeko potrebni, kao što su silabusi, upute za rad, pasusi knjiga kojima studenti imaju pristup i slično.

Drugi način poboljšanja je stvaranje centralizovanog depozitorija knjiga u elektronskom formatu na nivou Univerziteta, fakulteta, biblioteka ili odsjeka.<sup>2</sup> Isto kao i s prethodnim prijedlogom, profesori i student su primorani da elektronskim putem dijele literaturu. Nažalost, skoro isključivo su profesori sami prosljeđivali studentima potreban materijal ili čak, u gorim slučajevima u ovom generalnom stanju, studenti su sami morali tražiti taj materijal. S obzirom na to da su biblioteke, knjižare, štamparije i kopirnice zatvorene, ovaj poduhvat je skoro nemoguć te stu-

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ming through paperless assignments: an empirical evaluation of instructor feedback.” *ACM SIGCSE Bulletin*, 29(3), (1997): 94-99; Noaman, A. Y. et al. “Higher education quality assessment model: towards achieving educational quality standard”, *Studies in Higher Education*, (2015): 1-24; Meishar-Tal, Hagit i Shonfeld, Miri, “Students’ writing and reading preferences in a paperless classroom”, *Interactive Learning Environments*, 27:7 (2019): 908-918; Sextos, Anastasios G., “A paperless course on structural engineering programming: investing in educational technology in the times of the Greek financial recession”, *European Journal of Engineering Education*, 39:1, (2014): 18-30.

- 2 Više o ovome: Frederiksen, Linda, et al., “Ebooks and Interlibrary Loan: Licensed to Fill?”, *Journal of Interlibrary Loan, Document Delivery & Electronic Reserve*, 21:3, (2011): 117-131; Wells, David i Sallenbach, Anita, “Books and ebooks in an academic library”, *The Australian Library Journal*, 64:3, (2015): 168-179; Yuan, Weijing, et al., “Ebooks Versus Print Books: Format Preferences in an Academic Library”, *Collection Management*, 43:1, (2018): 28-48; Lam, Paul, et al., “Usability and usefulness of eBooks on PPCs: How students’ opinions vary over time”, *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology*, 25 (1), (2009): 30-44.

dentima preostaje samo da pomoć potraže na internetu ili od prethodnih generacija. Osim toga, veći broj evropskih univerziteta je napravio svoje baze s akademskim i neakademske materijalima od knjiga, zbirki, stručnih i akademskih članaka, različitih časopisa i čak primarnih izvora koji se nalaze u njihovim bibliotekama. Ove baze su veoma korisne, jer studenti na jednom mjestu mogu pristupiti svoj potrebnoj literaturi, posebno u trenucima kada ne mogu fizički doći do biblioteka i drugih institucija. To su uvidjele neke strane biblioteke i institucije s bazama knjiga te su besplatno dale na korištenje svoje resurse široj javnosti tokom pandemije. Ovakav način centralizovanja potrebnog materijala olakšao bi posao profesorima, jer ne bi morali svake godine davati studentima knjige ili tražiti od njih da ih nabavljaju. Time bi se riješio još jedan problem, a to je da često u bibliotekama nema dovoljan broj fizičkih primjeraka, pa neki studenti imaju problema nabavke potrebne literature. Ovo bi se riješilo s elektronskim knjigama, koje se ionako većim dijelom koriste na različitim fakultetima, ali su za to u najvećoj mjeri zaduženi profesori, asistenti i predstavnici studenata. Najveći problem centralizovanja depozitorija knjiga u e-formatu bi se ticao autorskih prava. Ali već postoje različiti mehanizmi koji sprječavaju njegovu zloupotrebu. Najefikasniji način prevencije je implementacija softvera koji dopušta studentu da ima pristup nekoj knjizi samo *online* ili da može koristiti knjigu samo određeni vremenski period, a nakon toga dolazi do brisanja te knjige s korisnikovog računara. Slično kao što se radi iznajmljivanje knjiga iz biblioteke, samo što se nakon isteka roka knjiga ne vraća u bazu, već primjerak koji je preuzet nestaje. Time studenti više ne bi bili ograničeni na fizičke primjerke. Korist elektronskih baza knjiga je ta što zauzimaju malo prostora, lahko su pristupačne i jednostavne su za koristiti u trenucima kada se ne može fizički pristupiti bibliotekama, ali i u drugim okolnostima. Prednost jednog depozitorija je i mogućnost implementacije programa za praćenja plagiranja i drugih neprimjerenih korištenja tekstova u akademske svrhe.

Još jedna promjena koja je bila implementirana u stranim univerzitetima, ali i na nekim domaćim fakultetima, tiče se kreacije platforme za učenje na daljinu, poznate kao “distance learning”<sup>3</sup>. Ovaj način rada je popularan i često zastupljen u

3 Više o ovome: Merisotis, Jamie P. i Phipps, Ronald A., “What's the Difference?: Outcomes of Distance vs. Traditional Classroom-Based Learning, Change”,



informatičko-matematičkim naukama i oblastima, a manje u društveno-humanističkim i prirodno-medicinskim naukama. Samim tim što je ova praksa već bila zaživjela na pojedinim fakultetima prije pandemije, oni su već imali rezervni plan za nastavak predavanja, uniformni način odvijanja *online* nastave i predavače koji su bili upoznati s takvim načinom rada i koji su bili u određenoj mjeri obučeni da koriste potrebnu tehnologiju. Ovaj problem se prvenstveno tiče studenata i nastao je jer nije bilo međusobnog dogovora među profesorima koji su samostalno odlučili koje aplikacije i programe će koristiti, pa su studenti primorani da se prilagode pojedinačno svakom profesoru. Zbog toga su primorani koristiti veliki broj različitih programa, što otežava i komplikuje njihov rad.

Potrebno je kreirati plan odvijanja i vršenja nastave i predavanja u kriznim situacijama. U posljednjih desetak godina dešavalo se da uslijed prirodnih nepogoda dođe do problema u realizaciji predavanja i ispita. Posebno je bio težak slučaj kada su studenti bili primorani da nastave sa svojim obavezama 2012. godine kada je veliki dio Bosne i Hercegovina bio paralizovan uslijed velikih snježnih nanosa. Kako tada, tako i u periodu pandemije Covid-19 Univerzitet u Sarajevu i fakulteti nemaju jasno regulisan plan rada u kriznim situacijama. Zbog toga često dolazi do panike među studentima i širenja dezinformacija. Ovo stvara i problem profesorima, jer ni oni sami u potpunosti nisu upućeni u način rada. Ovakve novonastale situacije stvaraju dodatni stres kod studenata. Osim onog stresa koji se tiče ispita i ocjenjivanja u normalnoj situaciji, studenti su u ovom periodu dodatno izloženi neizvjesnosti koja se tiče generalnog stanja oko njih, nisu u potpunosti sigurni na koji način će nastaviti svoje školovanje i kako će dalja ispitivanja izgledati. Ovo dodatno narušava mentalno zdravlje studenata, kojem se ne pridaje dovoljno pažnje i obzira u normalnom vremenu. Problemi koji su uvećani ovom situacijom su rad studentskih službi na fakultetima te pristup potrebnoj dokumentaciji i različitim potvrdama. To je, također, rješivo digitalizacijom i izdavanjem *online* potvrda studentima kojima su potrebne.

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Sve ove promjene su već testirane i potvrđene da rade i koriste se u mnogim državama i na mnogim univerzitetima i fakultetima diljem svijeta. Vršena su mnoga interdisciplinarna istraživanja i objavljeni su mnogi radovi i knjige o ovim temama. S obzirom da su neke predložene stavke silom okolnosti već prihvaćene i implementirane tokom ove krize, time je već započet prvi korak u realizaciji modernizacije i usavršavanja Univerziteta u Sarajevu, njegovih jedinica, ali i drugih visokoškolskih institucija diljem Bosne i Hercegovine.



**The third panel / Treći panel**

**REIMAGINING UNIVERSAL  
POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND  
ECONOMIC PARADIGMS  
LOCALLY /  
REIMAGINACIJA  
UNIVERZALNIH POLITIČKIH,  
KULTURNIH I EKONOMSKIH  
PARADIGMI U LOKALNIM  
OKVIRIMA**



# THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC: VIEWED FROM THE SARAJEVO LOCKDOWN

Žarko Papić

1. The following assessment should be taken with considerable reserve. It is still impossible to estimate with any precision how long the causes of the pandemic in crisis will last or the likelihood of their “transferring” to the southern hemisphere or of a second wave. The pandemic will certainly cause enormous economic and social losses and provoke global crisis. The magnitude of economic and social welfare losses will depend on how long the isolation measures last and borders are closed, social distancing is continued, and restarting economic activities is delayed. The situation will not normalise within just a couple of months, and some measures, dependent on country, will doubtless remain in force until vaccination with a new vaccine is over, which is a minimum of 12 months. Which is why the economic and social consequences of Covid 19 will be lasting, as it will take years to restore normal economic activities even after “normalisation” by vaccination.

2. The annualised economic and developmental losses projected by the relevant international agencies have been hyper-optimistic from the start (-6% of GDP in 2020 for France and Germany), but are gradually becoming less so. Fitch's estimates for the US and the Eurozone countries (10.04.2020) were for GDP to fall 20-30% at the annual level in 2020. The OECD's estimates (07.04.2020) for 47 developed and growing economies, after the initial impact, were 20-25% of GDP (Germany -30%, France -25%, Italy -25%, US -25%). If strict measures are maintained, the OECD expects a 2% fall in GDP per month at the

annual level. So, if measures are maintained for eight months, then annual GDP will be down 16%, on top of the fall caused by the initial impact. Such a fall in global GDP would have enormous social consequences. According to the most recent estimates, a further 500 million people will find themselves in poverty around the world (around 0.7% of world population). A tanking economy and rising poverty will put exceptional strain on existing social welfare systems and safety nets, adding further to poverty.

3. Over the past five years, Bosnia and Herzegovina has experienced sluggish GDP growth for a developing country, averaging 3%. At this rate and assuming the average EU rate remains stable at 2%, it will take Bosnia and Herzegovina 105 years to catch up with average EU living standards (World Bank 2019). And the Covid 19 crisis is coming on top of that.

The official statistics institutes in Bosnia and Herzegovina assess poverty using a relative poverty line. In the EU, it looks at differences in income and not just poverty. The wrong methodology provides the wrong results. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, 16.9% of the population placed below the relative poverty line in 2017, compared to 24% in the EU. Clearly, the European Union is not poorer than Bosnia and Herzegovina, but greater development brings greater differences in income, and a quarter of the population in the EU has less than 60% of the median average income. These people are not poor in pure material terms, they are just “poorer” than the rest, because they only have one car or go on summer holiday only in their own country, while others have 2 to 3 cars and holiday in Hawaii.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina the wrong methodology reduces the scope for determining real conditions and is an immediate obstacle to effective social policy. The authorities present the situation as better than it is and are not focused in any real sense on dealing with problems. If you can't see the problem, there's nothing to solve.

4. The social and economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was bad even before Covid 19. The general focus on political tensions, ethnic and national relations, gridlock, failure to form institutions, and patriotism versus separatism has been going on for years, but social conditions only become news when workers strike and veterans demonstrate.

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There is no relevant preliminary estimate of economic losses in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a result of the crisis prompted by the pandemic. **The World Bank estimates for Bosnia and Herzegovina (23.03.2020) make clear the irrelevance of earlier estimates.** They are based on conditions in 2019 and GDP growth of around 2.8% and project a fall of 2% in 2020 as a result of Covid 19. No matter how “long ago” the last week in March was in terms of the crisis' dynamic, the estimates for the GDP drop in the major EU economies was at that point already 6%. This comparison **conceals** the mistaken assumption in general estimates that (because it is undeveloped) Bosnia and Herzegovina will weather any crisis better than the developed countries. This misconception dominated responses in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the crisis in 2008. In fact, Bosnia and Herzegovina did worse than the EU and it was five years (2013) before the GDP level was back at 2007 levels.

In April, the World Bank corrected its less optimistic estimates, forecasting a 3% fall in GDP for Bosnia and Herzegovina at the annual level because of the losses from the initial shock, on the assumption that restrictive measures are lifted in June 2020. So, it's already down 3% and we can't estimate the further drop but can be sure there will be one. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina projects, again optimistically, a decline of 3-10% of GDP. Never mind that it's going to take Germany eight years to reach its GDP level from 2019 again.

The IMF's estimates for the other countries in the region are equally misguided, with Croatia losing 9% and Serbia 3% of GDP. Even the IMF director recognised the unserious nature of their estimates when he announced a week later that these “catastrophic estimates were nonetheless overly optimistic.” So we must ask where these differences in their estimates between the OECD on the one hand and the World Bank and IMF on the other come from. Up to the beginning of this century, the OECD was considered the “software” of the global economy, while the World Bank and IMF were the “hardware”, and they generally followed OECD estimates/projections. The World Bank and the IMF's minimalist projections of losses presumably stem from their estimation that their financial capacities couldn't stand up to realistic recognition of the real depth of the crisis, as it might lead



to developed countries formally requesting financial assistance from the organisations.

Generally speaking, we should be prepared to expect GDP to decline more and there to be greater social consequences from the losses in Bosnia and Herzegovina than in the developed countries or the EU.

#### 5. Why?

Bosnia and Herzegovina's dependence on the condition of the EU economy is very considerable, so that crisis in the EU will cause both exports and imports of reproduction materials to fall enormously, and indeed industry generally. There will certainly be a major fall in tourism, hospitality, and other service industries. Domestic consumption will fall and its composition will also change, causing additional grief across various economic sectors. Unemployment will rise significantly, while state assistance to maintain employment (covering minimum wages and social welfare contributions in the short-term) will eventually lead to reduced wages. This will produce a sharp and major increase in poverty.

Poverty has been becoming a “hot” social topic everywhere in the world, and particularly so in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the absence of new anti-poverty policies, we may expect to see fundamental political change. Social instability and poverty provide fertile ground for strengthening the right and authoritarian regimes. The current emergency measures (introduced because of Covid 19) have provided an initial impulse and poverty may cement them in place. The fight against poverty is not just a matter of social development, human rights, and social justice. It also has direct historical and political significance. It is a part of the struggle against rising authoritarianism on the right and nationalist isolationism.

6. Poverty in Bosnia and Herzegovina measured using the absolute poverty line method (level of income required to meet basic material needs) is far higher than official statistics suggest. Analyses of absolute poverty are rare and only carried out within a few international agency projects. There has been no systematic monitoring of absolute poverty and there are no consolidated data. A realistic estimate, however, is that the absolute poverty line in Bosnia and Herzegovina may be 5 to 6 percentage points higher than relative poverty. This means between 175,000 and

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210,000 more people than the 591,000 recorded as in relative poverty in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2017, which gives a total of around 800,000, or approximately 23% of the population. UN and World Bank estimates, made using alternative methodologies, are in line with these larger numbers.

7. The Covid 19-provoked crisis will undoubtedly lead, we repeat, to steep and major increases in poverty in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to rising unemployment and falling wages, the following processes will have an impact:

- The return of Bosnian citizens, currently in EU countries as economic migrants, because of job loss and social insecurity. The problem of the youth drain from Bosnia and Herzegovina will now be reversed. Young people will be returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there will be no work for them, causing unemployment and poverty to rise.
- Major reductions in remittances from the diaspora, an important source of income since the war. In recent years, they have accounted for as much as 10% of GDP and provided “a great social security net”. For example, a son or daughter employed in Germany sends money to parents on a small pension to ensure they can get by. As these remittances fall, they will not be officially recorded anywhere, but they will have a major impulse on increasing poverty.
- Falling economic activity will drastically reduce public revenue, and the budgetary crisis will spill over objectively to pensions and social transfers, which will be cut. Most likely, the instrument for cutting them will be inflation rather than direct cuts. So, existing beneficiaries will be “pushed” deeper into poverty, while there will be no room for new ones in the social security systems.

Given the projected major deterioration of the social situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the fight against poverty and new social policies will have to be a priority for the government and its partners. Anyone who doesn't get it yet, will be forced to understand it sooner as the conditions get worse and more urgent.

8. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian authorities' response to the economic and social consequences of the pandemic have only provided concrete illustration of how bad reality is. The measures they have taken and their estimates of the magnitude of the consequences reveal complete ignorance, institutional dysfunction-

ity, the lack of any form of coordination, and the catastrophic consequences of “ethnicised political economies” whose corruption acts as the motor of general collapse.

Even before the crisis situation, the consolidated debt of public companies (taxes and social contributions owed) was 8 billion KM, up to 2018. That year, those companies received around 200 million KM in public subsidies, but their total profit was just 80 million KM. The practices of finding jobs for party members, packing management with incompetent party loyalists, and diverting capital to favoured tycoons had caught up with them.

The final elimination of expertise from the process of dealing with epidemiological measures is an expression of the general affirmation of ignorance and political cronyism, whose end goal is to literally cover up, for example, conditions in healthcare and facilitate “Srebrena malina/Silver raspberry” type situations, purchasing respirators through agribusiness and tests through travel agencies.

The Federation and the Republika Srpska have taken different measures to tackle the consequences of the pandemic and have not coordinated them, which is naturally a problem in itself. The centralised structure in the Republika Srpska “copied” Serbian measures, which allowed them, on the one hand, to react quickly, but, on the other, significantly reinforced authoritarian processes. It is right to be concerned that temporary emergency measures may enjoy some afterlife in so-called normalisation. **Moreover, they have proved epidemiologically effective in undesired ways, particularly during the “second-half”.** A month later, the rapid passage of decisions or measures to support the economy has not been followed through on (beyond a once-off payment to healthcare workers, the police, et cetera), raising questions about their effectiveness. Disputes in the Federation over how to divide up the IMF money at the entity and canton levels show clearly that the political and institutional situation in the “better” entity is also a vector of crisis for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Federation has reacted with massive delay and incomprehensibly weak measures in its “corona law”, and this is not just because of the complex constitutional structure. Ignorance is to be expected from nepotism and political cronyism and we are now paying the price. The Federation is in budgetary deficit and offering at best meagre short-term financial support to the econ-

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omy on the basis of IMF and EU funds. Two weeks ago the US pumped financial support into their economy at about 20% of annual GDP (which is around 3% of global GDP). Germany has done something similar, et cetera. For the Federation, the equivalent would be not 1 but 4 billion KM, which is 20% of its GDP. Not to mention that the economies of the US and Germany are in far better condition. Delays getting support online during the first 50 days of the emergency has produced around 30,000 new unemployed, which is around 5% of employment as it stood.

The proposed changes to the labour law run entirely contrary to the globally recognised need to support workers. Inability to work because of the epidemic has halted production, and the financial support is there to “bridge the gap” and activate and stabilise labour. The changes proposed to the labour law aim at the final “tycoonisation” of labour relations instead, with additional disenfranchisement of workers. The most important core measures are reducing direct taxes and contributions, without which the economies in the Federation and the RS simply will not recover. They will wither. Because it contradicts the logic of ethnicised political economies: budgets controlled by the dominant ethnic parties, “good party soldiers” manning the bureaucracies, and budgetary support to partisan public companies, et cetera, are the pillars of the current system of government. Which makes them untouchable, “let it cost what it may.” This is how the 8 billion in public companies’ “political debts” can be forgotten about in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or rather continues to grow and no one asks if it wouldn't be better not to have lost 25% of Bosnia's annual GDP in this way. Bosnia and Herzegovina's people have suffered greater harm from these ethnicised political economies and their **maestros** than anything corona has done.

Will the permanently depressed economic and social situation, additionally impacted by Corona, finally become sufficiently visible to rouse the citizenry to energetic action for change? Experience says no. The same experience says that any nascent awareness by the people will be smothered by authoritarian processes in the Republika Srpska and turbo-patriotism in the Federation.

Amongst the many definitions of “truth”, the best may be that which points out “truth is what no one wants to hear”.

# SOCIJALNE POSLJEDICE COVID-19 PANDEMIJE: U VIDICIMA SARAJEVSKOG ZATOČENJA

Žarko Papić

1. Procjene koje se daju u nastavku treba uzeti s velikom rezervom. Još uvijek je nemoguće preciznije procijeniti trajanje uzroka, pandemije, krize, mogućnost njenog “prelaska” na južnu hemisferu te njenog drugog talasa. Pandemija će, svakako, izazvati ogromne ekonomske i socijalne gubitke i uzrokovati globalnu krizu. Ocjena veličine ekonomskih socijalnih gubitaka zavisi od dužine trajanja mjera izolacije stanovništva, zatvorenosti granica, socijalnog distanciranja, dakle od odloženog početka obnove ekonomskih aktivnosti. Stanje se neće normalizovati za dvatri mjeseca. Dio mjera, različit po zemljama, ostat će do završetka vakcinacije novom vakcinom tj. bar 12 mjeseci. Zato će i ekonomske i socijalne posljedice korona krize biti dugotrajne, a za obnovu ekonomskih aktivnosti poslije “normalizacije” vakcinisanjem trebat će dodatne godine.

2. Procjene ekonomskih, razvojnih gubitaka na godišnjem nivou, od strane relevantnih međunarodnih aktera, od početka su super optimističke (-6% BDP-a u 2020. Francuska i Njemačka), a vremenom postaju manje optimistične. Procjene agencije FIČ za Sjedinjene Američke Države i zemlje Eurozone (10. 04. 2020.) su da će pad BDP-a biti 20–30% na godišnjem nivou za 2020. Procjene OECD-a (07. 04. 2020.) za 47 razvijenih i rastućih ekonomija je da će inicijalni udar biti u prosjeku 20%-25% BDP-a (Njemačka -30%, Francuska -25%, Italija -25%, Amerika -25%). Ukoliko bi se striktno mjere zadržale, OECD procjenjuje da bi to mjesečno generiralo pad od 2% BDP-a na godišnjem nivou. Dakle, ako bi se, naprimjer, mjere zadržale osam mjeseci, godiš-

nji BDP bi bio -16%, uz pad BDP-a zbog inicijalnog udara. Takav pad BDP-a u svjetskim razmjerama izazvat će ogromne socijalne posljedice. Prema posljednjim procjenama u svijetu će se novih 500 miliona ljudi naći u siromaštvu (što je oko 0,7% svjetske populacije). Pad ekonomije i rast siromaštva postojeći sistemi socijalne sigurnosti i zaštite neće moći izdržati, što će dodatno povećati siromaštvo.

3. Bosna i Hercegovina je u posljednjem petogodišnjem periodu imala, za zemlju u razvoju, usporen rast BDP-a od prosječnih 3% godišnje. S tim rastom BDP-a, pod pretpostavkom da prosječan rast BDP-a zemalja Evropske unije ostane isti (2%), Bosna i Hercegovina bi za 105 godina dostigla tadašnji prosjek zemalja Evropske unije u životnom standardu (Svjetska banka 2019). Na tako stanje “dolazi” korona kriza.

Zvanične statističke institucije u Bosni i Hercegovini siromaštvo procjenjuju metodologijom relativnog siromaštva, kojom se u Evropskoj uniji mjere razlike u prihodima, a ne samo siromaštva. Pogrešna metodologija vodi pogrešnim rezultatima. Tako je u Bosni i Hercegovini ispod relativne linije siromaštva 2017. bilo 16,9% stanovništva, a u Evropskoj uniji iste godine 24%. Naravno, nije Evropska unija siromašnija od Bosne i Hercegovine. S većom razvijenošću veće su i razlike u prihodima, te je u Evropskoj uniji četvrtina stanovništva ispod 60% mediane prosječnog prihoda u EU. Nisu siromašni u smislu egzistencije, “siromašniji” su od drugih, jer mogu imati samo jedan auto i ljetovati samo u svojoj zemlji, za razliku od onih s dva/tri auta i ljetovanjem na Havajima.

U Bosni i Hercegovini pogrešna metodologija smanjuje mogućnost da se ustanovi realno stanje i prva je prepreka efikasnosti socijalnih politika. Time vlasti stanje pokazuju boljim nego što jeste i *de facto* nisu fokusirani na rješavanje problema. Kada se problem “sakrije”, nema šta da se rješava.

4. Socijalno-ekonomska situacija u Bosni i Hercegovini i prije pandemije Covid-19 bila je loša. Opšta fokusiranost na političke tenzije, nacionalne odnose, blokade, neformiranje institucija, patriotizam v separatizam, traje godinama, a socijalna situacija je vijest samo kada radnici štrajkuju i borci demonstriraju.

Ne postoji relevantna, preliminarna procjena ekonomskih gubitaka u Bosni i Hercegovini kao posljedica krize koju izaziva pandemija. Svjetska banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (23. 03.

2020.) pokazuje svu nerealnost tadašnjih procjena. Ta procjena polazi od stanja u 2019, rast od svega 2,8 BDP-a, te procjenjuje pad od -2% u 2020 kao posljedicu pandemije. Koliko god posljednja sedmica marta bila "davno" za dinamiku krize, i tada su procjene za pad najvažnijih ekonomija Evropske unije bile -6%. U tom poređenju krije se greška u opštem procjenjivanju da će Bosna i Hercegovina u svakoj krizi proći bolje (jer je nerazvijena za razliku od razvijenih). Ta je greška u Bosni i Hercegovini dominirala u reakcijama na krizu iz 2008. Nasuprot njoj Bosna i Hercegovina je tada prošla gore od Evropske unije. Trebalo je pet godina da bi se tek 2013. dostigao nivo BDP-a iz 2007.

Svjetska banka je u aprilu korigovala manje optimističnu procjenu, za Bosnu i Hercegovinu pad BDP-a na godišnjem nivou, zbog gubitka inicijalnim udarom, bit će -3%, pod pretpostavkom da se u junu 2020. ukinu restriktivne mjere. Dakle, već smo u -3%, a dalji pad se ne može procijeniti, ali je izvjestan. Vijeće ministara Bosne i Hercegovine procjenjuje, opet optimistično, pad u rasponu od -3 do -10 BDP-a. Pa Njemačkoj će trebati 8 godina da postigne nivo BDP-a iz 2019.

Jednako su pogrešne i procjene Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda za zemlje u regionu: Hrvatska -9% BDP-a, Srbija-3% BDP-a. Neozbiljnost takve procjene shvatio je i direktor Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda. Sedmicu dana kasnije izjavio je da su te "katastrofalne procjene preoptimistične". Pitanje je otkud tolike razlike u procjenama između OECD-a, s jedne, i Svjetske banke i Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda, s druge strane. Do početka ovog vijeka OECD je smatran "softverom" globalne ekonomije, a Svjetska banka i Međunarodni monetarni fond "hardverom", te su oni redovno pratili procjene OECD-a. Minimalističko procjenjivanje gubitaka, pretpostavljamo, proistječe iz procjene da finansijski kapaciteti Svjetske banke i Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda ne bi podnijeli prihvatanje stvarne dubine krize. Formalno bi razvijene zemlje mogle tražiti finansijsku pomoć od ovih organizacija.

U Bosni i Hercegovini se može očekivati veći pad BDP-a i veće socijalne posljedice od gubitaka u razvijenim zemljama i Evropskoj uniji.

### 5. Zašto?

Zavisnost Bosne i Hercegovine od stanja ekonomija Evropske unije je veoma velika. Kriza će u Evropskoj uniji izazvati ogro-



man pad izvoza i uvoza repromaterijala, dakle industrije u cjelini. Veliki pad je neizbježan u turizmu, ugostiteljstvu i drugim uslužnim djelatnostima. Pad domaće potrošnje i promjena njene strukture dodatno će poremetiti stanje u različitim ekonomskim sektorima. Time će doći do velikog rasta nezaposlenosti, a državna pomoć će radi održavanja zaposlenosti (pokrivanjem minimalca i doprinosa na kratak rok) *de facto* voditi ka smanjivanju plata. To će dovesti do naglog, velikog porasta siromaštva.

Siromaštvo svugdje u svijetu, a naročito u Bosni i Hercegovini postaje “vruća” društvena tema. Odsustvo novih politika borbe protiv siromaštva može dovesti do temeljnih političkih promjena. Socijalne nestabilnosti i siromaštvo temelj su jačanja desnice i autoritarnih režima. Vanrednost situacija (uvedenih zbog pandemije) dala im je početni impuls, a siromaštvo ih može učvrstiti dugoročno. Borba protiv siromaštva nije samo pitanje društvenog razvoja, ljudskih prava i socijalne pravde, već ima direktan, istorijski, politički značaj. Riječ je o borbi protiv nadolazećeg autoritarizma desnog tipa i nacionalističkog izolacionalizma.

6. Siromaštvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, mjereno metodologijom apsolutnog siromaštva (nivo prihoda koji obezbjeđuje minimalnu egzistenciju), mnogo je veće od zvaničnih podataka. Analize apsolutnog siromaštva su rijetke i rađene su samo u okviru pojedinih projekata međunarodnih organizacija. Ne postoji sistematsko praćenje apsolutnog siromaštva niti konsolidovani podaci. Moguće je, međutim, procijeniti da je ispod linije apsolutnog siromaštva u Bosni i Hercegovini pet/šest procentnih poena više stanovnika u poređenju s linijom relativnog siromaštva. Dakle 175 000–210 000 stanovnika više, u relativnom siromaštvu u Bosni i Hercegovini 2017. bilo je 591 000, a u apsolutnom oko 800 000 stanovnika, dakle oko 23% stanovništva. Većoj brojci odgovaraju procjene Ujedinjenih naroda i Svjetske banke, rađene drugim metodologijama.

7. Kriza izazvana Covid-19 pandemijom nesumnjivo će dovesti, ponovićemo, do naglog i velikog porasta siromaštva u Bosni i Hercegovini. Pored rasta nezaposlenosti i smanjivanja plata, na to utječu i slijedeći procesi:

- Povratak građana Bosne i Hercegovine, ekonomske migracije iz zemalja Evropske unije zbog gubitka posla i socijalne nesigurnosti. Problem odlaska mladih iz Bosne i Hercegovine sada se pojavljuje u reverzibilnom obliku.



Mladi će se vraćati u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, neće biti posla, rast će nezaposlenost i siromaštvo.

- Veliko smanjivanje doznaka iz dijaspore, koje su u postratnom periodu bile veoma važan prihod. Posljednjih godina bile su blizu 10% BDP-a i činile su “sivu socijalnu zaštitu”. Primjerice, sin/kćerka, zaposleni u Njemačkoj, šalju novac roditeljima s malom penzijom, da bi im omogućili egzistenciju. Pad doznaka će biti, nigdje zvanično uočen, veliki impuls rastu siromaštva.
- Pad ekonomskih aktivnosti drastično će smanjiti javne prihode, budžetska kriza će se objektivno prelići i na penzije i socijalne transfere njihovim smanjivanjem. Vjerovatnije je da će instrument smanjivanja biti inflacija nego njihovo direktno umanjivanje. Dakle, i postojeći korisnici bit će “gurnuti” u dublje siromaštvo, a za nove korisnike neće biti prostora u sistemima socijalne sigurnosti.

U procijenjenom velikom pogoršanju socijalne situacije u Bosni i Hercegovini, borba protiv siromaštva i nove socijalne politike mora biti prioritet vlada i parlamenata. Ko to ne shvati sada, prilike će ga natjerati da to shvati u gorim, kasnijim uslovima.

8. Odgovor bosanskohercegovačke vlasti na ekonomske i socijalne posljedice pandemije samo je konkretnije pokazao veoma lošu realnost. U mjerama koje su preduzete te u procjenama veličine posljedica vidljivo je potpuno neznanje, nefunkcionalnost institucija, odsustvo bilo kakve koordinacije te katastrofalne posljedice “nacionalnih političkih ekonomija” s korupcijom kao pokretačem opšteg propadanja.

Pred krizno stanje, primjerice, karakteriše konsolidovani dug javnih preduzeća (porezi, doprinosi) od 8 milijardi KM, zaključno s 2018. godinom. Te godine javna preduzeća su dobila oko 200 miliona KM državnih subvencija, a njihova ukupna dobit bila je svega 80 miliona KM. Partijsko zapošljavanje, nesposoban politički lojalan menadžment te prelićivanje njihovog kapitala podobnim tajkunima došlo je na naplatu.

Potpuno eliminisanje struke u epidemiološkim mjerama izraz je opšteg afirmisanja neznanja i političke podobnosti, a sve s ciljem da se bukvalno sakrije, naprimjer, stanje u zdravstvu i omogući kupovina respiratora preko poljoprivrednog preduzeća “Srebrena malina” ili testova preko turističke agencije.

Mjere za suzbijanje posljedica pandemije različite su u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine i Republici Srpskoj, nekoordinirane, što je samo po sebi problem. Centralizovana struktura Republike Srpske i “kopiranje” mjera iz Srbije omogućile su, s jedne strane, brzu reakciju, a s druge, značajno ojačale autoritarne procese. Za bojati se da privremenost vanrednosti stanja ne ostavi traga u tzv. normalizaciji. Istovremeno, epidemiološki su se pokazale nepovoljno efikasne, posebno u “drugom poluvremenu”. Brzo donošenje odluka/uredbi o podršci privredi ni mjesec dana kasnije nije realizovano (osim jednokratne pomoći radnicima u zdravstvu, policiji itd) te se dovodi u pitanje njihov efekt. Sporenje u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine oko raspodjele novca od Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda, entitet (i)ili kantoni, jasno pokazuje da je političko ili institucionalno stanje u “boljem” entitetu krizno žarište za Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine je ne samo zbog složene ustavne strukture reagovala s ogromnim zakašnjenjem i neshvatljivo slabim mjerama u “korona zakonu”. Neznanje kao očekivana posljedica nepotizma i političke podobnosti došlo je na naplatu. Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine ulazi u budžetski deficit i s finansijski tankom, kratkoročnom podrškom privredi, uz oslonac na sredstva Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda i Evropske unije. Naprimjer, Sjedinjene Američke Države su prije dvije sedmice finansijski podržale svoju privredu s oko 20% svog godišnjeg BDP-a (što je oko 3% svjetskog BDP-a), Njemačka slično itd. Ekvivalent za Federaciju Bosne i Hercegovine bi umjesto 1 milijarde KM bio 4 milijarde KM, što je 20% BDP-a Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine. Pri tome su privrede Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Njemačke u puno boljem stanju. Zakašnjenje u podršci za prvih 50 dana “vanrednog stanja” dovelo je do oko 30 000 novih nezaposlenih ili oko 5% bivše zaposlenosti.

Najavljene izmjene Zakona o radu u potpunoj su suprotnosti sa, u svijetu uočenom potrebom, osnaživanja radnika. Proizvodnju je zaustavila nemogućnost rada zbog pandemije, a finansijska podrška služi “premošćavanju praznog hoda”, aktivaciji i stabilizaciji rada. Predložene izmjene Zakona o radu vode konačnoj “tajkunizaciji” radnih odnosa, dodatnom obespravljivanju radnika. Ključna i najvažnija mjera, smanjivanje direktnih poreza i doprinosa, bez koje se ekonomija u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine i Republici Srpskoj ne može oporaviti potpuno izostaje. Zato što

je u suprotnosti s logikom nacionalne političke ekonomije. Budžeti kontrolisani od vladajućih nacionalnih partija, “partijski vojnici” zaposleni u administraciji, budžetska podrška partijskim javnim preduzećima itd. stub su postojećeg sistema vlasti. Zato su s ovom vlašću nedodirljivi, “pa šta košta, da košta”. Zato se 8 milijardi “političkog duga” javnih preduzeća u Bosni i Hercegovini zaboravlja, zato on i dalje raste i zato se niko ne pita koliko bolje bi nam bilo da nije izgubljeno tih 25% godišnjeg BDP-a Bosne i Hercegovine. Šteta koju je građanima Bosne i Hercegovine napravila nacionalna politička ekonomija i njeni realizatori veća je od onoga što nam može napraviti korona.

Hoće li trajno loša ekonomska i socijalna situacija, detonirana koronom, postati dovoljno vidljiva da probudi novu energiju građana za promjene? Iskustvo kaže da neće. Isto iskustvo pokazuje da će eventualno buđenje građana biti gušeno autoritativnim procesima u Republici Srpskoj i turbo-patriotizmom u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine.

U velikom broju definicija “istine” izgleda da je najbolja ona koja glasi “istina je ono što niko ne želi da čuje”.

# THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA DURING THE COVID 19 GLOBAL CRISIS

**Fikret Čaušević**

## A brief overview of the current situation

According to data published in the most recent European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) report, real economic growth rates have been falling in the countries in transition over the past two years: the average was on a downward trajectory from 3.8% in 2017 to 3.4% in 2018 and 2.6% in 2019. These trends reflected growing economic problems in the world economy, European Union countries, and the Western Balkans. External economic shocks, which necessarily have a major impact on the economic performance and development perspectives of small open economies like those of the Western Balkans, have been crucial in determining their positions and potential for economic growth. This is a necessary consequence of their high degree of dependence on changes in aggregate demand in European Union countries, their largest trading partners and most significant export markets.

Falling growth rates around the world, in the EU, and in the countries in transition are also at least partly due to the “trade war” that has opened up between the two major world economies, the US and China, and its consequences for the economic standing of European Union countries pursuing export-led strategies for economic growth. This is particularly true of the strongest of them, Germany. The BH economy and its export sector recorded very positive results with exports after the Great Recession of

2008/9, especially between 2012 and 2018. According to data from the BH Statistics Agency, the BH Chamber of Foreign Trade, and the BH Indirect Taxation Administration, the country's export results were above the average for the Western Balkan region. Germany was the most important export market, the lion's share of exports being goods of mid-to-high added value, with the ratio of imports to exports at more than three quarters. Moreover, Bosnia and Herzegovina was the only country in the Western Balkans with trade surpluses for six continuous years with Austria, one of the most stable and most developed countries in Western Europe.

Based upon actual levels of exports, as measured by the Economic Complexity Index, which is derived by relating comparative advantages shown in the production of goods of mid-level, higher, and high added value to the size of the economy itself, Bosnia and Herzegovina ranked number 44 out of the 125 countries in the last available ranking. Bulgaria was two places below Bosnia and Herzegovina (46th place), Greece 11 places below (55th place), and North Macedonia and Albania respectively 26 and 48 places below. The only Western Balkan country to rank better than Bosnia was Serbia, four places higher. The Economic Complexity Index is regularly published by the MIT Media Lab.

### The global Covid 19 economic crisis and the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The global economic shock and major crisis caused by the Covid 19 pandemic are direct consequences of uncertainty: the series of unknowns facing scientists, healthcare workers, and politicians as a result of the health problems caused by appearance of the virus and the swiftness with which it spread, as the epidemic outgrew its roots in China and other Far Eastern countries to transfer to the rest of the world and become a pandemic. The degree of globalisation already achieved in practically all areas of life, including international economic and financial flows, has resulted in exponential growth in direct interpersonal contact, which has been basic to globalisation's intensity as a process. This environment provided fertile ground for spreading not just business connections and contacts but also for the accelerated

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transfer of unknown contagious infections from one part of the world to all continents. Without a vaccine against Covid 19, the only available recourse to prevent accelerated spread of the disease has been radical social distancing during the periods or seasons of the year that provide the most conducive environment for passing it on. Radical social distancing measures were introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the surrounding countries in mid-March this year, while gradual relaxation has been taking place since late April and through May.

One immediate consequence of radical social distancing was a sharp drop in economic activity. To measure the real fall in economic activity under the circumstances one needs to look at the steep drop in effective hours worked and not formal employment and unemployment numbers. On the other hand, the economic measures taken by the entity governments in Bosnia and Herzegovina and have resulted in a relatively slow growth in the official number of the unemployed, given the scale of the economic shock and the radical halt in economic activities. The large number of individuals still formally included on the lists of the employed but who in reality have no employment has required sizeable financial packages on the part of both entity governments and Brčko District, with a concomitant increase in public borrowing.

The aforementioned EBRD report (April 2020) presents assessments by its experts of the resilience of countries in transition to the Covid 19 crisis, according to the following criteria:

- 1) Resilience of the healthcare system;
- 2) Resilience to domestic disruption;
- 3) Resilience to external shocks; and
- 4) Room for anti-cyclical economic policy.

The first group of factors relates to resilience of the healthcare system and ranks countries in terms of two sub-criteria: public sector health spending as a percentage of GDP and the number of beds per 100,000 inhabitants. On both counts, Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to the group of countries in transition with high resilience. Other former Yugoslav countries with a similarly high level of estimated resilience to healthcare shocks are Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and North Macedonia, while Montenegro and Kosovo have only a moderate level of resilience. By contrast, Albania, Armenia, Georgia, Egypt, Jordan, and Tunis have low levels of resilience to healthcare shocks, given their combined

public spending on healthcare as a percentage of GDP and the number of beds per 100,000 inhabitants, which are well below international standards and most former Yugoslav countries.

The second group of factors relate to resilience to domestic disturbance (shocks on domestic markets) and it also comprises two variables: local retail sector shocks and labour market shocks. Here, the EBRD places Bosnia and Herzegovina amongst the moderate risk countries, together with Serbia and Croatia. Slovenia is also a moderate risk country with regard to the first factor (like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia), but places amongst the low risk or high resilience countries when it comes to potential labour market shocks.

The third set of factors relates to external shocks. It comprises four variables: changing commodity prices, position in global supply chains, tourism, and remittances. Here, the EBRD assigns Bosnia and Herzegovina high resilience for the first three but only moderate resilience for the fourth criterion, remittances from abroad. Croatia and Montenegro are the most vulnerable former Yugoslav countries when it comes to tourism related external shocks, while Serbia and North Macedonia are seen as having only moderate resilience to shocks related to global supply chains, given that foreign direct investment in these two countries has in recent years been highly concentrated in precisely this area.

The final group of factors relates to capacity for countercyclical economic policy. Here the EBRD analyses three variables: the fiscal space for carrying out countercyclical economic policy, resilience to shocks arising from external borrowing, and the strength of the financial sector. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the best ranked of the Western Balkan countries for this group, as with high levels of resilience on all three criteria. In other words, the EBRD considers Bosnia and Herzegovina to have sufficient room for countercyclical action.

## The EBRD estimates and public debt levels before Covid 19

This final group of EBRD criteria makes it important to consider Bosnia and Herzegovina's debt levels, along those of the other countries of Southeast Europe and the former Yugoslavia. Analysis of changes in per capita GDP and per capita debt over

the first 18 years of the century indicates that Bosnia and Herzegovina achieved better results not just than the other countries of the Western Balkans but than the rest of Southeast Europe. This aspect of economic policy, public borrowing levels, has an important role to play in the Covid 19 crisis and may be useful for anticyclical action, as suggested by the EBRD's own assessment in its April 2020 report.

Tables 1 and 2 below present major or significant changes in actual economic standing as measured by GDP per capita for the countries of Southeast Europe. Looking at actual GDP averages for 2018, Slovenia's per capita GDP was higher not just than for any other former Yugoslav country but for any other former socialist country (countries in transition). Slovenia's average GDP was approximately 2.3 times the figure for Romania or Bulgaria and 1.7 times Croatia's. It was 4.5 times Bosnia and Herzegovina's. Analysis of economic results based exclusively on differences in average GDP levels does not, however, give anything like enough information on how efficient or inefficient such fast-growing or high average GDP economies are. For example, Slovenia's cumulative per capita public borrowing over the same period was 4.2 times Romania's and 9.3 times Bosnia and Herzegovina's. Croatia has achieved average GDP that is 2.6 times Bosnia and Herzegovina's, with per capita borrowing levels 5.7 times Bosnia and Herzegovina's. Serbia's per capita GDP is 28% higher than Bosnia and Herzegovina's, but its per capita public borrowing levels for 2018 were 101% greater.

Table 1 – Cumulative per capita public debt and per capita GDP for the countries of Southeast Europe – 2018

	Per capita public borrowing - in USD	Per capita GDP - in USD
Albania	3,677	5,239
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,977	5,755
Bulgaria	2,107	9,314
Montenegro	6,363	8,763
Croatia	11,183	14,870
North Macedonia	2,467	6,100
Romania	4,311	12,270
Serbia	3,955	7,223
Slovenia	18,288	25,979

Source of data: <https://countryeconomy.com/countries/compare/> (accessed 15.05.2020)



Table 2 – Changes in public borrowing by Southeast European countries 2008-2018.

Country	Public debt / GDP in %			Capita public borrowing (in USD)		
	2008	2012	2018	2008	2012	2018
Albania	55.1	62.1	69.9	2,421	2,641	3,677
Bosnia and Herzegovina	30.9	43.5	34.3	1,502	1,948	1,977
Bulgaria	13.0	16.7	20.4	955	1,235	2,107
Montenegro	34.2	56.9	72.3	2,529	3,743	6,363
Croatia	39.0	69.4	73.2	6,286	9,164	11,183
North Macedonia	20.6	33.7	40.5	998	1,591	2,467
Romania	12.4	36.9	35.2	1,195	3,173	4,311
Serbia	32.4	57.9	54.6	2,169	3,280	3,955
Slovenia	21.8	53.8	66.1	5,988	12,109	18,288

Sources of data: <https://countryeconomy.com/national-debt/> (accessed 15.05.2020)

Between 2008 and 2018, per capita public borrowing rose most strongly in Romania and Slovenia (by factors of 3.6 and 3.1 respectively), followed by Bulgaria (2.2), and then Serbia and Montenegro (82% and 70% respectively). It rose least in Bosnia and Herzegovina (31%). Slovenia's per capita public borrowing levels in 2018 were 828% greater than Bosnia's (or 9.3 times), while neighbouring Croatia and Serbia's per capita borrowing levels were 468% and 101% greater than Bosnia's, respectively. To ensure the objectivity of our analysis of how available resources relate to the sources available for financing anticyclical activities in crisis and postcrisis periods, we should point out that higher public borrowing, which is a typical Keynesian measure of anticyclical economic policy, is hardly a feature specific to the Southeast European region. In fact, the countries of the West were streets ahead in the application of anticyclical measures based upon sharply expanding public borrowing. The United States increased its per capita public borrowing levels from 35,700 (2008) to 65,545 USD (2018), while Italy's was 46,573 USD and Japan's 90,134 USD that same year (2018). Between 2008 and 2018, the Republic of Ireland practically doubled its per capita borrowing levels (from 25,900 to 49,602 USD). The data analysed above indicate that, between 2008 and 2018, Bosnia and Herzegovina was in fact one of the most successful countries in this part of the world (Southeast Europe) in terms of the percent-

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age increase in per capita GDP secured in comparison to the percentage increase in per capita borrowing required to finance it.

The EBRD published revised estimates for the countries of the Western Balkans and the other countries in transition in mid-May 2020 (13.05.2020), which indicate that the Western Balkan country likely to suffer most from the current crisis is Albania, whose economy it expects to contract by 9% in the current year, followed by Montenegro, with a projected contraction of 8%. The EBRD expects the Covid 19 crisis to cause a contraction of 4.5% in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 2020, with a recovery in 2021 and a projected positive growth rate of 6.5%. This projected 4.5% fall in Bosnia and Herzegovina's GDP is equivalent to 17 days of production in 2019. In its revised report, however, the World Bank Group projects a fall in GDP of just 1.9% for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2020, followed by growth of 3.4% and 3.6% in 2021 and 2022, respectively. This estimate assumes a reduction in GDP during 2020 equivalent to losing just seven days of production, which seems highly optimistic and indeed frankly unrealistic, given what has been happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Europe, and the rest of the world. The radical social distancing measures and the hiatus imposed on more than half of all business activity for 2 to 3 months mean that the annualised reduction in GDP in Bosnia and Herzegovina is much more likely to be somewhere between 8% and 10% and even this estimate may prove too moderate, if social distancing turns out to be necessary for longer than three months.

Even with the gradual "relaxation" of the measures already announced, we should not expect the economy or most branches of industry to recover and return to level even approximately similar to last year's before the final quarter, even with the best case scenario and optimistic assumptions that measures limiting international travel are lifted over the next 2 to 3 months and there is no new wave of infections during the third or fourth quarters of the year. In other words, action plans drawn up by the highest levels of government should be based on scenarios that assume GDP will fall between 15 and 20%. Such a drop may seem excessively pessimistic, compared to the World Bank and EBRD's projections but would not be particularly surprising, given the radically changed conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the region, Europe, and the world, the intensity of the ongoing

global and regional shocks, and the very pessimistic forecasts they have evoked from leading members of the business community.

### On the intensity and dimensions of global economic disruption and (un)realistic projections of global economic recovery

At this point in our text it is important we review the intensity of actual economic shocks around the world. In early May 2020, the US Bureau of Labor published official unemployment data for the US that put official unemployment there at 14.7%. The scale of this disruption to the US labour market (“tectonic dimensions”) is best viewed through the prism of the two largest shocks it has experienced over the past 70 years. The first followed the about change in the Fed’s monetary policy that took place in late 1980 and then through 1981 and 1982. This exceptionally restrictive policy (under the leadership of its then chair, Paul Volcker) sent unemployment soaring from 5% in early 1980 to 10.8% by the end of 1982. The second greatest shock to the US labour market came after the global financial crisis of 2008 to 2009 (generated in the US), when the unemployment rate rose from 4.5% in July 2007 to 10% in October 2009. Comparing these rates suggests certain conclusions about the depth and dimensions of the current economic shock affecting the world’s largest economy. It is a direct consequence of the “public health shock”, compounded by associated demand, supply, and financial shocks.

We have not seen economic disturbance of this intensity and seriousness since the Great Depression of 1929-1933. The economic shocks affecting European Union and particularly Eurozone countries are not yet (mid-May) of the same intensity, at least judging by data from the first quarter, but the real problems and the dimensions of the crisis in EU countries will only become clear when the second quarter data are published. This is particularly true of the countries of the southern Eurozone and France. Certainly, estimates of rising unemployment in Great Britain suggest the unemployment rate is up from 4% in mid-March to 9% in early May. On the other side of the world, China has made

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public that it has experienced economic contraction in a single quarter for the first time since opening up in 1978. According to the official data, GDP in China fell 6.8% in the first quarter of the current year against the same period last year. While economic intervention packages in the US, Japan, the EU, China, and Great Britain have been very considerable in size (between them totalling more than US\$5.5 trillion), they will not solve the deep and growing problems quickly. Their highly positive and in some cases excellent reception on key financial markets, reflected in the major percentual gains seen in April and May compared to the major falls in March, do not offer a realistic picture of the dimensions of the economic disruption in the US and across the world.

It is worth remembering that the most important share indices in the US and in other parts of the world also started growing during the last crisis (2008/2009) as early as the second quarter 2009 and continued to grow all through the second half of that year. Rising securities' prices in the US did not, however, signify swift recovery of the real economy. The entire first mandate of former US president Barack Obama was marked by major interventions with a relatively modest recovery (the unemployment rate only fell from a record 10% in October 2009 to around 8% in the second half of 2012). During the current Covid 19 crisis, there can be little doubt that even just highly optimistic prospects of finding a vaccine, never mind actually finding one, will cause sharp spikes in optimism from financial investors. We therefore must not lose sight of John Maynard Keynes very precise description of the psychology of financial investors in terms of "herd behaviour", "animal spirits" and "beauty contests." Economic projections of global and regional economic recovery "based on" the optimism of financial investors may be "seductive", to the extent that they "lead us down the garden path," but the psychology of financial investors and particularly of globally active and powerful ones is not stabilising. It is inherently destabilising.

More precisely, the belief/projection that recovery is going to be V shaped in the major economies is hardly convincing, not least because it relies on a form of economic thinking about recovery that assumes all market relevant actors, from companies through to households, specialised agencies to financial institutions, will "return" to "business or life as usual" quickly. Most people around the world would love that to be so, including the

author of this text, but it is not our purpose to provide an analysis of what we want. It is to attempt a realistic overview of the intensity and scale of the real economic disruption caused by the Covid 19 crisis. This crisis is not purely a matter of health and economics. It is a crisis in the fundamental principles on which the global economic order of the last 30 years has been based, a crisis in ethical principles, in solidarity, and, finally, in our fundamental values as human beings assumed to be both reasonable and rational. But we know from Herbert Simon's texts (so from the 1950s and before) that we are not rational. We operate within "bounded rationality". Similarly, we know that "mainstream" economic models are dominated by utilitarian economics, whose major, indeed core assumptions are of economic man and the "first me" rule (taken over from the economic schools dominant in the mid-to-late 19th century).

Such assumptions about life and business as usual in projections for next year and after fail to take adequate account of the time lags involved in economic disruption, which are of fundamental importance for understanding the real dimensions of the problems we are now facing across the world, the EU, and the Western Balkan region, and so in Bosnia and Herzegovina too. A "quadruple shock" of two months, followed by a gradual normalisation that by definition takes time, almost certainly means total production around the world this year is very unlikely to be above 90-92% of last year's. This may seem very pessimistic as an estimate for the global economy, but the ILO's projects that 1.2 billion workers around the world will be affected by some form of layoff or reduced employment. This suggests that any projections of a rapid recovery in 2021 are also likely to prove illusory and that the deep recession of 2020 is almost certain to be converted into a global crisis of far greater dimensions (an economic depression), with extremely severe consequences, unless the global mechanisms of economic governance and economic crisis managed in the developed economies, but even more so in the less moderately developed countries, are redefined significantly, with coordination at the global and regional levels.

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## The potential and limits of anticyclical action in Bosnia and Herzegovina

While the institutional position and real political power of the Presidency and the Council of ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina are significantly limited by the current, post-war, structure and distribution of authorities within Bosnia and Herzegovina, these two institutions could nonetheless take a leading role during the current major crisis in proposing and implementing joint strategic action to reduce the negative impact of the Covid 19 crisis on the country's economy. As we move forward, there is no doubt that major fiscal intervention will be required. In fact, such fiscal intervention is already partly in play. The tax-payer amnesty required by falling revenues thanks to the business shutdown that followed the necessary radical restrictions of movement, work, and production and by plummeting personal income because of being let go or working less necessarily entails a sharp rise in fiscal liabilities on the part of both entity governments, with a concomitant inevitable increase in public borrowing. These needs are due to current financing requirements and inherently related to short-term financing (with a timeframe of 2 to 3 years).

What is actually needed, both to combat the threats to our health and our safety, including effective control of national borders, and for the effective and efficient conduct of anticyclical economic policy, is a basket of financial resources with a maturity of at least 10 years and other instruments with a maturity of between 15 and 20. These sources of financing would have to be agreed on the basis of credits from the major international (global and European) financial institutions, viz. the IBRD, the EBRD, and the EIB, though one should not ignore potential sources available from the Asian Infrastructural Investment Bank (AIIB) based in Peking. One should keep in mind, of course, that exclusive recourse to credit agreements, even with financial institutions whose rates are favourable and involve grace periods and good payment timetables nonetheless entails larger cash outgoings as long as the loans are being paid down, i.e. so long as monthly payments are being made on an annualised basis, than financing through bond issues. Such arrangements will certainly be very welcome as a source of financing in the coming period,

as they were during the post-war reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the period immediately after, when the World Bank Group, and more particularly the IBRD, its core mechanism for financing development projects, extended funds on favourable terms.

Long-term financing for strategic development projects, like a new long-term healthcare strategy, financing a new “green energy” strategy, developing contemporary soft infrastructure based on the knowledge economy and IT, and projects to modernise state border services and significantly upgrade their technical outfitting and increase the number of highly educated employees, so as to improve control of the borders and prevent illegal border-crossings, which represent a potential security and health threat to everyone in the country, would mean starting to issue long-term state securities (bonds). This would put in place the preconditions for meeting the following three highly important goals: financing and co-financing the aforementioned strategically important projects, improved management of money flows at the state and entity levels, and increased financial stability. We can only achieve these goals if reputable international institutions guarantee government bond issues. Such government bond issues could become a first-class financial asset if backed up by guarantees from a specially-created EU Guarantee Fund for BiH (or the Western Balkans), on the one hand, and a EU Stabilisation and Investment Fund for BiH (or the Western Balkans), on the other. Providing guarantees for government bond issues nominated in local currency would give the EU Guarantee Fund the right to monitor the targeted use of any funds raised for in-country strategic projects at the inter-entity level, like those already mentioned, while the EU Stabilisation and Investment Fund would participate actively both through the purchase of some part (up to 50%) of the government bond issues and on the secondary market for government bond issues. The remaining part of said issues, between 50 and 70%, would be purchased by domestic investors, including commercial banks.

This mention of commercial banks as major investors in government securities raises the need for analysis of this sector in relation to overall national financial stability. The Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina has introduced a negative interest rate on surplus reserves commercial banks hold with it (i.e.



reserves over and above the level of the mandatory reserves). This negative rate is itself a consequence of the negative rate the European Central Bank has imposed in practice on deposits. As a result, last year and during the first quarter 2020, commercial banks have been paying the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina a 0.5% charge on surplus reserves. Total commercial bank reserves (mandatory and surplus) plus cash in circulation represent the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina's total liabilities. Under the currency board conditions, they have to have 100% coverage (in practice 105%) by foreign currency reserves. These foreign currency reserves are made up of short and longer-term government securities bought from major EU economies and deposits with leading central and commercial banks in EU countries. This high coverage of monetary liabilities exclusively by foreign financial assets means that the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot influence the business cycle on the domestic market. This is a direct consequence of the *Law on the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina* enacted in 1997, which has never been changed. This arrangement ensures full stability of the local currency but renders anticyclical action during periods of crisis impossible.

Under current circumstances, this arrangement cannot be changed, nor should it be without first creating financial assets issued by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Finance Ministry and Treasury (under the international standards adopted at Basel, entity-issued bonds cannot stand in for state-level bonds here). This does not however mean that no changes can be made to this arrangement, on the crucial condition that any government securities issued by the Finance Ministry and Treasury be guaranteed by the EU and key Eurozone countries. This would ensure their first-class status and, perhaps later during the mid-term, even open up the possibility that such triple-A rated financial assets start being bought not just by commercial banks and other institutional investors, the primary customers, but even by the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, naturally subject to IMF agreement and approval. The interest rate for such securities, given the high level of security of investment provided by the EU guarantee, would not need to exceed 0.75%-1%. In other words, issuing high quality domestic securities, in effect government bonds backed by exclusive EU guarantees, is more or less the



only way to increase the options for successfully structuring financial institutions' financial portfolios and so increasing financial stability.

Returning to the commercial banks and their position under the current crisis, it is important to understand that these institutions, which make up the Bosnian and Herzegovinian financial system and on which the prospects and speed of any recovery largely depend, currently have no way of compensating for costs arising from the charges levied on surplus reserves held with the Central Bank, as there are no secure financial assets of reasonable quality in which to place surplus funds and receive even a modestly positive interest rate, other than entity bonds. This will be particularly important in the weeks and months to come, as banks have accepted a moratorium on loan repayments for clients whose income has dried up, both in the business sector and households. This moratorium on repayments of part of their credit portfolios necessarily increases financial risk and will have an important impact on prospects for restarting the credit cycle, which business sector recovery largely depends on. This means that the financial resources available at the deposit insurance agencies of Bosnia and Herzegovina will have to be increased, not by increasing commercial banks' payments in, but by securing additional financial resources from state-level government.

Translated by Desmond Maurer

# EKONOMSKE PERSPEKTIVE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE TOKOM GLOBALNE KORONA KRIZE

Fikret Čaušević

## Kratak osvrt na postojeće stanje

Prema podacima objavljenim u najnovijem izvještaju Evropske banke za obnovu i razvoj (EBRD) stope realnog ekonomskog rasta u zemljama u tranziciji u posljednje dvije godine bile su opadajuće: stopa realnog ekonomskog rasta od 3,8% ostvarena u 2017. (kao prosjek za zemlje u tranziciji) smanjena je na 3,4% u 2018. i 2,6% u 2019. godini. Ovakvi trendovi bili su posljedica već rastućih ekonomskih problema u svjetskoj ekonomiji, ekonomijama zemalja Evropske unije i, manjim dijelom, zemalja zapadnog Balkana. Eksterni ekonomski šokovi koji u malim otvorenim ekonomijama zapadnog Balkana nužno imaju veliki utjecaj na ekonomske rezultate i perspektive razvoja, u visokom stepenu određuju poziciju ovih zemalja i potencijale njihovog ekonomskog rasta. Ova nužnost proističe iz činjenice da su ove ekonomije u visokom stepenu zavisne od promjena agregatne tražnje na tržištima zemalja Evropske unije, koje su njihovi najveći trgovinski partneri i najznačajnija izvozna tržišta.

Pad stopa rasta u svijetu, Evropskoj uniji i zemljama u tranziciji proistekao je, jednim dijelom, i iz “trgovinskog rata” između dvije najveće svjetske ekonomije, SAD i Kine, te posljedičnih efekata ovakvih kretanja na ekonomski položaj zemalja Evropske unije koje su svoj ekonomski rast bazirale na strategiji izvozom-vođenog ekonomskog rasta. Ovo se posebno odnosi na najjaču ekonomiju EU – Njemačku. Bosanskohercegovačka ekonomija i njen izvozni sektor bilježili su vrlo značajne pozitivne rezultate u izvozu u periodu poslije Velike ekonomske recesije 2008-09., a

posebno u periodu od 2012.-2018. Podaci koje publikuju Agencija za statistiku BiH, Vanjskotrgovinska komora BiH i Uprava za indirektno oporezivanje BiH jasno pokazuju da su izvozni rezultati bosanskohercegovačke ekonomije iznad prosjeka regiona zapadnog Balkana. Najznačajnije izvozno tržište bosanskohercegovačkih izvoznika bila je Njemačka, sa dominirajućim učešćem roba srednje i više dodate vrijednosti, uz pokriće uvoza izvozom od preko tri četvrtine. Sa druge strane, BiH je jedina zemlja u regionu zapadnog Balkana koja je u nizu od šest godina ostvarivala trgovinske suficite u razmjeni sa Austrijom, kao jednom od najstabilnijih i najrazvijenijih zemalja zapadne Evrope.

Na osnovu ostvarenih izvoznih rezultata mjerenih Indeksom ekonomske kompleksnosti, zasnovanom na ispoljenim komparativnim prednostima u proizvodnji roba srednje, više i visoke dodate vrijednosti u odnosu na veličinu ekonomije, Bosna i Hercegovina je u posljednjem dostupnom rangiranju rangirana na 44. mjesto od ukupno 125 zemalja rangiranih u ovom izvještaju. Bugarska je u istom izvještaju dva mjesta ispod Bosne i Hercegovine (46. mjesto), Grčka 11 mjesta ispod (55.), dok su Sjeverna Makedonija i Albanija za 26 odnosno za 48 mjesta ispod Bosne i Hercegovine. U regionu zapadnog Balkana jedino je Srbija za četiri mjesta bolje rangirana od Bosne i Hercegovine. Indeks ekonomske kompleksnosti redovno publikuje the MIT Media Lab.

## Globalna Covid-19 ekonomska kriza i pozicija Bosne i Hercegovine

Globalni ekonomski šok i velika kriza prouzrokovana pandemijom Covid-19 izravna je posljedica neizvjesnosti odnosno niza nepoznanica sa kojima su suočeni naučnici, zdravstveni radnici i političari usljed zdravstvenog problema prouzrokovanog pojavom virusa i njegovim veoma brzim širenjem, odnosno prerastanjem epidemije iz Kine i ostalih zemalja dalekog Istoka na ostatak svijeta, odnosno epidemije u pandemiju. Dostignuti stepen globalizacije u gotovo svim sferama života, uključujući međunarodne ekonomske i finansijske tokove imao je za posledicu eksponencijalni rast međuljudskih kontakata koji su, ustvari, i bili osnova tako intenziviranog procesa globalizacije. U takvom okruženju stvoreno je “plodno tlo“ za širenje ne samo poslovnih veza i kontakata već i mogućnosti da se nepoznate i lako prenosive infekcije brzo

prošire iz jednog dijela svijeta na sve kontinente. U uslovima nepostojanja vakcine za liječenje Covid-19 jedini raspoloživi način borbe protiv ubrzanog širenja zaraze bilo je radikalno socijalno distanciranje u periodima odnosno godišnjem dobu koje je “najplodnije“ tlo za širenje ove infekcije. Mjere radikalnog socijalnog distanciranja u Bosni i Hercegovini i zemljama iz okruženja su uvedene sredinom marta tekuće godine, a njihova postepena relaksacija uslijedila je krajem aprila i tokom maja.

Neposredna posljedica radikalnog socijalnog distanciranja je nagli pad ekonomske aktivnosti. Stvarni pad ekonomske aktivnosti u ovakvim okolnostima neophodno je mjeriti naglim padom efektivnih sati rada a ne formalnim brojem zaposlenih i nezaposlenih. Sa druge strane, ekonomske mjere koje su poduzele entitetske vlade u Bosni i Hercegovini i Brčko Distriktu imale su za posljedicu relativno spor rast formalno prikazanog broja nezaposlenih osoba u odnosu na obim ekonomskog šoka i radikalnan prekid ekonomskih aktivnosti. Međutim, veliki broj osoba koje se formalno nalaze na spiskovima zaposlenih a efektivno nemaju zaposlenje podrazumijeva obimne finansijske pakete obje entitetske vlade i Distrikta Brčko, odnosno porast javnog duga.

U, na početku ovog teksta, već spomentom najnovijem izvještaju EBRD (April, 2020) prezentirana je procjena eksperata ove institucije o otpornosti zemalja u tranziciji na Covid-19 krizu po sljedećim kriterijima:

- 1) otpornost sistema zdravstvene zaštite;
- 2) otpornost na domaće šokove;
- 3) otpornost na eksterne šokove; i
- 4) prostor za anticiklično djelovanje ekonomske politike.

U prvoj grupi elemenata za procjenu koji se odnose na otpornost sistema zdravstvene zaštite zemlje su rangirane na osnovu dva kriterija: izdvajanja finansijskih sredstava za zdravstvenu zaštitu u procentima bruto domaćeg proizvoda (BDP) i broja bolničkih kreveta na 100.000 stanovnika. Po oba ova kriterija Bosna i Hercegovina je svrstana u grupu zemalja u tranziciji u kojima postoji visoka otpornost na eksterne šokove. Od zemalja bivše Jugoslavije zemlje sa, također, visokom procijenjenom otpornošću na zdravstvene šokove su Slovenija, Hrvatska, Srbija i Sjeverna Makedonija, dok su Crna Gora i Kosovo zemlje srednjeg nivoa otpornosti na ovu vrstu šokova. Sa druge strane, Albanija, Armenija, Gruzija, Egipat, Jordan i Tunis pripadaju

grupi zemalja niske otpornosti na zdravstvene šokove budući da su njihova izdvajanja za zdravstvenu zaštitu u odnosu na BDP kombinovana sa brojem bolničkih kreveta na 100.000 stanovnika niska u poređenju sa međunarodnim standardima i većinom zemalja bivše Jugoslavije.

Druga grupa elemenata analizirana u kontekstu otpornosti na domaće šokove (šokove sa domaćeg tržišta) obuhvata, također, dvije varijable: šokove iz domaćeg maloprodajnog sektora i šokove sa tržišta rada. Po oba ova kriterija EBRD svrstava Bosnu i Hercegovinu u zemlje umjerenog rizika, uporedo sa Srbijom i Hrvatskom. Slovenija je svrstana u zemlje srednjeg nivoa rizika po prvom elementu (kao i Bosna i Hercegovina, Hrvatska i Srbija) a u grupu zemalja niskog nivoa rizika odnosno visoke otpornosti u kontekstu šokova koji bi se mogli pojaviti na tržištu rada.

Treća grupa kriterija za procjenu otpornosti zemalja u trznici na Covid-19 krizu jeste grupa kriterija koji se odnose na eksterne šokove. Ovu grupu čine sljedeće četiri varijable: promjene cijena roba, pozicija u globalnim lancima snabdijevanja, turizam, i doznake iz inostranstva. U skladu sa ovom grupom kriterija EBRD procjenjuje da Bosna i Hercegovina ima visoku otpornost na prve tri varijable iz ove grupe, dok se u pogledu doznaka iz inostranstva nalazi u grupi zemalja sa umjerenom otpornošću na šokove koji bi mogli proisteći iz ovog kriterija. Hrvatska i Crna Gora su najranjivije zemlje bivše Jugoslavije vezane za eksterne šokove koji proističu iz turizma, dok su Srbija i Sjeverna Makedonija svrstane u grupu zemalja sa umjerenom otpornošću na šokove koji proističu iz učešća u globalnim lancima snabdijevanja, budući da strane direktne investicije u ove dvije zemlje čine vrlo visok udio u posljednjim godinama upravo u ovom kontekstu.

Posljednja grupa kriterija pripremljenosti za šokove odnosi se na mogućnosti vođenja anticiklične ekonomske politike. U ovoj grupi pokazatelja EBRD analizira tri varijable: "fiskalni prostor" za vođenje anticiklične ekonomske politike, otpornost na šokove vanjske zaduženosti i snaga finansijskog sektora. Po ovoj grupi varijabli Bosna i Hercegovina je najbolje rangirana zemlja zapadnog Balkana budući da EBRD procjenjuje visoku otpornost po sva tri kriterija. Drugim riječima, EBRD procjenjuje da Bosna i Hercegovina ima dovoljno "prostora" za anticiklično djelovanje.

## Procjene EBRD i nivo javne zaduženosti prije Covid-19 krize

U kontekstu ove posljednje grupe kriterija EBRD važno je analizirati nivo zaduženosti Bosne i Hercegovine, ostalih zemalja jugoistočne Evrope i bivše Jugoslavije. Naime, analiza promjena BDP po stanovniku i javnog duga po stanovniku u prvih osamnaest godina ovog vijeka pokazuje da je Bosna i Hercegovina ostvarila bolje rezultate u odnosu na zemlje zapadnog Balkana, ali i u odnosu na ostale zemlje jugoistočne Evrope. Ovaj segment ekonomske politike, dakle nivo javne zaduženosti, u Covid-19 krizi ima vrlo važnu ulogu i može da bude korišten za anticiklično djelovanje, što potvrđuju i procjene EBRD iz posljednjeg izvještaja ove institucije publikovanog u aprilu 2020.

Velike ili značajne razlike dostignutog nivoa ekonomskog statusa zemalja jugoistočne Evrope mjenog BDP po stanovniku prikazane su u tabelama 1 i 2 (ispod). Slovenija je po ostvarenom prosječnom BDP 2018. godine bila ne samo zemlja sa najvišim BDP po stanovniku u odnosu na ostale zemlje bivše Jugoslavije već i zemlja sa najvišim BDP po stanovniku u odnosu na sve ostale bivše socijalističke zemlje (zemlje u tranziciji). Prosječni BDP Slovenije bio je za približno 2,3 puta veći od prosjeka Rumunije i Bugarske a 1,7 puta viši u odnosu na Hrvatsku. Slovenija je u odnosu na Bosnu i Hercegovinu ostvarila 4,5 puta veći prosječni BDP. Međutim, analiza ostvarenih ekonomskih rezultata isključivo na osnovu razlika u ostvarenom prosječnom BDP ne daje, naravno, ni približno dovoljne informacije o efikasnosti odnosno neefikasnosti brzorastućih ili ekonomija sa visokim prosječnim BDP. Naime, u istom periodu akumulirani javni dug po stanovniku Slovenije bio je za 4,2 puta veći u odnosu na Rumuniju, a čak 9,3 puta veći u odnosu na Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Prosječni BDP koji je ostvarila Hrvatska veći je od bosanskohercegovačkog za 2,6 puta dok je javni dug po stanovniku ove zemlje za 5,7 puta veći od bosanskohercegovačkog. BDP po stanovniku Srbije veći je za 28% od istog pokazatelja u Bosni i Hercegovini, dok je javni dug po stanovniku Srbije iste godine (2018.) bio veći od bosanskohercegovačkog za 101%.

Tabela 1 – Akumulirani javni dug po stanovniku i bruto domaći proizvod po stanovniku zemalja jugoistočne Evrope – 2018.

	Javni dug po stanovniku - u USD	BDP po stanovniku - u USD
Albanija	3.677	5.239
Bosna i Hercegovina	1.977	5.755
Bugarska	2.107	9.314
Crna Gora	6.363	8.763
Hrvatska	11.183	14.870
Rumunija	4.503	12.878
Sjeverna Makedonija	2.467	6.100
Slovenija	18.288	25.979
Srbija	3.955	7.223

Izvori podataka: <https://countryeconomy.com/countries/compare/> (Pristupljeno 15.05.2020.)

Tabela 2 – Promjene javnih dugova zemalja jugoistočne Evrope u periodu 2008-2018.

Zemlja	Javni dug u % BDP			Javni dug per capita (u USD)		
	2008.	2012.	2018.	2008.	2012.	2018.
Albanija	55,1	62,1	69,9	2.421	2.641	3.677
Bosna i Hercegovina	30,9	43,5	34,3	1.502	1.948	1.977
Bugarska	13,0	16,7	20,4	955	1.235	2.107
Crna Gora	34,2	56,9	72,3	2.529	3.743	6.363
Hrvatska	39,0	69,4	73,2	6.286	9.164	11.183
Rumunija	12,4	36,9	35,2	1.195	3.173	4.503
Sjeverna Makedonija	20,6	33,7	40,5	998	1.591	2.467
Slovenija	21,8	53,8	66,1	5.988	12.109	18.288
Srbija	32,4	57,9	54,6	2.169	3.280	3.955

Izvori podataka: <https://countryeconomy.com/national-debt/> (Pristupljeno 15.05.2020.)

Najintenzivniji rast javnog duga po stanovniku u periodu 2008-2018. ostvaren je u Rumuniji i Sloveniji (3,6 odnosno 3,1 puta respektivno), potom u Bugarskoj (uvećan 2,2, puta), te Srbiji i Crnoj Gori (82% i 70% respektivno). Najniži porast javnog duga po stanovniku u istom periodu ostvarila je Bosna i Hercegovina (31%). Javni dug Slovenije na per capita osnovi 2018. bio je za 828% (dakle za 9,3 puta) veći od bosanskohercegovačkog, dok su javni dugovi po stanovniku susjednih Hrvatske i Srbije iste godine bile veći od bosanskohercegovačkog za 468% i 101% respektivno. U svrhu objektivizacije analize odnosa raspoloživih sredstava i dostupnih finansijskih izvora za anticiklično djelovanje u periodu kriza i postkriznom periodu, moramo istaći

da rast javnih dugova, kao tipična kejnzijanska mjera anticikličnog djelovanja ekonomskih politika, nije bio posebna specifičnost regiona jugoistočne Evrope. Naprotiv, u primjeni anticikličnih mjera zasnovanih na naglom rastu javnih dugova prednjačile su zemlje Zapada. SAD su povećale javni dug po stanovniku sa 35.700 (2008.) na 65.545 USD (2018.), dok je akumulirani javni dug po stanovniku iste (2018.) godine u Italiji iznosio 46.573 USD a u Japanu 90.134 USD. Republika Irska je u periodu 2008-2018. gotovo udvostručila javni dug po stanovniku (sa 25.900 na 49.602 USD). Prethodno analizirani podaci pokazuju da je Bosna i Hercegovina u periodu 2008.-2018. bila jedna od najuspješnijih zemalja u ovom dijelu svijeta (jugoistočnoj Evropi), uzimajući u obzir procentualni porast BDP po stanovniku u odnosu na procentualni porast javnog duga po stanovniku.

Revidirane procjene EBRD o stopama ekonomskog rasta za zemlje zapadnog Balkana i ostale zemlje u tranziciji, koje je ova institucija publikovala sredinom maja 2020. (tačnije 13.05.2020.), pokazuju da bi najpogođenija zemlja zapadnog Balkana tekućom krizom mogla biti Albanija, za koju EBRD procjenjuje ekonomski pad u tekućoj godini od 9%, nakon koje slijedi Crna Gora sa procijenjenim padom od 8%. EBRD procjenjuje da će Covid-19 kriza prouzrokovati ekonomski pad u Bosni i Hercegovini od 4,5% u 2020., nakon čega bi slijedio oporavak 2021. uz stopu rasta od 6,5%. Procjena EBRD o padu BDP u Bosni i Hercegovini od 4,5% podrazumijeva izgubljeni BDP u trajanju od 17 dana prosječne proizvodnje ostvarene prošle (2019.) godine. The World Bank Group, sa druge strane, u svom inoviranom izvještaju predviđa pad BDP u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1,9% u 2020., uz rast od 3,4% i 3,6% u 2021. i 2022. godini. Ovakva procjena podrazumijeva smanjenje BDP u 2020. ekvivalentno izgubljenju proizvodnji u trajanju od samo sedam dana i u kontekstu onoga što se dešava u Bosni i Hercegovini, Evropi i svijetu veoma je optimistična i, nažalost, prilično nerealna. Uz radikalno socijalno distanciranje i zaustavljanje poslovanja u preko polovice poslovnih djelatnosti u trajanju od dva do tri mjeseca pad BDP na godišnjem nivou u Bosni i Hercegovini bi se vrlo vjerovatno mogao kretati između 8% i 10%. I ova procjena može biti umjerena ukoliko socijalno distanciranje bude neophodno u dužem periodu od tri mjeseca.

Međutim, i uz već najavljene mjere postepenog “relaksiranja” uvedenih restrikcija oporavak ekonomije i većeg broja



poslovnih djelatnosti i grana u njima te njihovo “vraćanje“ na nivo približan prethodnoj godini neće biti moguće u najboljem slučaju prije posljednjeg kvartala tekuće godine, uz optimističnu pretpostavku da se mjere ograničavanja kretanja na međudržavnom nivou ukinu u sljedeća dva do tri mjeseca te da ne bude novog talasa infekcija u trećem i četvrtom kvartalu ove godine. Drugim riječima, strategija djelovanja najviših državnih organa vlasti treba biti pripremljena i na scenarijima koji podrazumijevaju pad BDP između 15% i 20%. Pad BDP između 15% i 20% u radikalno izmijenjenim okolnostima u Bosni i Hercegovini, regionu, Evropi i svijetu, premda u poređenju sa projekcijama EBRD i World Bank Group može izgledati veoma pesimističan, ne bi bio iznenađujući obzirom na intenzitet globalnog i regionalnog šoka, i iz njega proisteklih veoma pesimističnih očekivanja vodećih ljudi iz poslovnog sektora.

### O intenzitetu i razmjerama globalnog ekonomskog poremećaja i (ne)realnim projekcijama oporavka globalne ekonomije

Referirajući se na prethodni dio teksta veoma je važno sagledati intenzitet stvarnih ekonomskih šokova širom svijeta. US Bureau of Labor Statistics je početkom maja 2020. objavio zvanične podatke o stopi nezaposlenosti u SAD. U skladu sa ovim izvještajem, zvanična stopa nezaposlenosti u SAD je 14,7%. Intenzitet velikog poremećaja na tržištu rada u SAD (“tektonskih razmjera“) možemo analizirati u odnosu na dva najveća šoka na tržištu rada u SAD u posljednjih sedamdeset godina. Prvi šok je uslijedio naglom promjenom monetarne politike američke centralne banke, the Fed-a, krajem 1980. i tokom 1981. i 1982. Izrazito restriktivna politika the Fed-a u tom periodu (pod vodstvom tadašnjeg predsjednika Paula Volckera) rezultirala je porastom nezaposlenosti sa 5% početkom 1980. na 10,8% krajem 1982. Sljedeći najveći šok na tržištu rada u SAD bio je posljedica Globalne finansijske krize 2008-09 (generirane u SAD). Stopa nezaposlenosti u SAD je porasla sa 4,5% u julu 2007. na 10% u oktobru 2009. Dakle, poređenjem ovih stopa nije teško izvesti zaključak o dubini i razmjerama ekonomskog šoka u najvećoj svjetskoj ekonomiji. Ovaj šok je izravna posljedica “zdravstve-

nog šoka“, kombinovanog sa posljedičnim šokovima tražnje, ponude i finansijskim šokom.

Ovako težak i intenzivan ekonomski poremećaj nije viđen od Velike depresije 1929-1933. Uz probleme u SAD, ekonomski šokovi koji nastaju u zemljama Evropske unije a posebno eurozone, premda trenutno (sredina maja) u skladu sa podacima iz prvog kvartala još uvijek ne izgledaju tako intenzivni, stvarni problemi i razmjere ove krize će biti očitiji i u zemljama EU kada podaci za drugi kvartal tekuće godine budu publikovani. Ovo se posebno odnosi na zemlje juga eurozone, uključujući i Francusku. Također, procjene rasta nezaposlenosti za Veliku Britaniju pokazuju da je stopa nezaposlenosti porasla sa 4% sredinom marta 2020. na 9% početkom maja 2020. Kina je, sa druge strane svijeta, zvanično objelodanila podatak da je po prvi put od početka otvaranja prema ostatku svijeta (1978.) ostvarila ekonomski pad u jednom od kvartala. Dakle, prema objavljenim podacima pad BDP u Kini u prvom kvartalu tekuće godine u odnosu na isti period prethodne godine bio je 6,8%. Iako su interventni “ekonomski paketi“ u SAD, Japanu, EU, Kini i Velikoj Britaniji velikih razmjera (u zbiru iznose preko 5.500 milijardi USD), oni neće moći riješiti duboke i naglo rastuće probleme za kratko vrijeme. Veoma dobri ili odlični rezultati na ključnim finansijskim berzama, izraženi velikim procentualnim rastom u aprilu i maju tekuće godine u odnosu na velike padove u martu, ne daju stvarnu sliku o veličini ekonomskih poremećaja u SAD i svijetu.

Na ovom mjestu želim podsjetiti da su najznačajniji indeksi dionica u SAD ali i ostalim dijelovima svijeta tokom prošle krize (2008-09.) počeli rasti već u drugom kvartalu 2009. i nastavili svoj rast u drugoj polovici te godine. Taj rast cijena vrijednosnih papira u SAD, međutim, nije značio brzi oporavak realne ekonomije. Cijeli prvi mandat prethodnog američkog predsjednika Baracka Obame bio je obilježen velikim intervencijama i razmjerno skromnim oporavkom (stopa nezaposlenosti je smanjena sa rekordnih 10% u oktobru 2009. na prosječno 8% u drugoj polovici 2012.). U tekućoj Covid-19 krizi nesumnjivo je da će pronalazak ili veoma optimistični rezultati o brzom pronalasku vakcine protiv ove bolesti imati za posljedicu nagli rast optimizma finansijskih investitora, ali ne smijemo zaboraviti da je psihologiju finansijskih investitora veoma dobro odnosno vrlo tačno opisao John Maynard Keynes kao psihologiju zasnovanu na

“herd behavior“ i “beauty contest“. Ekonomske projekcije izgleda za globalni oporavak, kao i regionalne ekonomske oporavke “derivirane“ iz optimizma finansijskih investitora mogu biti veoma “zavodljive“, odnosno mogu “pogrešno navoditi“. Psihologija finansijskih investitora, posebno onih globalno aktivnih i onih najmoćnijih, nije stabilizirajuća već inherentno destabilizirajuća.

Preciznije, vjerovanje i projekcije da će oporavak u najvećim ekonomijama biti “V“ oblika nisu uvjerljivi, budući da ta vrsta ekonomskog mišljenja o oporavku pretpostavlja da bi se svi tržišni akteri počevši od kompanija, preko domaćinstava, specijalizovanih agencija do finansijskih institucija brzo “vratili“ na “business as usual“ ili “life as usual“. Velika većina ljudi u svijetu bi željela da je to tako, uključujući i autora ovog teksta, ali zadatak ovog teksta nije analiza “onoga što želimo“ već pokušaj realnog sagledavanja intenziteta i obima stvarnih ekonomskih poremećaja izazvanih Covid-19 krizom. Ova kriza, naravno, nije samo “zdravstveno-ekonomska“ nego i: kriza temeljnih principa na kojima je počivao globalni ekonomski poredak posljednjih trideset godina, kriza etičkih principa, kriza solidarnosti, odnosno i ukratko – kriza temeljnih vrijednosti ljudi kao pretpostavljenih razumnih i racionalnih bića. Sa druge strane, od tekstova Herberta Simona (pedesetih godina prošlog vijeka a i prije toga) znamo da nismo racionalni već ograničeno racionalni (“bounded rationality“). Također, znamo i da je “mainstream“ ekonomskim modelima dominirala utilitarna ekonomija, čije su vrlo važne odnosno temeljne pretpostavke one o “economic man“ i “first me rule“ (preuzete iz ekonomskih škola autora od sredine i druge polovice devetnaestog vijeka).

Pretpostavka o “life as usual“ i “business as usual“ projekcijama za sljedeću godinu i godine poslije, međutim, ne uzima ili nedovoljno uzima u obzir vremenske pomake djelovanja ekonomskih poremećaja (“time lags“), koji su od temeljnog značaja za realno sagledavanje veličine stvarnih problema sa kojima se suočavamo u svijetu, EU, regionu zapadnog Balkana, i Bosni i Hercegovini. Naime, “četrostruki šok“ u trajanju od dva mjeseca, sa postepenom normalizacijom, koja po definiciji “uzima vrijeme“, vrlo vjerovatno znači da u tekućoj godini neće biti moguće ostvariti ukupnu proizvodnju u prosjeku u svijetu iznad 90-92% nivoa prethodne godine. Ovakva procjena može izgledati vrlo pesimistična za globalnu ekonomiju, ali procjene

Međunarodne organizacije rada o tome da će 1,25 milijardi radnika u svijetu biti pogođeno otpuštanjem sa radnog mjesta ili značajnim smanjenjem radnog angažmana, pokazuju da se projekcije o brzom oporavku u 2021. godini mogu ispostaviti kao zabluda, a da duboka recesija 2020. može biti pretvorena u globalnu krizu mnogo većih razmjera (preciznije ekonomsku depresiju), sa vrlo teškim posljedicama, ukoliko se globalni mehanizmi ekonomskog upravljanja i upravljanja ekonomskim krizama kako u razvijenim ekonomijama tako, i posebno, u srednje i manje razvijenim regionima znatno ne redefinišu i globalno/regionalno ne koordiniraju.

### Mogućnosti i limiti anticikličnog djelovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini

Premda je institucionalna pozicija i stvarna politička moć Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine i Vijeća ministara Bosne i Hercegovine značajno limitirana postojećom odnosno poslijeratnom strukturom distribucije vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini, ove dvije institucije tokom tekuće velike krize mogu biti lideri u predlaganju i provođenju zajedničkih strateških akcija za smanjenje negativnih efekata Covid-19 krize na bosanskohercegovačku ekonomiju. U periodu koji predstoji nesumnjivo je da će biti potrebna velika fiskalna intervencija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Preciznije rečeno, takva fiskalna intervencija je već djelimično u toku. Oslobođanja poreskih obveznika od plaćanja poreza koji su zbog prestanka poslovanja, usljed preduzimanja neophodnih radikalnih ograničenja kretanja, rada i proizvodnje ostali bez prihoda, kao i fizičkih lica koja su usljed otpuštanja sa posla ili velikog smanjenja efektivnog radnog angažmana ostala bez prihoda ili sa značajno smanjenim prihodima, nužno podrazumijeva nagli rast fiskalnih obaveza obje entitetske vlade i po tom osnovu neminovnog rasta javnog duga za te potrebe. To su potrebe koje proističu iz finansiranja tekućih rashoda i po svojoj prirodi su vezane za kratkoročno finansiranje ili finansiranje sa rokovima od dvije do tri godine.

Sa druge strane, za efikasnu borbu protiv zdravstvenih prijetnji, protiv sigurnosnih prijetnji uključujući efikasnu kontrolu državne granice, te za efikasno ili efikasnije anticiklično ekonomsko djelovanje neophodni su finansijski izvori sa rokovima

dospijeća od minimalno 10 godina, kombinovani sa izvorima rokova dospijeća od 15 do 20 godina. Ovakva finansijska sredstva mogu biti dogovarana na kreditnoj osnovi sa vodećim svjetskim i evropskim finansijskim institucijama poput Međunarodne banke za obnovu i razvoj (IBRD), Evropske banke za obnovu i razvoj (EBRD) i Evropske investicijske banke (EIB). Također, u ovom kontekstu ne treba zapostaviti finansijske izvore koji mogu biti dogovarani sa Azijskom bankom za finansiranje infrastrukture (AIIB) sa sjedištem u Pekingu. Međutim, isključivo oslanjanje na kreditne aranžmane, premda aranžmani sa ovim finansijskim institucijama mogu biti povoljni u pogledu kamatnih stopa, grace-perioda i rokova otplate, podrazumijeva veće odlive novčanih sredstava u periodu otplate ovih kredita po osnovu otplate glavnice i kamate, dakle anuiteta na mjesečnoj osnovi u poređenju sa finansiranjem na osnovu emisije obveznica. Ovakvi aranžmani za period koji slijedi sasvim sigurno mogu dobro doći kao dio finansijskih izvora, poput perioda post-ratne obnove Bosne i Hercegovine i perioda koji je slijedio nakon toga u kom je World Bank Group a posebno IBRD, kao njen centralni dio u finansiranju razvojnih projekata, osigurala povoljna sredstva.

Međutim, za dugoročno finansiranja strateških razvojnih projekata kao što su: nova strategija dugoročne zdravstvene zaštite, finansiranje novog koncepta obezbjeđivanja energetske potreba baziranih na "green-energy", razvoj savremene "soft-infrastrukture" bazirane na ekonomiji znanja i informacionim tehnologijama, te projekti osavremenjivanja Državne granične službe i njenog znatno boljeg tehničkog opremanja i značajnog povećanja broja visoko kvalifikovanih zaposlenika, koji mogu osigurati bolju kontrolu državnih granica, sprječavanje ilegalnih prijelaza koji su potencijalna sigurnosna i zdravstvena prijetnja svim državljanima Bosne i Hercegovine, bilo bi potrebno započeti sa emisijom dugoročnih državnih vrijednosnih papira (obveznica) koje bi stvorile uslove za ostvarivanje sljedeća tri vrlo važna cilja: finansiranje ili sufinansiranje prethodno navedenih projekata strateški važnih za budućnost Bosne i Hercegovine, uspješnije upravljanje novčanim tokovima na državnom i entitetskim nivoima, i povećanje finansijske stabilnosti. Navedeni ciljevi mogu biti postignuti ako emisiju državnih obveznica garantuju međunarodne institucije visoke reputacije i povjerenja. Dakle, emitovane državne obveznice bi mogle postati prvoklasna finansijska imovina kada bi njihova

emisija bila podržana sa jedne strane garancijama posebno osnovanog Garantnog fonda EU za BiH (ili zapadni Balkan), a sa druge strane Stabilizacijsko-investicionim fondom EU za BiH (ili zapadni Balkan). Garantni fond EU za BiH (zapadni Balkan) bi dajući garancije za emisiju državnih obveznica denominiranih u domaćoj valuti imao pravo kontrole namjenske upotrebe sredstava za strateške projekte BiH na međuentitetskoj osnovi koji su prethodno spomenuti, dok bi Stabilizacijsko-investicioni fond EU za BiH aktivno učestvovao u kupovini dijela emisije državnih obveznica (do 50%), kao i aktivnom učešću na sekundarnom tržištu emitovanih državnih obveznica. Drugi dio emitovanih državnih obveznica, od 50% do 75% ukupne emisije, bi kupovali domaći investitori, uključujući i komercijalne banke.

Na ovom mjestu, spominjući komercijalne banke kao jednog od značajnijih investitora u državne vrijednosne papire vrlo je važno analizirati ovaj segment u kontekstu finansijske stabilnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Naime, Centralna banka BiH je uvela negativnu stopu naknada na viškove sredstava koje komercijalne banke drže na svojim računima rezervi kod Centralne banke BiH iznad obaveznih rezervi. Negativna stopa naknada je proistekla iz negativne stope na depozite koju je u praksu uvela Evropska centralna banka (ECB). Dakle, u prethodnoj godini i prvom kvartalu 2020. komercijalne banke plaćaju Centralnoj banci BiH na viškove iznad obaveznih rezervi naknadu od 0,5%. Ukupne rezerve (obavezne i viškovi iznad obaveznih rezervi) komercijalnih banaka uvećane za emitovani gotov novac u opticaju predstavljaju ukupnu pasivu Centralne banke BiH koja, u uslovima valutnog odbora, mora biti 100% (u praksi 105%) pokrivena deviznim rezervama. Devizne rezerve čine kupljeni kratkoročni i dugoročni državni vrijednosni papiri najznačajnijih ekonomija EU, te depoziti kod elitnih centralnih banaka i komercijalnih banaka vodećih zemalja EU. Ovo visoko pokriće monetarne pasive isključivo inostranom finansijskom aktivom znači da Centralna banka BiH ne može da utiče na poslovni ciklus na domaćem tržištu. Ovo je izravna posljedica Zakona o Centralnoj banci Bosne i Hercegovine kakav je usvojen 1997. godine i do danas nije izmijenjen. Ovakav aranžman osigurava punu stabilnost domaće valute, ali onemogućava anticiklično djelovanje u periodu kriza.

U postojećim okolnostima izmjena ovog aranžmana nije moguća a niti poželjna bez postojanja finansijskih imovina koje

bi emitovalo Ministarstvo finansija i trezora BiH (entitetske obveznice u ovom pogledu ne mogu biti kompenzacija državnim obveznicama po međunarodnim standardima usvojenim u Bazelu). Međutim, to istovremeno ne znači da promjena ovog aranžmana ne bi bila moguća i izvodiva pod vrlo važnim uslovom da Ministarstvo finansija i trezora BiH emituje državne vrijednosne papire za čiju emisiju bi garantovala EU ili ključne zemlje euro-zone, i koje bi po tom osnovu osigurali prvoklasnost te vrste imovine i, eventualno kasnije u srednjeročnom periodu, stvorile mogućnost da tu vrstu finansijske imovine sa "triple A" rejtingom kupuje, pored komercijalnih banaka i ostalih institucionalnih investitora koji bi bili primarni kupci, i Centralna banka BiH ali uz dogovor i saglasnost MMF. Kamatne stope na ovakvu vrstu vrijednosnih papira, sa visokim stepenom sigurnosti ulaganja zbog garancija koje bi EU dala za njihovu emisiju, ne bi bile više od 0,75%-1%. Dakle, bez emisije najkvalitetnijih domaćih vrijednosnih papira, odnosno državnih obveznica sa ekskluzivnim garancijama EU nije moguće povećati izbor za uspješno strukturiranje finansijskih portfolija finansijskih institucija, i po tom osnovu povećanje finansijske stabilnosti.

Vraćajući se na komercijalne banke u Bosni i Hercegovini i njihovu poziciju u tekućoj krizi neophodno je razumjeti da pozicija ovih institucija bosanskohercegovačkog finansijskog sistema, od kojih velikim dijelom zavisi mogućnost oporavka i njegova brzina, trenutno nemaju mogućnost kompenzirati troškove koji proističu iz plaćanja naknade na viškove iznad obaveznih rezervi Centralnoj banci BiH, budući da osim entitetskih obveznica ne postoje kvalitetnije i sigurnije finansijske imovine koje bi ovim institucijama omogućile plasman tih sredstava uz blago pozitivnu kamatnu stopu. Ovo je posebno važno u sedmicama i mjesecima koji slijede, budući da su banke prihvatile moratorij na otplatu kredita za dio klijenata koji su ostali bez prihoda, kako u poslovnom sektoru tako i u sektoru domaćinstava. Moratorij na otplatu dijela kreditnog portfolija nužno će značiti porast finansijskih rizika i bitno će utjecati na mogućnosti obnavljanja kreditnog ciklusa, od kojeg u najvećoj mjeri zavisi oporavak poslovnog sektora. Ovo, također, znači da bi finansijska sredstva raspoloživa u Agenciji za osiguranje depozita BiH trebalo povećati ne na osnovu povećanja uplata komercijalnih banaka nego osiguravanjem dodatnih finansijskih sredstava sa državnog nivoa.



# THE AGE OF THE CORONA ECONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Kadrija Hodzić and Izudin Kešetović**

## Approaching the problem

The economic consequences of the crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic are at the centre of attention for all countries in the world today. There is theoretical agreement on three things. First, given the uncertainty over how long the pandemic will last, economists can only be sure of its short-term direct consequences, the most severe of which is loss of liquidity, while the long-term indirect consequences remain unknown. Second, we are experiencing a major recession, considerably deeper than that of 2008, and, regardless of how intense the pandemic itself becomes, the ongoing economic corona crisis may be deeper than the collapse of the world economy in 1929. Third, globalisation is now on trial and nothing will be the same, as the corona crisis will certainly bring about a new order or “new normal” of an entirely unexpected sort in politics, the economy, and in welfare culture. In this regard, many leading economists even expect the crisis to produce a recoil from neoliberalism and a consequent redefinition of the rules of market competition, which may even bring about a return to earlier models of (state) capitalism and society, with a particular stress on strengthening the state in the areas of healthcare and infrastructure.

There is, thus, a real possibility for the corona crisis to be one of the most destructive economic crises the world has ever seen. The International Monetary Fund expects worldwide economic growth to fall around 3% over the year, while the figure for Bosnia and Herzegovina is 5%, which is already more than



during the global recession in 2008. Two dimensions that transcend the current crisis are indicative of its depth. On the one hand, this is an economic and not just a financial crisis, because it involves not just disturbances on the demand side and in financial markets but supply-side reductions as well, thanks to the closing down of countries and the cutting of supply chains, similar only to conditions in wartime economies. Economists are agreed that the speed with which countries return to pre-crisis levels will depend on their exposure to global markets and the capacity of national governments to manage the situation.

Small open economies, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, are somewhat hostages of the larger states on which global economic flows depend and which have been worst affected by the crisis. In other words, no small open economy can recover on its own. To what degree solutions (plans, models, lending) will come from outside or have to be developed relying on domestic economic policy remains an open question.

Most countries around the world have based their fight against the corona crisis on short-term measures to stimulate consumption and the belief that the pandemic will gradually fade over the third and fourth quarters of this year, but there are evident differences between them in their capacity for fiscal or monetary policy. Developed countries (the US, China, and countries not in a liquidity trap) are applying expansionary monetary policy, reducing interest rates and using helicopter money as targeted cash transfers that won't increase public borrowing.

The less-developed open economies have no such monetary policy capacity. As a result, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the countries of the Western Balkans have generally focused on short-term fiscal measures to preserve liquidity and stimulate consumption (guaranteeing jobs and salary support). These measures require financing for deepening budget deficits and "additional money" (generally from credits) to maintain business sector liquidity. They are trying to support consumption by 1) reallocating resources by rebalancing the budget; 2) creating "additional money" in cash funds to deal with job losses; and 3) forming guarantee funds to secure bank loans to business. A second set of interventions only now being announced is already being implemented in some neighbouring countries, like Croatia. It includes cutting taxes and deferring public transfers, with

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direct government intervention envisaged in the last fiscal resort. In essence, we are dealing with fixed sets of measures that have been either generally accepted (the first set of financial interventions) or announced (the second and third sets).

The major shortcomings of this approach to dealing with the corona crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina relate to the limited fiscal capacity available with its relatively short-term reach. Salaries can't be guaranteed forever, particularly if the corona crisis proves a lasting one, and even if successful will depend on how the measures are implemented in practice and the government's political capacity. Even if "additional money" can be secured (and we still don't know the limits to the artificial creation of money), over the medium-term the quantity of goods produced will play the decisive role and structural reforms will be required to stimulate domestic supply chains.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first signs of risk have appeared in the suspension of regular procedures for public procurement. The risk of job losses has been passed on to the private sector, while those on the public payroll are protected by their established employment rights. The state guarantees the payment of pensions, but pensioners, already collateral victims of the run-down state pension fund, are likely to be first in line when budgetary belts have to be tightened. Programmatic ideas of guarantee funds and development banks are rendered proverbially impractical by the "capacities" of entrenched and widespread corruption.

Given its vulnerability to crises (remember that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a less developed open economy) and lack of any monetary capacity for dealing with the corona crisis, the key for the country will be to weather the crisis and spread out fiscal capacity over however long it lasts. Reliance on once-off measures of short-term fiscal policy will likely be quickly exhausted, if the pandemic continues into the final two quarters of the year with the same intensity as the first two, not to mention further into 2021. This is why, we have to review which forms of monetary and credit policy can realistically be applied, while critiquing unrealistic proposals for using monetary policy to bridge the corona crisis that have surfaced in public, and also point to room for strengthening fiscal policy capacity that has opened up or may do so.

## The prospects for monetary and credit policy and the limits to applying helicopter money

The key question for monetary and credit policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is how to maintain the stability of the local currency and the banking system by maintaining the commercial banks' capital adequacy ratio. The solution lies in an effective and independent system of supervision and oversight for the entire banking sector, which is at constant risk of objective destabilisation by political voluntarism on the part of the political oligarchies.

Danger lies in two problematic political demands – one is for expansion of the primary money supply through so-called manipulation of the foreign currency reserves that provide cover for the KM's convertibility, and the second is for a cut in the level of the mandatory reserves from 10 to 5% to free up 2.5 billion KM in liquidity. Not merely would meeting these demands have no positive economic impact, it would be both politically and economically harmful. In the first case, political demands for higher foreign exchange reserves to allow more convertible marks to be issued are not institutionally feasible. In the second case, cutting the level of the mandatory reserves is not in line with commercial banks' interests and would jeopardise the country's monetary stability. The banks are already too liquid and have been managing liquidity risk with great success for years. Even under such conditions, lending growth was poor. Increasing the size of deposits under current domestic conditions of supply and demand for credit would only increase the costs of hanging on to unallocated cash. Which makes this concern for commercial bank liquidity somewhat strange, given that not merely are they not experiencing liquidity risk but they actually have significant surplus reserves at the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the tune of 2.8 billion KM over and above the mandatory level. It would be enough to draw on that amount to put any political concerns over bank liquidity or lending to industry to rest. Banks will do this themselves once personal savings fall, as will inevitably happen, first as the public, prompted by fear of the corona crisis itself, redirects free cash to stockpile provisions, and, then, as the expectation grows that mechanisms will kick in sooner or later and end tolerance for continued deferral of repayments on

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personal and business bank loans. To protect themselves, the banks will inevitably begin to withdraw their resources and naturally secure themselves against liquidity threat. If the growth rate continues to fall to the end of the year, of course, and the economy enters a condition of deep recession, then it would be quite natural for the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina to activate cuts in the mandatory reserve levels, as this is its only monetary policy mechanism for stimulating economic activity.

The helicopter money model is equally inapplicable to Bosnia and Herzegovina, given the character of the country's monetary and fiscal policy options. The monetary system is based upon a strict currency board, which preserves the convertibility of the local currency through a hard peg to the euro and prevents any expansion in the primary money supply. Consequently, helicopter money is not available as an instrument of monetary policy. What can be done through fiscal policy is to rebalance the budget on similar lines, so as to give all adult residents remittances of  $2 \times 250$  KM. The funds could be secured from revenues paid into the joint account on the basis of indirect taxation and be paid out to all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina via the central or state-level budget. The funds would be at least partially recouped through consumption, via the so-called filter system. This model would not entail any additional limitations to established legal rights to pensions, disability payments, and social benefits. This would protect the most income-at risk categories of the population and attain social and political goals. The basic goal of such non-standard monetary and financial policy measures is to restore confidence in the state and the institutions of the system. The private sector's other problems could be addressed by systematic government measures in the area of strengthening fiscal and financial discipline.

Anything connected with changing how monetary policy instruments are applied would have to be pursued using a rather different instrument of monetary credit policy that is rarely dusted off. This is a selective credit policy to be implemented through the Central Bank based upon opportunities to finance the production of goods and services. There would be room in the monetary system for mechanisms to "destroy" money at the end of the reproduction cycle when goods are created on the supply side. The National Bank of the Socialist Federative Republic of

Yugoslavia used such a mechanism to finance specific sectors and branches of production. For example, the production of agricultural produce in reproduction cycles of up to a year. The practice was also applied to investment to kickstart rapid growth in the production of goods and services. Using this approach to financing presupposes a development bank or specialised banks for the particular sectors. For it to work there would have to be state-level sectoral policies. It could also help guarantee monetary stability and economic growth, which are amongst economic policy's priority goals.

### Strengthening fiscal policy capacity

In the medium term, the current approach to allocating public monies will have to be abandoned, because it's neither fair nor economically efficient. Instead, we will have to strengthen the state's fiscal capacity using the principles of allocation policy and stabilisation policy and applying key measures: efficiency in public revenue collection, reducing the fiscal burden on industry and the general population, financial and fiscal discipline, and strengthening the tax administration. This would get us out of the current system where tax is subject to the "law of the jungle" and provide legal security for all business entities within the system, while at the same time strengthening the functions of the state and of public investment in the public sector and its services (public healthcare and education, economic infrastructure: agriculture and power, policing and the security forces, and the judiciary and legal system, and of course in tax administration).

It would also mean root and branch reform of public administration by cutting employee numbers, cutting or changing how institutions are financed, including agencies, directorates, institutes, services, et cetera, changing the approach to the allocation of public revenues and defining authorities and responsibilities at various levels of government differently, strengthening local administration and semiautonomous bodies and increasing the role of civil society.

In the end, there remains a need for effective mechanisms to manage public debt. The issue of public borrowing is not treated in the same way at the level of the entities and Brčko district. This is particularly true of internal debt used to maintain liquid-

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ity. The preference for low levels of borrowing should be looked at using the “good or bad debt” principle. Even if Bosnia and Herzegovina can be classified as a country with only moderate debt, its borrowing has not produced positive macroeconomic trends. The golden rule of borrowing is that the state should only borrow money during the business cycle to invest and not to finance current spending. Talk of expanding the money supply without coverage is just another way of taking on debt to fund current spending. Investment and development should be the priority. The country’s fiscal policy has to address the issue of how to allocate resources, that is how to distinguish private and public activities and put insufficiently exploited resources to work, including resources that are unemployed, underemployed, or wrongly employed, as well as how to make proper use of natural resources and socially created wealth.

There is room in fiscal policy for tax optimisation and reduction of the “tax wedge”. The profession already considers the tax wedge in Bosnia and Herzegovina excessive, with negative consequences for economic growth and demand for labour and a tendency to favour the informal labour market. A more economically efficient and fairer model requires change, first in the general VAT rates on goods and services and second of the (pension and healthcare insurance) contributions levied on income.

An additional levy on the VAT rate would have the character of a special tax on the existing rate of 17%. This would prevent distortion of the tax’ impact. The regressive effect of increasing the rate can be countered by boosting personal income by cutting the contribution rate and increasing tax credits applied to income tax and linking them to average income from the immediately preceding period. This could mean an increase from the current 300 KM to 70% of the average income, while retaining existing tax relief and applying a proportional rate of 10% on income up to 3 times the average gross salary, 15% on income four times the average salary and 20% on income five or more times it. Based on statistical data and scenarios projecting indirect taxation for 2016 to 2019 from the Indirect Taxation Authority of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the rise in the VAT rate would be somewhere in the region of 3.4%.

Complementary changes would also have to be made to the system of contributions on the Beveridge model, which would

involve getting rid of contributions for healthcare and for the unemployed. This has been done in many countries (Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). The proposal to do away with contributions for healthcare insurance (the Beverage model finances healthcare directly from the tax take) is based on an aggregate rate of 36.06% of net salary or 23% of gross salary, while retaining contributions levied on income (**income tax**) and increasing the tax credit to 70% of the average salary and introducing progressive rates of 10, 15, and 20%. Moving to a system of financing based on taxation presupposes that reform would make healthcare accessible to all citizens. An indirect consequence would be doing away with so-called “fictive unemployment” the aim of which is to establish rights to healthcare.

The drawbacks of this model are increased risk of insufficient investment of monetary resources in particular areas of healthcare and “competition” for the same budgetary resources between healthcare and other social or welfare sectors, like education, culture, and sport. Such drawbacks can be marked even in periods when there are no particular problems with financing public consumption. Under disordered conditions, as today with the corona crisis, such drawbacks can become decisive. When problems with financing the healthcare sector begin, the advantages of this model come to the fore, however – easier to control spending, lower administrative costs, and more efficient healthcare financing.

## Conclusion

It is necessary to stress one more time here that there is a real possibility that the corona crisis will become one of the most destructive economic crises the world has ever seen. As a less developed small and open economy with limited scope for economic policy, Bosnia and Herzegovina is particularly vulnerable to the impact of the corona crisis. So far, the fiscal measures taken have been short-term with a view to saving jobs and maintaining minimum salary levels to support personal consumption and business liquidity. These measures are of limited applicability because they can only be applied in the short-term.

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Liquidity and salaries cannot be guaranteed forever, and there's a real question as to how much debt the country can take on, because the currency board regime makes monetary expansion impossible. Nonetheless, even within the framework of the limited capacities of fiscal and monetary policy, not all possibilities have been exhausted. There are unutilised possibilities of monetary and lending policy and approaches to taxation within the system of fiscal policy. In the medium term, the quantity of goods produced and not the quantity of money will play the decisive role, but structural reforms are required to stimulate domestic supply chains.

Translated by Desmond Maurer



# VRIJEME KORONA EKONOMIJE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Kadrija Hodzić i Izudin Kešetović

## Otvaranje problema

Ekonomске posljedice korona krize danas su u pažnji svih zemalja svijeta. Na teorijskom nivou postoji saglasnost oko tri stvari. Prva, zbog nepredvidivosti trajanja pandemije ekonomisti mogu znati samo njene kratkoročne direktne posljedice, od kojih je najteža gubitak likvidnosti, dok one dugoročne, indirektnе ostaju nepoznanica. Druga, preživljavamo veliku recesiju, znatno dublju od one iz 2008. godine, a sadašnja korona kriza, ovisno od intenziteta Covid-19 pandemije, mogla bi biti veća i od sloma svjetske privrede iz 1929. godine. I treća, globalizacija je dovedena u pitanje i ništa neće biti kao prije, odnosno korona kriza će uzrokovati novi poredak ili “novu normalu”, kakvu nikad nismo očekivali, u politici, ekonomiji i socijalnoj kulturi. U ovom potonjem slučaju, veći broj najuglednijih ekonomista smatra da bi kriza mogla dovesti do izvjesnog otklona od neoliberalizma i redefiniranja pravila tržišne konkurencije te povratka ranijim modelima (državnog) kapitalizma i društva, pri čemu je naročito neophodno snaženje države u sektorima zdravstva i infrastrukture.

Dakle, postoji realna mogućnost da korona kriza postane jedna od najrazornijih ekonomskih kriza koje je svijet ikada vidio. Međunarodni monetarni fond očekuje da će svjetski ekonomski rast ove godine pasti za 3%, a rast Bosne i Hercegovine za 5%, što je već sada više od pada kojeg smo imali u vrijeme globalne recesije u 2008. godini. Dubinu korona krize karakteriziraju dvije nove dimenzije koje nadilaze dosadašnje krize. S jedne strane, radi se o ekonomskoj a ne samo finansijskoj krizi, jer osim poremećaja na strani tržišne potražnje i finansijskih tržišta,

zbog zatvaranja zemalja i prekida opskrbnih lanaca, izražene su redukcije na strani tržišne ponude, što je ravno samo stanju ratnih privreda. Ekonomisti su saglasni da je brzina vraćanja u predkrižno stanje ovisna od izloženosti globalnom tržištu i od upravljačkih kapaciteta nacionalnih vlada.

Male otvorene ekonomije, kakva je i Bosna i Hercegovina, u neku ruku su taoci velikih država od kojih zavise ukupni svjetski ekonomski tokovi, a koje su i najviše pogođene krizom. Dakle, nijedna od malih otvorenih ekonomija se ne može oporaviti sama, pa je otvoreno pitanje koliko će rješenja (ideja, modela, kredita) trebati čekati izvana, a koliko će se morati razvijati vlastitim ekonomskim politikama.

Većina zemalja u svijetu borbu protiv korona krize zasniva na kratkoročnim mjerama poticanja potrošnje i uvjerenju u postepeno smanjivanje pandemije u trećem i četvrtom kvartalu tekuće godine, ali su primjetne razlike u kapacitetima fiskalnih i monetarnih politika. Za održavanje potrošnje i poticanje investicija razvijene zemlje (Sjedinjene Američke Države, Kina i zemlje koje nisu u zamci likvidnosti) primjenjuju ekspanzivnu monetarnu politiku kroz smanjenje kamatnih stopa i model "helikopterskog novca" kao namjenskog bespovratnog novca koji ne povećava javni dug.

Manje razvijene otvorene ekonomije nemaju ovakav kapacitet monetarnih politika. Zbog toga Bosna i Hercegovina i zemlje Zapadnog Balkana poduzimaju uglavnom fiskalne kratkoročne mjere očuvanja likvidnosti, zasnovane na poticajima potrošnje (garantovanje radnih mjesta i određenih nivoa plata). Ove mjere podrazumijevaju finansiranje produbljenog budžetskog deficita i obezbjeđenje "dodatnog novca" (uglavnom iz kredita) za održavanje likvidnosti poduzetnika. Njima se nastoji održati potrošnja putem: 1) preraspodjele sredstava rebalansom budžeta; 2) formiranja "dodatnog novca" smještenog u fondove novčanih sredstava za saniranje gubitaka radnih mjesta; i 3) formiranja garancijskih fondova za obezbjeđenje kreditnih sredstava banaka privatnim poduzetnicima. Drugi set intervencija se tek najavljuje. Neke zemlje iz okruženja, poput Hrvatske, već ih počinju primjenjivati, a odnose se na smanjenje poreza i odgode plaćanja javnih davanja, a u posljednjoj fiskalnoj iteraciji se predviđaju direktne državne intervencije. Jednostavno, radi se o klišeju koji je opšte prihvaćen (prvi set fiskalnih intervencija) ili se najavljuje (drugi i treći set).

Nedostaci ovakvog pristupa rješenju korona krize u Bosni i Hercegovini su ispoljeni ograničenim fiskalnim kapacitetom koji je primjeren samo kratkom roku. Plate se ne mogu garantovati beskonačno, naročito u slučaju da korona kriza potraje dulje, iako će uspjeh ovisiti i o izvedbenim oblicima primjene datih mjera i političkom kapacitetu vlade. Čak i da se obezbijedi “dodatni novac”, a ostalo je otvoreno pitanje granica do kojih se novac može umjetno kreirati, u srednjem roku presudnu ulogu će odigrati količina proizvedene robe, a za poticaj domaćih lanaca opskrbe nužne su strukturne reforme.

U Bosni i Hercegovini prve oblike rizika mogli smo vidjeti u suspenziji redovnih procedura javnih nabavki. Rizik gubitka radnih mjesta je prenesen na privatni sektor, dok su zaposleni s budžetskim plaćama zaštićeni stečenim radnim pravom. Iako država jamči isplatu penzija, penzioneri bi, s obzirom da su već kolateralna šteta uništenog penzionog fonda, mogli biti prvi na udaru eventualnog stezanja budžetskog kaiša. Programske ideje o garancijskim fondovima i razvojnim bankama poslovično su ugrožene “kapacitetom” već prisutne izdašne korupcije.

S obzirom na izloženost krizama (podsjetimo da je Bosna i Hercegovina manje razvijena otvorena ekonomija) i potpuni nedostatak monetarnog kapaciteta za suočavanje s korona krizom, za Bosnu i Hercegovinu je ključno upravljati kriznom situacijom te rasporediti fiskalni kapacitet na cijelo vrijeme trajanja krize. Ostajanje na jednokratnim mjerama kratkoročne fiskalne politike bi ubrzo moglo biti iscrpljeno, ako bi pandemija intenzitetom iz prva dva kvartala potrajala i u druga dva kvartala tekuće godine, da i ne govorimo o produženju na 2021. godinu. Zbog toga je potrebno, s jedne strane, ukazati na realno upotrebljive potencijale monetarno-kreditne politike, uključujući i razmatranje nekih nerealnih prijedloga o upotrebi monetarne politike u prevazilaženju korona krize koji se javljaju u javnom prostoru, a s druge, ukazati na otvaranje prilika za jačanje kapaciteta fiskalne politike.

### Potencijali monetarno-kreditne politike i ograničenost primjene “helikopterskog novca”

Ključno pitanje monetarno-kreditne politike Bosne i Hercegovine je očuvanju stabilnosti domaće valute i stabilnosti bankarskog sistema kroz održavanje stope adekvatnosti kapitala

kod poslovnih banaka. Rješenja su u efikasnom i nezavisnom sistemu supervizije i nadzora cijelog bankarskog sektora kome prijete objektivna destabilizacija političkim volonterizmom političke oligarhije.

Opasnost se krije u dva problematična politička zahtjeva – jedan za primarnom emisijom novca kroz tzv. korištenje deviznih rezervi, koje su pokriće konvertibilnosti KM, i drugi o smanjenju stopa obaveznih rezervi s 10 na 5 posto, kako bi se oslobodile 2.5 milijarde KM likvidnih sredstava. Ispunjenje ovih zahtjeva ne samo da ne bi polučio nikakav ekonomski efekat, nego bi bio i politički i ekonomski štetan za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. U prvom slučaju, politički zahtjevi za deviznim rezervama kao rezervnim valutama za emisiju KM institucionalno nisu ostvarivi. U drugom slučaju, smanjenje stopa obaveznih rezervi ne bi bilo u skladu ni sa sadašnjim interesima poslovnih banaka, a istovremeno bi ugrozio monetarnu stabilnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Banke su već prelikvidne i godinama odlično upravljaju rizikom likvidnosti. Čak su i takvim uslovima imale slab kreditni rast, pa bi im povećan opseg depozita u uslovima dosadašnje ponude i tražnje za kreditima u zemlji samo povećao troškove raspolaganja slobodnim novčanim sredstvima. Otuda je čudna briga za likvidnost poslovnih banaka u situaciji kada one, dakle, ne samo da nisu likvidno ugrožene, nego čak imaju znatan višak obaveznih rezervi koje drže u Centralnoj banci Bosne i Hercegovine, i to u iznosu od 2,8 milijardi KM. Dovoljno je samo taj iznos povući i da odagnaju ovakve političke brige za likvidnost banaka i plasmane u privredi. Banke će to, zapravo, same učiniti čim dođe do smanjenja štednje građana, do čega neminovno dolazi u situaciji kada, s jedne strane, građani u strahu od korona krize usmjeravaju svoja slobodna novčana sredstva u robne zalihe, a s druge, kada se očekuje da prorade mehanizmi pritiska na toleriranje prolongiranja otplata izdatih bankarskih kredita građanima i realnom sektoru. Da bi se zaštitile, banke će neminovno povlačiti svoja sredstva i po prirodi stvari obezbijediti eventualno ugroženu likvidnost. Naravno, ako stopa rasta nastavi padati do kraja godine i privreda uđe u stanje produbljene recesije, tada bi bilo sasvim prirodno da Centralna banka Bosne i Hercegovine aktivira smanjenje stope obavezne rezerve kao svoj jedini mehanizam monetarne politike kojim može utjecati na poticaj ekonomskih aktivnosti.

Model “helikopterskog novca”, također, nije primjeren Bosni i Hercegovini, imajući u vidu karakter monetarne i fiskalne politike. Monetarni sistem počiva na režimu rigidnog valutnog odbora, koji čvrstim vezivanjem domaće valute za euro čuva konvertibilnost domaće valute i ne omogućava kreiranje primarnog novca. Dakle, “helikopterski novac” se ne može ugraditi u instrumente monetarne politike. Moguće rješenje je da se kroz fiskalnu politiku preko budžeta izvrši preraspodjela sredstava po istom principu doznaka svim punoljetnim stanovnicima u dvije tranše po 250 KM. Sredstva bi se mogla obezbijediti iz priliva s jedinstvenog računa po osnovu indirektnih poreza i doznačiti svim građanima Bosne i Hercegovine putem budžeta na centralnom nivou države. Povrat sredstava bi jednim dijelom ostvario preko potrošnje kroz tzv. sistem filtera. Uz ovaj model se ne bi vršila ograničenja stečenim zakonskim pravima po osnovu penzija, invalidnina i socijalnih primanja. Time bi se zaštitile dohodovno najugroženije kategorije stanovništva i postigli socijalni i politički ciljevi. Ovakve nestandardne mjere u monetarnoj i fiskalnoj politici imaju osnovni cilj vraćanja povjerenja u državu i institucije sistema. Ostali problemi privatnog sektora bi se rješavali kroz sistemske mjere države koje bi bile na tragu jačanja fiskalne i finansijske discipline.

Sve što bi moglo biti vezano za samu ideju promjene karaktera primjene instrumenata monetarne politike kretalo bi se u ravni primjene drugog instrumenta monetarno-kreditne politike koji se rijetko koristi. Radi se o selektivnoj kreditnoj politici koja bi se sprovodila preko Centralne banke, a bila bi zasnovana na mogućnosti finansiranja proizvodnje roba i usluga. To znači da u monetarnom sistemu postoji prostor za iznalaženje mehanizama “ponišćavanja” novca na kraju ciklusa reprodukcije kada se na strani ponude stvaraju robe. Takav mehanizam je koristila Narodna banka Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, kada je finansirala pojedine sektore i grane proizvodnje. Naprimjer, proizvodnju poljoprivrednih proizvoda u periodu ciklusa reprodukcije do jedne godine. Ova praksa je primjenjivana i na investicije koje su inicirale brzi rast proizvodnje roba i usluga. Ovaj koncept finansiranja bi se mogao realizirati pod uslovom postojanja razvojne banke ili specijalizovanih banka za pojedine sektore. Preduslov tome bi bio u postojanju sektorskih politika na nivou države. Ujedno bi to bio garant očuvanja mone-

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tarne stabilnosti i rasta ekonomije, jednog od prioriternih ciljeva ekonomske politike.

## Jačanje kapaciteta fiskalne politike

U srednjem roku potrebno je napustiti postojeći koncept preraspodjele javnog novca, jer nije pravičan i ekonomski efikasan. Umjesto toga treba osnažiti fiskalni kapacitet države s principima politike alokacije i politike stabilizacije te primijeniti ključne mjere: efikasnost ubiranja javnih prihoda, fiskalno rasterećenje privrede i stanovništva, finansijsku i fiskalnu disciplina i jačanje poreske administracije. Ovim bi se prevazišao postojeći sistem "poreske prašume" i obezbijedila pravna sigurnost svih poslovnih subjekata u sistemu, a uz to bi se ojačale funkcija države i javne investicije u javnom sektoru usluga (javnom zdravstvu i obrazovanju, ekonomskoj infrastrukturi: poljoprivredi i energetici, policijsko-bezbjednosnom i sudsko-tužilačkom sektoru, kao i poreskoj administraciji).

Istovremeno to bi značilo korjenitu reformu javne uprave kroz: reduciranje broja zaposlenih; ukidanje ili promjenu načina finansiranja institucija kao što su: agencije, direkcije, zavodi, službe i slično; promjenu koncepta raspodjele javnih prihoda i drugačijeg definiranja nadležnosti pojedinih nivoa vlasti; jačanje lokalne uprave i samouprave i veću uloga civilnog društva.

Na kraju ostaje potreba za efikasnim mehanizmom za upravljanje javnim dugom. Ovaj problem javnog duga nije ravnomjerno tretiran na nivou entiteta i Brčko distrikta. To se posebno odnosi na visinu unutrašnjeg duga u funkciji održavanja likvidnosti. Uvjerjenje o niskom nivou zaduženosti bi se moralo posmatrati kroz princip "dobrog ili lošeg duga". Iako spada u srednje zadužene zemlje, Bosna i Hercegovina zaduženost nije dovela do pozitivnih makroekonomskih trendova. Zlatno pravilo duga zahtijeva da država u toku poslovnog ciklusa posuđuje novac samo kako bi investirala, a ne kako bi finansirala tekuću potrošnju. S toga priča o primarnoj emisiji ili emisiji novca bez pokrića je druga strana zaduživanja radi tekuće potrošnje. Prioritet mora biti investicije i razvoj. Fiskalna politika države mora dati odgovor na pitanje kako alocirati resurse, tj. kako podijeliti javne i privatne aktivnosti, i kako iskoristiti nedovoljno iskorištene resurse onih koji su nezaposleni, nedovoljno zaposleni i pogrešno

zaposleni, odnosno kako iskoristiti prirodne potencijale i stvoreno društveno bogatstvo.

U fiskalnoj politici postoji prostor za poresku optimalizaciju uz smanjenje “poreskog klina”. Stručna javnost je poreski klin u Bosni i Hercegovini već ocijenila prekomjerno visokim, s negativnim utjecajima na ekonomski rast i potražnju za radnom snagom te pospješivanje neformalnog tržišta rada. Za ekonomski efikasniji i pravedni model oporezivanja nužne su izmjene: prvo, opšte poreske stope u sistemu poreza na promet proizvoda i usluga u sistemu obračuna poreza na dodatnu vrijednost (PDV), i drugo, doprinosa na dohodak.

Dodatni dio povećane opšte porezne stope PDV-a imao bi karakter paušalnog poreza na postojeću stopu od 17%. Time bi se spriječila distorzija efekata poreza. Efekat regresivnosti poreza uslijed povećanja opšte poreske stope može se ispraviti kroz povećanje ličnih dohodaka, uslijed smanjenja stopa doprinosa i povećanja ličnog odbitka kod poreza na dohodak i njegovo veživanje za prosječnu platu iz prethodnog perioda. U potonjem slučaju to bi značilo povećanje sa sadašnjih 300 KM na 70% prosječnog dohotka, uz zadržavanje postojećih poreskih olakšica i primjenu proporcionalne stope od 10% za dohotke, koji su do 3 puta veći od prosječne bruto plate, 15% za dohotke koji su veći za 4 puta od prosječne plate i 20% za dohotke koji su veći za 5 i više puta od prosječne plate. Na bazi statističkih podataka i scenarija projekcija indirektnih poreza u periodu 2016–2019. godine, od strane Uprave za indirektno oporezivanje Bosne i Hercegovine stope rasta PDV-a po opštoj poreskoj stopi kretale bi se na nivou 3,4%.

Shodno poreskim promjenama provodile bi se i promjene u sistemu doprinosa po Beveridžovom modelu (The Beveridge Model), koja bi podrazumijevao ukidanje doprinosa za zdravstvo i ukidanje doprinosa za nezaposlene. Ovakva praksa postoji u mnogim zemljama (Velikoj Britaniji, Irskoj, Islandu, skandinavskim zemljama – Norveška, Švedska, Danska, Finska – Italiji, Španiji, Portugalu, Grčkoj, Kanadi, Australiji i Novom Zelandu). Prijedlog ukidanje doprinosa za zdravstveno osiguranje (Beveridžov model finansiranja zdravstva iz poreza) zasniva se na zbirnoj stopi na neto plate od 36,06%, tj. sa stopom na bruto plate od 23%, i zadržavanje doprinosa na dohodak, uz povećanje ličnog odbitka na iznos 70% prosječne plate i uvođenje progresivnih sto-



pa od 10, 15 i 20%. Prelazak na sistem finansiranja iz poreza podrazumijevao bi da zdravstvena reforma bude dostupna svim građanima. Indirektno bi se izbjegla praksa prekida tzv. “fiktivne nezaposlenosti” radi ostvarivanja prava na zdravstvenu zaštitu.

Nedostaci ovog modela su povećani rizik od nedovoljnog ulaganja novčanih sredstava u pojedine aspekte zdravstvenog sistema i “takmičenje” zdravstva za ista novčana sredstva iz budžeta u odnosu na druge društvene segmente, poput obrazovanja, kulture i sporta. Ovi nedostaci mogu doći do izražaja u periodima kada nema problema sa finansiranjem javne potrošnje. U uslovima poremećaja, kao što je danas slučaj sa korona krizom, ovi nedostaci se ne mogu tretirati kao odlučujući. Kada nastupe problemi s finansiranjem zdravstvenog sektora, dolazi do punog izražaja prednosti ovog modela – lakša kontrola utrošenih sredstava, niži troškovi administracije i efikasnije finansiranje zdravstva.

## Zaključna riječ

Ovdje treba još jednom naglasiti da postoji realna mogućnost da korona kriza postane jedna od najrazornijih ekonomskih kriza koje je svijet ikada vidio. Kao manje razvijena mala otvorena ekonomija, s ograničenim kapacitetima ekonomske politike, Bosna i Hercegovina je izuzetno krhka na udare korona krize. Poduzete su uglavnom fiskalne kratkoročne mjere za zadržavanje radnih mjesta i određenih nivoa plaća, kako bi se očuvala potrošnja građana i likvidnost kompanija. Ove mjere imaju ograničeno dejstvo, jer su primjenjive isključivo u kratkom roku.

Likvidnost i plaće se ne mogu garantovati beskonačno, a otvoreno je pitanje granica do kojih se zemlja može zaduživati, jer joj je režimom valutnog odbora potpuno onemogućena monetarna ekspanzija. Međutim, čak i u okviru ograničenih kapaciteta fiskalne i monetarne politike, nisu iscrpljene sve mogućnosti. Ostali su neiskorišteni potencijali monetarno-kreditne politike i aspekti oporezivanja u sistemu fiskalne politike. U srednjem roku presudnu ulogu će odigrati količina proizvedene robe, a ne količina novca, pa su za poticaji domaćih lanaca opskrbe nužne strukturne reforme.



# THE PANDEMIC AND BOSNIAN DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES

**Hamdija Hadžihasanović**

Under pressure from the threat of the pandemic, we are losing sight of the dangers of further erosion to our freedoms, impoverishment and debt bondage. The few but powerful owners of capital have been increasing controls over the majority of the population, over armies and as far across the planet as they have managed to reach. But they cannot forbid us thinking. The coronavirus helps us see that further investment in atomic and conventional weapons is senseless, that happiness lies not in villas, pools, yachts, jets or stockpiles of electronic currency. Like death, the virus is a great equaliser.

Human thought is the highest form of material organisation, and matter has both mass and energy. How much energy have the citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina accumulated through their suffering, the injustices, indignities and death in the period from 1992 to 1995 and afterwards? That energy will not just disappear into thin air. How can we prevent that energy from being transformed under certain social conditions into criminal actions against the descendants of criminals? By producing energy of opposite valence: remorse, contrition, sincere apology – atonement for sins and constant struggle to not retaliate against evil with more evil.

We, the citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, should atone for our sins, too, for the crimes committed in our name (for example, Kazani). This is not a matter of metaphysics, it is physics. We should find the level where the hatred disappears completely and where one so to speak stands above the nations and where one experiences fortune or misfortune of a neighbouring country as if they had happened to one's own. (Goethe)

Instead of continuing with ever new regulation of life through laws, thereby increasing the gap between the real and the regulated, and exacerbating the crisis, we should stop and turn towards ethics – the philosophical study of morality. There is no task more urgent for families, schools and religious communities.

Not all relations in society can be regulated solely by moral norms – customary law. It is high time to set firm norms to define:

- peace,
- attitude towards nature – ecology,
- conduct in space,
- restricting individual wealth and power in proportion to the material state of the rest of society,
- access to knowledge for all.

This must not be relegated to a “world government”, it is a job for the United Nations. But the United Nations would first have to be reformed: the manner of financing (paying more for more influence), the composition and powers of the Security Council would need to be changed, etc.

Contemporary experiences with democracy are discouraging. People have been enslaved, and there can be no free elections for slaves. Elections have turned into fraud and robbery. Instead of elected representatives in legislative government – general practitioners – we could elect representatives for each session – the best informed and most trusted people for the topic of each session. We could elect representatives in executive government in the same way – competent and respected negotiators. Today, we have not a single representative elected by the whole constituency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The army, police, judiciary, prosecutors, and educators should be depoliticised professionals.

We know beforehand that the powerful, locally and globally, will mount a strong opposition to these reforms. But, in our humble knowledge, we are more powerful if we unite our knowledge and actions. The vast wealth of the powerful is losing value on the stock markets, whereas our knowledge is not on the stock market and cannot lose value. If we believe in ourselves, we can make the post-pandemic world better for all. To the powerful belong the food, seeds, medicines, vaccines, weapons... All that's left if for us to be implanted with microchips, remote-controlled, and switched off at will.

Resist!

We have our land, water, forests. Take up the hoe and the plough and let us live off the land. Now is the time to stop taking loans from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank...

## Change the Constitution

Under the Dayton Agreement, the High Representative, the Peace Implementation Council can help us:

- impose an actual protectorate for an interim period;
- dissolve all executive governments and parliaments at state and entity level;
- The Office of the High Representative should form teams of international and domestic experts from the diaspora who would replace the dissolved bodies, which did no work anyway, during the protectorate period (2–4 years) and design a new constitution and state organisation. The teams would be financed by Bosnia and Herzegovina with funds saved by dissolving the parasitic government bodies.
- Organise a referendum at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina and adopt a new constitution. This would be the best Dayton 2!
- Organise elections and establish all bodies at all levels in line with the new organisation.

If the Office of the High Representative refuses to help, the citizens should take matters into their own hands.

## Balkan Treaty Organization

Our lives are ruled by clero-chauvinists, intelligence and para-intelligence foreign and domestic services. In the Balkans, we should organise to eliminate mutual fears and build trust. This can be achieved by organising a joint intelligence service for all Balkan countries.

For the purposes of the Balkan Treaty Organisation, the following needs to be secured:

- people,
- facilities,
- computers,
- vehicles, and
- drones.

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Every founding country should contribute equal founding shares, irrespective of its size and economic might. The Treaty Organisation would collect, process and distribute information significant for defence and security in the territories of all founding members, without limitation, in the same scope and content, and submit them to all founding members.

Seat of the Treaty Organisation: in the capitals of all founding members based on an agreed order.

## The Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina Relying on Its Own Knowledge and Resources

Before the pandemic was declared, the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina had bank savings in the total amount of BAM 12 billion. At the same time, there are numerous domestic patents and innovations lying in bunkers. Interest on savings has fallen to 0%, term deposit rates are at 1.1%.

We have enough people with the required knowledge and trust, who can connect these resources and turn them into development. A fund should be established for the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina relying on its own knowledge and resources, include current free zones of Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, and establish new ones. This endeavour is feasible under the current Constitution and laws as demonstrated by success stories in Tešanj, Kakanj, Žepče, Gračanica. The key is to have professional and moral people at the helm who will not defraud the population and rob the fund. This concept can quickly be turned into a set of ideas and the ideas into projects. Through these projects, owners of resources could achieve greater profits than those from interest rates.

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

# PANDEMIJA I BOSANSKI RAZVOJNI IZAZOVI

**Hamdija Hadžihasanović**

Pritisnuti pandemijskom prijetnjom manje obraćamo pažnju na opasnost od daljeg gubljenja sloboda, osiromašenja i dužničkog ropstva. Malobrojni ali moćni vlasnici kapitala pojačavaju kontrolu nad većinom stanovništva, nad vojskom i svim na zemlji i u svemiru, dokle su doprli. Ali, ne mogu nam zabraniti da mislimo. Virus korona nam pomaže da razumijemo da je besmisleno dalje ulaganje u atomsko i klasično naoružanje, da nije sreća u vilama, bazenima, jahtama i avionima, u nagomilanom elektronskom novcu. Virus je pravedan kao i smrt – sve nas čini jednakim.

Ljudska misao je najviši oblik organiziranosti materije, a materija ima masu i energiju. Koliko se energije u Sarajlijama i Bosancima i Hercegovcima akumuliralo kroz patnje, nepravde, poniženja i smrti u periodu 1992–1995, pa i kasnije? Ta energija neće nestati sama od sebe. Kako se može spriječiti da ta energija u određenim društvenim okolnostima bude pretvorena u zločinački rad nad potomcima zločinaca? Može proizvodnjom energije suprotnog predznaka: kajanjem, stidom, iskrenim izvinjavanjem – okajavanjem grijeha i stalnom borbom da se zlo ne vrati zlom.

Ali i mi Sarajlije i Bosanci i Hercegovci trebamo okajati svoje grijeha za zločine učinjene u naše ime (naprimjer Kazani). To nije metafizika, to je fizika. Patnju i jad susjednog naroda trebamo osjećati kao patnju i jad svog vlastitog naroda. (Goethe)

Umjesto da nastavimo sve novim i novim normiranjem života zakonima i tako povećavamo raskorak između stvarnog i normativnog – uvećavamo krizu, treba da zastanemo i da se okrene-

mo etici – filozofiji proučavanja morala. Od toga nema prečeg zadatka za porodicu, školu i vjerske zajednice.

Ne mogu se svi odnosi u društvu regulirati samo moralnim normama – običajnim pravom. Sazreli su uslovi da se čvrstim normama definiraju:

- mir,
- odnos prema prirodi – ekologija,
- ponašanje u svemiru,
- ograničenje bogatstva pojedinca i njegove moći u odnosu na materijalno stanje društva u kome živi,
- mogućnosti pristupa znanju svima.

To se ne smije prepustiti “svjetskoj vladi”, to je posao Ujedinjenih nacija. Ali i Ujedinjene nacije treba prethodno reformirati: način finansiranja (ne ko više plati – više se pita), promijeniti sastav i prava Savjeta bezbjednosti itd.

Sadašnja iskustva s demokratijom su obeshrabrujuća. Ljudi su porobljeni, a za robove nema slobodnih izbora. Izbori su postali prevare i pljačke. Umjesto stalnih izabраниh predstavnika u zakonodavnoj vlasti – predstavnici opće prakse – mogli bismo da biramo predstavnike za svako zasjedanje – najbolje znance i ljude od povjerenja prema temama zasjedanja. Na isti način mogli bismo da biramo i predstavnike u izvršnoj vlasti – kompetentne i ugledne pregovarače. Danas nemamo ni jednog predstavnika koji je izabran u jedinstvenoj izbornoj jedinici Bosne i Hercegovine. Vojnici, policajci, sudije, tužioc, prosvjetni radnici trebaju biti depolitizirani profesionalci.

Unaprijed znamo da će se moćnici, lokalni i globalni, snažno usprotiviti ovim reformama. Ali, mi smo sa svojim skromnim znanjima moćniji od njih, ako ta znanja i akcije ujedinitimo. Ogromni imeci moćnika gube vrijednost na berzama, a naša znanja nisu na berzama i neće devalvirati. Ako vjerujemo u sebe, mi ovaj svijet poslije pandemije možemo učiniti boljim za sve. Moćnicima pripadaju hrana, sjemena, lijekovi, vakcine, oružje... Treba samo da nam ugrade čipove, da nama upravljaju na daljinski i da nas, kada odluče, mogu i ugasiti.

Oduprimo se!

Imamo svoju zemlju, vodu, šume. Uхватimo se motike i pluga i živimo od svoga rada. Sada je vrijeme da prekinemo zaduživanje kod Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda, Međunarodne banke...

## Promjena Ustava

Visoki predstavnik, Vijeće za provedbu mira ili Kvinta mogu nam, prema Dejtonu, pomoći:

- na određeno vrijeme uvesti stvarni protektorat;
- raspustiti izvršne vlasti i parlamente na nivou države i entiteta;
- u okviru Ureda visokog predstavnika formiraju timove od odseljenih domaćih stručnjaka i stranaca koji bi u toku trajanja protektorata (2–4 godine) zamijenili raspuštene organe, koji i onako ne rade, i napravili novi ustav i organizaciju države. Timove treba platiti Bosna i Hercegovina novcem koji će uštedjeti raspuštanjem parazitskih organa.
- organizirati referendum na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine i usvojiti novi ustav. To bi bio najbolji Dejton 2!
- organizirati izbore i uspostaviti sve organe na svim nivoima, u skladu s projektovanom organizacijom.

Ako Ured visokog predstavnika odbije da pomoći, to trebaju uraditi građani.

## Balkanski pakt (Balkan Treaty Organization)

Našim životima upravljaju klerošovinisti i obavještajne i paraobavještajne strane i domaće službe. Na Balkanu treba organizirano raditi na eliminiranju straha jednih od drugih i izgradnji povjerenja. To se može postići organiziranjem zajedničke obavještajne službe za sve zemlje Balkana.

Za organiziranje Balkanskog pakta (BTO) potrebno je obezbijediti:

- ljude,
- objekte,
- računare,
- vozila i
- dronove.

Svaka zemlja osnivač treba obezbijediti vrijednosno jednake osnivačke uloge, bez obzira na njenu veličinu i ekonomsku moć. Pakt bi prikupljao, obrađivao i distribuirao informacije značajne za odbranu i sigurnost na područjima svih osnivača, bez ograničenja, u istom obimu i sadržaju, i istovremeno ih dostavljao svim osnivačima.

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Sjedište Pakta: u glavnim gradovima osnivača, prema dogovorenom redoslijedu.

## Razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine vlastitim znanjem i sredstvima

Pred proglašenje Covid-19 pandemije građani Bosne i Hercegovine u bankama su imali štednju u vrijednosti od 12 milijardi KM. Istovremeno, mnoštvo je domaćih patenata i inovacija koje leže u bunkerima. Kamate na štednju pale su na 0%, na oročenu štednju kamata je 1,1%.

Imamo dovoljno ljudi koji imaju znanja i uživaju povjerenje te mogu povezati ove resurse i pretvore ih u razvoj. Treba osnovati fond: Razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine vlastitim znanjem i sredstvima, uključiti sadašnje slobodne zone Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luku i osnovati nove. Ovaj poduhvat se može izvesti i po važećem Ustavu i zakonima: dokaz su uspjesi u Tešnju, Kaknju, Žepču, Gračanici. Ključno je da taj posao vode stručni i moralni ljudi koji neće prevariti ljude i opljačkati novac. Ova zamisao može brzo da se pretvori u niz ideja, a ideje u projekte. Kroz ove projekte vlasnici sredstava bi mogli ostvariti veće zarade od zarada na kamatama na sredstva.



# ON TWO SIEGES OF SARAJEVO

Rasim Gačanović

They say that at the entrance to the University of Cordoba, it was written: “Four pillars hold up the world: the wisdom of the wise, the justice of the powerful, the prayers of the good, and the valiance of the brave.” This is the measure of an honourable life in a fair and healthy society. The most difficult, but also the most important test of government and the state is unconditionally upholding these principles in difficult times – times of aggression, siege, crisis, epidemic, natural disaster, etc.

Ichak Adizes, a crisis management expert, says that in times of crisis, all integrated systems are at risk: the individual, the family, the company, the state: “When a system, which has subsystems, is exposed to changes, and a crisis is a big change, then the following happens: The subsystems do not change at the same rate and that’s where cracks appear.”<sup>1</sup>

Still, the fact remains that Bosnia is fundamentally a unique country, not a system integrated from various components, not constructed by *Serbo-Croat scissors*<sup>2</sup> as some keep insisting, and this explains its remarkable energy of survival and resilience through difficult crises. Therein lies the hope of its people.

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- 1 Ichak Adizes: I fear for BiH! There are cracks in people, companies and the state! People will be fighting for food! FACE HD TV duration 17:16, 4 April 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuoQBjHrBxg>, (from 3:00 - accessed on 4 April 2020)
  - 2 Lukić, Slavica: Mesić za Jutarnji odgovara na optužbe da je izdajnik zbog svjedochenja u Haagu, ali i otkriva detalje famoznog sastanka Tuđmana i Miloševića [Mesić tells Jutarnji about allegations of treason for testifying at The Hague, but also reveals details of the famous meeting between Tuđman and Milošević] JutarnjiVijesti, 23 December 2017, <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/mesic-za-jutarnji-odgovara-na-optuzbe-da-je-izdajnik-zbog-svjedocenja-u-haagu-ali-i-otkriva-detalle-famoznog-sastanka-tudmana-i-milosevica/6870723/>, accessed 9 January 2020.

Bosnia and Sarajevo have gone through difficult times at least twice in less than thirty years. One was the aggression, and the other an attack from within. Both dangerous and deadly. This is a matter of two sieges. The latter, the siege of the pandemic, is ongoing and I was also witness to the forty-four months of the siege of Sarajevo from 1992 to 1995.

In this article, I will present some facts, observations and thoughts from my personal experience of anti-Bosnian aggression, its beginnings, the preparation of its defence and the defence of Bosnia, as well as facts, observations and thoughts on the coronavirus pandemic.

At a time when most, neglecting the vehemence of murderous campaigns announced by the Greater Serbian project RAM, were being entertained by the grotesque tirades of Đujić's Chetnik leader Šešelj – *Vivovitica – Kavvovac - Kavvobag*<sup>3</sup> – and while Bosnian Muslims were increasingly referred to as Turks, in the second half of the 1980s, during walks through the Old Town of Osijek and the banks of the Drava, in confidential and moving talks with Rusmir, I became aware of the coming and proximate deadly danger for Bosnia and Bosnians – the aggression.

Here, it is worth noting and deconstructing the much-used interjection when citing the causes of the war: “in the 1990s, nationalism and fascism returned like vampires to herald the inferno of war.” However, the sequence of events and common sense simply negate this claim. Unfortunately, for 50 years, 22 million people “fed” the blood-thirsty criminal apparatus. It should also be noted that there was no discontinuity in pursuing anti-Bosnian endeavours for more than two centuries. The continuity was not interrupted even in the time of communist Yugoslavia. When this totalitarian order was “liberated” from its tethers, the Yugoslav People's Army and all its structures, along with the disintegrating League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as many other parts of that system, became the means for

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3 Milekić, Dean: Četnici: Birali smo granicu ViRovitica – KaRlovac -KaRlobag kako bi se smijali Šešelju dok je izgovara, [Chetniks: We chose the ViRovitica – KaRlovac -KaRlobag border so we could laugh at Šešelj trying to pronounce it] 26 October 2018., <https://www.newsbar.hr/cetnici-birali-smo-granicu-virovitica-karlovac-karlobag-kako-bi-se-smijali-seselju-dok-je-izgovara/>, (accessed 15 April 2020)

implementing the Greater Serbian project which was anti-Bosnian in its essence. In this social system and the ones preceding it, ideological elites invoked liberation, unification, justice and progress, only to betray these slogans, each in its own way.

Once I had become conscious of the deadly danger to my homeland and my people, I inevitably asked: what should be the response?

I don't know if Rusmir knew, at the time, about the inscription from the University of Cordoba given above. But I do remember that while we were carefully and softly walking along the yellow bricks that outlined the floor plan of the destroyed mosque in Osijek, he presented a concept for the defence of Bosnia, based on principles that ensure survival and harmonious development of a religiously plural society. These principles were incorporated into the Platform of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war (adopted on 22 June 1992).

So, in early 1991, there was a clear threat of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, and under Rusmir's leadership, in cooperation with persons from the public and political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was agreed that the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian people be organised within the legal institutions of the country. Thus, in mid-1991, a defence structure was formed called the *Patriotic League of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The *Patriotic League* was a true service to the endangered and attacked state authorities of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It preserved and supported legality and legitimacy and promoted the sacred right and patriotic duty of defending one's homeland.

The facts and the truth about the organisation of Bosnia's defence are not widely known or available. But the results are – Bosnia was defended. May it remain so.

As a direct participant in the events at the time and Rusmir's close associate, I can testify from a position of proximity and credibility, without restraint, exaggeration or embellishment, to his crucial role in the defence of Sarajevo and Bosnia. With a widening circle of responsible Bosnian patriots, Rusmir created a defence platform that brought together all its reasons and aspects: historical, humane, spiritual, ethical, legal, legislative, military, strategic, etc. From these, concrete plans and activities were

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derived. The implementation of the plans was organised and coordinated with detailed precision. He managed the available energy, material, equipment, technology and human and professional resources in Sarajevo and Bosnia with wisdom, without compromise, with determination and efficiency. The result was that in the most difficult and unprecedented circumstances of the siege, production of defence means was established, which changed the nature of the war, exposing the aggressor, despite the abundance of arms acquired from the JNA, to the retaliation of the defenders and making him vulnerable.

With his knowledge, sincere and devoted entreaties, fair-mindedness and determined courage, Rusmir demonstrated how even in the most difficult of circumstances, an honourable victory is possible.

And while honourable people, loyal to Bosnia, were suffering the greatest tribulations – exposed to killings, wounding, torture, persecution, humiliation, rape and death camps – the dishonourable, those possessed by greed, that most vulturous and inhuman drive, started the looting of Bosnian property and resources. Even worse, they put even that which is most sacred up for sale – Bosnia and the Bosnian state. The trend was visible already from 1993 and became pronounced in the years following 1996.

And instead of starting the implementation of the Dayton Agreement immediately upon its signing and in all its elements, resolutely and fully, without additional conditioning, the aggressor creations of Republika Srpska and the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna used their para-state institutions to continue their destructive actions against Bosnia. Basic rights were still inhibited across the country: freedom of movement of people, goods, ideas, the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the state were impeded and denied, any thought of return of the exiled was cruelly crushed – murder, mines, intimidations, threats – employment along exclusive ethnic and party lines... It was apartheid of the worst sort. The state was completely blocked. Nothing functioned. Only smuggling, thievery and robbery of state property and resources blossomed without restraint.

As a member of the government at the time (minister of transport and communications), I could not acquiesce to such a desperate cowardly state. I stood up to it in various ways:

Publicly and openly, I denounced that state and warned of its lethal effects. At the start of every session of the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996 and 1997, I kept repeating: “I propose that the first item on our agenda today should be the *issue of ensuring freedom of movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to enable free movement of people, goods, ideas, funds.*” Alluding to the Roman senator who kept repeating: *Carthago delenda est (Carthage must be destroyed)*<sup>4</sup>, I kept insisting that *Bosnia defenda est (Bosnia must be defended)*.<sup>5</sup>

I prevented and stood against the inappropriate spending of funds intended for the reconstruction of Bosnia.

I directly prevented the continuation of construction works on new or already started anti-Bosnian strategic “salvation roads” and what not, projects that were to be funded by reconstruction funds. At the same time, I intensively advocated the reconstruction of strategic roads for return of Bosnian exiles and their survival on Bosnian land.

I was convinced that I was thus supporting and facilitating the activities of the prime minister in providing arguments and authoritatively promoting and uncompromisingly implementing the Dayton Agreement to the last letter, giving priority to protecting Bosnia without any further yielding or corrupt “compromise”. I was convinced we were on the same Bosnian team. However, my activities in aid of the public good apparently unsettled the prime minister and a decision soon followed: R. Gačanović is to be dismissed as minister of transport and communications.

Later developments brought the matter into clear focus: The prime minister at the time was on a team, but with Dragan Čović, and it seems he has maintained that allegiance to this day. Čović had no problem in pursuing the dissolution of Bosnia to the benefit of the joint criminal endeavour of the Croat Community of

4 The expression *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam (Furthermore, I consider that Carthage must be destroyed)* pronounced by Roman senator Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder at the end of each senate session, under *Ceterum*, Miscellaneous, persistently repeating the destruction of Carthage until the Senate agreed.

5 Transcripts of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina government sessions 1996-1997.

Herceg-Bosna, in procuring concessions and “selling” to the corrupt Sarajevo *nomenklatura* what belonged to Bosnia both naturally and under the Peace Agreement.

It was an idyllic time – “brotherly love and understanding” of the kind from fairy tales – until the actors were caught in the act of robbery. Namely, as an epilogue to that rule of “compromising” that was full of mutual “understanding” and “respect” between the prime minister and his deputy, the High Representative stepped in with decisions based on incontrovertible evidence and dismissed the prime minister, while the judiciary raised serious indictments against the two. As noted by Zlatko Miletić, who was head of the Federal Police Administration at the time, Čović was (along with Bičakčić) accused of a host of serious criminal offences with incontrovertible evidence, but managed to avoid judicial sanctions through various corrupt manipulations.<sup>6</sup>

This traitorous practice was, unfortunately, maintained by numerous other corrupt, dishonourable and immoral officials cloaked in the narrative of visionary leadership and salvation of Bosnia and the Bosnian people. A siege, it would seem, is an opportunity for both good and evil to come to light.

This second siege, the coronavirus pandemic, is of a different nature of attack. It is internal, insidious, invisible, unpredictable, almost unfathomable. Adizes says of the pandemic:

This corona is a *stress test* to see how much the system can bear. [...] In its wake, I expect to see a mass dissolution of families, as well as companies, and even states. [...] This is not just a health crisis – it will be a social crisis, an economic crisis and later a political crisis.<sup>7</sup>

The effects of the pandemic are destructive and thus similar to the effects of the aggression. The conduct of dishonourable

6 Šokantni intervju Zlatka Miletića koji zna sve o političarima: Znam sve, prošli su mi kroz ruke... [Shocking interview with Zlatko Miletić who knows all about politicians: I know everything, they’ve passed through my hands...], FACE HD TV, 1:10:10, 02.02.2020., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZDt61hgfwf>, accessed 2 February 2020

7 Ichak Adizes: Bojim se za BiH! Pukotine su u ljudima, firmama i državi! Ljudi će se tući za hranu! [I fear for BiH! There are cracks in people, companies and the state! People will be fighting for food!] FACE HD TV duration 17:16, 4 April 2020., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuoQBjHrBxg>, (from 3:00 - accessed on 4 April 2020)

people is also similar in both situations. Of course, such situations always give incentive to destroyers of Bosnia to make use of the difficulty of the moment. Exponents of Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian projects and their quasi-Bosniak allies, having caught scent of potential prey, they have been speeding up and increasing their activities. The report of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina notes: “Authorities in Republika Srpska have intensified their rhetoric and often resorted to actions against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as state-level competences and institutions.”<sup>8</sup>

Dodik is intent of denying and cancelling Bosnian sovereignty, deleting the border on the Drina and cramming into Serbia: almost by a method of *copy-paste*, he is completely and consistently copying Vučić, trying to equate part of Bosnia with Serbia and using health security to assign state prerogatives to the entity. Čović, as a counter-Bosnian branch office representative, is not far behind either: “Both Dodik and Čavara have stated blatant lies. It is a lie that Bosniaks are not accepting the cantons as a constitutional category, as Dodik says, the truth is that they are not accepting cantons as subjects under international law, as Marinko Čavara’s party, the HDZ, would like, [...]”<sup>9</sup>

As in similar situations, greedy profiteers are trying to benefit from this crisis.

I remember a bizarre situation from the early days of the aggression against Bosnia. Somewhere in Alipašino Polje, a group of local criminals used the opportunity of heavy and non-selective shelling, while people were confined to shelters, to rob a supermarket.

8 Inzko at the UN Security Council: RS blokira odluke na državnom nivou [RS blocks state-level decisions], avaz.ba, 6 May 2020, <https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/568180/inzko-pred-vijecem-sigurnosti-un-a-rs-blokira-odluke-na-drzavnom-nivou>, (accessed 6 May 2020)

9 *PROZIRNE MANIPULACIJE MILORADA DODIKA I MARINKA ČAVARE: Zašto su stvarno blokirana sredstva MMF-a?* [BLATANT MANIPULATIONS OF MILORAD DODIK AND MARINKO ČAVARA: Why are IMF funds really blocked?], Slobodna Bosna – Independent News Portal, 29 April 2020, [https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/153047/prozirne-manipulacije\\_milorada\\_dodika\\_i\\_marinka\\_chavare\\_zasto\\_su\\_stvarno\\_blokirana\\_sredstva\\_mmf\\_a.html](https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/153047/prozirne-manipulacije_milorada_dodika_i_marinka_chavare_zasto_su_stvarno_blokirana_sredstva_mmf_a.html), (accessed 29 April 2020)



Here is a contemporary example of the same sort of action. Now, during the pandemic, while people are confined to their residences by isolation measures, at a time of increasing awareness of the importance of Bosnian rivers and the damage caused by mini hydro power plants, when protests cannot be organised to prevent this manifest robbery, tycoons are intensively working to construct precisely those mini hydro power plants. The principle of robbery is the same, though this is no neighbourhood supermarket, but a large-scale robbery of waterways, a crucial Bosnian resource.

Appearing on the show *Kontekst*, E. Bičakčić, who claims to be the chair of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian CIGRÉ committee (to present himself as “objective”), in addition to being unethical – failing to disclose his ownership of a company dealing with mini hydro power plants and his direct interest in capturing Bosnian water resources, in a fervent desire to justify and promote their construction and thus secure material benefit for himself and other tycoons, by making unfounded claims – has demonstrated a lack of competence in this sector, which can be clearly seen from his statements:

Only 15% of the hydro potential of mini hydro power plants has been exploited... we have to understand that these plants are our development potential, our development opportunity... the plants in no way threaten potable water, though they use the water along a certain length of river, they return it to the riverbed enriched with additional oxygen.<sup>10</sup>

On the same matter, but with concern and a sense of responsibility for the future of Bosnia, environmental activist Anes Podić has said, “Private owners are being gifted whole rivers, and Bosnia and Herzegovina gets nothing. These 106 already constructed mini hydro power plants are responsible for the destruction of over 300 km of beautiful water courses that could amply support local communities in terms of livelihoods.”<sup>11</sup>

10 *Izgradnja malih hidroelektrana u regiji: Korist ili šteta za društvo?* [Construction of mini hydro power plants in the region: beneficial or detrimental for society?], *Kontekst*, ALJAZEERABALKANS, duration 27:12, 7 May 2020, <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/izgradnja-malih-hidroelektrana-u-regiji-korist-ili-steta-za-drustvo>, accessed 7 May 2020

11 *Ibid.*



Speaking about the fraud involved in violating the waterways, the violence concealed behind the greedy plans of individuals and groups, Ratko Ristić, dean of the Forestry Faculty at the University of Belgrade, has said,

The Forestry Faculty and the Biology Faculty at the University of Belgrade conducted research and found catastrophic environmental effects caused by mini hydro power plants on water resources and the environment. [...] In terms of energy, the concept of mini hydro power plants is practically negligible, but it causes incredible damage to the environment, while causing serious social tensions locally and regionally. It does not contribute to economic development because such plants employ few people and the only ones to benefit are the owners and the equipment merchants in their network.<sup>12</sup>

Having later realised the fatal mistake of building mini hydro power plants, which Bičakčić still presents as a “development opportunity”, many responsible countries are doing the very opposite – they are removing existing mini hydro power plants. Professor Ristić notes:

Due to their small energy contribution and disastrous environmental effects, US authorities have dismantled more than 1000 mini hydro power plants from 1993 to 2017. Similar processes are under way in France, Spain, Germany and Sweden.<sup>13</sup>

In the United States, this has freed up over 240 000 kilometres of waterways, mostly for environmental reasons. Therefore, in the eyes of impassioned ignoramuses, fatal threats to Bosnia’s future appear as “development opportunities”. The future of Bosnia is impossible to assure with the current ruling class of vain and greedy ignoramuses and usurpers of public resources.

Zlatko Miletić had this to say about the situation during the epidemic in general:

It is evident that through the famed crisis staffs, the executive government, in all its incompetence, is not finding an adequate response to key social issues raised by the pandemic. It remains

12 Ibid.

13 Ristić, Ratko et al, *Male hidroelektrane derivacionog tipa: baznačajna energetska korist i nemjerljiva ekološka šteta* [Small Derivation Hydro Power Plants: Negligible Energy Benefits and Immeasurable Environmental Damage], *Vodoprivreda* 0350-0519, Vol.50 (2018) No. 294-296 p. 311-317.

locked in partisanship and national confrontation as its modes of rule imbued with clientelism, corruption and even crime, often through extra-institutional actions.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to other issues, the pandemic has exacerbated domestic violence.<sup>15</sup>

The writer of these lines experienced the siege of Sarajevo and the war against Bosnia, bracketed by the years 1991 and 1996. Now, in this year, in my home in Sarajevo, from which I was cruelly exiled in 1992, I am experiencing the imprisonment imposed by the government as a pandemic necessity. Between these two sieges, there are similarities and difference, but there is also the intervening time that we thought was free of siege pathology. Alas, it is not! Both before the first siege mentioned here and after it, and now, and probably in the future, there will be failings that we must oppose, no matter how much their protagonists hide behind the fear imposed on the majority of the population.

After the experience of the last two sieges, the principles from the start of this text, the ones propping up the world, are nowhere to be found among the current authorities in Bosnia. Both those who wrote and their inscription have been betrayed. This is made apparent by the state of today's people who think they are the inheritors of the people and the situation of the times when those words were written. All that remains is memories and euphoric emotionalism for the "golden age of Spain". With nothing to back it up. The "golden age" is a fictional realm – a sanctuary for those escaping the reality ruled by the *ignorance of the ignorant, the injustice of the powerful, the prayers of the corrupt and the cowardice of weaklings*. The actual "golden age of

14 Otvoreno pismo: *Miletić: Od 1. maja više neću biti generalni sekretar DF-a, vlast ne nalazi odgovor na pitanja uzrokovana pandemijom* [Open Letter: Miletić: As of 1 May, I will no longer be general secretary of DF, the government fails to find a response to issues raised by the pandemic], FAKTOR, 30 April 2020, <https://faktor.ba/vijest/miletic-od-1-maja-vise-necu-biti-generalni-sekretar-df-a-vlast-ne-nalazi-odgovor-na-pitanja-uzrokovana-pandemijom/81390>, (accessed 02 May 2020)

15 *Porodično nasilje u doba korone: Žrtve su u zamci, SOS telefoni u BiH se usijali* [Domestic violence in the time of corona: Victims are trapped, SOS hotlines in BiH are ringing off the hook], klix, 6 May 2020, <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/porodicno-nasilje-u-doba-korone-zrtve-su-u-zamci-sos-telefoni-u-bih-se-usijali/200506076>, (accessed 07 May 2020)

Spain” cannot be ascribed to anyone, and especially not Muslims, except insofar as they uphold the principles of goodness.

### Instead of a Conclusion

Whatsoever may befall a man of dignity who defends freedom and humanity – suffering, persecution, injury, poverty, even death – is but the mercy of God compared to the damnation of benefits in life, health and property dishonourably acquired by betraying one’s self and one’s homeland in the difficult times of siege.

To seek a cure is curative in itself!

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

# O DVJEMA OPSADAMA SARAJEVA

Rasim Gačanović

Kažu da je na ulazu kordobskog Učilišta bilo ispisano: “Četiri stupa drže svijet: mudrost mudrih, pravednost moćnih, moljenje dobrih i viteštvo hrabrih.” To je mjera časnog života u pravednom i zdravom društvu. Najteži, a zapravo najvažniji ispit vlasti i države je bezuvjetno pridržavanje tih načela u teškim stanjima – agresije, opsade, krize, epidemije, prirodne katastrofe...

Ichak Adižes, stručnjak za menadžment kriznih procesa, navodi da su u vrijeme krize ugroženi svi integrirani sistemi: pojedinac, porodica, preduzeće, država: “Kad u nekom sistemu, koji ima podsisteme, postoje promjene, a kriza je velika promjena, onda dolazi do sljedećeg: Subsistemi se ne mijenjaju istom brzinom i tu dolazi do pukotina.”<sup>1</sup>

Ipak, činjenica da je Bosna u svom temelju jedinstvena država, dakle nije sistem integriran od nekih sastavnica, kako to u *srpsko-hrvatske škare*<sup>2</sup> neki žele uporno konstruirati, objašnjava njenu nevjerovatnu energiju opstanka i u iskušenjima teškim krizama. U tome ustrajava nada njenih ljudi.

Teška stanja Bosna i Sarajevo preživljavaju dva puta u manje od trideset godina. Jednom, agresiju, a drugi put napad iz unutar-njosti tijela. Oba su opasna i pogubna. Ovdje je riječ o dvije opsade. Ova druga, pandemijska opsada je u toku, a svjedok sam i one četrdesetčetveromjesečne opsade Sarajeva 1992–1995.

- 1 Ichak Adižes: Bojim se za BiH! Pukotine su u ljudima, firmama i državi! Ljudi će se tući za hranu! FACE HD TV trajanje 17:16, 04.04.2020., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuoQBjHrBxg> , (Insert 3:0- pristupljeno 04.04.2020)
- 2 Lukić, S. 2017. *Mesić za Jutarnji odgovara na optužbe da je izdajnik zbog svjedocjenja u Haagu, ali i otkriva detalje famoznog sastanka Tuđmana i Miloševića* [online]. [pristupljeno 09. 01. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/mesic-za-jutarnji-odgovara-na-optuzbe-da-je-izdajnik-zbog-svjedocjenja-u-haagu-ali-i-otkriva-detalle-famoznog-sastanka-tudmana-i-milosevica/6870723/>

Namjera mi je u ovome tekstu izložiti neke činjenice, zapažanja i promišljanja iz osobnog iskustva antibosanske agresije, njenom otpočinjaju, pripremi odbrane i odbrani Bosne, kao i činjenice, zapažanja i promišljanja o pandemiji Covid-19.<sup>3</sup>

U vrijeme dok se većina, zanemarujući svu opakost najave koljačkih pohoda realizacijom velikosrpskog projekta RAM, zabavljala slušanjem grotesknih pametovanja Đujićevog četničkog vojvode Šešelja – *Vivovitica – Kavvovac - Kavvobag*<sup>4</sup> – a bosanski muslimani sve češće imenovani Turcima, drugom polovinom osamdesetih minulog stoljeća, tokom šetnji osječkim Starim gradom i kejom uz Dravu, kroz povjerljive i potresne razgovore s Rusmirom osvješćujem nadolazeću blisku i smrtnu opasnost Bosni i Bosanacima – agresiju.

Ovdje se valja osvrnuti i razobličiti nerijetko iznošenu upadicu pri navođenju uzroka rata: “devedesetih se povampirio nacionalizam i fašizam pa je uslijedio pakao rata”. Međutim, tok događaja i logika tu tvrdnju naprosto negiraju. Nažalost, 22 miliona ljudi 50 je godina “hranilo” tu krvožednu zločinačku mašineriju. Valja zaključiti da u realiziranju ciljeva antibosanskih pothvata u vremenu duljem od dva stoljeća nema diskontinuiteta. Nije taj diskontinuitet prekinut čak ni u vremenu komunističke Jugoslavije. Kada je taj totalitarni poredak “oslobođen” stega, Jugoslovenska narodna armija i sve njene strukture, zajedno s raspadajućim Savezom komunista Jugoslavije, te brojni drugi sadržaji tog sistema postali su sredstva za realiziranje velikosrpskog projekta, čiji bitan sadržaj je antibosanstvo. I u tom društvenom sistemu i njemu prethodećim ideologijske elite su se pozivale na oslobođenje, ujedinjenje, pravdu i napredak, ali su svi na svoj način iznevjeravali te parole.

Iza čina osvješćenja smrtno opasnosti mojoj domovini i mome narodu slijedilo je neizbježno pitanje: a koji je odgovor?

Ne znam da li je tada Rusmir znao za rečeni natpis na korodskom Univerzitetu s početka teksta. Ali, sjećam se, dok smo

3 Koronavirusna bolest 2019 (engl. *Coronavirus disease 2019*), skraćeno: COVID-19, virusna je bolest uzrokovana novim koronavirusom SARS-CoV-2.) <https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19>

4 Milekić, D. 2018. *Četnici: Biralni smo granicu ViRovitica-KaRlovac-KaRlobag kako bi se smijali Šešelju dok je izgovara* [online]. [pristupljeno 15. 04. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.newsbar.hr/cetnici-biralni-smo-granicu-virovitica-karlovac-karlobag-kako-bi-se-smijali-seselju-dok-je-izgovara/>

pažljivo i mehko koračali uz rub žutim ciglama označenog tlocrta srušene starogradske osječke džamije, da je iznosio koncept odbrane Bosne, osnovan na načelima koja omogućuju opstanak i harmoničan razvoj religijski pluralnog društva. Ta načela su ugrađena i u Platformu za djelovanje Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine u ratnim uslovima (usvojena 22 juna 1992).

Dakle, početkom 1991. godine vidjela se jasna prijetnja agresijom Bosni i Hercegovini, pa je pod Rusmirovim vođenjem s osobama iz javnog i političkog života Bosne i Hercegovine dogovoreno da se u okviru legalnih institucija Bosne i Hercegovine organizira odbrana zemlje i bosanskog naroda. Tako je polovinom 1991. godine osnovana struktura odbrane pod nazivom *Patriotska liga Bosne i Hercegovine*. *Patriotska liga* je u punom smislu bila servis ugroženim i napadnutim državnim organima Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Time je očuvan i podržan legalitet, legitimitet te promovirano sveto pravo i patriotska obaveza odbrane svoje zemlje.

Činjenice i istina o organizaciji odbrane Bosne nisu široko poznati ni dostupni. Ali rezultat jeste – Bosna je odbranjena. Neka tako, zasad, i ostane.

Kao neposredni sudionik događaja iz tog vremena i blizak Rusmirov saradnik, iz blizine i vjerodostojno, bez ikakvog ustezanja, pretjerivanja ili dodavanja, svjedočim njegovu presudnu ulogu u odbrani Sarajeva i Bosne. Rusmir je sa sve širim krugom odgovornih bosanskih patriota kreirao platformu odbrane, u kojoj su sabrani svi njeni razlozi i aspekti: historijski, humani, duhovni, etički, pravni, zakonski, vojni, strateški... Iz tog su izvedeni konkretni planovi i aktivnosti. Provedbu planova organizirao je i vodio izuzetnom preciznošću do u detalje. Zatečenim resursima energije, materijala, opreme, tehnike, tehnologije i ljudskim stručnim resursom u Sarajevu i Bosni upravljao je mudro, beskompromisno, odlučno i efikasno. Rezultat je da je u najtežim i nevjerovatnim uvjetima opsade uspostavljena proizvodnja sredstava za odbranu, što je promijenilo karakter rata – agresor je, bez obzira na izobilje ratnih sredstava dobivenih od JNA, izložen uzvratu branitelja postao ranjiv.

Rusmir je znanjem, iskrenim i predanim moljenjem, pravednošću i odlučnom hrabrošću pokazao kako je i u tako teškim okolnostima moguća časna pobjeda.

I dok su časni ljudi, odani Bosni, izloženi najtežim iskušenjima – pogibijama, ranjavanjima, mučenjima, progonima, ponižavanjima, silovanjima i ubijanjima po logorima – oni nečasni, obuzeti pohlepom, najgorim lešinarskim, neljudskim porivom, započinju pljačku bosanske imovine i resursa. I još gore, u trgovinu uključuju i svetinje – započinju s rasprodajom Bosne i bosanske države. Taj trend vidljiv je već od 1993, a veoma je izražen u godinama poslije 1996.

I umjesto da se Dejtonski sporazum, odmah nakon potpisivanja, počne provoditi u svim njegovim elementima, odlučno i potpuno, bez dodatnih uvjeta, agresorske tvorevine – Republike Srpske i Hrvatske zajednice Herceg-Bosne – preko svojih paradržavnih institucija nastavile su naknadno razarateljsko djelovanje protiv Bosne. Tako su i nadalje bila zapriječena osnovna prava na području države: sloboda kretanja ljudi, roba, ideja, onemogućivani i poricani su jurisdikcija i suverenitet države, svaka pomisao na povratak prognanih surovo je suzbijana – ubistva, postavljanje mina, prepadi, prijetnje – isključivo etničko i stranačko zapošljavanje... Na sceni je bio aparthejd najgore vrste. Država je bila u potpunoj blokadi. Ništa nije funkcioniralo. Samo su bez ikakve zapreke cvjetali šverc, lopovluk i pljačka državne imovine i resursa.

Kao član tadašnje Vlade (Ministar prometa i komunikacija) nisam pristajao na takvo očajno kukavičije stanje. Suprotstavio sam se na više načina:

Javno i otvoreno sam prokazivao to stanje i skretao pažnju na njegovu pogubnost. Na početku svake sjednice Vlade Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine tokom '96 i '97, uporno sam ponavljao: “Tražim da se za današnju sjednicu kao prva tačka dnevnog reda uvrsti *pitanje o osiguranju slobode kretanja u Bosni i Hercegovini radi omogućavanja nesmetanog protoka ljudi, roba, ideja, novca.*” Aludirajući na rimskog senatora koji je uporno ponavljao: *Kartaga delenda est (Kartagu treba razoriti)*<sup>5</sup>,

5 Izreka *Ceterum censeo Karthaginam esse delendam (Uostalom, mislim da Kartagu treba razoriti)* rimskog senatora Marka Porcija Katona Starijeg, koji je na kraju svakog zasjedanja rimskog Senata pod tačkom *Ceterum (Razno)* uporno ponavljao, zahtijevajući uništenje Kartage, sve dok mu Senat nije udovoljio.

ja sam uporno insistirao *Bosnia defenda est* (Bosnu treba braniti).<sup>6</sup>

Sprječavao sam i suprotstavio se nenamjenskom utrošku sredstava namijenjenih obnovi Bosne.

Neposredno sam onemogućio nastavak gradnje novih ili dovršetak započetih protivbosanskih strateških, kojekakvih “cesta spasa”, projekata iz sredstava namijenjenih obnovi. Istovremeno sam se intenzivno zalagao za obnovu strateških puteva povratka i opstanka bosanskih prognanika na bosanskoj zemlji.

Bio sam uvjeren da takvim djelovanjem dajem podršku i olakšavam posao Premijeru da se argumentirano i autoritativno zalaže te beskompromisno provodi svaku tačku Dejtonskog sporazuma, prije svega štiteći Bosnu bez ikakvih dodatnih popuštanja i truhlih “kompromisa”. Bio sam uvjeren da pripadamo istom, Bosanskom timu. Međutim, svo to moje djelovanje i traženje dobra Premijeru je, izgleda, išlo na živce i ubrzo je slijedila odluka: R. Gačanović se razrješava funkcije ministra prometa i komunikacija.

Kasnijim razvojem situacije stvar je postala jasna: Tadašnji Premijer jeste bio u timu, ali s Draganom Čovićem, a izgleda da mu je ostao odan i do danas. Čović je bez problema po ko zna koji put na račun topljenja Bosne, a u korist udruženog zločinačkog pothvata Hrvatske zajednice Herceg-Bosne, dobivao ustupke i “prodavao” pokvarenoj nomenklaturi iz Sarajeva ono što Bosni i prirodno i po Mirovnom sporazumu već pripada.

Bilo je to vrijeme idile – kao iz bajke “bratske ljubavi i razumijevanja” – sve dok akteri nisu uhvaćeni u lopovluku. Naime, kao epilog tog vladanja i “kompromisnog” djelovanja punog “razumijevanja” i “uvažavanja”, između Premijera i Zamjenika na scenu stupa Visoki predstavnik i svojim odlukama, a na osnovi nepobitnih dokaza, smjenjuje Premijera, a u pravosuđu se pojavljuju ozbiljne optužnice protiv tog dvojca. Kako navodi Zlatko Miletić, ondašnji direktor Federalne uprave policije, Čović je (uz Bičakčića) uz neoborive dokaze optužen za niz teških krivičnih djela, a raznim koruptivnim manipulacijama izvrdali su sudske sankcije.<sup>7</sup>

6 Transkripti tonskih zapisa sa sjednica Vlade Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1996–1997.

7 Šokantni intervju Zlatka Miletića koji zna sve o političarima: Znam sve, prošli su mi kroz ruke..., FACE HD TV, 1:10:10, 02.02.2020., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZDt61hgfw>, pristupljeno 02.02.2020.



Takvu, izdajničku praksu, nažalost, provodili su i brojni drugi pokvareni, nečasni i nemoralni nositelji vlasti, zaodjenuti naračijom o vizionarskom vođenju i spašavanju Bosne i bosanskog naroda. Opsada je, valjda, i prilika da se pokaže i zlo i dobro.

Ova druga opsada, pandemija Covid-19, po naravi napada je drukčija. Unutarnja je, podmukla, nevidljiva, nepredvidiva, gotovo neuhvatljiva. Adičes za pandemiju kaže:

Ova korona je *stress test* – ispit koliko sistem može izdržati. [...] Očekujem da će poslije korone doći do masovnog raspada porodica, isto tako i preduzeća, ali i država. [...] To nije samo zdravstvena kriza – to će biti socijalna kriza, ekonomska kriza i poslije politička kriza.<sup>8</sup>

Učinci pandemije su razorni i slični su onoj agresorskoj. Slična su i ponašanja nečasnih ljudi u tim situacijama. Naravno, u ovakvim situacijama uvijek se nađu razaratelji Bosne da se okoriste teškoćom trenutka. Kao eksponenti velikosrpskog i velikohrvatskog projekta i njihovih kvazibošnjačkih saveznika, njušeći mogući plijen, ubrzavaju i snaže svoja djelovanja. U izvještaju Visokog predstavnika u Bosni i Hercegovini, između ostalog, stoji: “Vlasti u Republici Srpskoj su intenzivirale svoju retoriku i pribjegavale čestim akcijama usmjerenim protiv suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta Bosne i Hercegovine, te nadležnosti i institucija na državnom nivou.”<sup>9</sup>

Dodik na svaki način nastoji poreći i poništiti bosanski suverenitet, pobrisati granicu na Drini i utrpiti se u Srbiju: praktički po matrici *copy-paste*, potpuno i uporno kopirajući Vučića i nastojeći tako dio Bosne poistovjetiti sa Srbijom, pa kroz priču o zdravstvenoj sigurnosti, namjerava entitetu priskrbiti državne prerogative. Ni Čović, kao protivbosanska ekspozitura, ne zaostaje u tim pothvatima: “I Dodik i Čavara iznijeli su prozirne laži, [...] Laž je dakle da Bošnjaci ne prihvataju kantone kao ustavnu kategoriju, kako to govori Dodik, a istina je da ne prihvataju kan-

8 Ichak Adičes: Bojim se za BiH! Pukotine su u ljudima, firmama i državi! Ljudi će se tući za hranu! FACE HD TV trajanje 17:16, 04.04.2020., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuoQBjHrBxg> , Insert 3:00-, pristupljeno 04.04.2020.

9 *Inzko pred Vijećem sigurnosti UN-a: RS blokira odluke na državnom nivou.* 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 06. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/568180/incko-pred-vijecem-sigurnosti-un-a-rs-blokira-odluke-na-drzavnom-nivou>

tone kao međunarodnopravne subjekte, kako to želi stranka Marinka Čavare, HDZ, [...]”<sup>10</sup>

Kao u sličnim okolnostima, i ovom krizom nastoje se okoristiti pohlepni profiteri.

Sjećam se jedne bizarne situacije s početka agresije na Bosnu. Negdje na Alipašinom Polju neka od lokalnih kriminalnih grupa koristi priliku da u vrijeme žestokog neselektivnog granatiranja, dok su ljudi prikovani u skloništima, pljačka prodavnicu robe široke potrošnje.

Kao paralelu tom događaju evo jednog primjera. Sada, u vrijeme pandemije, dok su ljudi donesenim mjerama izolacije prikovani za mjesta boravka, u vrijeme sve izraženijeg osvješćenja važnosti bosanskih rijeka i štete koju izazivaju mini hidroelektrane, pa protestima ne mogu spriječiti očitu pljačku, tajkuni intenzivno grade upravo te mini hidroelektrane. Princip pljačke je jednak, iako sada nije u pitanju neki kvartovski granap, nego velika pljačka vodotokova, presudno važanog bosanskog resursa.

U emisiji “Kontekst” E. Bičakčić, koji za sebe tvrdi da je predsjednik Bosanskohercegovačkog komiteta CIGRÈ (kako bi ostavio utisak “objektivne osobe”), osim nemorala – prešućujući činjenicu da je vlasnik firme koja se bavi mini hidroelektranama i da je direktno zainteresiran za zarobljavanje resursa bosanskih vodotokova, u žarkoj želji da opravda i promovira njihovu daljnju gradnju i time priskrbi materijalnu korist sebi i drugim tajkunima, kroz iznošenje neutemeljenih tvrdnji – pokazao je i nekompetentnost za ovu oblast, kako se vidi iz njegovog nastupa:

Dosad je iskorišteno samo 15% hidropotencijala MHE... mi moramo shvatiti da su i MHE naš razvojni potencijal, razvojna šansa... i MHE ni u čemu ne ugrožavaju pitku vodu, one tu vodu, i ako je koriste na određenom potezu vraćaju u korita rijeka oplemenjene sa dodatnim kisikom.<sup>11</sup>

10 A. M. 2020. *PROZIRNE MANIPULACIJE MILORADA DODIKA I MARINKA ČAVARE: Zašto su stvarno blokirana sredstva MMF-a?* [online]. [pristupljeno 29. 04. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://www.slobodnabosna.ba/vijest/153047/prozirne\\_manipulacije\\_milorada\\_dodika\\_i\\_marinka\\_cavare\\_zasto\\_su\\_stvarno\\_blokirana\\_sredstva\\_mmf\\_a.html](https://www.slobodnabosna.ba/vijest/153047/prozirne_manipulacije_milorada_dodika_i_marinka_cavare_zasto_su_stvarno_blokirana_sredstva_mmf_a.html)

11 *Izgradnja malih hidroelektrana u regiji: Korist ili šteta za društvo?*, Kontekst, ALJAZEERABALKANS, trajanje 27:12, 07.05.2020., <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/izgradnja-malih-hidroelektrana-u-regiji-korist-ili-steta-za-drustvo>, pristupljeno 07.05.2020.

O tome istom, ali baveći se s osjećanjem odgovornosti za bosansku budućnost, ekološki aktivist Anes Podić kaže: “Privatnicima se poklanjaju cijele rijeke, a Bosna i Hercegovina ne dobiva ništa. Ovih 106 već izgrađenih malih hidroelektrana je odgovorno za uništavanje preko 300 km prelijepih vodotokova od kojih bi lokalne zajednice itekako mogle dobro da žive.<sup>12</sup>

Govoreći o tim prevarama u vezi s nasiljem nad vodotocima, nasiljima skrivanim iza pohlepnih namjera pojedinaca i grupa, Ratko Ristić, dekan Šumarskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, kaže:

Šumarski fakultet i Biološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu sproveli su istraživanja i ustanovili katastrofalne ekološke efekte koje proizvode MHE na vodotok i na okolinu. [...] Koncept MHE je u energetske smislu beznačajan, u ekološkom smislu proizvodi nevjerovatne štete a u socijalnom i u društvenom smislu izaziva velike tenzije na lokalnu i širu i ne doprinose razvoju privrede, jer objekti MHE zapošljavaju jako mali broj ljudi i jedini koji imaju interes su vlasnici, prodavci opreme i oni koji su umreženi sa njima.<sup>13</sup>

Na osnovi naknadnog osvješćenja pogubne pogreške u vezi s gradnjom mini hidroelektrana, što evo sada Bičakčić predstavlja “razvojnom šansom”, mnoge odgovorne države djeluju upravo obrnuto – uklanjanju već izgrađene male hidroelektrane. Profesor Ristić piše:

Zbog malog energetskeg doprinosa, a fatalnih ekoloških posljedica, vlasti u SAD su uklonile više od 1.000 MHE, u periodu 1993–2017. Slični procesi se odvijaju u Francuskoj, Španiji, Njemačkoj i Švedskoj.<sup>14</sup>

U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama time je oslobođeno preko 240 000 kilometara vodotokova, uglavnom iz ekoloških razloga. Prema tome, smrtno opasnosti bosanskoj budućnosti u vidicima ostrašćenih neznalica su “razvojne šanse”. Pitanje bosanske budućnosti je nerazrješivo uz sadašnju vlast oholih i pohlepnih neznalica, uzurpatora javnih dobara.

12 Isto.

13 Isto.

14 Ristić, Ratko i ostali, *Male hidroelektrane derivacionog tipa: baznačajna energetska korist i nemjerljiva ekološka šteta*, Vodoprivreda 0350-0519, Vol.50 (2018) No. 294-296 p. 311-317.

Općenito o stanju u vrijeme pandemije Zlatko Miletić ukratko kaže:

Očigledno da izvršna vlast kroz famozne krizne štabove svojom nekompetentnošću ne pronalazi adekvatan odgovor na ključna društvena pitanja prouzrokovana pandemijom. Ona ostaje zarobljena u partitokratskoj i nacionalnoj konfrontaciji, kao obrascima vladanja protkanim klijentelizmom, korupcijom pa i kriminalom, nerijetko kroz vaninstitucionalno djelovanje.<sup>15</sup>

Pored ostalih problema, pandemija intenzivira i nasilje u porodici.<sup>16</sup>

Pisac ovog teksta iskusio je opsadu Sarajeva i rat protiv Bosne, koji su vremenski omeđeni 1991. i 1996. godinom. Sada, u ovoj godini, u svojoj kući u Sarajevu, iz koje je 1992. godine okrutno izgnan, iskušava zatočenje koje mu je nametnula vlast kao pandemijsku nužnost. Između tih dviju opsada su i sličnosti i razlike, ali i vrijeme za koje se mislilo da je bilo oslobođeno opsadne patologije. A nije! I prije ovdje spomenute prve opsade i nakon nje, i sada, a vjerovatno i poslije, pokazane su one slabosti kojima se valja suprotstavljati, ma koliko se njihovi protagonisti skrivali iza straha nametnutog većini naroda.

I poslije iskustva posljednjih dviju opsada, načela s početka teksta, na kojima se drži svijet, iščezla su za sadašnje vlasti u Bosni. Iznevjereni su i ti koji su pisali i to što je napisano. To svjedoči stanje današnjih ljudi koji misle da su nasljednici onih ljudi i stanja iz vremena u kome je to pisano. Ostali su samo sjećanje i euforični emocionalizam vezan za to “zlatno doba Španije”. I to bez pokrića. To “zlatno doba”, zapravo, fikcijska je domena – utočište za bijeg iz zbiljnog okruženja u kome caruju *glupost glupih, nepravda moćnih, moljenja pokvarenih i kuka-vičluk slabića*. Zbiljno, “zlatno doba Španije” ne tiče se nikog, a naročito ne muslimana, osim onoliko koliko se drže načela dobra.

15 Miletić: *Od 1. maja više neću biti generalni sekretar DF-a, vlast ne nalazi odgovor na pitanja uzrokovana pandemijom*. 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 02. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://faktor.ba/vijest/miletic-od-1-maja-vise-necu-bit-generalni-sekretar-df-a-vlast-ne-nalazi-odgovor-na-pitanja-uzrokovana-pandemijom/81390>

16 Dž. P. 2020. *Porodično nasilje u doba korone: Žrtve su u zamci, SOS telefoni u BiH se usijali* [online]. [pristupljeno 07.05.2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/porodicno-nasilje-u-doba-korone-zrtve-su-u-zamci-sos-telefoni-u-bih-se-usijali/200506076>

## Umjesto zaključka

Sve što se čovjeku može dogoditi u dostojanstvenom branjenju ljudskosti i slobode – patnja, progon, rane, siromaštvo, pa čak smrt – Božija je milost u odnosu na prokletstvo nečasnog dobitka života, zdravlja i imetka, priskrbljenog iznevjerenjem sebe i domovine u teškim vremenima opsada.

Lijek je i traganje za lijekom!

# **FUTURE ENERGY SOURCES FOR HEATING BUILDINGS IN B&H AND AROUND THE WORLD GIVEN THE FIGHT AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE**

**Vahid Tanović**

Many cities and states have made recent decisions that will prohibit the use of natural gas to heat new buildings in the near future. They also exclude the possibility of using any other fossil fuel. By 2050, all buildings, new and existing, will have to use exclusively energy from renewable sources. In this paper I review the alternatives to natural gas for heating buildings and offer possible solutions. Practical action is currently limited to a few actors, but the number is growing every day, with the end of achieving a primary goal from the Paris Accord, ensuring global medium air temperatures grow far less than 2°C compared to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (the pre-industrial period).

## **Problem description**

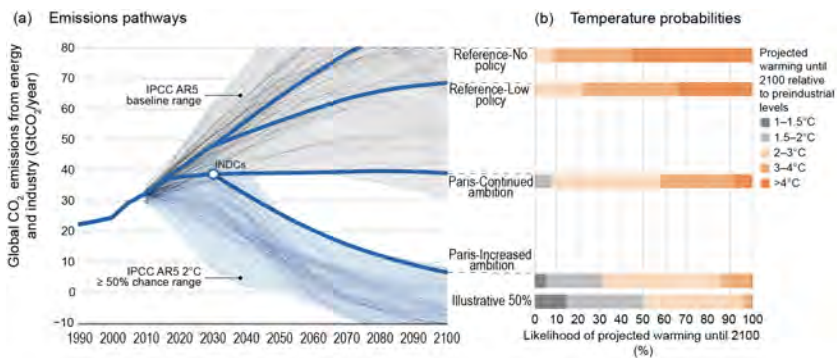
Global warming is one of the world's largest problems and, as such is familiar to both the scientific and the professional communities, unlike the Covid-19 pandemic. Over recent decades, we have been trying to influence the main cause of global warming, by reducing or mitigating so-called greenhouse gases, whose main representative is CO<sub>2</sub>.

An important step was made in 2016 with the signing of the Paris Accords by 189 states and communities, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Accords are an agreement within the framework of the UN Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and they are about reducing greenhouse gases. Representatives of

196 states and communities negotiated over the Accords and they were passed by consensus in December 2015. By February 2020, 189 parties had become members of the UNFCCC and signed up to the Accords. The most significant ones that did not were Iran and Turkey. In the meantime, the U.S. has announced its departure from the agreement.

The Accords' long-term goal is to limit any increase in average global temperatures to below  $2^{\circ}\text{C}$  above pre-industrial levels, but it also commits to additional effort to limit growth to  $1.5^{\circ}\text{C}$ , which it recognizes will significantly reduce the risk and impact of climate change. The way to do this is by reducing emissions as soon as possible and reaching a balance between emissions from human activities and reducing greenhouse gases, in the second half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It also aims to increase countries' ability to adapt to the negative consequences of climate change.

It is important to keep in mind that the Accords refer pre-industrial levels as the level of greenhouse gases in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although other views suggest human influence on climate change started long before that. We will not be addressing the notion of climate change in any detail here but possible solutions for reaching or at least getting close to the Accords' objectives. The following graph shows several possible scenarios regarding the growth of mid-temperatures. They are all based on of our behaviour.



## Plans in Bosnia and Herzegovina

There is a *Framework Energy Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina until 2035*. Its *Introduction* reads:

The previous global and European economic crisis, along with a regional socio-political aspect, negatively affected the dynamics of southeastern Europe's development, therefore to Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the character of a small, open economy, Bosnia and Herzegovina have necessarily needed smart investments, which would significantly and as target launch economic activity. The energy sector has a major role. Western countries of the European Union (EU) are leading the implementation of clean energy policy, substantially changing energy paradigm, regulatory mechanisms and investment needs. Pressures on wholesale electricity prices on European stock exchanges are making the most significant investment decisions in energy today, while, on the other hand, the EU agenda is more efficient for the long-term adjustment of production portfolio and technology towards smaller greenhouse gas emissions. The framework energy strategy gives the context and the direction of energy development in Bosnia and Herzegovina and seeks the right balance in the context of “energy trilemma”. Launching real investments, market and regulatory reforms in all segments of energy, supported by the firm and structured implementation of all key shareholders, is very important for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The guidelines for Bosnia and Herzegovina are based on policies of sustainable development that have three aspects of the balance: a) of supply safety, b) competitiveness of prices, c) policy of decarbonization, or cleaner energy. Only with the targeted efficiency of the sector and the efficient use of the resources, Bosnia and Herzegovina will fully enable parallel convergence taken over obligations and EU policies to position energy as the engine of stability and sustainable development of the economy. Secondary effects are expected to lead to employment, reducing public debt and competitiveness increases.

The goal of the document is to prioritize key energy strategic guidelines for Bosnia and Herzegovina with clearly set goals and priorities for implementation in the coming years, given that the principles of a free market and market factors cannot be centrally controlled. The document's clear strategic guidelines provide a basis for applying for and drawing down IPA and WBIF funds for



energy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for attracting other investors into the energy sector. The document is a revised version of the strategic guidelines from the BiH Working Group, created cooperatively by the relevant ministries, institutions, research centers, associations, social partners and other stakeholders.

Regarding international obligations affecting the energy sector, the most important is the Agreement on Establishing an Energy Union (Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina – International Contracts, number 9/06), which was signed on October 25, 2005, and entered into force. July 1, 2006.

By unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers on the Energy Union of October 24, 2013, the Agreement, originally concluded for ten years, was extended for another ten. The Agreement was between the European Union, on the one hand, and Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Serbia, the Ukraine, and Georgia, on the other. On the basis of expressed interest, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechia, France, Finland, Greece, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Hungary, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom participate in the work of the Energy Union's bodies.

The Energy Union's mission is to organize relations between the parties to the Agreement and set the rules and an economic framework for network energy, in order to:

- a) create a stable regulatory and market framework, capable of attracting investment in the gas network, electricity generation, and the transmission and distribution networks, in order to give all the parties access to stable and continuous energy supply, which is essential to economic development and social stability;
- b) create a single regulatory space for the network energy trade that suits the geographical region of the markets for these products;
- c) boost the security of supply in the single regulatory space by ensuring a stable investment environment that can develop ties with Caspian, North African and Middle Eastern gas reserves and exploit domestic energy sources, such as natural gas, oil and hydropower;
- d) improve the environmental situation related to network power and energy efficiency and increase the use of re-

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newable energy and set the conditions for the energy trade on the single regulatory space;

- e) develop market competition for network power at the broader geographic level using economies of scale.

From the document, it is also evident that everyone is to turn towards cleaner fuels and renewable energy sources. It is well-known that results, efforts, and plans for the future of energy in Bosnia and Herzegovina have faced strong “counter” arguments from the Energy Union and the EU, primarily regarding development of coal electricity generation. Moreover, existing projects, like Tuzla 7, appear to be continuing.

Planned projects for remote district heating, like heating Sarajevo from the Kakanj thermal power plant, do not fall under the targeted techniques for improving the environmental situation, unlike remote district heating based on low carbon fuels.

## EU and World Plans

Some cities and countries have recently said they will prohibit the use of natural gas for heating new buildings. As shocking as this may seem, given our idea that natural gas is the fuel of the future, it is nonetheless the truth. At the same time, we are only now preparing studies and plans to connect to various gas pipelines being built in the region.

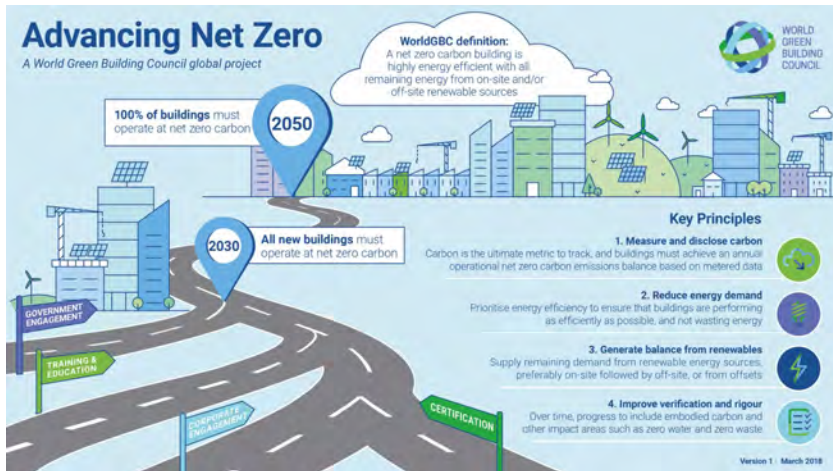
In the remaining text, we will present possible alternatives to natural gas as the main fuel for heating new and later all buildings, which is called the Net Zero project, while the buildings are called Net-Zero-carbon buildings. The definition of a net-zero-carbon building is a highly efficient building that is fully supplied from renewable energy sources.

The World Council for Green Construction, WGBC, is a global network that is spearheading transformation of the construction sector to make it healthier and more sustainable. The WGBC is present in about 70 countries, and its main task is to accelerate action to realize the ambitions set out in the Paris Accords - a total elimination of emissions from buildings and the entire construction sector by 2050.

The WGBC holds that it is not realistic in most situations for buildings to generate 100% of their energy needs, so the goal is to have energy efficient buildings provided by energy obtained

from renewable sources. This is the correct setting for mass action to achieve the levels of global emissions reduction aimed at in the Paris Accords. The WGBC believes that this challenge is only achievable on the basis of coordinated effort by governments, businesses and NGOs – essentially everyone, led by the WGBC.

The following graph displays the activities required to achieve the goal by 2050.



## Possible alternatives to natural gas:

### *Heat Pumps*

Heat pumps will certainly be the most frequent choice to replace natural gas in heating new buildings to begin with. This will push up demand for electrical energy sharply. It will therefore increase generation, but only from renewable sources. Given the enormous potential for energy generation at offshore wind-farms, this suggests a new problem, which is how to transmit and distribute electricity to shore and then to the site of consumption. The technology for heat pumps is well-known and will therefore not be considered here.

### *Hydrogen*

Renewable energy resources from the sea (offshore) have great potential to contribute to the global energy supply chain,

even if the specific price of energy generation remains higher than from conventional sources. With mounting interest in offshore resources and the (huge) capacity for renewable resources, they are likely to contribute to greater electricity use over the next decade. The current transmission of electricity via offshore power substations and sub-marine cables increases the price of overseas electricity. Submarine cables have become very large, which hinders such work. It is much easier and simpler to use pipes to transport a gas, like hydrogen, than undersea cables. Offshore wind power can be converted into hydrogen by sea water electrolysis and the hydrogen can then be transported to shore using the existing natural gas pipeline infrastructure.

Hydrogen is the most common element in the universe. At room temperature and pressure, it is colorless and odorless. Currently, most of the hydrogen produced in the world is used to make ammonia and methanol at oil refineries. In recent years, hydrogen has been increasingly mentioned as a potential energy source for heating and transport. This has to do with the justified view that hydrogen represents the fuel of the future. Hydrogen has different physical properties than known fuels, like natural gas:

- When hydrogen reacts with oxygen, it releases energy and water, no CO<sub>2</sub>!
- Hydrogen gas is very low density.
- Hydrogen is a very small light molecule that can flow through small holes quickly and disperse into some metal structures, rendering them more brittle. Some types of steel are therefore unsuitable for transporting hydrogen. Large parts of the gas distribution network metal pipes are being replaced with PE one that are suitable for transporting hydrogen at lower pressures.
- Hydrogen has different chemical characteristics to natural gas, so that the burners of existing natural gas appliances will have to be replaced.
- Hydrogen is more flammable than natural gas, but disperses rapidly in case of leakage and so won't form explosive mixtures.

There are several methods of producing hydrogen, like:

- Decomposing methane by steam into hydrogen and carbon dioxide. Methane conversion is currently significantly cheaper than any other method. The hydrogen produced

is pure enough for most applications. The problem is the CO<sub>2</sub>, which has to be captured and stored - a technique known as CCS.

- Water electrolysis that uses electricity to separate the water into hydrogen and oxygen.

Hydrogen is used for heating in much the same way as natural gas. Heating devices fueled by hydrogen are already showing up. There are also internal combustion engines based on hydrogen. The date of June 25 2019 is significant because it was when the first hydrogen-fueled water heater in the world was released in Rosenberg, Holland. The water heater was developed by the BDR Thermea Group and it is a highly efficient condensation boiler that uses pure hydrogen as fuel to produce heat for residential buildings - the first such application in practice.

The attempt is significant, because now hydrogen is being promoted as a potential natural gas substitute and fuel of the future, we can see how to reach the Net Zero building, or carbon-free building. This will certainly help in reaching the goals and obligations of the various states regarding the Paris Treaty.

The advantage of converting from natural gas to hydrogen in the household sector is that when the boiler is replaced, much of the heating system, including the radiators and the distribution network, can continue to be used.

Before we can get to the point of replacing all existing boilers with hydrogen ones, we have to work on the boilers to use hydrogen without replacement.

There are the projects all around the world working on total replacement of natural gas by hydrogen. It has also been worked out that injecting 20% hydrogen by volume into existing natural gas networks reduces CO<sub>2</sub> emissions with no need to replace the device, as the mixture represents a substitute for natural gas.

It must be stressed that the transportation and distribution of pure hydrogen through existing natural gas pipelines are still not entirely feasible in practice, firstly because natural gas is still in use and secondly because old buildings will continue to use natural gas until 2050, so there is still work to be done, not least to find solutions for regulatory and safety issues, in addition to distribution ones.

As to safety, the use of so-called synthetic gas or synthetic natural gas will certainly be a reality at some point. It is a mixture

rich in hydrogen (from sea water electrolysis), with added CO and CO<sub>2</sub>. In the end, a similar mixture can be obtained by gasification of either wood or coal. We should remember when a similar fuel was used before, in Sarajevo too. It can also be used for internal combustion engines. Automobiles in Germany during World War II used this gas as fuel.

There is a fully operational project in the UK to use the existing gas network for pure hydrogen, but also complementary possibilities. The project was built under the lead of Cadent, one of the largest natural gas distributors in the UK. The project envisages a special hydrogen network to site of use, adding hydrogen to natural gas, and using hydrogen to run trains, liquefy CO<sub>2</sub>.



As outlined above, there are several potential ways to reduce greenhouse gases successfully, and the schematic presents a possible combination of approaches. Hydrogen clearly offers great future scope for widespread use in substituting for natural gas as a fuel in buildings intended to be net-zero by 2050, whether as hydrogen obtained from the electrolysis of the sea water or the decarbonation of natural gas (transforming methane into hydrogen and oxygen by steam) or making hydrogen for use in so-called gas blending, where 20% hydrogen is added to natural gas.

It is important to note that any carbon dioxide created by decarbonation of natural gas is liquefied and transported to a tanker or somewhere to be injected into existing hollows in the earth at depths of about 5000 m.

## The impact of coronavirus on greenhouse gas emissions

The International Energy Agency (IEA) expects CO<sub>2</sub> emissions to fall 7.5% in the United States, while studies say emissions in Europe have fallen 50% since Covid-19 measures were introduced. The situation is naturally expected to change again once measures are lifted.

Many people choose where to live based on proximity to their jobs, balancing convenience with lifestyle. What is going to happen after the Covid-19 pandemic, given how many have turned to work from home and what it means for cities? At the very least, it raises the issue of what type of business buildings we should have, as many will be put off by overcrowded offices and shared ventilation systems that are not maintained properly... On the other hand, working from home may significantly affect public transportation and we will have to look again at the balance of needs and current planning in cities. In any case, both phenomena can significantly contribute to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. A 5% drop in CO<sub>2</sub> is predicted due to reducing oil and gas demand, thanks to the major restrictions on transport and industrial processes. The Guardian's view on this is interesting, namely that there will be a record drop in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, more than the total decline in all recessions over the past 50 years combined. Just because of Corona.



# BORBA PROTIV KLIMATSKIH PROMJENA I BUDUĆI IZVORI ENERGIJE ZA GRIJANJE ZGRADA

Vahid Tanović

Mnogi gradovi i države su nedavno donijeli odluke kojima se uskoro zabranjuje korištenje prirodnoga gasa za zagrijavanje novih zgrada. Svakako da se isključuje i mogućnost korištenja bilo kojeg drugog fosilnog goriva. Do 2050. godine sve zgrade, i nove i postojeće, moraju u potpunosti svoje energetske potrebe zadovoljiti energijom iz obnovljivih izvora. Ovdje će biti ukazano na alternative prirodnom gasu za grijanje zgrada i njihova moguća rješenja. Iako je trenutno akcija u praktičnom smislu ograničena na mali broj subjekata, sve veći broj se uključuje, a sve radi postizanja osnovnog cilja iz Pariškog sporazuma – držati porast srednje temperature zraka daleko ispod 2°C u odnosu na drugu polovinu 19. vijeka (predindustrijalizacijsko vrijeme).

## Opis problema

Jedan od najvećih svjetskih problema, koji je za razliku od pandemije Covid-19 prilično poznat naučnoj i stručnoj zajednici, jeste globalno zagrijavanje. Nekoliko zadnjih decenija se pokušava utjecati na glavne uzročnike globalnog zagrijavanja, tj. na smanjenje, odnosno mitigaciju proizvodnje tzv. stakleničkih plinova, čiji je glavni predstavnik CO<sub>2</sub>.

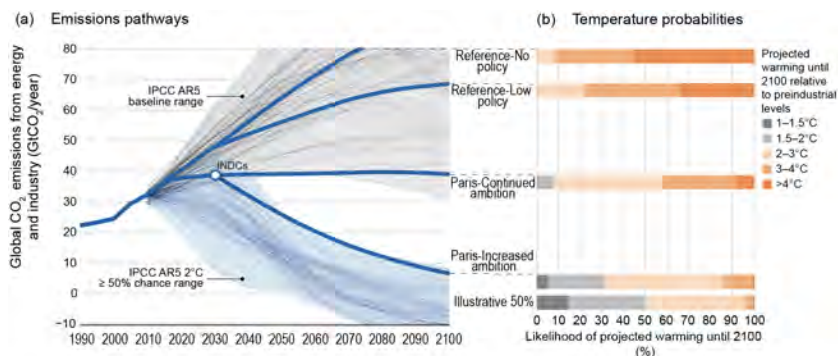
Jedan od najvažnijih koraka u tom nastojanju napravljen je 2016. godine potpisivanjem deklaracije, poznate kao Pariški sporazum, koju je između 189 država i zajednica svijeta potpisala i Bosna i Hercegovina. Pariški sporazum predstavlja sporazum unutar Okvirne konvencije Ujedinjenih naroda o klimatskim promjenama (UNFCCC), u kojem se radi o smanjenju emisije stakleničkih plinova. Oko Sporazuma su pregovarali predstavnici



196 država i zajednica, a usvojen je konsenzusom u decembru 2015. godine. Do februara 2020, 189 strana su postale članovi UNFCCC-a i potpisale su taj Sporazum, a jedini značajni koji nisu potpisali su Iran i Turska. U međuvremenu su Sjedinjene Američke Države najavile izlazak iz tog dogovora.

Dugoročni cilj Sporazuma je da se ograniči povećanje prosječne globalne temperature puno ispod  $2^{\circ}\text{C}$  od predindustrijskog nivoa, ali da se učine dodatni naponi na ograničavanju porasta na  $1,5^{\circ}\text{C}$ , shvatajući da će to značajno smanjiti rizike i utjecaje klimatskih promjena., U cilju postizanja balansa između emisija od strane ljudskih djelatnosti i smanjenja stakleničkih plinova u drugoj polovini 21. vijeka, to bi se smanjenjem emisija trebalo uraditi što je prije moguće. Sporazumom se želi postići cilj povećanja sposobnost zemalja da se prilagode nepovoljnim posljedicama klimatskih promjena.

Važno je imati u vidu da u ovom Sporazumu pojam predindustrijskog nivoa predstavlja nivo stakleničkih plinova u drugoj polovini 19. vijeka, iako postoje i druga gledišta koja govore da je puno prije toga uočljiv utjecaj čovjeka na klimatske promjene. Ovdje neće biti detaljno opisan pojam klimatskih promjena, nego se akcentat stavlja na neka od mogućih rješenja kako bi se postavljani ciljevi tog Sporazuma ostvarili ili bar kako bismo se njima približili. Sljedeća shema pokazuje nekoliko mogućih scenarija u vezi s porastom srednje temperature. Svi oni su posljedica našeg ponašanja.



## Planovi u Bosni i Hercegovini

Postoji dokument koji se zove Okvirna energetska strategija Bosne i Hercegovine do 2035. godine, u čijem Uvodu stoji:

Prethodna globalna i evropska ekonomska kriza su, uz regionalni socio-politički aspekt, negativno utjecale na dinamiku razvoja Ju-goistočne Evrope, pa samim time Bosne i Hercegovine. Uz karakter male, otvorene ekonomije, Bosni i Hercegovini su nužno potrebne pametne investicije, koje će značajnije i ciljano pokrenuti ekonomsku aktivnost. Tu sektor energetike ima veliku ulogu. Zapadne zemlje Evropske unije (EU) predvode implementaciju politike čiste energije, znatno mijenjajući energetske paradigme, regulatorne mehanizme i investicijske potrebe. Pritisci na veleprodajne cijene električne energije na evropskim berzama danas otežavaju značajnije investicijske odluke u energetici, dok, s druge strane, EU agenda čistije energije iziskuje sredstva za dugoročnu prilagodbu proizvodnog portfelja i tehnologija ka manjim emisijama stakleničkih gasova. Okvirna energetska strategija daje kontekst i smjer razvoja energetike u Bosni i Hercegovini te traži pravi balans u kontekstu “energetske trileme”. Pokretanje pravih investicija, tržišnih i regulatornih reformi u svim segmentima energetike, podržanih s čvrstom i strukturiranom implementacijom od svih ključnih dionika, vrlo je važno za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Smjernice za Bosnu i Hercegovinu baziraju se na politikama održivog razvoja koje u balansu imaju tri aspekta: a) sigurnost snabdijevanja, b) konkurentnost cijena, c) politiku dekarbonizacije, odnosno čisti-je energije. Samo uz ciljanu efikasnost sektora i efikasno korištenje resursa Bosna i Hercegovina će u cijelosti omogućiti paralelnu konvergenciju preuzetim obavezama i politikama EU te pozicionirati energetiku kao motor stabilnosti i održivog razvoja ekonomije. Očekuje se da će sekundarni efekti dovesti do zapošljavanja, smanjenja javnog duga i povećanja konkurentnosti.

Cilj ovog dokumenta je prioritizacija ključnih energetskih strateških smjernica Bosne i Hercegovine s jasno postavljenim ciljevima i prioritetima za provedbu u narednim godinama, pri tome imajući u vidu načela slobodnog tržišta i tržišnih faktora koji se ne mogu centralno kontrolirati. Jasne strateške smjernice ovog dokumenta podloga su za prijavu i povlačenje, između ostalog, IPA i WBIF sredstava za energetiku u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i za privlačenje drugih investitora u energetski sektor. Ovaj je dokument usaglašena verzija strateških smjernica s Radnom

skupinom Bosne i Hercegovine, nastalom kao rezultat saradnje mjerodavnih ministarstava, relevantnih institucija, istraživačkih centara, udruženja i socijalnih partnera te drugih dionika.

S aspekta međunarodnih obaveza koje utiču na energetske sektor, najvažniji je Ugovor o uspostavi Energetske zajednice (“Službeni glasnik Bosne i Hercegovine – Međunarodni ugovori”, broj 9/06). Ugovor o uspostavi Energetske zajednice potpisan je 25. oktobra 2005, a stupio je na snagu 1. jula 2006. godine.

Jednoglasnom odlukom Ministarskog vijeća Energetske zajednice od 24. oktobra 2013. godine Ugovor koji je prvobitno zaključen na period od deset godina produžen je za dodatnih deset. Ugovor su zaključile Evropska unija, s jedne strane, te Albanija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora, Kosovo 2, Makedonija, Moldavija, Srbija, Ukrajina i Gruzija, s druge strane. U skladu s izraženim interesom, u radu tijela Energetske zajednice učestvuju Austrija, Bugarska, Češka, Francuska, Finska, Grčka, Hrvatska, Italija, Kipar, Latvija, Mađarska, Holandija, Njemačka, Poljska, Rumunija, Slovačka, Slovenija, Švedska i Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo.

Zadatak Energetske zajednice je organiziranje odnosa između ugovornih strana te utvrđivanje pravila i ekonomskog okvira mrežne energije da bi:

- a) stvorili stabilan regulatorni i tržišni okvir, sposoban da privuče investiranje u gasnu mrežu, proizvodnju električne energije, prenosnu i distributivnu mrežu, kako bi sve ugovorne strane imale pristup stabilnom i neprekidnom snabdijevanju energijom, koja je suštinska za ekonomski razvoj i socijalnu stabilnost;
- b) stvorili jedinstveni regulatorni prostor za trgovinu mrežne energije, kakav je potreban da bi odgovarao geografskom prostoru danih tržišta ovih proizvoda;
- c) pojačali sigurnost snabdijevanja jedinstvenog regulatornog prostora osiguravanjem stabilnog ambijenta za investicije, u kojem se mogu razvijati veze s kaspiskim, sjevernoafričkim i bliskoistočnim rezervama gasa te eksploatirati domaći izvori energije, poput prirodnog gasa, nafte i hidroenergije;
- d) poboljšali situaciju u pogledu okoliša u vezi s mrežnom energijom, i uz to vezanu energetske efikasnost, te povećali korištenje obnovljive energije i utvrdili uvjete za trgovinu energijom u okviru jedinstvenog regulatornog prostora;

e) razvili tržišnu konkurenciju mrežne energije na širem geografskom nivou te koristili ekonomiju obima.

I iz ovog dokumenta je vidljivo da se svi okreću ka čistijim gorivima i prema obnovljivim izvorima energije. Poznato je da su rezultati, nastojanja i planovi u pogledu budućnosti energije u Bosni i Hercegovini u zadnje vrijeme nailazili na snažne argumente “protiv” od strane Energetske zajednice i Evropske unije, prije svega imajući u vidu razvoj u dijelu proizvodnje električne energije iz uglja. I pored toga, čini se da se nastavljaju započeti projekti, kao što je Tuzla 7.

Pored toga, planirani projekti daljinskog grijanja, npr. grijanje Sarajeva iz Termoelektrane “Kakanj”, također ne spadaju u ciljane tehnike poboljšanja situacije s okolišem, za razliku od daljinskog grijanja kod kojeg kao gorivo služi ono koje ima mali sadržaj ugljika.

## Planovi u Evropskoj uniji i u svijetu

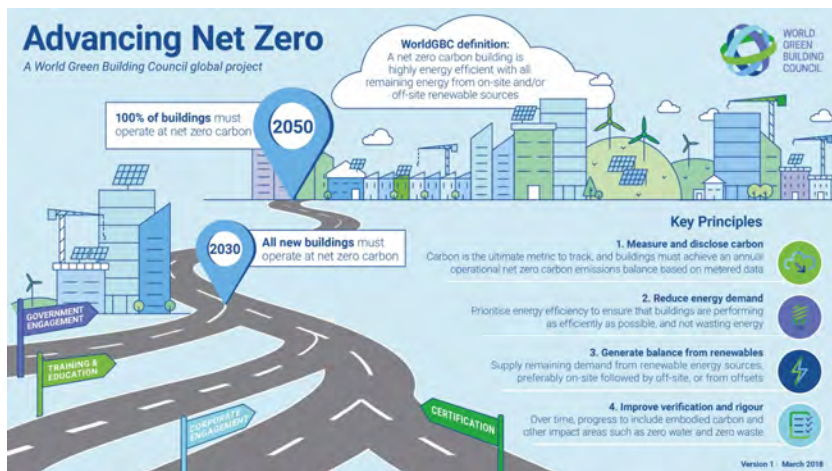
Nedavno su se pojavili gradovi, odnosno države koje zabranjuju upotrebu prirodnog gasa za zagrijavanje novih zgrada. Koliko god ovo izgledalo šokantno, s obzirom na našu predstavu kako je prirodni gas gorivo budućnosti, ovo je istina. U isto vrijeme, kod nas se tek radi na studijama i idejnim projektima o priključenju na razne gasovode koji se grade u našoj blizini.

U nastavku će biti prikazane moguće alternative prirodnom gasu kao glavnom energentu za grijanje novih zgrada, a kasnije i svih zgrada, što se radi lakšeg razumijevanja naziva Net Zero projekt, a takve zgrade “net zero karbon zgrade”. Definicija za “net zero karbon zgradu” je zgrada koja je vrlo efikasna i potpuno snabdjevena energijom iz obnovljivih izvora energije.

Svjetsko vijeće za zelenu gradnju (WGBC) je globalna mreža koja predvodi transformaciju sektora izgradnje, kako bi isti bio zdraviji i održiv. WGBC je prisutan u oko 70 zemalja, a glavni zadatak je ubrzanje akcija izraženih Pariškim sporazumom potpunom eliminacijom emisija zgrada i cijelog građevinskog sektora do 2050. godine.

WGBC ipak polazi od toga da u većini situacija nije realno da same zgrade generiraju 100% energije za vlastite potrebe, tako da je cilj imati zgrade koje su energetske efikasne i snabdjevane energijom dobijenom iz obnovljivih izvora. To je pravilna

postavka za masovnu akciju, da bi se postigli nivoi smanjenja globalnih emisija iz Pariškog sporazuma. WGBC smatra da je ovaj izazov ostvariv samo kroz koordinirane napore vlada, industrije i nevladinih organizacija, dakle – svih, uz vodeću ulogu WGBC. Sljedeća ilustracija prikazuje potrebne aktivnosti da bi se postigao cilj do 2050. godine.



## Moguće alternative prirodnom gasu

### *Električne toplotne pumpe*

Toplotne pumpe će sigurno u samom početku eliminacije prirodnog gasa iz upotrebe za grijanje novih zgrada biti najčešći izbor. Međutim, na taj način će se potražnja za električnom energijom naglo povećati, ali njena proizvodnja će samo ići iz obnovljivih izvora. Imajući u vidu kapacitet proizvodnje energije iz vjetrova na moru koji je ogroman, pojavit će se novi problem, a to je kako transportirati i distribuirati električnu energiju do obale i dalje do mjesta potrošnje. Sama tehnologija rada toplotnih pumpi je poznata i ovdje se neće posebno razmatrati.

### *Uređaji na vodonik*

Resursi obnovljive energije na moru i iz mora (*offshore*) imaju veliki potencijal za doprinos globalnom energetsom lancu opskrbe, iako je nivelirana cijena proizvodnje još uvijek viša od proizvodnje iz konvencionalnih izvora. Uz rastući interes za *offs-*

*hore* resurse, imajući u vidu kapacitet obnovljivih resursa (ogroman), predviđa se da će oni doprinijeti većem korištenju električne energije u sljedećoj deceniji. Postojeći transport prekomorske struje kroz *offshore* trafostanice i podmorske kablove povećava cijenu prekomorske električne struje. Podmorski kablovi postaju jako veliki, što otežava takav rad. Puno je lagodnije i jednostavnije umjesto kablova imati pod morem cijevi kroz koje možemo transportirati neki gas, npr. vodonik. *Offshore* energija vjetra se može pretvoriti u vodonik elektrolizom i transportirati kroz postojeću infrastrukturu gasovoda prirodnog gasa.

Vodonik je najzastupljeniji element u univerzumu. Na sobnoj temperaturi i pritisku je bez boje i mirisa. Trenutno se većina vodonika koji se proizvodi u svijetu koristi u dobijanju amonijaka i metanola te u rafinerijama nafte. Zadnjih godina vodonik se sve više pominje kao potencijalni energetska izvor za grijanje i transport. Radi se o opravdanom stavu da vodonik predstavlja gorivo budućnosti. Vodonik ima različite fizičke osobine u poređenju s poznatim gorivom, kao što je prirodni gas:

- kada reagira s kiseonikom, oslobađa samo energiju i vodu – nema CO<sub>2</sub>!;
- vodonik gas također ima vrlo nisku gustinu;
- vrlo je malen i lagan molekul, što znači da može brzo curiti kroz male rupe i može se raspršiti u neke metalne strukture, čineći ih još krhkim. Iz tog razloga, neke vrste čelika su nepodobne za transport vodonika. Međutim, veliki dijelovi distributivne mreže gasa zamjenjuju metalne cijevi s polietilenskim cijevima, koje su pogodne za transport vodonika na nižim pritiscima;
- ima različite hemijske karakteristike u odnosu na prirodni gas, što znači da će se gorionici u toplotnim aparatima za korištenje prirodnog gasa morati zamijeniti;
- lakše je zapaljiv od prirodnog gasa, ali se brzo rasprši u slučaju curenja i ne stigne formirati eksplozivnu smjesu.

Postoji više metoda za proizvodnju vodonika:

- Pretvorba metana vodenom parom u vodonik i ugljični dioksid. Pretvorba metana je trenutno značajno jeftinija od bilo koje druge metode proizvodnje vodonika. Vodonik koji je proizveden ovim procesom dovoljno je čist za većinu aplikacija, ali je problem u CO<sub>2</sub> koji se onda mora skupiti i skladištiti (tehnika poznata kao CCS).



- Elektroliza vode koja koristi električnu energiju da razdvoji vodu u vodonik i kisik.

Vodonik se koristi za grijanje na sličan način kao prirodni gas. Pojavili su se uređaji za grijanje na vodonik. Također, razvijeni su i motori s unutrašnjim sagorijevanjem na vodonik. Datum 25. juni 2019. je vrlo važan, jer je tada prvi bojler na svijetu pušten u pogon na vodonik u Rozenburgu, Nizozemska. Bojler je razvijen od strane nizozemske kompanije “BDR Thermea Group”, i to kao visokoučinkoviti kondenzacijski bojler na čisti vodonik kao gorivo za proizvodnju topline za stambenu zgradu – prvu takvu primjenu u praksi.

Pokušaj je značajan, jer sad kad se vodonik promovira kao potencijalna zamjena za prirodni gas, odnosno gorivo budućnosti, poznat je put kako doći do “net zero zgrada”, odnosno zgrada bez ugljika. Ovo će sigurno pomoći u postizanju ciljeva i obaveza svih država koje su dio Pariškog sporazuma.

Prednost prelaska s prirodnog gasa na vodonik u sektoru domaćinstva je da se, kad se zamijeni kotao, veliki dio sistema grijanja, uključujući i radijatore i distributivnu mrežu, može nastaviti koristiti. Dok se ne dođe do momenta kad se svi postojeći bojleri zamijene s onima na vodonik, potrebno je da se bojleri prave tako da su spremni bez zamjene preći na korištenje vodonika. Širom svijeta nastaju projekti u kojima se analizira mogućnost potpune zamjene prirodnog gasa vodonikom. Došlo se do zaključka da se ubacivanjem 20% vodonika u postojeću mrežu prirodnog gasa smanjuje emisija CO<sub>2</sub>, bez zamjena uređaja, tako da ta mješavina predstavlja zamjenski gas za prirodni gas.

Potrebno je naglasiti da transport i distribucija čistog vodonika kroz postojeće gasovode i cjevovode prirodnog gasa još uvijek nisu u potpunosti mogući u praksi, jer se prirodni gas još uvijek koristi, a u starim zgradama će se koristiti i sve do 2050. godine. Stoga se na tome još treba raditi, kako bi se osim pitanja distribucije riješila i pitanja regulative i sigurnosti.

Kad je u pitanju sigurnost, u nekom periodu će sigurno biti realno korištenje tzv. sintetičkog gasa, odnosno sintetičkog prirodnog gasa. Radi se o smjesi bogatoj vodonikom (iz elektrolize mora najčešće), uz dodatak CO i CO<sub>2</sub>. Na kraju krajeva, slična smjesa se dobije i gasifikacijom drveta i uglja. Valja se prisjetiti vremena kad je to gorivo i ranije korišteno, pa i u Sarajevu. Osim toga, može se koristiti i za motore s unutrašnjim sagorijevanjem.

Naprimjer, poznato je da su automobili u Njemačkoj za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata koristili ovaj gas kao gorivo.

U Velikoj Britaniji je potpuno operativan projekat korištenja postojeće gasne mreže za korištenje čistog vodonika, ali i komplementarnih mogućnosti. Projekat je rađen pod palicom kompanije “Cadent”, jedna od najvećih distributera prirodnog gasa u Velikoj Britaniji. Projektom se predviđa i posebna mreža vodonika do mjesta korištenja, dodavanje vodonika prirodnom gasu, korištenje vodonika za pokretanje vozova, utečnjavanje CO<sub>2</sub>...



Kao što je rečeno, ima nekoliko mogućih rješenja koja će povoljno utjecati na smanjenje proizvodnje stakleničkih plinova, a primjer kombinacije postupaka prikazan je na datoj shemi.

Iz ovoga se vidi da se vodoniku u budućnosti daju velike šanse za široku upotrebu u zamjeni prirodnog gasa kao goriva u zgradama koje teže da do 2050. godine postanu “net zero zgrade”, bilo da se radi o vodoniku iz elektrolize morske vode ili dekarbonizacije gasa (pretvorba metana u vodik i kisik parom), ili da se vodik koristi za tzv. blendiranje gasa, kada se prirodnom gasu dodaje 20% vodonika.

Ovo je prilika kazati da se dekarbonizacijom prirodnog gasa dobijen ugljen dioksid utečnjava i kao tečan transportira ili do tankera ili do mjesta gdje se onda injektira u postojeće šupljine u zemlji na dubinama od oko 5000 m.



## Posljedice virusa korona na emisiju stakleničkih plinova

Međunarodna agencija za energiju (IEA) očekuje da će u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama emisija CO<sub>2</sub> pasti za 7.5%, dok studije govore kako je emisija CO<sub>2</sub> u Evropi pala za 50% od kako su uvedene mjere radi sprječavanja širenja virusa korona. Svakako se očekuje da će se stanje promijeniti kad se te mjere i ukinu.

Mnogi su do sada birali mjesta stanovanja na osnovu blizine radnog mjesta, balansirajući pogodnosti s izborom stila življenja. Šta će se desiti nakon pojave pandemije Covid-19, imajući u vidu da su se mnogi opredijelili za rad od kuće, i šta će to značiti za gradove? U najmanju ruku će se postaviti pitanje o odgovarajućim poslovnim zgradama, odnosno mnogi će zazirati od prenatrpanih ureda i zajedničkih sistema ventilacije i klimatizacije, koji se po pravilu ne održavaju pravilno... S druge strane, rad od kuće će, također, značajno utjecati na budućnost javnog prijevoza. Zato će se morati opet voditi računa o balansu potreba i postojećih planova u gradovima.

U svakom slučaju, obje pojave utječu značajno na smanjenje emisije stakleničkih plinova. Inače se predviđa pad emisije za 5%, prije svega zbog smanjenja potražnje za naftom i gasom, kao posljedicom velikih restrikcija u transportu i u industrijskim procesima. Zanimljiva je procjena The Guardiana koja kaže da će ovo biti rekordan pad u emisiji CO<sub>2</sub>, veći nego što je bio ukupan pad od svih recesija u posljednjih 50 godina zajedno. Samo zbog pojave virusa korone.

# MINI HYDROPOWER PLANTS – DANGEROUS SCAMS WITH LONG- TERM DAMAGES

Anes Podić

So far, 106 small hydropower plants have been built in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), and at least 339 more are being prepared, presently at various stages of development.<sup>1</sup> According to sources from investors themselves, the final number of mini-hydropower plants (MHP) could be well over 600, meaning that at least one small hydroelectric power plant would be built on almost every BiH river and stream.

Since the lockdown started and people were forced into isolation, the main SHP construction protagonists have been even louder in propagating the benefits of their business through the media that favour them. They have hastened the destruction of some river watercourses, obviously convinced that people – frightened of coronavirus – would not stop them, and that – under such conditions – no one would care about the works illegally and forcibly encroached on our rivers.

Two important issues will be addressed here. First, the benefits of building small hydropower plants. Second, BiH's electricity needs. In 2019, a total of 16,074 GWh of electricity was generated, while 12,033 GWh sold in BiH. Large hydropower plants generated 5,650 GWh, while coal-fired plants generated 9,613 GWh. **A total of 104 small hydropower plants generated 497.99 GWh or 3.1% of the total electricity generated in BiH.**

In 2018, Mesihovina wind farm (of an installed capacity of 50.6 MW) was put into operation as the first facility of its kind connected to the transmission system. In 2019, Jelovača wind

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1 See more at: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

farm, (with an installed capacity of 36 MW) was put into operation. These two wind farms, located in the southwestern part of BiH, produced a total of 254 GWh.

Therefore, renewable energy sources generated 40% of the total energy produced in BiH.

Net energy export is greater than net import by 3,743 GWh, which is 7.5 times more than the energy generated by small hydropower plants. Total BiH electricity consumption has stagnated over the last ten years.<sup>2</sup> Net revenue from electricity export in 2019 amounted to 304 million KM (81 KM per GWh).<sup>3</sup> The oft-repeated claim that small hydropower plants will provide new employment opportunities is not true. Depending on the plant location, small hydropower plants usually employ only one person per plant.

It is also often pointed out that by building SHPs BiH fulfils its international obligations in the context of the climate crisis. The problem of global warming arose primarily from emissions from the developed world. The USA and the 28 EU countries are responsible for over 50% of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from 1850 to the present day. The top five emitters – the United States, the EU-28, China, Russia and Japan – are responsible for over 80% of historical CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.<sup>4</sup>

The three largest greenhouse gas emitters – China, the European Union and the United States – produce 14 times as much greenhouse gases as the 100 countries that produce the least greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>5</sup> The entire West Balkans region emits very little in the planet's total greenhouse gas emissions; the BiH's total contribution is only 0.075%. The climate crisis

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2 *Izveštaj o radu za 2019.* 2020 [online] [accessed 20/05/2020] Available at: <https://www.der.k.ba/DocumentsPDFs/DERK-Izvjestaj-o-radu-2019-b.pdf>

3 *BiH ponovila rekordni rezultat u izvozu električne energije.* 2020 [online]. [Accessed on 20. 05. 2020] Available at: <http://energetika.ba/bih-ponovila-rekordni-rezultat-u-izvozu-elektricne-energije/>

4 Rocha M, et al. *Historical Responsibility for Climate Change – from countries emissions to contribution to temperature increase*, 2015 [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: [https://climateanalytics.org/media/historical\\_responsibility\\_report\\_nov\\_2015.pdf](https://climateanalytics.org/media/historical_responsibility_report_nov_2015.pdf)

5 Friedrich J, et al. 2017. *This Interactive Chart Explains World's Top 10 Emitters, and How They've Changed* [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: <https://www.wri.org/blog/2017/04/interactive-chart-explains-worlds-top-10-emitters-and-how-theyve-changed>

cannot be separated from the climate justice, nor can it be solved without a change in the global order: this position is well on its way to becoming ubiquitous among activists of the world.

It is possible to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions in BiH. However, BiH has never received significant external assistance aimed at replacing, for example, fossil fuels (coal) with renewable sources for electricity generation. When it comes to coal-fired plants in BiH – which pollute the environment in more than one way (air pollution being just one of them) – all of them could be closed relatively quickly and painlessly providing that BiH received significant international assistance for:

- construction of wind and solar power plants<sup>6</sup> which would compensate for the lack of electricity resulting from the shutdown of the existing thermal coal-fired power plants;
- providing jobs for miners who would thus lose their jobs (total of 13,000);
- construction of replacement heating plants for towns of Tuzla, Kakanj and Lukavac, currently heated by steam from coal-fired plants.

Of course, no construction of new small or large hydropower plants is on this list. A hydropower plant-building moratorium has been long due, well before the environment has been so terribly damaged.

Using, for example, BiH statistics on electricity produced and consumed in 2018<sup>7</sup> – it turns out that only 4,1 TWh should be generated by replacing coal-fired plants (the total of energy generated minus the 2 TWh then consumed by *Aluminij* now closed, and minus the export of surplus electricity generated by big and small hydro plants, and wind farms). This amount of energy could be obtained by app. 25 wind farms the size of Mesihovina, which would cost about two billion euros. With the money needed to create replacement jobs for about 13,000 miners and to build replacement heating plants for Tuzla, Kakanj and

6 The total cost-competitive potential of solar and wind power plants (estimated at about 30 TWh) is about 2.5 times higher than current electricity consumption. (Cost-competitive renewable power generation: Potential across South East Europe, 2017 [online]. [Accessed on 20/05/2020]. Available at: [https://www.irena.org/publications/2017/Jan/Cost-competitive-renewable-power-generation-Potential-across-\)South-East-Europe](https://www.irena.org/publications/2017/Jan/Cost-competitive-renewable-power-generation-Potential-across-)South-East-Europe)

7 *Izveštaj o radu za 2018, 2019* [online]. [Accessed on 20/05/2020] Available at: <https://www.der.k.ba/DocumentsPDFs/DERK-Izvjestaj-o-radu-2018-b.pdf>

Lukavac currently heated by steam from coal-fired power plants, the sum is likely to amount to four billion euros.

There is also an alternative: the shutdown of thermal power plants could be financed by BiH state itself – using, for example, revenue from fuel excise taxes. In 2018, as per toll increase by 0,15 KM per litre of petroleum products, almost 500 million KM was collected in excise taxes for the construction of highways and the construction and reconstruction of other roads in BiH.<sup>8</sup> According to the only international study, conducted by the Japan International Cooperation Agency in 2001<sup>9</sup> (when projections of population and GDP growth were far higher than today), only Sarajevo-Zenica highway section needed to be built in BiH. The assessment was that BiH was too poor for anything more than that one section. Instead, our entity governments have made megalomaniacal plans for hundreds and hundreds of kilometres of highways, with no economic basis, mostly to be financed by expensive loans from international development and commercial banks.

If the revenue collected from excise taxes were directed to renewable energy sources, for example, wind and solar power plants, in eight years enough money would be raised to construct replacement wind farms, while in sixteen years enough money would be raised to open new jobs for miners, and replace Tuzla, Kakanj, Lukavac heating plants... By 2050, enough money would be raised to patch up many other holes in our society.

Another mantra regarding energy is that BiH must respond to its obligations under the Energy Community Treaty.<sup>10</sup> The responsibility for the dramatic increase in the SHPs construction in BiH partly lies with the European Union.

The Energy Community Treaty entered into force on 1 July 2006. It enables the creation of the world largest internal market for electricity and gas, in which the European Union, as one Contracting

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8 Č. I. *Prošle godine u BiH prikupljeno 1.1 milijardu KM od putarina i akciza na naftu*, 2019 [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: <https://www.klix.ba/biznis/prosle-godine-u-bih-prikupljeno-1-1-milijardu-km-od-putarina-i-akciza-na-naftu/190208043>

9 *The Study on the Transport Master Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 2001 [online]. [Accessed on 20/05/2020]. Available at: [https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/710/710\\_953.html](https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/710/710_953.html)

10 See more at: <https://energy-community.org/legal/treaty.html>

Party and the following eight Contracting Parties: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Serbia and Ukraine, effectively participates. In accordance with the expressed interest, the work of the Energy Community bodies includes Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Finland, Greece, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Hungary, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and United Kingdom. These 19 so-called the participating countries from the European Union are directly involved in the work of the Energy Community bodies, and their positions in the vote are expressed by the European Commission. Armenia, Georgia, Norway and Turkey have the observer status in the Energy Community bodies. The basic objectives of the Energy Community are to create a stable and single regulatory framework and market that provides a reliable energy supply and may attract investments in the electricity and natural gas sectors. In addition, there are the development of alternative gas supply routes and improvement of the environmental situation, with energy efficiency and renewable energy sources. By concluding this Treaty, the regional Contracting Parties are obliged to establish a common electricity and gas market that will function according to the EU energy market standards to be integrated. This can be achieved by gradually transposition of the EU *acquis*, namely through the implementation of relevant EU directives and regulations in the areas of electricity, gas, environment protection, competition, renewable energy resources, energy efficiency, oil and statistics. The Treaty which was concluded for a period of 10 years was extended for another 10 years by unanimous decision of the Ministerial Council of the Energy Community on 24 October 2013.<sup>11</sup>

For the Western Balkans region, which is expected to join the European Union, the EU organizes only the energy community, largely neglecting the implementation of the environmental part of the *Acquis communautaire*, which should enter the energy package. The second-largest *Acquis communautaire* chapter is the one on the environment; the largest one is the one on agriculture. The countries that have eventually become members of the EU had to invest a lot of effort, time and money to meet all the EU requirements related to the environment.

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11 *Ugovor o uspostavljanju Energetske zajednice*, 2018 [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: <http://www.mvteo.gov.ba/Content/Read/energetska-zajednica>

Energy production, whatever the source, inevitably has a significant impact on the environment. If the European Union has a genuine intention to prepare the Western Balkans countries for the EU membership, the environmental care must have a prominent place in all EU activities in the Western Balkans region. Unfortunately, the EU's attitude towards the Western Balkans region is such that the environment is not even mentioned in the EU 2018 Strategy for Western Balkans.<sup>12</sup> The Energy Community Treaty lists many EU directives and rules in the field of energy policies, including the 2009 Directive on the Promotion and Use of Energy from Renewable Sources which the signatory countries of the Treaty had to integrate into domestic legislation. The Treaty also enumerates part of the *Acquis communautaire* in the field of environmental protection, which, however, mainly regards the operation of large industrial plants for the production of electricity from fossil fuels.

When it comes to nature protection, only one article is mentioned: the one on the protection of wild birds from the outdated 2012 EU Directive 79/409 / EEC. The EU *Directive on the promotion and use of energy from renewable sources* has also been accepted by the Contracting Parties to the Energy Community Treaty, which then had made their own national plans for the production of energy from renewable sources and submitted them to the Energy Community Secretariat. The most important part of the national energy plans was to commit to renewable energy targets in 2020. Bosnia and Herzegovina committed itself to produce from renewable sources 40% of total energy consumption by 2020. At the same time, the EU member states have set far less ambitious and economically easier-to-bear goals for themselves: only 20% from renewable sources of total energy consumption in 2020.

Local politicians and their lobbies used this contractual obligation to the Energy Community to focus on the construction of

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12 *COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans*, 2018 [online]. [Accessed on 21/ 05/2020]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-credible-enlargement-perspective-western-balkans\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-credible-enlargement-perspective-western-balkans_en.pdf)



SHPs claiming that SHPs (of all renewable energy sources!) are something that "Europe demands". Some investors have even presented the construction of SHPs as a *condition* for future membership in the EU. Based on that, the SHPs owners receive considerable funds (app.48 million KM in 2019<sup>13,14</sup>) collected from "renewable energy charges," the mandatory surcharge that all BiH citizens and businesses pay through their electricity bills.

The often-made claim that local communities will generate significant revenues from concession fees is also debatable. Small hydropower plants investors usually sign concession agreements for 30 or – lately more often – for 50 years. The concessions are signed with local authorities, so fees depend on the BiH entities and FBiH cantons, but amounts of concession fees are regularly symbolic. They usually range from 1 to 3% of the total revenue generated by a small hydropower plant. The total Fojnica Municipality revenue from concessions for as many as six SHPs ranged from 44.6 to 59.6 thousand KM in the period from 2015 to 2018 (1,38% to 1,85% of the total municipal budget revenues). Central Bosnia Canton's revenues from concessions for 35 SHPs so far built on its territory (almost a third of the total SHPs number in BiH) amounts to only 0.46% of the CBC budget.<sup>15</sup>

It is now necessary to look at the damage caused by the SHPs construction and its consequences for the BiH wildlife world. The climate crisis has imposed two obligations on countries of the planet – one is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and the other to protect the planet's precious wildlife. According to the Environmental Performance Index, BiH is ranked penultimate of 180 countries in terms of ecosystem vitality. According to the Convention on Biodiversity, to which BiH has signed up, we are obliged to protect 17% of our territory by 2020. In this

13 *Odluka o utvrđivanju potrebnog iznosa naknade za podsticanje i jediničnog iznosa naknade za podsticanje proizvodnje električne energije iz OIEIEK za 2019. godinu, Vlada Federacije BiH, 04/03/2019.* Available at: <http://operatoroieiek.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Odluka-naknada.pdf>

14 *Odluka o visini naknade za podsticanje proizvodnje električne energije iz obnovljivih izvora i u efikasnoj kogeneraciji Regulatorna komisija za energetiku,* Accessed on 09/11/2018. Available at: [https://reers.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Zakon\\_OIE\\_39\\_13.pdf](https://reers.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Zakon_OIE_39_13.pdf)

15 *Koncesije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Centar za zastupanje građanskih interesa, April 2020.*



regard, BiH is convincingly the worst country in Europe with 2.2% of its area presently under some form of (mostly insufficient) legal and institutional protection.

Local communities elsewhere in Europe see protected areas as an opportunity for their development and well-being of their residents. Natura 2000, the world's largest coordinated network of protected areas, is established within the EU, stretching over 18% of its land area and almost 6% of its marine territory. Natura 2000 offers a haven to Europe's most valuable and threatened species and habitats.<sup>16</sup>

The expense of effective implementation of Natura 2000 management is estimated at € 5.8 billion annually at the EU level. However, the economic benefits of Natura 2000 far outweigh its costs. In addition to playing a crucial role in protecting Europe's biodiversity, Natura 2000 sites provide a wide range of other ecosystem benefits and services to society. Studies estimate the benefits from Natura 2000 between 200 to 300 billion a year.<sup>17</sup>

The construction of small hydropower plants is one of the main reasons why there are no more protected areas across BiH. The SHPs investors, well connected to government institutions, prevented the establishment of new protected areas in order to reduce risks to their construction projects. Small hydropower plants on the wild rivers are usually built at remote BiH areas that have been environmentally well preserved so far. The SHPs construction means that access roads must be built, which are soon followed by timber thieves and poachers, as well as transmission lines needed to transport electricity from there... In the end, entire precious canyons are often completely destroyed, together with plant and animal communities that have survived the last Ice Age, but are not likely to survive the SHPs builders. In the infamously corrupt political environment of the Western Balkans, it is actually the authorities who have created a legal framework which offers SHPs investors the opportunity to earn as much as possible while minimizing their obligations to communities and the environment. The construction of a series of hydropower

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16 *Natura 2000* [online]. [Accessed on 20/05/2020]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index\\_en.htm](https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index_en.htm)

17 *The Economic benefits of the Environment Natura 2000 Network*. 2013 [online]. [Accessed on 21/ 05/ 2020]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/en2vironment/nature/natura2000/financing/docs/ENV-12-018\\_LR\\_Final1.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/en2vironment/nature/natura2000/financing/docs/ENV-12-018_LR_Final1.pdf)

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plants nowadays happening in BiH would not be possible without law loopholes which the authorities deliberately created. The FBiH 2013 Law on Nature Protection provided "protection measures for strictly protected wild species and subspecies and protection measures of their habitats that shall be prescribed by the Minister in a Rulebook"<sup>18</sup>. The Law proscribed severe penalties for "the activities that might lead to the destruction or some other significant or permanent damage" of strictly protected animals and plants.

However, no penalties have ever been imposed as none of the additional 15 Rulebooks prescribed by the Law has ever been enacted. The deadline for the Rulebooks adoption expired in 2016. The FBiH 2013 Law also prescribed the establishment of the Federal Institute for Nature Protection – as an extremely important institution in the nature protection system. The deadline for its establishment expired in the summer of 2016. The FBiH 2013 Law also provided for the revision of a number of protected areas established before 1995, when the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed, which were to lead to the rapid re-establishment and protection of many of our country's natural resources. This deadline expired in 2015. Otherwise, the Buna, Doljanka, Neretvica, Lepenica and many other rivers' defenders might have had a lever against the SHPs builders who now target them. Additional opportunities for river protection would be provided by the formation of protected areas, long-planned in the BiH Space Planning, the one following the example of other WB and EU countries. This would open the way to development, income generation, and survival of many neglected rural communities.

The long-established studies and plans for many other protected areas have remained buried deep in the drawers of the Entity Environment Ministries – as it was important to satisfy the interests of various anti-forestry and construction lobbies.

The important question is: Who are the SHPs builders in BiH? The array of owners and co-owners of SHPs in BiH is pretty colourful, ranging from foreign companies to local entrepreneurs and politicians. As many as six SHPs in Central Bosnia Canton are owned by its former (multi-mandate) Prime Minister Salko Selman's extended family. The company co-owned by

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18 Zakon o zaštiti prirode, Službene novine Federacije BiH 66/13

Edhem Bičakčić, the former FBiH Prime Minister and the former *Elektroprivreda BiH* director, is a co-owner of at least two small hydropower plants. Amer Jerlagić has a similarly successful career as another former director of *Elektroprivreda* and a politician with co-ownership in at least two small hydropower plants. Members of the extended family of Fuad Kasumović, the current Zenica mayor, also co-own two small hydropower plants.<sup>19</sup>

Tihomir Brajković, the owner of *Tibra*, a company that has built a number of Sarajevo housing estates through dubious arrangements with local authorities, owns three small hydropower plants in BiH. He plans to build six more. Although convicted of tax evasion, Brajković received a permit to exploit natural resources, and annually receives millions in subsidies for renewable energy production.<sup>20</sup> Mirza Teletović, a famous basketball player, has built one and plans to build another mini hydroelectric power plant in his native Jablanica. Out of 445 projects registered so far, foreign companies from Slovenia, Austria, Germany, Croatia, Turkey, etc. appear as full or partial owners in as many as 116 SHPs. The majorly state-owned companies are investors in only 46 projects.<sup>21</sup>

## How to solve the problem?

### – Citizens defending rivers

Citizens are the only defenders of rivers today; at least where there are residents around SHPs building sites. More and more people emigrate from BiH (and other countries of the region) because of, among other reasons, things like this. Unfortunately, the rivers could only be defended where there was hue and cry as brave hearts protected their rivers and environment – the only thing left for them. There is no organized assistance and protection from the state.

### – A moratorium on the construction of mini-hydropower plants

Only the moratorium on the construction of small hydropower plants in BiH can prevent further destruction of the envi-

19 See more at: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

20 *Subsidies for Debt and Fraud*. 2020 [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: <https://www.cin.ba/en/poticaj-za-dugovanja-i-prevare/>

21 See more at: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

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ronment and the future of many rural communities.<sup>22</sup> Due to the lack of environmental protection and regulatory standards in BiH, partial solutions are not possible – like better environmental impact studies, or increased water flow in riverbeds during summer months so that life could be preserved in rivers.

Translated by Mirjana Evtov

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22 *Manifest o očuvanju vode u Bosni i Hercegovini* [online]. [Accessed on 21/05/2020]. Available at: [http://voda.ekoakcija.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/manifest\\_o\\_ocuvanju\\_vode\\_u\\_bosni\\_i\\_hercegovini\\_0.pdf](http://voda.ekoakcija.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/manifest_o_ocuvanju_vode_u_bosni_i_hercegovini_0.pdf)

# MALE HIDROELEKTRANE – OPASNE PREVARE S DALEKOROČNIM ŠTETAMA

Anes Podić

U Bosni i Hercegovini je do sada izgrađeno 106 malih hidroelektrana. U raznim fazama planiranja, pripremaju se izgradnje još barem 339<sup>1</sup>. Prema izvorima iz redova samih investitora na kraju bi taj broj mogao iznositi i preko 600, što bi značilo da na skoro svakoj rijeci, potoku u Bosni i Hercegovini bude izgrađena barem jedna mala hidroelektrana.

Otkako je proširen strah od pandemije, a ljudi natjerani u izolaciju, glavni protagonisti gradnje malih hidroelektrana su u njima naklonjenim javnim medijima još glasnije nastojali propagirati dobrobiti tog njihovog biznisa. Na nekim mjestima su ubrzali svoja razaranja riječnih vodotokova, uvjereni da ih prestrašeni ljudi neće spriječiti te da u uslovima straha nikome nije do tog što oni nezakonito i nasilno rade.

Ovdje će biti ukazano na dva važna pitanja. Prvo, o koristi gradnje malih hidroelektrana. I drugo, o bosanskohercegovačkim potrebama za električnom energijom. U Bosni i Hercegovini je u 2019. godini proizvedeno ukupno 16.074 GWh električne energije, a potrošeno je 12.033 GWh. U velikim hidroelektranama je proizvedeno 5.650 GWh, a 9.613 GWh u termoelektranama na ugalj. **U 104 male hidroelektrane proizvedeno je 497,99 GWh, što je 3,1% od ukupno proizvedene električne energije.**

Nakon što je 2018. godine puštena je u rad vjetroelektrana Mesihovina, instalirane snage 50,6 MW, prvi objekat ove vrste priključen na prijenosni sistem, u 2019. godini u pogon je ušla i vjetroelektrana Jelovača, instalirane snage 36 MW. Ove dvije

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1 Vidjeti više na: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

elektrane, smještene u jugozapadnom dijelu Bosne i Hercegovine, ukupno su proizvele 254 GWh. U obnovljivim izvorima energije proizvedeno je 40% od ukupno proizvedene energije.

Neto izvoz je veći od neto uvoza za 3.743 GWh, što je 7,5 puta više no što je proizvedeno u malim hidroelektranama. Potrošnja električne energije u Bosni i Hercegovini tokom posljednjih 10 godina stagnira.<sup>2</sup> Neto zarada od izvoza električne energije u 2019. godini je iznosila 304 miliona KM (81 KM po GWh).<sup>3</sup> Valja, također, razmotriti često ponavljaju tvrdnju da će male hidroelektrane omogućiti nova zapošljavanja. Ta tvrdnja nije tačna. Ovisno o lokaciji postrojenja, na malim hidroelektranama je zaposlen u pravilu jedan radnik po postrojenju.

Također je često isticano da izgradnjom malih hidroelektrana Bosna i Hercegovina ispunjava svoje međunarodne obaveze u kontekstu klimatske krize. Problem s globalnim zagrijavanjem nastao je prvenstveno emisijama iz razvijenog dijela svijeta. Sjedinjene Američke Države i zemlje EU-28 su odgovorne za preko 50% emisija CO<sub>2</sub>, nastalih u periodu od 1850. do danas. Emisije iz svega pet emitera – Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, EU-28, Kine, Rusije i Japana – odgovorne su za preko 80% isto-rijske emisije CO<sub>2</sub>.<sup>4</sup>

Najveća tri emitera stakleničkih gasova – Kina, Evropska unija i Sjedinjene Američke Države – proizvode četrnaest puta više stakleničkih gasova nego 100 zemalja s dna tabele zemalja rangiranih po proizvodnji stakleničkih gasova.<sup>5</sup> Cijeli region vrlo malo učestvuje u ukupnim emisijama stakleničkih gasova na planeti. Kada je Bosna i Hercegovina u pitanju, njen ukupni doprinos u emisiji stakleničkih gasova je svega 0,075 procenata.

2 *Izveštaj o radu za 2019.* 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine] Dostupno na: <https://www.derk.ba/DocumentsPDFs/DERK-Izvestaj-o-razdu-2019-b.pdf>

3 *BiH ponovila rekordan rezultat u izvozu električne energije.* 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine] Dostupno na: <http://energetika.ba/bih-ponovila-rekordan-rezultat-u-izvozu-elektricne-energije/>

4 Rocha M, et al. *Historical Responsibility for Climate Change – from countries emissions to contribution to temperature increase.* 2015 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://climateanalytics.org/media/historical\\_responsibility\\_report\\_nov\\_2015.pdf](https://climateanalytics.org/media/historical_responsibility_report_nov_2015.pdf)

5 Friedrich J, et al. 2017. *This Interactive Chart Explains World's Top 10 Emitters, and How They've Changed* [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.wri.org/blog/2017/04/interactive-chart-explains-worlds-top-10-emitters-and-how-theyve-changed>

Klimatska kriza ne može biti razdvojena od klimatske pravde, također, klimatska kriza ne može biti riješena bez promjene globalnog poretka, što je na dobrom putu da postane općeprihvaćeni stav aktivista u svijetu.

Postoje mogućnosti da se značajno smanje emisije stakleničkih gasova u Bosni i Hercegovini. Međutim, Bosna i Hercegovina za to nikada nije dobila značajnu pomoć izvana kako bi zamijenila, naprimjer, fosilna goriva (ugalj), koja se koriste za proizvodnju električne energije s energijom iz obnovljivih izvora. Kad su u pitanju termoelektrane u Bosni i Hercegovini – koje zagađuju okoliš na brojne načine, zagađenje zraka je samo jedan od njih – njih bi bilo moguće relativno brzo i bezbolno zatvoriti, pod uslovom da Bosna i Hercegovina dobije značajnu međunarodnu pomoć za:

- izgradnju vjetro i solarnih elektrana<sup>6</sup>, koje bi nadoknadile potrebni manjak električne energije koji bi nastao isključivanjem termoelektrana;
- obezbjeđenje posla za sve rudare koji bi u tom slučaju ostali bez posla, njih je ukupno oko 13.000;
- izgradnju zamjenskih toplana za grijanje Tuzle, Kaknja i Lukavca, koji se trenutno griju parom iz termoelektrana.

Na ovoj listi naravno da nema gradnje novih malih ili velikih hidroelektrana. Odavno nam je bio potreban moratorij na njihovu dalju izgradnju, puno ranije no što je napravljena postojeća strašna šteta u našem okolišu.

Koristeći, naprimjer, brojke o proizvedenoj i potrošenoj električnoj energiji u Bosni i Hercegovini iz 2018.<sup>7</sup> – ako od proizvedenog iznosa odbijemo ono što je trošio sada zatvoreni Aluminij (oko 2 TWh godišnje), zatim oduzmemo izvoz viškova električne energije, odbijemo ono što proizvode hidroelektrane, vjetroelektrane i male hidroelektrane – iznos preostale energije, to je ono što proizvode termoelektrane, a što predstavlja iznos

6 Ukupnih cjenovno kompetitivnih potencijala solarnih i vjetro elektrana je procijenjeno na oko 30 TWh, oko 2,5 puta je veći od sadašnje potrošnje električne energije. (Cost-competitive renewable power generation: Potential across South East Europe. 2017 [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.irena.org/publications/2017/Jan/Cost-competitive-renewable-power-generation-Potential-across-South-East-Europe>

7 *Izvjestaj o radu za 2018.* 2019 [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine] Dostupno na: <https://www.derk.ba/DocumentsPDFs/DERK-Izvjestaj-o-razdu-2018-b.pdf>

koji treba zamijeniti, jeste 4,1 TWh. Tu količinu energije bi bilo moguće nadomjestiti s oko 25 vjetroelektrana veličine Mesihovine, što bi koštalo oko 2 milijarde eura. Kada se na to doda potrebni novac da bi se kreirali zamjenski poslovi za oko 13.000 rudara i izgradnja zamjenskih toplana za Tuzlu, Kakanj i Lukavac, koji se trenutno griju parom iz termoelektrana na ugalj, potrebni iznos bi, vjerovatno, bio blizu 4 milijarde eura.

Postojala je i alternativa da ukidanje termoelektrana sami platimo, naprimjer, novcem prikupljenim od akciza na gorivo. U 2018. godini prema povećanoj putarini za 0,15 KM po litri naftnih derivata, i to za putarinu za izgradnju autoputeva te izgradnju i rekonstrukciju ostalih puteva u 2018. godini, prikupljeno je skoro 500 miliona KM u Bosni i Hercegovini.<sup>8</sup> Preporuke jedine međunarodne studije, koju je radila Agencija za međunarodnu saradnju Japana 2001. godine<sup>9</sup>, u trenutku kada su projekcije rast broja stanovnika i BDP-a bili daleko veći nego sada, bile su da se u Bosni i Hercegovini gradi autoput samo na dionici Sarajevo – Zenica. Njihova je procjena bila da je Bosna i Hercegovina za bilo šta drugo presiromašna. Umjesto toga, bez ikakvog ekonomskog utemeljenja, dobili smo megalomanske planove entitetskih vlada o izgradnji stotina i stotina kilometara autoputeva, koje uglavnom skupim kreditima finansiraju strane razvojne i komercijalne banke.

Da se novac prikupljen od akciza umjesto u izgradnju autoputeva usmjerio u izgradnju obnovljivih izvora energije, vjetro i solarnih elektrana, naprimjer, nakon svega osam godina bio bi prikupljen sav potrebni novac za izgradnju zamjenskih vjetroelektrana; nakon šesnaest godina imali bismo dovoljno novca da platimo i stvaranje novih poslova za rudare, za izgradnju zamjenskih toplana za Tuzlu, Kakanj, Lukavac...; a do 2050. bismo imali dovoljno novca za krpljenje brojnih drugih rupa u našem društvu. I još jedna mantra u vezi s energijom je da Bosna i Hercegovina mora odgovoriti obavezama iz Ugovora o uspostavljanju Energetske zajednice.<sup>10</sup>

8 Č. I. *Prošle godine u BiH prikupljeno 1.1 milijardu KM od putarina i akciza na naftu*. 2019 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.klix.ba/biznis/prosle-godine-u-bih-prikupljeno-1-1-milijardu-km-od-putarina-i-akciza-na-naftu/190208043>

9 *The Study on the Transport Master Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. 2001 [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/710/710\\_953.html](https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/710/710_953.html)

10 Vidjeti više na: <https://energy-community.org/legal/treaty.html>



Dio odgovornosti za dramatičan porast izgradnje malih hidroelektrana u Bosni i Hercegovini snosi i Evropska unija.

Ugovor o uspostavljanju Energetske zajednice je stupio na snagu 1. jula 2006. godine. On omogućava kreiranje najvećeg internog tržišta za električnu energiju i gas na svijetu, u kojem efektivno učestvuje Evropska unija sa jedne strane i sljedećih osam Ugovornih strana: Albanija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora, Kosovo, Makedonija, Moldavija, Srbija i Ukrajina. Osnovni ciljevi Energetske zajednice su kreiranje stabilnog i jedinstvenog regulatornog okvira i tržišnog prostora koji osigurava pouzdano snabdijevanje energentima i može privući investicije u sektore električne energije i prirodnog plina. Pored toga, to je razvoj alternativnih pravaca snabdijevanja plinom i poboljšanje stanja u okolišu, uz primjenu energetske efikasnosti i korištenje obnovljivih izvora. Zaključivanjem ovog Ugovora, ugovorne strane iz regije se obavezuju da između sebe uspostave zajedničko tržište električne energije i plina koje će funkcionirati po standardima tržišta energije EU sa kojim će se integrirati. To se postiže postepenim preuzimanjem dijelova *acquis-a* EU, odnosno implementacijom odgovarajućih direktiva i uredbi EU u područjima električne energije, plina, zaštite okoliša, konkurencije, obnovljivih energijskih resursa, energetska efikasnosti, nafte i statistike. Jednoglasnom Odlukom Ministarskog vijeća Energetske zajednice od 24. oktobra 2013. godine, Ugovor koji je prvobitno zaključen na period od deset godina, produžen je za dodatnih deset godina.<sup>11</sup>

Za region Zapadnog Balkana, za koji se očekuje da će se pridružiti Evropskoj uniji, Evropska unija organizira samo energetsku zajednicu, pri tome se u najvećoj mjeri zanemaruje primjena okolišnog dijela pravne stečevine Evropske unije, a koji bi morao ići u paketu s energijom. Okolišni dio pravne stečevine Evropske Unije drugi je najobimniji, nakon dijela o poljoprivredi. Zemlje koje su na kraju postale članice Evropske unije morale su uložiti veliki trud, vrijeme i novce kako bi ispunili sve zahtjeve u vezi s tim okolišem.

Energija, na koji god način da se proizvodi, uvijek ima značajan utjecaj na okoliš. Ako je istinska namjera Evropske unije da se zemlje regiona pripreme za njeno članstvo, onda briga o oko-

11 *Ugovor o uspostavljanju Energetske zajednice*. 2018 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <http://www.mvteo.gov.ba/Content/Read/energetska-zajednica>

lišu mora imati istaknuto mjesto u svim aktivnostima koje Evropska unija poduzima u zemljama Zapadnog Balkana. Nažalost, odnos Evropske unije prema regionu Zapadnog Balkana je takav da okoliš nije ni spomenut u njenoj Strategiji za zemlje Zapadnog Balkana iz 2018. godine.<sup>12</sup> U Ugovoru o uspostavljanju Energetske zajednice pobrojane su mnoge direktive i pravila Evropske unije u oblasti energije, koje su zemlje potpisnice Ugovora morale prevesti u domaće zakonodavstvo, uključujući i Direktivu o promociji i korištenju energije iz obnovljivih izvora iz 2009. godine. U Ugovoru je pobrojan i dio pravne stečevine Evropske unije u oblasti zaštite okoliša, koji se, međutim, odnosi uglavnom na rad velikih industrijskih postrojenja za proizvodnju električne energije iz fosilnih goriva.

Kad je zaštita prirode u pitanju, naveden je samo jedan član iz zastarjele Direktive 79/409/EEC Evropske unije – o zaštiti divljih ptica. Godine 2012. Direktivu o promociji i korištenju energije iz obnovljivih izvora prihvatile su i zemlje ugovorne strane Energetske zajednice, koje Energetskoj zajednici zatim dostavljaju Nacionalne planova za proizvodnju energije iz obnovljivih izvora. Najznačajniji dio planova je bilo navođenje procenta udjela energije, proizvedene iz obnovljivih izvora, u ukupnoj potrošnji energije u 2020. godini. Bosna i Hercegovina se svojim Nacionalnim planom obavezala da će do 2020. godine 40% od ukupno potrošene energije proizvesti iz obnovljivih izvora. Istovremeno, za zemlje članice Evropske unije propisane su daleko manje ambiciozni i ekonomski lakše podnošljivi ciljevi – svega 20% od ukupno potrošene energije 2020. je trebalo doći iz obnovljivih izvora.

Ova ugovorna obaveza prema Energetskoj zajednici je poslužila lokalnim političarima i njihovim lobijima da od svih mogućih izvora obnovljive energije naglasak stave na izgradnju malih hidroelektrana, kao nešto “što Evropa od nas traži”. Pojedini investitori su izgradnju malih hidroelektrana predstavljali čak i kao uslov za buduće učlanjenje u Evropsku uniju. Onda

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12 *COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans.* 2018 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-credible-enlargement-perspective-western-balkans\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-credible-enlargement-perspective-western-balkans_en.pdf)

su, na osnovu toga, uglavnom u prihode vlasnika malih hidroelektrana usmjeravana nemala sredstva (oko 30 miliona KM u 2018. godini<sup>13</sup>), prikupljena iz “naknada za obnovljive izvore”, koja se plaćaju kao dodatak na mjesečnim računima za električnu energiju građana i privrede.

Također je sporna često iznošena tvrdnja da će lokalna zajednica ostvarivati značajne prihode iz koncesijskih naknada. Investitori malih hidroelektrana s lokalnim vlastima potpisuju koncesione ugovore, obično u trajanju od 30 godina, u zadnje vrijeme sve češće i na 50 godina, unutar kojih se obavezuju da će plaćati i koncesionih naknadu čija dala raspodjela ovisi od entiteta i kantona na čijoj teritoriji je izgrađena mala hidroelektrana. Iznosi koncesionih naknada su simbolični. Obično se kreću u rasponu od 1 do 3% od ukupnog prihoda kojeg ostvari mala hidroelektrana. Ukupni prihod od koncesija opštine Fojnica, na čijoj teritoriji se nalazi čak 6 malih hidroelektrana, u periodu od 2015. do 2018. godine se kretao od 44,6 do 59,6 hiljada KM (1,38% do 1,85% od ukupnih prihoda opštinskog budžeta). Udio prihoda od koncesije Srednjobosanskog kantona, na čijoj teritoriji je do sada izgrađeno ukupno 35 malih hidroelektrana, skoro trećina od ukupnog broja, ukupno je iznosio svega 0,46%<sup>14</sup>.

Sada se valja osvrnuti na štetu koja nastaje izgradnjom malih hidroelektrana i posljedice na živi svijet u Bosni i Hercegovini. Klimatskom krizom državama na planeti nametnute su dvije obaveze – jedna je smanjenje emisija stakleničkih gasova, a druga je zaštita dragocjenog živog svijeta. Prema Indeksu okolišne učinkovitosti, na listi od 180 zemalja Bosna i Hercegovina je po vitalnosti ekosistema rangirana kao pretposljednja. Prema Konvenciji o biodiverzitetu, čiji smo jedan od potpisnika, obavezni smo da do 2020. godine zaštitimo 17% naše teritorije. U ovom trenutku, Bosna i Hercegovina je s 2,28 % teritorije, pod nekim oblikom uglavnom nedovoljne zakonske i institucionalne zaštite, ubjedljivo posljednja zemlja Evrope.

13 Odluka o utvrđivanju potrebnog iznosa naknade za podsticanje i jediničnog iznosa naknade za podsticanje proizvodnje električne energije iz OIEIEK za 2019. godinu, Vlada Federacije BiH, 4. mart 2019; Odluka o visini naknade za podsticanje proizvodnje električne energije iz obnovljivih izvora i u efikasnoj kogeneraciji, Regulatorna komisija za energetiku Republike Srpske, 9. novembar 2018.

14 Koncesije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Centar za zastupanje građanskih interesa, april 2020.

Svugdje drugo lokalne zajednice uspostavu zaštićenih područja vide kao mogućnost za razvoj i dobrobit svojih stanovnika. Unutar zemalja članica Evropske unije uspostavljena je Natura 2000, najveća koordinirana mreža zaštićenih područja na svijetu. Proteže se na preko 18% kopnene površine Evropske unije i gotovo 6% morskog teritorija. Nudi utočište najvrjednijim i najugroženijim vrstama i staništima u Evropi.<sup>15</sup> Procjenjuje se da je za upravljanje i obnovu područja mreže Natura 2000 unutar zemalja Evropske unije potrebno najmanje 5,8 milijardi eura godišnje.

Međutim, koristi koje pruža mreža daleko nadmašuju troškove. Osim što igraju ključnu ulogu u zaštiti biološke raznolikosti Evrope, područja unutar Nature 2000 pružaju društvu širok spektar drugih ekosistemskih koristi i usluga. Jedna od studija je procijenila da vrijednosti koje donosi Natura 2000 iznose između 200 i 300 milijardi eura godišnje za cijelu mrežu.<sup>16</sup>

Izgradnja malih hidroelektrana je jedan od razloga zašto u Bosni i Hercegovini nema više zaštićenih područja. Investitori malih hidroelektrana, dobro povezani s institucijama vlasti, na vrijeme su spriječili uspostavu novih zaštićenih područja kako bi umanjili rizike po implementaciju njihovih graditeljskih projekata. Male hidroelektrane na divljim bosanskohercegovačkim rijekama se obično grade u područjima koja su do sada bila zabačena i sačuvana. To znači da se moraju napraviti pristupni putevi, kojima poslije dolaze šumokradice i lovokradice, dalekovodi, kojima će se sutra transportirati proizvedena energija, i na kraju od same izgradnje često potpuno stradaju dragocjeni kanjoni, gdje su, naprimjer, nakon posljednjeg ledenog doba preživjele cijele biljne i životinjske zajednice, a sada ih, jednu po jednu, uništavaju graditelji malih hidroelektrana.

U potpuno korumpiranom okruženju, kakvo imamo sada u zemljama Zapadnog Balkana, zapravo su vlasti te koje su investitorima malih hidroelektrana napravile odgovarajući zakonski okvir koji im daje mogućnost da oni što bolje zarade, a da pritom njihove obaveze prema zajednici i očuvanju okoliša budu što

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15 *Natura 2000*. [online]. [pristupljeno 20. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index\\_en.htm](https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index_en.htm)

16 *The Economic benefits of the Environment Natura 2000 Network*. 2013 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/financing/docs/ENV-12-018\\_LR\\_Final1.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/financing/docs/ENV-12-018_LR_Final1.pdf)

manje. Izgradnja niza hidroelektrana, koja se danas dešava u Bosni, ne bi bila moguća bez niza rupa u zakonima, koje su vlasti namjerno ostavile. Zakon o zaštiti prirode Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine iz 2013. godine predvidio je propisivanje mjera zaštite za strogo zaštićene divlje vrste i podvrste kao i mjere zaštite njihovih staništa, koje su trebale biti definirane posebnim pravilnikom. Za uništavanje strogo zaštićenih životinja i biljaka zakonom su predviđene vrlo oštre kazne.

Međutim, kazne su izostale, jer nikada nije donešen niti jedan od ukupno dodatnih 15 pravilnika predviđenih ovim zakonom. Rok za njihovo donošenje istekao je još 2016. godine. Zakonom je predviđena i uspostava izvanredno važne institucije u sistemu zaštite prirode – Federalnog zavoda za zaštitu prirode. Rok za njegovu uspostavu istekao je u ljeto 2016. godine. Također, Zakon je predvidio da se uradi revizija brojnih zaštićenih područja, utvrđenih prije 1995. godine, kada je potpisan Dejtonski mirovni sporazum, što bi dovelo do brze ponovne uspostave i zaštite mnogih prirodnih vrijednosti naše zemlje. Ovaj rok je istekao 2015. godine. Da se to uradilo na vrijeme, branioci rijeka Bune, Doljanke, Neretvice, Lepenice i mnogih drugih, koje su tek sad na meti graditelja hidroelektrana, sada bi imali snažnu polugu za odbranu. Dodatne mogućnosti za zaštitu rijeka bi pružilo formiranje zaštićenih područja, davno planiranih u Prostornom planu Bosne i Hercegovine, i to po uzoru na druge zemlje regiona i Evropske unije. To bi otvorilo puteve razvoja, zarade i opstanka mnogim sada zapuštenim seoskim zajednicama.

Davno napravljeni planovi i studije za mnoga druga zaštićena područja ostali su duboko zakopani u ladicama entitetskih ministarstava okoliša, jer je važnije udovoljiti interesima raznih šumarsko-građevinskih lobija.

Važno je upitati se ko su graditelji malih hidroelektrana u Bosni i Hercegovini? Šarena je lepeza vlasnika i suvlasnika malih hidroelektrana u Bosni, od stranih kompanija do lokalnih poduzetnika i političara. U Srednjobosanskom kantonu u vlasništvu šire porodice bivšeg, višemandatnog kantonalnog premijera Salka Selmana je čak 6 malih hidroelektrana; kompanija u suvlasništvu Edhema Bičakčića, nekadašnjega premijera Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, poslije direktora Elektroprivrede Bosne i Hercegovine, suvlasnik je barem dviju malih hidroelektrana. Uspješnu karijeru direktora Elektroprivrede i političara napravio

je i Amer Jerlagić sa suvlasništvom u barem dvije male hidroelektrane. Članovi šire porodice Fuada Kasumovića, sadašnjeg načelnika Zenice, suvlasnici su dviju malih hidroelektrana.<sup>17</sup>

Tihomir Brajković, vlasnik Tibre, kompanije koja je u Sarajevu u sumnjivim aranžmanima s lokalnim vlastima napravila niz stambenih naselja, posjeduje tri male hidroelektrane u Bosni i Hercegovini. Planira izgraditi još šest. Bio je osuđen za utaju poreza, a ipak je dobio dozvolu za eksploataciju prirodnih resursa. Sada godišnje dobija milionske subvencije za obnovljive izvore energije.<sup>18</sup> Mirza Teletović, poznati košarkaš, izgradio je jednu, a planira da gradi još jednu mini hidroelektranu u rodnoj Jablanici. U čak 116 projekata, od do sada registriranih 445, strane kompanije iz Slovenije, Austrije, Njemačke, Hrvatske, Turske itd. se pojavljuju kao potpuni ili djelomični vlasnici. U svega 46 projekata investitor su kompanije u većinskom državnom vlasništvu.<sup>19</sup>

## Kako riješiti problem?

– Građani u odbrani rijeka

Jedini branioci rijeka danas su građani, tamo gdje ih ima. I Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ali i region sve više i više napuštaju ljudi, između ostalog i zbog ovakvih stvari. Nažalost, ono što se do sada desilo kao pobjeda odbranila su hrabra srca i “kuka i motika” ljudi koji tu stanuju i kojima je ta rijeka jedino što im je preostalo. Nikakva organizirana pomoć i zaštita od države.

– Moratorij na gradnju mini hidroelektrana

Jedino što može spriječiti dalje uništavanje okoliša i budućnosti mnogih seoskih zajednica jeste uvođenje potpunog moratorija na dalju izgradnju malih hidroelektrana u Bosni i Hercegovini.<sup>20</sup> Zbog nepostojanja sistema zaštite okoliša u Bosni i Hercegovini, ovdje uopšte nema djelimičnih rješenja – da se rade malo kvalitetnije studije utjecaja na okoliša ili da u rijekama eventualno bude malo više vode u ljetnim mjesecima, kako bi opstao život u sada uglavnom suhim riječnim koritima.

17 Vidjeti više na: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

18 *Subsidies for Debt and Fraud*. 2020 [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: <https://www.cin.ba/en/poticaj-za-dugovanja-i-prevare/>

19 Vidjeti više na: [voda.ekoakcija.org](http://voda.ekoakcija.org)

20 *Manifest o očuvanju vode u Bosni i Hercegovini* [online]. [pristupljeno 21. 05. 2020. godine]. Dostupno na: [http://voda.ekoakcija.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/manifest\\_o\\_ocuvanju\\_vode\\_u\\_bosni\\_i\\_hercegovini\\_0.pdf](http://voda.ekoakcija.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/manifest_o_ocuvanju_vode_u_bosni_i_hercegovini_0.pdf)

# THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM IN THE FACE OF THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

**Keith Doubt**

The coronavirus pandemic throws a bright light on the unfair inequalities that undergird our society. In the United States, the pandemic disproportionately impacts the poor, the elderly, prisoners, native Americans, and black Americans. Workers risk their lives, their own as well as their families, without sick leave or health insurance, for the benefit of the affluent. More than twenty million Americans are now unemployed with no wages or savings to live on. The Navajo Nation has the worst coronavirus cases per capita in the United States. In the State of Georgia, eighty percent of the deaths due to the coronavirus are black Americans, when black Americans constitute less than a third of the State of Georgia's population. The coronavirus pandemic lays bare the classism and the racism that inhabits and structures the society of the United States, which privileged Americans prefer to deny. Will the pandemic's light lead to progressive actions on the part of the government that protect and respect the needs and rights of all people? Will the pandemic mean that social, educational, moral, and spiritual responsibilities take precedence vis-à-vis financial responsibilities, barbarically conceived in a capitalist economy (Banerjee and Duflo 2019)? Will the present reality in all its concreteness be persuasive in ways that moral arguments have not been?

Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber were all afraid of capitalism. The possibility that capitalism could kill society vexes their theorizing. Their sociologies reflect this fear. For Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, the promise of sociology is to ameliorate their fear. It behooves us at this time to revisit the theoriz-



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ing of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber on capitalism. Doing so could help us to redress humanely and justly the classism and racism in society that the pandemic, in such a brutal and concrete way, exposes.

Marx was the least afraid of capitalism. During the French revolution, the bourgeoisie had been a revolutionary force. After overthrowing the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie became the dominant class and the proletariat the oppressed class. The bourgeoisie killed one society and replaced it with another. Their revolution brought with it a principle of legal equality, an end to feudal laws, and a philosophy of individual human rights. Marx anticipated that a proletarian revolution would next overthrow the bourgeoisie much as the bourgeoisie had overthrown the aristocracy.

Bourgeoisie society's unconditional dependence upon capitalism could mean its demise. As capitalism grows, it sows the seeds of its own destruction. Marx (1977, 48) is poignant on this point.

And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

When capitalism assumes its most pure form, it cannot sustain itself as a social entity. The pandemic brings to the forefront the reckless and irresponsible failures of capitalistically motivated leaders. Without a viable and equitable health system for all (which American culture pejoratively refers to as social medicine), many are dying and will continue to die due to the pandemic. Governments want to end stay-at-home orders in order to open up the economy and sacrificing lives to do so. The coronavirus will likely return. Millions have become unemployed with no income to pay for food or to support families. Many are dying because they had to go to work, especially in public sector and health care jobs. The inequality between those working in the public domain and those working safely at home will reach a breaking point. The capitalist society is torturous, causing profound resentments within the society.



Durkheim was also afraid of capitalism, perhaps more afraid of capitalism than Marx. Durkheim saw capitalism, not leading to a different society, but altogether destroying society. This fear is found in the concept of anomie. No norm governs human conduct other than the rule of the strongest. Durkheim saw capitalism degrading society to a society-less jungle. Education, government, science, public services, prisons, and even religious institutions become as normless as the economic life of the free-market capitalism. Economic life plays not only a primary but an exclusive role, and social life is “only feebly ruled by morality” (Durkheim 1933, 2). Society lacks the moderating action of regulation. The result that Durkheim feared is juridical and moral anomie. Judicial anomie is what the United States is witnessing more and more frequently.

Society is not simply a means to an end, say, to protect private property or promote free markets, as neoliberalism tells us. Society is an end-in-itself. Durkheim explains how it is that society is an end-in-itself. “That such anarchy is an unhealthy phenomenon is quite evident, since it runs counter to the aim of society, which is to suppress, or at least to moderate, war among men, subordinating the law of the strongest to a higher law” (Durkheim 1933, 3). What is the law of the strongest? One way to express the law of the strongest is that it is better to do wrong than suffer wrong. Because one is stronger, one can do wrong rather than suffer wrong. At this point, society is invisible. Its aim is not realized. It becomes hard to recognize a higher law utilitarianism for which society becomes nothing more than an efficient means to serve a personal end.

What is the aim of society? What is this higher law that suppresses or at least moderates the law of the strongest? Let us turn to Plato. A higher law would be that it is better to suffer wrong than do wrong. The argument is carefully developed in Plato’s *Gorgias*. We, of course, do not want to suffer wrong. We want to protect ourselves from suffering wrong. We, though, do not protect ourselves from suffering wrong by doing wrong. Doing wrong, in fact, leads to a greater suffering, a suffering of the soul. To protect ourselves from suffering such a wrong, we choose not to do wrong. Here, in Platonic terms, is a higher law that suppresses or at least moderates the rule of the strongest. This higher law establishes a sense of social order, a moral one not based on

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force alone. For Durkheim, this higher law than the law of the strongest is the *raison d'être* of society.

Weber was also afraid of capitalism. Weber expresses his fear of capitalism indirectly and less polemically. Weber's fear is found in his account of charismatic legitimacy. Charismatic authority contrasts with bureaucratic authority.

In contrast with all forms of bureaucratic administrative systems, the charismatic structure recognizes no forms or orderly procedures for appointment or dismissal, no 'career,' no 'advancement,' no 'salary'; there is no organized training either for the bearer of charisma or his aides, no arrangements for supervision or appeal, no allocation of local areas of control or exclusive areas of competence, and finally no standing institutions comparable to bureaucratic 'governing bodies' independent of persons and of their purely personal charisma. Rather, charisma recognizes only those stipulations and limitations which come from within itself. (Weber 1978, 227)

When an efficient, rational bureaucracy controls capitalism, capitalism flourishes. Rational, effective bureaucratic leadership promises to sustain a stable and (perhaps) healthy capitalism. When charismatic legitimacy controls capitalism, it becomes dangerous and unstable. The spirit of capitalism goes mad. Capitalism becomes demented and perverse.

Robert Reich (2016) makes an astute observation: President Donald Trump's supporters support him precisely for the qualities he is criticized for, namely, his bigotry, megalomania, narcissism, xenophobia, and so on. The more rational pundits' criticism of Trump, the more their criticism empowers him. The more moral pundits' critique of Trump, the more it emboldens him. Here is the rhetorical difficulty with the endless critiques of Trump's presidency in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

To his supporters, Trump looks like a natural leader in a time of spiritual, economic, and ethical decay. To his supporters, Trump embodies the spirit of capitalism. He is not appointed, nor trained. He is neither a specialist nor a professional. He appears, simply appears, to possess a certain gift, a knack, that his supporters regard as supernatural. This gift is special because it is not available, as his fallen opponents demonstrate, to others. The national media provides Trump with his followers' recognition,

giving proofs of his greatness and invincibility, no matter how irrational or duplicitous these proofs are.

Fox TV and radio shows with Rush Limbaugh empower Trump. To maintain the loyalty of his following, Trump must prove himself every day, and he can do so in whatever way imaginable. The more outrageous, the more spectacular, the more irrational, the more amoral, the better this is for strengthening charismatic authority. Recommending disinfectants as a cure for the corona virus is surreal and unintelligible, but it is real and intelligible from the viewpoint of the magical powers of a charismatic leader. The charismatic leader acquires the right to dominate only by proving his powers in real life, powers superior to science and reason.

Trump's charisma may fail to overcome the pandemic. He may fall, not because an opponent defeats him, but because the reality of the corona pandemic dooms him. The nihilism and toxicity in Trump's charismatic legitimacy are exposed by the pandemic. Charisma thrives in a consequenceless world. Charisma sees itself as the only thing of consequence. The pandemic represents the consequential force of nature. The force of nature will moderate the spirit of capitalism in ways that humanity cannot. Humanity will be grateful. Trump's followers do not see and do not accept what the light of the pandemic reveals, which is a testimony to the powerfulness of Trump's charismatic legitimacy.

Charismatic authority mocks science. It silences bureaucratic authority, as witnessed by Trump's dismantling of the federal agencies that had the foresight to anticipate and plan for a possible pandemic. Trump insults Congress, the State Department, and the press. He weakened the World Health Organization by cutting funding from the United States. The rationality and formal organization of these institutions (attributes needed to address the pandemic intelligently and humanely) are threats to Trump. Weber (1978, 230) explains where Trump is coming from.

Genuinely charismatic justice is always rule-free in this sense: in its pure form it is completely opposed to all the bonds of formalism and tradition and is as free in its attitude to the sanctity of tradition as to rationalistic deductions from abstract concepts.

Weber's fear of the spirit of capitalism is more prophetic than Marx or Durkheim's.

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Wall Street has done well under the charismatic leadership of Trump. Trump has served Wall Street better than the bureaucratic leadership of Hillary Clinton would have. The stock market has been profitable for the bourgeoisie, and the stock market serves as Trump's grateful bodyguard. Charismatic rule "rejects as dishonorable all rational planning in the acquisition of money, and in general all rational forms of economy" (Weber 1978, 231)

It will be a challenge now for the government of the United States to switch from charismatic authority to bureaucratic authority, something the Democratic National Party and moderate Democrats, given their loyalty to Wall Street and nostalgia for Barack Obama, do not adequately grasp. Leftist and socialist critiques of capitalism are direct and polemical. They assume the legitimacy of capitalism is surely in doubt, and they have compelling moral principles with which to make to this assumption. The working class is disenfranchised. The masses are depoliticized. These critiques, however, have remained largely inconsequential in the United States, as witnessed in the strong resistance to Bernie Sanders' presidential campaign. Sanders' campaign was based not on charismatic or bureaucratic legitimacy but on traditional legitimacy one grounded in a political heritage, as reflected in the Civil Rights Movement, that respects the human rights of all. Capitalism's hegemony goes unchallenged whether under bureaucratic or charismatic leadership.

The legitimacy of capitalism persists, and it is this phenomenon that Weber explains as the spirit of capitalism. Charisma sustains predatory capitalism. Charisma permits booty capitalism, where the government bails out banks and oil companies at the start of the pandemic. These bail outs, when so many are destitute and unable to survive, supply the material needs of wealthy corporations, not for exchange or economic reasons, but simply to obtain material goods. For this reason, charismatic authority is an anti-economic force. Charisma allows gangster capitalism where the health care industry and pharmaceutical companies use the bank robber's line, "Your money or your life." Weber identifies that spirit holding capitalism together, giving it legitimacy. It is necessary to unravel the two forms of authority that sustain today's capitalism, charismatic and bureaucratic.

One can only understand the double nature of what one might call "the spirit of capitalism," and equally the specific features of the

modern professionalized, bureaucratic form of everyday capitalism if one learns to make the conceptual distinction between these two structural elements, which are thoroughly entangled with one another, but are in the last analysis distinct. (Weber 1978, 231)

Marx, Durkheim, and Weber fear that capitalism will prove fatal to society. For Marx, capitalism is a tidal wave in the ocean of world history. For Durkheim, capitalism is a shattering earthquake at the epicenter of society. For Weber, capitalism, when ruled charismatically, is an insidious and invisible virus. The way in which Weber expresses his fear of capitalism may be more helpful at this time.

# THE CORONAVIRUS ENIGMA AND THE BALKANS

Sonja Biserko

“Rage, rage against the dying of the light.”  
Dylan Thomas

Over a very short period, the pandemic – whose outcome remains unknown – has already transformed the world, introducing revolutionary changes into the daily life of the planet. Though the pandemic did not spell the end of globalisation, it has certainly highlighted its problems.

The changes arising as the virus spread were not new, all these processes were already under way and the crisis simply threw them into starker relief. It accelerated the transformation of the world and trends that had already taken hold. It sped up three fundamental geopolitical trends – the rise of Asia, i.e. China, the retreat of the US, and the growing power of Germany within Europe.

The pandemic further marginalised universal values, including human rights, while ethnic nationalism, *souverainisme* and religion suppressed liberalism to become dominant in the formulation of global policies. Deep changes to social structure brought forth populist leaders who redefined the core values and principles of liberal democracy.

The Western Balkans are part of that broader picture, but with more fatal consequences, because the pandemic has laid bare the serious ailments of Western Balkan societies – chronic issues, a corrupt political class, an inept bureaucracy, a fragile economy, ransacked education and healthcare systems, divided societies. In a host of its reports on the Balkans, the European Commission talks of “captured societies”. Perhaps a more precise formulation would be that these societies are “hostages of the past” and that political elites very skilfully manipulate painful

memories without endeavouring to find a way to gradually overcome that difficult past.

In the context of global geostrategic restructuring, the Balkans have become a hotspot of geostrategic competition between powerful members of the international community.

Though the Western Balkans are formally committed to Euro-Atlantic integration, the region essentially lacks domestic human resources needed for the reforms required for EU membership. The region was far more prepared for such undertakings before the 1990s than it is today. The wars, the annulment of past achievements in the name of “new values”, failed transition, as well as solutions put in place after the wars (the Dayton Agreement, Kosovo’s status) – all of this has stymied Balkan societies and kept alive the territorial aspirations of certain local actors. The Western international community underestimated the strength of these aspirations and left the Balkans as “unfinished business”.

Two decades are a period long enough to warrant a realistic appraisal of the potential not just of the region as a whole, but of each country individually. It should be noted that under the previous, Yugoslav project, they also had disparate levels of development, as well as different conceptions about how to transform Yugoslavia – centralism versus confederation. The clash between these two concepts resulted in a brutal demise. Three decades after the common country fell apart, the differences are still present, primarily in visions for the future, but also in regional relations.

In that sense, Serbia stands out as a country that is not prepared to accept the new reality in the region by recognising the existence of new states and by treating them as equal partners. This is seen almost daily in its treatment of neighbours, which it has not accepted as independent countries, continuing to foster claims to their territories. This pertains primarily to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Kosovo, but also to Macedonia. Instead of normalising relations, Belgrade adopted a policy of “protecting the Serb people” and preventing their integration into their home countries, which essentially stokes tensions through hate speech and by demonising neighbouring peoples.

One of the main effects of globalisation is causing a sense of uncertainty and giving rise to the need for affirming one’s own

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identity. Serbia has shown itself to be incapable of transformation and this has significantly influenced regressive trends in the region. In addition, the sense of frustration over the loss of Yugoslavia, which it had perceived as an expanded Serbia, also strongly influenced Serbia's conduct on the international scene.

The prospect of joining the EU used to have a strong mobilising effect, but in the past few years it has petered out, both because of the world economic crisis and perhaps even more because of a particular kind of crisis within the EU (Brexit, populist leaders, the growing gap between north and south, etc.).

Two factors are pushing the Western Balkans into instability: on the one side, the EU is unprepared to accelerate the enlargement process in the Balkans, while on the other there is increased Russian presence and support for the anti-Western opposition. China, in addition to having an economic presence (mostly through investments), is also looking to strengthen its political influence in the long run.

As a country with a central position in the Balkans, Serbia is trying to make the most of the political and economic context where it sees most benefit for itself. In that sense, Belgrade displays self-confidence and believes it can make headway in diversifying relations with both Russia and China. At the same time, the way the West caters to Serbia as a leader in the region and a factor of stability has contributed to a belief among Serbian elites that their aspirations are feasible.

The pandemic has completely exposed the fragility of systems in the Western Balkans. Though the response to COVID19 went relatively well, the pandemic has demonstrated how the small and economically weak Balkan countries are not up to the task of meeting contemporary challenges at the national level and that these cannot be solved without international coordination and solidarity. At the same time, Balkan ethno-centricity is rendered nugatory.

The vulnerability of the Western Balkans became evident during the pandemic, which elicited special attention from the EU. Croatia, being the Member State presiding over the EU Council during the pandemic, organised a Western Balkans Summit (in May) in an effort to take part in the post-pandemic recovery strategy. Apart from this, after much humming and hawing, the EU finally gave both North Macedonia and Albania candidate status,



thereby announcing its return to the Balkans, but also signalling that the Balkans were within its sphere of interest.

In order to act constructively, there needs to be consensus on principles and rules, as well as their implementation. Unfortunately, these are absent. The risk posed by attempts to abandon the principles propping up the Balkan architecture makes the future of Kosovo and Bosnia a subject of grave concern. Their future should be viewed from three plains: the internal, the regional, and the international, primarily the European level.

Since the Balkans are still treated as “unfinished business”, especially when it comes to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, and with the US and Russia preoccupied with their own problems, the EU has an opportunity to show its true power in bringing together the Balkan mosaic.

The pandemic will definitely change the world order, but it is important to maintain the principles of the liberal world order built into the foundations of the Balkan architecture over the past 20 years. Both Kosovo and Bosnia, and all the rest are in dire need of leaders and governments with a vision, if they are to overcome the obstacles that prevent normalisation. It is necessary to regain the trust of citizens in institutions and in solidarity, both within societies and in seeking sustainable regional peace. Otherwise, the Balkans might reignite, which would have far-reaching and unforeseeable consequences both for the region and for Europe.

This is what makes regional consolidation and regional solidarity crucial for making the region a subject in and not the object of international relations. Regional cooperation is a key element of the European prospects for the Western Balkans. For the EU, consolidation of the Balkans would be proof that there was still potential for integration. Dividing the region between different spheres of interest would be disastrous, because it would constantly generate tensions between the different interests. At the Munich Security Conference, the new EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Josep Borrell said, “If we are unable to play a more significant role in our immediate neighbourhood, we can forget about Europe having a role in geopolitics.” Given the EU’s aspirations to become a global player, the Western Balkans will be the first test of its readiness.

What is certain is that the global economy has been hard hit by an invisible enemy and this will necessarily lead to a global restructuring on a completely new basis. Whether we will proceed towards a better and more just world or descend into social collapse depends on each of us individually. Problems such as pandemics, climate change, wildfires, terrorism, trafficking, etc. require global responses and universal cooperation.

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

# BALKAN I ENIGMA KORONE

Sonja Biserko

“Rage, rage against the dying of the light.”  
Thomas Dylan

Pandemija, čiji je ishod još neizvestan, za kratko vreme je promenila svet i, takoreći, uvela revolucionarne promene u svakodnevni život planete. Mada pandemija nije kraj globalizacije, sigurno je ukazala na njene probleme.

Promene do kojih je došlo tokom širenja virusa nisu nove, već je reč o procesima koji su se već odvijali, a kriza ih je samo katalizirala. Ona je ubrzala transformaciju sveta i trendove koji su već odmakli. Ubrzala je tri fundamentalna geopolitička trenda – podizanje Azije, odnosno Kine, povlačenje Amerike i jačanje Nemačke u okviru Evrope.

Pandemija je dodatno marginalizovala univerzalne vrednosti, uključujući ljudska prava, a etnički nacionalizam, suverenizam i religija potisnuli su liberalizam i postali su dominantni u formulisanju globalnih politika. Duboke društvene strukturne promene su iznedrile populističke lidere koji su redefinisali najvažnije vrednosti i principe liberalne demokratije.

Zapadni Balkan je deo te šire slike s mnogo pogubnijim posledicama, jer je pandemija do kraja ogolila ozbiljne boljke društava Zapadnog Balkana – hronične probleme, korumpiranu političku klasu, nekompetentnu birokratiju, fragilnu ekonomiju, devastirano školstvo i zdravstvo, podeljeno društvo. Evropska komisija je u nizu svojih izveštaja o Blakanu konstatovala da se radi o “zarobljenim društvima”. Možda bi preciznije bila formulacija da su ta društva “taoci prošlosti” i da političke elite veoma vešto manipulišu bolnim sećanjima bez pokušaja da nađu način da se ta prošlost postepeno prevazilazi.

U kontekstu globalnog geostrateškog prestrojavanja Balkan je postao tačka na kojoj se odvija geostrateško nadmetanje moćnih članica međunarodne zajednice.

Mada Zapadni Balkan formalno teži evroatlantskim integracijama, region u suštini nema unutrašnji ljudski potencijal za reforme koje su neophodne za članstvo u Evropsku uniju. Region je u tom smislu bio mnogo spremniji za taj proces pre devedesetih nego sada. Ratovi, poništavanje prethodnih dostignuća u ime “novih vrednosti”, neuspešna tranzicija, ali i rešenja koja su usledila nakon ratova (Dejtonski sporazum, status Kosova) – sve to je blokiralo balkanska društva i održalo u životu teritorijalne aspiracije pojedinih lokalnih aktera. Zapadna međunarodna zajednica je potcenila snagu tih aspiracija i ostavila Balkan kao “unfinished business”.

Dve decenije su dovoljno dug period koji iziskuje i realno sagledavanje potencijala ne samo regiona kao celine, već i svake pojedinačne zemlje. Zato, jer su i u prethodnom jugoslovenskom projektu imale različit nivo razvoja, ali i koncept preuređenja Jugoslavije – centralizam versus konfederacija. Sukob dvaju koncepata doveo je do brutalnog raspada. I posle tri decenije od raspada zajedničke zemlje te razlike se još očituju, pre svega u pogledu vizije budućnosti, ali i regionalnih odnosa.

U tom smislu Srbija se izdvaja kao zemlja koja nije spremna prihvatiti novu realnost u regionu, odnosno priznati postojanje novih država i tretirati ih kao ravnopravne partnere. To se ogleda u njenom svakodnevnom odnosu prema susedima koje nije prihvatila kao nezavisne države i na čije teritorije još uvek ima pretenzije. To se pre svega odnosi na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Crnu Goru, Kosovo, pa i na Makedoniju. Umesto normalizacije odnosa, Beograd svojom politikom “zaštite srpskog naroda” i sprečavanjem njihove integracije u matične zemlje u suštini podstiče tenzije kroz govor mržnje i demonizacijom svih susednih naroda.

Jedna od glavnih posledica globalizacije je i izazivanje osećanja nesigurnosti i potrebe za afirmisanjem vlastitih identiteta. Srbija je pokazala da nije sposobna da se transformiše i time je bitno uticala na regresivne trendove u regionu. Osim toga, osećaj frustracije zbog gubitka Jugoslavije, koju je percipirala kao proširenu Srbiju, imao je i ima snažan utjecaj na ponašanje Srbije na međunarodnoj sceni.

Svojevremeno je perspektiva priključivanja EU imala snažan mobilisajući efekat koji se međutim poslednjih godina istopio, kako zbog svetske ekonomske krize, tako, možda još više, zbog

svojevrzne krize unutar Evropske unije (Bregzit, populistički lideri, pojačane razlike između severa i juga...).

Dva faktora guraju Zapadni Balkan u nestabilnost: nespornost Evropske unije da ubrza proces širenja na Balkan, s jedne strane, i Rusija, koja je sve prisutnija u podršci antizapadnoj opoziciji, s druge. I Kina, osim ekonomskog prisustva (uglavnom investicionog), dugoročno jača i svoj politički utjecaj.

Kao zemlja koja ima centralno mesto na Balkanu, Srbija pokušava da maksimalno iskoristi politički i ekonomski kontekst za koji smatra da je po nju povoljan. U tom smislu, Beograd pokazuje samouverenost i smatra da može napredovati u diversifikaciji odnosa i s Rusijom i s Kinom. Istovremeno podilazeći odnos Zapada prema Srbiji, lideru regiona i faktoru stabilnosti, doprineo je uverenju srpskih elita da su njihove pretenzije ostvarljive.

Pandemija je u potpunosti eksponirala fragilnost sistema na Zapadnom Balkanu. Mada je bitka s COVID-19 relativno dobro prošla, pandemija je pokazala da male i ekonomski slabe balkanske zemlje ne mogu da se nose sa savremenim izazovima na nacionalnom nivou i da se oni ne mogu rešavati bez međunarodne koordinacije i solidarnosti. To ujedno obesmišljava i balkansku etnocentričnost.

Ranjivost Zapadnog Balkana postala je očigledna tokom pandemije, što je iznudilo i posebnu pažnju Evropske unije. Hrvatska je kao predsedavajuća zemlja Evropske unije tokom pandemije organizovala samit o zapadnom Balkanu (maj) sa željom da se uključi u strategiju oporavka nakon pandemije. Osim toga, Evropska unija je nakon dugo oklevanja ipak dodelila status kandidata i Severnoj Makedoniji i Albaniji. Time je najavila svoj povratak na Balkan, ali manifestovala i stav da je Balkan u domenu njene interesne sfere.

Da bi delovala konstruktivno neophodan je konsensus oko principa i pravila te njihove implementacije. Nažalost, danas toga nema. Rizik koji predstavljaju pokušaji da se napuste principi na kojima je građena balkanska arhitektura čini budućnost Kosova i Bosne predmetom velike zabrinutosti. Njihovu budućnost treba sagledavati na tri nivoa: unutrašnjem, regionalnom i međunarodnom, pre svega, na evropskom nivou.

S obzirom da se Balkan još uvek tretira kao “unfinished business”, posebno kada je reč o Bosni i Hercegovini i Kosovu,

Evropska unija je dobila priliku, s obzirom da su i Sjedinjene Američke Države i Rusija zaokupljene svojim problemima, da pokaže svoju stvarnu snagu u zatvaranju balkanskog mozaika.

Pandemija će definitivno promeniti svetski poredak, ali je važno da se sačuvaju principi liberalnog svetskog poretka na kome je tokom poslednjih 20 godina građena arhitektura Balkana. I Kosovu i Bosni, ali i ostalima, preko su potrebni lideri i vlade sa vizijom, kako bi se savladale prepreke koje sprečavaju normalizaciju. Potrebno je povratiti poverenje građana u institucije i solidarnost, kako unutar sopstvenog društva, tako i u traženju održivog regionalnog mira. U suprotnom Balkan se može ponovo zapaliti, s nesagledivim posledicama kako za region, tako i za Evropu.

Zato je važna regionalna konsolidacija i regionalna solidarnost što bi region učinilo subjektom, a ne objektom međunarodnih odnosa. Regionalna saradnja je važan element evropske perspektive Zapadnog Balkana. Za Evropsku uniju bi konsolidacija Balkana bila dokaz da još uvek ima potencijal za integraciju. Podela regiona na različite interesne sfere bila bi pogubna, jer bi to generisalo stalne tenzije između različitih interesa. Novi komesar za spoljnu politiku Žosep Borel je na konferenciji za bezbednost u Minhenu izjavio: “Ako nismo sposobni da odigramo najznačajniju ulogu u neposrednom susedstvu, zaboravite na ulogu Evrope u geopolitici.” S obzirom na pretenzije Evropske unije da postane globalni igrač, Zapadni Balkan će biti prvi test da li je za to spremna.

Ono što je sigurno jeste da je globalna ekonomija na udaru nevidljivog neprijatelja, što će neminovno dovesti do prestrojavanja na globalnom planu na sasvim drugim osnovama. Od svakog pojedinačno zavisi da li će to biti u prilog boljem i pravednijem svetu ili će svet doživeti društveni kolaps. Problemi kao što se pandemije, klimatske promene, požari, terorizam, trafiking i sl. traže globalne odgovore i saradnju svih.



**The forth panel / Četvrti panel**

**PLURALITY AND SOLIDARITY  
IN A TIME OF EMERGENCY /  
PLURALNOST I SOLIDARNOST  
U VANREDNIM OKOLNOSTIMA**





# BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: STATE-POWER AND SOCIETY

Neven Anđelić

## Introduction

“The end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989) thesis attracted global attention and passionate debate, both in academic and political circles, since its initial appearance in 1989. Numerous consequent academic debates of the topic and the original article prove the significance of the idea in normative terms that corresponds to the fall of the Berlin Wall in the empirical analysis. The support for this theory has waned since, but it is inevitable to consider its values in a study of a liberal democratic order that dominates Europe since. It has been challenged throughout this period in the form of illiberal democracy, hybrid regime or autocracy, often based on nationalist ideology. Some countries have set initially off on a transition towards a liberal form of democracy have rerouted their political development and society.

Values of liberal democracy include separation of powers and a system of governance that promotes and secures individual freedom, inclusive and free society, tolerance, strong civil society, free press, the rule of law. Fukuyama's original idea was challenged by Huntington's "clash of civilizations" (Huntington, 1991). Nowhere had the two theories been more contested than in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the 1990s. Sarajevo became a symbol of cultural, societal and political values, rightly or wrongly, that liberal democratic world stands for.

For many engaged intellectuals, the city and “the Bosnian war was the ‘Spanish Civil War of our generation.’” (Berman, 2012: 243) Multiple authors played with the comparison “as one journalist friend said, Bosnia was our generation’s Spanish Civil

War.” (Jones, 2017: 125) Bernard-Henry Levy initiated a list for the European elections in 1994 called “Europe Begins in Sarajevo” that was supported by thirty-five French intellectuals. Not everyone, however, agreed with “Les Intellos,” as they became known in a somewhat pejorative reference. There were those who opposed the idea, like Guy Sorman, who sarcastically commented on Levy’s engagement: “Of course, what Levy is really saying is, ‘This is the Spanish Civil War and I am Andre Malraux.’”<sup>1</sup>

This kind of understanding was rather widespread among intellectuals at the time. “For those journalists who took it up, the Bosnian cause, like *La Causa* of the Spanish civil war, became all-encompassing,”<sup>2</sup> a reviewer argued. Some politicians also described the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as “Spanish,” adding it “was not a hangover from the past, but a predictor of what was to come.” (Ashdown, 2009: 267) Above all, it was Susan Sontag, who by putting the case and the values in the context, referenced “the Spanish Civil War because it was a stand against the Fascist menace,” and “the Bosnian war because it was the stand of a small, fledgling European country wishing to remain multicultural.”<sup>3</sup>

This paper is not going to discuss the war-time but the current state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the values of liberal democracy, and the society twenty-five years since the establishment of the specific post-conflict state-power. The academic curiosity led to the question of how the society, once a *cause célèbre* of liberal western intellectuals and politicians, has performed since? What kind of society is to be found in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the state-power developed during the post-conflict period?

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- 1 Riding, A. 26 May 1994. Paris Journal; For the Bosnian Cause, Some French Brainpower. *The New York Times*. Available from <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/05/26/world/paris-journal-for-the-bosnian-cause-some-french-brainpower.html>
  - 2 Simpson, J. 22 April 2012. The War is Dead, Long Live the War: Bosnia – The Reckoning by Ed Vulliamy – review. *The Guardian*. Available from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/apr/22/vulliamy-war-dead-bosnia-review>
  - 3 Sontag, S. 9th December 2002. Looking at War. *The New Yorker*. Available from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/12/09/looking-at-war>

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## Regime, Freedoms, The Rule of Law, Human Rights and Corruption

Of the forty-five states in Europe with over half a million population, twenty-four went through the process of transition from communist system towards some form of democracy. The challenging process in itself has proven to be more complex for some of these countries as societies and state had to go in parallel processes through both the transition and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. The conflicts in several post-Soviet and post-Yugoslav countries have been all tragic, but none of these states has suffered material levels of devastation and destruction of the social and political pattern as Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This paper will present a study of the state-power and society in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the broader European context. The methodology is based on the study of sixteen global indices of democracy, human, economic and media freedoms, the rule of law, corruption and human rights.<sup>4</sup> International nongovernmental organizations, academic research centres, thinktanks provide a broad range of indices in this field. However, not all of them are all-inclusive to provide a reliable sample of entries for the comparative analysis. Their specific methods of data collection might differ, but multiple indices provide a solid base for valid conclusions about the relationship of state-power and society. As indices used different methodologies and descriptions, they were given numerical values in this study so they could correspond to each other, and the final results could be measured.

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4 Economist Intelligence Unit. Democracy Index 2019; Center for Systemic Peace. Global Report 2017; V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Annual Democracy Report 2020; Freedom House. Freedom in the World 2020; Friedrich Neumann Stiftung. 2019. Freedom Barometer Index; Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty. 2019. World Electoral Freedom Index; Cato Institute. 2019. Human Freedom Index; The Heritage Foundation. 2020. Index of Economic Freedom; Fraser Institute. 2017. Economic Freedom Index; Transparency International. 2019. Corruption Perceptions Index; V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Annual Democracy Report 2019; World Justice Project. 2020. Rule of Law Index; Friedrich Neumann Stiftung. 2019. Human rights Index; V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Freedom of Expression Index 2019; Reporters Without Borders. World Press Freedom Index 2020; Freedom House. Freedom and the Media 2019.

Once all the findings are put in place, it will be clear what kind of state-power has developed and what kind of society is to be found in the country. Each group of indices, i.e., regime, or human freedoms, or economic freedoms, or the rule of law with corruption and human rights, or media freedoms is measured separately by putting all indices from the particular group together. The lower the resulting index, the better the country's score. In the concluding part of the paper, the results of Bosnia-Herzegovina will set in the broader European context.

REGIME							
Democracy Index		Global Report Index		Annual Democracy Report		FINAL	
Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index 3-12
Fool Democracy	1	Full Democracy	1	Liberal Democracy	1	Liberal Democracy	3-4
Flawed Democracy	2	Democracy	2	<b>Electoral Democracy</b>	<b>2</b>	Liberalised Democracy	5-6
<b>Hybrid Regime</b>	<b>3</b>	Open Anocracy	3	Electoral Autocracy	3	Populist Democracy	7-8
Authoritarian	4	Closed Anocracy	3	Closed Autocracy	4	<b>Populist Autocracy</b>	<b>9-10</b>
		Autocracy	4			Full Autocracy	11-12
		<b>Occupied/Failed*</b>	<b>5</b>				

\* Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only country with the status of “occupied” country although the justification is wrong. Azerbaijan, Cyprus, Georgia, Kosovo and Ukraine were not given the same status.

The regime in Bosnia-Herzegovina is described as hybrid<sup>5</sup> in one list, while another institution sees the country as electoral democracy<sup>6</sup>. Different barometers name groups differently. The importance, however, is that the country being in the second or third quality group in the two barometers is not a liberal-democracy and the only issue is how distant from these values Bosnia-Herzegovina is. The third research describes Bosnia-Herzegovina as “occupied”<sup>7</sup> what is puzzling. None of the other countries with

5 Economist Intelligence Unit. Democracy Index 2019. Available from [https://www.eiu.com/public/topical\\_report.aspx?campaignid=democracyindex2019](https://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=democracyindex2019)

6 V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Annual Democracy Report 2020. Available from [https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer\\_public/f0/5d/f05d46d8-626f-4b20-8e4e-53d4b134bfcf/democracy\\_report\\_2020\\_low.pdf](https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/f0/5d/f05d46d8-626f-4b20-8e4e-53d4b134bfcf/democracy_report_2020_low.pdf)

7 Center for Systemic Peace. Global Report 2017. Available from <http://www.systemicpeace.org/vlibrary/GlobalReport2017.pdf>

recent experience of violent conflict is described as such. Cyprus, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ukraine and Kosovo are all lacking control over some parts of their sovereign territory while Bosnia-Herzegovina, albeit with the consociational regime, controls the whole territory. International organizations are present in the country, and therefore it has a form of supervised sovereignty. Nevertheless, it has full control over its territory.

The study has to rely on findings of different indices, regardless if some of them have misinterpreted facts. This results in setting the country in the same category with Russia, Turkey, Ukraine and Armenia which are named as "populist autocracy". The fact is that there is no single all-powerful leader in Bosnia-Herzegovina around whom the system is organized, but the consociational political model has provided for three such leaders who almost independently run their sub-national territories. This fact justifies marking Bosnia-Herzegovina as "populist autocracy". If the index did not characterize it as "occupied", but like a form of anocracy, Bosnia-Herzegovina would join Montenegro, Serbia, North Macedonia, Georgia and Moldova in the group of populist democracies, what would be, after studying the country's regime, a more realistic description.

Four different indices have been collected in the research of human freedoms. The country is described as "partly free"<sup>8</sup>, "moderately free"<sup>9</sup>, with "high freedom"<sup>10</sup> placing it in the third out of six groups in the barometer. In another index, Bosnia-Herzegovina belongs to the "second-tier" out of four with the index of 7.37 out of 10<sup>11</sup>. All four indices combined helped to create a barometer with four categories in which Bosnia-Herzegovina is described as moderately free, belonging to the third out of four groups.

8 Freedom House. 9<sup>th</sup> April 2020. Available from <https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores>

9 Index: 54.68/100. Friedrich Neumann Stiftung. 2019. Freedom Barometer Index. Available from <http://freedombarometer.org/>

10 Foundation for the Advancement of Liberty. 2019. World Electoral Freedom Index. Available from <http://www.fundalib.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/WEFI-2019-web.pdf>

11 Cato Institute. 2019. Human Freedom Index. Available from <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/human-freedom-index-files/cato-human-freedom-index-update-3.pdf>

HUMAN FREEDOM									
Freedom House Index		Freedom Barometer Index		World Electoral Freedom Index		Human Freedom Index		FINAL	
Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index 4-16
Free	1	Free	1	Outstanding	1	Most Free	1	Free	4-6
<b>Partly Free</b>	<b>3</b>	Mostly Free*	2	Very High	2	<b>II</b>	<b>2</b>	Mostly Free	7-9
Not Free	4	<b>Moderately Free</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>2</b>	III	3	<b>Moderately Free</b>	<b>10-12</b>
		Mostly Unfree	4	Acceptable	3	Least Free	4	Not Free	13-16
		Unfree	4	Insufficient	4				
				Low	4				

\* Countries indexed 70 and above have status “mostly free” and are allocated 2 index points while those indexed below 70 have status “moderately free” and are allocated 3 index points in this study.

Two organizations have measured economic freedoms, and they both set Bosnia-Herzegovina in the third quality group. The category is described as "moderately free"<sup>12</sup> and “III Quartile”<sup>13</sup> in another barometer. Therefore, it is safe to conclude the country has moderate economic freedoms reflecting the third out of four groups in this study.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM					
Index of Economic Freedom		Economic Freedom Index		FINAL	
Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index 2-8
Free	1	Most Free	1	Free	2-3
Mostly Free	2	II Quartile	2	Mostly Free	4-5
<b>Moderately Free</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>III Quartile</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Moderately Free</b>	<b>6-7</b>
Mostly Unfree	4	Least Free	4	Least Free	8
Repressed	4				

Indices in the field of the rule of law, corruption and human rights are combined in the same group as they often reflect similar categories in societies. The perception of corruption among the people in the country is showing Bosnia-Herzegovina as very cor-

12 The Heritage Foundation. 2020. Index of Economic Freedom. Available from <https://www.heritage.org/index/ranking>

13 Fraser Institute. 2017. Economic Freedom Index. Available from <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/economic-freedom/map>

rupt and “index 36”<sup>14</sup> while political corruption is put in the group of the “top 40-50%”<sup>15</sup> corrupt. The adherence to the rule of law is described as “weak”.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, human rights standards are low “within four points of the frontier”<sup>17</sup>. The resulting index of this study categorizes Bosnia-Herzegovina with the “weak standards” and within the third out of four categories.

<b>RULE OF LAW, CORRUPTION &amp; HUMAN RIGHTS</b>									
Corruption Perceptions Index		Political Corruption Annual Democracy Report 2019		Rule of Law Index		Human Rights Index		FINAL	
Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index
Very Clean	1	1/4	1	Very Strong	1	Highest	1	Very Strong	4-6
Clean	2	2/4	2	Strong	2	Good	2	Strong	7-10
<b>Corrupt</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3/4</b>	<b>3</b>	Intermediate	2	Moderate	3	<b>Weak</b>	<b>11-14</b>
Very Corrupt	4	4/4	4	<b>Weak</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>4</b>	Very Weak	15-16
				Very Weak	4	Lowest	4		

Media freedoms results are based on three indices. The country is in the second highest group with the index 0.67<sup>18</sup> in one study and, in another, marked with “2 points on the scale 0-4”<sup>19</sup>. The third survey has found “noticeable problems”<sup>20</sup>. These results put the country into the category of problematic media freedoms.

14 Transparency International. 2019. Corruption Perceptions Index. Available from <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2019>

15 V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Annual Democracy Report 2019. Available from [https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer\\_public/99/de/99dedd73-f8bc-484c-8b91-44ba601b6e6b/v-dem\\_democracy\\_report\\_2019.pdf](https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/99/de/99dedd73-f8bc-484c-8b91-44ba601b6e6b/v-dem_democracy_report_2019.pdf)

16 World Justice Project. 2020. Rule of Law Index. Available from <https://worldjusticeproject.org/>

17 Friedrich Neumann Stiftung. 2019. Human rights Index. Available from <https://esee.fnst.org/content/human-rights-index-2019-out>

18 V-Net Institute. University of Gothenburg. Freedom of Expression Index 2019. Available from <https://www.v-dem.net/en/analysis/MapGraph/>

19 Freedom House. Freedom and the Media 2019. Available from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-and-media/2019/media-freedom-downward-spiral>

20 Reporters Without Borders. 2020. Available from [https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/carte\\_2020\\_en.pdf](https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/carte_2020_en.pdf)



MEDIA FREEDOM							
Freedom of Expression Index 2019		Freedom of the Press Worldwide 2020		Freedom and the Media 2019		FINAL	
Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index	Status	Index 3-14
0.8 - 1.0	1	Good	1	4 – Best	1	Good	3-4
<b>0.51 - 0.79</b>	<b>2</b>	Satisfactory	2	Index 3	2	Satisfactory	5-6
0.30 - 0.50	3	<b>Noticeable Problems</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Index 2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Problematic</b>	<b>7, 8, 9</b>
0 - 0.29	4	Difficult Situation	4	Index 1	4	Difficult	10, 11, 12
		Very Serious Situation	5	0 - Worst	5	Suppressed	13-14

Thus, the country's regime is a populist autocracy according to this research, although there is a strong evidence presented to dismiss the finding of one index and therefore describe Bosnia-Herzegovina as a populist democracy with moderate human and economic freedoms, the weak rule of law and human rights standards affected by the corruption and the problematic media freedom. The result of this state-power is the suppressed society. The scales of this research create five different categories from the findings of sixteen indices. Bosnian-Herzegovinian category of a "suppressed society" is above the "closed society" and below all other categories of "opening society", "fairly open society" and the "open society".

The position of the country in this comparative study is fortieth out of forty-five countries. All five countries placed below Bosnia-Herzegovina have "closed society". Except for Turkey, they all share a history of the recent transition from the communist society. Ukraine, Turkey, Russia, Belarus and Azerbaijan are at the bottom of this table. The society in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, shares characteristics of suppressed societies with other states positioned just above Bosnia-Herzegovina but in the same quality group. They are all post-communist countries, and some of them have recent experience of violent conflict. Kosovo, Albania, North Macedonia, Armenia, Serbia, Montenegro and Moldova.

STATE POWER AND SOCIETY										
Position	Country	Index	Society	Total Point	Regime	Human Freedom	Economic Freedom	Rule of Law Corruption Human Rights	Media freedom	Avg. score across indices
1	Switzerland	1	Open	5	3	4	2	3*	3	3.00
2	Ireland	1	Open	5	3	4	2	4*	3	3.46
3	Denmark	1	Open	5	3	5	3	4	3	3.60
3	Finland	1	Open	5	3	5	3	4	3	3.60
3	Netherlands	1	Open	5	3	5	3	4	3	3.60
3	Norway	1	Open	5	3	5	3	4	3	3.60
3	Sweden	1	Open	5	3	5	3	4	3	3.60
8	Germany	1	Open	5	3	6	3	4	3	3.80
9	Luxembourg	1	Open	5	3	6	3	3*	4	4.00
10	UK	1	Open	5	3	6	3	6	4	4.40
11	Iceland	1.2	Fairly Open	6	2*	5	3	4*	4*	4.38
12	Austria	1.2	Fairly Open	6	3	6	3	5	5	4.40
12	Estonia	1.2	Fairly Open	6	5	6	3	5	3	4.40
12	Portugal	1.2	Fairly Open	6	3	6	4	6	3	4.40
15	Lithuania	1.2	Fairly Open	6	5	6	3	4.5*	4	4.81
16	Cyprus	1.2	Fairly Open	6	4	6	3	6*	4	5.00
17	France	1.4	Fairly Open	7	4	6	5	7	4	5.20
17	Slovenia	1.4	Fairly Open	7	4	6	5	6	5	5.20
19	Belgium	1.6	Fairly Open	8	5	7	4	5	3	4.80
20	Spain	1.6	Fairly Open	8	3	6	4	7	5	5.00
21	Latvia	1.6	Fairly Open	8	5	6	3	6*	5	5.40
22	Czechia	1.6	Fairly Open	8	6	6	3	8	5	5.60
23	Italy	1.8	Fairly Open	9	4	7	5	7	5	5.60
24	Slovakia	2.0	Opening	10	5	7	4	7*	6	6.27
25	Malta	2.0	Opening	10	4*	7	4	7*	7	6.67
26	Romania	2.0	Opening	10	6	7	4	11	6	6.80
27	Poland	2.2	Opening	11	5	7	5	8	7	6.40
28	Croatia	2.2	Opening	11	5	7	5	9	7	6.60
29	Bulgaria	2.2	Opening	11	5	7	3	12	8	7.00
30	Greece	2.2	Opening	11	5	9	7	10	6	7.40
31	Georgia	2.4	Opening	12	7	10	3	9	7	7.20
32	Hungary	2.4	Opening	12	6	10	5	10	8	7.80
33	Kosovo	2.6	Suppressed	13	4*	5*	4	10*	7	8.06
34	Albania	2.8	Suppressed	14	8	10	4	14	8	8.80
34	N. Macedonia	2.8	Suppressed	14	7	10	5	14	8	8.80
36	Armenia	2.8	Suppressed	14	9	12	3	10*	8	9.06
36	Serbia	2.8	Suppressed	14	7	11	5	10*	9	9.06
38	Montenegro	3.0	Suppressed	15	8	11	6	10*	8	9.26
39	Moldova	3.2	Suppressed	16	7	10	6	15	8	9.20
40	B & H	3.2	Suppressed	16	9**	10	6	14	8	9.40
41	Ukraine	3.6	Closed	18	9	12	8	15	8	10.40
42	Turkey	3.8	Closed	19	9.5	15	6	16	12	11.70
42	Russia	3.8	Closed	19	10	15	6	16	12	11.80
44	Belarus	3.8	Closed	19	11	11*	6	8*	12	11.93
45	Azerbaijan	4.2	Closed	21	11	15	6	12*	13	12.20

\* Some countries have been omitted from some data and therefore the average score had to be calculated for the particular feature, i.e., Freedoms or Rule of Law, etc.

\*\* Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only country classified as "occupied" by the Center for Systemic Peace. Cyprus, Kosovo, Ukraine, Georgia or Azerbaijan are not. It would be arbitrary correction of the data if their description of the country was ignored.

## Conclusion

Political leaderships in Bosnia-Herzegovina have not lived up to the task of preserving and further developing values that have become symbolic of the multicultural idea during the war of 1990s. The multiple findings prove it is a populist form of politics that dominates the country. Populism is without specific ideological determination but a tool for the political elite to promote their policies. It is a nationalist form of populism that has been firmly established in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The consociational political model means that nationalist oligarchies practice dictatorship of majorities in their territories. National minority members, as well as members of constituent peoples that live in territories that are not dominated by their own group, often find themselves discriminated. It is a dictatorship of the majority that has been established in the country. All other forms of minorities, political, ideological, sexual orientation, gender, and others suffer under these conditions.

Moderate human and economic freedoms do not mean it is an average level, but this rather means there is plenty of space for the improvement. However, there are clear examples of countries with an even worse track record of freedoms. The weak rule of law and a sub-standards of human rights are both affected by levels of corruption. The vision of the society that is not open is thus reinforced.

Media freedoms are problematic. The nationalist autocracies took control over all public services while many independent media suffers from the lack of revenue which is profoundly affected by the restricted advertising market. Therefore the political elites are not directly preventing freedom of expression but are manipulating with the commercial aspects of media, buying advertising space in the media supportive of their policies and urging businesses to ignore persistently independent media. The result of these processes is a small number of media remaining open to dissenting opinion.

Therefore it is a "suppressed society" that characterises all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The levels of suppression might differ, but generally, they all belong to the same category. The idea of the open society is more alien in contemporary Bosnia-

Herzegovina than during the wartime when many perceived its values being at stake. This might lead to the conclusion that the concept of open society and multi-culturalism has been defeated in Bosnia-Herzegovina, if not during the war it happened in the post-war period. However, many aspects of symbolism that Sarajevo, if not the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, still remain in theoretical debates on the values of multi-culturalism, open society and liberal democracy.

Like in many other parts of Europe, liberal democracy and open society might have regressed over the last two decades. The regression in many parts of Europe might be a temporary feature. The problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina is that a functioning liberal democracy was never established. At the same time, open society has conceptually contributed to several community improvements but did not become a dominant concept and is under severe pressure despite some of the achievements. It is a question whether Susan Sontag would put on stage "Waiting for Godot" in today's Sarajevo.

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# THEN-NOW-TOMORROW

Suada Kapić

THEN (1992–1996) – NOW (December 2019–  
June 2020)

**Now**, in April 2020, in the wake of the global coronavirus onslaught, I sit in Grbavica in Sarajevo, the same spot where I was back **then**, in 1992, when the siege of the city began. Having survived the four-year siege, my friends think of me as a veteran who **now**, at the time of the coronavirus assault, has solutions for survival, just as, from 1992 to 1996, we came up with solutions to perpetual dangers (snipers, shelling, no electricity, water, or heating, phone, or post, food, school, clothes, shoes, or institutions, and moving around being a lottery where the stakes are your life on account of the high chances of being hit by a sniper or a shell). My friends think that I have a method for overcoming fear that can help **now** as we adapt to the rules of our new normal.

But this **present** beast has different elements. It is true that even back **then** (1993), we called the enemy of Sarajevo invisible (the city was the front line, those that shot at us were all around, on the hills: invisible); and **now** the whole world uses this term to refer to the coronavirus. Today, everything you touch could prove fatal, everything you breathe in, everywhere you walk, everything you exchange, buy... So, the DEADLY THREAT OF AN INVISIBLE ENEMY **then**, and the DEADLY THREAT OF AN INVISIBLE ENEMY **now**.

Except that **now** the shops are open and we have high-tech solutions for communicating with the world. The *similarity* is that both **now** and **then**, everything turned upside-down within 24 hours, before our very eyes. But back **then** we, the citizens of Sarajevo, developed a new way of living that took on the form of

a resistance movement. **Now**, I see millions of quick-witted and creative videos about people around the world saving themselves and their families in isolation through various inventions, activities and online visits to museums, courses, fitness, festivals, galleries, libraries.

Back **then**, we could not do all that from home, so, instead, we ran the pernicious streets to get to the film festival, the theatre, performances under torchlight, we built the life-size Bosnian house, watched wire sculptures be installed over the river, planted gardens for survival, found water and made electricity in a city bereft of both... **Now**, one click opens up a whole virtual world, and you are not alone. Back **then** everything we did required immense effort and time. But back **then** we also won! **Today**, in 2020, the citizens of Sarajevo, the 92-96 GENERATION (which includes citizens of all ages who were under siege), I can finally call a Generation of Winners. Individually and collectively, we overcame fear, survived, and developed our need for culture (in all its guises) as vital. **Today**, across the planet, everyone is exhibiting that self-same vital need – artists, creatives, writers, and ordinary citizens, students, pupils and others – expressing incredible talents through the need to continue life and experience culture, which is the guarantee of mental survival.

## TOMORROW: Post-Covid-19

Like few other cities in the world of comparable area and population, Sarajevo is a city of living history, that could be turned into a museum in its entirety. The First and Second World War and the longest siege in modern history all happened here, around the corner, along the main street, and in the hills encircling the city.

But the momentous phenomena of those wars seem unable to pass into a legacy of knowledge about ourselves, society, wars, and politics in general. Because, we can already say that now, Sarajevo has inscribed in its genetic makeup both violence and freedom, aggression and resistance, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, common sense, too, cowardice and fear, but also nobleness of spirit and quickness of wit, neighbourhood life, skill and slothfulness, tolerance and suspicion and cunning, and creativity too...

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The coronavirus has opened up new space in the history of the city. Since the first day, it has been clear that it is useless to read about how others from abroad, with clearly delineated borders, are doing this and that. We read articles from institutes, experts, doctors, reporters, improvisational thinkers, and then we realised that this time, just like then, we were shut up into our micro-environment and we would fare as the local powers that be decide. We had online access to the global world, we could watch and listen, but here we were in the hands of those in whose hands we should never have found ourselves.

Within a day, they has us all locked up, shut up all together in uncharted territory, and there was no time to learn protocols or establish routines. As Viktor Ivančić would say, we found ourselves living in a time of medically assisted dictatorship. Except there was no way to know whether what they were telling us would be good for our health if we obediently did as we were told.

And then, suddenly, here and around the world, our heavy sentence was lifted, hair salons opened, fitness studios ... then the cafés... when just yesterday, you had to pay a heavy fine just for going out to buy something.

Instead of being trusted to be reasonable and responsible, at least towards ourselves, we were put under strict duress.

They're unlocking us but have left additional threats in place: A second wave is coming and may be more fatal than the first!!! Get used to living with the virus!!! This is the New Normal!!!

What actually went on from December 2019 to June 2020 will be the subject of research the world over. Already, everyone is thinking, speaking, planning. And what will happen now, what will the post-Covid-19 age bring? – that we cannot know unless we draw lines from the Covid-19, 2020 database. Many things have become necessary, new industries have cropped up, as have conversion methods, while many others have disappeared, and the general fear (no matter how temporary) will dictate the survival of old habits; policies will follow the same old matrices, but we should at least try to follow that Tomorrow based on the experience gained in this extreme-limited-locked-down onslaught of the coronavirus on the whole planet.

We have done this with a large and valuable database of experiences from the four-year-long siege of Sarajevo (through oral histories and surveys). How did the citizens respond to ter-



ror, how did they resist and survive, what helped them mentally survive and in what context? What we do know is that we have not entirely managed to channel this enormous database globally, towards prevention and assistance (based on a wealth of experience) in extreme, unexpected situations. It is about universal human nature and the response of individuals and societies to fear and constant terror over a protracted time period.

I find explanation in the arrogance of the world at large and their intention to qualify the wars that marked the collapse of Yugoslavia from 1991 to 1999 as civil wars, without further delving into what they could learn from that period about international relations, the functioning of the administration and crisis management, the role of the UN, the military doctrine of attack and defence, humanitarian aid, human rights, the role of the media, peace negotiations, how to survive in a cut-off city, human nature that sought solace in culture and art, mental survival, the existential discovery of new possibilities under the credo “Something from Nothing”, about recycling – repurposing existing items, about basic, non-consumerist human needs...

In its tempestuous sweep, Covid-19 has shut down the entire planet and imposed conditions. Everything has come to light, the weak points of administrations and the blindness of dictators, politics and ideologies and their amateurish management of an unprecedented crisis, crisis management teams without experts for all the fronts that Covid-19 opened up. We have seen it all, experienced it, and are still watching it. We watch as cities and countries come out of lockdown and we see people returning to their normality in a rush to escape the fear of the pandemic. As if they had not learned anything, their uppermost priority is to go back to their own normal.

That is why those who should be dealing with this (medicine, social sciences, media, anthropologists, climate scientists, virologists, psychologists, environmental scientists, legislators, pharmacology, agriculture, transport, crisis management...) have a great responsibility to build databases and conduct research (which has already started) as soon as possible and, instead of threatening us with the above dangers, they should direct new industries to find solutions for our ruined planet, by repurposing old industries and ways of working.

**Within three months, we have seen that the recorded positive effects can serve as a future model for development, because Covid-19 has accelerated both the trends and the acceptance of those trends:**

The **health industry** is a priority and public health systems must be reinstated in their full capacity, well-funded from state and local budgets. In emergency situations, private medical practice should become part of public healthcare, without exception.

**Technology:** *Online* platforms provide extraordinary opportunities in education (schools and universities have not stopped teaching), business, conferences, negotiations, mass access to culture, museums, collections, galleries, libraries, concerts. Savings are vast, and there is also the opportunity to create new systems of *online* funding through special types of donations. And the conclusion is that culture and education have acquired interesting new formats and a large number of users.

Telemedicine is a particular benefit. People will increasingly consult their physicians using apps and video-calls, which will reduce the number of visits to the doctor in primary healthcare.

**Medical protective equipment:** The pandemic caught the world unprepared; everyone suffered a great deficit in protective suits, masks, visors, gloves, ventilators. Still, large and small industrial plants, as well as new technological studies, found ways to convert their machines and tools for the production of the desperately needed equipment.

**The food industry and retail** are functioning through special transport corridors and *online* food delivery, which have helped many agencies and distributors survive, and has kept the population away from the risk of infection.

**Climate change:** The pandemic halted transport and reduced activity, ushering in changes – the water has become clearer, the sky blue, the air unpolluted. People can survive without cars, they walk, ride bicycles, scooters...

**We've seen negative phenomena, too, which pose a great danger for the survival of the human race and society, especially in the future, because this has been just a short-term "test":**

**Pharmaceutical industry:** If we as a group of 8000000000 people have to get used to living with viruses, then the pharmaceutical industry must support research into new medicines and vaccines, because, in future, stopping the planet will lead to disaster.

Capital must not be allowed to decide whether or not to research and produce the necessary antidotes to pandemics and epidemics.

**International relations:** The pandemic has laid bare that the world does not have a leader or an institution or an organisation able to direct the majority. Everyone is in blocs and playing political games. Talk of solidarity between countries is practically non-existent, except when it is overdetermined by political and geostrategic influence in a race to claim infected territories. Everyone has shut themselves up in their own model and followed it through the dynamics of the pestilence. There hasn't even been solidarity among local communities.

**Politics keeps evoking experts and science:** A perfect model for those in power to use crisis staffs and orders to establish a very rigid model of ruling the masses, with the perpetual explanation of "that's what the experts say".

**Human rights:** In the "state of disaster" or "state of emergency", whichever we call it, human rights have been completely suspended. We had to trust in the lockdown based on so-called medical explanation of who was forbidden to go anywhere at all. We were then able to see that the old concept of human rights is dysfunctional, and there is no one to defend them. Civil society, with all the donations they receive, did not react to a single measure or plan of life under pandemic.

**Living history:** During the three-month rule of the Covid-19 pandemic, it has been shown that living history or the manipulation of history directly impacts Bosnian and Herzegovinian politics, that it has affected the management of the crisis, given rise to new divisions, while stifling agreement, which is of crucial importance for a territory with common borders at a time of extreme crises.

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Time has run out, but we could still go back to counting time normally if we were to articulate all these experiences, develop and use them for the common good and to defend individual rights, creating flexible social models and setting intelligence, humaneness and creativity as drivers of civic-mindedness to preserve life on the planet.

# ONDA-SADA-SUTRA

Suada Kapić

ONDA (1992–1996) – SADA (decembar 2019–  
juni, 2020)

**Sada**, aprila 2020. godine (dok traje planetarni napad virusa korona), sjedim na Grbavici u Sarajevu, na istoj lokaciji kao i **onda** – 1992. (kad je počela opsada grada). Pošto sam preživjela četverogodišnju opsadu, moji prijatelji misle da sam veteran i da **sada**, u vrijeme napada virusa korona, imam rješenja za preživljavanje, zato što smo od 1992. do 1996. osmišljavali rješenja za dugotrajne permanentne opasnosti (snajpere, granate, a bez struje, vode, grijanja, telefona, pošte, hrane, škola, odjeće, obuće, institucija, kretanje kao životna lutrija: ogromna mogućnost da te pogodi snajper ili granata). Moji prijatelji misle da za savladavanje straha imam metodu koja može pomoći da i **sada** živimo usvajajući pravila nove normalnosti.

Ali, ova **sadašnja** neman ima drugačije elemente. Istina, mi smo sarajevskog neprijatelja još **onda** (1993.) nazvali Nevidljivim (grad je bio linija fronta, a oni koji su ga gađali bili su okolo, na brdima: nevidljivi); a **sada** cijeli svijet koristi taj naziv kao kvalifikaciju virusa korona. Danas može biti smrtonosno sve čega se dotakneš, ono što udahneš, ono gdje hodaš, ono što razmjenjuješ, ono što kupuješ... Dakle, SMRTONOSNA PRIJETNJA NEVIDLJIVOG NEPRIJATELJA **onda**, SMRTONOSNA PRIJETNJA NEVIDLJIVOG NEPRIJATELJA **sada**.

S tim što **sada** imamo otvorene prodavnice i visoko razvijenu tehnološku mogućnost komunikacije s cijelim svijetom. *Istost* je u tome što se i **sada** sve preokrenulo za 24 sata, na naše oči, kao i **onda**. Ali mi smo, građani Sarajeva, **onda** razvili nov način življenja kao poseban pokret otpora. **Sada** vidim milione duhovi-

tih i kreativnih video radova o tome kako ljudi širom svijeta spašavaju sebe i porodicu u izolaciji raznim invencijama, radovima i online posjetama muzejima, kursevima, vježbama, festivalima, galerijama, bibliotekama.

**Onda** sve to nismo mogli od kuće, nego smo smrtonosnim ulicama trčali na filmski festival, pozorišne predstave pod bakljama, gradili bosansku kuću u stvarnim proporcijama, gledali skulpture od žice postavljene preko rijeke, sadili bašte za preživljavanje, pronalazili vodu i pravili struju u gradu u kojem nema ni vode ni struje... **Sada** se jednim klikom otvara cijeli virtualni svijet, i nisi sam. **Onda** je za sve što smo radili trebalo ogromno vrijeme i trud. Ali, mi smo **onda** pobijedili! **Danas**, 2020. godine, građane Sarajeva, GENERACIJU 9296. (koja uključuje građane svih godina koji su bili pod opsadom) konačno nazivam Generacijom Pobjednika. Mi smo pojedinačno i kolektivno savladali strah, preživjeli i potrebu za kulturom (u svim njenim oblicima) razvili kao nasušnu potrebu. **Danas** širom planete svi pokazuju tu istu nasušnu potrebu – umjetnici, kreativci, pisci, kao i obični građani, studenti, đaci i ostali – iskazuju nevjerovatne talente kroz potrebu za nastavkom života i za kulturom, koja je i garancija mentalnog opstanka.

## SUTRA: Post-Covid-19

Kao rijetko koji grad na svijetu tog prostora i veličine populacije, Sarajevo je grad žive istorije, a može u cijelosti biti grad muzej. Prvi i Drugi svjetski rat i najduža opsada u ljudskoj istoriji su smješteni tu iza uglova, oko glavne ulice i na brdima koja opasuju grad.

Ali nikako ekstraordinarni fenomeni tih ratova da pređu u veliko nasljeđe znanja o sebi, društvu, ratovima, politici. Jer, sad se već može tako reći, Sarajevo u svojoj genetskoj kartici ima ukucano i nasilje i slobodu i napad i otpor i nacionalizam i kosmopolitizam i zdrav razum i kukavičluk i strah i plemenitost i duhovitost i mahalalu i vještinu i lijenost i toleranciju i sumnjičavost i lukavost, a i kreativnost...

Virus korona je otvorio novo polje u istoriji grada. Od prvog dana je bilo jasno da nam ništa ne vrijedi da čitamo kako neki drugi izvana povodom pandemije, jasno uspostavljenih granica, preduzimaju ovo ili ono. Tako smo čitali tekstove instituta, struč-

njaka, doktora, novinara, improvizatora mislioca i onda shvatili da smo ovog puta, kao i onda, zatvoreni u mikro sredinu i da će nam biti onako kako nam ovdašnji vladaoци situacije kažu. Globalno je na nas utjecalo samo *online* da ih gledamo i slušamo, ali ovdje smo bili u rukama onih u kojim se nikako nismo trebali naći.

U jednom danu su nas zaključali, bili smo zatvoreni svi zajedno na nepoznatoj teritoriji, nije bilo vremena za učenje protokola i uspostavljanje rutine. Kako bi rekao Viktor Ivančić, našli smo se u vremenu medicinski potpomognute diktature. S tim da nikako nismo mogli biti sigurni da li ono što nam govore zdravstveno vrijedi ukoliko poslušno izvršavamo što nam se kaže.

I onda, naglo i kod nas i u svijetu, robija više ne važi, otvaramo frizeraje, teretane ... pa kafiće... A do juče dobijaš teške kazne ako si izašao da kupiš nešto.

Umjesto da računaju da smo razumni i odgovorni prema sebi barem, mi smo bili pod teškom prijetnjom.

Otključavaju nas, ali ostavili su dodatne prijetnje: Ima i drugi talas, a može biti fatalniji od prvog!!! Naviknite se da živite sa virusom!!! Idemo u Novu normalnost!!!

Šta se ustvari događalo od decembra 2019. do juna 2020. istraživaće cijela planeta. Već sada svi misle, svi govore, svi planiraju. A šta će se sada događati, kakvo je to post-Covid-19 doba?, to ne možemo znati ako ne izvučemo linije iz Covid-19, 2020. data baze. Jer mnogo stvari je postalo neophodno, nove industrije su se ukazale, kao i metode prenamjene, mnoge su nestale, strah će (koliko god bio privremen) diktirati opstanak starih navika; politike će ići starim matricama, ali mi bismo trebali bar kao pokušaj pratiti to Sutra po iskustvu stečenom u ovom ekstremnom-limitiranom-zaključanom udaru virusa korona na cijelu planetu.

Mi smo to uradili s velikom dragocjenom data bazom iskustava u četverogodišnjem periodu opsade Sarajeva (kroz govornu istoriju i ankete). Kako su građani reagovali na teror, kako su pružali otpor i preživjeli, šta im je pomoglo da mentalno opstanu i u kom kontekstu? Ono što znamo je da tu ogromnu data bazu nismo u potpunosti uspjeli usmjeriti globalno, ka prevenciji i pomoći (putem ogromnog iskustva) u ekstremnim, neočekivanim situacijama. Radi se o univerzalnoj ljudskoj prirodi i reakciji pojedinaca i društva na strah i konstantan teror u dugom vremenskom periodu.

Ja nalazim objašnjenje u aroganciji svijeta i njihovoj namjeri da ratove tokom raspada Jugoslavije 1991–1999. okvalifikuju kao građanske ratove, bez daljeg udublivanja šta mogu naučiti iz tog perioda o: međunarodnim odnosima, funkcionisanju administracije i kriznog managementa, ulozi UN; vojnoj doktrini napada i odbrane, humanitarnoj pomoći, ljudskim pravima; ulozi medija; mirovnim pregovorima, načinu opstanka u zatvorenom gradu; ljudskoj prirodi koja je tražila spas u kulturi i umjetnosti; mentalnom opstanku; egzistencijalnom otkriću novih mogućnosti pod sloganom “Od ničega, nešto”, o reciklaži – prenamjени postojećih predmeta, o bazičnim, nekonzumerističkim čovjekovim potrebama...

Covid-19 je u uraganskom zamahu zatvorio cijelu planetu i diktirao uslove. Sve je izašlo na vidjelo, i slabosti administracija i sljepilo diktatora, politika i ideologija o amaterskom vladanju krizom bez presedana, o kriznim štabovima bez vrhunskih stručnjaka za sve frontove koje je Covid-19 otvorio. Sve smo to gledali, doživjeli i gledamo. Gledamo otključavanje gradova i država i vidimo da se ljudi vraćaju svojoj normalnosti ne bi li što prije izašli iz straha pandemije. I kao da ništa upravo nisu naučili, najvažnije je vratiti sebi njihovu normalu.

Zato je na onim koji se tim trebaju baviti (medicina, društvene nauke, mediji, antropolozi, klimatolozi, virusolozi, psiholozi, ekolozi, zakonodavstvo, farmakologija, poljoprivreda, transport, krizni management...) veliki zadatak da moraju prikupljenim data bazama i istraživanjima (s čim se već krenulo) prići odmah i da, umjesto što nam prijete gore navedenim prijetnjama, usmjere nove industrije ka rješenjima upropaštene planete, uz prenamjenu starih industrija i načina rada.

**U tri mjeseca smo vidjeli da uočeni pozitivni efekti mogu biti i budući modeli razvoja, jer je Covid-19 ubrzao trendove i prihvaćanje tih trendova:**

**Industrija zdravlja** je prioritet i da se moraju vratiti javni zdravstveni sistemi u punom kapacitetu, kvalitetno finansirani iz državnih i lokalnih budžeta. A privatna medicina u ekstremnim periodima treba postati dio u službi javnog zdravstva, bez izuzetka.

**Tehnologija:** *Online* platforme su izvanredna mogućnost za edukaciju (škole i fakulteti nisu stali), poslovanja, konferencije, dogovaranja, masovne pristupe kulturi, muzejima, kolekcijama,

galerijama, bibliotekama, koncertima. Uštede su ogromne, a još je tu i prilika da se kreiraju novi sistemi *online* finansiranja posebnim vrstama donacija. A zaključak je da su kultura i edukacija dobile nove zanimljive formate i veliki broj korisnika.

Posebna dobit je Telemedicina. Sve više ljudi će se konsultovati sa svojim liječnikom putem aplikacija ili videa, što će smanjiti broj posjeta primarnoj njezi.

**Medicinska zaštitna oprema:** Svijet je nepripremljen dočekao pandemiju, i svi su imali ogroman deficit u zaštitnim odijelima, maskama, vizirima, rukavicama, respiratorima. Ipak su se snašli veliki i mali industrijski pogoni, kao i novi tehnološki studiji, i prenamijenili svoje mašine i alate u proizvodnju neophodne opreme.

**Industrija hrane i trgovina** funkcionira kroz posebne transportne koridore i *online* dostave hrane, što je pomoglo brojnim agencijama i distributerima da prežive, a stanovništvo da se što manje izlaže zarazi.

**Klimatske promjene:** Usljed pandemije obustavljen je promet i smanjene su aktivnosti, pa su se desile promjene – voda je postala bistrija, nebo plavo, zrak bez zagađenja. Ljudi mogu bez automobila, hodaju, voze bicikle, romobile...

**Vidjeli smo i neke negativne pojave, pri tom vrlo opasne za opstanak ljudske vrste i društava, a posebno u budućnosti, jer ovo je bio kratkoročni “test”:**

**Farmaceutska industrija:** Ako se trebamo navići da kao grupa od 8000000000 ljudi živimo s virusima, onda farmaceuti moraju podržati istraživanja novih lijekova i vakcina, jer ubuduće zastoj planete vodi do katastrofe. Kapital ne smije odlučivati da li će ili neće istraživati i producirati neophodne protivotrove za pandemije i epidemije.

**Međunarodni odnosi:** Pandemija je pokazala da svijet nema lidera ili instituciju ili organizaciju koji usmjeravaju većinu. Svi su u svojim blokovima i političkim igrama. A priča o solidarnosti između zemalja skoro da ne postoji, osim onih uslovljenih političkim i geostrateškim uticajima ko će prije zapikati zaraženu teritoriju. Svi su se zatvorili u svoje modele i u okviru toga pratili dinamiku napasti. Čak je izostala i solidarnost između lokalnih zajednica.

**Politika se stalno poziva na struku i nauku:** Savršen model za vlastodršce da se iza kriznih štabova i naredbi uspostavi



vrlo tvrd model vladanja masom, uz stalno objašnjenje “tako je rekla struka”.

**Ljudska prava:** Ljudska prava u “stanju nesreće” ili “vanrednom stanju”, kako god ih proglašavali, u potpunosti su ukinuta. Morali smo vjerovati zabrani kretanja uslovljenom tzv. medicinskim objašnjenjem ko ne smije uopšte da se kreće. Sada smo mogli vidjeti da stari koncept ljudskih prava uopšte ne funkcionišu, a niti ima ko da ih brani. Civilno društvo, uz sve donacije koje primaju, nije reagovalo ni na jednu mjeru niti koncept života u pandemiji.

**Živa istorija:** I tokom tromjesečne vladavine pandemije Covida-19 pokazalo se da živa istorija ili manipulacija istorijom direktno utiče na bosanskohercegovačku politiku, a to je utjecalo na način rukovođenja krizom, na nove podjele, kao i izostanak dogovaranja, koje je ključno za jedan teritorij sa zajedničkim granicama u doba ekstremnih kriza.

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Vrijeme je isteklo, ali možemo se još uvijek vratiti u normalno računanje vremena ukoliko bi sva ova iskustva artikulirali, razvili i upotrebljavali za opšte dobro i odbranu ličnih prava te na taj način stvorili prilagodljivije društvene modele, a inteligenciju, humanost i kreativnost postavili kao pokretače građanske odgovornosti u očuvanju života na planeti.

## TWO SIEGES, TWO EXPERIENCES

**Gojko Berić**

I am eighty years of age and still enjoy the privilege of writing, as this text is witness. Ever since my wife died almost four years ago, I have lived by myself in a large apartment in a Austro-Hungarian building constructed on the eve of the Great War and located on the most popular street in Sarajevo, Ferhadija, a pedestrian zone in the centre of town. The windows in the two largest rooms have a view of Trebević, a legendary hill that enfolds the southern side of the city. It's spring, but I cannot feel its scent because a tiny virus from Wuhan has me under house arrest, which the authorities have merely legalised through regulations requiring all citizens older than 65 to remain in so-called self-isolation. I don't feel lonely. On nice days I open my windows wide, and, exposed to the beneficent action of the Sun, I watch the rare passers-by in their masks and gloves. The isolation itself is bearable and for many even welcome. People are taking stock and dealing with things outstanding for years. Difficulties, fear, and uncertainty lurk outside your home's walls, because nobody can say what is happening or how long it will last.

In Spring 1992, the Serb separatist forces surrounded Sarajevo and placed it under deadly fascistic siege. Twenty-eight years later, its Spring again, and the town is under siege once more, by an invisible, insidious, and ruthless killer who spares no one. We knew everything about the criminals picking us off from the surrounding hills. Most had been our neighbours. We know practically nothing about this new killer, except that "it has neither wing nor hoof". People pass it on to each other at alarming speed. In an attempt to prevent the pandemic spreading, doctors, scientists, and politicians swap apartments at night. It is a life and death struggle. Nobody agrees on what has to be done. In an interview with the German newspaper, *Die Frankfurter*

*Rundschau*, Jürgen Habermas (90), perhaps the leading philosopher alive today, offered a perfect definition of the current state of the world: “Never before have we known so much about our own ignorance.” The Churches and Mosques are empty. (Sarajevo’s Synagogues were emptied in the Holocaust by the Nazi’s during World War II). I’m watching an extraordinary event on the television: Pope Francis standing in the rain before a completely empty St. Peter’s Square. “For weeks now it has been evening. Thick darkness has gathered over our squares, our streets and our cities; it has taken over our lives, filling everything with a deafening silence and a distressing void, that stops everything as it passes by; we feel it in the air, we notice in people’s gestures, their glances give them away. We find ourselves afraid and lost... [We felt strong, capable of anything.] The storm exposes our vulnerability and uncovers those false and superfluous certainties around which we have constructed our daily schedules, our projects, our habits and priorities... In this storm, the façade of those stereotypes with which we camouflaged our egos, always worrying about our image, has fallen away, uncovering once more that (blessed) common belonging, of which we cannot be deprived: our belonging as brothers and sisters.”

A few days passed before I remembered one such experience, of an unjust battle between a man and a dangerous virus. It was in Albert Camus’s masterpiece, “The Plague.” The need to read it after many decades was self-explanatory. I found it in my home library, a 1956 edition by Belgrade’s *Prosveta*, translated by Jovanka Marković-Čižek. The allegorical novel, written as a chronicle, is set in the 1940s, in a fictional town called Oran, which has been attacked by a plague. The main character is Doctor Bernard Rieux, who puts himself on the frontlines of the fight against this rat-transmitted virus, and who enters the fight pulling no punches. His most important colleague and friend, the old wise man Tarrou, has the idea of creating sanitary units to fight the plague, to which he will succumb, as do Dr Rieux’s other friends and colleagues. There are a number of strikingly drawn characters, linked by their humanism, personal ethics, and the question of the meaning of life. The journalist Rambert counts among them. He fought in Spain on the side of the Republicans, the losing side. Happenstance brought him to Oran, where he is trying to escape a fate he doesn’t consider his and reunite with a

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wife he loves immeasurably, but in the end he decides to stay among the suffering. The character of the Priest, Father Paneloux, is used by Camus to explore the question of God. At the beginning of the pandemic, Father Paneloux holds a sermon at his church in which he attributes Oran's tragedy to God's wrath: "for many of us must have sinned." Faced with the death of an innocent child, however, Paneloux is plagued by doubt in the existence of God. He enlists in a sanitary unit to work tirelessly until the plague is defeated. When it ends Dr Rieux realises that, after it all, he has nothing left but the memories of the plague and of his friends. He decides to write his chronicle and bear witness in the name of the victims, to save them from oblivion and say "human beings contain more to admire than to despise."

"The Plague" was published forty-five years before Sarajevo was enclosed by a ring of Serb howitzers, rocker launchers, heavy machine guns and snipers. The writer Miljenko Jegović considers "The Plague" the most important and fundamental novel of the siege of Sarajevo. And truly, the entire series of events, scenes, and characters with their distinct moral evocation, empathy, and selfless sacrifices on one side and the terror of local bands under the eyes of the incompetent authorities on the other, the smuggling and the wartime profiteering, all the good and bad that made up life in wartime Sarajevo, all those everyday rhythms, seem as though copied straight from Camus' novel.

There are key differences between the Sarajevo that bled under Serb siege and the Sarajevo that is struggling because of the coronavirus pandemic today. It is no longer the same city, or the same people. The Sarajevo of the past has foundered, but not so badly as those who attacked it. They got their judgement at The Hague. But nothing in the world is as it was three decades ago. Sarajevo under siege was the biggest concentration camp in Europe since World War II, its name known around the world. Its fate was a lodestone to the world media, but Europe itself was indifferent to the suffering and death of its people, just as it was indifferent to the ethnic cleansing and mass murder of civilians across Bosnia and Herzegovina. The capitals of the most powerful countries in the world considered Balkan post-communist nationalism an isolated affair, and Sarajevo and Bosnia collateral damage. Nowadays try and find a country where nationalism isn't the leading ideology. Sarajevo under siege is difficult to

imagine because of the distance of time. Bread, electricity, and water were key to survival, and we didn't have these essentials. There was no bread, no electricity, no water, no phones. There was nothing but too little humanitarian aid coming in from the rest of the world. There was no contact with outside. Death lay in the streets. But as the situation got worse empathy became more pronounced. People's resistance to dying and their life force were incredible. One late-Autumn evening, as people were waiting in line for water at a fountain by the Brewery, a targeted shell killed seven men and women and injured more. As the radio broadcasted the news, I met a neighbour from the second floor on the staircase. She was a tiny thin lady carrying a bouquet of plastic canisters, on her way to the water fountain, a kilometre and a half from our building, where the massacre had happened barely an hour ago. To my surprise she said: "There's no crowd now, maybe there won't be so many people." There is a photograph I can't forget, taken by one of the dozens of photo-journalists from the global agencies who risked their lives for a good picture. It was taken as day was transitioning into night and shows a one-legged man with a crutch under one arm and a bouquet in the other, making his way down an eerily desolate street. The flowers were probably for his wife. His darkened face betrayed his fear and determination. There were no doubt shells going off close-by.

1993 was a war year, the toughest Sarajevo would remember. You needed a lot of empathy and courage to take the long and uncertain road to the hell of Sarajevo. Two great women, Joan Baez and Susan Sontag, had both. One of the biggest singers of the 60s and an activist in the anti-Vietnam movement, Baez held a spectacular humanitarian concert in the hall of the Kino Imperial to show support for the citizens of the besieged city. However it happened, the author Susan Sontag, one of the most famous American women of her day, was in Sarajevo at the same time. She stayed a few weeks and went about the town in a Kevlar vest. She socialised with the locals and shared in their fate. She returned in the summer of that same year to the scene of the National Theatre to put on a production of Beckett's "Waiting for Godot," a work that symbolises the fate of the besieged city. Sarajevo was waiting for its own Godot. Just before the end of the war, Sontag returned to a half-destroyed and dilapidated Sarajevo. In the newly-founded Media Centre, whose founder

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was the famous Sarajevo journalist Boro Kontić, she talked with journalists and said, among other things, that: “You should know, tragedies are like milk, they go off quickly.” It was as if she had a premonition that Sarajevo’s tragedy would become the monopoly of one ethno-politics and its protagonists.

War year, 1994, late autumn. Professor Hidajet Repovac and his wife Aida were on their way to a concert by the Sarajevo String Orchestra. On their way to the Kamerni (Chamber) Theatre, where the concert was to be held, they were followed by an unusually heavy rain. Shells were going off on all sides. When they made it to the Kamerni, they found no one there except for the members of the orchestra. The players performed the entire program for an audience of only two and received a sincere and long ovation from the professor and his wife, true music lovers. The emotions brought both sides to tears. There was something miraculous about how culture, in the widest sense, informed Sarajevo’s resistance, a front made up of actors and directors, musicians, painters, authors, poets, journalists, women and girls who would go out into the streets dressed up, with their hair and makeup done, whenever they were able. Back then there were incomparably more urban creators working at full force than there are today. Most are no longer among the living. Professor Repovac is dead, others left Sarajevo after the war, and some have lost the passion and strength to fight the windmills of nationalism.

Of course, people are losing their lives in this difficult and uncertain peacetime battle. But it is not my place to write about the coronavirus except to say that Sarajevo is fighting the pandemic in a manner much like the rest of the world. Sarajevo is no longer an object of international media and diplomatic attention, just an episode on the global pandemic’s progress. More than 90% of the city’s inhabitants are now Bosniaks, and its historical cosmopolitanism has been cut off from its native roots. Centuries of living together and more or less tolerable mutual toleration of religious, ethnic and cultural differences have been destroyed by guns and mass war crimes and finished off by the triune post-war politics of ethno-nationalism. The Sarajevo of today is no longer a paradigm of a better world. It is a paradigm of that world’s ruins, a world that existed once and which we still remember. What was destroyed can be rebuilt, what is lost found. It is not senseless to hope that the Bosnian ideal of a religiously plural

society refuses to be destroyed and will rediscover its reason and purpose in some future world. It comes as no surprise that the new citizens of Sarajevo, who have mostly come to the capital from rural areas, by hook or by crook, are the loudest protestors against the precautionary measures. A cynic might react to their “entitlement” as follows: “I know it’s tough being at home all the time, but wouldn’t being on a respirator be more difficult.” For those like me who survived the siege of Sarajevo in the 90s these measures have not hit hard. Maybe the curfew didn’t make that much sense, but it only lasted 32 days. I didn’t manage to keep the curfew anyway, because I go to bed early anyways. I did wake up once at 2pm and look out the window, and I saw a frighteningly empty city. The scene overwhelmed me with fear. Then, I saw a dog on a curb in the park. He seemed completely lost, turning his head from one side of the street to the other and listening desperately for signs of life. This only increased my uneasiness. I thought of how a person might behave if left alone in the city like this? Go crazy? Kill himself? Or might they notice a dog like this, and go with it to some happier place, wherever that might be?

The wartime “curfew” introduced by Ratko Mladić, the military commander of the criminal campaign against Bosnia, lasted a full 44 months. During that period, more than 11,000 citizens of Sarajevo were killed, 1,600 of them children. Mladić’s order to his subordinates, charged with maintaining despair and hopelessness amongst the city’s population, was: “Send them mad.” Mladić wanted to turn Sarajevo into a giant psychiatric ward, but the Sarajevans’ spirit was stronger. Our psychotherapists and psychologists didn’t bemoan the public’s mental health as it would have seemed at least inappropriate, even ridiculous. Our mental state was an expression of our resistance. Empathy wasn’t a question of politics. It went spontaneously from door to door, surprised by the siege. All in all, the dramas of survival differed significantly from the pandemic. In their anti-pandemic campaign, the media have been intensely concerned with the mental aspect of survival. Psychotherapists, psychologists, and sociologists are flooding our TV screens. They annoy me sometimes. They say the best medication against the frustrations and anxiousness of house arrest is reading. One cold April morning I saw a young man in the park. He was lying on his back, on a red blanket, spread out on the half-trampled grass under a tall cypress. He was



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dressed in black, from his heavy winter boots to his ski hat, reading a book. It was a witty performance by a clever Sarajevan, with the message: Stay at home and read books! But, in a culturally debased city that has been literally turned into a village, as have Sarajevo and so many other cities of the former Yugoslavia, very few people actually read books.

The most famous resident of my street is the local vagabond, Ramiz. He is in fact only a vagabond because he lives on the street. He is a big, strong, intelligent, communicative sixty-year-old with short hair and a face framed by a thin beard. Ramiz has been in the newspapers. Apparently, he had a house in Zenica, but it looks like he wasn't happy with his fate, so he moved onto the street. Ramiz sleeps in local garages and hallways. Summer or winter, he is on Ferhadija at the first sign of morning light, neatly dressed, accompanied by his dog. He carries a thick Styrofoam pad to sit on, a backpack, a black bag, and a piece of cardboard for his dog to lie on. His street address is right across from my window. Ramiz lays his things out meticulously, lights a cigarette, and curiously observes the other early risers. As some point he starts taking out bundle of food. He unwraps its and breaks off a few bites for his dog before taking any himself. He has plenty of food each day. Butchers from the close-by Markala market and Burek (meat pie) vendors give it to him. An occasional passer-by will slip a coin into his hands. Ramiz doesn't ask for anything, which is why he has everything he needs. Young female tourists like to have their picture taken with him; some even take a swig from his bottle. At dusk Ramiz packs his things away meticulously, he throws the day's waste into a bin, and walks "home" with his dog. Watching him, I think to myself, we can all be infected with the coronavirus, everyone but Ramiz.

I return now to Camus. When the plague has ended, one of his heroes says: "Some say: 'That was a plague. We have endured a plague.' Almost as though they expect a medal. But what is the plague? It's life, that's all."

Ramiz may not have read "The Plague." He's not a hero and has no advice for anyone. But by following the sun, from when it rises to when it sets, he is proving in his own way that the coronavirus pandemic is still just life. And that's all.

Which is why Ramiz is an important character in the Sarajevo story of the pandemic.



## DVIJE OPSADE, DVA ISKUSTVA

Gojko Berić

Imam osamdeset godina i privilegiju da još pišem, o čemu svjedoči i ovaj tekst. Otkako mi je prije skoro četiri godine umrla supruga živim sam u velikom stanu u najpoznatijoj sarajevskoj ulici Ferhadiji, pješačkoj zoni u centru grada, u austrougarskoj zgradi, sagrađenoj neposredno uoči Velikog rata. Prozori dviju najvećih soba gledaju na Trebević, kultno brdo koje opasuje južnu stranu grada. Proljeće je, ali ne osjećam njegov miris, jer me je sićušni virus iz Wuhana strpao u kućni pritvor, a vlasti su to samo ovjerile uredbom prema kojoj svi stanovnici stariji od 65 godina moraju biti u tzv. samoizolaciji. Ne osjećam osamljenost. Kad je lijep dan, širom otvorim prozore i, izložen blagotvornom djelovanju sunca, posmatram prorijeđene prolaznike s maskama i rukavicama. Sama izolacija je podnošljiva, mnogima je čak i dobrodošla; odmaraju se i sređuju stvari koje nisu stizali da srede godinama. Teškoća, strah i neizvjesnost vrebaju izvan kućnih zidova, jer nema nikoga ko bi dao odgovor na pitanje šta se to zbiva i dokle će trajati?

U proljeće 1992. snage srpskih separatista okružile su Sarajevo i stavile ga pod svoju smrtonosnu fašističku opsadu. Dvadeset i osam godina kasnije, opet u proljeće, grad se ponovo našao u opsadi, ovog puta nevidljivog, podmuklog i nemilosrdnog ubice koji ne šteti nikoga. O zlikovcima koji su nas devedesetih ubijali s okolnih brda znali smo sve. Mnogi od njih bile su naše dojučerašnje komšije. O novom ubici ne znamo gotovo ništa, osim da “nema ni krila ni noge”, nego ga ljudi zastrašujućom brzinom izručuju jedni drugima. U pokušajima da suzbiju širenje pandemije, ljekari, naučnici i političari mijenjaju stavove preko noći. Borba se vodi na život i smrt. Nema jednoglasja o tome šta i kako činiti. Jedan od najvećih živih filozofa Jürgen

Habermas (90), u razgovoru za njemački list *Frankfurter Rundschau*, dao je savršenu definiciju stanja u kojem se svijet nalazi: “Nikada do sada nije bilo toliko znanja o našem neznanju.” Crkve i džamije su prazne. (Sarajevske sinagoge su holokaustski ispraznili nacisti u Drugom svjetskom ratu.) Gledam na televiziji nesvakidašnji prizor. Papa Franjo stoji na kiši, na potpuno praznom Trgu Sv. Petra. “Već nedjeljama izgleda kao da je palo veče. Tama se zgusnula nad našim gradovima i otela nam živote, opustjela ih i ispunila zaglušujućom tišinom. I to se osjeća u zraku, u gestovima ljudi, u pogledima. Našli smo se ovdje uplašeni i izgubljeni. Osjećali smo se snažno, sposobni za bilo šta. Ali, pred olujom, naša se ranjivost razotkrila i s njom sve lažne i suvišne sigurnosti od kojih smo izgradili navike. Oluja je s našeg zaštićenog ega otpuhala stereotipne maske. Preostalo nam je tako samo jedno osjećanje pripadnosti od kojeg ne možemo nikada pobjeći, osjećanje bratstva.”

Prošlo je nekoliko dana dok se nisam sjetio da o jednom takvom iskustvu, neravnopravnoj borbi čovjeka s opakim virusom, piše u genijalnoj knjizi Alberta Camusa “Kuga”. Potreba da je nakon više decenija ponovo pročitam bila je samorazumljiva. Pronašao sam je u kućnoj biblioteci, izdanje beogradske Prosvete davne 1956. godine, u prevodu Jovanke Marković-Čížek. Radnja romana-alegorije, pisanog kao hronika, događa se nedefinisane 194... godine u zatvorenom gradu Oranu, napadnutom epidemijom kuge. Glavni lik je doktor Bernard Rieux, koji se stavlja na čelo borbe protiv nevidljivog i nadmoćnog pacovskog virusa i koji u tu borbu ulazi ne štedeći se. Njegov najvažniji suradnik i prijatelj, stari mudrac Tarrou, dolazi na ideju da se osnuju dobrovoljni sanitarni odredi za borbu protiv kuge, od koje će, kao i drugi prijatelji i saradnici doktora Rieuxa, i sam stradati. Ima tu više upečatljivo datih likova koje povezuju humanizam, lična etika i pitanje o smislu života. Među njima je novinar Rambert, koji se u Španiji borio na strani republikanaca, dakle gubitnik. On se slučajno zatekao u Oranu i pokušava izbjeći sudbinu koju ne smatra svojom i spojiti se sa ženom koju neizmjerljivo voli, ali odlučuje da ostane među onima koji pate. Kroz lik svećenika Panelouxa Camus problematizira pitanje Boga. Na početku pandemije otac Paneloux drži u crkvi propovijed u kojoj tragediju grada Orana pripisuje Božjoj kazni, “jer mora da su mnogi vjernici grijeshili”. Međutim, kada se suoči sa smrću nevinog djeteta, Panelouxa

počinje razjedati sumnja u postojanje Boga. On stupa u sanitarni odred, u kojem požrtvovano radi sve dok ga kuga ne pokosi. Kad je epidemija najzad iščezla, doktor Rieux zaključuje da mu, poslije svega, ostaje samo sjećanje na kugu i na prijatelje, i odlučuje da napiše ovu hroniku, kako bi paćenike sačuvao od zaborava i svjedočio u njihovu korist, i da kaže “da kod ljudi ima više stvari kojima se možemo diviti, nego onih koje možemo prezirati”.

“Kuga” je objavljena četrdeset i pet godina prije nego što će Sarajevo biti zatvoreno u obruč srpskih haubica, minobacača, teških mitraljeza i snajpera. Književnik Miljenko Jegović smatra da je “Kuga” temeljni i najvažniji roman o opsadi Sarajeva. I zaista, čitav niz događaja, prizora i likova izrazitih moralističkih evokacija, empatije i nesebičnog žrtvovanja, na jednoj strani, i terora lokalnih bandi pred očima nesposobne vlasti, na drugoj, šverc i ratno profiterstvo, sve dobro i loše od čega je bio sazdan život u ratnom Sarajevu, sav taj ritam svakodnevnice, kao da je bio preslikan iz Camusovog romana.

Između Sarajeva koje je krvarilo pod srpskom opsadom i Sarajeva koje se danas otima pandemiji Covid-19 postoje bitne razlike. Nije to više isti grad, niti su to više isti ljudi. Nekadašnje Sarajevo je propalo, iako ne toliko koliko su propale njegove ubice, kojima je suđeno u Hagu. Uostalom, nigdje i ništa u svijetu nije više isto kao što je bilo prije tri decenije. Sarajevo u opsadi bilo je najveći konclogor u Evropi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, njegovo ime je zvonilo diljem planete, njegova sudbina je svjetskim medijima bila jako privlačna, ali je politička Evropa bila ravnodušna prema patnjama i stradanju njegovih stanovnika, kao što je bila ravnodušna prema etničkom čišćenju i masovnom ubijanju civila širom Bosne i Hercegovine. U prijestolnicama najmoćnijih zemalja svijeta balkanski postkomunistički nacionalizmi smatrani su izoliranom pojavom, a Sarajevo i Bosna njihovom kolateralnom štetom. Danas teško da ima zemlje u kojoj nacionalizam nije vladajuća ideologija. Sarajevo pod opsadom bilo je nešto što je s današnje distance teško i zamisliti. Kruh, struja i voda činili su suštinu preživljavanja. Agresor nas je lišio svega toga, nije bilo ni struje, ni vode, ni telefona, ničeg osim oskudne humanitarne pomoći koja je stizala iz svijeta. Nije postojala nikakva veza s ljudima izvan obruča. Smrt se valjala ulicama grada. Ali što su nevolje bile veće, empatija je bila izraženija. Otpor

umiranju i sila života bili su nevjerovatni. Jednog kasnog jesenjeg popodneva, dok su građani čekali u redu da natoče vodu na česmi kod Pivare, pala je ciljano ispaljena granata i ubila sedmero muškaraca i žena, a veći broj ranila. Tek što je radio objavio tu vijest, sreo sam na stepeništu komšinicu s drugog sprata. Sitna, mršava žena bila je sva u buketu plastičnih kanistera. Krenula je na česmu na kojoj se samo sat ranije desio masakr, udaljenu oko kilometar i po od naše zgrade. Na moje čuđenje, rekla je: “Sad nema gužve, možda nema nikoga.” Ne mogu zaboraviti fotografiju koju je snimio neko od desetina fotoreportera velikih svjetskih agencija, koji su po cijenu života tragali za dobrom fotkom. Na toj fotografiji, snimljenoj negdje na prelazu između dana i noći, vidi se čovjek bez jedne noge, sa štakom u jednoj i buketom cvijeća u drugoj ruci, kako ide sam sablasno pustom ulicom. Vjerovatno je cvijeće nosio svojoj ženi. Njegovo potamnijelo lice odavalo je i odlučnost i strah. Mora da su negdje u blizini odjekivale granate.

Ratna je godina devedeset i treća, najteža koju Sarajevo pamti. Trebalo je imati mnogo empatije i hrabrosti i teškim i nesigurnim putem uputiti se u sarajevski pakao. A dvije velike žene, Joan Baez i Susan Sontag, imale su i jedno i drugo. Šezdesetih godina jedna od najvećih pjevačkih zvijezda u svijetu, aktivistkinja pokreta protiv rata u Vijetnamu, Baez je u dvorani kina *Imperijal* održala spektakularan humanitarni koncert u znak podrške stanovnicima napaćenog grada. Nekako istovremeno došla je i književnica Susan Sontag, jedna od najpoznatijih američkih žena svog vremena. Ostala je nekoliko sedmica, išla gradom s pancirom, družila se s njegovim stanovnicima i dijelila njihovu sudbinu. Potom je ponovo došla u ljeto te godine i na scenu Narodnog pozorišta postavila Beckettovu dramu “Čekajući Godota”, komad koji je simbolizirao sudbinu opsjednutog grada – ratno Sarajevo čekalo je nekog svog Godota. Pred sam kraj rata, Sontagova se ponovo obrela u polurazrušenom i iznurenom Sarajevu. U tek osnovanom Media centru, čiji je utemeljitelj bio poznati sarajevski novinar Boro Kontić, razgovarala je s novinarima i između ostalog rekla: “Treba da znate da su tragedije kao mlijeko – brzo se kvare.” Kao da je slutila da će i tragedija Sarajeva postati monopol jedne etnopolitike i njenih protagonista.

Ratna je godina devedesetčetvrta, kasna jesen. Profesor Hidajet Repovac i njegova supruga Aida krenuli su na koncert

sarajevskog Gudačkog orkestra. Na putu do Kamernog teatra, gdje se koncert trebao održati. Pratila ih je neobično jaka kiša. Granate su pljuštale na sve strane. Kad su došli u Kamerni, osim članova orkestra nisu zatekli nikoga. Ni nakon skoro pola sata niko se drugi od posjetilaca nije pojavio. Uprkos tome, gudači su za dvoje jedinih posjetilaca izveli kompletan program. Dobili su iskren i dug aplauz profesora i njegove supruge, istinskih ljubitelja muzike. Uzbuđenje do suza bilo je obostrano. Kultura u najširem smislu bila je čudo sarajevskog otpora, front koji su činili glumci i reditelji, muzičari, slikari, književnici, pjesnici, novinari, žene i djevojke koje su, kad god je to bilo moguće, izlazile na ulice, uredno obučene, srede frizure i našminkane. Tada je u Sarajevu bilo neuporedivo više urbanih stvaralaca u punoj snazi nego što ih ima danas. Većina nije više među živima, umro je i profesor Repovac. Neki su nakon rata napustili Sarajevo, a neki izgubili volju i snagu da se bore s vjetrenjačama nacionalizma.

Naravno, ljudi gube život u ovoj teškoj i neizvjesnoj mirmo-dopskoj bitci. Ali nije moje da pišem o virusu korona, osim što mogu reći da se Sarajevo od pandemije brani na sličan način na koji to, manje-više, čini sav ostali svijet. Ali, Sarajevo ne samo što više nije predmet međunarodne medijske i diplomatske pažnje, nego je tek epizoda na svjetskim pandemijskim vidicima. Više od 90 posto njegovih današnjih stanovnika čine Bošnjaci, njegov kosmopolitizam je, čini se, izgubio svoju istorijsku autohtonost. Višestoljetno iskustvo zajedničkog života i manje-više podnošljive međusobne tolerancije vjerskih, etničkih i kulturnih različitosti razarano je topovima i masovnim ratnim zločinima, a taj posao dovršavaju tri etnonacionalističke politike. Današnje Sarajevo nije više paradigma jednog boljeg svijeta, ono je paradigma ruševina tog svog vlastitog svijeta koji je postojao i kojeg pamtimo. Ali, razoreno može biti iznova izgrađeno, a izgubljeno pronađeno. Nije bez smisla nada da bosanski ideal religijski pluralnog društva ne može biti uništen te da u budućnosti svijeta mora iznova otkriti i svoj razlog i svoju svrhu. Ne čudi to što su baš novi stanovnici Sarajeva, koji su milom ili silom stigli mahom iz ruralnih krajeva u glavni grad, najglasniji u protestu protiv mjera predostrožnosti. Na njihovu "razmaženost" reago-vao je i jedan cinik: "Teško je biti stalno kod kuće, ali zar nije teže biti na respiratoru." Nama koji smo doživjeli opsadu Sarajeva devedesetih ove mjere nisu teško pale. Možda uvođenje

policijskog sata nije imalo nekog smisla, ali on je trajao svega 32 dana. Do tog policijskog sata nisam držao, jer ionako rano idem u krevet. Ali kad sam se jednom probudio oko dva sata iza ponoći i pogledao kroz prozor, vidio sam zastrašujuće pust grad. Prizor je bio takav da me je obuzeo strah. Odjednom sam na ivičnjaku parka ugledao jednog psa. Djelovao je potpuno izgubljeno. Okretao je glavu čas na jednu, čas na drugu stranu ulice i očajnički osluškivao ne bi li čuo neki znak života. To je još više pojačalo moju nelagodu. Razmišljao sam o tome šta bi uradio čovjek koji bi ostao sam u napuštenom gradu? Poludio ili se ubio? Ili bi primijetio jednog ovakvog psa i krenuo zajedno s njim u neko sretnije mjesto, gdje god ono bilo?

Ratni “policijski sat”, koji mi je uveo Ratko Mladić, vojni komandant zločinačkog pohoda protiv Bosne, da bi u Hagu bio osuđen na doživotnu robiju, trajao je puna 44 mjeseca. Za to vrijeme ubijeno je oko 11.000 građana ovog grada, od čega 1.600 djece. Mladićeve naredbe svojim podređenim komandantima, koji su bili zaduženi da održavaju očaj i beznade među stanovnicima grada, glasila je: “Razvucite im pamet!” Mladić je želio da Sarajevo pretvori u ogromnu psihijatrijsku kliniku. Ali, duh Sarajlija je bio jači. O mentalnom zdravlju građana nisu lamentirali psihoterapeuti i psiholozi, jer bi to djelovalo deplasirano, ako ne i smiješno. Stanje našeg mentalnog zdravlja bilo je izraz našeg otpora. Empatija nije bila stvar politike, nego je spontano išla od vrata do vrata, iznuđena opsadnim stanjem. Sve u svemu, dramaturgija preživljavanja bitno se razlikovala od ove pandemijske. Danas se mediji u svojoj antipandemijskoj kampanji intenzivno bave mentalnim aspektom preživljavanja. Psihoterapeuti, psiholozi i sociolozi preplavili su TV-ekrane. Ponekad mi idu na živce. Kao najbolji lijek protiv frustracija i anksioznosti, koje se javljaju kao plod kućne izolacije, preporučuju čitanje knjiga. Jednog hladnog aprilskog prijepodneva ugledao sam u parku nekog mladića kako leži na leđima na crvenoj prostirci, na poluizgaženoj travi, ispod visokog čempresa, sav u crnom, od teških zimskih cipela, do skijaške kape, i čita neku knjigu. Bio je to performans nekog dosjetljivog Sarajlije s porukom: Ostanite kod kuće i čitajte knjige! Ali, u poseljačenom gradu, kakvo je današnje Sarajevo i kakvi su mnogi drugi gradovi na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, knjige malo ko čita.

Najpoznatiji stanovnik moje ulice je klošar Ramiz. On je zapravo klošar samo po tome što živi na ulici. To je krupan, snažan šezdesetogodišnjak, kratko ošišan, lica uokvirenog tankom bradom, inteligentan i komunikativan. O Ramizu su pisale novine. Navodno je imao kuću u Zenici, ali izgleda da nije bio zadovoljan svojom sudbinom, pa se preselio na ulicu. Ramiz spava po okolnim garažama i haustorima. Bilo ljeti ili zima, on je u Ferhadiji čim se na ulicu spuste prve jutarnje zrake sunca. Dolazi uredno obučen, u pratnji svog psa, noseći podmetač od debelog stiropora na kojem sjedi, ruksak, crnu torbu i komad kartona koji služi kao prostirka za psa. Njegova ulična adresa nalazi se tačno preko puta mojih prozora. Ramiz pedantno razmješta svoje stvari, pali cigaretu i znatiželjno posmatra ostale ranoraniioce. U neko doba vadi iz torbe smotuljke hrane, razmotava ih, nekoliko zalogađa najprije daje psu, a potom i sam počinje jesti. Hrane svakodnevno ima u izobilju, donose mu je mesari iz susjednih Markala i vlasnici buregdžinica. Poneki prolaznik mu tutne u ruku metalnu novčanicu. Ramiz ni od koga ne traži ništa i zato ima sve što mu treba. Mlade turistkinje vole da se s njim slikaju, ponekad potegnu gutljaj pića iz njegove boce. Kad padne akšam, Ramiz pedantno pakuje svoje stvari, otpatke stavlja u korpu za otpatke i zajedno s psom odlazi “kući”. Posmatrajući ga pomislim kako svi mi možemo biti zaraženi virusom korona, svi osim Ramiza.

Vraćam se Camusu. Kad je kuga prestala, jedan njegov junak kaže: “Neki kažu: ‘To je kuga, pretrpjeli smo kugu.’ Samo što još ne traže da budu odlikovani. Ali šta je to kuga? To je život, eto to je sve.”

Ramiz možda nije čitao “Kugu”, on nije heroj i nikome ništa ne preporučuje. Ali idući za suncem, od njegovog izlaska do zalaska, on na svoj način dokazuje da je i pandemija Covid-19– život. I da je to sve.

Eto zašto je Ramiz važan lik u ovoj sarajevskoj pandemij-skoj priči.



# WHITE IMAGE OF THE SARAJEVO PANDEMIC

**Jovan Divjak**

For some, corona has fallen  
into the honey

As viewed by individuals with social authority, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has become, to say the least, unstable. According to Fr Ivo Marković: “As a state, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a cripple, not really there. There are just the political hyenas, snapping up whatever there still is to snap up. These political parties haven’t just destroyed the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they have infected the people.”

Prof Izudin Kešetović of the University in Tuzla opines: “The Bosnian and Herzegovinian authorities have not used this time of crisis to establish economic power but to establish their own oligarchic power.”

So far as I can tell, the representatives of the European Union work more closely with the leaders of the three nationalist parties (SDA, HDZ, SNSD) than with the Council of Ministers or the national parliament. The agreement with the International Monetary Fund is an excellent example, agreed with the oligarchs and not the representatives of the people!

For two months, the people of Sarajevo, as paradigms of the three M’s (multinational, multi-ethnic, and multicultural), have generally shown respect for the protective measures and kept themselves safe from the coronavirus plague. Their personal and collective discipline offers a positive example we can all be proud of. The city has not surrendered, just as it did not surrender through all the years from 1991 to 1995 when the spirit of Sarajevo was under attack.

I have only respect for all those who honour their Hippocratic oath. A tip of the cap (!) to all those making sacrifices, literally



sacrificing their own lives, and indirectly the lives of their families, so that as few as possible fall victim to the virus. There have been individual cases of honourable doctors and citizens who have lost their struggle against corona because of inadequate care. Volunteers, most of them young, have sprung up like mushrooms after rain, their hands and youthful hearts outstretched to help those who need help. Educational establishments have shown a very high degree of responsibility and commitment, using online teaching and ultramodern methods to ensure schoolchildren and students remain within a teaching process.

In these two months, Sarajevo has “blossomed.” Through online links to theatres, musicians, painters, and workers in film have “worked” with enthusiasm and held the attention of the public, helping it keep above the surface and not fall into the abyss of helplessness. The town has come alive, an example of how even the most complicated problems can be overcome through togetherness, while scorning the individuals and, in some cases, groups who have ignored the recommendations to preserve our health and that of others.

The Miljacka has never been cleaner. I recently saw an angler on Mak Dizdar Quay catch a fish. The sanitation services have never kept the streets cleaner or the green areas better, at least that I have ever had occasion to see.

Most media (I do not watch television programmes) have had a very successful “fight” against the pandemic and provided reliable sources of education on how to protect ourselves. They have been motivating. They have also “uncovered” a number of affairs and scandals, which has had a positive impact on public morale. Finally, it seems, corruption is being chased down... Of course, during this time of pandemic troubles, there have also been those who have attempted, as individuals or groups, to reject this vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of its capital city Sarajevo as our common property, for whose preservation we must and should make every serious effort.

Let us remember the floods of 2014, when relations between the entities and between neighbours appealed to the popular saying – first God, then your neighbour. The coronavirus has furthered, at the very least, further dismemberment of the state. We have a minimum of thirteen civil defence committees (the entities, Brčko district, the cantons), each of which with its own way

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of organising, deciding, issuing decisions, sanctioning, “**bullshit-ting**”, and ultimately making vital decisions about the lives of the citizenry. In many cases, anti-pandemic policy has been in the hands of people who have neither the expertise nor competence to conduct the complex and demanding fight against the virus. Their public appearances have served to sow disquiet and fear amongst their fellow citizens, as they underestimate the seriousness of the situation, to the point where their message has even been – *I’ll just take a couple of glasses of strong liquor (rakija), and I’ll beat the coronavirus, or we beat NATO and we will beat the virus.*

The authorities’ decisions on various forms of restriction created violations of human rights, for which they were admonished by the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I am convinced that a single, joint approach at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been more effective in tackling the danger of infection. Naturally, I also imagine how much more effective and fruitful a single corona-law at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been. Instead, they are all gathering and disciplining their own citizens in their own regions and their own ethnic groups.

I’ve also thought, over recent days, how useful it would have been to have had a single committee for the city of Sarajevo and the city of eastern Sarajevo, as good neighbours, and so for all the municipalities that made up the city before the war.

Yesterday, when the coffee shops and bars in eastern Sarajevo reopened, not a few young folk from Sarajevo made their way down from Vraca to Lukavica. Not even the coronavirus can prevent the young from meeting up and seeing each other!

For myself, I cannot decipher, explain, or justify the decision of the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina to hold a mass on 16 May, 2020 (!) for the very individuals (Ustashe, fascists, and collaborators) responsible for killing more than 10,000 citizens of the town in Sarajevo between 1941 and 1945, including more than 7,000 Sarajevo Jews.

What is the reasoning behind the claim made by all the churches in the Balkans for 30 years that they were persecuted during the “Time of the Communists”, and outlawed by the Communists? – My personal experience does not accord with

these claims. I finished high school in Zrenjanin in 1956. There was a Catholic Church at the centre of town. Masses were held without any problems during holy week and on religious holidays. From 1966, I lived with my family in Sarajevo, in the Old Town, where four of the major world religions have houses of worship. They were treated with respect, just as the right to religious service was, except for a few minor individual incidents. The government authorities respected the right to religious expression, as was recognised by European states. I am proud of the claim: Sarajevo – Meeting point of East and West.

“Bleiburg in Sarajevo” is an insult to all Sarajevans and beyond that to a city of coexistence and tolerance and multi-religious community. I offer the following quotations of reaction from Sarajevans who have no second homeland or city kept in reserve:

[...] I was born in the city. I do not want a religious building Sarajevans are proud of to be used for other purposes which I as a Catholic and a Sarajevan will have to feel ashamed of. (Zvonimir Nikolić, columnist, Sarajevan)

Why wasn't the mass held in Zagreb? Because Croatia is currently chair of the European Union's Council, so it was inconvenient and they transferred it to Bosnia. It's particularly unpleasant, because the Vod (Počasni bleiburški vod/Bleiburg Honour Guard, op. a.), a fascist organisation, is behind it. It is true that some innocent people died at Bleiburg along with the criminals [...] I cannot fathom, however, a memorial to the criminals. (Eli Tauber, Adviser on culture and religion, the Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina)

All human accounting to one side, you, Vinko Puljić, my brother in Christ, are called by a categorical moral imperative. An imperative that appears irresistibly in every believing conscience, in the conscience of every responsible individual. So, once more and publicly: Can we forgive the Communists... the Serbs, the Bosniaks? We have to! (Drago Pilsel, What Sarajevo needs isn't Bleiburg but antifascism)

Cardinal Puljić has a personal, priestly, indeed every right to be an anti-Communist, and even a right to serve peace and Pavelić and the NDH, but he has no right to rehabilitate Ustashism under cover of a mass for innocent victims. (Vildana Selimbegović, editor-in-chief and director of Oslobođenje)

It is not wise to hold a mass for the victims at Bleiburg unless you have protected the faithful by social and physical distancing from the virus of fascism first. Particularly not on the Day of the Victory over Fascism and Victory in Europe Day, because that is to stand on the side of death and not life. (Fr Marko Oršolić)

[...] They are usually self-declared charismatics. Remember Torabij and how he seduced and fooled thousands of people, and you get plenty of people of that type in all religions, but you also get people in all religions who are sophisticated theologians, bishops, imams, who take the stage with the authority of a false God and crazy ideas to seduce the gullible people, like, for example, that people cannot be infected at religious events, during service, or in their place of worship, and that they can heal everything. Responsible religious communities and society have to develop the necessary mechanisms to unmask such lunatics in time and stop them, because otherwise they can reach a critical mass that is difficult to control. (Fr Ivo Marković)

The Catholic Church has a right to make its own decisions autonomously and, with regard to divine service, nobody else has a right to forbid anything. The reactions in Sarajevo indicate that responsibility has been laid at the wrong address and that is not good. [...] We must remain dignified. Some people are trying to associate it with the city, but Sarajevo is not commemorating anything. The Catholic Church is holding a mass in Sarajevo and it should stay inside the precincts of the cathedral [...] No doubt some people hope that this will cause conflict between Muslims and Catholics and perhaps some third element... (Reis Kavazović)

Such affairs and scandals, the scoundrelism of individuals and groups, cast an ugly shadow on proud citizens fasting during the period of Ramadan on whom this immoral behaviour necessarily has an impact. According to Prof Abdusamed Nazif Bušatlić of the school of Islamic sciences, **referring to the importance of Ramadan for those wearing hypocritical masks on their faces and, even worse, on their souls:** “[Ramadan] is a school for the rehabilitation of our spiritual condition.” To which I would add Socrates’ motto: “The spirit is knowledge.”

Bušatlić says that the faithful are brought up to a sublime morality, sincerity, justice, courage, sociability, love of each other, and solidarity. Sins related to interpersonal relations – gossip, passing on the words of others, lying, abuse of promises, illegali-

ties, usurpation of other people's property, putting off the repayment of debts, and slander – are contrary **to the observation of *ibadet***. I have learned that the first five verses offer the greatest incentive to learning, proper upbringing, and education. Fasting is a test. How do our contemporaries feel when caught in a lie, cheating, kleptomania, hypocritical behaviour, in the evil act that they have committed? On this earth, let justice and the people be their judges, and above let God be their succour. As for me, I do not think that they belong in the city, because they do not deserve the city's blessings. They have offended the spirit of Sarajevo, its morality, and sense of honour, and they are not even aware of it.

As individuals respecting the messages and how to protect ourselves and others (protective masks, social distancing), we are well on the way to preventing further contagion and death over the next month or two, and so to returning to our everyday problems, schools, university, socialising, and covering up even worse diseases – corruption, nepotism, fascism, nationalism, and other isms. Focusing upon the establishment of an effective healthcare system and insurance. Keeping the Miljacka and our boulevards and streets clean. Educating our citizens to resist any form of epidemic or pandemic.

Vaclav Havel, the Czech intellectual, warned us 60 years ago: "Tribal hatreds are slumbering everywhere, but if we allow them to win out in one place, they will start to awaken in many other places."

In the hope that this may not happen here, I keep my silence, you keep yours, he keeps his, we all keep our silence, and they steal.

Translated by Desmond Maurer

# BELA/BIJELA SLIKA SARAJEVSKE PANDEMIJE

Jovan Divjak

Nekima je korona  
upala u med

Iz ugla osoba, pojedinaca s društvenim autoritetom, stanje u Bosni i Hercegovini je, u najblažem, nestabilno. Fra Ivo Marković navodi: “Država BiH je bogalj, nema je. Postoje samo te političke hijene, koje grizu još dok ima šta gristi. I ne samo da su te stranke uništile državu Bosnu i Hercegovinu nego su i zarazile narod.”

Izudin Kešetović, profesor Univerziteta u Tuzli, zaključuje: “Vrijeme krize bh. vlasti koriste ne za uspostavljanje moći ekonomije, nego za uspostavljanje moći oligarhije.”

Predstavnici Evropske zajednice, moj je utisak, da više saraduju s vođama triju nacionalnih stranaka (SDA, HDZ, SNSD), nego s Ministarskim većem i Parlamentom Bosne i Hercegovine. Očit primer je sporazum s Međunarodnim monetarnim fondom, dogovor oligarhija a ne narodnih deputata!

Dva meseca su se građani Sarajeva, kao paradigma triju “M” (multinacionalna, multietnička, multikulturalna), u većini poštujući mere zaštite, čuvali od pošasti virusa korona. Osobna i kolektivna disciplina pozitivna su primer na koje svako od nas pojedinačno treba da bude ponosan. Grad se nije predao, kao ni u godinama agresije na dušu Sarajeva 1992–1995.

Poštujem sve one koji slede Hipokritovu zakletvu. Kape dole (!) svima koji žrtvuju, bukvalno žrtvuju svoje živote, a indirektno i živote svojih porodica da što manji broj bude zahvaćen virusom. Bilo je pojedinačnih slučajeva u kojima su časni lekari i građani nedovoljnom brigom izgubili borbu protiv korone. Volonteri, pretežno mladi, izrastali su kao pečurke posle kiše s pruženom rukom i mladalačkim srcem da pomognu onima koji-

ma je neophodno pomoći. U obrazovnim ustanovama iskazan je visok stepen odgovornosti i odvažnosti da putem *online* nastave, najmodernijim metodama, školarci i studenti budu držani u procesu nastave.

Sarajevo je “cvetalo” u ova dva meseca. Putem *online* veze pozorišta, muzičari, slikari, filmski uposlenici “radili” su s oduševljenjem i držali pažnju građana da ostanu na površini, da ne padaju u ambis nemoći. Grad je živeo, bio je primer kako u zajedništvu mogu da se savladaju i najsloženiji problemi i da bagateliše pojedince, pa i grupice koje nisu poštivale preporuke o čuvanju sopstvenog i tuđeg zdravlja.

Miljacka nikad čistija. Neki dan sam video na Obali Maka Dizdara kako je ribič/pecaroš ulovio ribu. Komunalci nikad nisu imali čistije ulice, tako uređene zelene površine, bar koliko sam ja imao priliku da vidim.

Većina sredstava informisanja (ne pratim TV-programe) veoma uspešno se “borila” protiv pandemije i bila dokaz, edukator, kako se zaštititi. Bili su motivirajući faktor. “Iskopali” su mnoge afere i aferice, što je pozitivno utjecalo na moral građana. Jer, napokon se ušlo u tragove lopovluka... I u ovom pandemij-skom nevremenu pokušali su pojedinci, grupice da ne vide viziju Bosne i Hercegovine, glavnog grada Sarajeva kao naše svojstvo, za koji treba činiti ozbiljan napor da ga očuvamo.

Setimo se poplava 2014. godine u kojima su međuentitetski, međususedski odnosi počivali na narodnoj uzrečici – prvo Bog pa komšija. Korona je pomogla, grubo rečeno, da i dalje rastače državu. Imamo najmanje trinaest štabova Civilne zaštite (entitetski, distrikt Brčko, kantonalne) koji svako na svoj način uređuju, odlučuju, naređuju, sankcionišu, “pametuju”, odlučuju čak i o životima svojih građana. U mnogim slučajevima kontrapandemijsku politiku vodile su osobe koje nisu kompetentne niti stručne da vode složenu i veoma zahtevnu borbu protiv virusa. Javnim nastupima unosili su nemir i strah među građanstvo, podcenjivali ozbiljnost situacije, do činjenice da je bilo poruka – *popiću dve rakije, pa ću pobediti koronu, ili mi smo oni koji su pobedili NATO, pobedićemo i ovaj virus.*

Odluke vlasti o raznim vrstama zabrana značile su kršenje ljudskih prava, na što je upozorio i Ustavni sud Bosne i Hercegovine.

Moje je uverenje da bi zajednički ili jedinstveni stav na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine bio efikasniji u otklanjanju opasnosti

od zaraze. Naravno zamišljam, kako bi bilo efikasnije i unosnije da je bio jedan korona zakon na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine? Ovako svako u svom ataru, svojoj etniji uređuje, disciplinuje svoje građane.

Ovih dana sam zamišljao kako bi bilo korisno, iz komšijskih razloga, da je bio zajednički štab za grad Sarajevo i grad Istočno Sarajevo te opštine koje su pre rata činile grad.

Juče, eto, kada su u Istočnom Sarajevu proradili kafići, mnogi mladi iz Sarajeva spustili su se niz Vrace u Lukavicu. Ni korona ne sprečava mlade da se druže!

Sebi ne mogu (pro)tumačiti, objasniti, opravdati odluku Katoličke crkve u Bosni i Hercegovini da se 16. maja 2020. (!) održi misa za one (ustaše, fašiste, kolaboracioniste) koji su samo u Sarajevu 1941–1945. ubili preko 10.000 građana, antifašista različite veroispovesti i narodnosti, i među njima preko 7.000 sarajevskih Jevreja.

Koji je razlog da sve crkve na Balkanu tridesetak godina zastupaju stav da su bile u “komunistički vakat” proganjane, zabranjivane od komunista? – moje iskustvo je suprotno ovim tvrdnjama. Gimnaziju sam završio u Zrenjaninu, 1956. godine. Katolička crkva je bila u centru grada. Svete nedelje i u verske praznike održavane su mise bez ikakvih problema. Od 1966. živim s porodicom u Sarajevu, u Starom Gradu, gde su smešteni verski objekti četiriju najvećih svetskih religija. Poštovane su i poštuju se prava na versku službu, uz manje pojedinačne incidente. Državne vlasti su poštovale pravo na versko izražavanje, što je bilo prepoznato i u evropskim državama. Ponosan sam na tvrdnju: Sarajevo – raskrsnica između Istoka i Zapada.

“Bleiburg u Sarajevu” je uvreda za sve Sarajlije i šire, za grad suživota i tolerancije i multireligijske zajednice. Navodim kako reaguju Sarajlije koje nemaju rezervnu domovinu niti grad:

*[...] rođen sam u ovom gradu. Ne želim da se jedan vjerski objekat, kojim se ponose Sarajlije, koristi u neke druge svrhe i da se ja kao katolik i Sarajlija stidim zbog toga. (Zvonimir Nikolić, kolumnista, Sarajlija)*

*Zašto nije u Zagrebu održana misa? Zato što Hrvatska predsjedava Vijećem Evropske unije, pa im to ne odgovara i onda su prebacili u BiH. Posebno je sporno što iza organizacije toga stoji taj vod (Počasni bleiburški vod, op. a.) koji je fašistička organizacija. Istina je da je zajedno sa zločincima na Bleiburgu stradao i jedan*



*broj nevinih ljudi. [...] Za mene je nepojmljivo da se zločincima odaje pomen. (Eli Tauber, savjetnik za kulturu i religiju Jevrejske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini)*

*Bez obzira na ljudske račune ti, Vinko Puljiće, moj brate u Krstu, pozvan si jednim kategoričnim moralnim imperativom. Imperativom koji se neodoljivo pojavljuje u svakoj vjerničkoj savjesti, u savjesti svakog odgovornog pojedinca. Dakle, još jednom i najotvorenije: možemo li oprostiti komunistima... Srbima, Bošnjacima? Moramo! (Drago Pilsel, Sarajevu ne treba Blajburg nego antifašizam)*

*Kardinal Puljić ima ljudsko, sveštenečko i svako drugo pravo da bude antikomunista, ima pravo i da služi miru i Paveliću i NDH, ali nema pravo da rehabilitira ustaštvo pod krinkom mise za nevino stradale. (Vildana Selimbegović, glavna i odgovorna urednica i direktorica "Oslobođenja")*

*Nije mudro održavati misu za blajburške žrtve ako nisi zaštitio vjernike socijalnom i fizičkom distancom od virusa fašizma. Pogotovo ne na Dan pobjede nad fašizmom i Dan Evrope, jer bi to značilo stati na stranu smrti, a ne života. (fra Marko Oršolić)*

*[...] To su najčešće samozvani karizmatici, sjetite se Torabija kako je zaveo i zaglupio tisuće ljudi, a takvi niču na sve strane u svim religijama, i u religijama se nađu ljudi i vrhunski teolozi, biskupi i episkopi, imami koji nastupaju s autoritetom lažnog boga i siju sulude ideje koje zavedu lakovjerni narod, primjerice, da se ljudi na vjerskom susretu, na obredu, u bogomolji ne mogu zaraziti, da oni mogu sve izliječiti? Odgovorne vjerske zajednice i društvo moraju izgraditi potrebne mehanizme da takve luđake na vrijeme raskrinkaju i zaustave, jer oni tako mogu pokrenuti stihijsku masu koju će biti teško kontrolirati. (Fra Ivo Marković)*

*Katolička crkva ima pravo donositi odluke autonomno i, kada je riječ o obredu, niko joj nema pravo zabraniti bilo šta. Reakcije u Sarajevu govore da je odgovornost adresirana na krivu adresu i to nije dobro. [...] Trebamo ostati dostojanstveni. Neki to pokušavaju povezati sa gradom, ali Sarajevo ništa ne obilježava. Katolička crkva ima misu u Sarajevu i treba ostati u prostoru katedrale [...] Neko vjerovatno želi da između muslimana i katolika ili nekog trećeg, dođe do nesuglasica... (Reis Kavazović)*

Afere i aferice, lopovluci pojedinaca i grupica bacaju ljagu na ponosne građane koji poste u vremenu ramazana i kako ovaj nemoral deluje na njih. Navodim tumačenje Abdusameda Nazifa

Bušatlića, profesora islamske teologije, o ramazanu za one koji nose dvolične maske na licu, a još gore u duši: “[ramazan] je škola za popravljavanje našeg duhovnog stanja.” Ja tu dopisujem Sokratovu misao: “Duh je znanost.”

Bušatlić kaže da se vernici odgajaju na uzvišenom moralu, iskrenosti, pravednosti hrabrosti, druželjubivosti, međusobnoj ljubavi i solidarnosti. Gresu koji se tiču međusobnih odnosa – ogovaranje, prenošenje tuđih reči, laži, korišćenje obećanja, nezakonosti, uzimanja tuđeg imetka, odugovlačenje isplatiti dug, kletve – u suprotnosti su s izvršavanjem ibadeta. Naučio sam da je prvih pet ajeta najveći podsticaj za nauku, odgoj i obrazovanje. Post je iskušenje. Kako li se ovi naši sadašnji osećaju uhvaćeni u lažima, prevarama, kleptomaniji, u dvoličnom ponašanju, u haramu koji su učinili. Neka im ovde sudi pravda i narod, a gore neka im je Bog na pomoći. Za mene oni ne pripadaju gradu, ne zaslužuju blagodeti grada. Uvredili su sarajevski duh, moral, obraz, ali oni toga nisu svesni.

Pojedinačno, poštujući poruke o sopstevnoj i zaštiti drugih (zaštitne maske, distanca) na putu smo da u narednih mesece, dva sprečimo dalje zaraze i umiranje, da se vratimo svakodnevnim problemima, školama, univerzitetu, druženju i raskrinkavanju gore bolesti – korumpiranosti, nepotizmu, fašizmu, nacionalizmu i drugim izumima. Usredsrediti se ka uspostavi efikasnog zdravstvenog sistema i osiguranja. Održati čistu Miljacku, bulevare i ulice. Educirati građane za otpor bilo kojoj epidemiji ili pandemiji.

Vaclav Havel, češki intelektualac, upozorio nas je pre šezdesetak godina: “Plemenske mržnje posvuda dremaju i ako se dopusti da pobede na jednom mestu, počćeće se buditi na brojnim drugim.”

I da među nama ne bude, ja šutim, ti šutiš, on šuti, mi šutimo, a oni krađu.

# SARAJEVO U VRIJEME PANDEMIJE, NA PERIFERIJU EVROPSKE NEO- MEDIJEVALNE IMPERIJE

**Nataša Tabori**

U 21. stoljeću, koje će, već vidimo, obilježiti digitalizacija života u kombinaciji s održivim planiranjem gradova, naša utočišta – dom, grad, država, Evropa, planeta, drugim riječima teritorij u različitim mjerilima, uvelike će biti pred izazovom konceptualnog, organizacijskog i prostornog redefiniranja. Krize, poput aktualne pandemije Covid-19, apostrofiraju problem teritorijalizma, novih integracija, ali i dezintegracije teritorija Evropske unije, a koji utječe na naše lične teritorije, ali i one gradske i državne, koje se zatvaraju poput tvrđava u kojima radimo, učimo i družimo se, a njihove granice prelazimo samo virtualno, težeći da ostanemo u širim, evropskim i globalnim okvirima, drugim riječima utječe na planiranje i razvoj naših teritorija. Kroz prizmu procesa u Uniji i evropskom razvojnom planiranju, promatramo Sarajevo koje je ovakvom krizom načeto mnogo ranije, a što se odrazilo na politiku prostornog planiranja, čime je privremeno izgubljena veza s načelima, strategijama, legislativom i projektima tzv. evropskog razvojnog planiranja. Za Sarajevo je nužno da vezu s procesima evropskog planiranja obnovi što prije i počne ažurirati svoju poziciju u odnosu na aktuelne prilike u Uniji.

## Uvodne napomene

Ovaj konferencijski tekst nastaje u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19. Ovakva planetarna kriza, kakva nije zapamćena od početka prošlog vijeka, potiče na razmišljanje o teritoriju, njegovoj suverenosti, s jedne, ali i krhkosti u kontekstu administrativ-

nih granica koje predstavljaju barijeru, a u vremenu pandemije zapravo za virus ne postoje, s druge strane. Teško da je moguće zamisliti svijet bez granica, ali je za planere to nužno.

Teoretsku okosnicu ovog teksta čine radovi autora Faludi<sup>1</sup> i Zielonka<sup>2</sup>, objavljeni u periodu 2008–2018. Radovi propituju poziciju Evropske unije i evropskog prostornog planiranja u vremenu kada kriza teritorijalnosti počinje da dovodi u pitanje i sam opstanak Evropske unije. Proces dezintegracije Evropske unije je započeo Brexitom i nije još uvijek jasno kuda ovaj proces vodi. S druge strane, proces daljnje integracije, ponajprije zemalja Zapadnog Balkana, ima se dojam, je na čekanju.

Povod i fokus ovog teksta je Sarajevo u vremenu pandemije, koja u drugi plan stavlja krizu teritorijalnosti koja je ovaj grad načela puno prije negoli Evropsku uniju, a ta kriza je produbila problem prostornog planiranja u podijeljenom gradu. Sarajevo je, u kontekstu krize evropskog teritorijalizma i evropskog prostornog planiranja, na raskršću puteva koji vode ili ka evropskoj integraciji ili ka daljem ustinjavanju teritorija kantona, grada i opština.

Metodom kauzalne analize u ovom tekstu propituje se pozicija Sarajeva u kontekstu procesa u Evropskoj uniji i evropskom

1 Karl Friedrich Andreas Faludi (1940, Budimpešta, Mađarska) je začetnik i aktivni učesnik procesa kreiranja važnih strateških dokumenata u oblasti evropskog prostornog planiranja i profesor emeritus na Tehnološkom univerzitetu u Delftu i Tehničkom univerzitetu u Beču. Bavi se analizom evropskog urbanog planiranja. Nagrade: European Fulbright Scholar (2000), Suradnik Bellagio centra Rockefellerove fondacije (2002), Imenovan počasni član Udruženja evropskih škola planiranja (AESOP) (2009), počasni doktorati (doctoratus honois causa) itd. Radovi: Kohezija, kohezija, suradnja: Evropsko prostorno planiranje u izradi? (2010), Andreas Faludi (ur.), Europska teritorijalna suradnja i učenje (2011), Evropsko prostorno istraživanje i planiranje (2008)

Izrada perspektive evropskog prostornog razvoja: Masterplan (2002) itd.

2 Jan Zielonka predaje Evropsku politiku i društvo na St. Antony's College Univerzitet u Oxford-u. Glavna istraživačka interesovanja su vezana za područje evropskih integracija i dezintegracije, političke geografije, komparativne politike i demokratije, političkih ideologija (posebno liberalizma), medija i komunikacije. Član Academia Europaea od 2019. Dobitnik je UACES-ove nagrade za najbolju knjigu 2019. Autorske knjige: Kontrarevolucija. Liberalna Evropa u povlačenju, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Da li je EU osuđena na propast? (Cambridge: Polity Press 2014), Evropa kao carstvo. Priroda proširene Evropske unije (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); itd.

planiranju, kada, pored trenutnog zajedničkog imenitelja pandemije Covid-19, postoje zapravo daleko ozbiljnije zajedničke karakteristike poput onih teritorijalnih, integracijskih i dezintegracijskih, ali i prostorno planerskih.

Pored uvodnih i zaključnih napomena, sažetka, ključnih riječi i referenci, rad je organiziran u dva ključna podnaslova, i to: prvi, koji propituje krizu teritorijalizma i evropsko planiranje u vremenu pandemije, i drugi, koji se fokusira na prostorno i urbanističko planiranje i pandemiju u Sarajevu.

## Kriza teritorijalizma i evropsko planiranje u vremenu pandemije

*Svijet bez teritorija teško je zamisliti. Ali mislim da je nužno to učiniti. (Faludi, 2018)*

Vremena krize imaju tu osobenost da postojeće probleme iskristaliziraju i ekstremiziraju, pa tako i Covid-19 pandemija indirektno ukazuje na krizu teritorijalizma od mikro do makro razmjere, od teritorija doma, preko teritorije grada i države, do teritorije Evropske unije, do te mjere da se postavlja pitanje što je Evropska unija. Je li to prema Zielonka sui generis, nedefinirani politički objekat, regionalna država, suvremena imperija, ili prema Faludi arhipelag, skupina santi leda ili oblak? O kakvom evropskom prostornom planiranju možemo govoriti kada teritorij zapravo nije jedinstven, već podijeljen granicama. Za razliku od administrativnih teritorija, oni prirodni i prirodnom uvjetovani ne poznaju granice. Za evropske planere je to suštinski bitno, pogotovo prilikom izrade projekata prekogranične saradnje.

Zielonka već desetljeće ukazuje na činjenicu da je Evropska unija u dubokoj krizi koja vodi ka dezintegraciji i nudi tri moguća scenarija dezintegracije, a to su: nagla dezintegracija, "uskakanje" u federaciju i neo-medijevalizam (Zielonka, 2012). Treći scenarij podrazumijeva ubrzavanje diferencirane integracije u koncentričnim krugovima (Zielonka, 2012: 56), pri čemu se koncentrični krugovi šire od unutrašnjeg kruga kojeg čine zemlje članice EU, koje su predmetom većine pravila i koje učestvuju u donošenju regulative "imperije"- prema periferiji koja je privoljena da slijedi demokratske prakse u zamjenu za pristup tržištu i

moguće, eventualno članstvo (Schmidt, 2008). Pod neo-medijevalnom imperijom kakvu zagovara Zielonka, podrazumijeva se da će se Evropska unija približiti medijevalnoj paradigmi koja predviđa preklapanje nadležnosti, višestruke lojalnosti, nejasne granice, i dualnost u konkurentnosti za univerzalnu potražnju. (Zielonka, 2012) Kao što smo vidjeli bitan faktor koji se širi koncentričnim krugovima od kreatora politika iz centra kruga, su pravila, zakoni te stoga, prema Zielonka-i politika zasnovana na normama, a ne na mačevima zasigurno može biti važnija prema ovom scenariju, ali neće biti posebno učinkovita, brza ili hrabra. (Zielonka, 2012 : 57) Evropska unija. komentira Zielonka, širi svoje norme i uvećava svoju moć u maniru istinske imperije... iako su ovi naponi najučinkovitiji u neposrednom komšiluku... dok na globalnoj areni EU ima ograničenu moć...Da bi bila uspješna u današnjem svijetu Evropa mora izvoziti svoju upravu drugim zemljama, ali mora to činiti obazrivo, da ne bi bila optužena za "regulatorni imperijalizam". (Zielonka, 2008)

Normativni i legislativni segment posebno je važan za prostorno planiranje na "periferiji", pa i u zemljama zapadnog Balkana. Ove zemlje su nosioci promjena u prostorno-planskoj legislativi, koja se mora kvalitetno prilagoditi novim socio-ekonomskim i drugim prilikama i praksama, ali o tome nešto opširnije u nastavku teksta.

Zielonkina metafora neo-medijevalne imperije je povod i lajt motiv najnovije knjige "Siromaštvo teritorijalizma – Neo-medijevalni pogled na Evropu i evropsko planiranje (Faludi, 2018). Kontejneri (Faludi, 2018 : 61) evropskih nacionalnih država, kako ih naziva Faludi, su umjesto da su se ka dvadesetprvom stoljeću koheziono razvijali, slaveći evropsko ujedinjenje, od balkanske krize ranih devedesetih, pa do danas teško da su išli tim strateški zacrtanim putem. Pandemija Covid-19 pak, pokazuje da je Evropa jedinstven i ujedinjen prirodni, ali i cyber prostor, koji je kopnom, morima, zrakom, ali i optičkim kablovima povezan sa ostatkom svijeta. Taj umreženi savremeni svijet u vremenu krize pokazuje da je nužno redefiniirati granice između privatnog i javnog u svim segmentima. Pod privatnim misli se na dom, a javni prostor počinje na pragu, izvan dvorišta doma. Istovremeno, dom postaje i okvir za javno, kao što je posao, obrazovanje i drugo.

Čitajući Faludijevu novu knjigu zaključujem da će prostor doma rasti i sve više zadirati u javni prostor u kojem radimo, dru-

žimo se, drugim riječima u kojem smo dio šire zajednice, ma šta ona bila. Dom je stoga potrebno ponovo koncipirati i oblikovati, kao i sve izvan njega.

Metapolis rječnik napredne arhitekture (Gausa M. et al., 2003) definira jednu od permutacija doma (kuće), a to je tzv. casa –capa (slojevita kuća) kao sponu, prostor interakcije; a ne inertnu opnu, već prije transfer, instrument za odnos i razmjenu sa svijetom. Mjesto za uživanje i stimulans, ne samo za zaklon. Krajolik za boravljenje i stanovanje. Suvišno je i napominjati da odnos i razmjena sa svijetom sve više prelazi u sferu virtualnog prostora, tako osjetljivog na virus. Kakva slučajnost da i naše digitalne spone sa svijetom i mi sami imamo istu slabost, virus. Iz tog razloga proces imunizacije moraće teći paralelno. Naši domovi i mi moraće imati sistem zaštite, koji će se periodično obnavljati, kao i onaj računalni.

Teritoriju koji smo naslijedili od naših predaka pandemijske krize nisu strane, a vrlo često, kroz istoriju preplitala su se sa transformacijom istog teritorija u svoj njegovoj slojevitosti, od doma, grada, države i planete. Sedamnaesto, osamnaesto i devetnaesto stoljeće obilježile su relativno česte pandemije kuge, kolere, tifusa. Evropski gradovi tokom ova tri stoljeća oblikovali su svoja gradska središta, a ciklični prstenovi njihovih periferija pomjerali su se centrifugalno. Teritorij feuda, tvrđava transformiraće se u gradske blokove, ulice i bulevare. Dvadeseto stoljeće počelo je pandemijom španske groznice. U dvadesetom stoljeću evropski gradovi preživjeli su dva svjetska rata i krenuli putem Moderne, eksperimentiranja u javnom gradskom prostoru, redefiniranja periferije ali i doma, kao ličnog prostora. U dvadesetom stoljeću imunizacija protiv zaraznih bolesti čini evropski prostor zdravijim za život. Gradovi, kao nikada do tada, razvijaju se silovitom brzinom. Otvoreni su i poput magneta privlače isprva stanovništvo regije, pa države i kontinenta. Dvadesetprvo stoljeće započinje pandemijom Covid-19. Proces digitalizacije u svim sferama počeo je vrlo ozbiljno. Ovaj proces će zasigurno obilježiti ovo stoljeće. Evropski gradovi, čitamo iz medija, shvaćaju digitalizaciju krucijalnom, pogotovo za vrijeme iskustva pandemije Covid-19 i programima finansiranja obuhvaćaju 5G strategije i digitalnu budućnost.

Ukoliko se proces dezintegracije Unije nastavi, evropski gradovi, bez obzira da li na periferiji ili u centru neomedijevalne



imperije, mogli bi postati novim koncentričnim krugovima, koji prakticiranjem istinski ujednačene prostorno planske i građevinske legislative kreiraju istinski kvalitetno i kreativno ujedinjen prosperitetan, održiv, humani evropski prostor u svim aspektima življenja.

## Sarajevo: prostorno i urbanističko planiranje i pandemije

Sarajevo dijeli pandemijsku, ali i urbanističku istoriju Evrope. Skarić je opisao epidemiju kuge 1648. godine u Sarajevu, te 1731. i 1732. kada je kuga ponovo pogodila Sarajevo. Kolera je u Sarajevu 1836. odnijela 525 duša. Paralele radi kolera je harala Parizom 1832. Između 1872-1877. u Parizu je tifus usmratio 7000 ljudi. 1866. kolera je ponovo zavladała (Skarić, 1937). Godine 1908. izgrađena je u Sarajevu Gradska bolnica za zarazne bolesti, a sljedeće godine osnovan je i Zavod za dezinfekciju. Godine 1910.-1911. načinjene su neke sanitetske uredbe za odbranu od kolere (Kreševljaković, 1969).

Sarajevo od šesnaestog do početka dvadesetog stoljeća dobiva obrise kakve i danas poznajemo kao njegov *genius loci*, te se urbanističkom i građevinskom legislativom donešenom u ovom periodu povezuje s ostatkom Evrope.

Sarajevo je sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog vijeka, kao jedan od republičkih centara bivše Jugoslavije pogodila epidemija velikih boginja. Te 1972. godine u martu Republički sekretarijat za zdravstvo i socijalnu politiku Socijalističke republike Bosne i Hercegovine je donio Naredbu o mjerama za zaštitu od unošenja i širenja velikih boginja i Naredbu o programu obaveznih imunizacija stanovništva protiv zaraznih bolesti u 1973. godini. Izvršno vijeće je 30.03.1972. donijelo Odluku o mjerama za suzbijanje velikih boginja. Tih sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog vijeka donosen je i set zakona i važnih razvojnih planova na republičkom nivou i nivou Grada Sarajeva (deset opština): Zakon o prostornom uređenju (1974), Zakon o stambenim odnosima (1974), Zakon o građevinskom zemljištu u društvenoj svojini (1974), Zakon o komasaciji (1974), Zakon o amortizaciji stambenih zgrada u društvenom vlasništvu (1974), Zakon o stambenim zadrugama (1974), Odluka o pristupanju izradi republičkog prostornog plana (1975), Odluka o sanaciji bespravne izgradnje



(1974), Odluka o donošenju prostorne osnove za Prostorni plan područja posebnih obilježja za održavanje XIV zimskih olimpijskih igara (1978) i dr.

Razvoj Sarajeva u sklopu Jugoslavije dramatično je zaustavljen u periodu od 1992-1995. U poređenju sa drugim republičkim centrima bivše Jugoslavije, ratna razaranja najviše su pogodila multietničko Sarajevo. I dok u ujedinjenoj Evropi tih ranih devedesetih nacionalizam miruje, na Balkanu se ponovno budi, a kulminira u Sarajevu, paradigmi evropske koegzistencije. Teritorijalizam na koji upozorava Brigid Laffan u povodu Brexita, a koji znači gotovo srednjevjekovnu izolaciju, prijeti da osiromaši Evropu (Gordon, 2016 prema Faludi, 2018). Sarajevu se to desilo na kraju prošlog vijeka.

Sarajevo, evidentno na periferiji jezgre cikličnih krugova u Evropskoj neo-medijevalnoj imperiji, o kojoj pišu Zielonka i Faludi, nakon gorke lekcije teritorijalizma koju još uvijek živimo, čini se da nema alternativu sem EU integracija, a samim tim ni drugi regulatorni okvir u sistemu prostornog i urbanističkog planiranja osim evropskog.

Faludi apostrofira da je teritorijalizam uvod u prostorno planiranje. Stoga se uvijek zajednica, unutar određene teritorije za koju je neki nivo vlasti nadležan, ta koja treba da se pita i pita se. Jasno je da to može biti problematično. (Faludi, 2018 : 52) Ovdje se naravno misli na spregu glasačkog tijela i teritorija, koja i u Evropskoj uniji onemogućava suštinski jedinstven i ujedinjen prostor.

Pred Sarajevom je dug put da ostvari ciljeve koje je Evropska unija u svojoj prostornoj politici zacrtala prije dvadeset godina, a to su: policentrični razvoj, jednakost u pristupu infrastrukturi i znanju i odgovorno upravljanje prirodnim i kulturno-historijskim naslijeđem. Kao što je poznato, Evropska politika prostornog uređenja zacrtana je Evropskom perspektivom prostornog razvoja (Evropska komisija, 1999) i Teritorijalnom agendom (Evropska komisija, 2011), koje predstavljaju smjernice za kreiranje nacionalnih politika zasigurno će reflektirati teški izbor pred kojim se nalazi Evropska unija između eventualne federalizacije i fragmentacije.

Povezati se ili bolje reći umrežiti se, ključ je nekih novih koncepata u prostornom i urbanističkom planiranju za 21. stoljeće. Nasuprot njih su teritorijalni koncepti vezani za administra-

tivne teritorije koje su, kroz istoriju, često bile podložne promjenama. Faludi (2018) koristi čak metaforu arhipelaga, ledenih santi ili oblaka promišljajući prostor Evropske unije, ukazujući time da države, iako ih smatramo konstantama, to zapravo i da su kroz istoriju nastajale, mijenjale svoje granice, pa i nestajale.

Jačanje sfere individualnog, proporcionalno će značiti slabljenje teritorijalnog, a samim tim i kolektivnog, ukoliko prostorno planiranje umreženih tzv. soft prostora zaživi (Purkarthofer, 2018). Grupni identitet jednostavno nije funkcionirao na isti način u prijašnjim erama kada nije bilo kanala, željeznice i novina, Sigurno sa novim načinima komunikacije funkcionirati će bitno drugačije. U stvari mi već vidimo da se to dešava. (Faludi, 2018) U prilog ovoj pretpostavci tumačim Faludijev navod američkog komentatora o evropskim pitanjima Jeremy Rifkina (Faludi, 2018 prema Rifikin, 2004 : 225) koji opisuje Uniju kao prvi eksperiment u svijetu koji se preoblikuje iz geografskih površina u planetarna polja, kao proces digitalizacije i globalizacije koji su nezaustavljivi.

Na osnovu Sporazuma u Amsterdamu 2007. ESDP postaje obvezujući okvir za slijedeće politike Vijeća Evrope: politiku kompetitivnosti, regionalnu politiku, zajedničku poljoprivrednu politiku, okolinsku politiku i odluke koje podrazumijevaju transevropske mreže (Faludi, 2018). Teritorijalna agenda (2011) je usklađena sa “Evropom 2020 – Strategijom za pametan, održiv i inkluzivan rast i razvoj“ (Evropska komisija, 2010).

Neosporno je da prostorne strategije u bilo kojem mjerilu moraju uzeti u obzir širi kontekst (Faludi, 2018), te se nužno prilikom planiranja nacionalnih politika moramo referirati i na one internacionalne, makroregionalne, tj. ukratko evropske, pa i globalne. U tom kontekstu tradicionalno kontinentalno evropsko planiranje podrazumijeva međusobnu usklađenost instrumenata urbanističkog planiranja od nacionalnih politika i perspektiva, razvojnih/strateških planova, regionalnih/generalnih prostornih i urbanističkih planova, te provedbenih planova.

Bosna i Hercegovina, a samim tim i Sarajevo, na osnovu važeće legislative mogu i moraju početi provoditi smjernice evropskih strateških dokumenata u regulativama i politikama prostornog i urbanističkog planiranja.

## Zaključne napomene

Evropska unija u vremenu pandemije, čini se da je bliža Bosni i Hercegovini, a samim tim i Sarajevu više no ikad. Integracijski i dezintegracijski procesi koji su utjecali na Sarajevo i Bosnu i Hercegovinu unutar Jugoslavije, te post Deytonski procesi suverene i nezavisne Bosne i Hercegovine imali su značajan efekat na prostorno planiranje nekadašnjeg Grada Sarajeva, a sada Kantona Sarajevo. Neosporno je da je Sarajevo, u svojim prirodnim granicama, pa i granicama nekadašnje gravitacione regije, uspostavljalo i gubilo vezu s tzv. evropskim prostornim planiranjem.

U kontekstu prostornog i urbanističkog planiranja u Kantonu Sarajevo, nužno je uključiti se u evropske tokove što prije, a s tim u vezi i planiranje oplemeniti konceptima umrežavanja. Sarajevo mora početi aktivno pratiti evropske procese i politike prostornog planiranja. Planiranje izvan kutije, ili kontejnera vratiće prostorno i urbanističko planiranje Sarajeva u okvire kojima ono odavno pripada, a to su evropski i globalni. Normiranje u oblasti prostorno planske regulative je prvi korak kojim bismo trebali početi brisati jasne granice između periferije i centara evropske neo-medijevalne imperije i stvarati gradove-centre-žarišta novih koncentričnih krugova prirodnih i razvojnih regija Evrope.

# SENIORS AS A RISK GROUP DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC – A CASE STUDY OF ONE CITY IN WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA, USA

Azra Dobardzic

## Introduction

Based on the current limited knowledge and experience, the high risk for severe illness from coronavirus disease (COVID-19) are people 65 years and older, people who live in a nursing home or long-term care facility, and people of all ages with underlying medical conditions, particularly if not well controlled (1,2).

Coronavirus disease is caused by a respiratory virus first identified in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China in December 2019. COVID-19 is a new virus that hasn't caused illness in humans before. COVID-19 has resulted in infections of pandemic proportions causing illness and deaths. The new cases are reported daily and information about *COVID-19 are coming from many valid or non-valid sources.*

One of the most concerning facts about viruses, particularly those of the coronavirus virus family, is their ability to rapidly mutate (change).

The objective of this paper is to share reliable sources of information about COVID-19, and describe experiences and initiatives of seniors during self-distancing and no-contact time in a neighborhood of Calvert Hills, the city of College Park in Washington Metropolitan Area, USA. All information and data are based on the internet sources and communications.

It is very important to know facts about *COVID-19*. *The spread of rumors can negatively impact physical and mental health. The virtual communication is never been as important as now when human survival is at stake.*

## Background

We still don't know for sure all hosts that can harbor the COVID-19 virus and all the pathways of transmission. We are still not sure if we get immunity after infection, and if we get immunity how long it will last, and consequently we don't know possibility of reinfection. Based on currently available information, the new virus, COVID-19, is very contagious. It spreads easily from human to human, and there are indications that some animals could be infected (tigers at the zoo and house pets such as cats and dogs). Based on the current knowledge, people could transmit the virus to another person before and after disappearance of symptoms of infection, and even if the symptoms of infection are not present at all.

Infection COVID-19 can spread by coughing, sneezing and talking which creates respiratory droplets, close personal contact such as touching or shaking hands, and touching an object or surface with the virus on it. The virus was found in the feces of infected people. The spread of infection could be halted by exercising protective measures.

The objective of this paper is to share reliable sources of information about COVID-19 (3,4). In addition, we described the experience and initiatives of seniors (age 65 and more) during self-distancing and no-contact time in one city in Washington Metropolitan Area. The population of the city of College Park was 32,196 as of July 1, 2019. Number of persons aged 65 and over was 5.9% of the total population, and person per household estimate averaged to 3. There were 96% households with computer.

We categorized into three groups some important and common issues faced by seniors and described resources and practices that helped them during home isolation. The respective three major groups were:

1. Health and health related issues during self-isolation
  - a. Obtaining prescribed medication in no-contact manner
  - b. Contact with health care providers

2. Social distancing and the mental impact of isolation
  - a. Loneliness
  - b. Depression, panic attacks and fears
3. Nutrition and shopping in no-contact manner
  - a. Grocery shopping for essential food
  - b. Regular nutritious meals

## Resources and Practices for Seniors

### *Health and health related issues during self-isolation*

Majority of seniors need medications. Pharmacies played significant role facilitating patients to obtain medications on time and in non-contact manner. Pharmacies developed an alert system reminding patients about medication status either by phone call, phone message or email. Delivery of medications was carried out to the patient address by mail. The delivery fee was waived during COVID-19.

It is very important to be able to contact health care providers to minimize the risk to obtain the virus infection or to get an early treatment if necessary. Hospital and many clinics in the area established an internet based patients' portal. The patients' internet portal is used to communicate with health care providers through secure mail, make or cancel appointments, review summary of the doctor visit, and see results of different tests. In addition, during COVID-19 the medical providers could be reached through the telemedicine too.

To minimize risk of infection, medical facilities designated separate spaces and buildings where applicable, for COVID-19 patients. All patients were informed about changes and protocols either through the internet patients' portal or by phone.

COVID-19 testing or body temperature checking was provided by driving-through (not coming out from the car) at some streets or safe space near hospitals or clinics.

There are many different Insurance plans and all medical procedures should be endorsed by insurance through the process that might take time and the outcome is not certain. The insurance for seniors endorsed the telemedicine appointments and all COVID-19 expenses from the early beginning of pandemic.

Health Insurance and Health centers usually have different programs informing and educating seniors to prevent or cope with disease. The Community Centers provide seniors with recreational activities such as aquatics, gymnasium, as well as tailored group exercise guided with professional trainer prior the pandemic. However, during COVID-19 the physical exercises for seniors are provided through the internet WebEx platform at their home. This activities and programs are free of charge for seniors.

### *Social distancing and the mental impact of isolation*

Social distancing can lead to loneliness, fear, depression, panic attacks, reactivation of PTSD and suicide. The social isolation should not lead to the emotional isolation (5). There are several initiatives to ease self-isolation and prevent emotional isolation of seniors in the neighborhood. We described below the most common and appreciated initiatives and practices

The designated persons from health care facility and the city government check with seniors through the phone calls to see if they need assistance, food, water or other supplies. They inform seniors in need about where and how they can obtain food or other assistance.

However, in this situation of self-isolation neighbors and volunteers contribute and play very significant role. Close neighbors, in proximity of 2-3 square kilometers form the Internet Google group or use the Nextdoor app to share news and resources. The groups are an “old fashioned neighborhood” in which neighbors are helping each other.

The few examples of activities and ideas from neighbors are worth to mention. It reminded me of besieged Sarajevo’s caring, sharing, innovations and sustainability.

The musicians and music teachers are providing programs for children and adults while raising money for the food banks. The nonperishable food drive, such as cans, pasta, juice, etc. are collected by volunteers and distributed to the addresses of families in need.

Other activities that connect and help personal wellbeing, organized and supported by neighbors, are “the Crop-sharing Gardener project” or “Friendly Listeners ask you to call” where you can chat over the phone or other media with residents expe-

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rienced in gardening, friendly pets, stories & memories, travels, recipes and food, exercise and health, reducing stress, or own skills and interests to share.

Face mask project connected and helped neighbors through material sharing and making homemade cloth masks for neighbors and other people.

### *Nutrition and shopping in no-contact manner*

Younger healthy people was organized to check senior houses in the case that somebody needs help.

The volunteers, younger healthy people, were doing shopping and errands for seniors.

While many retail stores were offering home delivery, the neighbors in the group were sharing information about supplies and prices, as well as efficacy of different delivery options.

The food drives and banks were established as well as non-contact pickups and deliveries for seniors.

## Conclusion

There are currently no proven safe medications cure or vaccine to protect humans against COVID-19. It is our personal responsibility to practice protective measures and get informed about new developments, knowledge and practices from scientifically validated sources during COVID-19 pandemic. Everybody should practice protective measures.

Seniors should keep virtual contacts by phone or through the Internet with family and friends regularly to prevent emotional isolation.

The virtual groups of people could help in variety of situations, as well as to prevent emotional distancing and consequently more serious mental health conditions. Seniors should exercise and practice activities and hobbies regularly within the available conditions and resources.

The computer literacy is very important, especially for seniors in the situation of crisis, and it should be encouraged and facilitated economically and through the education.

There were many other deadly infections through human history and it was personal responsibility to take all possible



actions to protect yourself and others. The below listed deadly infections are either eradicated or contained by systemic vaccinations, or effective therapy by new medications, or by applying safe and protective measures (6).

The Black Death: Bubonic Plague ravaged most of Europe and the Mediterranean from 1346 until 1353. Over 50 million people died, more than 60% of Europe's entire population at the time.

During the 18th century, over 400,000 people died annually in Europe from smallpox. Overall fatality rates were around 30%; however, rates were much higher in infants (80-98%), and one third of all survivors went blind.

Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) is another coronavirus infection that can be fatal. A total of 2428 laboratory-confirmed cases of MERS were reported up until the end of May, 2019. This figure included 838 associated deaths (a fatality rate of nearly 34.5%). The majority of cases were reported in Saudi Arabia (2037 cases).

SARS infection: by the end of 2003, 774 people had died out of the 8,098 infected people notified to WHO. Many more people needed to be hospitalized for breathing assistance.

Since COVID-19 pandemic is not over, the mortality numbers are changing daily and varies in different areas and countries (7).

Drug makers are trying to advance their best ideas to develop an effective vaccine and drugs to be able to control pandemic (8). They succeeded to control deadly infections either by safe and effective vaccines or drugs before, and they will succeed again. In meantime, use your head and prevent spread.

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## Appendix 1.

Older Adults and Medical Conditions: <https://coronavirus.maryland.gov/pages/older-adults>

*The Maryland Department of Health (MDH)*

Older adults (age 60+) and those with pre-existing medical conditions have a greater risk for serious illness, and in some cases death, if they become infected with COVID-19. Examples of pre-existing medical conditions include: cancer, diabetes, heart disease or other conditions that impact the immune system's ability to fight germs.

If you are an older adult or you have one or more chronic health conditions, you can take action to reduce your risk of exposure to COVID-19:

- Take everyday precautions to keep space between yourself and others
- When you go out in public, keep away from others who are sick, limit close contact and wash your hands often with soap and water or hand sanitizer with at least 60 percent alcohol content
- Avoid crowds as much as possible
- Depending on the severity, public health officials will recommend certain actions to help reduce your risk of being exposed to COVID-19 if an outbreak happens in your community. These actions can slow the spread and reduce the impact of disease.

If COVID-19 is spreading in your community, follow directions from public health officials. You may be asked to do one or more of the following:

- Monitor for symptoms of illness: including fever, cold-like symptoms, cough, difficulty breathing or shortness of breath
- Quarantine at home: used to separate and restrict the movement of those who are well but who may have been exposed to disease but do not show symptoms to help stop the spread of disease
- Isolation at home: used to separate those who are sick from those who are healthy to help stop the spread of disease

If you are asked to do any of the above, your health care practitioner or local health department will provide information about how to proceed.

You may also be asked a lot of questions about your recent travel, activity and interaction with others outside your home. This is a normal part of contact tracing, which health care practitioners and scientists use to help determine the risk of COVID-19 exposure in communities.

Older adults are advised to prepare in the following ways:

- Check your regular prescription drugs to make sure you have an adequate supply; refill your prescriptions if needed
- Have an adequate supply of non-prescriptive drugs and other health supplies, including pain relievers, stomach remedies, cough and cold medicines
- Have enough household items, groceries, and water on hand so that you will be prepared to stay at home
- Consider ways of getting food brought to your house through family, social or commercial networks if you are forced to stay home for longer than your supplies allow
- Stay in touch with others by phone or email; you may need to ask for help from friends, family, neighbors, community health workers, etc. if you become sick
- Determine who can provide you with care if your caregiver gets sick
- Practice social distancing — keep distance between yourself and others and avoid crowds

Wash your hands after putting away groceries, touching money or handling anything that comes from outside the home. Clean your hands often with soap and water for at least 20 seconds, especially after blowing your nose, coughing, or sneezing, or having been in a public place. Ask anyone entering your home to wash their hands upon entering.

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Use commercial cleaning products to wipe high-touch points often, including:

- canes, walker grips, wheelchair arms, push handles and brake handles
- handrails and commode chair handrails, faucets, door-knobs, and refrigerator handles
- reacher/grabber handles and pill boxes
- telephones, remotes and light switches

If you have questions, please your local health department.

## Appendix 2.

### Frequently Asked Questions: Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) and Older Adults Updated May 7, 2020

*The Maryland Department of Health (MDH)*

What is COVID-19? COVID-19 is a disease caused by a respiratory virus. COVID-19 is thought to be able to spread like the cold or flu through:

- Coughing, sneezing and talking, which creates respiratory droplets
  - close personal contact, such as touching or shaking hands
  - touching an object or surface with the virus on it
- Symptoms, or combinations of symptoms, that may appear 2-14 days after exposure include:
- Fever
  - Coughing
  - Shortness of breath or difficulty breathing
  - Chills or repeated shaking with chills
  - Muscle pain
  - Headache
  - Sore throat
  - New loss of taste or smell

Do older adults have a higher risk of becoming more seriously ill from COVID-19?

Older adults (age 60+) and those with pre-existing medical conditions have a greater risk for serious illness, and in some cas-

es death, if they become infected with COVID-19. Examples of pre-existing medical conditions include: cancer, diabetes, heart disease or other conditions that impact the immune system's ability to fight germs. If you are an older adult or you have one or more chronic health conditions, you can take action to reduce your risk of exposure to COVID-19:

- Take everyday precautions to keep space between yourself and others
- Keep away from others who are sick, limit close contact and wash your hands often with soap and water or hand sanitizer with at least 60 percent alcohol content
- Avoid crowds as much as possible

Should I wear a face mask? Wear face coverings when inside retail establishments or when riding any form of public transportation in the state. Cloth face coverings can be made from household items and include wearing a scarf or bandanna that covers the nose and mouth. The CDC has detailed guidance and instructions regarding homemade cloth face coverings available at <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/diy-cloth-face-coverings.html>

Cloth face coverings should not be placed on young children under age 2, anyone who has trouble breathing, or is unconscious, incapacitated or otherwise unable to remove the mask without assistance.

People with disabilities who are unable to wear a mask are provided reasonable accommodations per the Americans with Disabilities Act. The cloth face coverings recommended are not surgical masks or N-95 respirators. Those are critical supplies that must continue to be reserved for healthcare workers and other medical first responders, as recommended by current CDC guidance.

Should I cancel plans to travel? The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) is updating travel advisories as warranted. CDC does not generally issue advisories or restrictions for travel within the United States. However, cases of coronavirus disease (COVID-19) have been reported in all states, and some areas are experiencing community spread of the disease. Visit the CDC travel advisory page on domestic travel: <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/travelers/travel-in-the-us.html>

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At this time, the CDC recommends that travelers avoid all nonessential international travel. If you must travel:

- Avoid contact with sick people.
- Avoid touching your eyes, nose, or mouth with unwashed hands.
- Wash your hands often with soap and water for at least 20 seconds. If soap and water are not readily available, use an alcohol-based hand sanitizer that contains at least 60% alcohol.
- It is especially important to clean hands after going to the bathroom; before eating; and after coughing, sneezing or blowing your nose.
- Avoid traveling if you are sick. People who are at increased risk for serious illness are also advised to avoid non-essential air travel. CDC recommends travelers defer all cruise ship travel worldwide. Visit the CDC travel advisory site to check on current travel warnings if you are planning a trip abroad: <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/travelers/index.html>.

What can I do to be prepared for COVID-19? Older adults are advised to prepare in the following ways:

- Check your regular prescription drugs to make sure you have an adequate supply; refill your prescriptions if needed
- Have an adequate supply of non-prescriptive drugs and other health supplies, including pain relievers, stomach remedies, cough and cold medicines
- Have enough household items, groceries, and water on hand so that you will be prepared to stay at home
- Consider ways of getting food brought to your house through family, social or commercial networks if you are forced to stay home for longer than your supplies allow
- Stay in touch with others by phone or email; you may need to ask for help from friends, family, neighbors, community health workers, etc. if you become sick
- Determine who can provide you with care if your caregiver gets sick
- Practice social distancing — keep distance between yourself and others Wash your hands after putting away groceries, touching money or handling anything that comes from

outside the home. Clean your hands often with soap and water for at least 20 seconds, especially after blowing your nose, coughing, or sneezing, or having been in a public place. Ask anyone entering your home to wash their hands upon entering. Use commercial cleaning products to wipe high-touch points often, including:

- Canes, walker grips, wheelchair arms, push handles and brake handles
- Handrails and commode chair handrails, faucets, door-knobs, and refrigerator handles • Reacher/grabber handles and pill boxes
- Telephones, remotes and light switches

#### What is social distancing?

The best way to slow the spread of COVID-19 is through “social distancing,” which means avoiding close contact with others. Social distancing can take many forms, depending on your lifestyle and your family or living situation. Social distancing can include the following habits and steps:

- Avoid handshaking, hugging and other intimate types of greeting
  - Avoid non-essential travel (your health care provider may have specific guidance for your situation)
  - Avoid crowds, especially in poorly ventilated spaces
  - Avoid unnecessary errands — consider ways to have essential items, like food and other household supplies, brought to you through delivery services or through family or social networks
- As a preventive measure to slow COVID-19 outbreaks, gatherings of more than 10 people are banned, and all restaurants, bars and movie theaters have been closed. Schools are also closed to avoid social contact with school children and staff.

For older adults, social distancing is especially important because they are a high risk group. It is recommended that those at a high risk of becoming seriously ill from COVID-19 stay home as much as possible. While social distancing and self-quarantine are needed to limit and control the spread of the disease, social connectedness is important. Virtual resources can and should be used during this time. Talk to your friends and family on the phone or over video to stay connected.

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### What should I do if I think I am sick with COVID-19?

If you become sick with fever, cough or have difficulty breathing, call your health care provider and ask about next steps. If you don't have a health care provider, contact your local health department.

### What can I do to support older adults?

- Know what medications your older loved one is taking and contact them to ask if they need refills or an extended supply of medication
- Check in with any older friends or family members regularly by email or phone to see if they need assistance, food, water or other supplies. Always wash your hands and keep a safe distance when visiting.
- If a loved one is living in a care facility, monitor the situation — ask the facility about its protocol if there is an outbreak and about the health of other residents. Facilities have been asked to monitor their staff for signs of respiratory illness, to re-educate staff about infection prevention practices such as hand washing, to take inventory of available personal protective equipment (PPE) and to create plans to prepare for PPE shortages. Protect residents and staff at nursing homes, including:
  - Universal testing of all residents and staff at all Maryland nursing homes, regardless of whether they are symptomatic. Nursing homes will be prioritized based on an imminent outbreak or a current rising threat risk, and any staff who test positive will be immediately discharged into isolation.
  - Mandatory compliance and cooperation with state strike teams.
  - Daily evaluation of residents by a physician, nurse practitioner, physician's assistant, or registered nurse.
  - The development of surge staffing plans to ensure continuity of care in the event of an outbreak. To aid in this effort, the state is supplementing strike teams with new bridge teams, which will provide emergency clinical staffing to nursing homes that are experiencing a staffing crisis.



# SARAJEVO – FROM BIRTHPLACE OF INTEGRAL HUMANISM TO UNIVERSALIST DESERT OF MIND

Marko-Antonio Brkić

Sure your life will give no rest  
You did the worst and they do the best  
Say what you wish along with rhyme  
You are stuck in the sand till the end of time  
(*DESERT OF MIND*, Amine Elmhamdi,  
heavy-metal musician from Morocco)

Jacques Maritain was the philosopher who most influenced the fundamental tenets of the life and spiritual philosophy of Karol Józef Wojtyła, later Pope John Paul II. He explained that the misfortune of classical humanism was that it was anthropocentric, not that it was a humanism. Analysis of the "tragedy" of this humanism, which Maritain paradoxically calls *inhuman humanism* precisely because of its anthropocentrism, refracts along three dimensions: the conception of man, the conception of culture, and our human conception of God. His key finding is that the starting point of such humanism is contingent and limited – so Maritain introduces a contrasting concept of holistic or integral humanism. To achieve the *minimum of unity in a pluralistic society*, in Maritain's vocabulary, requires civic tolerance and mutual respect for everyone's dignity, which, among other things, implies an obligation on the state to respect different forms of conscience. The key concept of a pluralistic society is that it multiplies freedoms, in a space where post-medieval philosophy has largely culturally replaced religion in modern Western societies – becoming the means by which Europe has made an absolutist attempt to save unity, unsuccessfully. (Maritain, 1989, 208-210)

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Various instruments were developed during the twentieth century, both international (global) and local, that have contributed to the general humanization of relations, despite pronounced particularisms and interest-driven political and economic conflicts. The most visible illustration is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but there are many other harmonized and generally accepted instruments for advocacy, protection and education that permanently contribute to the efforts related to the shared values of what, from one perspective, perhaps just the perspective of a Christian circle of thought, can be seen as integral humanism.

One of the symbols, of the birthplaces of this universal humanism, in which history is lived authentically and profoundly, in which nearly a dozen opposing regimes have replaced each other over the last 150 years, and in which, under each of those regimes, despite the destroyers and the haters who tried to dominate the establishment, the general climate of the urban population has always to the highest degree reflected a tolerant, philanthropic, truthful and generally deeply pious attitude towards themselves and others, is surely the city of Sarajevo. The humanism that characterizes Sarajevo is both anthropocentric and timeless.

A city, special even in its suburban areas, different from all the other similar cities in its immediate vicinity, to speak lyrically, from Vienna to Constantinople. A city of neighbourliness, a city that has forgiven and suffered, a city that has inspired and attracted, artists, scientists, Nobel laureates, a city of the ancient spirit reborn - of the modern Olympic Games, a city that has humiliated and punished tyrants and occupiers and celebrated simple and humble folk, a city that for centuries received transcontinental refugees, a city of deep spirit and humour, a city that survived the longest siege in modern history, a city of heroes, a city where Jews and Muslims live together in harmony, a city where churches and cathedrals were built and helped by sultans and emperors, a city that has shattered illusions and prejudices, that authentically testifies, like no other, that it is the city where civilizations meet, a city of intersections, a city that did not allow itself to be destroyed despite its numerous confrontations with epic Evil. A city in which the orphan child of an Ustasha soldier received the chance to develop in society and become a respected

academic citizen, to the point of becoming, in the late period of socialism, the Republic minister of education, over the objections of the regime apparatus, and saved and protected from the politically inspired persecution of his ethnic fellows (Croats) by his Serbian and Bosniak best friends (kumovi/blood brothers) and neighbours. A city that has suffered long and short periods of political oppression, dictatorship and the many scourges of a global order that at one time played a dominant role in determining its destiny and historical paradigms, imposed and justified. All this and much more, because Sarajevo is a true birthplace of universal integral humanism, in which no particularity is viewed as an independent variable, in which humanism has found ways to be realized towards others (neighbours), showing awareness of the *dignity of human persons*, towards culture (mutual respect), demonstrating the *importance of human freedom*, and finally towards God (a timely and tested devotion, without any significant trace of radicalism in any respect), presenting an inherent *awareness of finitude*.

The mechanisms through which universal humanism has been realized have been different, sometimes incomprehensible at first glance, but always and permanently based on flexibility and the solidarity that has given foreigners and guests in the city a sense of trust, acceptance, and sufficient breadth. There are countless sources, documents, research results, experiential insights, and individual cases to illustrate this narrative, and it seems pointless to present them here. No well-meaning researcher will have difficulty convincing themselves of it.

Of course, in each time, under each regime, there have been those marked, as undesirable or less desirable, as destined for a different fate - one of the regimes with the strongest negative consequences for public life of Sarajevo was that established during World War II, when so many innocent people suffered under the so-called Independent State of Croatia, and terror was common place for the many who did not fit the proclaimed image of the World, taken over from its ideological and political mentors, the Nazi and fascist regimes. All the other regimes, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Old Yugoslav, Communist-Socialist, Pluralist-democratic, Wartime-democratic and Post-war, have had their victims too and those who remained in effect out of reach of the current humanism. Every regime has its victims. With no inten-

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tion of any relativization or substantial deconstruction, I want to stress this fact here, with a very clear goal.

After the Catholic bishops, or members of the episcopal conferences of BiH and Croatia, gave their joint mandate to the Archbishop of Sarajevo, Cardinal Vinko Puljić, at the beginning of March this year, to celebrate a Mass for the victims of the “Way of the Cross”, that is of the so-called *Bleiburg tragedy*, which symbolizes a mass crime by Communist partisan units, ordered by Tito and the supreme leadership of his army, and committed in 1945 against soldiers and civilians of Croat, Bosniak, Montenegrin, Serb and other nationalities, in which at least 80,000 people died, the leading politicians in the state, including all the members of the BiH Presidency, started issuing messages of public condemnation of the act and even demands the decision (to hold the Mass for the victims in Sarajevo Cathedral) be reconsidered, commenting that celebrating such a mass would actually *be a commemoration of the perpetrators of crimes*. After the most senior political representatives in the country, who rarely agree on anything substantial in the country’s political life, had taken their stand, public comments began to appear by the dozen, mostly from the political left and civic activists, ranging from demands to ban the Mass to public advice to the Cardinal on what he should say and how, and on what message he should send the public. The volume and range of views expressed on the event, essentially a religious ceremony, which would normally imply, in a civilized society at least, a modicum of piety for the victims (almost entirely absent in the public discussion), exceed my capabilities as an author to absorb and process, in order to capture the essence of all who felt called upon to comment, protest, and participate in public life.

The *Declaration on Joint Moral Commitment*, signed on July 7, 1997 by representatives of the four traditional churches and religious communities in BiH, at one point describes the shared moral responsibility of the religious leaders of the traditional religious communities in BiH. Namely, it says that religious leaders recognize that *their churches and religious communities differ from each other*, and that *each of them is free to live true to its own calling*, that *they hold many values in common*, that *each of the traditional churches and religious communities recognizes that the dignity of man and human value are gifts of*

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*God, that all faiths and religions, each in their own way, call us to recognise the fundamental human rights of each person.*

The head of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the president of the Jewish community reacted fiercely to the announcement of a mass for the victims of the *Bleiburg tragedy* in Sarajevo Cathedral and publicly called out the leadership of the Catholic Church (Metropolitan Chrysostom of the Serb Orthodox Church even announced the cessation of any further cooperation!) and joined others (activists, journalists, politicians...) in public obloquy of the leadership of the Catholic Church for what it formally neither could nor actually did do (a dictatorial regime cannot be rehabilitated by a Mass for victims, nor can history be revised, nor criminals honoured). The head of the Muslim community, reis-ul-ulama Husein Kavazović, acted very differently from the two above-mentioned religious leaders, calling in public appearances for tensions to be calmed and for respect for the Catholic Church's right in practical terms *to act in accordance with its mission*, and rejecting in this case that a religious structure has a social and political responsibility in performing a religious ceremony.

On the other hand, Cardinal Puljić failed to act in a dignified manner that would have dismantled bias and robbed counter-arguments and quasi-arguments put forward in public of any strength, by sending a strong message stressing another of the values set out in the *Declaration on Joint Moral Commitment*: namely that *for religious leaders (and the churches and religious communities that belong to them) violence against persons or the violation of their basic rights is not only against the laws of man but also an infraction of God's law*. The topic of how individual churches and religious communities have dealt with their own and other people's past, their own victimization and other people's crimes, requires separate discussion.

In an interesting essay, Slavoj Žižek writes that the latest trend in capricious left-wing politics is to *retaliate in the same way for whatever right-wing populism serves it* (2019, 127). Symptomatically, left-wing public figures belonging to or inclined to Croat national or linguistic circles reacted almost apologetically, certainly with resignation, especially at the sending of messages of intolerance, hypocrisy and hypocritical responsibility, at selectivity and inconsistency in the case of this "Mass for

Bleiburg” (what an unfortunate and clumsy phrase, practically useless in any internal sense – liturgical, theological, spiritual, and so almost ideal for political manipulation and the abusive depreciation of a communitarian expression of the sacramental life of a community, of prayer and of *bloodless sacrifice* to God Himself).

Ivo Banac has said that this crime of hatred towards religion (*odium fidei*) was “part of a wider complex of persecutions related to the Bleiburg tragedy, which is again a coded representation of never punished, rarely even recognized, Communist crimes against entire categories of opponents, all for the express purpose of establishing the Communist dictatorship.”(Banac, 2013, 98-99)

Is the call for investigation, perhaps even punishment, sufficient reason to relativize and devalue so fully the significance of a horrific crime, in which between 80,000 and 100,000 soldiers and civilians of various social groups, but mostly Croats and members of the Catholic Church, were systematically massacred, in an organised and planned way, after the wartime conflict was over, without any process (except “summary execution”)?

Is such complete distortion of the thesis regarding victims an attempt to avoid facing trauma, whether one's own or others'? Is the emphasis on earlier crimes by Ustasha units and the NDH structures, which were also systematic, organized, planned, and inhumane, an attempt to justify one crime with another? Does the criminal character of the (Ustasha) regime wipe out the right to dignity and freedom of each of the persons massacred without scruple and is the value of their freedom and dignity *multiplied by zero* because *not all victims are the same*? Is the need and desire of the leadership of the Catholic Church (all the bishops of the “Church amongst the Croats”) to commemorate in prayerful and liturgical way the memory of all the victims of the *Bleiburg tragedy* actually questionable? Do left-wing social activists and various other anti-fascists have a legitimate right to set the conditions as to for whom, how, when and where a Mass should and can be offered, if it is to be legitimate and acceptable to all members of society? The real question, in fact, is whether there is still any universal integral humanism left for these victims, for their descendants and ethnic fellows, who have for decades been marking with sadness and pain the painful and tragic anniversa-

ries of a tragedy that left its biological mark on the Croatian Catholic corpus, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The Christian vision of death and dying differs from that which is dominant in both pluralistic and postmodern society. The Church does not flee death and suffering as phenomena. It accepts them with confidence in the One who overcame mortality, evil, suffering and sin. The Church is committed to the dignity of every human being, both in life and in the moment of dying, for death for the Church is not a sin but the beginning of eternal life in God. (Smiljanic, 2015, 24)

Grozdana Cvitan, a Croatian writer, says, in a travelogue from the Ukraine, where she visited the marked cemeteries of Croatian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army from the First World War (and where she found a text in the cemetery at Glibivka that reminds irresistibly her of the poet of the Herzegovinian stone sleeper: *We once were (lived) where you now are. We are here now, where you will come to be*), about the environment it is located in:

Only when the dead rise in some future battle will our fragile knowledge waver. Because it is only then that we shall see graves opening of whose existence we knew nothing. That is why it is important for the traumatized to meet their traumas. Not to pass them on as a generational legacy.

(Cvitan, 2019, 323-325)

This artfully put statement of social literature introduces three key things that are needed to understand the victimological past and that may eventually result in some kind of normalization of a torn society, such as the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

- the need to research and accept a blurred and intentionally (mis)interpreted history, in an open, tolerant, and self-critical spirit, on the basis of available facts,
- the challenge of dealing with traumas, one's own and those of others, and
- courage for the task of taking responsibility for untying *the Gordian knots* of common heritage by resolving destructive conflicts, while fully respecting the dignity of all participants in the process (in other words, without "taking justice into one's own hands").



In one of the most significant polemical works of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the former Yugoslavia, in the literary, ideological and every other sense, his *Dialectical Antibarbarus*, through an analysis of the conflict on the then social left, Miroslav Krleža vividly presents his subjection to “orthodox” investigation:

I dared to poke my head out of the window, all blinded by the beam of light that flooded me from (...) the dialectical lamp that border guards used to illuminate suspicious carriages on roads that wound to and fro in the increasingly rightward and further right direction of the enemy, ecclesiastical, metaphysical and idealistic, aristocratic, in a word, Trotskyite utopias and sinecures ...

(Krleža, 1983, 51)

These days (the first half of May, 2020) the dialectical lamps in Sarajevo are held by the many “guardians” of the idea of anti-fascism, blinding all those who dare publicly express any attitude other than unconditional adherence to the established anti-fascist code, unchanged for decades, except with regard to the goal for which it is manipulated. All those who dared to attend or even comment positively on the celebration in Sarajevo Cathedral of Holy Mass for the victims of the *Bleiburg tragedy*, as a metaphor for mass crimes committed by partisan (*eo ipso* leftist, anti-fascist) units, mostly in Slovenia, but throughout the former Yugoslavia in 1945, after war operations were officially over, were accused of – nothing more or less than – rehabilitation of the fascist regime, politicizing of a religious act, revision of history, and so on.

Esad Bajtal offers what I consider one of the finest definitions or understandings of what we distinguish as revision, necessary and needed revision:

Not accepting the diktat of facts, the human mind, over and over again, normatively and critically subjects them to its measure, as the highest measure of the historical world. Following in the footsteps of Mind, driven by an impetus of critical perfectionism, the *animal rationale* arrives at the realization that the mind is an irreconcilable opponent of the current state of affairs; that history is like a struggle of mind against non-mind, a constant struggle for freedom, and that, in Hegelian terms, “non-mind reality must change, until it comes into harmony with mind.”

(Bajtal, 2007, 226)



Elsewhere, writing on nationalism and how it is perceived, Bajtal states that ultimately ethnic homogeneity can be achieved in only one of three ways: a) genocide, b) ethnic cleansing, or c) assimilation. With all due reservations, *mutatis mutandis*, assimilation is the only permanent threat to disturbed social relations in the post-conflict period. Bajtal states that "in order to maintain its artificial ideological uniformity, every closed system (national, confessional, ideological) finally resorts to instrumentalized and deliberate violence. Induced intolerance is a key moment of this violence." (2006, 115)

It is rare individuals (like Bajtal), responsible and up to the ethical task, who prevent Sarajevo from passing from cradle of integral humanism to a desert of the mind. They are the ones who, despite the loud majority and the disproportionate reaction of the majority to the social minority, despite the clear bursting of the barely stitched seams of respect and mutual esteem, remain a hope for partnership in building future relationships.

Paraphrasing Hans Küng, we could say that there will be no peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina without peace between religions. The reactions of the religious leaders to the "Mass for Bleiburg" tell us that it will not be easy to achieve full peace and trust, despite the efforts made so far. To the political regret of those who traditionally advocate and argue and impute that the churches and religious communities are (co)responsible for violence, crime and terror, two forms of reaction suggest that the source of violence is to be sought elsewhere, but the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina really do have a right to expect social as well as spiritual responsibility, instead of a "desert of the spirit", from their religious leaders and structures at various levels. This spiritual responsibility certainly implies self-criticism, solidarity, adherence to the postulates of the *golden rule*, and many other elements of the ethical fundament, which have woven centuries of common ground in Sarajevo as rarely elsewhere in Europe.

Two Bosnian Franciscans, Fr. Drago Bojić and Fr. Ivan Šarčević, expressed public criticism of how the notorious Holy Mass for the victims of World War II and the post-war period was published and announced. They delivered an accounting for everything the Church should have done, starting with the Cardinal, and hasn't, to make a full contribution to trust building and thus so indirectly continue to fulfil its part of the task of preserving the

values of holistic humanism, and in the background, of culture. Because our relation to culture is our relation to the Other and to ourselves, in a collective sense. It is difficult to refute or argue against anything these two Franciscans said in their open letter to the Cardinal. However, the more important part of their text was about exposing the mask of *false* or *fake* anti-fascism. Other important leftists from the Croatian national and linguistic (micro)cultural circle in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Miljenko Jergović, Ivica Pandžić, Željko Ivanković, Ivan Lovrenović, Marko Tomaš, and many others, have made similar public appearances or at least reaction aimed at similar patterns of behaviour by “certified” anti-fascists. The importance of their reaction is that they do not defend (nor would it be ethical to accuse any of them of doing so) any pan-nationalistic, quasi-fascist, or other flavour of idea or inclination, instead testifying credibly (through their many previous critical texts on negative and insufficiently responsible actions and events for which the Catholic Church in BiH and some of its leaders have been responsible). Finally, our two Franciscans, public figures and intellectuals, are no exception in this case, as critical reaction in defence of the Cardinal and organization of the “mass for Bleiburg” has been publicly expressed by the proverbially neutral and conciliatory (opportunistic?) administration of the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Argentina.

Šarčević has previously stated, in a recently published work on the elements of plural society, that the reason for ethnic collectivism lies primarily in the small size of certain communities, their fear of disappearance or assimilation, and in the fact that they mostly lack experience of independence and political culture, bearing in mind that their collective memories are mostly memories of suffering and of the troubles caused to them by others. (Šarčević, 2017, 79)

Finally, a line about rehabilitation. Predrag Matvejević, a well-known writer born in Mostar, wrote a letter to comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, then the head of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on August 12, 1985, advocating the *rehabilitation* of Nikolai Bukharin and his work and his ideas, mostly presented in the 1920s and 1930s (sic!), in which he said:

Bukharin has not yet been rehabilitated. (...) The rehabilitation processes, begun at the time of Nikita Khrushchev, were rudely

and unjustifiably interrupted. It is hard to believe that economic life can be changed more thoroughly without corresponding changes in political and cultural life. We have long believed that new production relations will in themselves determine and produce a new culture, a socialist one. We expected, naively, that it would rise from its base in the most ideal forms, just as, in the ancient myth, the goddess of wisdom Minerva erupts in a spark from Jupiter's head. The obvious forces us to abandon such mythical determinism: without a new culture there is no socialism, it is therefore not only an effect but also a condition, a cause as much as a consequence.

(Matvejević, 1985, 83)

The issue of rehabilitation is a reflection of historical responsibility, awareness of the need to correct injustices, untruths, misconceptions, opening up opportunities to preserve existing or of achieving new values. Paraphrasing this thought of Matvejević's, we could argue that perhaps we should open our minds to rehabilitations that may relax strained social relations, encourage reflection on abandoning the *mythical determinism* of the history textbooks studied half a century ago by the loud and certified anti-fascists of Sarajevo today. This censored, ideologized and staged history, was written and edited by Communist Party historians, the assessors of the ideological suitability of historical factography (sic!). Even today these *interpreters of our past* will not allow a letter or context to be changed in "what has already been learned."

The abandonment of mythical determinism need not necessarily be translated as (ideological) revisionism, another term from communist dogma and communist vocabulary, as Srećko Džaja says, which in this case is used to denounce any attempt to relate critically to the canonized matrix of anti-fascist historiography. He postulates explicitly that historical science by its very nature *lives from revisions and through revisions develops as a science* (Džaja, 2017, 73). Unfortunately, in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a selective-utilitarian approach to understanding the role of historiography prevails, perhaps especially amongst intellectuals loudly engaged in the public sphere (read: the polemical arena of confrontation of collective interests of different types with few examples of individual demonstrations of free-minded spirit). It almost exclusively seeks to

establish the fateful dogmas or rather - mythical determinism – of its own interest group (nation, church, party, ideology...). Without a new culture there will be no genuine humanism in Sarajevo, all that will remain is a universalist husk in the *desert of mind*.

Srećko Džaja, in a brilliant text on *Bosnian and Herzegovinian historical paradigms, national narratives and the issue of reconciliation*, writes of how the concept of victim is (mis)used, how *the victim becomes immune to criticism, ensuring a sublime innocence from reasonable doubt*, and he quotes the Italian author Daniel Giglioli and his essay *Crittica della vittima. Un esperimento con l'etica* (“Victim Rebuke. Ethical Approach”) written in 2014:

Inflating victim status strengthens the position of the powerful and weakens the position of the subordinated: it weakens the ability to act healthily and exaggerates the suffering suffered. It fuels the cult of hatred and revenge and elevates the cult of fabrication. It encourages the development of rigid and very often fictitious identities. It chains one with the past and thus burdens the future. It discourages us from daring changes. It privatizes history and mixes freedom with irresponsibility.

(Džaja, 2017, 69)

In light of victimization and analysis of the condition of the social mind in modernity, Džaja cites Giglioli's thesis that history is by nature possessive and totalitarian, and proposes other forms of thought and communication as positive ways of reflecting on events and contexts: argumentation, analogy, dialogue and discourse in the broadest sense. This should certainly not be understood as an attempt to relativize historically established facts and indisputably established situations, but rather as a way of saving us from a great deal of (maliciously) omitted, unattainable, incorrectly established and misinterpreted historical fact. Communist based victimology armed with *certified* anti-fascist legitimacy became an obsession of Yugoslav society glorifying its own (war-time) victims, emphasizing cruelty and exaggerating the number of crimes of its ideological opponents, while in Socialist Yugoslavia even mentioning Bleiburg was forbidden, used here as a metaphor for crimes and numerous mass-execution sites throughout Yugoslavia, where thousands were executed without

trial, flatly labelled as “enemies of the people”. (Džaja, 2017, 68-70)

In November 1994, at the consistory in the Vatican where for the first time in history, an Archbishop of Sarajevo, msgr. Vinko Puljić, was appointed Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II said:

Among you are (...) pastors who lead Christian communities rich in history and known for their patient and courageous evangelical witness, dignitaries who for the first time have secured for the communities from which they come a presence and a voice in the college of Cardinals. (...) I am thinking in particular of the Christians of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where, unfortunately, the destructive rumble of weapons has not yet been stopped, and where so much innocent blood continues to flow without any prospect of peace.

It is a sad fact that, while in most places around the former Yugoslavia processes of normalization have been successfully carried out regarding the occupiers (mainly Germany and Italy), largely without significant reservation or factual objection, *internal normalization* has been much slower and on unstable ground. That normalization cracked in the 1970s, broke in the 1980s, and completely burst in the 1990s. Today's social climate in Bosnia and Herzegovina is fairly certainly most similar to that of the 80's, assuming an imaginary graph of destructive impulses, with a peak characterized by social disorientation, rising economic confidence, increasingly loud ideological and political monologues, institutional mistrust, an absence of any relevant meritocratic or ethical principle in the institutional approach to the public sphere, complete fragmentation, individualization of the views of politically undecided and ethically independent intellectuals, and a grouping and merging of social structures on the basis of (quasi)ideological and national-religious components. That is the case with Sarajevo.

Expressions of how a selective and clearly ideologized understanding of a traumatic reality is imposed on a minority community (like the Catholic Church in Sarajevo) are indisputable signs of attempts at aggressive political assimilation, imposing an obligation to respect *the code of the majority*, essentially an ideological majority imposing itself in public space. Nor is it just violent assimilation taking place, but also attempts to restore

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the Bolshevik-Communist-Socialist paradigms of guilt and responsibility transferred to the whole group, the whole nation, the whole community, or at least that (significant) part of it that is not “*superstitiously harmonized*” with the given facts and interpretations of history. Fortunately, in such a desert of the mind, apparently motivated universally (ideals of anti-fascism), in which the principle of shouting loudest reigns, to the detriment of facts, accompanying context, and deconstructed narratives, some relevant voices are appearing to publicly express support and care for the minority community.

For the bibliography see the Bosnian version.

# SARAJEVO – OD RODNOG MJESTA CJELOVITOG HUMANIZMA DO UNIVERZALISTIČKE PUSTINJE DUHA

Marko-Antonio Brkić

Sure your life will give no rest  
You did the worst and they do the best  
Say what you wish along with rhyme  
You are stuck in the sand till the end of time  
(*DESERT OF MIND*, Amine Elmhamdi, Morocco)

Jacques Maritain, koji je najsnažnije djelovao na temeljne postavke životne i duhovne filozofije Karola Józefa Wojtyły, kasnije pape Ivana Pavla II., pojašnjava da je nesreća klasičnog humanizma to što je bio antropocentričan a ne u tome što je bio humanizam. U analizi “tragedije“ ovog humanizma, koji Maritain paradoksalno baš zbog njegove antropocentričnosti naziva *nečovječnim humanizmom*, ogleda se u tri različite protežnosti: s obzirom na poimanje čovjeka, s obzirom na poimanje kulture i na čovjekovo poimanje Boga. Ključni nalaz je u tome što je polazište ovakvog humanizma kontingentno, ograničeno - za razliku od njega Maritain uvodi koncept cjelovitog ili univerzalnog humanizma. Da se ostvari maritainovskim rječnikom rečeno “minimum jedinstva pluralističkog društva“ nužna je građanska snosljivost, tolerancija i međusobno poštivanje svačijega digniteta, a što između ostaloga podrazumijeva obvezu države da poštuje različite savjesti. Ključni koncept pluralističkog društva je da umnaža slobode, u prostoru u kojem je filozofija nakon srednjeg vijeka u novovijekovnim društvima zapadnog kruga u značajnoj mjeri kulturološki zamijenila vjeru – postala je sredstvo kojim je

Europa apsolutistički pokušala spasiti jedinstvo, međutim neuspješno. (Maritain, 1989, 208-210)

U XX. stoljeću razvijaju se brojni instrumenti, međunarodni (globalni) i lokalni, koji su pridonijeli općoj humanizaciji odnosa, unatoč naglašenim partikularizmima i interesno vođenim političkim i ekonomskim sukobima. Ilustracija je *Opća deklaracija o pravima čovjeka* ali i brojni drugi usuglašeni i općeprihvaćeni instrumenti promocije, zaštite i edukacije koji trajno pridonose nastojanjima oko zajedničkih vrijednosti onoga što iz jedne perspektive, doduše reducirane na perspektivu kršćanskog misaonog kruga, možemo prepoznati kao cjeloviti, univerzalni humanizam.

Jedno od simbola, rodnih mjesta takvog univerzalnog humanizma, u kojemu je povijest proživljena autentično i vjerodostojno, u kojemu je u posljednjih 150 godina izmijenjeno desetak oprečno nastrojenih režima i u kojima je, u svakome od njih, opća klima urbanoga populusa, unatoč rušiteljima i mrziteljima koji su pokušavali dominirati establišmentom, uvijek u najvećoj mjeri odražavala tolerantan, čovjekoljubiv, istinoljubiv i ponajčešće bogobojazan odnos prema sebi i prema drugome, zasigurno je grad Sarajevo. Humanizam koji karakterizira Sarajevo istovremeno je i antropocentričan i nadvremenski. Grad specifičan i po svojim suburbanim elementima, različit od svih drugih sličnih gradova u bližem okruženju, lirski rečeno, od Beča do Carigrada. Grad dobrog komšiluka, grad koji je opraštao i trpio, grad koji je inspirirao i privlačio, umjetnike, znanstvenike, nobelovce, grad obnovljenog antičkog duha - modernih olimpijskih igara, grad koji je umio relativizirati i kažnjavati tirane i okupatore a slaviti jednostavne i ponizne ljude, koji je stoljećima primao transkontinentalne izbjeglice, grad duha i humora, grad najduže opsade u suvremenoj povijesti, grad heroj, grad u kojemu Židovi i muslimani žive suživotom, grad u kojemu crkve i katedrale grade i pomažu sultani i carevi, grad koji je rušio iluzije i predrasude, grad koji autentično svjedoči, kao nijedan drugi, da je grad susreta, grad raskrižja, grad koji se nije dao uništiti unatoč brojnim susretima sa Zlom. Grad u kojemu jedno ustaško siroče dobiva šansu da se društveno ostvari i postane uvaženi akademski građanin, još u vremenu socijalizma postaje, kolokvijalno rečeno, republički ministar prosvjete, usprkos osporavanjima režimskog aparata, a od politički inspiriranog progona sunarodnjaka (Hrvata)



spašavaju ga kumovi i susjedi Srbi, Bošnjaci. Grad koji je trpio dulja ili kraća razdoblja političke opresije, diktatura i brojne nakarade globalnoga poretka koji je u određenom vremenu dominantno određivao sudbine i povijesne paradigme, nametnute i opravdavane. Sve ovo i puno više, jer je Sarajevo istinsko rodno mjesto univerzalnog humanizma, u kojemu niti jedna partikularnost nije bila promatrana kao nezavisna varijabla, u kojemu je humanizam pronalazio načina da se ostvari i prema čovjeku (komšiji), čime je pokazivao svijest o dostojanstvu ljudske osobe, zatim prema kulturi (poštovanje) čime je demonstrirao važnost ljudske slobode, i na koncu prema Bogu (vremenita i preispitivana predanost, bez osobito značajnog radikalizma u bilo kojem pogledu) čime je na svojstven način uprisutnjena svijest o ograničenosti.

Mehanizmi kroz koje se univerzalni humanizam ostvarivao bili su različiti, katkad i nerazumljivi na prvi pogled, ali trajno utemeljeni na fleksibilnosti i solidarnosti koja je strancima pružala osjećaj povjerenja, prihvaćenosti i dovoljne širine. Kao ilustracija za navedeni narativ postoji neizmjereno mnogo izvora, dokumenata, rezultata istraživanja, iskustvenih uvida, pojedinačnih ilustracija, i smatram da ih je bespredmetno ovdje prikazivati. Svaki dobronamjerman istraživač jednostavno će se uvjeriti u naprijed navedeno.

Naravno, u svakome od vremena, svakome od režima, bilo je označenih, nepoželjnih ili manje poželjnih, onih kojima je namijenjena drugačija sudbina – jedan od onih koji je ostavio najsnažnije negativne posljedice u javnom životu bio je režim uspostavljen za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata, kada su u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj stradali brojni nevini i nedužni, kada je teror bio svakodnevnica za mnoge koji se nisu uklapali u proklamiranu sliku Svijeta prihvaćenu od ideološko-političkih mentora nacističkog i fašističkog režima. I u svim drugim režimima, osmanskome, austrougarskome, starojugoslavenskom, komunističko-socijalističkom, pluralističko-demokratskom, ratno-demokratskom i poslijeratnom, u određenoj mjeri bilo je žrtava režima i onih do kojih učinci navedenog humanizma nisu dobacili na učinkovit način. Svaki režim ima svoje žrtve. Bez nakane za bilo kakvom relativizacijom ili supstancijalnom dekonstrukcijom, ovdje s vrlo jasnim ciljem želim naglasiti ovu činjenicu.

Nakon što su biskupi članovi biskupskih konferencija BiH i Hrvatske početkom ožujka ove godine dali mandat sarajevskom nadbiskupu, kardinalu Vinku Puljiću, da predvodi misu za žrtve “križnoga puta“, odnosno tzv. blajburške tragedije, koja simbolizira masovni zločin partizanskih jedinica po nalogu samog vrha nad vojnicima i civilima hrvatske, bošnjačke, crnogorske, srpske i druge nacionalnosti, u kojemu je stradalo više od 80.000 ljudi, iz vrha države, od svih članova Predsjedništva BiH, stigli su komentari, osude i zahtjevi za preispitivanjem ove odluke, s primjedbom kako bi se slavljenjem takve mise zapravo komemoriralo počinitelje zločina, a nakon najviših političkih predstavnika u državi, u javnom prostoru pojavile su se desetine komentara iz uglavnom lijevog političkog spektra i organizacija građanskog aktivizma, koji su se kretali od zahtjeva za zabranom mise do preporuka što bi i kako kardinal trebao reći, koje poruke poslati javnosti. Količina i spektar osvrta na jedan ovakav događaj, u svojoj najdubljoj suštini praktični vjerskih događaj, što bi u civiliziranom društvu u najmanju ruku podrazumijevalo nužni pijetet prema spomenutim žrtvama (a koji je skoro u potpunosti izostao u javnom prostoru), nadilazi mogućnosti autora da na ovom mjestu sublimira i rezonira, navede sukus svih koji su se osjetili pozvani komentirati, protestirati i sudjelovati u javnom životu.

Izjava o zajedničkoj moralnoj obvezi i zauzimanju<sup>1</sup>, koju su 7. srpnja 1997. godine, potpisali predstavnici četiri tradicionalne crkve i vjerske zajednice u BiH u jednom dijelu opisuje zajedničku moralnu odgovornost vjerskih poglavara tradicionalnih religijskih zajednica u BiH. Naime, u izjavi se spominje (konzultiran je izvornik teksta potpisan na engleskom jeziku, a prijevod je slobodan) da vjerski poglavari *prepoznaju da se njihove crkve i vjerske zajednice razlikuju međusobno i da je svaka od njih slobodna da se ostvaruje u skladu sa svojim vlastitim poslanjem, da dijele određene zajedničke vrijednosti, te da svaka od tradicionalnih crkava i vjerskih zajednica prepoznaje da su ljudsko dostojanstvo i humane vrijednost dar od Boga, i da sve vjere i religije, svaka na svoj način, pozivaju da se uvažava temeljna ljudska prava svake osobe.*

1 *Izjavu o zajedničkoj moralnoj obvezi i zauzimanju* (Statement of Shared Moral Commitment) 7. srpnja 1997. u Sarajevu potpisali su osnivači Međureligijskog vijeća, dr. Mustafa Cerić, reisu-l-ulema, mitropolit dabrobosanski g. Nikolaj, Vinko kardinal Puljić, nadbiskup vrhbosanski i g. Jakob Finci, predsjednik Židovske zajednice BiH.

Na najavu mise za žrtve blajburške tragedije i poglavar Srpske pravoslavne crkve i predsjednik Židovske zajednice žestoko su reagirali i javno prozvali vrh Katoličke crkve (a Mitropolit Hrizostom najavio i prekid svake daljnje suradnje!) i tako se pridružili drugima (aktivistima, novinarima, političarima ...) koji su u javnom prostoru etiketirali vrh Katoličke crkve za ono što ona formalno niti može niti je stvarno učinila (niti se misom za žrtve može rehabilitirati određeni diktatorski režim, niti se može revidirati povijesti, niti se može odati počast bilo kakvim zločincima). Poglavar muslimana, reis Kavazović, postupio je upravo suprotno od dvojice prethodno navedenih poglavara, pozivajući u svojim javnim istupima na smirivanje tenzija, poštivanje prava Katoličke crkve da se, praktično rečeno, *ostvaruje u skladu sa svojim poslanjem*, i otklanjajući u ovom slučaju bilo kakvu društveno-političku odgovornost od jedne religijske strukture u vršenju religijskog obreda.

S druge strane, kardinal Puljić propustio je na dostojan način, koji bi otklonio svaku pristranost i snagu svakog protu-argumenta i kvazi-argumenta iznesenog u javnom prostoru, snažnije poslati poruku kojom bi se naglasila još jedna od vrijednosti navedenih u spomenutoj *Izjavi o zajedničkom moralnoj obvezi i poslanju*, a ta je da je *nasilje nad pojedincima ili kršenje njihovih temeljnih prava za vjerske poglavare (i pripadajuće im crkve i vjerske zajednice) ne samo protivno ljudskim zakonima nego u sukobu s Božjim zakonom*. Tema o tomu kako su se pojedine crkve i vjerske zajednice bavile vlastitom i tuđom prošlošću, vlastitom viktimizacijom i tuđim zločinima, zahtijeva posebnu raspravu.

Žižek u zanimljivome eseju piše da je najnoviji trend hirovite ljevičarske politike uzvraćanje na isti način svemu onome što joj servira desničarski populizam. (2019, 127) Simptomatično, ljevičarski intonirani javni djelatnici koji pripadaju ili inkliniraju hrvatskom nacionalnom ili jezičnom krugu, reagirali su gotovo apologetski, a u svakom slučaju rezignirano, prema načinu slanja poruka netrpeljivosti, prema prijetvornosti i hinjenoj odgovornosti, prema selektivnosti i nedosljednosti u slučaju “misa za Bleiburg“ (kakva nesretna i nespreatna sintagma, gotovo neupotrebljiva u svakom internom smislu – liturgijsko-teološki i duhovno, ali zato gotovo idealna za političku manipulaciju i zloupotrebu obezvrjeđivanja jednog komunitarnog izraza sakramen-

talnog života zajednice, molitve i upravo *beskrvne žrtve* prikazane Svevišnjem).

Ivo Banac navodi da je ovaj zločin iz omraze prema vjeri (*odium fidei*) “dio šireg kompleksa progonâ vezanih uz blajburšku tragediju, što je opet šifrirano predstavljanje nikad sankcioniranih, a rijetko i priznatih, komunističkih zločina nad čitavim kategorijama protivnika, sve u funkciji uspostavljanja komunističke diktature.“ (Banac, 2013, 98-99)

Je li zahtjev za istragom, možda i sankcioniranjem, dovoljan razlog da se potpuno relativizira i obezvrijedi značenje stravičnog zločina u kojemu je sustavno, organizirano, planski, nakon završenih ratnih sukoba, bez ikakvog postupka (osim “po kratkom postupku“) likvidirano između 80.000 i 100.000. vojnika, civila različitih društvenih skupina, ali najviše Hrvata i pripadnika Katoličke crkve?

Je li potpuno izvrtanje teze o žrtvama pokušaj izbjegavanja suočavanja s traumama, vlastitim i tuđim? Je li naglašavanje prethodnih zločina ustaških postrojbi i strukture NDH, koji su također bili sustavni, organizirani, planski i nehumani, pokušaj opravdanja jednog zločina drugim? Je li zločinački karakter režima oduzeo pravo dostojanstva i slobode svakoj od osoba koje su masakrirane bez ikakvih skrupula i je li vrijednost njihove slobode i dostojanstva “pomnožena s nulom“ jer “nisu sve žrtve iste“? Je li, na koncu, upitna potreba i želja najvišeg vrha Katoličke crkve (svih biskupa “Crkve u Hrvata“) da obilježavaju i na ovakav, molitveni i liturgijski način sjećanje na žrtve stradanje u blajburškoj tragediji i imaju li legitimno pravo društveni aktivisti ljevičarskog tipa i različiti antifašisti postavljati uvjete za koga, kako, kada i gdje je potrebno moliti da bi misa bila legitimna i prihvatljiva svima? Istinsko pitanje, zapravo glasi, je li ostalo imalo univerzalnog humanizma i za ove žrtve, za njihove potomke i sunarodnike koji s tugom i bolom već desetljećima obilježavaju bolne i tragične obljetnice tragedije koja je i u biološkom smislu, kao malo koja, pogodila hrvatsko-katolički korpus, posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini?

Kršćanska vizija smrti i umiranja razlikuje se od one koja je dominantna i pluralističkom i postmodernom društvu. Crkva ne bježi od smrti i patnje, kao fenomena, nego ih prihvaća s pouzdanjem u Onoga koji je pobijedio smrtnost, zlo, patnju i grijeh. Crkva se zauzima za dostojanstvo svakog čovjeka, i u životu i u

trenutku umiranja, jer smrt za Crkvu nije grijeh nego početak vječnoga života u Bogu. (Smiljanić, 2015, 24)

Grozdana Cvitan, hrvatska književnica, u putopisu iz Ukrajine gdje je posjećivala obilježena grobišta hrvatskih vojnika iz austrougarske vojske iz Prvog svjetskog rata (gdje na groblju u Glibivki pronalazi tekst koji ju neodoljivo podsjeća na pjesnika hercegovačkog kamenog spavača: *Mi smo bili (živjeli) tamo gdje ste vi sada. Sada smo ovdje i vi ćete nam doći*), u osvrtu na okruženje u kojemu se nalazi piše:

Tek kad ustanu mrtvi u nekoj od budućih bitaka naša krhka znanja se pokolebaju. Jer tada gledamo kako se otvaraju grobovi o čijem postojanju nismo znali ništa. Zbog toga je važno da se traumatizirani sretnu sa svojim traumama. Da ih ne prosljeđuju u generacijsko nasljeđe. (Cvitan, 2019, 323-325)

Ova umješno posložena književno-socijalna sentencija, donosi tri ključne stvari, nužne za razumijevanje viktimološke prošlosti koja bi mogla rezultirati kakvom-takvom normalizacijom rastrganoga društva, kakvo je bosanskohercegovačko:

- nužnost istraživanja i prihvaćanja zamagljene i intencionalno interpretirane povijesti, u otvorenom, tolerantnom i samokritičnom duhu, na temelju dostupnih činjenica,
- izazov suočavanja s traumama, vlastitim i onima drugih, te
- hrabrost za zadatak preuzimanja odgovornosti raspetljavanja *gordijskih čvorova* zajedničke baštine rješavanjem razarajućih konflikata, uz potpunouvažavanje digniteta svih sudionika u procesu (drugim riječima, bez “uzimanja pravde u svoje ruke”).

U jednome od najznačajnijih polemičkih djela XX. stoljeća na području bivše Jugoslavije, u književnom, ideološkom i svakom drugom smislu, *Dijalektičkom antibarbarusu*, Miroslav Krleža slikovito, kroz analizu sukoba na tadašnjoj društvenoj ljevici, donosi prikaz podvrgnutosti “pravovjernoj” istrazi:

(...) usudio sam se promoliti glavu kroz pečatovski prozor, sav zaslijepljen snopom svjetlosti što me je oblila iz (...) dijalektičke svjetiljke, kakvom osvjetljuju sumnjive fijakere pogranični stražari na cestama koje vijugaju amo-tamo u sve desnijem i desnijem smjeru neprijateljskih, kaptolskih, metafizičkih i idealističkih, aristokratskih, u jednu riječ: trockističkih utopija i sinekura ... (Krleža, 1983, 51)

Dijalektičke svjetljike ovih dana (prva polovica svibnja 2020.) u Sarajevu drže brojni čuvari ideje antifašizma, zasljepljujući sve one koji se usude javno izraziti svaki stav koji je različit od bespogovornog pripadanja etabliranom antifašističkom kodu, nepromijenjenome desetljećima, osim u dijelu cilja za koji biva korišten kao manipulacija. Svi koji su se usudili nastupiti ili iole pozitivno osvrnuti na proslavu svete mise u sarajevskoj katedrali posvećenu žrtvama blajburške tragedije, kao metafore partizanskih (eo ipso ljevičarskih, antifašističkih) masovnih zločina počinjenih na području Slovenije i diljem bivše Jugoslavije 1945, po završetku ratnih operacija, obasuti su javnom paljbom i optužbama za rehabilitaciju fašističkog režima, politizaciju religijskog čina, reviziju povijesti i tome slično, s posebnim naglaskom

Esad Bajtal navodi, po meni, jednu od najljepših definicija ili razumijevanja onoga što označavamo kao reviziju, potrebnu i nužnu:

Ne pristajući na diktat činjenica, ljudski um ih, uvijek iznova, normativno-kritički podvrgava svojim mjerilima kao najvišim mjerilima povijesnog svijeta. Idući tragom Uma, gonjen kritički-perfeksionističkim impetusom, animal rationale stiže do shvaćanja da je um nepomirljivi protivnik aktualnog stanja stvari; da je povijest kao borba uma protiv ne-uma, stalna borba za slobodu, i da, hegelovski, “ne-umna zbilja treba da se mijenja, sve dok ne dođe u sklad sa umom“. (Bajtal, 2007, 226)

Na drugom mjestu, pišući u nacionalizmu i njegovim percepcijama, Bajtal navodi da je eventualnu etničku homogenost moguće ostvariti samo na jedan od tri načina: a) genocidom, b) etničkim čišćenjem ili c) asimilacijom. Uzimajući u obzir sva ograničenja i sve limite, *mutatis mutandis*, asimilacija ostaje jedina trajna opasnost za narušene društvene odnose i u post-konfliktnom razdoblju. Bajtal navodi da “svaki zatvoreni sistem (nacionalni, konfeksionalni, ideološki), da bi se održao u svojoj vještačkoj, idejnoj jednoobraznosti, konačno pribjegava instrumentalizirano smišljenom nasilju. Inducirana netrpeljivost je ključni momenat tog nasilja.“ (2006, 115)

Rijetki pojedinci, odgovorni i na visini moralnog zadatka, sprječavaju da Sarajevo od kolijevke cjelovitog, svjetskog humanizma postane pustinja duha, oni su koji unatoč glasnoj većini, unatoč nesrazmjernoj reakciji većine prema društvenoj manjini, unatoč evidentnom pucanju teško sašivenih šavova poštovanja i

međusobnog uvažavanja, ostaju nada za partnerstva u izgradnji budućih odnosa.

Parafrazirajući Hansa Kunga, mogli bismo reći, da neće biti mira u Bosni i Hercegovini bez mira među religijama. Reakcije religijskih prvaka u slučaju “misa za Bleiburg“ govore nam da neće biti lako postići puni mir i povjerenje, unatoč dosadašnjim nastojanjima. Na političku žalost onih koji tradicionalno zagovaraju i pokušavaju argumentirati i imputirati da su za nasilje, zločine i teror (su)odgovorne crkve i vjerske zajednice, dvije vrste reakcija upućuju da izvor nasilja doista ipak treba tražiti negdje drugdje<sup>2</sup>, ali društvenu, kao i duhovnu, odgovornost, umjesto “pustinje duha“, doista građani Bosne i Hercegovine imaju pravo očekivati i od vjerskih poglavara i njihovih struktura na različitim razinama. Spomenuta *duhovna odgovornost* nesumnjivo implicira samokritičnost, solidarnost, držanje postulata *Zlatnoga pravila* i brojne druge elemente etičke potke, kojom su is(pre)pletene stoljeća zajedničkoga, u Sarajevu kao rijetko gdje drugdje u Europi.

Dvojica bosanskih franjevaca, fra Drago Bojić i fra Ivan Šarčević, uputili su javnu kritiku načinu na koji je publicirana i najavljena famozna sveta misa za žrtve drugog svjetskog rata i poraća, isporučili su račun za ono što je Crkva trebala napraviti, na čelu s kardinalom, a još uvijek nije, kako bi dala svoj puni doprinos izgradnji povjerenja, i time indirektno nastavila ispunjavati svoj dio zadatka oko čuvanja vrijednosti cjelovitog humanizma i to na onom drugom planu, odnosa prema kulturi. Jer odnos prema kulturi je odnos prema drugome i odnos prema sebi, u kolektivnom smislu. Teško je pobiti i kontraargumentirati na sve što su u svome otvorenome pismu ova dva franjevca naveli. Međutim, važniji dio njihova teksta se odnosi na raskrinkavanje maske lažnoga antifašizma. Osim njih, sličan javni nastup, ili barem reakciju usmjerenu na sličan obrazac ponašanja pravovjernih antifašista, imali su i drugi, značajni ljevičari iz hrvatskog nacionalno-jezično-(mikro)kulturnog kruga, Miljenko Jergović, Ivica Pandžić, Željko Ivanković, Marko Tomaš, brojni drugi. Važnost njihove reakcije odražava se u tomu što oni ne brane, niti bi bilo etički takvo nešto “prišivati“, nikakvu svenacionalnu, kvazi-fašističku ili kakvu drugu ideju, ili inklinaciju, nego vjerodo-

2 Više o religijski kritičkoj konstrukciji i genezi odnosa nasilja i religije pogledati u Pejanović, Darko (2017). “Nasilje i religija“, u *Bosna Franciscana*, XXV, 47/2017, str. 21-42.



stojno svjedoče (kroz brojne svoje prethodne kritički intonirane tekstove prema negativnim i nedovoljno odgovornim postupcima i događajima za koje je odgovorna Katolička crkva u BiH i pojedini njezini poglavari). Na koncu, navedena dva franjevca, javna djelatnika i intelektualca, nisu u ovom predmetu nikakva iznimka, budući da je kritičku reakciju u obranu kardinala i organizacije “mise za Bleiburg“ javno iznijela i poslovično neutralna i pomirenju (oportunistički?) sklona uprava Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene.

Šarčević i ranije, u tekstu koji govori o elementima pluralnog društva navodi da razlog etničkog kolektivizma leži u malebnosti pojedinih naroda i njihovom strahu od nestanka ili asimilacije, i u tome što su uglavnom bez iskustva samostalnosti i političke kulture, a kolektivna pamćenja ponajviše predstavljaju sjećanja na stradanja i nevolje koje su im prouzročili drugi. (Šarčević, 2017, 79)

Na kraju, još jedna crtica o rehabilitaciji. Predrag Matvejević, u svome pismu drugu Mihailu Gorbačovu, čelniku Vrhovnoga sovjeta SSSR-a, 12. kolovoza 1985. godine, zagovarajući rehabilitaciju lika i djela Nikolaja Buharina, njegovih ideja koje je javno iznosio dvadesetih i tridesetih godina prošloga stoljeća (sic!), između ostaloga, navodi:

Buharin još nije rehabilitiran. (...) Procesi rehabilitacije, započeti u vrijeme Nikite Hruščova, grubo su i neopravdano prekinuti. Teško je vjerovati da se može temeljitije izmijeniti ekonomski život bez odgovarajućih promjena u političkom i kulturnom životu. Dugo smo vjerovali da će novi proizvodni odnosi sami po sebi odrediti i proizvesti novu kulturu, socijalističku. Očekivali smo, naivno, da će se ona izdići iz svoje podloge u najidealnijim oblicima, kao što u drvenom mitu boginja mudrosti Minerva izbija u iskri iz glave Jupiterove. Očevidnosti nas prisiljavaju da napustimo takav mitski determinizam: bez nove kulture nema socijalizma, ona nije, dakle, samo učinak nego je i uvjet, uzrok je isto koliko i posljedica. (Matvejević, 1985, 83)

Pitanje rehabilitacije odraz je povijesne odgovornosti, svijesti o potrebi ispravljanja nepravdi, neistina, zabluda, otvaranje mogućnosti za očuvanje postojeće ili mogućnost ostvarivanja neke nove vrijednosti. Parafrazirajući ovu Matvejevićevu misao, mogli bismo ustvrditi da bi možda trebalo otvoriti prostor uma za rehabilitacije koje će relaksirati zategnute društvene odnose,



potaknuti na promišljanje o napuštanju mitski postavljenoga determinizma iz udžbenika povijesti/istorije/historije u kojima su današnji glasni antifašisti Sarajeva prije pola stoljeća učili cenzuriranu, ideologiziranu i friziranu povijest (a pisali su ju, ili redigirali, partijski historiografi, procjenitelji ideološke podobnosti povijesne faktografije) koji ni dan danas ne dopuštaju da se promijeni slovo niti kontekst o onome “o čemu je sve već naučeno“. Napuštanje mitskog determinizma ne treba nužno prevoditi kao (ideološki) revizionizam, još jedan od pojmova iz komunističke dogmatike i komunističkog vokabulara, kako navodi Srećko Džaja, kojim se u ovom slučaju denuncira svaki pokušaj kritičkog odnosa prema kanoniziranoj matrici antifašističke historiografije. Eksplicitno, postulira da povijesna znanost po svojoj naravi živi od revizija i “kroz revizije se razvija kao znanost“ (Džaja, 2017, 73). Nažalost, u balkanskim, pa i u bosanskohercegovačkim shvaćanjima uloge historiografije, poglavito kod intelektualaca angažiranih u javnom prostoru (čitaj: polemičkoj areni obračuna kolektivnih interesnih zajednica različitog tipa s iznimkama pojedinačne demonstracije slobodnoga duha), prevladava selektivno-utilitaristički pristup, filtrirana upotrebna vrijednost u kojemu se gotovo isključivo traži potkrjepa sudbinski postavljenih dogmi ili bolje rečeno *mitskoga determinizma* – vlastite interesne skupine (nacije, crkve, partije, ideologije...). Napustiti, doista, jer bez nove kulture nema Sarajeva humanizma, ostaje univerzalistička ljuštura “pustinje duha“.

Srećko Džaja u svom sjajnom tekstu *Bosansko-hercegovačke povijesne paradigme, nacionalni narativi i pitanje pomirbe*, piše o tome kako se (zlo)upotrebljava koncept žrtve, kako “žrtva čini imunim protiv svake kritike, osigurava uzvišenu nevinost od bilo kakve razumne sumnje“, i navodi talijanskog autora Daniela Gigliolija odnosno njegov esej *Critica della vittima. Unesperimentoconl'etica* (Pokuda žrtve. Etički pristup) iz 2014. godine:

Napuhavanje statusa žrtve jača položaj moćnih i slabi položaj potčinjenih: oslabljuje sposobnost za zdravo djelovanje i pretjeruje s pretrpljenom patnjom. Podgrijava kult mržnje i osvete te uzdiže kult izmišljotina. Potiče razvoj rigidnih i vrlo često fiktivnih identiteta. Lancima veže uz prošlost i na tajnačin opterećuje budućnost. Obeshrabruje nas na odvažne promjene. Privatizira povijest, a slobodu miješa s neodgovornošću. (Džaja, 2017, 69)

U svjetlu viktimizacije i analize stanja društvenog duha suvremenog doba, Džaja navodi Gigliolijevu tezu da je povijest po svojoj naravi posjednička i totalitarna i kao pozitivnu stranu osvrta na događaje i kontekste navodi druge oblike mišljenja i komuniciranja: argumentiranje, analogiju, dijalog i diskurs u najširem značenju. Ovo svakako ne treba razumjeti kao pokušaj relativizacije povijesno utvrđenih činjenica i neprijeporno ustanovljenoga stanja, nego doista kao spasonosnu mogućnost učitavanja (zlonamjerno) ispuštenih, nedohvaćenih, krivo ustanovljenih i pogrešno interpretiranih činjenica. Komunistička viktimologija naoružana antifašističkom legitimacijom postala je opsesijom jugoslavenskog društva s veličanjem vlastitih žrtava i istodobnim isticanjem okrutnosti i preuveličavanjem broja zločina na strani ideoloških protivnika, a o Bleiburgu kao metafori zločina i brojnim stratištima diljem Jugoslavije, gdje su tisuće pobijene bez suda, nakon što su paušalno proglašeni “narodnim neprijateljima“ u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji nije smjelo biti ni spomena. (Džaja, 2017, 68-70)

U studenome 1994., u Vatikanu, na konzistoriju na kojemu je postavljen za kardinala Katoličke crkve sarajevski nadbiskup, prvi u povijesti, Vinko Puljić, tadašnji papa Ivan Pavao II. izjavio je:

Među vama su (...) pastiri koji vode kršćanske zajednice bogate poviješću i poznate po svojem trpećem i odvažnom evanđeoskom svjedočenju, velikodostojnici koji po prvi put osiguravaju svojim zajednicama iz kojih dolaze nazočnost i glas u kardinalskom zboru. (...) Mislim posebno na kršćane Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine u kojoj, nažalost, još uvijek nije zaustavljena rušilačka tutnjava oružja, i gdje nastavlja i dalje teći tolika nedužna krv, a da se ne naziru nikakvi izgledi za mir.<sup>3</sup>

Tužna je činjenica da su gotovo u potpunosti, bez značajnih zadržki i faktografskih objekcija, na prostoru najvećeg dijela bivše Jugoslavije procesi normalizacije provedeni prema okupatorima (uglavnom Njemačkoj i Italiji), a unutarnja normalizacija je tekla puno sporije i na krhkim nogama, da bi ta ista normalizacija 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća napukla, 80-ih pukla, a 90-ih potpuno raspukla. Današnja društvena klima, bez sumnje, može se u

3 Navedeno prema “Crtajte granice ne precrtajte ljude“, Zbornik radova u povodu imenovanja vrhbosanskog nadbiskupa Vinka Puljića kardinalom, Sarajevo-Bol, 1995. u *Bosna Franciscana*, XXV, 47/2017, str. 21-42.

Bosni i Hercegovini neupitno ocijeniti i označiti najsličnijoj onoj iz 80-ih godina, pretpostavljajući zamišljenu krivulju destruktivne koja je vrhunac koju karakterizira izgubljenost, ekonomsko povjerenje u porastu, sve glasniji ideološko-politički monolozi, institucionalno nepovjerenje, odsustvo bilo kakvog meritokratskog ili etičkog načela u institucionalnom pristupu u javnom prostoru, potpuna fragmentacija i individualizacija stavova politički neopredijeljenih i etički neovisnih intelektualaca, grupiranje i srastanje društvenih struktura po (kvazi)ideološkim i nacionalno-religijskim sastavnicama. Tako je i sa Sarajevom.

Izrazi nametanja selektivnog i jasno ideologiziranog razumijevanja traumatične stvarnosti manjinskoj zajednici kakva je Katolička crkva u Sarajevu, neosporivo su znak pokušaja agresivne političke asimilacije, nametanja obveze poštivanja kodeksa “većine“, prvenstveno ideološke većine javnog prostora (ne nužno i većine društveno refleksivne javnosti). I ne samo nasilne asimilacije nego i pokušaja restauracije boljševičko-komunističko-socijalističke paradigme o krivnji i odgovornosti koja se prenosi na cijeli narod, cijelu zajednicu, ili barem onaj njezin dio (značajan dio) koji nije “pravovjerno usklađen“ sa zadanim činjenicama i interpretacijama povijesti. Srećom, u takvoj pustinji duha, prividno univerzalistički motiviranoj (idealima antifašizma), u kojoj vlada princip buke i galame, na štetu činjenica, pratećeg konteksta i dekonstruiranih narativa, javljaju se i relevantni glasovi koji javno iskazuju podršku i brigu za samu manjinsku zajednicu.

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# SARAJEVO AND NEW DELHI DURING PANDEMIC: SOME REFLECTIONS

**Asim Zubčević**

*This short paper offers some personal reminiscences and reflections on religion, nationalism and identity in India and Bosnia, two historically plural societies besieged by the forces of religious nationalism.*

“Under siege” is an expression frequently used these days to describe cities and communities in the grip of the world-wide pandemic. But, for the citizens of Sarajevo those words brings back memories of one of the most harrowing periods in the city's history: a 44-month-long siege (1992-1995) in which some 11,000 Sarajevans were killed, including 1,250 children, with many more physically maimed and psychologically scarred. When the Dayton peace agreement was signed on 14 December 1995 the city and the country were split into two separate territorial and political units as the price for peace, which, 25 years on, has not yet brought the sense of closure many hoped for. What is more, the ideology of religious nationalism that inspired the forces seeking to tear Bosnia and its social and historical fabric apart appear as strong as ever. The parallels between the two predicaments, a city or community under siege by hostile armed forces with guns and artillery on the one hand and by a pandemic on the other, might not be entirely adequate or even appropriate. But, if the pandemic is forcing us to face up to our responsibility for creating the conditions that made Covid 19 possible, such as the flaws in modern economic systems or our continued depletion of the environment, the crisis caused by the pandemic is also a reminder of the poverty and immorality of the ideologies that

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feed on hatred and bigotry, of which religious nationalism is a particularly potent type.

The author of this paper did not experience the siege of his native Sarajevo first-hand (barring a two week visit to the city in May 1994, but that is another story) and so the words “under siege” conjure up different, less painful, even if still vivid memories. Those memories are bound up with enduring questions of history, belonging, religion and nationalism in the Balkans and in the Indian Subcontinent.

In April 1992 the Serbian leadership in Belgrade and their Bosnian Serb allies launched an all-out war on the state of Bosnia in response to a successfully conducted referendum in favour of independence. The war had a clear aim: to carve out an ethnically homogenous territory in Bosnia as prelude to its joining a Greater Serbia.

At that time I had been living in India for more than two years as a student at the Aligarh Muslim University in the city of Aligarh, a three-hour train ride south-east of New Delhi. The university was founded in 1875 by Syed Ahmed Khan as the world's first modern Muslim institution of higher learning. Its founder was animated by a vision of fostering a new breed of young Indian Muslims to lift their community from political and social decline in the wake of the unsuccessful uprising of 1857. This was to be achieved by embracing modern Western education, especially science and philosophy, and by a critical approach to Muslim tradition.

Once the siege of Sarajevo took hold, I could follow events from far away India only sporadically and superficially. There was no internet in those days, of course, and telephone lines with Sarajevo were cut when the main post office was destroyed, less than two months into the siege. The distance between Bosnia and India was not simply a matter of geography. There was not much for me in the Indian media, whose reporters and analysts were at a loss to explain how such a war could happen in rich and “civilised” Europe. The fact that this military conflict was taking place in Yugoslavia, a country once respected as India's partner in the non-aligned movement, originally launched by Tito and Nehru (and Egypt's Nasser), made the bewilderment of the Indian chattering classes all the greater. My only link to my homeland was the BBC World News and the Voice of America.

But, even these two media outlets could hardly be expected to provide details about the things that interested me most: the fate of my family, relatives and friends, especially Amra, my only sister, who, as I would learn much later, gave birth to a girl and a boy in besieged Sarajevo. Then, an unexpected trip to Germany in late December 1992, which enabled me to briefly reunite with relatives there, offered a welcome respite to what had been a long period of dread and anguish.

The trip to Germany came shortly after a seismic event in Indian political history: the destruction of the Babri Mosque on 6 December 1992. The 16<sup>th</sup> century mosque was said to have been built on the site of a destroyed Hindu temple, originally erected on the birth spot of Ram, the seventh avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu. The mosque was pulled down by thousands of people fired up by a new political ideology that would change the face of Indian politics.

From the late 1980s India was being transformed through the rise of an unapologetically Hindu nationalist party (BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party), whose charismatic leaders (A.B. Vajpayee and L.K.Advani) led the party to political prominence by challenging the long-standing dominance of the Indian Congress party. They did so by tapping into widespread dissatisfaction in Indian society with the corruption and inefficiency of the Congress politicians, but also by challenging the very foundations on which modern India was built as a secular democracy and a home for myriad linguistic, religious and cultural identities. There was a Hindu nationalist streak stretching back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated in 1948 by a Hindu nationalist. Crucially, the BJP ideology, also known as Hindutva (Hinduness), saw in Indian Muslims “the other” against whom their new reasserted Indian identity was to be restored. India, “a wounded civilization” (V.S.Naipaul), had to be healed and its pride restored by correcting the wrongs of history, in which Muslims had played so prominent a role. In order to galvanize their supporters, the BJP and related organizations (notably the Vishva Hindu Parishad) launched a prolonged nationwide campaign for the removal of the Babri Mosque and its replacement with a Hindu temple. The weak and inept Indian government, led by the Indian Congress, which had ruled India for most of its independence, watched impassively, unable or

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unwilling to stop the growing tide of Hindu nationalism in the country. It is said that more than 2,000 Indians, mainly Muslims, died in the ensuing communal riots across the country. Reverberations were felt in neighbouring Pakistan and Bangladesh, where Hindu temples and property were demolished. The Hindu nationalist fervour in the wake of the attack on the Babri Mosque propelled the BJP to become India's biggest political party. Between 1984 and 1996, the party increased its number of parliamentary seats from two to 161, which led to the formation of the first, albeit short-lived, BJP government. A new kind of language of supremacism and bigotry became the new normal. Since then the party has been in power most of the time and today commands a clear majority. The party leader and the current Prime Minister of India is Narendra Modi, a man who had the distinction of being head of the Indian state of Gujarat during possibly the bloodiest anti-Muslim riots in independent India, in 2002.

The campaign to destroy the Babri Mosque had been going on for months and tensions were rising across northern India's mixed Hindu-Muslim towns and cities, Aligarh among them. Sporadic riots erupted during the weeks leading up to 6 December and Aligarh came under police curfew. University teaching was suspended. Shops were closed in the nearby Zakariya Market and, like the other students, my friend and roommate Sajid and I survived on bread, tea and noodles for about a month. All the while, I had no news of my family in Sarajevo.

Out of the blue, there came a letter from Lufthansa's office in New Delhi informing me that I should come collect a plane ticket for a flight to Frankfurt. Unbeknownst to me, in September 1992, my uncle had arrived in Germany on diplomatic mission and had sent me a ticket to visit him during the winter break of what was my final year of studies. The prospect of leaving India in the midst of all the tension and uncertainty and of being able to meet and talk with my uncle and learn about my family in Sarajevo first-hand remains one of the most beautiful moments of my life.

Travelling through northern India had become dangerous. In fact, Aligarh students were barred from leaving the campus and I had to sign a statement in the Vice-Chancellor's office to the effect that I was personally responsible for making a train journey from Aligarh to New Delhi. I did not realize the risk involved.



Later I would learn the tragic fate of an AMU student of Biochemistry, a quiet, studious Kashmiri called Javid, whom I vaguely knew. Travelling by train to New Delhi, from where he was to continue to his native Kashmir for the winter break, he was caught by a group of Hindu religious volunteers, known as *kar sevaks*, travelling from Lucknow, the site of the destroyed Babri Masjid. Javid's fair complexion gave his identity away and he was stripped and lynched.

I reached New Delhi on an eerily empty train a few days before 6 December. I then flew out to Germany and stayed with my uncle's family, before returning to India to complete my studies in the summer of 1993. Finally, after collecting my university degree, I left India, first for Germany, and then for the UK, where I continued my studies.

In the first years after leaving India I followed Indian politics more or less regularly. As time went by, my familiarity with Indian affairs was intermittent. What has become clear ever since those fateful events of December 1992 is that the BJP changed forever the course of Indian politics by making Hindu nationalism acceptable and mainstream. It recently became the main Indian political party, as shown by the results of the last general election, held in April and May 2019, when it won a clear majority: 303 seats on its own right and 353 seats for the BJP-led right-wing National Democratic Alliance.

On 11 December 2019 the new BJP government passed a Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), allowing Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and Buddhists fleeing persecution by India's neighbours, principally Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, to become naturalized Indian citizens. The law excluded Muslim refugees on the grounds that they could not possibly be facing persecution in countries with a Muslim majority. The new law provoked mass demonstrations across India, by both Hindus and Muslims. It was seen as discriminatory against Muslims and as further undermining India's secular constitution and inclusive social ethos. The police responded with violent crackdowns and 25 people lost their lives. Among the protestors were students of two universities, Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) in New Delhi and Aligarh Muslim University in Aligarh. About 80 students of JMI had to seek hospital treatment. There were stirring images of female students of JMI standing up to the police, trying to beat

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their fellow students. In Aligarh, students and staff held demonstrations to demand the withdrawal of the CAA. Police used a heavy-handed approach. As a result, tens of students were wounded, some seriously. One student lost an arm.

The protests against the CAA were followed by counter protests and new anti-Muslim agitation on social networks. Disturbing clips showed vigilante groups targeting innocent people. Then, the Covid 19 pandemic forced the Indian government to introduce restrictions on movement. Clearly there was worry at the prospect of the virus' exponential spread in a country of 1.3 billion people, especially in big and crowded cities. One effect of the restrictions on movement was that Hindu vigilante groups could no longer operate with impunity. Ironically, as the virus took away some lives, it helped save others.

India may seem a country with little in common with Bosnia or the historical South Slavic lands that once formed Yugoslavia. But, India and Bosnia (or, one could say the Indian Subcontinent and what is today referred to as the Western Balkans) share at least one important thing: a polyphonic identity of shared histories, languages and geographies. The dilemmas and predicaments facing their peoples have many echoes. These include a history of being ruled by Muslim empires (Ottomans vs. Mughals) whose subjects remained largely non-Muslim, modernisation within the framework of foreign rule (Austro-Hungarian vs. British), socialist and secular ideologies following independence (Congress-ruled India vs. socialist Yugoslavia) and the pull of religious nationalism (the partition of British India vs. Bosnia's internal division or vs. Croatia-Montenegro-Serbia in a wider regional context).

Post-war Bosnia is a country in which politics is based on the country's constitutional set up, which rewards nationalism. It is a self-perpetuating machinery (media, parties, party-controlled public companies, etc) that cultivates selective readings of history, wallows in collective national self-pity, and is soaked in racism. Its main nationalist parties thrive on keeping communal tensions sufficiently high to prevent a reordering of the political system in favour of a more civic-oriented political system.

In Bosnia the pandemic has exposed in glaring terms an important corollary to the prevailing conditions: corruption and malpractice at the highest level. The ongoing inquiry into the pur-

chase of 100 faulty respirators for patients suffering from Covid 19 is a case in point. At the start of the pandemic, certain politicians, who never miss an opportunity to strengthen their nationalist and exclusivist agenda through the language of fear and mistrust, stayed true to their colours, only to soften their language as soon as their incompetence and hypocrisy in handling the pandemic became public.

Historically both India and Bosnia are countries defined by unity in diversity. With the onset of modernity these two countries have been pressured and reshaped by forces of religious nationalism that seek to mould societies by what is actually a fundamentally irreligious worldview. The pandemic has opened the eyes of many to the fragility of the environment and the need to redefine the dominant political, economic and social models if the environment is to be protected. It has also exposed the limits and poverty of religious nationalism. Perhaps this is the right moment to reaffirm a new vision for a more pluralistic, less exclusive social and political order. To that end India and Bosnia can become, once again, wellsprings of inspiration for themselves and for the world, by drawing on the best of their history and the present.

# LOCATING PANDEMIC GRIEF IN SARAJEVO: GEORGIC NOTES AGAINST SELF-ISOLATING REGIMES

Safet HadžiMuhamedović

*Uzimam zdravlje, ostavljam bolest.*

‘I choose health, forsake disease.’

*A Bosnian Georgic incantation*

I began to write these lines on the sixth of May – the Day of St George in the Julian calendar. Known as *Jurjevo* or *Đurđevdan* in Bosnia, it signals a cyclical revival, a world suddenly awake and burgeoning with diverse and entwined life. Set against the preceding hibernal restrictions, the day is a ritual celebration of movement, encounter and interaction, an antithesis of the endured seclusion. Its apotropaic rituals rely on interspecies and interfaith entanglements, as wellbeing is understood to necessitate a sensitivity to the relations between manifold vital actualities. Before I return to the potential implications of this tradition, I would like to make a couple of leaps into less jubilant themes. Chiefly focusing on recent developments in Sarajevo, I argue that the biopolitical regime of power in Bosnia – wholly conceivable through the currently deployed concept of ‘self-isolation’ – is irreconcilable with the Georgic symbiotic perspective.

I am concerned with two occurrences that seem to connect Sarajevo to the world today: the social articulations of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) and the increasing audibility of nationalist Holocaust nostalgia. On the one hand, Sarajevans are slowly to emerge out of a period of state-imposed ‘lockdown’ designed to curb the spread of the disease. On the other, they are witness to a sacropolitical ritual – a ‘holy mass’ held as part of

the 75th commemoration of the so-called ‘Bleiburg tragedy’ – moved, for the first time, into the Sarajevo Cathedral.

Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, the small south-Austrian town of Bleiburg was publicly adopted in Croatian nationalist perspectives as the central topos symbolising the summary executions by the Yugoslav Partisans of thousands of people whom they recognised as Nazis. The event in Bleiburg, organised and often sponsored by the state of Croatia since the 1990s, was banned by the Austrian diocese of Gurk-Klagenfurt in 2019 due to the overt promotion of nationalism.

Like so many Sarajevans who have voiced their opposition to the event in the city cathedral, I am not concerned with the ‘original’ occurrence; indeed, the executions were a series of events rather than a single one, and the numbers and the guilt of those executed remain politically contested. I am rather interested in the ‘post-act’, the sacropolitical ritual of remembrance that aims to rehabilitate the *Ustaša* (Croatian Nazi) ideology and ideologues. Symbolically linked to later events, the ceremony also works to redeem the wider spatio-temporal coordinates of Croatian nationalist violence. Vjieran Pavlaković wrote:

The blurring of the past and the present is an integral part of the Bleiburg commemorations; not only do the participants dress in Ustasa uniforms, display Ustasa insignia and iconography, and sell paraphernalia associated with the NDH and its leaders, but there is an active discourse about the Croatian War of Independence accompanied by images of heroes (as well as individuals guilty of war crimes) from the conflict in the 1990s. (2010: 129)

Croatian nationalist violence of WWII and the 1990s was built on the same grammar. Both of its most destructive waves swept through Bosnia in the form of pogroms and forced displacement of Jews, Serbs, Roma, Muslims, as well as political opponents, resistance fighters and other subjectivities deemed incompatible and ‘degenerate’.<sup>1</sup>

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1 The first cleansing was orchestrated by the Nazi polity of the Independent State of Croatia in the 1940s, the second by the post-Yugoslav Croatia in the 1990s.



Figure 1 Anti-fascist protesters in Sarajevo, 16 May 2020. Image courtesy of Amer Tikveša

On 16 May, as part of his sermon in the Cathedral, Cardinal Puljić proclaimed that the ‘traditional gathering’ in Bleiburg had been moved to Sarajevo ‘due to the pandemic of the coronavirus that has yet to subside’ (see *Radiotelevizija HercegBosne* 2020). At the same time, thousands of people, many with masks on their faces, poured into the streets of the city to protest the event, which they saw as a rehabilitation of Nazism and an injury to the memory of the Holocaust victims (see Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 2 Belma Alić’s performance at the anti-fascist protest in Sarajevo, 16 May 2020. Image courtesy of Maja Baralić-Materne



Whilst the Sarajevan contestations received a lot of publicity, the *Ustaša* ideology remains much more palpable across other parts of Bosnia. In Mostar, where a parallel and much less controversial commemoration for the ‘Bleiburg victims’ was held, swastikas are habitually spray-painted over the Partisan graveyard. There, as in Čapljina, streets bear names of notorious *Ustašas*. To understand the scale of the problem, one could take but a short walk through Stolac, a town attempting to recover from the complete cleansing of ‘non-Croats’ in the 1990s (see Figure 3). Despite a substantial post-war return of refugees, discrimination lingers, systemic and unconcealed. Schoolchildren are still segregated along ‘ethno-religious’ lines and the town memorial to the Partisans and victims of fascism was defaced in the run-up to the Bleiburg commemorations. The perduring apartheid is possible primarily due to the ethno-territorial provisions constitutionalised by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The two apparently disparate and disconnected occurrences – the coronavirus pandemic and the Bleiburg commemoration – are linked through the renewed vigour they provide for the scalar politics of life. Both are framed to suggest that they refer to the *totality of affected life*. The word ‘pandemic’ is a curious case in point. Its etymology suggests that a given sum of ‘all people’ (*pan* + *demos*) is in danger of an infectious disease or some other undesirable phenomenon (see French, Mykhalovskiy and Lamothe 2018: 59-60). It is a visceral geography – a biopolitical map through which a body politic attains life in the individual body. It asks us to confirm the outlines of the meaningful world as meaningful life. The recognition of life starts from the narrowly defined ‘Human’ and gradually dissipates as it moves down the scale towards viruses and other non-humans. A pathogenic virus becomes detectable as it jumps across the scalar levels, disturbing the categorical separation. The World Health Organisation declared COVID-19 to be a *pandemic* two days before its Director-General announced that Europe is the new epicentre, with more reported cases than China at the height of its epidemic (WHO 2020a, 2020b).

Likewise, the Bleiburg commemoration is said to recognise ‘all life’. Cardinal Vinko Puljić, who led the mass on 16 May, has written a public statement, ‘in disbelief’ at the protests, noting that ‘all innocent victims’ need to be treated ‘with equal respect’,

‘including those from the Croatian nation’ (see Croatian News Agency 2020). Here, of course, the nation’s body pleading to *also* be grieved does not include those exterminated or exiled by the nation’s programmes. Croatian national victims are not the Partisans or Roma people, for example.



Figure 3 Ustaša symbol on a house in Stolac, 2012

To both events, we can neatly apply Judith Butler’s argument on grievability as an operation of power, namely that the recognition of lives as lost or injured is a premise framing *the life that matters* (2009; see also 2004). Butler noted:

Without grievability, there is no life, or, rather, there is something living that is other than life. Instead, ‘there is a life that will never have been lived’, sustained by no regard, no testimony, and un-grieved when lost. [...] Forms of racism instituted and active at the



level of perception tend to produce iconic versions of populations who are eminently grievable, and others whose loss is no loss, and who remain ungrievable. (2009: 15, 24)

Through the variety of perspectives on the pandemic and the commemoration, we see that the ‘eminent’ subject of grief offered to Sarajevo is a shifting and changing collage of bodies in both the ontological and political sense. However, these events also suggest that the scalar politics of life – of human defined against its non-human or not-fully-human others – has been re-energised.

### From virus to genocide and back again

The notion that viruses and bacteria are invariably human pathogens, and thus in need of precautionary extermination, is scientifically false. Ruan *et al.* note that ‘a healthy microbiome consists of 30-plus trillion microorganisms per person’, mostly bacteria, viruses and yeast (2020: 696; see also Roossinck 2011, 2015). Even the pathogenic viruses appear to occasionally be beneficial (Russell 2011: 2). Rather than an imminent threat, viruses and bacteria are *immanent* to human life, inseparable from it. Yet, as this pandemic shows, we become aware of viruses only when they pose a threat and ‘our’ form of life needs to be defended. ‘The problem is ontological’, Butler suggests, ‘since the question at issue is: *What is a life?*’ (2009: 1).

The virus, as a dangerous form of lesser life targeted for eradication, is of course intimately linked with the Nazi construction of the other, the cornerstone of the Bleiburg post-act. Rather than revisiting their ideology and legal formulation of racial hygiene in detail, we can recall the abundance of metaphors employing nonhuman life. Most notoriously perhaps, *The Eternal Jew*, a 1940 Nazi propaganda film, juxtaposes scenes of the Łódź Ghetto and of sewer rats infesting torn bags of grain, as the narrator explains that rats spread disease and ‘represent the rudiment of an insidious, underground destruction – just like the Jews among human beings’ (Livingstone Smith 2011: 139).

Rats were a ubiquitous metaphor, but Jews were also portrayed as other ‘vermin’, poisonous and diseased animals: as snakes, spiders, lice and insects, as parasites, microbes or a virus

that needs to be done away with (see *ibid.*: 15, 150). For example, in *Mein Kampf*, Jews appear as ‘a noxious bacillus’, ‘typical parasites’ or ‘disease’ ‘in the national body’, ‘adulterating’ or ‘poisoning’ its blood, etc. (see e.g. Vol. 1, Ch. 10-11).<sup>2</sup> Ante Starčević, whose works in early nationalist Croatian historiography underpinned the Ustaša ideology, referred to Serbs and Jews as ‘breeds’ (see, e.g. Starčević 1876).



Figure 4 Poster for the 1942 antisemitic exhibition in Sarajevo

2 All references to *Mein Kampf* in this paper are based on the 1999 print of the 1943 translation by Ralph Manheim (1st Mariner ed.) published in Boston by Houghton Mifflin and available at: <http://mondopolitico.com/library/meinkampf/toc.htm> (Accessed on 13 May 2020).

Sarajevo was treated to a plethora of such images in 1942, as part of a travelling antisemitic exhibition inaugurated by the State Propaganda Office in Zagreb (see Figure 4).<sup>3</sup> The exhibition poster featured a nude, muscular Croatian *Übermensch* fighting off an aggressive, green Jewish serpent. The image, reminiscent of the depictions of St George slaying the dragon, sought to prepare Sarajevans for what was to come: the annihilation of a lesser, dangerous form of life. The Jew-slayer – wielding in his hands total biopower – is, however, the inverse image of the symbiotic, life-sustaining George's Day in the Bosnian syncretic folk cosmology.

Diseases were historically a useful device to articulate and propel systems of violence. Jews and other designated forms of lesser life were alleged to have spread the plague in the Middle Ages and were often persecuted and massacred, 'their members locked in synagogues or rounded up on river islands and burnt to death' (Cohn 2012: 536, see also Savage 2007). Likewise, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, syphilis focused the discourse on the inherently immoral diseased Jews (Sontag 1978: 59, Naimark 2001: 59).

*Mein Kampf* is particularly immersed into the topic of syphilis (Vol. 1, Ch. 10). It describes the 'poisoning of the health of the national body' as a result of the 'Jewification of our spiritual life and mammonization of our mating instinct', which 'will sooner or later destroy our entire offspring'. Its 'injurious effects should have been thoroughly hammered into people [...] until the entire nation arrived at the conviction that everything - future or ruin - depended upon the solution of this question'. Through the use of biological and organic metaphors, Nazism requested that a total and durable self-isolation be achieved through the likewise total and durable removal of the threatening racialised other, the way vermin and pest are controlled.

Governance through these tropes is effective because it employs existing abjection. The abject is '[w]hat does not respect

3 The poster reads: 'Jews: Exhibition on the Development of Judaism and Its Destructive Work in Croatia before 10 April 1941 / Solution of the Jewish Question in the Independent State of Croatia'. The image featured, alongside many other examples of Western Balkan Nazi propaganda poster, in my 2008 dissertation at the University of Sarajevo. I thank again historian Eli Tauber who then kindly provided me with plentiful visual material from his archives.

borders, positions, rules' (Kristeva 1982: 4). A rat outside of the sewer eating human food or a virus infecting the body are intolerable because they challenge the separation of the inside and the outside (ibid: 71). Ethnic cleansing, as an example of abjection, seeks to 'put things into proper place', outside of the national body.

A range of other diseases were fused with the Jewish being. The *Völkischer Beobachter*, a Nazi newspaper, reported in 1928 on the trachoma as 'the sacred disease of the Jews' (Jewish Telegraphic Agency 1928). The Nazis also instituted a range of public hygiene measures to restrict the movement of Jews as the 'typhus carriers'. Typhus, the *Warschauer Zeitung* reported in 1941, was 'endemic among members of the Jewish race'. Restricting any contact was necessary 'to avoid any possible danger to the health of the non-Jewish population by coming in contact with Jews' (Jewish Telegraphic Agency 1941).

The 'sickening of the body', Hitler wrote, 'is only the consequence of a sickening of the moral, social, and racial instincts' (Vol. 1, Ch. 10). As such, the care taken for the body to 'heal' is at once the care for the nation/race as a distinct biotic entity. Medical regulation becomes a responsibility of the state and the individual's subjection to it a duty to the species. Foucault (2003 [1975-6]: 239-264) traced the emergence of these new biopolitical technologies of power to the eighteenth century and the quest to control and regulate biological and organic life, noticing that they culminated in Nazism.

Biopolitics deals with the population as a scientific problem, establishing a biological relationship between the survival and proliferation of the self as a species and the elimination of inferior others (ibid: 245-5). In other words, the state's care for our life *actualises power*. 'We must also do away', Hitler wrote, 'with the conception that the treatment of the body is the affair of every individual' (Vol. 1, Ch. 10). The state's 'biological' attention to ensure the endurance of a vanishing nation is a frequent justification for the exertion of total control over life and death. For example, since the 1980s, and particularly during the military regime of the 1990s, Serbian biopolitical nationalism treated with great concern the problem of low Serb natality – referred to as 'the white plague' – a problem to be redressed through 'natural, heroic' masculinity and the kind of femininity that nurtures it (see Bracewell 1996: 27).

Turning to the question of governance through the biological is crucial to understand the contemporary Sarajevan (and Bosnian) predicament, protracted as it is. For, a pandemic is a constant reinvention of the self in the *demos* and vice versa. Numbers of fatalities are carefully tracked and compared to other self-isolating ethnonational bodies. Unwanted populations are removed from the streets, deposited into camps or exiled across the border.

One clear example is the trope of ‘migrant contamination’ in Bosnia and the rest of Europe. It builds onto a flurry of organic non-human metaphors that refugees have been continually woven into. Many of them are quite Biblical, for example about the liquidity of the migrant threat (flow, influx, overflow, flood, stream, inundation, etc.), or their animalistic qualities (swarms, flocks, locust, etc.) – all seeking to deny full life and curtail the grievability of refugee death (see, e.g. Selwyn 2019: 139). The Orbánist Hungary, it seems clear, has long been taking cues from *Mein Kampf* as a textbook. It describes the refugees as:

a ‘poison’ that Hungary ‘won’t swallow’, a ‘slow and steady current of water which washes away the shore’, destroying Europe ‘as fragile, weak and sickly as a flower being eaten away by a hidden worm’, as ‘gangs hunting down our women and daughters’, an ‘invasion of migrant masses [coming] in waves’, as creating ‘a Christian-Muslim world [...] with a continuously shrinking percentage of Christians’ and turning countries into a ‘mere cloud of dust on the highway of nations’ (*The Guardian* 2016; Hungarian Government 2016, 2019, 2020a).

The examples are endless. Hungarian neo-Nazism also works to construct an intimate link between the COVID-19 epidemic and refugees (as ‘disease-ridden’), which provided the grounds for a recent law that lets Orbán rule by decree due to extraordinary measures (see Hungarian Government 2020b; *The Guardian* 2020a).

The deduction of refugee life to an unimportant speck is a pervasive mark of the Balkan states’ sovereignty. As I write this, I am looking at photographs of refugees who reportedly crossed the Bosnia-Croatia border only to have their heads spray-painted with red crosses by the Croatian police (see *The Guardian* 2020b).

An unusual term in Bosnia, *migrant* has now become a fixed lexical class in the media and the wider public discourse. Replacing the ubiquitous post-1990s *izbjeglice i raseljena lica*

(‘refugees and displaced persons’), or even the school textbook categories of *immigrant* and *emigrant*, this new word – *migrant* – constructed people without a sense of direction. This is what they *are*. Although moving, they are essentially static: an aggregate racialised Other.

I should caution that in Bosnia, like elsewhere, there is no single discourse on those refugees who crossed the state borders over the past decade. The diversity of perspectives is not an effect of the notoriously labyrinthine Bosnian governmental (‘Dayton’) apparatus, but rather, as in Croatia and Serbia, due to the voices of various non-governmental organisations and the availability of social media.

Yet, the biopolitical regimes urging the national body to ‘self-isolate’ are prolific. Since Bosnia exists as a post-war, apartheid state of (‘Dayton’) institutionalised ethnic sub-division, the biopolitical rhetoric follows the same model. Republika Srpska, one of the two constitutionalised entities crafted through ethnic cleansing, has already decided, ‘with the goal of preventing the spread of the virus’, ‘to control the persons entering [its] territory’ (see *NI* 2020). This health control mimics the biopolitical concerns voiced by the nation-states. In this instance, the ‘Serbs’ in Bosnia are cared for through the policing of non-state, ethnic borders. These ethnic entities and their borders were crafted in the 1990s through similar attention to pollution.

In Sarajevo, refugees have been rendered the discrete carriers of COVID-19. Ajan Ajnadžić, mayor of a central city municipality, instructed ‘the citizens [...] not to engage in close contact with persons of unknown origin, and so to avoid the evermore frequent purchase of hygienic items and other artefacts’ (Općina Centar 2020). This appeal, directed exclusively at the ‘rightful’ subjects of the state’s medical concern – the citizens – seized upon the refugees’ struggle to survive through the sale of paper facial tissues on the streets of the city. It is a simple, caring message: ‘protect your health’. Yet, the underlying script is biopolitical. The subject of concern delineates the boundaries of valuable life, whilst the ‘foreign’, refugee body on the street is cast as potentially more diseased than that of a cashier at a convenience store.

A range of other measures followed the same formula. As a move against coronavirus, the state rounded up thousands of migrants and fully restricted them to a remote tent camp under



constant surveillance of the police (*The Guardian* 2020c). The Minister of Security, Fahrudin Radončić, promised not to allow further migrant camps in Sarajevo or any other ‘areas with a predominantly Bosniak population’ (*Klix* 2020). The coronavirus may have energised the abjection of refugee bodies in Sarajevo, but it also exposed the national ordering of subject and object advanced by many of the same figures who opposed the ‘rehabilitation of fascism’ through the mass for Bleiburg.

The scales of biopolitics in Bosnia are also deeply *necropolitical*, in relation to the ongoing refugee-phobic policies, but also to the continued restriction of life for the returnees following the 1990s expulsions. For example, over more than two decades, the returnees to the Field of Gacko have faced recurring attacks, intimidation and a complete isolation from public institutions. Achille Mbembé argued that necropolitics is the ultimate form of sovereignty, which takes onto itself ‘the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die’ (2003: 11). This includes exposure to death as in the case of refugees.

The political power to make death in the name of ‘species survival’ was fully mastered over bodies in the Independent State of Croatia and the 1990s wartime, post-Yugoslav politics. When, in 1993, Biljana Plavšić, ‘as a biologist’, spoke of her preference for the ‘cleansing of Eastern Bosnia of Muslims [as] a perfectly natural phenomenon’ (Inić 1996), and when Radovan Karadžić articulated the need to fight the ‘Islamic penetration of Europe’ so that the ‘Islamic fundamentalism doesn’t infect Europe’ (Cigar 1995: 100) – words actualised in yet another European genocide – they concerned themselves with the defence of life against contaminated life – the not-fully-life. ‘When I say cleanse, I don’t want anyone to take me literally and think I mean ethnic cleansing’, Plavšić said to avoid confusion (Inić 1996). For her, this ‘natural’ act of doing away with dirt was a question of safeguarding the national body.

Dirt in request of cleansing, Mary Douglas (2005 [1966]) famously argued, is ‘matter out of place’. The appropriation of purity and contamination as a method of governance works only once the scales of meaningful life had been firmly established. Dirt maintains the scalar system as it requires durable and systemic cleansing. As Douglas put it, ‘[d]irt is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt, there is a system. Dirt is the by-

product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements' (ibid.: 44).

However, in terms of the biopolitical modern state, dirt is not simply a by-product; it comes first, although it can be fused into or replaced with other sources of abjection. To perform care for the individual-*cum*-nation, power firstly needs to prescribe what lies outside the boundaries of life worth its concern. Such extramural existence is, implicitly or explicitly, denied *as life*.

### Georgic Perspectives: Reimagining Biotic Interactions

The last time I was in Sarajevo, in April 2019, I was attacked. First by a group of drunken individuals who were harassing a Roma child on the central city promenade, throwing change at her, filming her and shouting requests for songs. And then, after I made an attempt to report it, I was attacked for the second time, by the Sarajevo police. The problem began when I was not allowed to report the incident. 'You want to report it? Whom would we call? She probably doesn't have a mother or, if she does, the mother is a sixteen-year old'. Realising that, in their constellation of meaningful life, the Roma girl did not meet the threshold of personhood, I turned on my camera, which quickly escalated the situation: a policeman pushed me into the car parked nearby, twisted my arm, forced me to provide a password for my phone and deleted some blurry photos and a video.

While questioned at the station – a gun slammed on the table in front of me, the policeman screaming in my face – I retreated into the muscular memory of my teenage self (living in the same city some time ago) and kept quiet. Like a mouse, I thought. I recalled David. The vigorous clampdown on the protests following the murder of David Dragičević made evident, for those who were not already aware of it, the intimacy of the police and the autocratic government in Bosnia. David was a young man from Banja Luka, and he looked somewhat like my friends and me when his age. He had dreadlock hair, he studied electrical engineering and listened to reggae and hip hop (see *Deutsche Welle* 2018). His parents' convincing allegation that he was murdered by the police sparked a two-year-long outpouring of public grief under the slogan 'Justice for David', first in Banja Luka and then,



amalgamating with other similar allegations of police violence, in Sarajevo and Tuzla. The clamp-down on protests, which sent David's parents into exile, continues.

About an hour into my quiet obedience at the station, the situation was de-escalated with some laughter, as if nothing happened: 'Safet, had you approached us nicely and with respect, not filming us in front of the cathedral and all the surveillance cameras, we could have taken them [the tourists] to some dark alley and taught them a lesson. After all, you are ours'.

Suddenly, he allowed me to step back into human form. I interpreted 'ours' as 'Muslim', although it could have likewise referred to 'Sarajevan' or 'Bosnian' – probably not much else. In any case, it meant some sort of intimacy with him. It was his recognition of my worthiness, a link between my body and his body within something larger.

Grief is politically implicated. As an expression of intimacy with the injured other, it is always a scalar projection of meaningful life. This paper does not call for the curtailment of grief for those executed by the Yugoslav Partisans at the end of WWII. Those lives have been rendered non-lives, and thus ungrievable, by one state regime, and then pre-eminently grievable by another. Neither will it do to locate specific 'innocent populations' (usually, women and children). As the biological intonations of the genocide in Srebrenica, or the Sarajevo 'anti-Pride' event in 2019 showed, gender and sexuality are easy naturalised tropes for the denial of life.<sup>4</sup> The coronavirus on the other hand, revealed that grievability sharply decreases with age. So, the question is not whether or not the 'Bleiburg victims' or at least some of them should be grieved, but rather how we construct the position for the self through grief or the possibility of its absence. The question is, once equipped with the abject ungrievable body, what are we?

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4 More than eight thousand men and boys were rounded up for execution in Srebrenica in 1995. The day before the first Sarajevo LGBTIQ+ walk in 2019, counter protests were organised 'in the name of children and the family', with banners declaring: 'The strength of a nation lies in the integrity of the family', 'Support for biological survival', etc.



Figure 5 Melina tying ribbons ‘for health’ onto drijen branches in Carica, Visoko, 2012.

I have argued that biopolitical regimes in Bosnia work through one form or another of ‘self-isolation’ and regularised care against the abject. However, the coronavirus and the Bleiburg commemoration may provide an opportunity for a reconsideration of life, an ontological shift of sorts. Such a transition would recognise the entwined being of the human–non-human world, the always already actual in-betweenness, categorical porousness and symbiotic nature of relation. Its acceptance would not require a surrender to death.

St George’s Day celebrations manage to articulate health *with* not *against* others. Its gatherings host a mixture of ethno-religious subjectivities: Roma, Christians and Muslims, as well as variously self-defining others, celebrate together.<sup>5</sup> It is also a time for communication with and through other biotic forms. Children chase each other with stinging nettles or play on swings tied to old oak trees. Young women ritually descend to mills and river rapids to bathe in *omaha*, the efficacious droplets of rushing

5 This is still the case across Bosnia, for example in the town of Visoko where Muslims and Christians join in on the Roma feast. In other places, like Gacko and Stolac, war and migration have disrupted the ubiquity of the day’s interfaith quality (see HadžiMuhamedović 2018).

water. They decorate the front doors with *miloduh* (hyssop) flowers and guard them from the young men who attempt to steal them. They plant nettle in front of their houses or in manure to predict the direction of marriage proposals by the turning of the leaves. Fires are lit on hilltops and hands are joined into a circular *kolo* dance around them. Colourful stews are cooked with the intention to resemble the diversity of life. Eggs are coloured bright red like blood. Children are gently lashed with *drijen* (Cornelian cherry) six times and instructed: ‘May you be as healthy as *drijen*’. Red ribbons are also tied

to *drijen* branches. With each ribbon, one makes a wish for the prosperity of another and utters: ‘I choose health, forsake disease’ (see Figure 5).

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote that the ‘world belongs only to the forceful “whole” man and not to the weak “half” man’ (Vol. 1, Ch. 10). Yet, the whole world escapes the whole man. It is the porous and unshielded life that manages to engage with the world. ‘Life is a window of vulnerability’, Donna Haraway wrote. ‘It seems a mistake to close it. The perfection of the fully defended, “victorious” self is a chilling fantasy, [...] whether located in the abstract spaces of national discourse, or in the equally abstract spaces of our interior bodies. (1991: 224) Perhaps what this year, of much ‘self-isolation’, can foreground is a proximity healthier than before. What the Georgic symbiotic perspective offers, it seems to me, is a step outside of the perpetual scalar horrors and into a possibility of life *with* and *through* the *otherwise*.

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**The fifth panel / Peti panel**

**HEALTH, THE INDIVIDUAL,  
AND POLITICAL  
RESPONSIBILITY /  
ZDRAVLJE, NEPOVREDIVOST  
POJEDINCA, I POLITIČKA  
ODGOVORNOST**





# MEDICINAL GARDENS, HEALING TRAILS, AND OUR PANDEMIC BODIES

Elizabeth Alexandrin

When I first started to write this contribution, I thought I would go deeper into the question of solitude and separation. Instead I found myself thinking about different questions: what would Ibn 'Arabi have to say about shadow forms and their presences in our viral and pandemic time of 2020? What would he have said about pandemic bodies, viral contagion, and the Unseen, here everything is continuous and in continuity? So, this is the starting point of a conversation I wish I could have now, in person, face-to-face, with you. My paper's considerations of Ibn 'Arabi hopefully will work as a juxtaposition; that is, a set of resting places and vantage points onto the local, from where I stand. From February onward, it already seemed to me that we had already missed having been able to gather together, one by one, all of our singular stories of coronavirus, our novel virus, and being able to see together, from the same vantage place of consideration, where the world is going now. This is a matter of perception, and in speaking to my standing place, perhaps I leave silent some different things.

Things being what they are, I will try my best to write down some thoughts and considerations of (3) Reimagining universal political, cultural, and economic paradigms locally, from the perspective of Winnipeg and Manitoba. Winnipeg, the city, and Manitoba, the province, are located in central Canada, far enough in the North to be on the periphery of the Hudson Bay and the Arctic. In ways that are meaningful, both Winnipeg and Manitoba share in the long histories of settler colonization and marginaliza-

tion that shaped Canada as a nation state, following Canada's independence from Great Britain in 1867.

## Resting places

You know, it is good to be able to sit and think about Ibn 'Arabi- that great Sufi thinker and teacher from the 13th Century- and to try to think more about how he understood God and appearances. In terms of where I am now, I count my blessings each day that I have this chance to do exactly this thinking. Even before this new pandemic, it seems to me that we have been very fortunate if we can sit and meet to speak. Now, with pandemic and our uncertain futures, it is still a great fortune to speak from our virtual realities, and share thoughts and ideas. Aren't we, however, somehow spectralized through our screens? Where can we locate ourselves as forms and shapes in these meeting spaces- tethered to technology- which have become newly shaped, with consequences and meanings, allowing us to have these privileges to be like ghosts or shadows?

Speaking in generalities, Ibn 'Arabi, especially in his great work, *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyyah*, gives us a typography or graphology of reality as well as appearances. He has rather a lot to say about shadows. For example, the image of the perfect human being in the unseen is like the likeness of a person's shadow. In fact, all of creation bows in prayer prostration (*sujud*) to God. Their shadows are bowing too, Ibn 'Arabi explains, twice a day. Furthermore, in thinking about relationality and dimensionality, a person's shadow, when extended, can show us how it is merging with the other person's, standing in front of them. And a human being is the shadow of God, hidden in appearance and appearing in the Unseen. Shadow and dimensionality: shadow as a line and shadow of self as a line extended to other worlds.

But, like the letter *nun*, in the Arabic alphabet, "n", also in thinking about bodies, *nun* is unmanifest in the manifest, and it is like its point (*nuqta*), which could be "above" or "within" what is seen as well as unseen. This black point of the letter "n" is also like the black pupil of the eye, with the iris surrounding it, forming the eye by which the world (and worlds) are seen. As Ibn 'Arabi mentions in Chapter Eight, this Earth is vast, and so is the seen.

I still am reading and re-reading Chapter 8 of *Futuhat* to think about what would be 'surface'; those amazingly difficult, complex passages about the *safinah*. In Chapter Eight, it begins with, "He said, 'Events and mysterious occurrences happened to me...'", and with the sentence, "In her there are gardens and hidden grounds..." Ibn 'Arabi says the sea (*bahr*) is made of mud or clay. Pure surface, over and on which things run and flow, as the surface itself is continuously flowing; as Ibn 'Arabi notes in another work, that is, this sea, without *tajassud*, and without "Pearls", would be quite smooth."<sup>1</sup>

Would we begin to understand this as almost any body hidden and manifest in the unity, by a hair's breadth, and with something smooth as skin, or flowing over a sea of *turab*, where the veiling is manifesting; veiling is displaying the manifestation, and we are like boats navigating through as well as on continuous spheres and spaces. What is in fact this relationship to the unseen and seen if from "point" of the End Time? Would we say, everything is apocalyptic, all of the time, and therefore everything is all *barzakh*, all *barzakh*, all the time, and time doesn't really exist? Would that mean that our bodies are standing all the time in front, or face-to-face, with the "seen world" and that too is a *barzakh*?"?

## Our pandemic bodies

Starting in late January Manitoban public health officials had already recommended posting everywhere in public spaces their announcement of a new virus, giving their novel virus counsel: to wash your hands and stay home if you are unfeeling unwell. In the previous pandemic of H1N1, in 2009, Manitoban Indigenous communities were gravely impacted and there were many deaths. At the advice of public health consultants and medical researchers in epidemiology (at the Canadian Center for Disease Control, in Winnipeg), our time of quarantine started first with the universities and schools being shuttered on March 12. We were already tired and weary of a long and cold winter indoors; a winter that started with a blizzard the second week of

1 Elmore, *Kitab 'anqa mughrib*, translation, pages 381-382. See *Futuhat*, page 154. Note as well, corporeal (*tajassada*).

October, and which in fact, continued until late April. We were told to stock up the cupboards and be prepared to be staying more at home, in case there was an emergency or if someone fell ill at home. The virus was here but not yet seen.

By March 20, when Winnipeg announced that had its first official case that tested positive for COVID-19, the provincial government declared a state of emergency, with a strict enforcement of public health guidelines in both public and private spaces: for example, grocery shopping every two weeks, with no more than five people allowed into a store at one time; no meeting with anyone outside of the household; social distancing of two meters (six feet) when going for walks outside to get exercise, fresh air, and sunshine, or to take your dog for its walk! It was also stipulated, in different ways, that in public, no conversations should be between individuals from other households, for more than 10 minutes, even with social distancing. Social distancing also meant, no gatherings of households inside, not even family members living elsewhere in the city. While the models and predictions were not made public in Manitoba, this great overflowing stream of public health information was meant to shock, terrify, and alarm: if we did not isolate and quarantine, all across Canada- whether infected or not infected- we would personally be responsible- guilty- for the tens of thousands who could die and the hundreds of thousands who would be infected by May; in total, by the end of this pandemic's first wave, and as we are to fear and be prepared for a second wave, maintaining and towing the line for the essential works and the frontlines.

Under viral siege, my university prepared to shutter itself until September at least, and offered as support resources to its students and employees carefully curated pieces on maintaining good mental health. The very idea that the university would be closed never crossed the minds of many university colleagues. It all came as a great shock. We were given three days to prepare to teach the remainder of the semester through "remote learning", online.

Following this arrival of one case of infection, the emptiness and emptying of our city and city spaces because of quarantine and lockdown seemed to give rise again to thinking and re-imagining the discussions and conversations about de-colonization that were taking place in Manitoba before virus "arrived". Would this then be a possible future forward, to continue decolonizing

the university, as “Thunderbird uprising”, a metaphor and symbol of an eagle bridging both “spiritual” and “material” dimensions, powerfully on display in Metis and First Nation art throughout Winnipeg in recent years?

Now we are almost at the end of May, and we hear that we find some virus in our city, sometimes one or two cases over the span of more than six days, and no one has died from virus since early May, compared to other cities in Canada, and elsewhere in the world. Now the provincial government has let us know that we all be brought in to be tested, at one point, for virus as well as for antibodies, up to 500 or a thousand people a day, until the end of July. We have been prepared to organize our courses for teaching remotely in the fall, come September. We’ve been told, this will be a simple and unusual summer at home but to value it for what it is- simple, but home- and some more stores and shops begin to open up again. Travel, however, between provinces is not yet allowed. Travel restrictions within Manitoba are in place to protect smaller communities further north. The border between Canada and the US remains closed until the end of June. So, in these respects, we feel less of the quarantine as we begin to go outside again, walk our emptied city, and work on growing our gardens, as to keep a motivation- not to give into fear culture.

### Optimism and the emptiness of failed capitalism

Dnenovksa explains about the emptiness of failed capitalism and modernity: “For the locals, emptiness is not a temporary state of falling behind the global march to prosperity, but a transitional state between a world that has ended and a world whose contours are not yet visible.”<sup>2</sup> Dnenovksa is very interested in the question of the “Empty lands” settled by colonial modernizers, which provides an appropriate lens for considering the Western provinces in Canada and immigration policies up to 1984. Furthermore, in terms of decolonizing Manitoba, the very real histories of Residential Schools and Indigenous populations, up to 1996, needs to be taken into consideration. Perhaps the Canadian government’s Truth and Reconciliation Process, from 2016 onward, gave enough space again for imagining in and outside of the city

2 Dnenovska, Medium, <https://medium.com/oxford-university/emptiness-capitalism-aftersocialism-2fca14324a3e>

of Winnipeg- with Winnipeg's largest Indigenous and First Nation urban communities in Canada- victory gardens, community gardens, and sharing seeds as curative for everyone.

Very briefly, and by way of example, Community gardens, traditional approach to growing food, tobacco and medicinal plants: tobacco and sage, for example, as offerings. Other medicinal plants are used as teas. Some plants have specific symbolism in thinking about family and community: corn, squash and beans are known as "three sisters", as they are plants that support the growth of one another, together.<sup>3</sup>

In terms of healing plants as well as what is currently present in our local re-imagining of Winnipeg and Manitoba, are stories and memories related to medicinal plants and immigration. South central Manitoba and interlake regions, with old medicinal gardens still growing, on abandoned homesteads, especially north of Dauphin; Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada in the late 19th-century brought with them "the familiar herbs of homeland gardens, woods, and steppes." Magical and medicinal properties of herbs and natural plant medicines, passed down generation after generation.

Vipp notes: "In Ukraine, each village home had a mandatory garden with its complement of indispensable herbs for cooking, medicine, and magic...So ingrained were plants in daily life that no family would think of leaving their homeland without bringing with them a selection of seeds, or even plants, not knowing whether these would be found in their new world. It was something tangible to connect them to the ancestral land they had to leave behind and would never see again. The nostalgic fragrance of "Yevshan-zillia" (*Artemisia*) was said to return lost souls to their native land, if only metaphorically. Thus we have Ukrainian pioneers to thank for many herb species that can be found in Manitoban gardens to this day."<sup>4</sup> Ojibway elders' traditional wisdom and knowledge of medicinal plants were also part of a carrying over, as two-way exchanges from 19th Century onward.

The ideal pandemic body, then, is this body that would have already started to think about where to find resting places and

3 Creating community gardens, in the community, for youth group homes: <https://saymag.com/marymound-growing-thriving-medicinal-gardens-and-healthierchildren/>

4 Vipp, "Herbs and Ukrainian Immigration in Manitoba." 115-116.

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space in our decolonizing city, looking for the Healing Trails, and what was already growing out of community organizations, in February 2020, as in the following explanation or “manifesto”:

“Winnipeg Trails Association presents a new program called Healing Trails generously funded by the Winnipeg Foundation and the Trans Canada Trail. Healing Trails an Indigenous-led initiative to re-think transportation through policy work, capacity building, education and tangible real-world projects In the Ojibwe language, Miikana is the translated word for a road, a trail or a path. It is led by Adrian Alphonso and Janell Henry, supported by Anders Swanson and Dan Reihl. In the cityscape and architecture, roads and trails have different meanings and two different budgets. While trails have the natural capacity to spark healthy attitudes by getting our bodies outdoors, in this city, machines get higher priority as a mode of transportation than humans, active transportation becomes active conservation and an act of defiance.”<sup>5</sup>

“To act fast”, promoting as a result of COVID-19, a set of recommendations, such as the one that follows: “Recommendation 2 – Work with an existing and keen network of community organizations to permanently convert residential street space to more equitable shared space, starting in high needs areas, to achieve fast, cheap traffic calming and food security. Move to provide on street container gardening with any community that wants it which has access to water. This will help address physical distancing, food security, social cohesion and transport all at once. As appropriate, consider appointing Winnipeg Trails to a leadership role to leverage existing relationships and trust in the community to do that expeditiously.”<sup>6</sup>

Winnipeg Trails project also has been suggesting that resources (up to 5 million) be shifted to higher needs and reworking the city’s infrastructure, from the downtown, to the suburbs, to the perimeter of the city, promoting “equitable access to nature and physical and mental health”, moving from an immediate probability to an immediate reality, thinking and dreaming about Manitoba’s sometimes remembered but mostly forgotten healing trails and medicinal gardens.

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5 [https://reconnections.com/resources/Documents/Parks%20and%20Trails%20Program%20Brochure%202020\\_.pdf](https://reconnections.com/resources/Documents/Parks%20and%20Trails%20Program%20Brochure%202020_.pdf)

6 <https://www.winnipegtrails.ca/elementor-8271/>



# ZDRAVLJE I ODGOVORNOST – ISKUSTVO BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE DO 1941. GODINE

**Sonja Dujmović**

Pojam odgovornosti, kao i mnoge druge terminološke odrednice s kojim se započinje bilo koja rasprava, nužno moraju bili definisane. I u ovom slučaju, kao i svi drugi pojmovi, odgovornost se treba shvatiti kao pojam kojem vrijeme, odnosno kontekst učitava značenje, dakle, treba podrazumijevati njegovu podložnost promjenama. One se očituju u izmjeni njegovog značenja, u filozofskim, etičkim i pravnim tumačenjima i društvenim sistemima, ali i u svakodnevnom razumijevanju, poimanjima pojedinca, grupe, širih društvenih struktura i na nivou vlasti, u skladu sa njenim karakterom. Jednako tako, skala shvatanja odgovornosti ide od toga da je to zapravo moralno djelovanje, do toga da je to dužnost, koja pretpostavlja zakon ili bar propise i koji opet podrazumijevaju cilj zakonodavca i moralni podtekst, te ne/odricanje pojedinca od vlastite volje, sa ili bez spoljnje prisile. Ta prisila može biti normativo nametnuta, putem zakona, naredbe i sl., a isto tako može biti moralno obavezujuća.

Sljedeća napomena bi bila da odgovornost podrazumijeva odgovornog pojedinca, odnosno njegovu svijest da je njegovo djelovanje ide u pravcu ne samo vlastite dobrobiti nego i dobrobiti drugih članova njegove zajednice, dakle da odgovornost predstavlja odnos, obzirom na to da je pojedinac nije izolirana jedinka, već dio društvene cijeline.

Obzirom da će na ovom mjestu ukratko biti riječi o odgovornosti za zdravlje u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1941. godine, odnosno u periodu austrougarske vlasti (1878-1918) i vremenu Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije (1918-1941), stoji nužna napomena da je na

početku zadanog vremenskog okvira procenat stanovništva koji je živio od poljoprivrede iznosio visokih 90%, a društveno funkcionalnog pismenog stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini zvanično iznosio niskih 3 procenata 1879, te 11,95% 1914. godine, što bi djelom mogao biti pokazatelj stvarnog stepena informisanosti stanovništva o dometima razvoja medicinske nauke i prakse, kao blagodetima higijensko-sanitarnih postupaka u svakodnevnom životu u cilju ublažavanja posljedica ne samo prisutnih bolesti, nego i periodičnih epidemija zaraznih bolesti. Ovaj problem se nadvladavao aktivnošću telala, muhtara, te kodžabaša i seoskih knezova, u većini slučajeva u blizini gradskih centara.

No, to ne znači da nije i u tradicijskom vremenu, tako ćemo ga nazvati, prije ovog tretiranog, postojala odgovornost zajednice (npr. naročito gradova, sela, zadruga) i u tom smislu društvena odgovornost u po zdravlje kriznim periodima, kako prema društvu u cjelini, tako i pojedinca prema vlastitom kolektivu. kada su se npr. kao preventivne mjere protiv širenja zaraza sprovodile izolacijom, ali i djelujući vatrom, vrelom vodom, parom, dimom, ali hodočašćima i religijskim ritualima, kao i onim koji to nisu.

Obzirom da austrougarske vlasti nisu problem zdravstvene, te preventivne higijensko-sanitarnog intervencije prepustili samo učincima upućenih apelâ, one su poduzele sistematske korake prema stanovništvu kod kojeg je odgovornost za život pojedinca prenesena na višu instancu ("Bog dao, Bog uzeo, najbolji život = život u vječnosti, itd.), začinjena razumijevajućim strahom od smrti.

U momentu austrougarske okupacije Bosna i Hercegovina gotovo da i nije imala školovanog medicinskog kadra, osim, kako je to navedeno u ekspozu Cirkularne naredbe za organizovanje sanitetske službe, od 24. februara 1879. godine, šest vojnih ljekara školovanih u Istanbulu, te jedan broj njih koji su djelovali uz garnizone ili osmanske uglednike. Simboličan broj ljekara je "pokrivao" prostor zemlje od preko 1.200 kvadratnih kilometara i sa više od 1,1 miliona stanovnika, uz to nenaviklih na liječenje i zdravstvenu brigu. U narodu se lijek za bolest tražila kod neškoloovanih, priučeni pojedina ili samoprozvanih iscjelitelja, "poznavao" medicine, nadrilječnika, vračara, travara i sveštenih lica svih vjeroispovjesti, pa i berbera, čijem se znanju, vještinama i rukama povjeravalo zdravlje. Iz vremena posljednjeg upravitelja i reformnih poteza Osmanskog Carstva u Sarajevu je

ostala Vakufska bolnica za civilno stanovništvo i Turska vojna bolnica.

S obzirom na zatečeno stanje, Monarhija i kroz zdravstvenu politiku na prostor Bosne i Hercegovine donosi instituciju “društvenog ugovora“, po kome pojedinac ustupa svoje pravo državi i podvrgava se zakonskoj regulativi i postupcima vlasti. Unutar toga on traži prostor za vlastite odluke i odgovornost. Taj “ugovor“ je i međunarodno verifikovan na Berlinskom kongresu, dozvolom tadašnjih velikih sila da Monarhija izvrši okupaciju i pomjeri svoje vojne i sanitetske straže sa zapadnih granica Bosne i Hercegovine na istočne.

“Roditeljsku“ ulogu i odgovornost, dakle, preuzima država, ali i odgojiteljsku posredstvom pravosudnih organa koji donose zakone, te operativno preko vojske (83% smještene u gradove, a u Sarajevu su činili preko 10% stanovništva), što za ove pokrajine i nije bila novina, obzirom na njen granični, vojni karakter. Pri tome se od naroda nije tražio pristanak, saglasnost, nego se patronat obrazložio prosvjetiteljskom ulogom Monarhije u cilju “privođenja“ pokrajina standardima i vrijednostima evropske civilizacije. Da su proklamovane namjere imale skromne dosege, govori i da je 1914. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini, npr. bilo 141 ljekar (i to gotovo svi u gradovima, izuzev njih 5), a da je od 66 gradova samo njih 24 imalo stalne bolnice. U Bosnu i Hercegovinu se očito teško dovodio zainteresovani školovani kadra iz Monarhije, koji je bio u početku savjetodavna osnova i koju je bilo nužno dobro platiti za rizik dolaska u ovu siromašnu i nesigurnu zemlju koju pogađaju stalne epidemije. Stoga se po kotarima osnovaju sanitetski odbori, koje bi u doticaju sa stanovništvom mogli uticati, bar u prvo vrijeme, na izmjenu stavova o nuždi brige o higijensko-sanitarnim postupcima, pa posljedično i o zdravlju. Izdate su u tom smjeru i naredbe: Naredba Zemaljske uprave, početkom 1879. godine, kojom su ustanovljena pravila za apotekarsku djelatnost, zatim Naredba Zajedničkog ministarstva o obaveznom mjesečnom izvještavanju o zdravstvenim prilikama ljudi i životinja, Naredba o preduzimanju mjera protiv epidemije tifusa i osnivanje sanitetske komisije, u svrhu unapređenja zdravstvene zaštite stanovništva, a kojom je zabranjeno i nekontrolisano pokopavanje mrtvih, naloženo konstantno dostavljanje sanitetskih izvještaja, započeta temeljita borba protiv epidemija u stočnom fondu. Naredna intervencija vlasti bila je

Naredba Zemaljske uprave izdana, 24. augusta 1879. godine, kojom se uspostavila, između ostalog, i praksa za babice/primalje, što se činio prvi korak u prevazilaženju enormne smrtnosti novorođenčadi. Donešenom Naredbom od 6. jula 1880. godine bio je omogućen i prijem civila u vojne bolnice, pod uslovom da pacijenti sami mogu snositi troškove liječenja. Svi ovi povučeni potezi koji su vodili poboljšanju zdravstveno-higijenskih uslovav u Bosni i Hercegovini, pored brojnih političkih i ekonomskih, bili su odgovor austrougarske vlasti međunarodnom faktoru, upraviteljima i supervizorima berlinskih potpisa i obećanja.

Takođe, ovdje treba imati u vidu da je cjelokupna intervencija vlasti bila na tragu prosvetiteljskog racionalizma i utemeljenja vrijednosti nauke i njenih nosilaca, čime je vlast omogućila eliti znanja aktivno djelovanje. To je značilo ustupanje prava o donošenju odluka stručnim licima, odnosno konkretizacija odgovornosti se ustupa izabranim, kojima je znanje dužnost, tj. medicinskoj nauci, ljekarima i ostalom medicinskom osoblju, da procjenjuju date okolnosti. Praktično, ljekari su uvijek u središtu žarišta epidemija, oni rukovode interventnom akcijom, pružaju konstantno izvještaje o kretanju zaraznih bolesti, ne samo vlasti, nego su sve informacije bile dostupne i javnosti putem štampe. Petnaest godina nakon ulaska austrougarske vojske na bosansko-hercegovačko tlo, 1894. godine biće otvorena Zemaljska bolnica u Sarajevu, kao glavni i najbolje opremljeni medicinski centar zemlje i glavni rasadnik medicinskog osoblja.

Pored preduzetih prvih koraka u preventivnoj zaštiti djece od zaraznih bolesti putem vakcinacije, kontrolisanoj od strane ovlaštenih zdravstvenih institucija, gazeći u 20. stoljeće i nakon više od dvadeset godina uprave nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom, vlada će se odlučiti na podrobnije bavljenje higijensko-zdravstvenim stanjem stanovništva. U naredbi od 11. novembra 1900. godine o sastavljanju godišnjih zdravstvenih izvještaja, uz obavezne navode o klimi, higijenskim instalacijama za vodu (broj cisterni, bunara, česmi, kanalizaciji), o grobljima, bilo je potrebno da izvještači navedu i narodne običaje ishrane, odijevanja, higijene, te načina njege djece i uobičajenih pomagala kod porođaja.

Propis od koga je najveći broj stanovništva zaista imalo koristi bila je Naredba Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu od 14. aprila 1903. godine o kalemljenju, odnosno vakcinaciji

protiv ospica, najavljenom za glavni grad i za sve ostale gradske opštine. Od prvobitnih benevolentnih poziva, vlasti su propisale i sankcije zbog neodgovornog ponašanja stanovništva, uvele novčane i zatvorske kazne za nepoštivanje naredbe, da bi ih i pooštrile do kraja ovog perioda.

Katakлизma I svjetskog rata donijela je enormno stradanje stanovništva, a naročito djece u Bosni i Hercegovini, proisteklo iz gladi, epidemija i ratne pometenosti svijeta. Rat bio onaj dominantni momenat potpunog preokreta svih društvenih i društvenih tokova, sistema i vrijednosti. Nakon njega, strašne posljedice bile su vidljive na svakom koraku, u svim evropskim društvima. Ljudski gubici na frontovima, od gladi i epidemija (španske groznice 1918, a u Bosni i Hercegovini i pjegavog tifusa početkom 1919. godine, putevima vojske u povlačenju), onesposobljeni ljudi, materijalne štete, neimaština, moralna dekadencija i beznađe samo su dio opšte poslijeratne slike i brojnih problema sa kojima su se nove države trebale suočiti.

Svijest o tolikim žrtvama dovela je, između ostalog do internacionalizacije i umrežavanja svih institucija država na prostoru Evrope zaduženih za poslijeratno saniranje posljedica. Suočene sa ratnim stradanjima stanovništva, vlade učesnica ovog pogroma počele su sa sistematskim djelovanjem. Taj put je slijedila i Kraljevina kao članica novoformiranih međunarodnih foruma koji su se bavili ovom osjetljivom i značajnom zadaćom, ušla je u sistem međunarodnih ugovora i time se obavezala na njihovo poštovanje, dakle, ulazi u krug zajednice država, sa naznačenim pravilima ponašanja i djelovanja koje je prihvatila da slijedi. Jedna od temeljnih međunarodnih organizacija bila je *Liga naroda (Društvo naroda)* osnovana 1919. godine sa edukativnim programom i ciljevima, čija je *Zdravstvena organizacija*, a unutar nje *Komisija za edukaciju higijene i preventivne medicine*, pokrenula svojim mnogostrukim i dalekosežnim programima brojne oblike zdravstvene kampanje i akcijâ u cilju unapređivanja preventivnog zdravstveno-higijenskog prosvjećivanja stanovništva. Putem organizovanih konferencija i edukacije, najprije stručnih medicinskih i zdravstvenih nacionalnih timova, pa potom uspostave njihove mreže unutar država i otvaranja narodnih zdravstvenih škola unapređivala se svijest o potrebi sistematskog timskog djelovanja. Rokfelerova fondacija bila je idejna i finansijska potpora brojnim programima humanih namjera i ciljeva.

U tom smislu, zakonodavstvo u Kraljevini, a koje se odnosi na zaštitu zdravlja, vođeno međunarodnim zahtjevima, bilo je ne samo usmjereno ka praćenju zadatih ciljeva, nego je bilo oblikovano i idejom da država nije samo nadređena instanca, nego i socijalna i kulturna zajednica. Od sticanja političkog prava i mogućnosti učešća u javnom životu svakog pojedinca, do prava na zaštitu ličnosti, jednom riječju građanskih prava podrazumijevala su se i određena socijalna prava – socijalna i zdravstvena zaštita. Time se zvanično napuštala koncepcija zaštite određenih staleških društvenih gupa i uvodila individualna zdravstvena prevencija.

Organizaciono, Ministarstvo narodnog zdravlja formirano decembra 1918. godine trebalo da temeljno organizuje cjelokupnu sanitetsku službu, sprovede široko higijensko prosvjeđivanje i radi na suzbijanju već ukorijenjenih bolesti. Ono postaje krovna, odgovorna instanca koja rukovodi preko svojih odjeljenja (Odjela za građanski sanitet, Odjela za vojni sanitet, Odjela za rasnu, javnu i socijalnu higijenu, te Ljekarničkog odjela) svim djelatnostima vezanim za zdravlje stanovništva, a Zdravstveni odsjek Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu je bio nadležan sprovoditi ih u skladu sa naredbama, nadgledati njihovo sprovođenje, pratiti rad zdravstvene službe, posredovati u radu inspektorata, higijenskih zavoda u Sarajevu i Banja Luci, savjetovališta, pratiti rad zdravstvenih ustanova, bakterioloških stanica i drugih organizacionih jedinica. Društvo ljekara Bosne i Hercegovine je sa svoje strane nudilo podršku, ali donosilo odluke u pogledu unapređenja zdravstvenog prosvjetiteljskog rada, kao i svojim staleškim pitanjima. Između sebe birali su odbornike, predstavnike Bosne i Hercegovine za *Ljekarsko društvo* Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije i za *Sanitetski savjet* KSHS/J. Proklamovana ideologija socijalno-medicinskog rada bez tradicije sastojala se u stavu da je važnije edukovanje naroda, njegovo razumijevanje značaja higijensko-zdravstvenih navika i postupaka, njegovanje narodnog zdravlja i rad na njegovom unapređenju, da je to zajednička akcija ljekara, ali i čitavog društva, da ne smije biti socijalnih razlika u pristupu pacijentu, te da je potrebno stvoriti zdravstvenu organizaciju u kojoj će ljekar tražiti bolesnika, a ne obratno.

Ipak, značajno je pomenuti, da je ministarstvo bilo skromno budžetirano, pa je čak najprije kraljevom uredbom bilo je ukinuto Ministarstvo narodnog zdravlja 1929. godine, da bi potom dvije

službe, socijalna i zdravstvena, bile ujedinjene jednim ministarstvom u Ministarstvo socijalne politike i narodnog zdravlja u vladi 30. septembra 1931. godine, u momentu kada se slijedom nepodnošljivih političkih prilika nastojala ojačati država i njena kontrola nad svim institucijama u državi. Zadatak je bio i usklađivanje rada spajanjem rezultata civilnog i vojnog saniteta, svih njihovih ustanova i zavoda. Ministarstvu je u tom poslu trebala pomoći *Centralna sanitetska uprava* i osnovani *Sanitetski savjet*, sa članovima iz svih zemalja novostvorene države (iz Bosne i Hercegovine 3 člana), kao stručno savjetodavno tijelo, koje će djelovati putem svojih zdravstvenih odsjeka u pokrajinskim centrima. Na nižem nivou upute su provodila odjeljenja pri banskim upravama od 1929. godine.

Jedan od načina za unaprijeđenje zdravstvene zaštite bio je *Glasnik Ministarstva zdravlja*, koji na svojim stranicama donosio tekstove dobivene putem međunarodne saradnje i na taj način su i bosanskohercegovački zdravstveni i socijalni radnici bili upoznati sa mnogim savremenim tokovima i metodama rada, te zahtjevima međunarodne zajednice, donesenim na kongresima zdravstvenih radnika.

Uprkos mnogobrojnih raspisa Ministarstva zdravlja, zakona, poput zakona o suzbijanju zaraznih bolesti ili zakona o zdravstvenim opštinama ili zdravstvenim zadrugama, pravilnika, podizanja domova narodnog zdravlja, ambulanti i zdravstvenih stanica, narodnih kupatila, rezolucija sa kongresa jugoslovenskih ljekara, te napora nedovoljnog broja medicinskih radnika u nedovoljnom broju zdravstvenih institucija, pri tome, često bez osnovnih uslova za rad, sanitetskog materijala i lijekova, a na terenu u vidu pregleda, vakcinisanja, brojnih predavanja, podijeljenih letaka, organizovanih projekcija edukativnih filmova, brojnih mjera asanacije dominantnih seoskih zajednica (gradnja higijenskih bunara, vodovoda), organizovanja domaćičkih kurseva sa higijensko-zdravstvenom podukom, stanje na terenu je i dalje bilo ispod zadovoljavajućeg. Da bi došao do doktora, u pojedinim krajevima Bosne i Hercegovine je pacijentu trebalo i do 50 kilometara jahanja na konju ili vožnje u otvorenim zaprežnim kolima, tako da nije ni čudo što su po zvaničnoj statistici u Kraljevini najkraće živjeli Bosanci.

Mada je stvorena struktura i organizacija imala dobar potencijal, izostala je prvenstveno materijalna podrška. Hijerarhijska i

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sistematski uspostavljena zdravstvena mreža sa pojedincima potpune administrativne, pravne i etičke odgovornosti, sa nominalnim i proklamovanim oslanjanjem na vrijednost ljudskog života i zajedničkim, udruženim djelovanjem u evropskom i svjetskom sistemu zaštite ljudskog zdravlja, sa uspostavljenom konkretizacijom odgovornosti izabраниh, stručnih, izgubila je bitku sa etikom humanosti na nivou društva, u kome su se politike iscrpljivale na račun vrijednosti ljudskog života, i zdravstvenog statusa vlastitog stanovništva.

Drugi svjetski rat prekinuo je ovaj postepeni uzlazni proces zdravstveno-higijenske zaštite stanovništva i njegovog prosvjećivanja, da bi u novom društvenom okviru ono dobilo polet i postiglo modernizaciju koja se približila evropskim uzorima.



# JURAJ DRAGIŠIĆ: DEFENDER OF REFUGEES AND EXILES

Mile Babić

In this paper, I will present the Bosnian Franciscan Juraj Dragišić (1444–1520), a refugee and exile from Bosnia who spent his whole life steadfastly and fearlessly defending other refugees and exiles. He defended Cardinal Bessarion, the Jews settled in Florence, Jewish books (actually, another defender of their books, the renowned German humanist and Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (a very learned Renaissance philosopher suspected of heresy) and Girolamo Savonarola (a great reformer of the Catholic Church, also accused of heresy). From Dragišić's support of refugees and exiles, I draw the conclusion that he was a supreme Christian humanist whose entire life was informed by the fundamental evangelical principle formulated by Jesus Christ: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." (Mt 25, 40) This sentence expresses the pinnacle of Christian humanism. Before concentrating on this point, it is worth presenting Dragišić's life and works.

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The Bosnian Franciscan Juraj Dragišić<sup>1</sup> was born in 1445 in Srebrenica (Lat. Argentina). The monastery in Srebrenica

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1 Dragišić signed his works in Latin variously as: Georgius Benignus de Salviatis, Georgius de Argentina, Georgius Benignus de Felicis, Georgius Grecus de Bosnia, Georgius Macedonus [Juraj Dobročudni de Salviatis]. He had been given the nickname "the Benign" (Benignus) by Cardinal Bessarion. He was admitted to the noble Salviati family of Florence in 1485, adding "de Salviati" to his name. "Georgius de Argentina" means

belonged to the Usora custody of the Bosnian Vicariate.<sup>2</sup> After the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, Dragišić fled Srebrenica in 1462, first to Jajce, and then to Zadar. From Zadar, the Franciscan Vicar General at the time Marco Fantucci took two gifted students with him from Bosnia to Italy: Juraj Dragišić, by then a deacon, and Ivan of Jezero by Jajce, a subdeacon. Dragišić continued his theological studies in Italy, first in Ferrara and then in Pavia, Padua and Bologna. He was ordained priest at Bologna Cathedral in 1469. After ordination, he went to Rome, where he transferred from the order of the Friars Observant to become a Friar Conventual which provided him with better conditions for his scholarly work. This is when Dragišić came into contact with Greek theologians and philosophers who, like him, had fled Ottoman invasion. The renowned intellectual Basilios Bessarion, made a cardinal in 1439 and a protector of the Franciscan Order, would play a decisive role in Dragišić's intellectual development. When the Greek emigrant and Aristotelian George of Trebizond launched a scathing attack on Bessarion's work, *In calumniatorem Platonis* [Against the Slanderer of Plato], Dragišić wrote a defence of Cardinal Bessarion entitled *Defensorium cardinalis Bessarionis* [In Defence of Cardinal Bessarion]. Grateful for the defence, Bessarion gave Dragišić the nickname *Benignus* [the Benign], and it was probably on Bessarion's recommendation that Dragišić became professor in Urbino in 1472, where he remained for the next eight years. From there, Dragišić departed to pursue his theological and philosophical studies in Paris and at

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George from Srebrenica; "Georgius Benignus de Felicis" means George the Benign of the Felici family (in Urbino, he became a member of the prominent Felici family which is what "de Felicis" means); "Georgius Grecus de Bosnia" means George the Greek from Bosnia; by adopting the Greek as part of his name, he demonstrated his fellow feeling for Greek Christians from the collapsed Byzantine Empire. For this reason, he took the name "Georgius Macedonus" or George of Macedonia.

- 2 In the Franciscan Order, a custody or *custodia* is the level below a vicariate, which is in turn below a province. The Franciscans arrived in Bosnia in 1291, but the Vicariate of Bosnia was only established in 1339/40. (The first vicar general was Peregrinus of Saxony.) The Ottoman conquest of Bosnia caused a division of the Vicariate of Bosnia in 1514 into Silver Bosnia/Bosna Srebrena [Bosna Argentina] (under Ottoman occupation) and Croatian Bosnia/Bosna Hrvatska [Bosna Croatia] (in unoccupied territory). In 1517, both vicariates were elevated to provinces (in the tradition of Bosnian Franciscans known as a "redodržava").

Oxford. He returned to Florence in 1482. That same year, he visited the Holy Land and brought back a relic (the left hand of John the Baptist) intended for Florence, whose patron saint John the Baptist was. On his return from the Holy Land, he stopped in Dubrovnik, where, struck by illness, he gave the relic for safe-keeping to two citizens of the town (Nikola Bunić and Paškal Vučetić). When he recovered, they did not return the relic, setting off an international dispute involving Pope Innocent VIII, Sultan Bayezid II, Florence and Dubrovnik. The dispute was resolved, but the relic remained in Dubrovnik. Dragišić went back to Dubrovnik again in 1491 in an effort to reach agreement on it.

In Florence, Dragišić became a regent of the university and in 1488 published a work, the *Dialectica nova*, dedicated to Cardinal Giovanni, later Pope Leo X, and his brother Pietro (known as Piero), with whom he maintained a friendship. It was to Pietro that he wrote a letter dated 9 January 1493, asking him to protect the Jews. Through the Medici family, he met the most learned and educated people of the age (Marsilio Ficino, head of the Platonic Academy, and della Mirandola, whom he defended). Dragišić then became provincial of the Province of Tuscany. Pietro de Medici wanted Dragišić to be reappointed as provincial and later become general superior of the Order, but was unsuccessful. Due to a conflict with the general superior of the Order, Dragišić lost his active and passive voting rights and left to teach in Pisa. When his friend Pietro was removed from power, Dragišić was taken to prison, where he was kept for eleven days. That is why, in 1496, he returned to Dubrovnik (before which he visited his homeland of Bosnia). In Dubrovnik, he became renowned for his preaching at the cathedral and was a tutor of young Dubrovnik nobles. In Dubrovnik, he wrote his defence of Savonarola, the *Profeticae solutiones* [Prophetic Solutions], printed in 1497 in Florence.

In 1500, after the death of his adversary, the Minister-General of the Order, Francesco Sansone, he returned to Italy. He participated in a chapter of the Order held in 1500, and in 1503 became governor of the university in Rome. In 1507, Pope Julius II appointed him Bishop of Cagli. In 1512, the same pope made him Archbishop of Nazareth in Apulian exile in Barletta. He took part in the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517), to which he contributed a proposal to reform the Julian calendar. Elisabeth von

Erdmann-Pandžić has published Dragišić's proposal and proved that the 1581 reform of the calendar effectively adopted its main elements.<sup>3</sup> Dragišić died in 1520 in either Barletta or Rome.

### In Defence of Cardinal Bessarion

Dragišić supported Greek Christians fleeing from or persecuted by the Ottoman authorities. We should remember that when Constantinople ("the second Rome" and centre of the Byzantine Empire) fell to the Ottomans in 1453 it was a traumatic event for Western Christians as well. Basilios Bessarion (a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church since 1439) was also a refugee and exile from Constantinople and one of the most learned individuals of the age, who wanted to establish peace between eastern (Greek) and western (Latin) Christians.<sup>4</sup> He was a friend of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), another true advocate of unity between mutually excommunicated Christians. After the fall of Constantinople, Nicholas of Cusa wrote the *De pace fidei* [On the Peace of Faith]<sup>5</sup> advocating peace among all religions, because religions exist for faith and should be in its service. Faith is man's salvation, and human life can thrive only in faith (trust, love and hope), which is to say, in love of God and love of one's neighbour.

Cardinal Bessarion took part in the ecumenical council in Ferrara/Florence in 1438/39. He was an intermediary between Eastern and Western Christians, but also among philosophical schools, especially the Platonists and the Aristotelians. He was an outstanding philosopher, theologian, philologist, humanist, translator, ecclesiastical politician, diplomat, orator, and publicist. He was twice nominated to be bishop of Rome (pope) and had an extensive library, which he bequeathed to Venice. He was also the titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. His teacher had been

3 Cf. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Ein Vorschlag von Juraj Dragišić zur Kalenderreform aus dem Jahre 1514: Sein Engagement während des V. Lateranums", *Regiones paeninsulae Balcanicae et proximi Orientis: Aspekte der Geschichte und Kultur. Festschrift für Basilius S. Pandžić* [Quellen und Beiträge zur kroatischen Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 2], hrsg. von Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, Bamberg 1988, p. 285–299, 300–308.

4 Cf. URL: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/bessarion>.

5 Cf. Mile Babić, "O miru među religijama Nikole Kuzanskog", Nikola Kuzanski, *O miru među religijama*, translated from the Latin by Mile Babić, Sarajevo: Connectum, 2005, p. 187–294.

the renowned Neoplatonist philosopher Pletho (Georgios Gemistos Plethon). The Aristotelian George of Trebizond, also a refugee exiled from Byzantium but writing in Latin in Italy, wrote a polemic in the 1450s entitled the *Comparatio philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis* [Comparison of the Philosophers Plato and Aristotle] in which he blamed Platonism for all manner of misfortunes, including the weakening of Eastern Christianity and the consequent demise of the Byzantine Empire. He claimed that if Platonism were to spread, the West would suffer the same fate as Constantinople. Cardinal Bessarion penned a comprehensive response, the *In calumniatorem Platonis* [Against the Slanderer of Plato], which he then repeatedly revised and finally printed in 1469, and in which he develops Plato's thought without defending Platonism or disparaging Aristotelianism. More precisely, Cardinal Bessarion wrote a treatise, the *De natura et arte* [On Nature and Art], in Greek in 1458, which he later published in Latin, after multiple revisions, as *Against the Slanderer of Plato*.<sup>6</sup>

Dragišić claimed that his text, *In Defence of Cardinal Bessarion*, was lost in England. It is safe to assume, however, that Dragišić successfully defended Bessarion's position, because both he and Bessarion argued in favour of Christian unity and the renewal of Christianity. They were convinced that by returning Christianity to its sources, i.e. the authoritative form of Christian life (modelled after the life of Jesus and his disciples), Christian unity would be restored and Christianity itself renewed. Both stressed the positive aspects of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophies and both were men of dialogue rather than mutual exclusion. According to Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, no one at the time dared stand up publicly for Bessarion except the determined and brave Juraj Dragišić.<sup>7</sup>

## Defence of Jews and Johannes Reuchlin

Dragišić supported not just Bessarion but also the Jews, whose persecution was reflected, among other things, in the imposition of high taxes. Dragišić wrote a letter to Pietro de' Medici on 9 January 1493, saying: "These Jews have sought my

6 Cf. URL: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki-Bessarion>.

7 Cf. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Juraj Dragišić (1445–1520) i Židovi", *Encyclopaedia Moderna* 13 (1992) 3/39, p. 446.

help and I cannot withhold it [...] I truly sympathise with them.”<sup>8</sup> He had deep sympathy for the Jews, upon whom the Florentine authorities imposed high taxes, exploiting them and threatening their livelihoods.

During the controversy against the German humanist and Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin, who had opposed the burning of Jewish books in his pamphlet the *Augenspiegel* [Eyeglasses], Juraj Dragišić published a highly appropriate defence, the *Defensio praestantissimi viri Ioannis Reuchlin* [Defence of the excellent Johannes Reuchlin] in 1517, dedicating it to the Emperor Maximilian. In his writing, Dragišić outlines and develops Reuchlin’s strongest arguments. He says, for example, that Reuchlin relied on the Holy Scriptures to demonstrate that Jewish books should not be destroyed, because Jesus wanted Christians to study the Holy Scriptures (Cf. Jn 5, 39). Namely, in the parable of the wheat and tares (Cf. Mt 13, 24–30), Jesus said to leave the tares until harvest, i.e. the Jewish books until the end of the world, while St Paul says: “For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you” (1 Cor 11, 19). The great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam would also agree with Dragišić.

In order to understand the extent of Dragišić’s uncompromising commitment and fearlessness in defending the Jews and Reuchlin, we must take a closer look at the historical context. Namely, the so-called *Reconquista* (retaking territories lost in war) in 1492 actually meant the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. The Spanish royal couple Isabella and Ferdinand ordered all Jews to leave Spain or convert to Christianity. Spain’s example was followed by some other European countries, including Italy. The Jews fled to the Ottoman Empire, because Sultan Bayezid II welcomed them. This is how they reached Sarajevo and Bosnia, which was part of the Ottoman Empire by this time. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić points out that the year 1500 was significant, because at the end of the 15th century many Christians had expected the end of the world and the conversion of Israel (Cf. Rom 11, 25–27), but the Jews had not converted that year, which incensed their persecutors.<sup>9</sup> It is important to note that Reuchlin believed, and Dragišić concurred,

8 *Ibid.* p. 447.

9 *Ibid.*

that conversions should not be forced and that all people are equal and accountable to God. These arguments show that Reuchlin and Dragišić continued the tradition of dialogue so well exemplified by Nicholas of Cusa and Ramon Llull (Lat. Raimundus Lullus), the famous Catalan writer and originator of Catalan prose and poetry, a philosopher, theologian and mystic (he was called *doctor illuminatus* [the enlightened doctor]). Both Reuchlin and Dragišić point out the importance of learning foreign languages, of mysticism, and of the fact that unity and diversity are not mutually exclusive but mutually dependant. Dragišić's support was important to Reuchlin, because Dragišić enjoyed the esteem of Pope Leo X, who allowed the Talmud to be published in its entirety for the first time.

### Defence of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola

The high regard Dragišić was held in by the Medici family is clear from Lorenzo il Magnifico (Piero's father) encouragement to him to defend one of the greatest philosophers of the time, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, second in importance only to Marsilio Ficino, who led the Platonic Academy in Florence. Ficino too considered Dragišić an excellent thinker and his confidence in him and his philosophical argumentation led him to refer to the Bosnian with the possessive "my": "You know my Giorgio Benigno Salviati."<sup>10</sup> Pico della Mirandola had been accused over certain of his theses, precisely because of his attitude towards Christian mysticism, but Dragišić defended him successfully, even though Mirandola's linking of Jewish and Christian mysticism seemed highly suspect to exclusivist Christians.

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10 Erna Banić-Pajnić, "Juraj Dragišić (c. 1445–1520) – život i djela", *Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus). Život i djela*, Ed. Erna Banić-Pajnić, Bruno Ćurko, Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, Ivica Martinović, Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2016, p. 11. I note with pleasure that this collection contains not just valuable works on Dragišić, but also some of his writings in two languages (in the Latin original and in Croatian translation), as well as a well curated bibliography. The following writings of Dragišić were translated: *Fridericus, De animae regni principe; Propheticae Solutiones; Defensio optimi ac integerrimi viri illius Joannis Reuchlin*; the ninth volume of *De natura angelica* whose full title reads *De natura coelestium spirituum quos angelos vocamus*.



## Defence of Girolamo Savonarola

Dragišić wrote a defence of Girolamo Savonarola while in Dubrovnik, which he entitled the *Propheticae Solutiones* [Prophetic Solutions]. It was published in Florence in 1497. In it, he shows that Savonarola's prophecies are compatible with Holy Scripture and that the renewal of the Church advocated by Savonarola begins by going back to the Holy Scriptures, i.e. the source of Christianity (*reditus ad fontes*). Like Savonarola, Dragišić was convinced that Christians could only be reunited and Christianity restored by returning to the Gospels, the authoritative account of the life of Jesus and his disciples. In his treatise, Dragišić talks about the relationship between divine omniscience and the future of humanity, i.e. the relationship between God's foreknowledge and human freedom,<sup>11</sup> and he refers to the understanding of this relationship of Duns Scotus, one of the greatest Franciscan thinkers, known as *doctor subtilis* [the subtle doctor]. Present throughout Dragišić's treatise is hope vested in the arrival of God's kingdom on Earth, or what was at that time conceived of as the realisation of God's earthly thousand-year kingdom (chiliasm).

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From the above, I draw the conclusion that Juraj Dragišić, a refugee and exile from late medieval Bosnia, steadfastly and fearlessly protected refugees and exiles throughout his world. He had learned from his own experience to cherish freedom as a fundamental value of human life and developed this idea in all his works, following in the footsteps of that greatest of Franciscan scholars, John Duns Scotus. He was carried along by a longing for Christian unity and the restoration of Christianity, to be achieved by going back to the fundamental principle of Christianity – Jesus Christ. That is why Dragišić spent his life in accordance with Jesus' message: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

11 Cf. Aleksandra Golubović, "Problem sveznanja i slobodne volje u Proročanskim rješenjima Jurja Dragišića", *Eidos* 3 (2019) 3, p. 5–18.



# JURAJ DRAGIŠIĆ: BRANITELJ IZBJEGLICA I PROGONJENIH

Mile Babić

U ovom radu želim izložiti kako je bosanski franjevac Juraj Dragišić (1444–1520), izbjeglica i prognanik iz Bosne, za vrijeme svoga cijeloga života branio izbjegle i progone, a to je činio odlučno i neustrašivo. Branio je kardinala Bessariona, Židove koji su doseljavali u Firencu, židovske knjige (zapravo, branitelja njihovih knjiga, glasovitoga njemačkog humanista i hebraista Johannes Reuchlina), Giovannija Pica della Mirandolu (jednoga od najučenijih renesansnih filozofa i osumnjičenika za herezu) i Girolama Savonarolu (velikoga reformatora Katoličke Crkve, koji je također bio optužen za herezu). Iz Dragišićeva angažmana za izbjegle i progone zaključujem da je on bio vrhunski kršćanski humanist, čiji je sav život ispunjen temeljnim evanđeoskim principom što ga je formulirao Isus Krist: “Zaista, kažem vam, što god učinite jednom od ove moje najmanje braće, meni učiniste!” (Mt 25, 40) A upravo se ovom rečenicom izražava vrhunac kršćanskoga humanizma. Prije pristupa temi valja sažeto predstaviti Dragišićev život i njegovo djelovanje.

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Bosanski franjevac Juraj Dragišić<sup>1</sup> rođen je 1445. u Srebrenici (lat. Argentina); njegov srebrenički (matični) samostan pripadao

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1 Svoja je djela na latinskome Dragišić potpisivao različito: Georgius Benignus de Salviatis, Georgius de Argentina, Georgius Benignus de Felicis, Georgius Grecus de Bosnia, Georgius Macedonus [Juraj Dobročudni de Salviatis]. Nadimak “Dobročudni” (Benignus) dobio je od kardinala Bessariona. U Firenci je 1485. primljen u plemićku obitelj Salviati, pa “de Salviati” otada pripada njegovu imenu. “Georgius de Argentina” znači Juraj iz Srebrenice; “Georgius Benignus de Felicis” znači Juraj Dobročudni

je Usorskoj kustodiji Bosanske vikarije.<sup>2</sup> Nakon osmanskoga osvojenja Bosne, Dragišić bježi iz Srebrenice 1462. u Jajce, a iz Jajca u Zadar. Tadašnji generalni vikar Franjevačkoga reda Marco Fantucci poveo je sa sobom iz Zadra dvojicu nadarenih studenata iz Bosne u Italiju: Jurja Dragišića, tadašnjega đakona, i Ivana iz Jezera kod Jajca, subđakona. U Italiji Dragišić nastavlja teološki studij u Ferrari, a zatim u Paviji, Padovi i Bologni. Za svećenika je zaređen u bolonjskoj katedrali 1469. Nakon ređenja odlazi u Rim i prestaje biti franjevac opservant, a postaje franjevac konventualac, jer su mu konventualci pružili bolje uvjete za znanstveni rad. Tada Dragišić dolazi u kontakt s grčkim teolozima i filozofima, koji su, poput njega, pobjegli pred osmanskim invazijom. Glasoviti intelektualac Bazilije Bessarion, koji je imenovan kardinalom g. 1439. i koji je bio protektor Franjevačkoga reda, imat će presudnu ulogu u Dragišićevu intelektualnom razvoju. Kad je grčki emigrant aristotelovac Goergij iz Trapezunta žestoko napao Bessarionovo djelo *In calumniatorem Platonis* [Protiv Platonova klevetnika], Dragišić je napisao obranu kardinala Bessariona pod naslovom *Defensorium cardinalis Bessarionis* [Obrana kardinala Bessariona]. U znak zahvalnosti na njegovoj obrani Bessarion je Dragišiću dao nadimak *Benignus* [Dobročudni], a vjerojatno zahvaljujući Bessarionovoj preporuci Dragišić postaje profesor u Urbinu g. 1472, gdje je proveo osam godina. Odatle Dragišić odlazi na teološko-filozofsko usavršavanje u Pariz i na Oxford. Vraća se u Firencu g. 1482; te je godine posjetio Svetu Zemlju i po povratku iz nje donio je sa sobom relikviju (lijevu ruku Ivana Krstitelja), namijenjenu Firenci, jer je Ivan Krstitelj bio patron Firence. Nakon povratka iz Svete Zemlje

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de Felicis (u Urbinu postao je članom ugledne obitelji Felici i odatle, po talijanskome, dolazi "de Felicis"); "Georgius Grecus de Bosnia" znači Juraj Grk iz Bosne; uzimanjem imena Grk pokazao je svoju veliku empatiju prema grčkim kršćanima iz propaloga Bizantskoga Carstva. Iz istoga je razloga uzeo ime "Georgius Macedonus", što znači Juraj Makedonac/Makedonski.

- 2 Unutar Franjevačkoga reda kustodija je instancija nižega ranga od vikarije, a vikarija je instancija nižega ranga od provincije. Franjevci su u Bosnu stigli g. 1291, a Bosanska je vikarija uspostavljena 1339/40. (Prvi vikar bio je fra Peregrin Saksonac.) Podjela Bosanske vikarije bila je uvjetovana osmanskim osvojenjem Bosne. Bosanska vikarija podijeljena je 1514. na Bosnu Srebrenu (koja se nalazila pod osmanskim okupacijom) i Bosnu Hrvatsku (na slobodnom području). Obje su vikarije 1517. uzdignute na rang provincije (u bosansko-franjevačkoj tradiciji poznate pod nazivom "redodržava").

navraća u Dubrovnik, gdje naglo obolijeva, a relikviju povjerava na čuvanje dvojici Dubrovčana (Nikoli Buniću i Paškalu Vučetiću). Međutim, kad je ozdravio, oni mu relikviju nisu vratili. Oko toga je izbio međunarodni spor, u kojem su sudjelovali papa Inocent VIII, sultan Bajazit II, Firenca i Dubrovnik. Na kraju je sve dobro završilo, ali je relikvija ostala u Dubrovniku. Radi postizanja dogovora o relikviji, Dragišić je drugi put posjetio Dubrovnik 1491.

U Firenci Dragišić je postao regens tamošnjega učilišta, a 1488. objavljuje djelo *Dialectica nova*, koje posvećuje kardinalu Giovanniju, kasnije papi Leonu X, i njegovu bratu Pietru (zvanome Piero), s kojim je bio u prijateljskim odnosima. Upravo Pietru upućuje pismo 9. siječnja 1493. u kojem ga moli da zaštiti Židove. Družeći se s obitelji Medici, upoznao je najučenije i najobrazovanije ljude svoga doba (Marcilija Ficina, voditelja platonске akademija, i della Mirandolu, kojega je branio). Zatim je Dragišić postao provincijal toskanske Provincije. Piero de Medici htio je da Dragišić po drugi put postane provincijal, a kasnije i general Reda, ali u tome nije uspio. Zbog sukoba s generalom Reda, Dragišić je izgubio aktivno i pasivno pravo glasa te je nakon toga počeo predavati u Pisi. Kad je njegov prijatelj Pietro svrgnut s vlasti, Dragišić je završio u zatvoru i ondje ostao jedanaest dana. Zato se g. 1496. vraća u Dubrovnik (a prije dolaska u Dubrovnik posjetio je svoju domovinu Bosnu). U Dubrovniku je postao glasovit propovjednik u katedrali i učitelj mladih dubrovačkih plemića. U Dubrovniku piše i svoju obranu Savonarole pod naslovom *Profeticae solutiones* [Proročka rješenja], koja je tiskana 1497. u Firenci.

G. 1500. vraća se u Italiju, jer je umro njegov protivnik, general Reda Francesco Sansone. Sudjeluje na kapitulu Reda 1500, a 1503. upravlja učilištem u Rimu. G. 1507. papa Julije II. imenuje ga biskupom grada Cagli. Taj ga je papa 1512. imenovao naslovnim nadbiskupom nazaretskim sa sjedištem pokraj grada Barleta. Sudjelovao je na Petom lateranskom koncilu (1512–1517), na koji je uputio svoj prijedlog za reformu julijanskoga kalendara. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić objavila je Dragišićev prijedlog i dokazala da je reformom kalendara 1581. zapravo usvojen Dragišićev saborski prijedlog u najvažnijim crtama.<sup>3</sup> Dragišić je preminuo 1520. u Barleti ili u Rimu.

3 Usp. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, "Ein Vorschlag von Juraj Dragišić zur Kalenderreform aus dem Jahre 1514: Sein Engagement während des V.

## Obrana kardinala Bessariona

Dragišić se zauzimao za grčke kršćane koji su bježali ili bili progonjeni od osmanske vlasti. Treba imati na umu da je Carigrad (“drugi Rim”, centar Bizantskoga Carstva) pao pod osmansku vlast g. 1453. Taj je događaj izazvao traumu kod zapadnih kršćana. Bazilije Bessarion (od 1439. kardinal Svete Rimske Crkve) također je bio izbjeglica i prognanik iz Carigrada te jedan od najučeniji ljudi toga doba, koji je želio uspostaviti mir između istočnih (grčkih) i zapadnih (latinskih) kršćana.<sup>4</sup> Bio je prijatelj Nikole Kuzanskoga (1401–1464), koji se također istinski zauzimao za uspostavu jedinstva među uzajamno izopćenim kršćanima. Nakon pada Carigrada, Kuzanski je napisao djelo *De pace fidei* [O miru među religijama],<sup>5</sup> u kojem se zauzima za mir među svim religijama, jer religije postoje radi vjere i trebaju služiti vjeri. Naime, vjera spašava čovjeka, a ljudski život može uspjeti samo u vjeri (povjerenju, ljubavi i nadi), drukčije rečeno, u ljubavi prema Bogu i u ljubavi prema bližnjemu.

Kardinal Bessarion sudjeluje na saboru sjedinjenja kršćana 1438/39. u Ferrari/Firenci. On je posrednik između istočnih i zapadnih kršćana, ali i između sukobljenih filozofskih škola, osobito između platonista i aristotelovaca. Bio je izvrstan filozof, teolog, filolog, humanist, prevoditelj, crkveni političar, diplomat, govornik, publicist. Dvaput je bio kandidat za rimskoga biskupa (papu); posjedovao je golemu biblioteku, koju je poklonio Veneciji. Osim toga, bio je naslovni latinski patrijarh Carigrada. Njegov je učitelj bio glasoviti neoplatonski filozof Pleton (Georgios Gemistos Plethon). Aristotelovac Georgij iz Trapezunta, također izbjeglica i prognanik iz Bizanta, koji je u Italiji pisao latinskim jezikom, napisao je 1450-ih godina polemički spis *Comparatio philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis* [Usporedba filozofa Platona i Aristotela], u kojem je platonizam okrivio za

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Lateranums”, *Regiones paeninsulae Balcanicae et proximi Orientis: Aspekte der Geschichte und Kultur. Festschrift für Basilius S. Pandžić* [Quellen und Beiträge zur kroatischen Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 2], hrsg. von Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, Bamberg 1988, str. 285–299, 300–308.

4 Usp. URL: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki-bessarion>.

5 Usp. Mile Babić, “O miru među religijama Nikole Kuzanskog”, Nikola Kuzanski, *O miru među religijama*, s latinskoga preveo Mile Babić, Sarajevo: Connectum, 2005, str. 187–294.

sve moguće nevolje, uz ostalo, za slabljenje istočnoga kršćanstva, a time i za propast Bizantskoga Carstva. Tvrdio je: bude li se platonizam proširio, i Zapad će doživjeti istu propast kao i Carigrad. Kardinal Bessarion obuhvatno je odgovorio na njegov spis pod naslovom *In calumniatorem Platonis* [Protiv Platonova klevetnika], koji je višekratno prerađivao i tiskao ga 1469, u kojem dalje razvija Platonovu misao, ne braneći pritom platonizam niti obezvređujući aristotelizam. Kardinal Bessarion zapravo je 1458. napisao raspravu *De natura et arte* [O prirodi i umjetnosti] na grčkome, a spis je nakon više prerada objavio na latinsko-me pod naslovom *Protiv Platonova klevetnika*.<sup>6</sup>

Sam pak Dragišić navodi da je njegov spis *Obrana kardinala Besariona* izgubljen u Engleskoj. Po svemu sudeći, Dragišić je uspješno obranio i dao za pravo Bessarionu, jer se i on i Bessarion zauzimaju za jedinstvo kršćana i za obnovu kršćanstva. Uvjereni su da se vraćanjem kršćanskim izvorima, tj. mjerodavnoj formi kršćanskoga života (a to je forma života Isusa i njegovih učenika), dolazi do obnove jedinstva kršćana i do obnove kršćanstva. Obojica pokazuju dobre strane Platonove i Aristotelove filozofije i obojica su ljudi dijaloga, a ne uzajamne isključivosti. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić tvrdi da se tada nitko nije usudio javno braniti Bessariona, a upravo je to odlučno i hrabro učinio Juraj Dragišić.<sup>7</sup>

## Obrana Židovā i Johannesesa Reuchlina

Svoju dobrohotnost Dragišić je pokazao ne samo prema Bessarionu, nego i prema Židovima koji su upravo tada bili progonjeni, uz ostalo, i nametanjem velikih poreza. Tada je Dragišić uputio pismo Pietru Mediciju 9. siječnja 1493, u kojem stoji: “Ovi su me Židovi molili, i ja ne mogu, a da im ne pomognem [...] S njima uistinu suosjećam.”<sup>8</sup> Imao je, dakle, duboku empatiju prema Židovima, kojima je firentinska vlast nametala velike poreze te ih tako izrabljivala i životno ugrožavala.

Kad se vodio spor protiv njemačkoga humanista i hebraista Johannesesa Reuchlina, koji se u svom djelu *Augenspiegel* [Zrcalo

6 Usp. URL: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki-Bessarion>.

7 Usp. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić, “Juraj Dragišić (1445–1520) i Židovi”, *Encyclopaedia Moderna* 13 (1992) 3/39, str. 446.

8 *Ibid.*, str. 447.

očiju] protivio spaljivanju židovskih knjiga, branio ga je Juraj Dragišić na najbolji način u svome spisu pod naslovom *Defensio praestantissimi viri Ioannis Reuchlin* [Obrana najizvrsnijega muža Johannesesa Reuchlina] objavljenom 1517. i posvećenom caru Maksimilijanu I. U tom spisu Dragišić ističe i razrađuje Reuchlinove najčvršće argumente. Tako kaže da je Reuchlin na temelju Svetoga Pisma dokazao da ne treba uništiti židovske knjige, jer je Isus htio da kršćani istražuju Sveto Pismo (usp. Iv 5, 39). Naime, Isus je u usporedbi o žitu i kukolju (usp. Mt 13, 24–30) rekao da treba ostaviti kukolj do žetve, tj. židovske knjige do kraja svijeta; zatim, sv. Pavao kaže: “Treba doista da i podjelā bude među vama da se očituju prokušani među vama” (1 Kor 11, 19). I veliki humanist Erazmo Rotterdamski u tom je smislu dao za pravo Dragišiću.

Da bismo uvidjeli u čemu se sastoji Dragišićeva beskompromisna odlučnost i neustrašivost u obrani Židovā i Reuchlina, potrebno je ukazati na povijesni kontekst. Naime, g. 1492. u Španjolskoj počinje tzv. rekonkvista (ponovno osvajanje u ratu izgubljenih područja), a zapravo progon muslimana i Židova s Iberijskoga poluotoka. Španjolski kraljevski par Izabela i Ferdinand naređuje da svi Židovi moraju napustiti Španjolsku ili postati kršćani. Primjer Španjolske slijedile su i neke druge europske zemlje, među kojima je bila i Italija. Židovi su bježali u Osmansko Carstvo, gdje ih je sultan Bajazit II rado primao. Tako su dospjeli do Sarajeva i cijele Bosne, koja je bila u sastavu Osmanskoga Carstva. Elisabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić ističe da je godina 1500. bila znakovita, jer su tada mnogi kršćani (krajem 14. stoljeća) očekivali kraj svijeta i obraćenje Izraela (usp. Rim 11, 25–27), ali Židovi se nisu te godine obratili, što je pojačalo bijes njihovih progonitelja.<sup>9</sup> Važno je reći da je Reuchlin, što Dragišić odobrava, smatrao da obraćenje ne smije biti prisilno te da su svi ljudi jednaki i odgovorni pred Bogom. Iz tih se argumenata vidi da Reuchlin i Dragišić nastavljaju tradiciju dijaloga koju su na osobit način zastupali Nikola Kuzanski i Katalonac Ramon Llul (lat. Raimundus Lullus), poznati katalonski pisac, tvorac katalonske proze i pjesništva, filozof, teolog i mistik (nazvan je *doctor illuminatus* [prosvijetljeni naučitelj]). I Reuchlin i Dragišić pokazuju važnost učenja stranih jezika, važnost misti-

9 *Ibid.*

ke te važnost činjenice da se jedinstvo i razlike ne isključuju, nego se uzajamno pretpostavljaju. Dragišićeva podrška Reuchlinu bila je veoma važna, jer je Dragišić uživao golem ugled u tadašnjega pape Leona X. Taj je papa dopustio da se prvi put Talmud objavi cjelovito.

### Obrana Giovannija Pica della Mirandole

Da je Dragišić uživao velik ugled u obitelji Medici vidi se po tome što je Lorenzo il Magnifico (Pierov otac) potaknuo Dragišića da brani jednoga od tadašnjih najvećih filozofa Giovannija Pica della Mirandolu, koji po svom značaju stoji odmah iza Marsilija Ficina, voditelja platonske akademije u Firenci. Ficino je smatrao Dragišića izvrsnim misliocem. Imao je u njega veliko povjerenje, kao i u njegovu filozofsku argumentaciju, pa ga stoga naziva “svojim”: “Poznajete mojega Jurja Dobročudnoga (Benigna) Salvijatija.”<sup>10</sup> Pico della Mirandola bio je osuđen zbog nekih svojih teza, i to upravo zbog stava prema kršćanskoj mistici. Dragišić ga je uspješno obranio, premda je Mirandolino povezivanje židovske i kršćanske mistike nekim isključivim kršćanima izgledalo veoma sumnjivo.

### Obrana Girolama Savonarole

Obranu Girolama Savonarole Dragišić je napisao boraveći u Dubrovniku pod naslovom *Proročka rješenja*, a objavljena je 1497. u Firenci. U toj obrani on dokazuje da su Savonaroline propovijedi u skladu sa Svetim Pismom te da obnova Katoličke Crkve koju zahtijeva Savonarola počinje upravo vraćanjem Svetom Pismu, tj. izvorima kršćanstva (*reditus ad fontes*). Dragić je, poput Savonarole, uvjeren da su sjedinjenje kršćana i obnova

10 Erna Banić-Pajnić, “Juraj Dragišić (c. 1445–1520) – život i djela”, *Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus). Život i djela*, ur. Erna Banić-Pajnić, Bruno Ćurko, Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, Ivica Martinović, Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju, 2016, str. 11. S radošću napominjem da se u ovom zborniku nalaze ne samo vrijedni radovi o Dragišiću, nego i neki njegovi spisi objavljeni bilingvalno (u latinskom izvorniku i u hrvatskom prijevodu) te dobro uređena bibliografija. Prevedeni su sljedeći Dragišićevi spisi: *Federik, o vladaru kraljevske duše*; *Proročka rješenja*; *Obrana izvrsnoga muža Johannesa Reuchlina*; deveta knjiga djela *O anđeoskoj naravi*, čiji potpun naslov glasi *O naravi nebeskih duhova koje nazivamo anđelima*.



kršćanstva mogući samo vraćanjem Evandjelju odnosno mjero-  
davnoj formi života Isusa i njegovih učenika. U toj obrani  
Dragišić govori o odnosu između Božjega sveznanja i budućnosti  
čovječanstva, tj. o odnosu između Božjega sveznanja i čovjekove  
slobode,<sup>11</sup> i to u skladu sa shvaćanjem toga odnosa u Ivana Duns  
Škota, najvećega franjevačkoga mislioca, nazvanoga *doctor  
subtilis* [oštroumni naučitelj]. U cijelom je Dragišićevu spisu pri-  
sutna nada u ostvarenje Božjega kraljevstva na Zemlji, zapravo u  
ondašnje ostvarenje tisućgodišnjega Božjega kraljevstva na ovo-  
me svijetu (hilijazam).

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Iz dosad izloženoga zaključujem da je Juraj Dragišić, izbjeg-  
lica i prognanik iz kasnosrednjovjekovne Bosne, odlučno i neu-  
strašivo štitio izbjeglice i progonjene diljem tadašnjega svijeta. On  
je iz vlastitoga iskustva naučio cijeniti slobodu kao temeljnu vri-  
jednost ljudskoga života, i tu je ideju razvijao u svim svojim djeli-  
ma slijedeći najvećega franjevačkog naučitelja Ivana Duns Škota.  
Nosila ga je čežnja za sjedinjenjem kršćana i za obnovom kršćan-  
stva, što se postiže vraćanjem temeljnom principu kršćanstva –  
Isusu Kristu. Zato je Dragišić proveo život u skladu s navedenom  
Isusovom porukom koja glasi: “Zaista, kažem vam, što god učini-  
ste jednom od ove moje najmanje braće, meni učiniste.”

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11 Usp. Aleksandra Golubović, “Problem sveznanja i slobodne volje u Proro-  
čanskim rješenjima Jurja Dragišića”, *Eidos* 3 (2019) 3, str. 5–18.



# IN QUARANTINE

**M. Ali Lakhani**

Lent has fallen this year at a time when the world is beset by a deadly pandemic and is forced into quarantine. The term ‘quarantine’ originated in medieval times when it was felt necessary to isolate those infected with contagion. Etymologically, it meant ‘a period of 40 days’ and came to be associated with both a period of seclusion and of healing. Lent traditionally lasts for 40 days (not counting the Sabbaths). It commences on Ash Wednesday (marking the beginning of Lenten austerity, when penitent man is mindful of his creaturehood, signified by ashes) and ends on Easter Sunday (marking for Christians the Resurrection – the promise that, as *Imago Dei*, man is destined to transcend the frailties of the human condition). It is a time of inwardness and humility, of repentance (for the sins of forgetfulness and excess) and purification. The 40 days period also evokes for Christians the time spent by Jesus in the wilderness after his baptism – a time of testing and the confirmation of faith – and the period between Resurrection and Ascension – denoting spiritual rebirth and sublimation.

For Jews, Pesach or Passover, which coincides with Lent (both are calculated by reference to the Paschal moon and coincide with the renewal of springtime) similarly recalls a time of trial and spiritual renewal. It refers to the story in the Book of Exodus when a series of severe plagues were brought down on the Egyptians, oppressors of the Israelites, whom God spared from the scourges by virtue of their faith. But on their release from bondage, many of the Israelites strayed from their faith and the community was cast into the wilderness for 40 years, a symbolic exilic period preceding their entry into the Promised Land. This episode, like many others in the scriptures (for example, the

40 days of the Flood, the 40 days of Noah's waiting for the waters to recede, and the period of Moses' sojourn on Mount Sinai), associates the significance of the number 40 with the divine testing of man, a period when man is offered the opportunity to cultivate the qualities required to gain entry into the divine sanctum.

The number 40 also denotes the symbolic age of spiritual maturity, when one reorients oneself from the mind to the Heart, from mundane concerns to inwardness. For example, in Judaism, the rabbinical student must be at least 40 before he is permitted to study Kabbalah. Significantly, the Prophet of Islam was the age of 40 when he received the first revelation from Archangel Gabriel – this, while being in a state of outer seclusion (denoted by the Cave<sup>1</sup> of Hira) and inner purification (denoted by Muhammad being *Ummi*, literally 'the unlettered one', understood esoterically as 'the pure one' who has returned to the primordial spiritual state of the Origin or womb of the 'mother', *Umm*, from which the term *Ummi* derives<sup>2</sup>).

In spiritual terms, therefore, the period of a quarantine is a time to turn away from the adornments and distractions of this world and to reflect on one's spiritual condition. It forces us to be 'out of the swing of the sea'<sup>3</sup>, to confront ourselves and take stock of our inner life and its relation to our everyday existence. In this sense, a quarantine serves the same purpose as a spiritual retreat (like a Sufi *khalwa* or the cenobitic or contemplative retreats in many faith traditions). And for Muslims, the period of the current quarantine significantly coincides with the three holiest months in the Islamic calendar, culminating in Ramadan, which are associated with inwardness and renewal.

From this vantage, one sees how, in the midst of the universal seclusion brought on by the current pandemic, a new awareness is dawning. The earth is beginning to heal. The signs are evident. Carbon emissions are declining. The forests are breathing

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1 For Muslims, the Cave also symbolizes the protective Sanctuary which preserved Muhammad and Abu Bakr in the Mount of Thawr while they were being pursued by their enemies.

2 Hence *Umma* ('community') also denotes the 'matrix' of spiritual kinship.

3 From Gerard Manley Hopkins's poem, 'Heaven-Haven': "I have desired to go/ Where springs not fail,/ To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail/ And a few lilies blow./ And I have asked to be/ Where no storms come,/ Where the green swell is in the havens dumb,/ And out of the swing of the sea."

cleaner air. The waters are becoming purer. In the face of human and ecological fragility, relationships and priorities are beginning to be re-evaluated. More importantly, man is being given an opportunity to consider whether he will conform to a higher order or will seek instead to impose himself on the natural world; whether he will recognize his interdependence with the sacred web of life or choose to be governed only by self-interest and self-will; whether he will seek the ‘norm’ within his primordial nature or instead in his own grasping powers. One can either have faith in the transcendent order integrated with nature or believe else simply in a material order that one seeks to control. In the words of Frithjof Schuon,

The error is to believe that the causes which determine human history or which carry it to its conclusion belong to the same order as our matter or our “natural” laws, whereas in fact the whole visible cosmos is resting upon an invisible volcano – but also, at a deeper ontological level, upon a formless ocean of bliss.<sup>4</sup>

The period of our quarantine is a time to contemplate these things, to reflect on ‘the sweet uses of adversity’<sup>5</sup> and to accept the wisdom of the divine allopathy while continuing to fight the virus. It is a time to affirm our faith in Light and in Life. In the words of Her Majesty the Queen,

Coronavirus will not overcome us. As dark as death can be – particularly for those suffering with grief – light and life are greater.<sup>6</sup>

Light: in the goodness of the many around us, in the beauty that surrounds us, and in ourselves.

Life: in the knowledge that the waters which drowned the iniquitous were the very same waters which bore the Ark.

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4 Schuon, F., from *The Essential Frithjof Schuon*, (World Wisdom, 2005) p. 505.

5 Shakespeare: “Sweet are the uses of adversity/ Which like the toad, ugly and venomous/ Wears yet a precious jewel in its head.” (*As You Like It*, II.i.12)

6 HM Queen Elizabeth II, Easter Address, April 11, 2020.

# THE SELF AND THE WORLD: THE VIOLATED RIGHTS OF THE BAT

Rusmir Mahmutćehajić

No one who does science, whether in the modern or post-modern sense, can avoid a certain unease over the *now* and the *here*. Understood in any absolute sense, you can't have one of this pair without the other. To say *now* is to say *here*. The *now* cannot be turned into an object of our knowledge. Try, as subject of the now, to observe and capture it in speech and you negate it. Spoken, represented, it is no longer what it is, inseparable from the subject that bears it.

Talk of the *now* is necessarily through the medium of images from our imaginaries of past and future. In our imaginary of the past, we remember what once came into our now and, just as truly, passed out of it. In our imaginary of the future, the now is overshadowed by presentiment, into which it transfers possibilities from the imaginary of the already past. Only the now is full or absolute reality. Past and future are its projections.

The *now* cannot be split up or divided. It cannot be dismembered into quanta or put together out of parts. One cannot say anything that is not of and in the now, but what is said nonetheless always seems to be separate and several from the now. It hints at a potential link between the imagined past, so full of suffering, and the imagined but entirely unknown future, a spectre of even worse suffering to come.

For a long time, natural philosophy, and even more its sublimation within natural science, did all it could to exclude the now, inseparable from the self, from its world-image, from its objectively observable laws of nature, describable by mathematical equation and testable anywhere and any time, which could not possibly depend upon the observing self. This credo of modern

science has been harrowed out of it, however, and we once again understand that there cannot be a world without a self to observe (even constitute) it. Destroy either and you destroy both. More than this. The determinist world image, so long valued for its exactness, is no longer considered valid. Neither future and past can be represented as unchanging images, precisely because we exist only in our now.

During the first three months of 2020, the whole world became preoccupied with the threat of a previously unknown virus, now said to have jumped from the animal world, where it had been minding its own business, to human beings, amongst whom it had apparently had no previous purchase. The bat is mentioned as its keeper for millennia. The animal's oddness, which sees when others can't, flies, but is no bird, and sleeps when others don't, with its head towards the ground, renders it a tailor-made villain, given our need to claim innocence for any evils we suffer.

Some, even many, claim this unknown but world-threatening virus, named for the Sovereign Crown, was created in a modern laboratory, from which it escaped or was released. It poses a threat to every country in the world, but most of all to the weak, the sick and the old, hungry and thirsty, all who form the yardstick of merit for any political order. If we are not to blame for this world-besieging virus and cannot be condemned over it, well the bat certainly can't be hauled before a court either. Isn't our finger pointing at the bat just shirking our own responsibility for the appalling pouring forth of corruption upon the earth and the seas?

Corruption has certainly gone forth on all sides. From hour to hour, the numbers of sick and dead unfold. No national boundary can stop the spread. The idea of sovereignty, of managing the exception and the emergency, has taken on both old and new meanings. Our democratically elected sovereignty-mongers, chosen in public combat by voters whose humanity has been reduced to a binary choice of for or against, have been surprised in the nakedness of their inability to bamboozle the pandemic with their populist tricks.

The political leader offers himself to the people on condition that he be elected, as only he can lift up the endangered nation and lead it out of its difficulties and humiliation, but his populist

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narrative founders once actually introduced into the political order. The pseudo-prophetic promises of the battle for political office must be brushed away and forgot, and that requires a new crisis to frighten the people with, so that they may seek exit from the fear of disease and death in absolute submission to the leader and whose enemies they shall take for their own.

A potential leader offers himself to the people in and through an image, as a prophet. He knows that the present is not all good, which is a betrayal of the sacred oath his supposed predecessors took. He says only what the fearful and disturbed majority wants to hear, standing outside and above this intolerable now, promising a different and essentially better future, guaranteeing the people everything they lack now if they stand with him. Once he has captured the power he craves and is constitutionally and legally ensconced within the governmental order, however, an unsettled feeling about the now begins to reappear. The people are still fearful and poor, sick and hungry. They still expect things to be changed by those in power. Power they see as the condition through which their wishes will be fulfilled.

The emergency they used to criticise the establishment when fighting for office and to interpret and legitimate their arguments for change ceased to exist when they took power. They no longer transcend that emergency. So now the leader's new authority is used to suborn followers and scare or threaten critics. But never enough, because the political order which the leader is now identified with, is unjust and that can never be hidden.

The political leader's nakedness in this now is obvious in the context of the legal order. Recourse to stories of the past and promises of the future will not obscure it. So he seeks out an emergency to rise again as prophet and as unquestioned and de facto unbound sovereign of the state. The pandemic seems tailor-made. It allows the leader to manage the people in their fear of sickness and death. But only experts and scientists have any real answers to offer on how to combat the affliction or heal the sick. Only they know how to combat and contain the plague or heal those it has afflicted.

As a result, the leader's role in combating and controlling the pandemic and healing the sick has three important aspects. First to admit his lack of competence to manage the processes of com-

bating and limiting the plague or healing those affected by it and so to delegate that task to scientists and experts. Second to ensure those scientists and experts have the conditions and resources required for the task. And third, to insist strenuously on the moral and legal obligation of everyone in government, no matter how personally loyal to him, to look after the vulnerable and eschew every attempt to exploit that vulnerability to legitimate illegal activities. The sanctity of individual life is the principle of all judgement. But even that principle does not legitimate illegal violation or suspension of the law or illegal interpretation of it. Faced with this necessity, populist leaders sense their own nakedness. They should admit it, but can or will not, and so pretend that everything they say and do is based on knowledge. They appeal for authority to invisible scientists in the background or surround themselves with quasi-scientists.

Even populist politicians who actively seek an emergency to reinforce their role as saviours of the nation have been flummoxed by the appearance of the corona plague. They need a political and theological enemy. The political enemy borders on the alien and is without theological grounding. It may have its fifth column amongst the people, which is anyone who doesn't think like the leader. The theological enemies are inside, in otherness or advocacy of it, in any identity that refuses to be retrofitted to the leader's preferred model. As a threat, corona lies beyond his understanding of enemies. Which is why this plague forces the leader to transform the scientists and experts combating and containing the threat and healing its consequences into ideological witch doctors.

The leader won't willingly surrender his inalienable authority and vocation to speak on every and anything during public presentations. The good is his doing, the blame goes to others, whom he appoints and sacks. So the leader insists on the threat to the survival of the nation. Fear of disease and death legitimates the unquestionable status of his orders, commands, and other measures, along with his arbitrary dissipation of the public wealth, which none dare oppose. The greater the fear, the more mandatory and less legitimate the obedience required to the leader and his witchdoctors. This is why his hiring and firing of government officials, (mis)management of resources and finances,

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and reorganisation of the public sphere transgress further and further any legal order and accountability.

The scientists and the experts are not making the decisions, because their roles, imposed by the pandemic, cannot and shall not infringe upon his political authority. More than that, decisions that can't be avoided must still reinforce the ideology of the political authorities. The problem with the pandemic is that rejects interpretation under the usual paradigms for the enemy, the political or the theological. Causes of fear and suffering under pandemic siege are sought in vain in the distant past, just as no solutions will be found in the distant future. Answers actually proposed and implemented, because they are too urgent to delay, will be affirmed or denied by the numbers of sick and dying. A veil of fear of disease and death and the need for immediate answers hides all sorts of irresponsibility and greed. But an upright few, stirred by a sense of concern and called to answer suffering with solidarity, do still assume responsibility to care for the vulnerable. Unexpected and unprecedented affliction divides us into the inevitable polarity – the beautifully upright and the low and base. This is how the now disturbs the leader, who would hide from it but cannot.

The people of Sarajevo are under a regime imposed on their behaviour and work and justified by the pandemic threat, as is every other community around the world today. It is as though we were all focused on only one death, only death caused by coronavirus, fear of which has caused us to forget death's universality and inevitability. All other death, from hunger or cancer, alcohol or smoking, traffic accidents and suicide, malaria and flu, or war... seem somehow expelled over that boundary established by this siege. The fact that we so overinterpret getting sick and dying as a result of the coronavirus without knowing its full nature is precisely what provides cover for our political authorities in their incompetence. No one knows how to beat this invisible enemy. We know far more of other causes of death than we don't about the coronavirus. Should we ask, what has this generalised fear of just one form of death done to our responsibility for every individual life?

When the great Anti-Bosnian War began at the beginning of the final decade of the last century, it imposed a brutal military



siege on Sarajevo, the capital city of the Bosnian state. Tanks and guns, rocket launchers and machine guns and sniper nests were set up in a wide and deep ring around the city and for 1460 days killed and wounded people with no way to escape. Private and public property was destroyed and set on fire. Water, electricity, and gas were cut off. In the helplessness of those they had trapped in the siege, its authors and technicians found support for their mission: Destroy the Bosnian idea of a plural society once and for all and raise a monument to our murderous passion on the killing field.

Then too suffering and death, caused by the slaughter and destruction of the siege, produced a division into two opposing poles of beautiful uprightness and low baseness. Those who decided to defend the town and Bosnia too seemed dangerous lunatics in the eyes of their mighty enemy, who mocked them, saying "What can these poor fools do in the jaws of an army as powerful as ours?" But for these defenders of Bosnia denying death by denying the fear of death was how to stand upright in the sanctity of life. Many thought they had never seen such humanity or irrefragable arguments for it. Others sought shelter or ways to flee. Those people were everywhere, in power and among the criminals, from whom some of the first also came. The worst and the best in us was everywhere on display, but the essence of those days of Sarajevo and Bosnian pain was that good is stronger than evil.

Things in Sarajevo then quieted down for a while. But after the brutal shelling and the many deaths, the town and everything in it felt as though it had been killed too. During the first months of 1993, at the peak of the killing and destruction, as people were still learning to ignore the feeling everyone who heard a shell had that it was heading straight towards them, a group of 10 people involved in establishing and strengthening the defence of the city would walk in the late evenings down the street from their offices in the oldest part of the town. Few windows still had glass unshattered by shells. That year of killing Bosnia was coming to an end, and there was a stench of damp spreading from the buildings, whose roofs had caved in and whose interiors were soaked by rainwater and snow.

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There was no one else on the streets. Dogs and cats, their owners dead or departed, stared in shock at these late evening passers-by. Hungry and recently made homeless, they searched the streets for traces of blood left by the dead and the wounded to lick. Their night-time path took them first past the Orthodox Congregational Church of the Most Holy Mother of God, to the right, and the Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, to the left, then the Ferhadija mosque to the right, the Kal synagogue to the left, the Bey's mosque to the right, up to the Čaršija or Central Town mosque, and then back again. As infantry fire and shell explosions echoed through the night, but from what seemed far away from the dying Čaršija, or town centre. The murderous shells might begin to fall again in that part of town too, though, at any moment.

Locked down in his apartment, thanks to the anti-pandemic regime, the author cannot now avoid comparing our current global siege thanks to our ignorance of the virus and our fear of it with that murderous assault on and siege of Sarajevo. Recalling those walks down that dark street, he brings back to memory the major question of that date: Has this Sarajevo been killed off? The dark, the abandonment, and the stench of death forced the question on him then, but equally he knew that the small group of people around whom the town's defenders had crystallised served a higher ideal of Bosnia: To let people's differences follow their guides on their different paths – in their monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques – to find glory and praise of the name of God, the all merciful, the ever merciful. During those night hours, Sarajevo really did look dead. The ideal to which Sarajevo's houses of worship all bore witness had been obscured by modern ideological images of a world without God, a world in which man raises himself to the level of Lord and engages in unstinting destruction of that external world, its order and horizons, and his own place within them.

Whenever a ceasefire was called and the shelling and the shooting quietened down, the boys and girls, young men and young women, and old men and old women would emerge, miraculously clean and shining with hope and pride, from this seemingly dead town onto those seemingly dead and abandoned streets,. And the author would say to himself: this is Bosnia's head, the fount of its sublime ideal, that people can through their

interaction realise that form of being in most beautiful uprightness which is their reason and purpose. Bosnia could not be killed. Here was the proof of it: even when caught up in those iron jaws, this city lived in the faces of its children!

Caught between evil and good, in the glare of Sarajevo's now, when all seemed lost to the majority, our only refuge was in such reasons for hope: These children will never allow themselves to be forced to live according to others' views of them, never allow others to deny them their right to life, freedom, self-concern, and commitment to Truth, to acknowledge which is justice. The only proof of this is our care for those weaker than us. Now, nearly three decades later, the author asks himself: Do those who hold power today in the state know anything of that hope or the sacrifice made for it? And he asks: Do they know that every time they betray their moral and legal duties, they join forces with those siege criminals and continue their assault on Bosnia and everything associated with that sacred name?

Rendered arrogant by military power, deployed in yet another assault on the Bosnian ideal, and convinced that he was completing that ancient task of homogenising a nation raised up to be a god instead of God, the patriarch of that murderous assault on Bosnia said sometime before that spring in 1993: "Sarajevo is the head of the serpent. We hold it in an iron grip. We will not, we cannot let it go." A Bosnian politician, involved in the peace negotiations asked that man's deputy: "How long will you go on killing Muslims?" The response, without hesitation: "Until you stop avocating coexistence." The essence of this criminal anti-Bosnian credo may be expressed as follows: We, the warrior elite of a godless nationalism, will stop killing you only when you start killing yourselves and finish our job for us!

Various means have been developed for pursuing this criminal goal. First, deny the existence of the Bosnian people, against all the evidence they have been around for more than a millennium. Second, present Bosnia's religious plurality as an unhappy consequence of external and, from the perspective of the ideology of Orientalism, despotic power. Third, offer various privileges to any Bosnians prepared to deny that ideal and accept reduction of the Muslim component of Bosnia's people to mere religiosity, ideologically alienated from proper self-awareness or self-

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responsibility. Once that component of Bosnia's people is safely shut up, politically and psychologically, in its ghetto, crumpled into a quasi-tribe with its tribal chief, the redemptive ideal of Bosnian identity, its recognition of internal difference safeguarded by a just political order, shall have been well and truly killed. Those Bosnians will have been killed in their essence so that they may be resurrected as something they are not.

That siege of Sarajevo, which affected all the people of Bosnia and divided them into two opposed poles, one oriented towards good, the other towards evil, abandoned to their own resources by a world that largely ignored them, and this pandemic siege, for which ideologically informed differences between people are so unimportant, and maybe all the suffering and hardship that there ever has or will be all remind and admonish us that we come into this world alone and we leave it alone and that we alone are responsible for every atom of good and evil we have done while here. Did not we all, together and individually, swear an oath to the absolute Principle of existence that we would discover within ourselves and through our self-development the unconditioned meaning of existence?!

We did, and it was an oath to take responsibility for ourselves and for the world before that Principle. That oath connects contingent human being with the absolute Principle. We can forget it or deny it. But when we do, we stop being our own people, being free. We are our own people only when we and the world belong entirely to the absolute Principle. It may sometimes seem that certain forms that recall that oath and its many renewals remain meaningful, even without reference to the Principle, His glory and praise, and our responsibility to Him. But without that essential reference, we are no longer led on the upright path that leads from fear to knowledge and from knowledge to love, and then it is all just dead houses and rituals. The individual and the world, every individual and the entire world, are sacrosanct revelations of the absolute Principle. When something, no matter how small or great, in that unique temple, in which we reflect the world and the world reflects us, is injured, how shall we escape the response of that sacrosanct whole?

Every siege, including those of the war against Bosnia and these of our pandemic times, causes a cry to go up of the frightened and the sick, who ask: Will the witnesses of justice and her

defenders ever come out from the monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, with the name of God on their lips? More than this, will God's commands be made real: The stranger who lives among you will become as one born among you and you will love him as yourselves; you will love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul and all your mind, which is the first and the great commandment; and the second is like it, love thy neighbour like thyself; you, the faithful, be constant in your support of justice, and in your witness of God, even if it count against you, your parents, and your kin, wealthy and poor!

We are embroiled in an increasingly brutal conflict with the world. We are increasingly convinced that the world is powerless and at our feet. The more we assault and exhaust and destroy and transform it, the surer we are of raising ourselves to the throne as ruler. Just as we reinforce this image as ruler served by the world, the spread of corruption on the earth and the seas grows obvious. Our tyranny over the earth and everything in it necessarily provokes some form of striking back at the tyrant. The knowledge in which we have grown may seem great to us, but it is always little compared to the unattainable knowledge of the Absolute. Whenever we base our action exclusively upon our small knowledge, and it always is small, it will produce violence and corruption in the world and the self that acts upon it.

The world and everything in it are constantly changing. This is because they are beings in space and time, neither of which is absolute. They are contingent and cannot be observed without being allocated a beginning and an end. That being and that end are not time or space. Because they are unchanging and indivisible. When time and space and everything in them reveal this Unity, in which the absolute beginning is the same as the absolute end, the flux of the world's ceaseless coming into and going out of being and that of everything in it reveals itself in perfect order.

When the visible universe's start time, and so the very first possibility of spatio-temporal and consequently of mass-energy measurement, is determined, everything in that entire flux – which is to say the billions of galaxies like that in which the Earth with all its particles is – is brought into focus by human beings. Man is the keystone of existence. We are the summa of the contingent and so the last thing in that flux, as we are the first in the

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Consciousness of the One Who reveals Himself as Unconditional in the contingent all. The further we remove ourselves from the harmony of what is in the world and what is in the self (their identity), we render that distinction impossible. The essence of all our knowledge is the *anthropic principle*.

We observe the inner and the outer worlds, rejecting any impossibility of penetrating further and deeper. We grow in knowledge. We accept no limits to that growth. There is clear evidence that the world is as we see it: if it weren't, we wouldn't be there to see it, or rather to contain its image within ourselves as our selves, so that it, in all its majesty and complexity, is in our image too. But we and the world are contingent. So are our attributes. The contingent cannot be its own principle. That is why the contingent in the world and in ourselves reveals and relates to the unconditioned It Is. Forget or deny this, and fall into unconsciousness and lose purposeful and goalful being. Oblivious being loses contact with blessedness.

If the absolute One manifests Itself in the constant flux and so through spatial-temporal and mass-energy phenomena, there will be neither surplus nor deficit. Not a leaf on a tree nor a fly exists without reason and purpose. They have their claim and their debt to the One and to all that reveals Him. They realise themselves through us, however, because the world gathers in us. This does not make us lords of the world. Rather, it is only in humility, generosity, and right doing that we realise our relationship with the absolute Lord.

Nothing exists that does not glorify the Lord with praise. Existence and everything in it are placed under obligation by this and so rightly praised. God, the All-Praised, is revealed in and through existence. All this being comes together in us, who are also praised. When we take a stand against the external quarters of existence, we stand against our own selves. We raise ourselves up as little lords in place of the Lord and do violence against ourselves, the world, and God. Nor do we see our guilt in what we cannot accomplish or in the consequences of what we have done against ourselves, the world, and God.

Imam 'Ali ibn 'Abi Talib told a story of the miraculous creation of the bat to remind us of the inviolability of all of creation. We fear the unknown. But we have a responsibility towards it. It

can seem to us that only that which physical light reaches is illuminated. But God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. Fear of Him is the source of wisdom. In talking of the bat and how it is part of the perfect order of creation, virtuous Ali reminded his fellows of their responsibility for the bat. The bat has no responsibility for them. We have been tasked with protecting its rights, an obligation we cannot put off on anyone else.

Emilijan Lilek, the Slovenian historian and ethnologist, wrote in 1894 that the Bosniaks were perhaps the only European people to consider the bat a blessed animal. May not our fear in the face of this spreading plague and the sickness and death it has brought to all peoples be precisely a warning against our obliviousness and the forms of action we have based upon it, which have caused us to cease being a steward and a servant in the world with responsibility for all it contains? Sacred wisdom contains our acknowledgement of our own responsibility for our condition on earth and consciousness that we can return ourselves to heaven: “Oh Lord our God, we have committed injustice against ourselves!”

Translated by Desmond Maurer

# POJEDINAČNO JASTVO I SVA OBZORJA: O POVRIJEĐENOM PRAVU ŠIŠMIŠA

Rusmir Mahmutćehajić

Ljudi uključeni u znanost, u modernom i postmodernom značenju tog pojma, ne mogu izbjeći hrvanje s nelagodom koju im nameće *sada* i *ovdje*. Kada je to dvoje uzeto u apsolutnom značenju, nemoguće je jedno bez drugog. Kazati *sada* isto je što i kazati *ovdje*. To *sada* nije opredmetljivo. Subjekt koji ga nastoji promatrati te o njemu govoriti poriče ga, jer čim je izrečeno, *sada* nije isto to što jest, neodvojivo od subjekta.

O *sada* moguće je govoriti samo posredstvom njegovih slika u imaginaciji prošlog i budućeg. U imaginaciji prošlosti subjekt se sjeća tog što u njegovo *sada* dolazi ili, jednako je opravdano tako reći, iz njega odlazi. U imaginaciji budućeg *sada* se osjenjuje u nepoznatu predvidivost u koju prenosi mogućnosti iz imaginacije dogođenog. Tako, samo je *sada* puna zbilja. Prošlost i budućnost njegove su projekcije.

*Sada* nije ni djeljivo ni rastavljivo. Nije ga moguće razlučiti u *quanta* niti i iz čega sastaviti. Iako ništa nije moguće reći, a da pri tome to nije iz njega i njime, rečeno se ipak stalno priviđa bivanjem odvojenim i odvojivim od *sada*. Nagađa se o mogućoj uzajamnosti imaginacije prošlosti, prepune patnje, s imaginacijom posve nepoznate budućnosti te zato i utvari koja prijete još gorom patnjom.

Dugo se činilo u filozofiji prirode, a još više u njenom sažimanju u znanost o prirodi, da to *sada*, s obzirom na njegovu neodvojivost od pojedinačnog jastva, mora biti isključeno iz slike svijeta, jer zakoni prirode, dostupni promatranju, opisivi matematičkom jednadžbom i provjerljivi u svakom vremenu i prosto-



ru, ne mogu ovisiti o jastvu promatrača. Ali taj *credo* moderne znanosti razoren je u njoj i iz nje. Shvaćeno je iznova da nema i ne može biti svijeta bez jastva njegovog promatrača. Zato je povreda jednog nužno i povreda drugog. I više od tog, shvaćeno je da deterministička slika svijeta, dugo vremena smatrana tačnom, ipak ne vrijedi. Ni budućnost, a tako ni prošlost, nije moguće predstaviti nepromjenjivim slikama. Nije, jer je čovjek samo u svome *sada*.

U prva tri mjeseca 2020. godine cijeli svijet je obuzet prijetnjom nepoznatog virusa. Kažu da je nekako iz životinjskog svijeta, u kojem je dosad imao razlog i svrhu postojanja, uskočio u čovjeka, gdje ga, kako se misli, dosad nije bilo. Spominju šišmiša kao čuvara tog virusa kroz milenije. Čudnost te životinje koja vidi kad drugi ne vide, spava kad su drugi budni, leti a nije ptica te u snu visi s glavom prema zemlji, učinila se prikladnim krivcem u čovjekovoj potrebi da ostane nevin za zlo koje trpi.

Nije malo onih koji govore da je taj nepoznati i cijelom svijetu prijeteći virus, s općim imenom *kruna*, nastao u nekoj od modernih laboratorija te odatle ili umakao ili pušten. Nema države koja njime sada nije ugrožena. Ali riječ je o ugroženosti onih najslabijih, bolesnih i starih, gladnih i žednih, svih onih u odnosu na koje valja mjeriti smisao svakog političkog poretka. Ako za ovu virusnu opsadu svijeta nije kriv čovjek, pa mu se zato ne može ni suditi, jasno je da ni šišmiša nije moguće izvesti pred bilo kakav sud. Nije li zato podizanje kažiprsta prema njemu neizravno skidanje odgovornosti s čovjeka za užasavajuća širenja pokvarenosti po zemlji i moru?

Proširio se posvuda. Iz časa u čas objavljuju brojeve oboljelih i umrlih. Nijedna državna granica tom širenju nije zapreka. Zamisao o suverenosti, upravljanju vanrednim stanjem, pokazuje se i u starim i u novim značenjima. Nositelji suverenističkih moći, birani demokratski u javnim natjecanjima pred biračima, čiju ljudskost svode na dihotomiju “za” ili “protiv”, zatečeni su u punim golostima svojih nemoći da populističkim varkama zapriječe pandemiju.

Populistička propovijedanja o ugroženome narodu, kojeg iz teškoća i poniženosti može izvesti i uzdići politički vođa koji mu se nudi, uz uvjet da bude izabran, zapadaju u krizu čim budu uvedena u politički poredak. Da pseudoproročka obećanja, davana u

borbi za političku vlast, budu zamračena i zaboravljena, potrebna je nova kriza kojom će narod biti strašen. Tada će taj narod izlaz iz straha od bolesti i smrti tražiti u potpunom podaništvu svom vođi, smatrajući sve njegove neprijatelje i svojim.

Dok se nudi i predstavlja narodu, mogući vođa sebe određuje prorokom. Zna da sve u njegovoj savremenosti ne valja te da je to izdaja svete prisega svih predaka koje navodno predstavlja. Kazuje samo ono što ustrašena i pometena većina želi čuti. On je izvan i iznad nepodnošljivog *sada* te obećava drukčiju, suštinski dobru budućnost naroda s njime, jamcem, da će imati sve što u svome *sada* nemaju. A kada ugrabe politički položaj za koji su se borili, kada postanu Ustavom i zakonima omeđeni sudionici državnog poretka, nastaje nelagoda s njihovim *sada*. Ljudi su i dalje ustrašeni i siromašni, bolesni i gladni. I dalje očekuju da im stanja budu promijenjena u osvojenoj vlasti. Ona im se predstavljala uvjetom za ispunjenje želja.

Vanredno stanje kojim je predstavljen onaj poredak protiv kojeg su govorili dok su se borili za vlast, kojim su tumačili i pravdali svoje razloge za promjenu, prestaje postojati s njihovim osvojenjem vlasti. Više nisu iznad i izvan vanrednog stanja. Postaju većini odgovorni za njihove tegobe u nastavljanju redovnog stanja. Zato vođa koristi osvojenu vlast da potkupljuje podanike te zastrašuje i zaprječava kritičare. Ali to ga nikad ne može zadovoljiti, jer je politički poredak s kojim se poistovjećuje nepravedan, tako da to ničim ne može biti skriveno.

Golost političkog vođe u njegovom *sada* vidljiva je u okviru pravnog poretka. Teško je tu vidljivost otkloniti bijegom u tumačenja prošlosti i obećanja budućnosti. Zato vođa želi vanredno stanje u kojem se ponovo uzdiže u proroka, ali sada u neupitnog i *de facto* neograničenog suverena države. Pandemija je takvo željeno stanje. Vođi omogućuje da upravlja ljudima, ustrašenim bolešću i smrću. Ali, odgovor na pitanje o suzbijanju pošasti i liječenju oboljelih mogu dati samo stručnjaci i znanstvenici za to područje. Samo oni znaju kako postići suzbijanje pošasti, njeno ograničenje i liječenje već oboljelih.

Tri su bitna sadržaja odgovornosti političkog vođe u suzbijanju i ograničenju pandemije te liječenju već oboljelih. Prvi, da prizna vlastite nesposobnosti upravljanja postupkom suzbijanja i ograničenja pošasti i liječenja od nje oboljelih, te zato taj posao

prepusti znanstvenicima i stručnjacima. Drugi, da tim znanstvenicima i stručnjacima osigura uvjete i materijalna sredstva, potrebni za postizanje zadanog cilja. I treći, da energično potvrdi moralnu i pravnu obavezu da svi u poretku državne vlasti, ma koliko bili lojalni njemu, moraju služiti ugroženim te da ne mogu i ne smiju ugroženost koristiti za pravdanje nezakonitih djelovanja. Nepovredivost života pojedinca najvažnije je počelo svakog presuđivanja. Ali, ni to počelo ne opravdava nezakonito kršenje ili ukidanje zakona i njegovo nezakonito tumačenje. U odnosu s tom nužnošću populističke vođe se osjećaju ogoljelim. Moraju ih priznati, a to neće. Zato glume da je sve što govore i rade utemeljeno na znanju. U svoju pozadinu postavljaju nevidljive znanstvenike na koje se pozivaju ili kvaziznanstvenike koji ih prate.

Iako populističke političke vođe žele i podstiču vanredno stanje kao potvrdu svoje uloge izbavitelja naroda, pojava pošasti korone zbudjujuća je za sve njih. Njima je potreban i politički i teološki neprijatelj. Politički je na granicama tuđ i bez teološkog utemeljenja. Ima svoju petu kolonu u narodu. U njoj su svi koji ne misle kao vođa. Teološki neprijatelji su unutra u onoj drugosti ili zalaganju za nju, u pripadanju koje nije poistovjetljivo s onim koje ispovijeda i zagovara vođa. Ali prijetnja virusom korona je izvan njegovih znanja o neprijateljima. Zato ta pošast vođi nameće potrebu da znanstvenike i stručnjake za suzbijanje i ograničenje prijetnje te liječenje njenih posljedica preinači u svoje ideološkijske žrece.

U javnim predstavama vođa nikome ne prepušta svoju neupitnu vlast i pozvanost da govori o svemu. Njegove su zasluge za sve dobro, a krivice su drugih, onih koje on postavlja i smjenjuje. Zato vođa ustrajno ističe prijetnju opstanku naroda. Strah od bolesti i smrti opravdava neupitnost uredbi, zapovijedi i drugih mjera uz samovoljno trošenje javnih dobara, što niko ne bi smio osporavati. Što je strah veći, poslušnost vođi i njegovim žrecima je obveznija te zato manje zakonita. Zato su postavljanja i smjenjivanja državnih službenika, upravljanje sredstvima i financijama te preuređivanja u javnom prostoru sve više izvan pravnog poretka i odgovornosti.

Odluke ne donose ni znanstvenici ni stručnjaci, jer njihove uloge nametnute pandemijom ne mogu i ne smiju ugroziti političku vlast. I više od tog, odluke koje je nužno donositi moraju

potvrđivati ideologiju političke vlasti. Nelagoda s pandemijom je u nemogućnosti njenog tumačenja u bilo kojoj od uobičajenih paradigmi neprijatelja, političkog ili teološkog.

Uzroke za strah i patnju u pandemijskoj opsadi nije moguće nalaziti u daljoj prošlosti, a ni rješenja za njih u daljoj budućnosti. Nuđene i primjenjivane odgovore, posve neodgodive, potvrđuju ili poriču brojevi oboljelih i umrlih. Iza zastora straha pred bolešću i smrću te nužnosti da odgovori na to budu nađeni *sada* kriju se svi oblici neodgovornosti i pohlepe. A osjećanje odgovornosti i pozvanosti da na patnju bude uzvraćeno solidarnošću podstiče pozvane i moralne na preuzimanje brige za ugrožene. I opet, neočekivana nevolja, drukčija od gotovo svih dosad iskušanih, razlučuje ljude među dvjema neizbježnim krajnostima – najljepšeg uspravljanja i najniže niskosti. To je nelagoda političkog vođe koju mu nameće *sada*. Hoće da se od nje sakrije, a ne može.

Režim ponašanja i rada ljudi u Sarajevu, nametan i pravdan pandemijskom prijetnjom, sličan je gotovo svakom drugom u sadašnjem svijetu. Kao da se svakog čovjeka tiče samo jedna smrt, samo ova uzrokovana virusom korona?! U strahu od nje zaboravljena je njena opća neizbježnost. Čini se da su iza granica te opsade izgnane sve druge smrti – i od gladi i od raka, i od alkohola i od pušenja, i od saobraćajnih udesa i od samoubistava, i od malarije i od gripe, i od ratova... Ako umiranja i obolijevanja, uzrokovana virusom korona, mogu biti tumačena neznanjem pune naravi te pojave, nesposobnosti političkih vlasti mogu se kriti upravo iza toga. Eto, nema nikog ko zna kako pobijediti tog nevidljivog neprijatelja. Ali o drugim uzrocima smrti više je znanja nego li neznanja o virusu korona. Je li se zato opravdano pitati: Nameće li ovaj opći strah pred jednim vidom smrti odgovornost za život svakog čovjeka?

Kada je početkom posljednjeg desetljeća prošlog stoljeća započeo veliki rat protiv Bosne, Sarajevu, glavnom gradu bosanske države, nametnuta je gruba vojna opsada. U debelom i širokom prstenu oko grada postavljeni su tenkovi i haubice, minobacači i mitraljezi te snajperska gnijezda iz kojih su 1460 dana ubijani i ranjavani ljudi, nemoćni da igdje pobjegnu. Razarane su i paljene privatne i javne zgrade. Prekidani su dovodi vode, struje i plina. U nemoći svih zatočenih opsadom, njeni autori i održavatelji nalazili su potvrdu za svoj pothvat: Uništiti jednom zauvijek

bosansku ideju pluralnog društva i na njenom stratištu podići spomenik svojoj ubilačkoj strasti.

I tada su stradanja i patnja, uzrokovane opsadnim ubijanjima i razaranjima, proizvele razlučenje u dvije krajnosti – jednu najljepšeg uspravljanja i drugu najniže niskosti. Svi koji su odlučili braniti grad, a tako i cijelu Bosnu, činili su se, u gledanjima moćnog neprijatelja, opasnim luđacima. Za njih su podrugljivo govorili: “Šta mogu ti jadnici u čeljustima vojne sile koju imamo?” A za njih, te branitelje Bosne, poricanje smrti poricanjem straha od nje bio je način uspravljanja u nepovredivosti života. Mnogima se činilo da nikada prije nisu vidjeli toliko ljudskosti i nepobjedivih razloga za nju. Drugi su tražili skloništa i puteve bježanja. Bilo ih je posvuda, u vlasti i među kriminalcima, odakle su dolazili i neki među prve. I najgore i najbolje u čovjeku pokazivalo se posvuda, ali nadmoć dobra nad zlom suština je tih dana sarajevske i bosanske patnje.

I onda je Sarajevo povremeno zamiralo. Nakon žestokih granatiranja i brojnih smrti činilo se da su ubijeni i grad i sve u njemu. U prvim mjesecima 1993. godine, kada su ubijanja i razaranja dosegla vrhunac, kada se još odvikavalo od osjećanja da svaka granata čiji se zvuk čuje ide prema onom koji je čuje, desetak ljudi, uključenih u uspostavljanje i snaženje obrane, prolazili bi u kasnoj večeri ulicom od njihovog sjedišta u najstariji dio grada. Rijetki su bili prozori na kojima stakla nisu razbijena granatiranjima. Tada se navršavala godina tog ubijanja Bosne. Iz zgrada se širio zadah vlage. Krovovi su bili razvaljeni, pa su vode od kiša i snjegova kvasile unutarnjosti.

Na ulici nije bilo drugih ljudi. Psi i mačke, čiji su vlasnici ili pobjegli ili ubijeni, ustrašeno su se zagledali u te kasne prolaznike. Gladni i sada bez kuća tragali su po ulicama za ostacima krvi ubijenih i ranjenih te ih lizali. Taj noćni put prolazio je prvo pored pravoslavne Saborne crkve Presvete Bogorodice, desno, katoličke Katedrale Srca Isusova, lijevo, džamije Ferhadija, desno, sinagoge Kal vježu, lijevo, džamije Begova, desno, do pred džamiju Čaršijska, te odatle natrag. I pucnji pješadijskog oružja i eksplozije granata odjekivali su kroz noć, ali s daljih strana zamrle Čaršije. U svakome času moglo se očekivati da ubilačke granate počnu opet padati i na taj dio grada.

Sada, dok je zatočen u svome stanu, u režimu borbe protiv pandemije, ovaj pisac ne može izbjeći uspoređivanje opće opsade svijeta neznanjem o virusu korona i strahom od nje s onom opsadom i ubijanjem Sarajeva. Sjećajući se onih prolaženja mračnom ulicom, u pamćenje je dozivao ondašnje pitanje: Je li ovo Sarajevo ubijeno? Mrak, pustoš i zadah smrti nametali su to pitanje. A znao je da ta mala družina oko koje su okupljeni branitelji služi uzvišenom bosanskom idealu: Da različitosti ljudi budu upravljane na različitim putevima – u samostanima, crkvama, sinagogama i mesdžidima – slavljenjem i hvaljenjem imena Boga, Milosnog, Premilosnog. A Sarajevo je doista u tim noćima izgledalo mrtvo. Taj ideal o kojem svjedoče i sarajevski hramovi zamračen je modernim ideologijskim slikama svijeta bez Boga, svijeta u kojem čovjek sebe uzdiže na razinu Gospoda te nepošteditno razara poredak vanjskih obzorja, a zapravo sebe u njemu.

A kada bi bila proglašena primirja te zamukli granatiranja i pucnjave, na one prividno mrtve i puste ulice iz prividno ubijenog grada izašli bi dječaci i djevojčice, mladići i djevojke te starci i starice, začudno čisti i ozareni nadom i ponosom. Tada bi sebi govorio: Ovo je glava Bosne, uzvišenog ideala da ljudi, uzvraćajući se međusobno, ozbilje razložno i svršno bivanje u najljepšem upravljenju. Bosnu nije moguće ubiti. Nije, jer evo dokaza za to: Iako je u čeličnim čeljustima, taj grad oživi na licima svoje djece!

U ondašnjem stisku zla i dobra, u prosvjetlici sarajevskog *sada*, kada se većini sve činilo izgubljenim, razlozi nade bili su jedino utočište: Ova djeca više neće dopustiti da ih iz sebe izgone u tuđe predstave, da im poriču pravo na život, slobodu i okrenutost sebi te na prisegu Istini, čije pokazivanje je pravda. A sve to potvrđuje jedino odnos prema slabim. Sada, gotovo tri desetljeća poslije, pita se: Znaju li današnji sudionici vlasti u ovoj državi išta o onoj nadi i žrtvovanju za nju? I još se pita: Znaju li oni da se u svakom iznevjeranju moralnih i zakonskih dužnosti uključuju među zločinačke opsadnike te da tako nastavljaju njihov pohod protiv Bosne i svega njezinog?

Uzoholjen vojnom moći, korištenom za još jedno uništavanje bosanskog ideala, uvjeren da dovršava stari posao homogeniziranja svoje nacije uzdizane da bude bog mimo Boga, patrijarh ubijanja Bosne rekao je u nekoj prilici, prije onog proljeća 1993. godine: “Sarajevo je glava zmije. Mi je držimo u čeličnom stisku.

Nećemo i ne smijemo je pustiti.” A njegovog doglavnika upitao je u nekoj prilici bosanski političar, uključen u mirovne pregovore: “Do kada ćete ubijati Muslimane?” A on mu je bez kolebanja odgovorio: “Sve dok vi ne prestanete zagovarati zajednički život.” Suštinsko značenje tog *creda* zločinačkog antibosanstva može biti izrečeno i ovako: Mi vojnici poganskog nacionalizma prestat ćemo ubijati vas čim se vi sami počnete ubijati te tako nastavite i dovršite naš posao!

Za dosezanje tog zločinačkog cilja razvijana su različita sredstva. Prvo, osporavano je postojanje bosanskog naroda i pored očitosti njegovog trajanja dulje od milenija. Drugo, njegova religijska pluralnost predstavljena je kao nesretna posljedica tuđe, u ideologiju orijentalizma umotavane porobljivačke sile. I treće, nuđene su privilegije svim ljudima Bosne koji će se odreći njenog ideala te pristati na svođenje muslimanskog dijela bosanskog naroda na religijsku golost, ideologijski otuđenu od svijesti o sebi i odgovornosti za sebe. Kad se taj dio bosanskog naroda i politički i psihološki utjera u njegov geto te tako skvrči u kvazipleme s poglavicom, ubijen je spasonosni ideal bosanstva, priznanje različitosti i njihovo šticeenje u pravednom političkom poretku. Tako bi umrli u tome što jesu, e da uskrsnu u onome što nisu.

I ona opsada Sarajeva koja se ticala svih ljudi Bosne te ih razdvajala prema dvjema krajnostima, jednoj prema dobru i drugoj prema zlu, ostavljajući ih uglavnom sebi samim, s malo zanimanja svijeta za njih; i ova pandemijska, u kojoj malo značaja imaju ideologijski uobličene različitosti među ljudima, a možda i sve nevolje i stradanja oduvijek i zauvijek, podsjećaju i upozoravaju da čovjek dolazi u svijet sam te se iz njega sam i vraća, da je odgovoran za svaki trun učinjenog dobra i zla. Nisu li svi ljudi, i zajedno i pojedinačno, prisegli apsolutnome Počelu sveg postojanja da u sebi i sobom otkriju potpuni smisao bivanja?! Jesu, prisegli su te tako preuzeli odgovornost za sebe i svijet pred tim Počelom.

Prisega je veza uvjetnog čovjeka s apsolutnim Počelom. Zato može biti i zaboravljena i poricana. Kad god se to događa, čovjek prestaje biti svoj, a tako i slobodan. Svoj je samo onda kada i on i svijet pripadaju posve apsolutnom Počelu. Može mu se činiti da oblici koji podsjećaju na prisegu i njene brojne obnove imaju smisao i bez suštine sjećanja na Počelo, na Njegovu slavu i hvalu te na odgovornost Njemu. Ali bez svoje suštine, bez čovjekovog bivanja vođenim uspravnim putem od straha znanju



te od znanja voljenju, to su mrtve kuće i obredi. A čovjek i svijet, svaki čovjek i cijeli svijet, nepovrediva su obznana apsolutnog Počela. Kad god je povrijeđeno nešto, ma koliko bilo malo ili veliko, u tome jedinstvenom hramu, u kojem čovjek ogleda svjetove a svjetovi čovjeka, neizbježan je uzvrat te nepovredive cjeline.

Iz svih opsada, i onih u ratu protiv Bosne i ovih pandemijskih, čuje se plač ustrašenog i bolesnog čovjeka koji se pita: Hoće li iz samostana, crkava, sinagoga i mesdžida, uz spominjanje imena Boga, ikada izaći svjedoci pravde i njeni branitelji? I dalje, hoće li zbiljom postati Božiji nalozi: Stranac koji živi među vama bit će vam kao onaj rođen među vama, i voljet ćeš ga kao sebe; voljet ćeš Gospoda, svog Boga, cijelim svojim srcem i cijelom svojom dušom i cijelom svojom pameću, to je prva i velika zapovijed; a druga je poput te, voljet ćeš svog susjeda kao sebe; vi, vjerujući, budite ustrajni održavatelji pravde, svjedoci za Boga, makar to bilo protiv vas, vaših roditelja i srodnika, pa bio neko imućan ili siromašan!

Čovjek je u sve okrutnijem sukobu sa svijetom. Sve snažnije je obuziman uvjerenjem da je svijet nemoćan i njemu podatan. Što ga više prisiljava i iscrpljuje te razara i preinačuje, uvjereniji je da se sve više uzdiže na prijestolju vladara. Ali uz takvo snaženje predstave o vladaru kojem svijet služi očito je širenje pokvarenosti po zemlji i moru. Čovjekova tiranija nad svijetom i svime njegovim nije moguća a da ne bude uzvraćena tiraninu. Znanje u kojem čovjek narasta može se činiti velikim. Ali ono je uvijek malo u odnosu na nedostižno znanje Apsolutnog. Kada god malo čovjekovo znanje, a ono je uvijek takvo, bude osnova svakog djelovanja, posljedica su nasilje i pokvarenost i u jastvu činitelja i u svijetu.

I svijet i sve pojave u njemu u neprestanome su mijenjanju. Tako jest, jer su im bivanja u prostoru i vremenu. Ali ni prostor ni vrijeme nisu apsolutni. I oni su uvjetne pojave te ih je nemoguće posmatrati, a da i njima ne bude pripisan početak i kraj. To, taj početak i taj kraj, nije ni vrijeme ni prostor. Nije, jer je nedjeljivo te zato i nepromjenljivo. A kada vrijeme i prostor te sve u njemu obznane tu Jednost u kojoj je aposolutni početak isto što i apsolutni kraj, tok neprestanog nastajanja i nestajanja svijeta i pojava u njemu pokazuje se u savršenome poretku.



Kad je vidljivom univerzumu određeno vrijeme početka, a to znači prva prostor-vremenska mjerljivost, a posljedično masa-energijska, sve u tome toku – a to znači milijarde galaksija sličnih ovoj u kojoj je Zemlja sa svim pripadajućim česticama – usredsređeno je na čovjeka. On je zaglavni kamen sveg postojanja. Iako je suma sveg uvjetnog te zato i posljednji u tome toku, prvi je u Svijesti Jednog Koji Se obznanjuje kao Neuvjetni u svemu uvjetnom. Koliko god se čovjek izmicao iz te uzajamnosti svega u obzorjima i svega u sebi, to razlučenje je nemoguće. Srž svih njegovih znanja je *antropičko počelo*.

Čovjek promatra bliža i dalja obzorja, nikad ne pristajući da u njih ne može prodrijeti i dublje i dalje. Narasta u znanju. Ne prihvata da to narastanje ima granice. Zamisao da svijet vidi onakvim kakav jest ima jasan dokaz: Da svijet nije onakav kakav jest, ne bi bilo ni čovjeka da ga vidi a zapravo da ima u sebi kao sebe njegovu sliku, a da on u svojoj veličini i složenosti bude slika čovjeka. Ali i čovjek i svijet su uvjetni. Takva su im i sva svojstva. Ono što je uvjetno nije i ne može biti počelo sebi. Zato sve uvjetno u obzorjima svijeta i u jastvu čovjeka obznanjuje neuvjetno *Jest* i povezuje s Njime. Kada to bude zaboravljeno ili porečeno, čovjek propada u nesvijest u kojoj gubi sebe u razložnom i svršnom bivanju. Onesviješćeno bivanje gubi vezu s blaženošću.

Ako je apsolutni Jedan obznanjen u stalnom toku promjena, a to znači u prostor-vremenskim i masa-energijskim pojavama, ništa u tome nije i ne može biti ni višak ni manjak. Nema ni lista na drvetu ni mušice koji su bez razloga i svrhe. Imaju i pravo i dug u odnosu s Jednim i sa svime što obznanjuje Njega. Ozbiljuju ih u čovjeku i njime upravo zato jer je svijet sabran u njemu. Nije čovjek gospodar svijeta. Naprotiv, samo u poniznosti, darežljivosti i činjenju svega na najljepši način ozbiljuje svoj odnos s apsolutnim Gospodom.

Nema ničeg u postojanju, a da hvaljenjem ne slavi svog Gospoda. Cijelo postojanje i sve u njemu zaduženo je time, pa je zato hvaljeno. U njemu i njime obznanjuje Se Bog, Hvaljeni. To opće bivanje sabrano je u čovjeku, hvaljenom. A kada on stane nasuprot vanjskim obzorjima ukupnog postojanja, staje protiv sebe. Uzdiže se na razinu gospoda mimo Gospoda te je nasilnik

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protiv sebe, svijeta i Boga. Ne smatra se krivim za ono što ne može ili za posljedice toga što čini protiv sebe, svijeta i Boga.

Imam Ali, Ebu Talibov sin, u govoru o začudnoj stvorenosti šišmiša podsjeća ljude na nepovredivost svega stvorenog. Ljudi se boje nepoznatog. A odgovorni su za njegov. Čini im se da je osvijetljeno samo to do čega dopijeva fizička svjetlost. A Bog je Svjetlost nebesa i zemlje. Strah od Njeg je izvor mudrosti. Kazujući o šišmišu, njegovoj uključenosti u savršeni poredak stvorenog, vri Ali podsjeća ljude da su oni odgovorni za šišmiša. Nije šišmiš odgovoran njima. Za ispunjenje njegovih prava zadužen je čovjek. Taj svoj dug da štiti pravo šišmiša ne može preneti ni na koga drugog.

Emilijan Lilek, slovenski historičar i etnolog, piše 1894. godine da su Bošnjaci, vjerovatno, jedini evropski narod koji šišmiša smatraju blagoslovenom životinjom. Nije li zato ustrašenost ljudi pred širećom pošasću, uz oboljenja i umiranja u svim narodima uzrokovana virusom korona, zapravo upozorenje na posljedice čovjekovog zaborava i iz njegov izvedenih činjenja u kojima je prestao biti namjesnik i sluga u svijetu s odgovornošću za sve u njemu? U svetoj mudrosti čovjek za svoja zemaljska stanja, osvješćujući mogućnost da se vrati u rajsku, priznaje: “Naš Gospode, sebi smo učinili nepravdu!”

# **RESTRICTIONS AND REPRESSION: ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC APPROACH AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL MEASURES IN THE TIME OF THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC**

**Nerin Dizdar**

## **Introduction**

After the global outbreak of the novel coronavirus COVID-19, which resulted in the declaration of a global pandemic by the World Health Organization, states and individual administrative units within states, have reacted differently to this public health threat. Various forms of restrictions have been introduced on a global scale in regard to the protection of citizen health, economic measures have been introduced, as well as other measures for the purpose of pandemic prevention. Dependent of the internal state organization and the rate at which the pandemic spread, the measures were subject to change or repeal, which is a practice that continues up to the present date.

The approach of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its neighboring countries will be assessed in this text, with a focus on public elaborations of certain restrictive measures, regulations, and general state of the society in the time of pandemic as managed by the state authorities. The accent is on analyzing restrictive measures in regard to their potential abuse for the purpose of imposing repressive measures through which the rights of citizens have been limited or endangered, along with other basic rights guaranteed through state regulations. Additionally, the proportionality between implementation of restrictive and other measures rele-

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vant for the preservation of the social order will be assessed, such as the measures relating to the local economy.

### The actions of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the national level

It is important to stress at the beginning that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only nation in Europe, and probably in the world, too, that has not introduced a unified set of measures for tackling the pandemic in any sphere of public life, including restrictive social measures. Coordination Body for Protection and Rescue of Citizens and Material Goods from Natural and Other Disasters has held two meetings, and after the second one, held on 23 March 2020, the chairman of the Body, Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, resigned from the chairman position on 30 March 2020. Since then, according to available data, the body has not met again. On the second, and the only full working session of the Body, along with the previous one on which it was constituted, a proposition of a text of a request for international aid in tackling the pandemic was adopted, and sent to the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina for final approval. Municipal, cantonal and entity level crisis management committees were advised to maximally reduce their requests for assistance of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as such help should be requested only when all other means are exhausted.

Returning to other measures declared on the national level, the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on its session held on 16 March 2020 adopted a set of eighteen conclusions, while Member of the Presidency, Milorad Dodik, stated that the European Union not to export medical equipment was a bad one, and that “we will not forget this”. Out of the eighteen measures, almost all are recommendations and reviews of the actions of other institutions on various levels, the only practical conclusion being the order given to the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina to provide all its resources for the purpose of protecting the population from the pandemic.

The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared the state of natural or other disaster in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 17 March 2020, along with a Decision on additional conditions for foreigners’ entry to Bosnia

and Herzegovina, and a supplement to the Decision on forming the Coordination Body for Protection and Rescue of Citizens and Material Goods from Natural and Other Disasters. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers explained that the role of the Body is to coordinate all activities in fighting the coronavirus in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The declaration of the decision on proscribing additional conditions for foreigners entering the country is important from a symbolical standpoint, as its declaration coincides with a rather tangible increase of xenophobia and mistrust towards foreigners, specifically migrants, in the public discourse.

A day earlier, Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued an instruction to police and security agencies to “take illegal economic migrants off the streets as soon as possible”. The introduction of adjective “economic” along with the noun migrants is quite indicational, as it was not previously used. The intention is clear, and it is desensitization of the public in relation to this group. By labeling migrants as “economic”, the scope of personal tragedy in which they are found is relativized, and from the associations of war and general instability which were recognized as the cause of migrations, the focus shifts to the alleged exclusive economic cause of migration of population from the Middle East and Central Asia. It is important to underline that the cause of migration is in any case existential, and by “economizing” it, an alibi is established for further repressive treatment of the population. In regard to this, the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued an additional public instruction to the heads of police agencies to “deliver orders to police officers to act more energetically than before” when dealing with migrants. The instruction for more “energetic” action can be interpreted only as a call for the use of force of an extreme degree in relation to this category already deprived of numerous rights.

The culmination of anti-migrant sentiment is the accusation that migrants are contributing to the deepening of the economic crisis, for which purposes the number of eight to ten thousand migrants was presented by the authorities as an “immense ballast” for the economy, although it is a group that makes up roughly 0.25% of the overall population. It is important to stress that Bosnia receives millions of euros from EU funds for securing minimal living conditions for the migrants in the country.

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Therefore, it can be said that accusing migrants for deepening the economic crisis has numerous characteristics of propagandist activity of finding scapegoats in others, quite similar to the methods used in the rhetoric of radical and Nazi movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is a known social phenomenon when a dominant group searches for the cause of its problems and deficiencies in others. It is interesting that the phenomenon occurs along with the all-present internal racism and discrimination of the population on the basis of specific identity markers, primarily their religious and ethnic identity. The political elites that promote such relations find a mutual “other” in the migrants, onto whom they project their individual and collective frustrations and hatred, and exercise a certain form of joint repression under these circumstances.

The Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina said on 23 April 2020 that Bosnia and Herzegovina wants to get rid of the “ballast of the economic migrants” by deporting them to their countries of origin, asking for all those who don’t possess personal documents to be detained. He stated that “it is possible that they are members of terrorist groups, who will wait here for a year or two in order to hide their pasts, to play the role of sleepers”. In this way, the position of the migrants was made more complex, with the notable paradox that, at the same time when they are labeled as “economic” migrants, they are also marked as suspected members of certain militant, terrorist groups.

Accordingly, along with desensitizing the population in regard to their status, additional negative categorization of migrants is introduced, and they are presented as a threat to domestic population, by which all preconditions are met for extensive repressive activity, and for violation of the rights of this population and even commitment of violence against them. Milorad Dodik said that “those who entered illegally must be thrown out of Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately. It is not a humanitarian but a security issue”. The last sentence summarizes the transition in the public perception of migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have been, without any legal grounds, proclaimed to be a security threat, and calls for their expulsion have become more frequent.

Particularly interesting is the episode related to the call of the Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina for deporta-

tion of the ambassador of Pakistan, in case of his lack of cooperation in regard to the deportation of his compatriots from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is an unprecedented case in the political practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina the reactions to which were split, and it caused certain conflicts in the public between various political parties.

Desensitization towards the migrant population is particularly surprising having in mind the past experiences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only during the previous aggression and the afterwar period, but also the historical openness of our society towards the underprivileged, as Bosnia and Herzegovina was in its past often not just a passing station, but a home for various endangered and persecuted groups.

### Actions on lower levels of administration

The actions of authorities in lower administrative units of Bosnia and Herzegovina, entities in particular, have been more concrete and direct in prescribing measures than the national authorities. However, it is important to stress that the authorities of both entities and the District of Brcko put an accent predominantly on prescribing the so-called health measures which are mostly restrictive measures for the general population. In fact, all measures declared within the first month of the appearance of virus COVID-19 were related to imposing various forms of limitations and proscriptions, along with defining procedural rules of conduct in health institutions. Not a single economic measure was adopted within this first month of the outbreak. In the entity of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina first economic measures were introduced two months after the outbreak.

For comparison, just in the region, Republic of Croatia declared the state of epidemics on 12 March 2020. The government of this country introduced the first set of sixty economic measures five days later, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March, and on 2 April it introduced the second package of economic measures. Republic of Serbia announced the state of emergency on 15 March 2020, and ten days later, on 25 March it adopted a set of economic measures for tackling the negative effects of the pandemic. Montenegro registered its first two cases of COVID-19 patients on 17 March 2020, and two days later, on 19 March 2020, the

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government of Montenegro announced its first set of economic measures. North Macedonia declared the state of emergency on 18 March 2020. It adopted the first set of economic measures a week later, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, while it introduced its second set of measures on 3 April 2020.

On the other hand, the executive branch of government in both entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina introduced measures that exclusively limited or suspended certain rights and freedoms of citizens, including the right to work, the right to freedom of movement, and even the right to freedom of speech, justifying it that criticism of imposed measures and irregularities presents spreading of panic among the population. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina has ruled that the decision of Federal Headquarters of Civil Protection and the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on restricting movement of persons under the age of 18 and over the age of 65 was an unconstitutional violation of their basic rights. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that movement restrictions have produced positive results, as the number of those infected and deceased in Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite limited health system resources, is relatively low compared to most other countries in the wider region. However, the measures were efficient because the citizens showed responsibility and discipline in abiding by the prescribed restrictive measures.

A particularly problematic issue is that the government was not fulfilling its basic obligation of caretaking for the people. It did not ensure the implementation of its own measures, due to which authorities at all levels participated in additional violation of rights, primarily the right of children to education. Although schooling was suspended throughout the country in all daycare and school institutions, state authorities on all levels failed to secure technical and infrastructural conditions so that all children could attend online classes. So, for the children coming from families in the state of social need necessary tools in the form of computers or tablets were not provided, nor were they granted free internet access. This example exposes the disbalance in the acts of the governments, which focused solely on restrictive measures, which become repressive from the moment their implementation deprives individuals of certain rights.



One of the additionally recognizable phenomena was the tendency towards introducing totalitarian principles of governing and concentrating power in the hands of small groups of individuals in executive positions, without any logical basis. Although in the countries of the European Union parliamentary sessions were held a regular basis despite the pandemic, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region tendencies of suspension of democratic decision-making apparatuses are visible. In Serbia, when the state of emergency was declared on 15 March 2020, the parliament was suspended and all power was *de facto* concentrated in the hands of the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic. Severe movement restriction measures were introduced, and the citizens who violated the same were harshly punished, some even indicted.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, in its administrative unit of Republic of Srpska, there is a clear tendency of imitating the measures Serbia introduces, which has a political background of adjusting its policies to the ideological center. It is interesting that in the above-mentioned administrative unit the state of emergency was declared following a political agreement reached by two representatives of political parties SDA and SNSD, after which the procedure for assessing the so-called vital national interest was suspended. In this way, a partocratic, noninstitutional practice through which legislative bodies are *de facto* suspended and excluded from the decision-making processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, even without the formal proclamation of state of emergency as a legal mechanism.

Similar practice was confirmed in deciding about taking a loan from the International Monetary Fund, this time under the sponsorship of the Mission of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead of negotiating the conditions through the formal institutions, the Mission of the EU summoned the three presidents of ethnocentric parties, thus indirectly acknowledging them as “leaders” or chiefs of certain ethnic groups. At the meeting which lasted a couple of hours, the trio agreed to take a loan of 330 million euros on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the principles of administering the money, without any consultations with other political parties, and without any discussion and verification of the agreement in a parliamentary procedure. By indebting the country for 330 million euros, every citizen of

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the state – child and adult, was indebted for 110 euros or around 440 euros per average household. This indebtedment of over three million citizens was decided on by three men, who justified their anti-institutional actions referring to the state of emergency, which is in our country a continuous condition.

At the same time, in the administrative unit of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were multiple attempts of suspending the work of the parliament. It was attempted through imposing a decision of the federal government, which was not authorized to do so, as well as through attempts of creating conditions under which parliament would not be able to assemble, such as banning travel and gatherings of larger groups. Such conditions would provide a justification for suspending the highest legislative body of the entity. These ideas were not implemented, and the proclamation of the state of emergency in this entity does not imply the suspension of parliament.

However, by declaring a state of emergency, significant authority was transferred to the Crisis Response Committee of the Federal Office for Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance, as a collective body. In this case, too, there was a concentration of power in the hands of a small number of individuals. Originally, the Committee had 21 members, heads of various institutions and agencies whose line of work was related to crisis management and working in a state of emergency, social and medical care and other important functions of the system in the time of a pandemic. However, soon after its forming, it was reduced to only seven members, with the Prime Minister justifying it by stating that the original structure “was too large, counting 21 person, and it did not answer the tasks set before it, especially in relation to acquiring medical equipment for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina”. As a comparison, the same body in Serbia counts dozens of members with defined subcommittees and their heads, dependent on their field of expertise and jurisdiction. The Croatian counterpart has 22 members.

As a matter of fact, the purpose of such bodies is to plan and coordinate field activities quickly and efficiently. Therefore, similar bodies have more members, including heads of ministries, state services and agencies. With reducing the size of the crisis management team, the only goal achieved was narrowing the decision-making processes down to a small number of individu-

als in power, which as a rule leads to power abuse. The procedure of acquisition of medical equipment was handled and organized is already a subject of multiple investigations by several state agencies, due to flagrant abuse and irregularities.

The mentioned examples, as well as numerous other cases, statements and actions show that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the countries in the region, there still exists a certain neo-communist concept of consummating political power and managing the state institutions. Suspension of institutions and enforcement of a concept of all-powerful leaders who are above the system is a continual practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the state still functions under the imposed, real or pretentious states of emergency.

# RESTRIKCIJA I REPRESIJA: ANALIZA JAVNOG PRISTUPA I PRIMJENE DRUŠTVENIH MJERA U VRIJEME COVID-19 PANDEMIJE

**Nerin Dizdar**

## Uvod

Nakon globalnog širenja oboljenja od virusa korona, koje je rezultiralo proglašenjem stanja pandemije od strane Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije, države i pojedine administrativne jedinice unutar država različito su reagovala na navedenu zdravstvenu prijetnju. Na globalnoj razini su uvedeni razni oblici restrikcija kretanja, propisane su brojne mjere u vezi sa zaštitom zdravlja građana, ekonomske te druge mjere prevencije širenja pandemije. Ovisno o unutrašnjem uređenju i stopi širenja pandemije, mjere su bile predmetom izmjena, dopuna ili potpunog dokidanja, a takva praksa se nastavlja i dalje.

U ovom tekstu će biti analiziran pristup Bosne i Hercegovine i država iz regiona, s posebnim naglaskom na javna elaboriranja pojedinih restriktivnih mjera, propisa te općeg društvenog stanja u vremenu pandemije od strane predstavnika službenih organa vlasti i postupanja raznih organa pri provođenju propisanih mjera. Naglasak je na analiziranju restriktivnih mjera u odnosu na njihove potencijalne zloupotrebe, s ciljem provedbe represivnih mjera kojim su građanima ugrožena ili uskraćena ljudska te druga prava zagarantovana zakonskim propisima države. Također, biće sprovedena i proporcionalnost između donošenja restriktivnih te drugih mjera, bitnih za očuvanje društvenog poretka, poput ekonomskih mjera.

## Postupanje na razini države Bosne i Hercegovine

Na početku je bitno naglasiti da je Bosna i Hercegovina jedina država u Evropi, a vjerovatno i u svijetu, koja na nacionalnoj razini nije propisala jedinstveni set mjera ublažavanja posljedica širenja pandemije Covid-19 ni u jednoj oblasti, uključujući društvene, restriktivne mjere. Koordinacijsko tijelo Bosne i Hercegovine za zaštitu i spašavanje je održalo dva sastanka, a nakon drugog, održanog 26. 03. 2020. godine, predsjedavajući tijela, ministar sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, dao je ostavku na tu funkciju, 30. 03. 2020. godine. Od tada se ovo tijelo, prema javno dostupnim informacijama, više nije ni sastalo. Na toj drugoj, jedinjoj radnoj sjednici organa, uz prethodno održanu konstituirajuću sjednicu, donesen je prijedlog odluke o upućivanju zahtjeva za međunarodnu pomoć za zaštitu i spašavanje u borbi protiv pandemije, koja je upućena na potvrđivanje Vijeću ministara Bosne i Hercegovine. Općinskim, kantonalnim i entitetskim kriznim štabovima preporučeno je da maksimalno reduciraju zahtjeve za pomoć Oružanih snaga Bosne i Hercegovine lokalnim i drugim zajednicama, jer tu pomoć treba tražiti samo kada se iscrpe svi drugi civilni resursi.

Vraćajući se na ostale mjere na razini države, Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine je na sjednici, održanoj 16. 03. 2020. godine, usvojilo osamnaest zaključaka, a član Predsjedništva Milorad Dodik je izjavio da je loša odluka zemalja Evropske unije da ne izvozi medicinsku opremu i medicinska sredstva izvan unije, te, kako je rekao, “to im nećemo zaboraviti”. Od osamnaest mjera, gotovo sve su preporuke i osvrta na postupanja drugih organa i institucija na različitim razinama, a jedinim konkretnim zaključkom je naređeno Oružanim snagama Bosne i Hercegovine da stave na raspolaganje sve svoje resurse za potrebe zaštite od pandemije.

Vijeće ministara Bosne i Hercegovine je 17. 03. 2020. godine usvojilo tekst Odluke o proglašenju stanja prirodne ili druge nesreće na teritoriji države, Odluke o dopuni Odluke o propisivanju dodatnih uslova za ulazak stranaca u državu i Odluke o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o formiranju Koordinacijskog tijela Bosne i Hercegovine za zaštitu i spašavanje. Predsjedavajući Vijeća ministara Bosne i Hercegovine je rekao da je zadaća tijela da koordinira sve aktivnosti borbe protiv virusa korona u državi.

Donošenje Odluke o propisivanju dodatnih uslova za ulazak stranaca je važno i s jednog simboličnog aspekta, s obzirom da njeno donošenje koincidira s vidljivim porastom ksenofobije i nepovjerenja prema strancima, prvenstveno migrantima, u javnom diskursu.

Ministarstvo sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine je dan prije, 16. 03. 2020. godine, izdalo poziv nadležnim organima da “ilegalne ekonomske migrante što prije sklone s ulica”. Indikativno je uvođenje pridjeva “ekonomski” uz naziv migranti, koji se prethodno nije koristio. Namjera je jasna, a to je desenzitivizacija javnosti prema ovoj populaciji. Obilježavanjem migranata kao “ekonomskih” relativizuje se stanje lične nesreće u kojem se nalaze ti ljudi te se u asocijacije na rat i opću nestabilnost, koji su prepoznati kao uzrok migracija u prethodnom periodu, fokus prebacuje na navodni isključivi ekonomski uzrok kretanja stanovništva iz bliskoistočnih i drugih udaljenijih država. Bitno je naglasiti da se zanemaruje činjenica da su razlozi za migracije u svakom slučaju egzistencijalni, a “ekonomizacijom” njihovog uzroka kreira se alibi za dalje represivno postupanje prema ovoj populaciji. S tim u vezi, Ministarstvo sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine je dalo javnu uputu policijskim rukovodiocima da “izdaju naređenja policijskim službenicima da djeluju mnogo energičnije nego do sada” u odnosu prema migrantima. Uputa za “energičnije” djelovanje se može protumačiti isključivo kao poziv na upotrebu sile u značajnijoj razni prema ovoj, ionako obespravljenoj kategoriji.

Kulminaciju antimigrantskog sentimenta predstavlja optuživanje migranata za eventualno produbljenje ekonomske krize, pa je brojka od osam do deset hiljada migranata od strane vlasti predstavljena kao “ogroman balast” za ekonomiju, iako se radi o grupi koja, u odnosu na ukupan broj stanovništva, predstavlja zanemariv porast od približno 0,25%. Bitno je naglasiti da Bosna i Hercegovina dobija milionske iznose iz fondova Evropske unije za osiguranje nužnih uslova za život migranata. Može se reći da optuživanje migranata za doprinošenje ekonomskoj krizi ima brojne odlike propagandnog djelovanja traženja “žrtvenog jarca” u drugima, koje ima velike sličnosti s metodama koje su korištene u retorici radikalnih i nacističkih pokreta iz 20. stoljeća. Radi se o poznatom sociološkom fenomenu kada dominantna grupa u drugom traži uzrok vlastitih problema i nedostataka. Zanimljivo je da u Bosni i Hercegovini, uz sveprisutni rasizam i diskrimina-

ciju stanovništva na osnovi pojedinih identitetskih odrednica, prvenstveno vjerske i etničke, političke elite promiču takve odnose prema migrantima. U njima pronalaze zajedničkog “drugog” na kojeg se projiciraju individualne i kolektivne frustracije i mržnja te se nad njim provodi svojevrsna udružena represija u vanrednim okolnostima.

Ministar sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine je 23. 04. 2020. godine izjavio da Bosna i Hercegovina želi da se riješi “balasta ekonomskih migranata” njihovom deportacijom u matične države, a zatražio je pritvaranje svih onih koji ne pokažu lične dokumente. Izjavio je i da je “moguće da se radi o nekim pripadnicima terorističkih grupa, koji će ovdje čekati dvije godine da sakriju svoju prošlost, da odigraju ulogu spavača”. Tako dodatno je usložen položaj migranata, uz paradoks da, dok su u isto vrijeme etiketirani kao “ekonomski”, bivaju obilježeni i kao sumnjivci za pripadnost određenim militantnim, terorističkim grupama.

Prema tome, uz desenzitivizaciju prema njihovom statusu, uvodi se dodatno negativno kategorisanje migranata i njihovo predstavljanje prijetnjom domaćem stanovništvu, čime se kreiraju svi preduslovi za pojačano represivno djelovanje, pa i za kršenje prava ove populacije i eventualno nasilje prema njima. Milorad Dodik, član državnog Predsjedništva, izjavio je da “one koji su ilegalno ušli treba odmah izbaciti iz Bosne i Hercegovine. To nije humanitarno pitanje, nego sigurnosno.” U zadnjoj rečenici je sumirana tranzicija u javnoj percepciji migranata u Bosni i Hercegovini koji su, bez ikakvog formalnog osnova, proglašeni sigurnosnom prijetnjom, a pozivi za njihovo “izbacivanje” su postali sve učestaliji.

Posebno je zanimljiva epizoda vezana za poziv ministra sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine na deportaciju ambasadora Pakistana, u slučaju njegove nekooperativnosti u vezi s deportacijom migranata iz ove države. Radi se o presedan u političkoj praksi Bosne i Hercegovine koja je naišla na oprečne reakcije i pruzročila određena sukobljavanja u javnom mnijenju između različitih političkih subjekata.

Desenzitivizacija prema migrantskoj populaciji naročito iznenađuje, imajući u vidu iskustva Bosne i Hercegovine, ne samo u vrijeme prethodne agresije i nakon nje, nego i historijsku otvorenost našeg društva prema obespravljenim, s obzirom da je Bosna i Hercegovina u prošlosti često bila ne samo usputna sta-

nica, nego je postajala i dom za razne unesrećene i ugrožene grupacije.

## Postupanje na nižim razinama

Postupci organa vlasti u nižim administrativnim jedinicama države Bosne i Hercegovine, prvenstveno entitetima, bili su konkretniji u propisivanju mjera u odnosu na državnu razinu vlasti. Međutim, posebno je važno naglasiti da su vlasti u oba bosansko-hercegovačka entiteta i u distriktu Brčko naglasak prvenstveno stavili na propisivanje tzv. zdravstvenih mjera, odnosno restriktivnih mjera za građane. Naime, sve donesene mjere u toku prvog mjeseca od pojavljivanja virusa korona bile su vezane za propisivanje raznih oblika ograničenja i zabrana, uz definisanje procedura postupanja u zdravstvenim ustanovama. Nije usvojena niti jedna ekonomska mjera u mjesec dana po izbijanju pandemije. U entitetu Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine prve ekonomske mjere su propisane dva mjeseca po izbijanju pandemije.

Radi usporedbe, samo u regionu, Republika Hrvatska je 12. marta 2020. godine proglasila stanje pandemije. Vlada ove države je pet dana kasnije, 17. marta, donijela 60 ekonomskih mjera ublažavanja njenih posljedica, a 2. aprila, dvadeset dana kasnije, i drugi paket mjera. Republika Srbija je proglasila vanredno stanje 15. marta 2020. godine, a 25. marta je donijela set ekonomskih mjera ublažavanja posljedica pandemije, dakle nakon 10 dana. Crna Gora je 17. marta 2020. godine zabilježila prva dva slučaja oboljenja od virusa korona, a 19. marta, dva dana kasnije, Vlada Crne Gore je objavila donošenje niza ekonomskih mjera. Sjeverna Makedonija je proglasila vanredno stanje zbog pandemije 18. marta 2020. godine. Prvi set ekonomskih mjera je usvojila sedmicu kasnije, 25. marta, a već drugi set mjera je donijela 03. 04. 2020. godine.

S druge strane, izvršna vlast je u oba entiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini donosila mjere i propise kojim se isključivo ograničavaju ili ukidaju određena prava i slobode građana, uključujući pravo na rad, pravo na slobodu kretanja, pa čak i pravo na slobodu govora, uz obrazloženje da kritikovanje poduzetih mjera i uočenih nepravilnosti predstavlja širenje panike među građanima. Ustavni sud Bosne i Hercegovine je presudio da odluka Federalnog štaba civilne zaštite i Vlade Federacije Bosne i



Hercegovine o zabrani kretanja za građane mlađe od 18 i starije od 65 godine predstavlja kršenje njihovih osnovnih prava. Zabrane kretanja su ipak urodile plodom, što je činjenica koju treba istaknuti, pa je broj oboljelih i preminulih u Bosni i Hercegovini, unatoč ograničenim zdravstvenim kapacitetima, relativno nizak u odnosu na većinu drugih država okruženja. Ipak, može se reći da su mjere bile efikasne, jer su građani pokazali odgovornost i pridržavali se propisanih restriktivnih mjera.

Posebno je problematično što vlast istovremeno nije ispunjavala svoju dužnost skrbljenja za građane. Nije osigurala ni implementaciju vlastitih mjera, zbog čega su vlasti na svim razinama učestvovala u dodatnom kršenju prava, prvenstveno prava djece na školovanje. Iako je u čitavoj državi ukinut nastavni proces u predškolskim i školskim ustanovama, državni organi ni na jednoj razini nisu osigurali tehničke i infrastrukturne uvjete za omogućenje pohađanja nastave na daljinu za djecu. Tako, za djecu iz porodica koje su socijalno ugrožene nisu osigurana pomagala u vidu računara ili tableta, a nije im omogućen ni ravnopravan pristup internetu. Navedeni primjer pokazuje disbalans u odnosu vlasti koje su se usredotočile na restriktivne mjere, koje postaju represivne od onog trenutka kada se njihovom primjenom uskraćuje ostvarenje određenog prava.

Jedan od dodatno prepoznatih fenomena je tendencija ka uvođenju totalitarnih principa djelovanja i koncentriranja moći na što manju skupinu pojedinaca u izvršnoj vlasti, bez suvislog utemeljenja. Iako u državama Evropske unije i drugim razvijenim društvima zakonodavna vlast funkcionira bez smetnji unatoč pandemiji, u Bosni i Hercegovini i regiji su primjetne tendencije suspenzije demokratskih alata odlučivanja. U Republici Srbiji je uvođenjem vanrednog stanja 15. 03. 2020. godine suspendovan rad Parlamenta, a cjelokupna moć je *de facto* skoncentrisana u rukama predsjednika i premijerke države. Uvedene su stroge mjere zabrane kretanja, a građani koji su ih kršili čak su i krivično gonjeni.

U Bosni i Hercegovini, u državnoj administrativnoj jedinici Republici Srpskoj, jasna je tendencija imitiranja mjera koje uvodi Srbija, što ima i političku pozadinu usaglašavanja s ideološkom "maticom". Zanimljivo je da je u spomenutoj administrativnoj jedinici do proglašenja vanrednog stanja došlo nakon političkog dogovora između dva predstavnika stranaka SNSD i SDA, nakon

kojeg je obustavljen postupak za ocjenu tzv. vitalnog nacionalnog interesa. Na taj način je potvrđen partitokratski, vaninstitucionalni način djelovanja, kojim se *de facto* suspenduju zakonodavni organi u odlučivanju u Bosni i Hercegovini, i bez formalnog proglašenja vanrednog stanja kao službenog mehanizma.

Slična praksa je potvrđena pri donošenju odluke o zaduživanju Bosne i Hercegovine kod Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda, ovoga puta pod pokroviteljstvom Misije Evropske unije u Bosni i Hercegovini. Umjesto dogovaranja putem institucija sistema, parlamenata i vlada na svim razinama, Misija Evropske unije u Bosni i Hercegovini je sazvala sastanak trojice predsjednika etnokratskih stranaka, tako ih indirektno priznajući kao “vođe” ili poglavice pojedinih etničkih grupa. Taj trojac je na sastanku, koji je trajao nekoliko sati, dogovorio zaduženje Bosne i Hercegovine za 660 miliona KM, kao i principe raspodjele novca, bez ikakvih konsultacija s drugim političkim subjektima i bez rasprave i verifikacije dokumenta u parlamentarnoj proceduri. Zaduženjem od 660 miliona KM svaki građanin države, i dijete i punoljetni stanovnik, zadužen je za 220 KM, odnosno svako prosječno domaćinstvo za približno 900,00 KM. O ovom zaduženju preko tri miliona stanovnika odluku su donijela tri čovjeka, pravdajući svoje antiinstitucionalno postupanje stanjem krize, koja je u našoj državi zapravo kontinuirana.

Istovremeno, u administrativnoj jedinici Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine više puta je došlo do pokušaja suspenzije rada Parlamenta, bilo kroz nametanje odluka Vlade, koja za takvo postupanje nema ovlasti, bilo kroz pokušaje onemogućenja sastajanja Parlamenta zabranama kretanja, kako bi se na taj način stvorili preduslovi za njegovo zakonsko suspendovanje. Ovi pokušaji nisu provedeni u djelo, a proglašenje stanja nesreće do kojeg je došlo ne podrazumijeva suspenziju zakonodavne vlasti.

Proglašenjem stanja nesreće značajne ovlasti su date Kriznom štabu Federalne uprave civilne zaštite kao kolektivnom organu odlučivanja. I u ovom slučaju došlo je do koncentrisanja moći u rukama malog broja pojedinaca. Naime, prvobitni sastav Kriznog štaba brojao je 21 člana, rukovoditelje različitih organa i institucija, čiji je rad povezan s djelovanjem u kriznim situacijama, socijalnom i zdravstvenom njegom i drugim bitnim funkcijama sistema u vremenu pandemije. Međutim, Krizni štab je ubrzo po formiranju, 25. 03. 2020. godine, reduciran na samo sedam

članova, uz opravdanje premijera entiteta da je prethodni saziv "bio glomazan i brojao 21 osobu i nije odgovorio na postavljene zadatke, posebno kada je u pitanju nabavka medicinske opreme za Federaciju Bosne i Hercegovine". Radi ilustracije, Krizni štab Republike Srbije broji desetke članova, s definisanim podštabovima i njihovim rukovoditeljima, ovisno o nadležnosti i oblasti djelovanja. Štab civilne zaštite Republike Hrvatske broji 22 člana.

Naime, svrha štabova je upravo ta da mogu brzo i efikasno planirati i koordinirati aktivnosti na terenu. Stoga, štabovi uglavnom broje veći broj članova i uključuju rukovoditelje svih značajnijih službi, ministarstava i agencija. Reduciranjem Kriznog štaba ostvario se jedino cilj svođenja procesa odlučivanja na uski krug pojedinaca, što u pravilu dovodi do zloupotreba moći. O načinu na koji je kasnije provedena nabavka medicinske opreme već sada istrage vode brojne državne agencije i institucije, zbog očiglednih nepravilnosti i zloupotreba.

Navedeni primjeri, kao i niz drugih slučajeva, izjava i postupaka pokazuju da u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i u državama okruženja, još uvijek postoji svojevrstan neokomunistički koncept promišljanja o konzumiranju političke moći i rukovođenju institucijama sistema. Suspenzija institucija sistema i nametanje koncepta "vođa" koji su iznad sistema stalna je praksa u Bosni i Hercegovini, a država kontinuirano funkcioniše u nametnutim, realnim ili fingiranim vanrednim stanjima.

# NUTRITION AND CORONA VIRUS

**Midhat Jašić**

## Introduction

There are no real cures for viruses, including the corona virus. When disease occurs, treatment is of the symptoms. The only real remedy is to prevent contact with the sick, though hygiene, disinfection and sanitation also have preventive value.

In nutrition, health and food hygiene are always the first priorities in handling and consumption. Then come nutritional value and any bio-active (medicinal) substances it may contain. So, food is definitely not medicine for diseases like Covid-19 but it can help strengthen the immune system. Recent studies, and long known facts, indicate there is a high degree of probability that active components in food can strengthen the human immune system and so support the treatment of Covid-19. One must also realise that while the factors of immune system strength and vitality can be genetic (innate) or acquired, they also are influenced by age, lifestyle, stress, sleep quality, and other life habits.

Being overweight carries risks and can reduce overall immunity and so an additional risk factor, just like physical inactivity. Both factors come to the fore in isolation conditions. Physical activity promotes blood circulation and balances the immune and hormonal systems.

Stress can weaken the immune system and reduce the cell activity required to defend against viral and other diseases. This implies that deregulation and reduced efficiency of the immune system are related to aging, which is probably the reason the elderly are more susceptible to viral infections.

Immune modulation, through a dietary strategy, has not yet been confirmed in practice but promises to maintain general

immune homeostasis and the well-being of the individual and the population.

### Compounds and components of food with immunomodulatory action

The immune system consists of several entities. The skin is the first organ of defence, followed by the digestive and vascular systems and defence systems at the level of each cell and tissue. Some food ingredients have a predominant effect on the digestive system, some on the circulatory system, and some on metabolic processes that take place at the cellular level.

There are three groups of component in food, nutrients (macro and micro), biologically active ingredients, and toxic or harmful components. Nutrients are substances important for obtaining energy, building the body, and protecting and regulating metabolic processes. Biologically active components are not nutrients but do have important functions in protecting health and strengthening the immune system. Harmful components are most often residues from production or contaminants that reduce the efficiency of the defence system (they act as immunosuppressants), while nutrients and biologically active ingredients strengthen it (immunostimulants). This means that there are many natural compounds in food that have an immunostimulatory effect in the digestive tract, further in the bloodstream, or in the circulatory system in general. These ingredients have different mechanisms of defence action. Some of them destroy or inhibit various forms of microorganisms in the direct contact. This action is performed by destroying the phospholipids' membrane, inhibiting enzymatic reactions or acting on the genetic structure of microorganisms. Alternatively, they may have an indirect impact on the immune system through various biochemical mechanisms.

When it comes to nutrition, the first line of defence of the body is the digestive system, which makes up the largest part of the immune system. Immune factors of the digestive system are made up of naturally occurring components that are an integral part of it. These are, first of all, natural antibacterial components in the mouth, such as: IgA, enzymes (lysozyme and myeloperoxi-

dase) and mucin. Mucosal barriers in the mouth and nose have a significant function in the immune system, especially mucin and lysozyme. The mucosal barrier has been proven to be very powerful. On the other hand, it should be noted that dry air destroys the mucosa in the nose and mouth. If the air in a room is dry, it dries the mucous membrane, so the recommendation to maintain relative humidity at between 60 to 80% is extremely important.

The acidic pH value in the stomach and the alkali in the small intestine are a kind of antibacterial and protective factor. The rest of the digestive system is intestinal biota and Gut-Associated Lymphoid Tissue, or GALT. In fact, the gut has the largest mass of lymph tissue in the body. GALT also stores immune cells, such as T and B lymphocytes, that defend the digestive tract from pathogens.

The second part, which can strengthen the immune system, is a wide range of ingredients that are ingested with food. From the group of milk and dairy products we have: colostrums, probiotics, whey, sour milk and curd cheese. They contain well-studied ingredients such as immunoglobulin, immunoalbumins, lysozyme, free nucleotides, free amino acids, conjugated linolenic acid (CLA), lecithin, calcium and others.

In the group of fruits and vegetables, berries and berry fruits have been especially important lately, due to their high content of polyphenols and flavonoids; especially anthocyanins and proanthocyanidins, which have proven protective roles. These ingredients act as powerful antioxidants. Nuts are a source of essential linolenic acid and vitamin E. In general, fruits and vegetables contain phytochemicals (polyphenols, flavonoids, carotenoids, phytosterols, lignans, etc.), as well as water-soluble and some liposuction vitamins. Each type of fruit and vegetable contains a specific active ingredient; allyl sulphides in garlic stimulate enzymes responsible for the elimination of toxic substances from the body, isocyanates from broccoli and other cabbages stimulate protective enzymes, indoles from green leafy vegetables have antiestrogenic effects, soy isoflavones have multiple ability to reduce the risk of cancer colon, flaxseed lignans, antiestrogens, flavonoids and carotenoids from fruits and vegetables have antioxidant action against free radicals and so significantly reduce the risk of damage to DNA structure.

In cereals, especially in the husk, there are beta glucans that have anti-inflammatory effects. Cereal germ is rich in protein enzymes, minerals calcium and iron and vitamin E. Mushrooms are known for their beta glucan and selenium (antioxidant). Algae are a significant source of iodine and chlorophyll and minerals from the sea. These are: Kelp, Nori, Kombu, Wakame, Spirulina and Chlorella. Brewer's yeast is a source of selenium, but also of most B-complex vitamins as well as beta glucans. Bee products like honey, pollen, propolis, and royal jelly are useful as immunomodulators.

Particularly prominent antimicrobial effects of spicy vegetables are: allicin in onion, capsaicin in hot peppers, piperine in pepper, cinnamon aldehyde in cinnamon, eugenol in cloves, carvacol in oregano, and thymol in thyme, hot pepper (alpsil pepper) isothiocyanate in mustard, oleuropein in olive oil, catechins in green tea, lycopene from tomatoes and many others. Teas and herbs are an extremely important source of immunomodulatory and antimicrobial components.

The use of some nutrients, especially vitamins E and C, minerals Se and Zn, and phytochemicals (polyphenols, flavonoids, carotenoids, saponins, lignans, etc.) and probiotics, docosahexaenoic (DHA) and eicosapentaenoic acid (EPA) are very common nutritional tools to improve the immune system.

Products that do not consist of a single chemical entity, such as plant extracts, dietary supplements, and functional foods, can exhibit an even greater plurality of effects.

Two forms of penicillin are known to folk medicine: Russian penicillin (garlic), and the other is Jewish penicillin - chicken soup with pepper and onion, which undoubtedly strengthen immunity and many believe also have antiviral effects.

## Dietary supplements and preparations used for immune system support

Dietary supplements are concentrates and extracts of biologically active food ingredients or other sources with physiological functions and the purpose of further enriching the intake of nutrients in the usual daily diet. They are extracts and concentrates that contain larger amounts of a particular active substance than

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that naturally occurring in food. They are based on the biological activity of the components they contain. Some of these supplements strengthen the immune system in general, especially at the cellular level, as powerful antioxidants. These are the same food components already been mentioned but concentrated and prepared in different pharmaceutical forms.

The most famous are: colostrums, royal jelly, preparations based on propolis, various preparations extracted and concentrated from fruits, vegetables, spices and herbs, and vitamins and minerals.

The therapeutic concentration of immunomodulators from food is often insufficient; so many different types of dietary supplements are available on the market. Some of the components in the human body cannot be synthesized at all after a certain age, most often after the forties. These include alpha lipid acid, coenzyme Q10, amongst others, so they need to be taken with food. Vitamin D is deficient in more than 60% of the world's population.

The specific needs of individuals or groups should be aligned with the immunomodulatory properties of individual products. One type of food with immunomodulatory action may not suit everyone, but the development of an individual diet that is tailored for each individual is a concept to strive for in the future. In this concept, the lack of certain essential nutrients, but also protective immunostimulating substances, can be compensated by taking the recommended doses of supplements in the daily diet.

Preparations are available in pharmacies and can be used for the purpose of strengthening the immune system and thus partially preventing viral infections. These preparations contain alpha lipid acid, acetyl cysteine and glucosamines, known antioxidants zinc and selenium, beta glucans, chokeberry, etc. Doses should be determined in consultation with a doctor or a nutritionist, and health status, age, body weight, etc. should be taken into account.

## Meal organization

The question arises of how to schedule meals. The preparation and schedule of daily meals should be based on moderation and variety, with the obligatory consumption of warm drinks, fresh fruits and vegetables and foods consisting of whole grains.



The protein foods, the types of dairy products already mentioned, chicken and fish, are recommended. Eggs can be consumed in an amount of 1 to 2 per day.

For example, consume sour milk, kefir or buttermilk for breakfast, because it's recommended for respiratory diseases as well. Tea and white coffee (especially with chicory) are also recommended. Lunch, for example chicken soup (Jewish penicillin), meat stew, vegetable salad and wholemeal bread, and for dinner half of the food from lunch with a focus on fish dishes and salads. Blue fish and North Sea fish are recommended. The spices that are recommended are: garlic, ginger and lemon, hot and sweet peppers, pepper, oregano, cloves and others.

The recommended foods are fruit and lactic acid dairy products.

It is good to have canned sardines and fish in stock (other cans are not recommended in a healthy diet for the elderly). Integral pasta is important.

It should be noted that black tea contains theophylline, which is normally used as a remedy for asthma, so it can help with respiratory problems (present in acute Covid19 conditions).

## Conclusion and recommendation

Due to the concentration of powerful herbal compounds, many active ingredients from food help fight against the virus and are favoured by practitioners of folk and even natural medicine. These are primarily active components of spices and herbs: cloves, garlic, onion, oregano, sage, basil, fennel, mint, rosemary, Echinacea, green tea, cinnamon, turmeric and others.

The most studied immunomodulatory components of food are: colostrums, probiotics, prebiotics, immunoalbumins, immunoglobulin, polyphenols, flavonoids, carotenoids, and betaglucans. Vitamins (C, E and D), minerals (Zn, Se), and many other ingredients from spices and aromatic herbs. Most of these ingredients in the form of concentrated active ingredients are commercially available as dietary supplements or functional foods.

The meal preparation as well as the use of dietary supplements should be in consultation with a doctor and a nutritionist, especially when it comes to the above-mentioned active compo-

nents of food, because of the possible contraindications and especially interactions with drugs.

In any case, it is worth taking nutritional and dietary measures for all age groups. Special activities should be taken to help the most vulnerable population, grandparents and persons over 65 years of age in general.

# PREHRANA I VIRUS KORONA

Midhat Jašić

## Uvod

Za viruse, pa i virus koronu, nema pravih lijekova. Kad bolest nastupi, liječenje je simptomatsko. Jedini pravi lijek je sprečavanje kontakta s oboljelima, a preventiva su još higijena, dezinfekcija i sanitacija. U prehrani su zdravstvena ispravnost i higijena hrane uvijek prvi prioritet u rukovanju i konzumiranju. Zatim slijede njena nutritivna vrijednost i sadržaj biološki aktivnih (ljekovitih) tvari. Ipak, hrana u svakom slučaju nije lijek kod bolesti kao što je Covid-19, ali sigurno može pomoći u jačanju imunog sistema. Tako i neka novija istraživanja, a i odavno poznate činjenice, ukazuju na to da postoji visoki stupanj vjerojatnoće upotrebe aktivnih komponenti hrane u jačanju imunog sistema čovjeka, a time i u podršci liječenju Covid-19. Prije svega, valja uzeti u obzir i činjenicu da su faktori od kojih ovisi jačina i vitalnost imunog sistema genetski (urođeni) i stečeni, ali i starosna dob, životni stil, stres, kvaliteta sna i druge životne navike.

Višak kilograma nosi rizike i može smanjiti ukupan imunitet, pa je dodatni rizički faktor, isto kao i fizička neaktivnost. Oba faktora dolaze do izražaja u uvjetima izolacije. Treba znati da fizička aktivnost podstiče cirkulaciju, uravnotežuje i imuni i hormonalni sistem.

Stres može oslabiti imuni sistem i smanjiti aktivnosti stanica koje su potrebne za obranu od virusnih te mnogih drugih bolesti. To podrazumijeva da su disregulacija i smanjenje efikasnosti imunog sistema povezani s procesom starenja. To je vjerovatno i razlog da su kod virusnih infekcija starije osobe osjetljivije.

Imunološka modulacija preko prehrambene strategije još uvijek nije u praksi potvrđena, ali obećava održavanje opće imunološke homeostaze kod zdravlja pojedinca i populacije.

## Spojevi i sastojci iz hrane sa imunomodulirajućim djelovanjem

Imuni sistem sastoji se od nekoliko entiteta. Koža je organ koja je prva linije odbrane, zatim slijede probavni, krvožilni i odbrambeni sistemi na razini svake stanice i tkiva. Neki sastojci iz hrane dominantno djeluju na probavni, neki na krvožilni sistem, a neki na metaboličke procese koji se odvijaju na nivou stanice.

Postoje tri grupe sastojaka hrane, a to su nutrijenti (makro i mikro), biološki aktivni sastojci i toksične po zdravlje štetne komponente hrane. Nutrijenti su hranjive tvari, značajne za dobijanje energije, gradnju tijela, ali i za zaštitu i regulaciju metaboličkih procesa. Biološki aktivne komponente nisu nutrijenti, ali imaju značajne funkcije u zaštiti zdravlja i jačanju imunog sistema. Po zdravlje štetni sastojci su najčešće rezidue iz proizvodnje kao i različiti kontaminati koji smanjuju efikasnost odbrambenog sistema (djeluju kao imunosupresori), dočim ga nutrijenti i biološki aktivni sastojci jačaju (imuno stimulansi). To podrazumijeva da postoje mnogi prirodni spojevi iz hrane koji djeluju imunostimulirajuće u probavnom traktu, dalje u krvotoku ili općenito u cirkulaciji. Ovi sastojci imaju različite mehanizme odbrambenog djelovanja. Neki od njih u direktnom kontaktu uništavaju ili inhibiraju različite forme mikroorganizama. To djelovanje se obavlja putem destrukcije fosfolipidne membrane, inhibicijom enzimskih reakcija ili djelovanjem na genetsku strukturu mikroorganizama. Drugi način je indirektno djelovanje na imuni sistem, putem različitih biokemijskih mehanizama.

Kad je u pitanju prehrana, u prvoj liniji obrane organizma je probavni sistem koji čini najveći dio imunog sistema. Imune faktore probavnog sistema čine prirodno prisutne komponente koje su njegov sastavni dio. To su, prije svega, u ustima, prirodni antibakterijski sastojci, kao što su: IgA, enzimi (lizozim i mieloperoksidaze) te mucin. Mukozne barijere u ustima i nosu imaju značajnu funkciju u imunom sistemu, posebno komponente mucin i lizozim. Pokazalo se da je mukozna barijera vrlo moćna. S druge strane, valja znati da suhi zrak uništava mukozu u nosu i ustima. Ako je zrak suh u prostoriji, on suši sluznicu, pa je preporuka za održavanje relativne vlažnosti zraka u rasponu od 60 do 80% u prostorijama izuzetno značajna.

Kisela pH vrijednost u želudcu i bazna u tankom crijevu su svojevrsan antibakterijski i zaštitni faktor. Ostali dio probavnog sistema je crijevna biota i crijevno-limfno tkivo, ili GALT (od engl. *gut-associated lymphoid tissue*). U stvari, crijevo ima najveću masu limfnog tkiva u tijelu. GALT pohranjuje i imunostanice, kao što su T i B limfociti, koji brane probavni trakt od patogena.

Drugi dio kojim se može jačati imuni sistem je širok spektar sastojaka koje se unose s hranom. Iz grupe mlijeka i mliječnih proizvoda su: kolostrum, probiotici, sirutka, kiselo mlijeko i mladi sir. U njima se nalaze dobro izučavani sastojci, kao što su imunoglobulini, imunoalbumini, lizozim, slobodni nukleotidi, slobodne aminokiseline, konjugirana linolenska kiselina (CLA), lecitin, kalcij i drugi.

Iz grupe voće i povrće u posljednje vrijeme naročito je značajno bobičasto voće, zbog visokog sadržaja polifenola i flavonoida; naročito antocijana i proantocijanida koji imaju provjereno protektivne uloge. Ovi sastojci djeluju kao snažni antioksidansi. Jezgrasto voće je izvor esencijalne linolenske kiseline i vitamina E. Općenito, voće i povrće sadrži fitokemikalije (polifenoli, flavonoidi, karotnoidi, fitosteroli, lignani itd) te hidrosolubilne i neke liposolubilne vitamine. Svaka vrsta voća i povrća sadrži za nju specifičan aktivni sastojak; alil-sulfidi u češnjaku stimuliraju enzime koji su zaduženi za eliminaciju toksičnih tvari iz organizma, izocijanati iz brokule i drugih kupusnjača stimuliraju zaštitne enzime, indoli iz zelenog lisnatog povrća djeluju antiestrogeno, izoflavoni iz soje imaju višestruku sposobnost smanjivanja rizika za pojavu raka nekih lokacija (debelog crijeva), lignani iz sjemenca lana djeluju antiestrogeno, flavonoidi i karotenoidi iz voća i povrća djeluju antioksidacijski protiv slobodnih radikala i na taj način bitno smanjuju rizik od oštećenja DNA strukture.

U žitaricama, posebno u ljusci, nalaze se beta glukani koji imaju antiinflamatorno djelovanje. Klica žitarica je bogata proteinsko enzimskim sastojcima, mineralima kalcijem i željezom te vitaminom E. Gljive su poznate po sadržaju beta glukana i selena (antioksidans). Alge su značajan izvor joda i klorofila te minerala iz mora. To su: *Kelp*, *Nori*, *Kombu*, *Wakame*, *Spirulina* i *Chlorella*. Pivarski kvasac je izvor selena, ali i većine vitamina B kompleksa kao i beta glukana. Pčelinji proizvodi su med, polen, propolis, matična mliječ, vosak i perga. Kao imunomodulatori

najviše se koristi matična mliječ, propolis, polen i posebne vrste meda.

Naročito su izražena antimikrobna djelovanja začinskog povrća i to su spojevi: alicini u luku, kapsaicini u ljutim paprikama, piperin u papru, cimet aldehid u cimetu, eugenol u karanfilcima, karvakol u origanu, timol u majčinoj dušici, ljuta paprika (kapsaicin), alil izotiocijanat u gorušici, oleuropein u maslinovom ulju, katehini u zelenom čaju, likopen iz paradajza i mnogi drugi. Čajevi i začinske biljke izuzetno su značajan izvor imunomodulirajućih i antimikrobnih komponenti.

Upotreba nekih prehrambenih sastojaka, osobito vitamina E i C, minerala Se i Zn kao i fitokemikalija (polifenola, flavonoida, karotenoida, saponina, lignana i sl) te probiotika, dokozaheksenske (DHA) i eikozapentaenska kiseline (EPA) su vrlo česti nutricionistički alati za poboljšanje imunološkog sistema.

Proizvodi koji se ne sastoje od jednog hemijskog entiteta, kao što su biljni ekstrakti, dodaci prehrani i funkcionalna hrana mogu ispoljiti još veći pluralitet efekata.

U narodnoj medicini su poznata dva penicilina: ruski penicilin (češnjak), a drugi je jevrejski penicilin – pileća juha s biberom i lukom, koji nesumnjivo jačaju imunitet, a mnogi smatraju da imaju i antivirusno djelovanje.

## Dodaci prehrani i preparati koji se koriste kao podrška imunom sistemu

Dodaci prehrani su koncentri i ekstrakti biološki aktivnih sastojaka hrane ili drugih izvora s fiziološkim funkcijama i svrhom da dodatno obogate unos hranjivih sastojaka u uobičajenoj svakodnevnoj prehrani. Oni su ekstrakti i koncentri koji sadrže veće količine određene djelatne tvari nego šta se ta tvar u prirodnom obliku pojavljuje u hrani. Temelje se na biološkoj aktivnosti komponenti koje one sadrže. Neki od tih dodataka jačaju imuni sistem općenito, naročito na staničnoj razini kao moćni antioksidansi. To su iste komponente hrane koje su već spomenute, ali koncentrirane i pripremljene u različitim farmaceutskim oblicima. Najpoznatiji su: kolostrum, matična mliječ, preparati na bazi propolisa, različiti preparati ekstrahirani i koncentrirani iz voća, povrća, začinskog i ljekovitog bilja te vitamini i minerali.

Terapijska koncentracija imunomodulatora iz hrane često nije dovoljna, pa je mnoštvo različitih vrsta dodataka prehrani dostupno na tržištu. Neke od komponenti u ljudskom organizmu se uopće ne mogu sintetizirati nakon određene starosne dobi, najčešće poslije četrdesetih. To su, naprimjer, alfa lipoična kiselina, koenzim Q10 i drugi, pa ih je potrebno unositi s hranom. Vitamina D nedostaje kod više od 60% svjetske populacije.

Specifične potrebe pojedinaca ili grupa trebaju biti usklađene s imunomodulatornim svojstvima pojedinih proizvoda. Jedna vrsta hrane s imunomodulirajućim djelovanjem ne mora odgovarati svima, ali je razvoj individualne prehrane, koja je prilagođen svakom pojedincu, koncept kojem treba težiti u budućnosti. U tom konceptu nedostatak pojedinih esencijalnih nutrijenata, ali i protektivnih imunostimulirajućih tvari, može se nadoknaditi unosom preporučenih doza dodataka u svakodnevnoj prehrani.

U apotekama su dostupni preparati koji se mogu koristiti u svrhu jačanja imunog sistema i na taj način djelomično djelovati ka prevenciji viralnih infekcija. Ovi preparati sadrže lipoičnu kiselinu, acetil cistein i glukozamine, poznate antioksidanse cink i selen, beta glukane, aroniju i dr. Doze treba koristiti u konsultaciji s liječnikom ili nutricionistom, jer se uzima u obzir i zdravstveni status, starosna dob, tjelesna masa itd.

## Organizacija obroka

Nameće se pitanje kako rasporediti obroke. Priprema i raspored dnevnih obroka treba se oslanjati na umjerenost i raznolikost, uz obavezno konzumiranje toplih napitaka, svježeg voća i povrća te namirnica koje se sastoje od žitarica punog zrna. Od proteinske hrane preporučuju se vrste mliječnih proizvoda koje su već spomenute, pileće meso i riba. Jaja se mogu konzumirati u količini 1 do 2 dnevno.

Tako, naprimjer, za doručak konzumirati kiselo mlijeko, kefir ili mlaćenice, jer su preporučeni i kod respiratornih bolesti. Od pića čaj i bijela kafa (posebno s cikorijom) su također preporučeni. Ručak, naprimjer, pileća supa (jevrejski penicilin), varivo s mesom, salata od povrća i integralni kruh; a za večeru polovina namirnica iz ručka s težištem na jela od ribe i salatama. Preporučuju se plave ribe i ribe sjevernih mora. Od začina češće

se mogu koristiti: bijeli luk, đumbir i limun, ljuta i slatka paprika, biber, origano, klinčići i ostali.

Međuobroci su preporučeni da budu od voća te mliječnokiselih proizvodi.

Na zalihama dobro je imati konzervirane sardine i ribu (ostale konzerve nisu za preporuku u zdravoj prehrani za starije osobe). Integralne tjestenine su značajne.

Valja uzeti u obzir da crni čaj sadrži teofilin koji se inače koristi kao lijek za astmu, pa može pomoći kod disajnih tegoba (prisutnih u akutnim stanjima Covid-19).

## Zaključak i preporuka

Zbog koncentracije moćnih biljnih spojeva, mnogi aktivni sastojci iz hrane pomažu u borbi protiv virusa, a favoriziraju ih praktičari narodne, pa i prirodne medicine. To su, prije svega, aktivne komponente začina i biljaka: klinčići, češnjak, luk, origano, kadulja, bosiljak, komorač, metvica, ruzmarin, echinacea, zeleni čaj, cimet, kurkuma i druge. Najviše proučavane imunomodulirajuće komponente hrane su: kolostrum, probiotici, prebiotici, imunoalbumini, imunoglobulini, polifenoli, flavonoidi, karotenoidi, betaglucani, vitamini (C, E i D), minerali (Zn, Se), te drugi brojni sastojci iz začinskog i aromatičnog bilja. Većina ovih sastojaka u obliku koncentriranih aktivnih komponenti su dostupni komercijalno kao dodaci prehrani ili funkcionalna hrana.

Priprema obroka kao i korištenje dodataka prehrani treba da je u konzultacijama s liječnikom i nutricionistom, posebno gore pomenutih aktivnih komponenti hrane, a sve zbog mogućih kontraindikacija i, posebno, interakcije s lijekovima.

U svakom slučaju vrijedi poduzeti i nutritivno dijetetske mjere za sve dobne skupine. Posebno treba poduzeti aktivnosti kako bi pomogli osjetljivoj populaciji, a najviše trebaju nane i didovi preko 65 godina starosti.



# THE PANDEMIC, NATION AND FREEDOM

Taner Aličehić

Today Europe, and the world at large, face a whole new challenge. There is no doubt over the need to “analyse” the unexpected appearance of this virus that little was known about. The circumstances and ramifications in the north of Italy and the secrecy of Chinese authorities when it comes to the number of infected and dead have reminded the governments of liberal democracies that they must not leave matters to be decided by fate. The available facts scared many serious European politicians who resorted to radical measures in the absence of information. The need for all such measures is already questionable today. But better safe than sorry, especially when dealing with an unknown disease.

The possible abuses of the pandemic by governments in some countries alarmed many intellectuals and thinkers around the world. One of the first reactions came from the well-known Israeli historian and author Yuval Noah Harari<sup>1</sup>, who pointed out that human rights could be at stake in light of abuses of technology. Harari notes that the global fight against the pandemic could have significant repercussions in terms of population control and surveillance technologies.

There is no need to doubt the good intentions of politicians in the majority of liberal democracies where individual human rights are inviolable, and as such have long been enshrined in the values of these societies and incorporated into political education. What is questionable are the intentions of politicians ruling nations that have stopped (or fallen behind) on the path of civil

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1 Yuval Noah Harari, “The world after coronavirus”, *Financial Times*, 20 March 2020

society development. Within such national identities, the individual has (still) not become the focus of national policy instead of the collective. Hence, human rights are not among the priorities of the ruling caste. These are nations, or rather national ideologies that have not rid themselves of the detrimental legacy of original nationalisms. It is precisely in these societies that the crisis brought out “ill-intentioned” decisions, from “security measures” aimed at silencing the opposition and facilitating a victory at the coming elections to controls imposed on citizens through the use of modern technologies and even the first signs of dictatorial behaviour.

In the European media space, it was Hungary and Serbia that attracted particular attention among professional reporters. Aleksandar Vučić, or, as *Der Spiegel*<sup>2</sup> referred to him, the “corona dictator” is mentioned alongside Hungarian president Viktor Orbán as one of the politicians who have used the circumstances to extend their influence. The article notes that among the countries in the region, Serbia has distanced itself the most from the rule of law in the past period. Serbian opposition politicians, civil rights activists and independent media unanimously speak of a constitutional violation in the form of a coup committed by president Vučić.

In Hungary,<sup>3</sup> Viktor Orbán has used a new law to assume additional powers that have elicited serious concern in the European Community. The opposition and democratic public have warned that the new law allows the authorities to curtail freedom of speech and prosecute all those who disagree with the ruling policy. Anyone concealing information that may help contain the epidemic is subject to rigorous sanctions (up to 5 years in prison), while the prosecutors have broad discretion in “estimating” what constitutes false information. The new law also undermines the right to new elections and referendums.

Which nations, or rather, which national ideologies are susceptible to abuse of the situation to quash human freedoms?

Today, both Serbia and Hungary are poisoned by a dangerous nationalism intent on “redrawing” borders. At the time of the

2 *Der Spiegel*, “Die Demokratie wird eingesperrt”, *Keno Verseck*, 28 April 2020

3 “For Autocrats, and Others, Coronavirus Is a Chance to Grab Even More Power” by Selam Gebrekidan *NY Times* Published March 30, 2020

pandemic, Victor Orbán's "references" to the border of Greater Hungary, which disappeared in 1920, have reawakened old ghosts. Viktor Orbán has decided to awaken the most primitive impulses of his people in order to show his electorate how Europe never "liked" Hungary. And that, if they know what's good for them, Hungarians must find their own way, Orbán's way.<sup>4</sup> Official Serbia has exhibited similar conduct, never missing an opportunity to stress its territorial aspiration to the neighbouring Bosnian nation by way of its Trojan horse in the guise of Milorad Dodik. Seeking international support and legitimacy to continue the genocidal policies of war criminals from the 1990s, throughout the crises Serbia has endeavoured to ingratiate itself with the "fraternal peoples" of China and Russia. "When China sent an aircraft with help to Serbia, President Vučić made a great show of it. But, when far more substantial EU aid arrives there is no fanfare and no President in sight," tweeted Carl Bildt, Swedish diplomat and think tank co-chair.<sup>5</sup>

Expansionist nationalism is by its very nature an aggressive and radical form of nationalism, and today it has permeated both Serbian and Hungarian official policy. At its core is a lack of respect for state borders. This type of nationalism was found in the policies of Germany, Italy and Japan on the eve of the Second World War, but today it is discernible in the policies of Balkan nations in the form of Greater Albania, Greater Bulgaria, Greater Croatia, Greater Hungary, Greater Romania, and Greater Serbia. Some nationalist expansionist ideologies are interwoven with a kind of religious nationalism, where the identity of a people/nation is equated with religious belonging. The politicisation of religion and its influence in politics are common to this type of nationalism, which the Serbian national ideology has brought almost to perfection.

How do we resist the negative consequences of these current challenges?

The key word is trust. The trust that the government has towards its citizens, the trust of the population towards its gov-

4 "Što je točno Orbánova karta koja je uzburkala duhove, a Milanović ju je nazvao 'mračnim fetišem'? Evo kako je najveća mađarska trauma prerasla u mit", Slobodna Dalmacija, Marina KARLOVIĆ SABOLIĆ, 8 May 2020

5 "Srbija: EU pomaže više, ali je Kina 'bratska'", Sanja Kljajić for DW, 4 April 2020

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ernment, trust among nations and, finally, trust among people who respect each other enough not to endanger each other.

It would be naive to expect that the technologies used in many countries during this crisis will simply disappear after the pandemic, they will remain in use by governments. The challenge is vast. It is worth remembering the scandal with *Cambridge Analytica* which pales in comparison to what China has used during the pandemic.

Choosing between protecting the collective, health and fighting these viruses, while at the same time feeding the unhealthy ambitions of small dictators and their governments that could easily slip into totalitarianism is the challenges of the 21st century. And it is evident that many nations today have reasons to be concerned for the future of democracy and human rights. And instead of the world uniting to fight a common evil, all nations have turned to measures that impose restrictions on their inhabitants.

Incidentally, I spent the height of the Covid-19 pandemic in the Canton of Zug in Switzerland. The authorities of this nation demonstrated a high degree of realistic thinking when it came to their attitude towards the population. The ban on gatherings never undermined individual rights. No one was banned from moving about, but regular communication helped build a relationship of trust that resulted in each individual behaving responsibly. People spoke from a distance, followed instructions, avoided contact with the elderly and all other vulnerable groups. The economy continued to operate within its possibilities while upholding protection measures. On the day when safety measures were relaxed, all the people I spoke with were on their way to help, as much as possible, that portion of the population that had suffered economically over the past two months. With a mind to helping, they went to restaurants and shops and made appointments with their hair dressers. Not always out of need, but out of solidarity.

It is perhaps not even worth mentioning how inconceivable the Swiss find the concept of national identity as it is understood in Serbia. The Swiss are proud of their diversity in every respect, without degrading their national identity and without equating it with any single ethnic group (people), religious community, lan-

guage or any other discriminatory factor that could endanger the individual. The Swiss national identity is based on citizenship.

The coronavirus is a test of democracy and the notion of civil society based on individual rights, most certainly the highest achievement of modern civilisation. We have seen how societies, nations, that systematically place the collective above the individual end up abused for the benefit of the few people in power. Isolationism, evidently cherished in nations that are either still developing democracy or are ideologically trapped in the above described nationalisms, poses a real risk of returning to dark times.

Time will tell whether this crisis will teach all nations to work together, to share knowledge and information, so that the human race may finally learn to defeat pandemics that can clearly, now more than ever, destroy everything this civilisation has achieved. That is why we need trust among people and among nations, as well as a much higher form of responsibility towards others by a nation that has set the civilisational standards of our times, the United States of America. Nations that have achieved the highest degree of democracy and development and that have built societies where individuals and not collectives make the state successful have the responsibility to set an example.

Translated by Ulvija Tanović

# PANDEMIJA, NACIJA I SLOBODA

Taner Aličehić

Današnja Evropa, kao i cijeli svijet, nalazi se pred sasvim novim iskušenjem. Nije upitna potreba da se neočekivana pojava virusa, o kojem se nije mnogo znalo, mora “analizirati”. Okolnosti i posljedice u kojima se našao sjever Italije i tajnovitosti kineskih vlasti o pitanju broja zaraženih i umrlih podsjetile su vlasti liberalno-demokratskih država da se ne smiju prepustiti sudbini. Dostupne činjenice su uplašile mnoge ozbiljne evropske političare, koji su u neznanju pribjegli radikalnim rješenjima. Koliko su sve te mjere bile neophodne, to je već danas upitno. Ali bolje spriječiti nego liječiti, pogotovo kada ta bolest nije poznata.

Moguća zloupotreba pandemije od strane vlasti u nekim zemljama je uzbunila mnoge intelektualce i mislioce širom svijet. Jedna od prvih reakcija došla je od poznatog izraelskog historičara i autora Yuval Noah Hararia<sup>1</sup>, koji je ukazao na bitku za ljudska prava u svjetlu zloupotrebe tehnologije. Harari naglašava da bi borba protiv pandemije, kroz koju prolazi cijeli svijet, mogla ostaviti značajne posljedice na tehnike kontrole i posmatranja stanovništva.

Nema potrebe sumnjati u dobronamjernost političara većine liberalno-demokratskih nacija, gdje su ljudska prava pojedinca nepovrediva, te kao takva već odavno utemeljena u vrijednosti tog društva i dio su političkog odgoja. Upitna je dobra namjera političara koji upravljaju nacijama koje su zastale (ili zaostale) na putu razvoja građanskog društva. U takvim nacionalnim identitetima pojedinac (još) nije postao suština nacionalne politike u odnosu na kolektiv. Time ljudska prava nisu prioritet vladajućeg sloja. Radi se o nacijama, tj. nacionalnim ideologijama koje se

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1 Yuval Noah Harari, “The world after coronavirus”, *Financial Times*, 20.3.2020.

nisu oslobodile negativnog naslijeđa prvobitnih nacionalizama. Upravo je u tim društvima u ovoj krizi došlo do “zlonamjernih” odluka od “mjera sigurnosti”, kako bi se opozicija utišala i olakšala pobjeda na nadolazećim izborima, preko nametnutih kontrola građana kroz upotrebu modernih tehnologija, pa sve do prvih naznaka diktatorskog ponašanja.

U evropskom medijskom prostoru Mađarska i Srbija su posebno privukle pažnju profesionalnog novinarstva. Aleksandar Vučić ili “korona diktator”, kako ga je nazvao *Der Spiegel*<sup>2</sup>, spominje se uz Viktora Orbana, predsjednika Mađarske, kao jednog od političara koji je iskoristio okolnosti za dalje širenje svoga utjecaja. U pomenutom članku smatra se da je Srbija u proteklom periodu zemlja u regionu koja se do sada najviše udaljila od vladavine zakona. Srbijanski opozicioni političari, aktivisti za građanska prava i nezavisni mediji gotovo jednoglasno govore o kršenju Ustava i vidu državnog udara koji je počinio predsjednik Vučić.

U Mađarskoj<sup>3</sup> Viktor Orban je sebi novim zakonom osigurao dodatne ovlasti koje uveliko zabrinjavaju Evropsku zajednicu. Opozicija i demokratska javnost opominju kako novi zakon dozvoljava vlastima da ograniče slobodu govora i da progone sve koji se ne slažu s vladajućom politikom. Svaka osoba koja bude krila informacije koje mogu pomoći oko suzbijanja epidemije izlaže se rigoroznim kaznama (do 5 godina zatvora), a tužilaštvo dobija odriježene ruke kad je u pitanju “procjena” šta predstavlja lažno informisanje. Novim zakonom se dovodi u pitanje i pravo na nove izbore i referendum.

Koje nacije ili, bolje rečeno, nacionalne ideologije su sklone zloupotrebi nastale situacije za gušenje ljudskih sloboda?

I Srbija i Mađarska su danas zatrovane opasnim nacionalizmom koji bi “ponovo” crtao granice. U vrijeme pandemije “pod-sjećanje” Viktora Orbana na granice Velike Ugarske, koje su nestale 1920. godine, ponovo su probudile stare duhove. Viktor Orban je odlučio probuditi najprimitivnije strasti svog naroda, kako bi svojim biračima pokazao da Evropa nikada nije “voljela” Mađarsku. I da Mađari, ako sebi žele dobro, moraju naći neki

2 Der Spiegel, “Die Demokratie wird eingesperrt”, *Keno Verseck*, 28.04.2020.

3 “For Autocrats, and Others, Coronavirus Is a Chance to Grab Even More Power” by Selam Gebrekidan NY Times Published March 30, 2020

svoj put, Orbanov put.<sup>4</sup> Na sličan način se ponaša i zvanična Srbija, ne propuštajući niti jednu priliku da naglasi teritorijalnu pretenziju na susjednu bosansku naciju preko svog trojanskog konja Milorada Dodika. U potrazi za međunarodnom podrškom i legitimitetom nastavka genocidne politike ratnih zločinaca iz 90-tih, Srbija se tokom cijele krize trudila dodvoriti “bratskim narodima” Kine i Rusije. “Kada je Kina poslala avion pomoći za Srbiju, predsjednik Vučić je napravio veliku predstavu od toga. Ali, kada je stigla daleko važnija pomoć od Europske unije, nigdje niste mogli vidjeti ni fanfare ni predsjednika”, napisao je na Twitteru Karl Bildt, švedski diplomata i dopredsjednik think-tanka.<sup>5</sup>

Ekspanzionistički nacionalizam (*expansionist nationalism*) je po prirodi agresivna i radikalna forma nacionalizma, koji je danas prisutan i u srpskoj i u mađarskoj zvaničnoj politici. Suština je nepoštovanje postojećih državnih granica. Ovaj vid nacionalizma se prepoznaje u politici Njemačke, Italije ili Japana u periodu pred Drugi svjetski rat, ali se danas nazire u politikama balkanskih nacija pod pojmovima kao Albania (Greater Albania), Bulgaria (Greater Bulgaria), Croatia (Greater Croatia), Hungary (Greater Hungary), Romania (Greater Romania) and Serbia (Greater Serbia). U slučaju nekih od ekspanzionističkih nacionalnih ideologija upliće se i jedan vid religioznog nacionalizma (*religious nationalism*), gdje se narodni/nacionalni identitet poistovjećuje s nekom od religijskih pripadnosti. Politizacija religije i utjecaj religije na politiku uobičajeni su u ovom vidu nacionalizma, što je srpska nacionalna ideologija dovela gotovo do savršenstva.

Kako se boriti protiv negativnih posljedica ovih iskušenja kroz koje prolazimo?

Ključna riječ je povjerenje. Povjerenje koje vlast ima u svoje državljane, povjerenje stanovništva u svoju vlast, povjerenje među nacijama i, na kraju, povjerenje među ljudima koji se dovoljno poštuju da ne ugroze jedni druge.

Naivno je očekivati da će tehnike, upotrijebljene u mnogim državama tokom krize, tek tako nestati nakon pandemije, nego da

4 “Što je točno Orbanova karta koja je uzburkala duhove, a Milanović ju je nazvao ‘mračnim fetišem’? Evo kako je najveća mađarska trauma prerasla u mit”, Slobodna Dalmacija, Marina KARLOVIĆ SABOLIĆ, 8.5.2020

5 “Srbija: EU pomaže više, ali je Kina ‘bratska’”, Sanja Kljajić za DW, 4.4.2020



će ih vlade nastavljati upotrebljavati. Izazov je prevelik. Valjalo bi se sjetiti skandala s firmom *Cambridge Analytica*, što u odnosu na sve što je upotrijebila Kina u vremenu pandemije danas izgleda kao igra.

Birati između zaštite kolektiva, zdravlja i borbe protiv ovih virusa, a istovremeno nahraniti bolesne ambicije malih diktatora i vlada, koji bi mogli lako posrnuti u totalitarni režim, izazov je 21. vijeka. A očigledno je da mnoge nacije danas imaju razlog brinuti se za budućnost demokratije i ljudskih sloboda. I umjesto da se svijet ujedini u borbi protiv zajedničkog zla, sve nacije su se okrenule ka mjerama koje ograničavaju njihove stanovnike.

Stjecajem okolnosti, proveo sam period pandemije Covid-19 na tlu Kantona Zug u Švicarskoj. Vlasti ove nacije su pokazale visok stepen realizma kad je u pitanju njihov odnos spram stanovništva. Zabrana okupljanja nije ni u kom slučaju ugrozila prava pojedinca. Nikom nije zabranjeno kretanje, ali se kroz redovnu komunikaciju izgradio odnos povjerenja koji je rezultirao odgovornim ponašanjem svakog pojedinca. Ljudi su razgovarali s distance, poštovali uputstva, izbjegavajući kontakt sa starijim osobama i svima koji pripadaju kritičnim kategorijama. Privreda je, poštivanjem mjera zaštite, nastavila raditi u okvirima svojih mogućnosti. Na dan kad su sigurnosne mjere ublažene, svi ljudi s kojima sam razgovarao su krenuli, koliko su prilike to dopustile, pomoći onaj dio stanovništva koji je ekonomski ispaštao tokom protekla dva mjeseca. S namjerom da pomognu, otišli su u restorane, u kupovinu i stali u red za frizerske salone. Ne uvijek iz potrebe, nego iz solidarnosti.

Suvišno je naglasiti da je način na koji se nacionalni identitet poima u Srbiji potpuno neprihvatljiv za švicarske stanovnike. Švicarci se ponose svojim različitostima u svakom pogledu, ne omalovažavajući svoj nacionalni identitet i ne poistovjećujući ga s jednom etničkom grupom (narodom), jednom vjerskom zajednicom, jednim jezikom ili bilo kojim drugim vidom diskriminacijskog faktora koji bi mogao ugroziti pojedinca. Švicarki nacionalni identitet se zasniva na državljanstvu.

Virus korona je ispit za demokratiju i za pojam građanskog društva zasnovanog na pravima pojedinca, zasigurno najviše dostignuće moderne civilizacije. Svjedoci smo kako se društva, nacije, koje sistematski stavljaju kolektiv iznad pojedinca, na kraju zloupotrijebe u korist par ljudi na vlasti. Izolacionizam, oči-

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to drag u nacijama koje su ili još u razvoju demokratije ili ideološki zarobljene u navedene nacionalizme, predstavlja realnu opasnost povratka u mračna vremena.

Vrijeme će pokazati da li je ova kriza naučila sve nacije da rade skupa, da dijele znanje i informaciju, kako bi ljudska rasa napokon naučila pobijediti pandemije koje očito više nego ikad mogu razoriti sve što je ova civilizacija postigla. Zato je potrebno povjerenje među ljudima i među nacijama, kao i daleko veći vid odgovornosti prema drugima od strane nacije koja je postavila civilizacijske standarde današnjice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Nacije koje su dostigle najviši stepen demokratije i razvoja i koje su izgradile društva gdje pojedinci a ne kolektivi čine državu uspješnom, imaju odgovornost da pokažu primjer.

# THE GLOBAL WORLD AFTER THE PANDEMIC: THE NOTION OF POST-VIRUS WORLD AS CONCEIVED BY IMRAN HOSEIN AND ALEKSANDR DUGIN

**Samir Beglerović and Kerim Sušić**

The challenges of the current pandemic can undoubtedly be analysed from many points of view. It is equally interesting to focus on the numerous responses of intellectuals about the future of the world in its aftermath, or more precisely, given the importance of mass media, and the internet in particular, we believe it is important to address the current explanations for the origin and spread of Covid-19 that are promoted in the virtual world. In this paper, we will look at the views of two authors and popular internet lecturers and public speakers: Imran Hosein and Aleksandr Dugin. Our choice is based on a number of reasons.

Imran Hosein and Aleksandr Dugin are acquainted with each other and jointly promote a number of theories.<sup>1</sup> Foremost among them is the strong criticism of the Western, Euro-Atlantic world and their shared belief that a better future for humanity is impossible without the complete disappearance of that bloc, i.e. the obliteration of its fundamental values. Second, both thinkers base their criticism and proposed solutions for overcoming the present difficult state of humanity, caused directly by Western ideology and the actions of the Euro-Atlantic geopolitical bloc, on tradi-

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1 See, e.g. Round table with two participants: Imran Hosein and Aleksandr Dugin recorded by Eurasia TV, Hosein's lecture "Islam and the West". The round table was held at the Lomonosov Moscow State University, 4 July 2013 (<http://dugin.ru/en/video/sheikh-imran-hosein-islam-and-west-english-only>)

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tion, or traditional teachings of which they only have a partially shared understanding. Third, both authors agree that we are approaching the biggest war in the history of humanity as announced by monotheistic religions: the Malḥama or Armageddon. Finally, both thinkers are active here in Bosnia, not just as internet-lecturers, but also through works translated by their sympathisers, including some students from theological faculties. When it comes to Hosein's sympathisers, at least, their mutual connection is concealed from the public, especially since Hosein claimed that what happened in Srebrenica was a large-scale crime, but not genocide, given that, as he explained, the Euro-Atlantic bloc needs this latter legal classification in order to negatively portray the Christian Orthodox world and Serbia itself as an important ally of Russia in the Balkans.<sup>2</sup>

Given the limitations of this paper, we will not be able to devote individual attention to each factor, but it should suffice to note that though these points of commonality for Hosein and Dugin exist, their articulation is, as we said, different, given that they invoke different sources and each speaks in the language of a different tradition.

Imran Hosein takes as his starting point two Islamic sources – the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and relies extensively on classical Islamic theology. In his lectures, he goes a step further, expressing open criticism about some of its segments, especially methods of interpreting the Qur'an and valorising the tradition of God's last prophet Muhammad (pbuh). On the other hand, Aleksandr Dugin constantly legitimises his theories as the logical and authentic continuation of the teachings of René Guénon, or traditionalists. However, to a large extent his thought is a specific interpretation of modern philosophers, particularly Nietzsche and Heidegger, as well as a host of ancient and modern pseudo/mythologies.

Given the above, it should be clear why these two authors are significant, since their thought is especially engaged and thereby, in our opinion, presents an original interpretation of current challenges. They are by no means alone in this, for a considerable number of intellectuals have addressed in various ways the

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2 He has spoken about this a number of times, expressing grief for the innocent victims and condemning the crime. RTRS news, among others, reported his statement, 14 October 2015 (<https://youtu.be/YQZkvooXfgk76>)

challenge of the global pandemic, some of them even using the term “post-virus world”, from Henry Kissinger<sup>3</sup> to Pope Francis<sup>4</sup>. However, the critical attitudes of Hosein and Dugin, it would seem, are based in their radicalism on traditional arguments and are as such extremely attractive for a wide audience. The number of visitors and regular consumers of their online content (YouTube, Facebook and twitter) provides sufficient confirmation of this.

## Imran Hosein: The Anti-virus World Heralding the Start of a Global Religious-Occult Stage

### *Pax Judaica*

Imran Hosein develops his teaching on the basis of the Islamic rationalist tradition. In other words, his theories are founded on the Qur’an, the Sunnah and reason. However, Hosein has a specific understanding of each of these sources of knowledge. He recognises the Qur’an as Allah’s last revelation to man in the form of a book, and considers its every segment protected (*haram*) in the sense that each letter in it has significance in and of itself and in relation to the entirety of the Qur’an.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the Qur’an contain numerous meaning, from the literal to the hidden. As for its literal meaning, its understanding is directly dependent on understanding classic Arabic grammar and style, as well as familiarity with recitation variants (*qira’āt*), and the Hadith. Moreover, this knowledge is also the starting point for understanding the hidden interpretations. External meanings of the Qur’an are not entirely strictly defined by Islamic classics, given that certain recitation variants that Hosein refers to are not included in the corpus of authentic traditions (*mutawātir*). The method of Quranic exegesis is that of interpreting the Qur’an using the Qur’an (the method used by Ibn Kathir, for example *al-Qur’ānu yufassiru ba’duhu ba’dan*). In his critiques, Hosein

3 Henry A. Kissinger, “The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order”, *The Wall Street Journal*, 3 April 2020 (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coronavirus-pandemic-will-forever-alter-the-world-order-11585953005>)

4 “Pope dreams of post-virus world where inequalities abolished”, 19 April 2020 (<https://www.journal-news.com/news/world/pope-dreams-post-virus-world-where-inequalities-abolished/61IsP8Tgj9NAC1KroUR79N/>)

5 Imran N. Hosein, *An Introduction to Methodology for Study of the Qur’an*, San Fernando, Imran N. Hosein Publications, 2016, p. 15.-24.

often warns that some authors rely on other sources and draw conclusions contrary to the literal Quranic text. The validity of another source of Quranic exegesis or other source of knowledge, the Sunnah or the Hadith, depends on the possibility of its verification by Quranic text. Each hadith that is contrary to the Quranic text is classified as apocryphal (*mawḍūʿ*). Finally, the third method and third source of knowledge is reason. Following the logic of the emergence and development of Islamic speculative and philosophical theology – *kalām*, Hosein often points out that the strength and authenticity of the religiosity of a believer depend on his deliberation and perseverance in deliberating the content of God’s Revelation. There are certain parts of the Qur’an that are revealed in a form entirely clear to man (*muḥkam*) and those that are exceptionally difficult to understand (*mubham*), as well as those seemingly ambiguous or even polysemic (*mutashābih*). However, given the unity of Qur’anic text as such, it is often in these less clear and unclear ayahs that we find a natural complement to the remainder of the Qur’anic text, where understanding of the meaning of these ayahs reveals its hidden meaning. Human reason has the task to think (deliberate), but understanding the hidden meaning of the Qur’an is a type of bestowed knowledge (*‘ilm ladunni*). Hosein also denotes this type of knowledge as “Khidr’s knowledge”.<sup>6</sup> This epistemological framework demonstrates two things. First, an undoubtedly excellent familiarity with the traditional sciences (*al-‘ulūm an-naqliyya*) and the acceptance of the fundamental meanings from Islamic sources based on classic Islamic theology. And second, one of Hosein’s teachings is derived from the difficult to understand and polysemic content of the Qur’an and Hadith that are not contrary to the literal Qur’anic text, but are not explicitly mentioned therein. It is precisely this content that is at the core of Imran Hosein’s teachings and has provided it with its attractiveness.

In one authentic hadith it says that the arrival and stay of one of the greatest enemies of mankind, the false messiah Dajjal, will last for forty days, of which the first day will be as long as a year, the second as a month, the third as a week.<sup>7</sup> Employing the

6 Imran Hosein, “Q&A – Hazrat Khidr and Baseerah” (<https://youtu.be/Q3u66VmHHWk>)

7 The hadith is authentic and well-known, it can be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Rijad, Dār Ṭayba, 2006., hadith nr. 2936, p. 1341-1342.

rational method, Hosein concludes that this hadith should not be taken literally, but interpreted metaphorically. In fact, the stressed unusual duration of the first of the forty days indicates political, cultural, military, economic and religious entities that will be actualised by the establishment of three great geopolitical empires, in contemporary terms, in the following order, from the longest lasting to the briefest: Great Britain (*Pax Britannica*), the United States of America (*Pax Americana*), and Greater Israel (*Pax Judaica*).<sup>8</sup> The Pax Americana period is ending and the current global crisis caused by the pandemic is a harbinger of the beginning of Pax Judaica. Imran Hosein recognises this meaning in the Qur'an where mankind is told, in the imperative, to move towards the *shadow* (*ẓill*) which has three columns (Al-Mursalāt, 30). He does not refer to any specific hadith that would connect these two elements, so we could conclude that this interpretation is a type of *bestowed knowledge*. From his works and numerous lectures, it is known that, based primarily on an analysis of the Hadith, some of which are contained in canonical collections, he maintains that the establishment of Pax Judaica is the precondition for the appearance of the Dajjal and his proclamation as messiah. Dajjal is alive but is “bound” in an abandoned monastery and his strength is growing as the time of his liberation approaches.

Hosein stresses that the current challenge of the pandemic is an *indubitable* sign of the ability of Dajjal, and that this false messiah is somehow responsible for spreading the virus and everything that comes with it, including, which is almost unprecedented in history, the closing of all most all mosques in the world and the interruption of Friday prayer services (Ṣalāt al-Jumu‘ah). From this context, Imran Hosein presents the post-virus world as the already mentioned stage of transition to what he terms Pax Judaica, characterised by the greatest challenge so far – global hyperinflation, which means the devaluation of money (hence his theory that cryptocurrency is an important project for the establishment of Greater Israel<sup>9</sup>) and the complete collapse of the world economy. It is important to note that Imran Hosein bases

8 “The Corona-Virus and Akhir al-Zaman; Responding to my Critics from the Balkans” (<https://youtu.be/MsrVREKEbyo>) See also: Imran Hosein, *Jerusalem in the Qur’an*, New York, Masjid Dar-Al-Qur’an, 2003., p. 59.-67.

9 *The Anti-Christ Dajjal & Cryptocurrency* (<https://youtu.be/3LpC7kpSbAs>)

his discourse about money on his research conducted at the Graduate Institute for International Relations in Geneva (Hosein was for a time foreign minister of Trinidad and Tobago, his home country). In a word, the agreement between Henry Kissinger and Saudi King Faisal is fraud on a global scale, given that it made the American dollar the main currency for oil. With the collapse of the oil market, which is undergoing a severe crisis, the American dollar will also fall, taking other currencies down with it and thereby resulting in the collapse of physical currencies and the world economy.<sup>10</sup>

Hosein interprets all of these events as inevitably fated, announced in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The responsibility of believers to history is being suspended, it seems, especially with respect to world history. As *sunnah*, Muslims have no other choice but to wait for the appearance of imam Mahdi and the return of Isa (pbuh). Believers now only have responsibility towards themselves, their families and local communities. Imran Hosein encourages Muslims to, first, withdraw their savings from banks and use the money, while it still has value, to buy land and cattle (a smaller portion should be used to purchase silver which, in addition to gold, will once again become the only viable currency). Second, they should abandon cities and move to remote rural areas. In advice given a few years ago, he had mandated that Muslims should found Muslim villages or join already existing ones. He now believes that the only condition is that the residents of these village communities should share the desire to live in line with traditional values, so the composition of the population may be multi-religious.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, Hosein himself firmly believes that his analyses are correct, truthful, some earlier predictions had indeed turned out to be correct, but the future he envisions is very pessimistic and man's engagement, in the sense of a relationship to history, is almost entirely reduced to waiting for eschatological events. What is more, though in his interpretations of harbingers of Judgement Day, as a rule, he invokes the direct causes from revelations of specific Quranic ayahs, or some of Muhammad's (pbuh) sayings, he does not go beyond that, i.e. he does not con-

10 *Imran Hossein – Private Session – Published 2020* (<https://youtu.be/nH67M9PDn0o>)

11 *Preparing for the Post Virus World* (<https://youtu.be/-RTgPQ9ZpdY>)



front these causes with the idea of history as such<sup>12</sup> nor does he even imply the possibility of their exhaustion within historical events that took place soon after Muhammad's (pbuh) passing.<sup>13</sup> The only activity of the believer is, once again, to study and read the Qur'an as much as possible (going through at least one juz', thirtieth part, per day). Politically, what can in some way mitigate the troubles that are undoubtedly coming is fostering a mutual coming together and cooperation between Muslims and Orthodox Christians. Two main obstacles present themselves in this regard. One is the status of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, which the Ottomans "shamefully took from the Orthodox Christians and turned into a mosque and later a museum" and in that context the associated hadith whereby the "praised commander and praised army" would liberate Constantinople does not refer to Sultan Mohammad Fateh, as the majority of Muslim religious scholars, particularly in Turkey and the Balkans, believe, but instead to the joint struggle of Muslims and Orthodox Christians to return Hagia Sophia to the Christians. The other obstacle is the development of Christianity in the West, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, given that this religious experience has become a kind of spiritual generator of modern inhumane civilisation orchestrated by none other than the false messiah Dajjal.<sup>14</sup>

It is precisely these two "obstacles" that have, in a sense, become the link between Imran Hosein and Aleksandr Dugin. We will say more about Dugin's analysis of the post-virus world in the next section of this paper.

## The Multipolarity of the Post-virus World in the Works of Aleksandr Dugin

As we mentioned at the beginning, today we are witnessing the development of a specific discourse on a phenomenon whose current extent guarantees it the status of a significant turning point in the history of humanity. Our fragmented reality devoid

12 Cf. e.g.: Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970., p. 19.-24.

13 Cf. e.g.: Wilferd Madelung, "The Sufyāni Between Tradition and History", *Studia Islamica*, No. 63, 1986., especially p. 8.-15.

14 *Between Constantinople & Ar Rum* (<https://youtu.be/1Bf5aYHAgLk>)

of clear criteria essentially determines its form, so the call for participation is open to all, with an added and, so to speak, binding criterion for all participants aiming for success, and that is the ignorance of their audience and access to a means of communication of any kind. Given that we are dealing with global developments that have already begun to permanently change major world relations and processes, it is quite clear that this situation provides a unique opportunity for the voice of the most learned to be heard, in whichever part of the world they originate. In addition to numerous internationally recognised intellectuals that have contributed to the development of this discourse, Aleksandr Dugin, mostly because of the particularity of his views, takes a special place. This Russian philosopher and geopolitician is the main proponent of neo-Eurasianism, a geopolitical vision of the world arising in the post-Soviet era whose multifaceted effects should be understood in light of the different responses conditioned by the conceptual division into the Eastern and Western world.

The usual analysis of major political theories, social movements and their ideologies in a world strongly determined by processes such as globalisation mostly takes place at the level of daily political discourse, or is at best the subject of debates in political science and sociology, and particularly geopolitics, which has become the dominant paradigm for interpreting 21st century reality. For a number of reasons, this approach most often neglects the philosophical origins that shape it, which is also visible in the context of understanding Dugin's teachings, and therefore one of the main purposes of this paper is to identify and briefly describe the philosophical ideas that prop up attitudes about the post-virus world promoted by Aleksandr Dugin in his most recent works and public statements.<sup>15</sup> There are two main sources of motivation for these endeavours. Namely, they primarily aim to overcome the shortcomings and limitations of interpre-

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15 In this context, two of Dugin's most recent works are particularly important as they deal with socio-political relations in the post-virus world, see: Alexander Dugin, "Coronavirus and the horizons of a multipolar world: The geopolitical possibilities of epidemic." *Geonoutuka.ru*, 17 Mar 2020. (<https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/coronavirus-and-horizons-multipolar-world-geopolitical-possibilities-epidemic>); Alexander Dugin, "Post-Coronavirus World Order (a Realist analysis)." *Geonoutuka.ru*, 29 Apr 2020. (<https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/post-coronavirus-world-order-realist-analysis>).

tations stemming from the previously described approach, while, on the other hand, they aim to outline how Dugin's vision of the post-virus world is an integral part of his previous deliberations, especially those expressed in his political-philosophical theory founded on the seemingly convoluted synthesis of various philosophical teachings and traditional world views. Understanding it is crucial for understanding the essence and real intention of Dugin's thinking about the post-virus world.

Namely, the central concept of his philosophy is the fourth political theory that he expounds on in his eponymous book.<sup>16</sup> Very generally speaking, this is a fusion of anti-modernist and anti-enlightenment ideas based on a critique of Western culture as the source of materialism and decadence, which are, according to Dugin, primarily conditioned by capitalist society drawing on liberalism for its guiding principles. On the other hand, the origins and intellectual motivation of this critique should also be found in the works of René Guénon and Julius Evola, the two most important proponents of traditionalism.<sup>17</sup> For a comprehensive view of the reasons from which the need for this theory allegedly arises, we need to look at the motives and the background of such an undertaking.

According to Dugin, we are currently exiting the modern era. Namely, the 20th century was a century of ideologies with three political theories vying for control over modernity and in their essence, each in its own way of course, expressing its spirit. This is the context in which Dugin views the three major political ideologies and their fate in the 20th century. These are liberalism, communism, and fascism. We see that of the three political

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16 Alexander Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, Eurasian Movement, Moscow 2012.

17 In one of his many interviews, Dugin explained his intellectual background as follows: "First of all in my early youth I was deeply inspired by Traditionalism of Rene Guenon and Julius Evola. That was my definitive choice of camp – on the side of sacred Tradition against the modern (and post-modern) world. This choice and all consequences are still there in the present. I firmly stand for spiritual and religious values against actual decadent materialist and perverted culture. Traditionalism was and rests central as the philosophic focus of all my later developments." Alexander Dugin, "The Long Path", An Interview with Alexander Dugin, *Open Revolt*, 27 May 2014 (<https://openrevolt.info/2014/05/17/alexander-dugin-interview/>).

theories, only liberalism remains, having come out victorious over communism and fascism in the battle for the 20th century, thereby proving that it is the best suited political philosophy for the modern era. In addition, it is important to note that these political theories are founded on political subjects. Thus, the individual is the subject of liberalism, the second political theory referred to class, while the subject of the third political theory was the state in Mussolini's fascism or the race in Hitler's National Socialism.<sup>18</sup> There is an important moment in the development of Dugin's thought that is worth noting here. Under increasingly frequent accusations in Western media that his works were promoting fascist, communist or national-Bolshevist ideas, Dugin introduced the fourth political theory as a way to distance himself from these ideologies, marginalising them in the history of the 20th century when they were defeated by liberalism and at the same time emphasising their irrelevance in the struggle for post-modernity.<sup>19</sup> He thus opened up the way to his own theory, which, according to his words, is the only real competitor against liberalism or post-liberalism. However, this begs the logical question of what is the subject of Dugin's theory that stands in opposition to the individual of liberalism in the struggle for post-modernity? Deftly, Dugin takes as the subject of his own political theory Heidegger's Dasein, whose essence, in contrast to other beings, is in existing, i.e. in creating a meaningful relationship to Being.<sup>20</sup>

There are two possible reasons for resorting to Heidegger. First, this is one of the greatest thinkers in the history of philosophical thought. His teaching, i.e. his concepts and argumentation were certainly useful for Dugin as a safe bet in his philosophical battle against the currently dominant political philosophy

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18 For more see: A. Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, p. 9-13.

19 Although Dugin clearly points out how the second and third theory are unacceptable on principle in the struggle against liberalism, there are two possible reasons behind the accusations often accompanied by a rhetoric *reductio ad fascism*: the same enemy and Dugin's emphasis on re-examining defeated theories to reject flawed and pick out valuable elements. According to Dugin, the valuable elements are primarily related to the fact that proponents of the second and third theory, whether knowingly or unknowingly, were on the side of Tradition. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.

20 Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Bitak i vrijeme*, translated by Hrvoje Šarinić, Naprijed, Zagreb 1985., p. 46.

expressed in liberalism. The second reason, more complex in nature, is related to the concept of transition that Dugin introduces into his philosophy in place of globalisation. In brief, transition should be understood as a process of fragmentation of modernity in the context of dissolution of time into moments of continuous present in order to completely abandon it, which entails eradicating transcendental subjectivities and ultimately transitioning from the human to a post-human world.<sup>21</sup> Paradoxically, Dugin's ultimate requirement is to reject this process as a whole by accepting it, provided there is a political theory in opposition to current metaphysical origins that will enable the alignment of the conditions of existence with what is in accordance with transition. Of course, this would be the fourth political theory as a call to accept the inevitable chaos<sup>22</sup> that Dugin refers to. In other words, this is a challenge to postmodernity that follows the principal logic of forgetfulness of Being, which inevitably distances humanity from its own ontological and theological beginnings. In order to adequately respond to this challenge, Dugin had to take as the starting point of his political theory something that surpasses the metaphysical basis of liberalism. He found the means to overcome it precisely in Heidegger's teaching on Dasein which becomes the starting point for the fourth political theory which takes Dasein as its subject. The reason should be sought in the fact that this is a being that has projected from its own existence visions of the world and man characteristic of other political theories.<sup>23</sup>

Further analysis of Dugin's newer works reveals how the current global pandemic ushers in the possibility for the fourth political theory to approach the event towards which it is directed, i.e. heralding the return of Being at the moment when it is completely forgotten. Thus, the vision of Dugin's post-virus world will become the site of its complete actualisation. Dugin

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21 Cf. A. Dugin, *The Fourth Political theory*, p. 79-80.

22 It is important to note here that for Dugin, chaos is not meaninglessness, as it is usually understood in Western European culture, but instead the matrix from which meaning issues. Namely, according to Dugin, the different understanding of chaos is the result of differences in cultural and civilisational context. See: Alexander Dugin, "The multipolar world and the post-modern", *Journal of Eurasian Affairs* 2 (2014) 1, p. 12.

23 Cf. Branko Malić "Protiv gnostika." *Kali Tribune*, 21 June 2015. (<https://kalitribune.com/protiv-gnostika/>)

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finds the basis for these predictions in what he alleges is the beginning of the collapse of the world based on the principles of liberalism, i.e. of society whose fate is a capitalist economy, the free market and globalisation. He also finds material for his argumentation in facts conditioned by the pandemic and current socio-political processes and changes on the global level, which includes, among other things, political decisions suited to dictatorship and totalitarianism, a strong turn towards nationalism and isolationism, as well as the abandonment of policies that had been geared at global supremacy and the establishing of a unipolar world state. It is precisely in these developments that Dugin recognises the impulses of long-awaited possibilities to create socio-political conditions and international relations that will enable a new beginning in the form of a multipolar world<sup>24</sup> that can easily be identified with the concept treated by this paper.

Though he is an exceptionally gifted thinker whose keen analysis and critique manage to identify real problems and shortcomings of Western European culture, it must be noted that his vision of the post-virus world leads to certain difficulties that imply an unreadiness to accept the call to embrace the chaos towards which this world is allegedly sliding. Among the many reasons for rejecting this call, two are particularly important. The first relates to a rather unconvincing and vaguely articulated syncretism of Dugin's teaching. The basis of this assessment is rooted in the manifest contradiction necessarily deriving from the attempt to synthesise Evola's and Guénon's traditionalism with the philosophy of Nietzsche, and ultimately Heidegger. Possibly, that combination could only deepen the chaos of the post-virus world. The second reason that further compounds conceptual disagreements with Dugin relates to the alternative order of the post-virus world and the attitude towards tradition outlined by his criticism of the current state of affairs. Though thinkers such as

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24 For more details on the sacred space of the multipolar world, the symbolism of continents and the relationship between tradition and sacred geography, see Aleksandar Dugin, *Misterije Evroazije*, Logos, Belgrade 2008. In this book, using sacred geography as a special discipline rooted in tradition, Dugin considers the spiritual and metaphysical background from which issues the sacredness of certain parts of the world. Though written more than 20 years ago, this book is important for understanding Dugin's views on the post-virus world because it provides clear insight into its most important feature, which is the link between tradition and the multipolar world.

Dugin are seductive because of their strong criticism exposing the decadence of the West, a serious problem arises from their inability to consistently connect different world views that should ultimately contribute to the creation of an alternative and, of course, universally accepted vision of the world. What Dugin offers as an alternative to the currently dominant social order is a military dictatorship with elements of socialism that would be based on tradition. This would be the first phase of the post-virus world in which the wealth of different traditions should be the major driver. However, history has shown that in such circumstances, tradition becomes a chain and not the source of creative potential for good in the time we are witnessing and which is coming. Above all, tradition means that people in uncertain and senseless times should always follow the greatest gift, without resorting to unreasonable solutions. If it needs invoking in order to avoid the precipice of metaphysical relativity, then the following verses point the way for humanity in the coming times:

My heart has become capable of every form:  
 It is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks,  
 And a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Ka'ba,  
 And the tables of the Tora and the book of the Koran.  
 I follow the religion of Love: whatever way Love's camels take,  
 That is my religion and my faith.<sup>25</sup>

## Conclusion

Referring to our introductory remarks, we would simply further stress the similarities and differences between the theories of Imran Hosein and Aleksandr Dugin. It seems their cooperation is a type of mutual support in criticising the West, or rather the Euro-Atlantic world, or, more precisely, its Anglo-Saxon component. By all accounts, that is the extent of their cooperation. The fact remains that Dugin comes to our region fairly frequently, and has also visited Bosnia, and Imran Hosein has also visited this region. However, to the best of our knowledge, Hosein has come only once, which to our mind indicates that he does not have much interest in visiting the Balkans. In other words, while

25 Muihi'ddin ibn al-'Arabi, *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1911, p. 19.



Dugin, through sympathisers of the project of Greater Serbia, strives for a strong presence as some sort of “spokesman” for Russian president Putin, and is partial to promoting Russian interests in the Balkans, Imran Hosein, it would seem, is not interested in such promotion beyond the slight measure in which it exists as a reflection of his verbal support for Russia and the Christian Orthodox world. Hosein’s target audience are Muslims, mostly English-speaking and with a secondary or higher education level, and the younger population.

From a general analysis of the lectures and works of Imran Hosein, as mentioned in the introduction, we cannot discern his links with the tradition of modern European esotericism, on the contrary, he expressly condemns many of its phenomena, such as occultism, to mention just that segment of contemporary occult-culture. Still, it seems that in his interpretation of eschatology and the eschaton, Hosein is, probably unknowingly, closer to Neoplatonist than to classic Islamic theology, even though Neoplatonism is, though just one of its sources, a tradition of great import precisely for the development of modern European esotericism.<sup>26</sup> Namely, while classic Islamic theology sees even in the very event of the end of the world and time an opportunity and motivates believers to have an active attitude towards the general community (*ummah*) and history as such,<sup>27</sup> Hosein, through his recommendation to retreat into strictly smaller communities and family units, opts for a monistic understanding of the relationship between the world and the Source, where *that*, which is objective evil and bad, is interpreted as the *natural* derivation of the weaker from the complete, while the complete in its existence simply mimics the “single origin of the universe”.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, wholly passively understood, plurality comes from One and then in its totality it simply returns to One.<sup>29</sup>

Aleksandr Dugin, on the other hand, explicitly criticises the legacy of Neoplatonism, but within his own theories, eclectic as

26 See e.g. Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004., p. 23.-24.

27 See e.g.: Adnan Silajdžić, *40 hadisa sa komentarom*, Sarajevo, Faculty of Islamic Studies and El-Kalem, 2005, p. 217-220

28 Cf.: Proklo, *Osnove teologije*, Uvod i komentar E. R. Dodds, Zagreb, “Naprijed“, 1997., para 25, p. 93-95; commenatry of para 25, p. 279-280.

29 Ibid., para 21, p. 89.; commentary of para 21, p. 274-276



they are, he seems to tacitly imply it. By all accounts, Dugin does not recognise the very concept of Guenon's traditionalism, at least as he understands and interprets it, as a "source of original spiritual inspiration" but simply as the sum of seemingly original theories whose fundamental value is in their diverse *utility*.<sup>30</sup> In that context, despite constant criticism of the occult Western culture, Dugin does not shy away from referencing theories that have stemmed from it, notably his reference to the opus of Aleister Crowley, someone Guenon considered a practitioner of black magic and a mere charlatan, and every society that Crowley founded was to Rene Guenon counter-initiatory and therefore *anti-traditional*.<sup>31</sup>

In view of the above, we particularly note that both authors, in addition to their public lectures, have a strong presence in the virtual world through their Facebook, YouTube and twitter accounts. It would not even be going too far to conclude that this presence in the virtual world is what makes them so popular, which is unusual given that the virtual world is one of the values produced precisely in the Western world, which, as we have seen, they criticise in its totality.

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30 See: Anton Shekhovtsov and Andreas Umland, "Is Aleksandr Dugin a Traditionalist? 'Neo-Eurasianism' and Perennial Philosophy", *The Russian Review*, Vol. 68, No. 4, October 2009, p. 666.

31 *Ibid.*, str. 670.-671.

# GLOBALNI SVIJET NAKON PANDEMIJE: POJAM POSTVIRUSNOG SVIJETA KOD IMRANA HOSEINA I ALEKSANDRA DUGINA

Samir Beglerović i Kerim Sušić

Izazovi aktuelne pandemije mogu, sasvim sigurno, biti analizirani iz mnogih rakursa. Jednako je zanimljivo obratiti pažnju na brojne odgovore intelektualaca vezane za budućnost svijeta nakon njegovog okončanja. Preciznije rečeno, imajući u vidu značaj medija masovne komunikacije, naročito interneta, smatramo važnim fokusirati se na aktuelna objašnjenja razloga pojave i širenja virusa korona, promovisan u virtuelnom svijetu. U ovome članku bit će tretirani stavovi dvojice autora i popularnih internet predavača te javnih govornika: Imrana Hoseina i Aleksandra Dugina. Nekoliko je razloga za opredjeljenje na ovakvu temu.

Imran Hosein i Aleksandar Dugin su poznanici i saradnici u promovisanju nekoliko zajedničkih teorija.<sup>1</sup> Prva od njih je snažna kritika zapadnog, evro-atlantskog svijeta te vjerovanje da bolja budućnost čovječanstva nije moguća bez potpunog nestanka tog bloka, odnosno bez uništenja vrijednosti na kojima počiva. Druga, oba mislioca svoje kritike te nuđenje rješenja za izlaz iz teškoga stanja u kojem se čovječanstvo danas nalazi, a prouzročeno izravno djelovanjem ideologije zapada, odnosno evro-atlantskog geopolitičkog bloka, temelje na tradiciji, odnosno na

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1 V. npr. Okrugli stol sa dva učesnika: Imranom Hoseinom i Alexandrom Duginom, koji je snimila TV Evroazija, Hoseinovo predavanje naslovljeno je sa: "Islam and the West". Okrugli stol je održan na Univerzitetu Lomonsov, Moscow State University, 04. 07. 2013. (<http://dugin.ru/en/video/sheikh-imran-hosein-islam-and-west-english-only>)

tradicijskim učenjima, tek u jednoj mjeri identično shvaćenim. Treća, oba autora dijele stav da će uskoro nastupiti najveći rat u historiji čovječanstva, o kojem govore monoteističke religije: Melhama odnosno Armagedon. Konačno, oba mislioca aktivna su i u Bosni, ne samo kao internet-predavači, već i kroz svoja prevedena djela te kroz rad svojih simpatizera, među kojima je i nekoliko studenata teoloških fakulteta. Kada je riječ o Hoseinovim simpatizerima, njihova međusobna povezanost se skriva od javnosti, naročito nakon Hoseinove izjave da se u Srebrenici desio zločin velikih razmjera, ali da nije riječ o genocidu, budući da je, kako je objasnio, evro-atlantskom bloku takva pravna kvalifikacija neophodna radi negativnog predstavljanja pravoslavnog svijeta te sâme Srbije kao važnoga saveznika Rusije na Balkanu.<sup>2</sup>

S obzirom na zadati okvir rada, neće biti moguće svaki pobrojani faktor zasebno obraditi, no, dovoljno je naglasiti da je, premda ovo jesu zajedničke tačke Hoseina i Dugina, ipak njihovo artikulisanje, kako smo rekli, različito, budući da se pozivaju na različite izvore te govore jezikom različitih tradicija.

Imran Hosein polazi od dva fundamentalna izvora islama – Kur’ana i suneta, te se u dobroj mjeri poziva na muslimansku klasičnu teologiju. U svojim izlaganjima odlazi korak dalje, izražavajući otvorene kritike na neke njene segmente, posebno na metode tumačenja Kur’ana te valorizovanja predaja od posljednjeg Božijeg poslanika Muhammeda, alejhiselam. S druge strane, Aleksandar Dugin svoje teorije konstantno legitimise kao logičan i autentičan nastavak učenja Rene Guenona, odnosno tradicionalista. Ipak, njegova misao u dobroj mjeri predstavlja specifičnu interpretaciju modernih filozofa, naročito Nietzschea i Heideggera, te cijeloga spleta starih i modernih pseudomitologija.

Imajući u vidu rečeno, jasan je značaj ove dvojice autora, budući da je njihova misao krajnje angažovana te time predstavlja, reklo bi se, originalnu interpretaciju aktuelnih izazova. Naravno, u ovome nisu jedini. Znatan broj intelektualaca se na različite načine fokusira na izazov globalne pandemije, neki od njih čak koriste i pojam “postvirusni svijet”, od Henryja

2 O ovome je govorio nekoliko puta, izražavajući žalost za nevinim žrtvama te osuđujući zločin. Između ostaloga, njegova izjava je emitovana na vijestima RTRS-a, 14. 10. 2015. (<https://youtu.be/YQZkvooXfgk76>)

Kissingera<sup>3</sup>, do Pape Franje<sup>4</sup>. No, kritički stavovi Hoseina i Dugina, čini se, u svojoj radikalnosti bazirani su na tradicionalnim argumentima te su kao takvi izuzetno privlačni za širi krug ljudi. Broj posjetilaca i redovnih čitalaca njihovih objava na internetu (YouTube, Facebook i Twitter) to dostatno potvrđuje.

## Imran Hosein: Antivirusni svijet kao najava početka globalne religijsko-okultne etape

### *Pax Judaica*

Imran Hosein svoje učenje, kako je rečeno, razvija na tragu muslimanske racionalističke tradicije. Drugim riječima, teorije temelji na časnome Kur'anu, sunetu te razumu. No, svaki od ovih izvora spoznaje Hosein specifično razumijeva. Kur'an prihvata kao Allahovu posljednju Objavu čovjeku u formi knjige. Svaki njegov segment smatra zaštićenim (*haram*), drugim riječima, svako slovo u njemu ima svoj značaj, i samo po sebi i u odnosu na cjelokupan kur'anski sadržaj.<sup>5</sup> Kao posljedica toga, časni Kur'an sadrži brojna značenja, počevši od onog doslovnog, pa do skrivenog. Što se tiče doslovnog značenja, njegovo razumijevanje izravno zavisi od poznavanja klasične arapske gramatike i stilistike, zatim znanja o verzijama čitanja (*kirâ'et*), te Poslanikove Predaje. Štaviše, ova znanja predstavljaju polazište i za spoznaju skrivenih tumačenja. Izvanjska značenja Kur'ana nisu u cijelosti striktno definisana muslimanskom klasikom, budući da se pojedine verzije čitanja, koje Hosein navodi, ne nalaze u korpusu autentičnih predaja (*mutevâtir*). Osnovni metod tumačenja časno-ga Kur'ana je tumačenja Kur'ana Kur'anom (metoda, naprimjer, poznatog Ibn Kesîra, *el-Kurânu jufessiru ba'duhu ba'dan*). Nerijetko, u vlastitim kritikama, Hosein često upozorava da pojedini autori, oslanjajući se na druge izvore pri tumačenju, donose

3 Henry A. Kissinger, "The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order", *The Wall Street Journal*, 03. 04. 2020. (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coronavirus-pandemic-will-forever-alter-the-world-order-11585953005>)

4 "Pope dreams of post-virus world where inequalities abolished", 19. 04. 2020. (<https://www.journal-news.com/news/world/pope-dreams-post-virus-world-where-inequalities-abolished/61IsP8Tgj9NAC1KroUR79N/>)

5 Imran N. Hosein, *An Introduction to Methodology for Study of the Qur'an*, San Fernando, Imran N. Hosein Publications, 2016., str. 15.-24.

zaključke koji su suprotni doslovnom kur'anskom tekstu. Validnost drugog izvora tumačenja Kur'ana, i drugog izvora spoznaje, suneta odnosno Predaje poslanika Muhammeda, alejhiselam, zavisi od mogućnosti njegovog verifikovanja kur'anskim tekstom. Svaki hadis koji je u suprotnosti sa kur'anskim tekstom svrstava se u apokrife (*mevdû'*). Konačno, treći metod, i treći spoznajni izvor, jeste razum. Slijedeći logiku nastanka i razvoja muslimanske spekulativne i filozofijske teologije (*kelâm*) Hosein često ističe da snaga i autentičnost religioznosti vjernika zavise od njegovog promišljanja, istrajnosti u razmišljanju o sadržaju Božije Objave. Postoje određena mjesta u časnom Kur'anu koja su objavljena u formi potpuno jasnoj čovjeku (*muhkem*) i dijelovi koji su krajnje teški za razumijevanje (*mubhem*) i, na prvi pogled, dvoznačni ili čak polisemni (*mutešâbih*). No, imajući u vidu prethodno naznačeno jedinstvo kur'anskog sadržaja kao takvog, upravo se nerijetko u tim manje jasnim i nejasnim ajetima nalazi prirodna nadopuna ostalom dijelu kur'anskoga teksta, te spoznaja značenja tih ajeta otkriva skriveno značenje. Ljudski razum ima zadaću misliti (promišljati), no, spoznaja skrivenoga smisla Kur'ana predstavlja vrstu tzv. darovanog znanja (*ilm ledunnî*). Ovu vrstu spoznaje Hosein oslovljava i "Hidrovim znanjem"<sup>6</sup>. Ovako izložen epistemološki okvir pokazuje dvoje. Prvo, nesumnjivo izuzetno dobro poznavanje tradicionalnih znanosti (*ulûmun-naklijje*) i prihvatanje temeljnih značenja izvora islama, baziranih na klasičnoj muslimanskoj teologiji. I drugo, jedan dio Hoseinovih učenja derivisan je iz onog teškog za razumijevanje i polisemnog sadržaja Kur'ana kao i Predaja koje nisu u suprotnosti s doslovnim kur'anskim tekstom, ali nisu u njemu ni izričito spomenute. Upravo ovi sadržaji predstavljaju suštinu, odnosno daju atraktivnost učenju Imrana Hoseina.

U jednoj autentičnoj predaji se navodi da će dolazak i boravak jednoga od najvećih neprijatelja čovječanstva, lažnoga mesije Dedždžala, trajati četrdeset dana, od kojih će prvi dan biti dug kao godina, drugi dan kao mjesec, a treći kao sedmica (*jumu'a*).<sup>7</sup> Koristeći se racionalnom metodom, Hosein će zaključiti da se

6 Imran Hosein, "Q&A – Hazrat Khidr and Baseerah" (<https://youtu.be/Q3u66VmHHWk>)

7 Predaja je autentična i opštepoznata, nalazi se u Muslimovoj zbirci hadisa: *Şahîh Muslim*, Rijad: Dâr Tayba, 2006, 1341–1342 (hadis br. 2936). knjiga 41., hadis br. 7015.

ovdje ne treba fokusirati na doslovni smisao hadisa, već ga treba protumačiti metaforički. Zapravo, naglašavanje neobičnog trajanja prva od tih četrdeset dana ukazuju na političke, kulturne, vojne, ekonomske i religijske entitete koji će biti aktualizovani uspostavljanjem tri velike, savremenim rječnikom rečeno, geopolitičke imperije, redom, od najduže do najkraće: Velika Britanija (*Pax Britannica*), Sjedinjenje Američke Države (*Pax Americana*), i Veliki Izrael (*Pax Judaica*).<sup>8</sup> Period *Pax Americana* završava, a trenutna globalna kriza, izazvana pandemijom, najava je skoroga početka *Pax Judaice*. Prethodno opisano značenje, Imran Hosein prepoznaje u časnome Kur'anu, dijelu u kojem se čovječanstvu, u imperativnoj formi, navodi da se kreće prema *sjeni (zill)* koja ima svoja tri dijela (el-Murselat, 30). Pri tome se ne poziva na neku konkretnu Predaju koja bi izravno ova dva sadržaja povezivala, pa se može zaključiti da je rečeno tumačenje vrsta *darovanog znanja*. Iz njegovih djela i brojnih predavanja poznato je da, na temelju analize prije svega hadisa Muhammeda, alejhiselam, od kojih se neki nalaze u kanonskim zbirkama, uspostavljanje *Pax Judaice* uslov pojava Dedždžala i njegovoga proglašenja mesijom. Dedždžal je živ, ali se nalazi "vezan" u jednom napuštenom manastiru te, što se približava vrijeme njegovoga oslobođenja, njegova snaga je sve veća.

Hosein će naglasiti da je trenutni izazov pandemije *nesumnjivi* znak sposobnosti Dedždžala te da je upravo taj lažni mesija na neki način odgovoran za širenje virusa te brojne posljedice, među kojima je, kao jedinstven slučaj u historiji, zatvaranje skoro svih džamija u svijetu te prekid džume-namaza. Iz ovoga konteksta, Imran Hosein postvirusni svijet predstavlja kao već oslovljenu etapu prelaza prema realizaciji onoga što naziva *Pax Judaicom*, karakteriziran do sada najvećim izazovom – globalnom hiperinflacijom, koja znači gubitak vrijednosti novca (odatle i njegova teorija da je kripto valuta važan projekt za formiranje Velikog Izraela<sup>9</sup>) te potpuni krah svjetske ekonomije. Važno je napomenuti da diskurs o novcu Imran Hosein bazira na svom magistarskom istraživanju provedenom na Institutu za međunarodne odnose u Ženevi (Hosein je bio jedan period ministar vanjskih

8 "The Corona-Virus and Akhir al-Zaman; Responding to my Critics from the Balkans" (<https://youtu.be/MsrVREKEbyo>) Također v.: Imran Hosein, *Jerusalem in the Qur'an*, New York, Masjid Dar-Al-Qur'an, 2003., str. 59.-67.

9 *The Anti-Christ Dajjal & Cryptocurrency* (<https://youtu.be/3LpC7kpSbAs>)

poslova Trinidad i Tobaga, svoje domovine). Dogovor između Henryja Kissingera i Saudijskog kralja Fejsala predstavlja prevaru globalnih razmjera, budući da je američki dolar postao osnovno sredstvo vrijednosti nafte. S krahom naftnog tržišta, koje je u velikoj krizi, propast će i američki dolar te, uslijed vezanosti drugih valuta za njega, dovesti do propasti papirnog novca, a time i svjetske ekonomije.<sup>10</sup>

Sve ove događaje Hosein tumači kao nepromjenjivi dio sudbine, najavljene u časnome Kur'anu i sunetu. Odgovornost vjernika prema historiji, čini se, biva suspendovana, naročito prema svjetskoj historiji. Kao *sunnat*, muslimanima ne preostaje ništa drugo već čekanje na pojavu imama Mehdiya te povratak Isâa, alejhiselam. Jedinu odgovornost vjernici sada imaju prema sebi, svojim porodicama i manjim zajednicama. Imran Hosein podstiče muslimane, prvo, da povuku svoje uštedevine iz banaka te novac, dok još vrijedi, ulože u kupovinu zemlje i stoke (za manji dio novca treba kupiti nešto srebra, budući da će, pored zlata, postati ponovno jedino platno sredstvo); i drugo, trebaju napustiti gradove i preseliti se u udaljene seoske sredine. U ranijim savjetima, iznesenim prije nekoliko godina, smatrao je obaveznim da muslimani osnivaju muslimanska sela, odnosno da se pridružuju onim već postojećim. Sada smatra da je jedini uslov taj da stanovnici tih seoskih zajednica trebaju imati želju da vode život baziran na tradicionalnim vrijednostima, tako da sastav stanovništva može biti multireligijski.<sup>11</sup>

Na kraju, sâm Hosein je čvrsto uvjeren da su njegove analize ispravne, istina. Neka su se ranija predviđanja stvarno pokazala tačna, no, budućnost koju predviđa krajnje je pesimistična, a čovjekov se angažman, u smislu odnosa prema historiji, skoro u cijelosti svodi na iščekivanje eshatoloških događanja. Štaviše, iako se u svojim tumačenjima predznaka Sudnjega dana po pravilu poziva na neposredne uzroke objave konkretnih kur'anskih ajeta, odnosno povode nekih Muhammedovih, alejhiselam, govorenja, od toga pristupa ne ide dalje, tačnije, te povode ne sučeljava s idejom historije kao takve<sup>12</sup>, niti barem otvara mogućnost nji-

10 Imran Hossein – Private Session – Published 2020. (<https://youtu.be/nH67M9PDn0o>)

11 *Preparing for the Post Virus World* (<https://youtu.be/-RTgPQ9ZpdY>)

12 Usporedi, naprimjer: Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, New

hovoga iscrpljivanja unutar istorijskih događaja koji su se desili ubrzo nakon Muhammedovog, alejhiselam, preseljenja na ahiret.<sup>13</sup> Jedina aktivnost vjernika odnosi se, ponovno, na što češće učenje i čitanje Kur'ana (prelazak barem jednoga džuza, tridesetog dijela, dnevno). U političkom smislu, ono što može, na neki način, ublažiti nevolje koje zasigurno dolaze jeste angažman u ostvarenju međusobnog zbližavanja i saradnje između muslimana i pravoslavnih hrišćana. Dvije su osnovne zapreke za tako nešto. Jedna je status Aja Sofije u Istanbulu, koju su Osmanlije “sramotno otele pravoslavcima i pretvorili je u džamiju, a kasnije u muzej”, te se u tome kontekstu poznata predaja, po kojoj će “divni vojskovođa i divna vojska” osloboditi Konstantinopolj, ne odnosi na sultana Mehmeda Fatiha, kako to razumijeva veći dio muslimanskih vjerskih učenjaka, a naročito onih u Republici Turskoj i na Balkanu, već na zajedničku borbu muslimana i pravoslavaca, čiji je ishod povratak Aja Sofije hrišćanima. Druga prepreka je razvoj religije kršćanstva na zapadu, rimo-katoličanstva i protestantizma, budući da je to religijsko iskustvo postalo neka vrsta spiritualnog generatora moderne nehumane civilizacije iza čijeg razvoja stoji sâm lažni mesija Dedždžal.<sup>14</sup>

Upravo ove dvije “prepreke” u jednom smislu postale su veza između Imrana Hoseina i Aleksandra Dugina. O Duginovoj analazi postvirusnog svijeta bit će govora u narednom dijelu rada.

## Multipolarnost postvirusnog svijeta u djelu Aleksandra Dugina

Kako smo naznačili u početku, danas svjedočimo razvoju posebnog diskursa o fenomenu čije trenutne okolnosti, na koje se referira, garantiraju status ozbiljne prekretnice u povijesti čovječanstva. Krajnje fragmentirana realnost, bez postojanja jasnih kriterija o bilo čemu, suštinski determinira njegovu formu, pa je tako poziv za učešće upućen svima, uz postojanje, uvjetno rečeno, obavezujućeg kriterija za sve sudionike koji nastoje postići uspjeh, a to je neznanje publike i mogućnost komunikacije bilo

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York: Oxford University Press, 1970, 19–24.

13 Usporedi, naprimjer: Madelung, Wilferd, “The Sufyāni Between Tradition and History”, *Studia Islamica*, No. 63, 1986, 8–15.

14 *Between Constantinople & Ar Rum* (<https://youtu.be/1Bf5aYHAgLk>)



koje vrste. Budući da je riječ o zbivanjima globalnog karaktera, koja već sada trajno mijenjaju sve važnije odnose i procese u svijetu, onda je sasvim jasno da takva situacija omogućava jedinstvenu priliku da se čuje glas najumnijih, neovisno o tome iz kojeg dijela svijeta dolaze. Pored brojnih međunarodno priznatih intelektualaca koji su dali svoj doprinos u razvoju ovog diskursa, posebno mjesto, ponajviše zbog specifičnosti stavova, zauzima Aleksandar Dugin, ruski filozof i geopolitičar, glavni predstavnik neoeuroazijanizma, geopolitičke vizije svijeta, nastale u postsovjetskoj eri, čiji višeznačni utjecaj treba razumijevati s obzirom na različite reakcije uvjetovane konceptualnom podjelom na Istočni i Zapadni svijet.

Uobičajena analiza najvažnijih političkih teorija, društvenih pokreta i njihovih ideologija u svijetu, koji je snažno determiniran procesima, poput globalizacije, uglavnom se odvija na razini dnevno-političkog diskursa ili je, u najboljem slučaju, predmet politoloških i socioloških rasprava te posebno geopolitike, koja je postala dominirajuća paradigma tumačenja realnosti u 21. stoljeću. Takav pristup iz više razloga najčešće zanemaruje filozofska ishodišta koja ih oblikuju, što je također vidljivo u kontekstu razumijevanja Duginovog učenja, pa je stoga i jedna od glavnih namjera ovog izlaganja identificirati i ukratko izložiti filozofske ideje koje se nalaze u pozadini stavova o postvirusnom svijetu, koje u svojim najnovijim radovima i javnim istupima promovira Aleksandar Dugin.<sup>15</sup> Dva su bitna motiva ovih nastojanja. Naime, prvenstveno se žele prevladati nedostaci i ograničenja interpretacija koji proizlaze iz prethodno spomenutog pristupa, dok se, s druge strane, pokušava istaći kako Duginova vizija postvirusnog svijeta predstavlja neodvojivi dio njegovih dosadašnjih promišljanja, posebno iskazanih kroz političko-filozofsku teoriju, u čijoj se osnovi nalazi naizgled zamršena sinteza različitih filozofskih učenja s tradicionalnim svjetonazorima. Njeno poimanje od

15 U ovom kontekstu od posebne važnosti su dva najnovija Duginova rada koja detaljno tretiraju društveno-političke odnose postvirusnog svijeta, vidjeti, Alexander Dugin, "Coronavirus and the horizons of a multipolar world: The geopolitical possibilities of epidemic." *Geonoutuka.ru*, 17 Mar. 2020. (<https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/coronavirus-and-horizons-multipolar-world-geopolitical-possibilities-epidemic>); Alexander Dugin, "Post-Coronavirus World Order (a Realist analysis)." *Geonoutuka.ru*, 29 Apr. 2020. (<https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/post-coronavirus-world-order-realist-analysis>).

presudne je važnosti ako se želi proniknuti u bit i stvarne namjere Duginovih razmatranja o postvirusnom svijetu.

Naime, centralni koncept njegove filozofije je četvrta politička teorija koju ovaj autor izlaže u istoimenoj knjizi.<sup>16</sup> Gledajući sasvim općenito, radi se o svojevrsnoj fuziji antimodernističkih i antiprosvjetaljskih ideja, koje se zasnivaju na kritici zapadne kulture kao izvora materijalizma i dekadencije, što je prema mišljenju Dugina prvenstveno uvjetovano kapitalističkim društvom koje svoje smjernice crpi iz osnovnih principa liberalizma. S druge strane, ishodišta i intelektualne poticaje ove kritike također treba tražiti u djelima Rene Guenona i Juliusa Evole, dvojice najznačajnijih predstavnika tradicionalizma.<sup>17</sup> Da bi se u cjelini mogli sagledati razlozi iz kojih navodno proizlazi potreba za ovom teorijom, nužno je ukazati na motive i pozadinu takvog projekta.

Prema mišljenju Dugina, danas napuštamo epohu moderne. Naime, 20. stoljeće je zapravo bilo stoljeće ideologija, u kojem su se za prevlast nad modernom borile tri političke teorije koje u svojoj suštini, naravno svaka na svoj način, iskazuju njen duh. U tom kontekstu Dugin razmatra tri najvažnije političke ideologije i njihove sudbine u 20. stoljeću. Riječ je o liberalizmu, komunizmu i fašizmu. Svjedoci smo da je od triju političkih teorija jedino preostao liberalizam, koji je u bici za 20. stoljeće pobijedio komunizam i fašizam i time dokazao da kao politička filozofija najbolje odgovara epohi moderne. Pored toga, važno je istaći da se u osnovi ovih političkih teorija nalaze politički subjekti. Tako je individuum subjekt liberalizma, druga se politička teorija referirala na klasu, dok je subjekt treće političke teorije bila država u

16 Alexander Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, Eurasian Movement, Moscow 2012.

17 U jednom od brojnih intervjua, svoju je intelektualnu pozadinu objasnio Dugin sljedećim riječima: "Prije svega, u ranoj mladosti duboko me je nadahnulo tradicionalizam Renea Guenona i Juliusa Evole. To je bio moj konačni izbor tabora - na strani svete Tradicije protiv modernog (i postmodernog) svijeta. Taj izbor i sve posljedice još uvijek su prisutni u sadašnjosti. Čvrsto se zalažem za duhovne i vjerske vrijednosti protiv stvarne dekadentne materijalističke i izopačene kulture. Tradicionalizam je bio i ostao središnji kao filozofski fokus svih mojih kasnijih stremljenja." Alexander Dugin, "The Long Path", An Interview with Alexander Dugin, *Open Revolt*, 27 May 2014. (<https://openrevolt.info/2014/05/17/alexander-dugin-interview/>).

Musolinijevom fašizmu ili rasa, ako je riječ o Hitlerovom nacionalsocijalizmu.<sup>18</sup> Ovdje je bitno istaći poseban moment u razvoju Duginove misli. Zbog sve češćih optužbi u zapadnim medijima da u svojim djelima promovira fašističke, komunističke ili nacional-boljševičke ideje, Dugin je uvođenjem četvrte političke teorije zapravo nastojao učiniti otklon od ovih ideologija, smještajući ih na margine povijesti 20. stoljeća, u kojem su poražene od strane liberalizma, istovremeno naglašavajući njihovu irelevantnost u borbi za postmodernu.<sup>19</sup> Tako je otvorio put vlastitoj teoriji koja, prema njegovim riječima, u ovoj borbi predstavlja jedinog istinskog takmaca liberalizmu odnosno postliberalizmu. Međutim, ovdje se nameće logično pitanje, što je subjekt Duginove teorije koji stoji nasuprot individuumu liberalizma u borbi za postmodernu? Vrlo vješto, Dugin za subjekt vlastite političke teorije uzima Heideggerov tubitak, čija je bit, za razliku od drugih bića, u tome da egzistira, odnosno stvara smislen odnos prema bitku uopće.<sup>20</sup>

Dva su moguća razloga pribjegavanja Heideggeru. Prvi, riječ je o jednom od najvećih mislilaca u povijesti filozofskog mišljenja. Njegovo učenje, odnosno koncepti i argumentacija nesumnjivo su poslužili Duginu kao sigurna karta u njegovoj misaonoj borbi protiv trenutno dominirajuće političke filozofije, izražene u liberalizmu. Drugi, kompleksnije prirode, povezan je s pojmom tranzicije kojeg Dugin umjesto globalizacije uvodi u svoju filozofiju. Ukratko, tranziciju treba shvatiti kao proces fragmentacije moderne u kontekstu rastvaranja vremena u momente neprekidne sadašnjosti s ciljem njenog potpunog napuštanja, što podrazumijeva iskorjenjivanje transcendentalne subjektivnosti te, naposljetku, tranziciju iz humanog u posthumani svijet.<sup>21</sup> Paradoksalno, Duginov ultimativni zahtjev je u tome da se ovaj

18 Opširnije, vidjeti, A. Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, str. 9-13.

19 Iako Dugin jasno naglašava kako su druga i treća teorija principijelno neprihvatljive u borbi protiv liberalizma, dva su moguća razloga u pozadini ovih optužbi koje najčešće prati retorika *reductio ad fascism*: isti neprijatelj i Duginovo isticanje preispitivanja poraženih teorija, tako da se odbace nedostaci i izdvoje njihove vrijednosti. Prema Duginu, ove se vrijednosti prvenstveno odnose na to da su predstavnici druge i treće teorije, svjesno ili nesvjesno, bili na strani Tradicije. Cf. *ibid.*, str. 17.

20 Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Bitak i vrijeme*, preveo Hrvoje Šarinić, Naprijed, Zagreb 1985., str. 46.

21 Cf. A. Dugin, *The Fourth Political theory*, str. 79-80.

proces u cijelosti odbaci tako što će se prihvatiti, ali pod uvjetom postojanja političke teorije koja će nasuprot trenutnim metafizičkim ishodištima omogućiti usklađivanje uvjeta egzistiranja s onim što je u skladu s tranzicijom. Naravno, riječ je o četvrtoj političkoj teoriji kao pozivu da se prihvati neizbježni kaos<sup>22</sup> o kojem Dugin govori. Drukčije kazano, zapravo je riječ o izazovu postmoderne, koji principijelno prati logiku zaborava bitka, što čovječanstvo neminovno udaljava od vlastitih ontoloških i teoloških počela. Dugin je za polazište vlastite političke teorije morao uzeti nešto što nadilazi metafizičku osnovu liberalizma kako bi adekvatno odgovorio na ovaj izazov. Oruđe za njegovo prevladavanje upravo je pronašao u Heideggerovom učenju o tubitku koje postaje polazište četvrte političke teorije, upravo tako što se za njen subjekt uzima tubitak. Razlog treba tražiti u tome što je riječ o biću koje je iz vlastite egzistencije projiciralo vizije svijeta i čovjeka svojstvene drugim političkim teorijama.<sup>23</sup>

Daljnja analiza Duginovih novijih radova pokazat će kako trenutna globalna pandemija otvara mogućnost da se četvrta politička teorija približi događaju prema kojemu je usmjerena, tj. nagovještaju povratka bitka u trenutku njegovog potpunog zaborava. Tako će vizija Duginovog postvirusnog svijeta postati mjesto njene potpune realizacije. Uporište za ova predviđanja Dugin pronalazi u navodnom početku propadanja svijeta, koji je ustrojen na principima liberalizma, odnosno društva, čija je sudbina ekonomija, zasnovana na kapitalizmu, slobodnom tržištu i globalizaciji. Pored toga, pretpostavke za svoju argumentaciju crpi iz činjenica koje su uvjetovane pandemijom i trenutnim društveno-političkim procesima i promjenama na globalnoj razini, što između ostalog uključuje političke odluke prikladne diktaturi i totalitarizmu, zatim snažni zaokret prema nacionalizmu i izolacionizmu, kao i napuštanje onih politika koje su težile globalnoj prevlasti i uspostavljanju unipolarne svjetske države. Upravo u tim zbiva-

22 Ovdje važno naglasiti da za Dugina kaos nije besmisao, što je značenje koje se ovom pojmu pridaje u zapadno-evropskoj kulturi, već matrica iz koje potiče smisao. Naime, različito poimanje kaosa i poretka, prema Duginu, uvjetovano je različitim kulturno-civilizacijskim kontekstom. Vidjeti, Alexander Dugin, "The multipolar world and the postmodern", *Journal of Eurasian Affairs* 2 (2014) 1, str. 12.

23 Cf. Branko Malić "Protiv gnostika." *Kali Tribune*, 21 Jun 2015. (<https://kalitribune.com/protiv-gnostika/>)

njima Dugin pronalazi impulse dugo očekivane mogućnosti za stvaranje društveno-političkih uvjeta i međunarodnih odnosa koji će omogućiti novi početak u vidu multipolarnog svijeta<sup>24</sup>, a koji se slobodno može identificirati s konceptom naslovljenim u ovom izlaganju.

Iako je riječ o iznimno darovitom misliocu, koji pronicljivo analizom i kritikom uspijeva identificirati stvarne probleme i nedostatke zapadno-evropske kulture, nužno je istaći da iz njegove vizije postvirusnog svijeta proizlaze određene poteškoće koje impliciraju neprihvatanje poziva da se prigrli kaos prema kojemu navodno klizi ovaj svijet. Među brojnim razlozima odbijanja ovog poziva, dva su posebno važna. Prvi se odnosi na poprilično neuvjerljiv i nejasno artikuliran sinkretizam Duginovog učenja. Osnova takve procjene ukorijenjena je u očiglednosti kontradikcije koja nužno proistječe iz pokušaja sintetiziranja Evolinog i Guenonovog tradicionalizma s filozofijom Nietzschea, te napose Heideggera. Uvjetno rečeno, takav spoj može samo produbiti kaos postvirusnog svijeta. Drugi razlog, koji dodatno usložnjava konceptualna neslaganja s Duginom, tiče se alternativnog uređenja postvirusnog svijeta i odnosa prema tradiciji koji oertava njegova kritika postojećeg stanja stvari. Premda su mislioci poput Dugina zavodljivi zbog svoje snažne kritike koja razotkriva dekadenciju Zapada, ozbiljan problem ipak predstavlja njihova nemogućnost konzistentnog povezivanja različitih svjetonazora koji bi, u konačnici, trebali doprinijeti stvaranju alternativne i, naravno, općeprihvaćene vizije svijeta. Ono što Dugin nudi kao alternativu trenutno dominirajućem ustrojstvu društva jeste vojna diktatura s elementima socijalizma, koja će biti utemeljena na tradiciji. Ovdje je riječ o prvoj fazi postvirusnog svijeta u kojemu bi bogatstvo različitih tradicija trebalo biti glavni pokretač. Međutim, povijest je pokazala da u takvim okolnostima tradicija postaje lanac za okivanje, a ne temelj iz kojeg

24 Detaljnije, o svetosti prostora multipolarnog svijeta, simbolizmu kontinenta, te odnosu tradicije i sakralne geografije, vidjeti, Aleksandar Dugin, *Misterije Evroazije*, Logos, Beograd 2008. U ovoj knjizi, pomoću sakralne geografije kao posebne discipline ukorijenjene u tradiciji, Dugin razmatra duhovnu i metafizičku pozadinu iz koje izvire svetost prostora pojedinih dijelova svijeta. Premda je napisana prije više od 20. godina, ova knjiga je važna za razumijevanje Duginovih stavova o postvirusnom svijetu, jer pruža jasan uvid u njegovo najvažnije obilježje, a to je povezanost tradicije i multipolarnog svijeta.

izvire stvaralački potencijal za dobro u vremenu koje svjedočimo i koje dolazi. Tradicija, povrh svega, podrazumijeva da ljudi u neizvjesnim i besmislenim vremenima uvijek trebaju slijediti najveći dar, ne pribjegavajući pritom nerazumnim rješenjima. Ako je već treba prizvati da bi se izbjegao ponor metafizičke relativnosti, onda su sljedeći stihovi zasigurno dobar putokaz u kojem smjeru čovječanstvo treba krenuti u nadolazećim vremenima:

Moje srce je postalo staništem svake forme  
 Ono je pašnjak gazela i samostan kršćanskih redovnika.  
 I hram za idole i Kaba za hodočasnike  
 I Ploča Petoknjižja i knjiga Kur'ana  
 Ja slijedim religiju ljubavi, ma koji put njezine kamile uzele.  
 Jer, to je moja religija i moje vjerovanje.<sup>25</sup>

## Zaključak

Polazeći od uvodnih napomena, valja dodatno naglasiti sličnosti i razlike između teorija Imrana Hoseina i Aleksandra Dugina. Čini se da je njihova međusobna saradnja neka vrsta uzajamne podrške u kritikovanju Zapada, odnosno evro-atlantskog svijeta, preciznije, anglo-saksonske komponente. Po svemu sudeći, ta saradnja se u ovome i iscrpljuje. Činjenica je da Dugin relativno često dolazi u zemlje naše bliže regije, uključujući i Bosnu, te da je ovaj prostor posjetio i Imran Hosein. No, koliko nam je poznato, Hosein je dolazio samo jednom, što, po našem mišljenju, ukazuje na nepostojanje tolikoga interesa kod Hoseina za posjetu Balkanu. Drugim riječima, dok se Dugin, preko simpatizera projekta velike Srbije, snažno nameće kao neka vrsta “glasnogovornika” ruskoga predsjednika Putina te mu je važna promocija ruskih interesa na Balkanu, Imran Hosein, čini se, za tu vrstu promocije nije toliko zainteresovan, u toj minimalnoj mjeri ona postoji kao odraz njegove verbalne podrške Rusiji i svijetu pravoslavlja. Publika koju Hosein cilja su muslimani, mahom oni koji poznaju engleski jezik, srednjeg i visokog stepena obrazovanja, te mlađa populacija.

Iz opšte analize predavanja i djela Imrana Hoseina, kako je u uvodu rečeno, ne može se uočiti njegova povezanost s tradici-

25 Muihi'ddin ibn al-'Arabi, *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1911, str. 19.

jom moderne evropske ezoterije. Naprotiv, brojne njene fenomene, poput okultizma, da spomenemo samo taj segment savremene kulture, izričito osuđuje. Čini se da je, vjerovatno nesvjesno, u svom tumačenju eshatologije i eshatona Imran Hosein bliži neoplatoničkoj negoli klasičnoj muslimanskoj teologiji, a neoplatonizam je, mada samo jedan od njenih izvora, tradicija izuzetno značajna upravo za nastanak moderne evropske ezoterije.<sup>26</sup> Naime, dok muslimanska klasika i u samome događanju prestanka svijeta i vremena prepoznaje priliku i motiviše na aktivni odnos vjernikâ prema opštoj zajednici (*umma*) i istoriji kao takvoj<sup>27</sup>, Hosein se, kroz navedene preporuke povlačenja u strogo manje zajednice te vlastite porodice, opredjeljuje više za monističko razumijevanje odnosa svijeta i Izvora, pri čemu se ono objektivno zlo i loše tumači kao *prirodno* proistjecanje slabijega iz potpunog, a ono potpuno svojom egzistencijom naprosto oponaša “jedno počelo svemira”<sup>28</sup>. Pri tome, krajnje pasivno shvaćeno, mnoštvo proizilazi iz Jednog, a potom se u svoj ukupnosti na Jedno vraća.<sup>29</sup>

Alexandar Dugin, s druge strane, eksplicitno kritikuje neoplatoničko nasljeđe. Međutim, stječe se dojam da ga unutar vlastitih teorija, krajnje eklektične naravi, implicite prešućuje. Po svemu sudeći, Dugin sam koncept Guenonovog tradicionalizma, barem kako ga on razumijeva i tumači, ne prepoznaje kao neki “izvor originalnih duhovnih nadahnuća”, već jednostavno kao zbir naizgled originalnih teorija čija je osnovna vrijednost njihova raznolika *upotrebljivost*.<sup>30</sup> Unatoč konstantnoj kritici okultne kulture Zapada, Dugin ne bježi od referisanja na teorije koje su upravo iz nje proizišle, pri čemu je dovoljno spomenuti njegovo pozivanje na opus poznatog Aleistera Crowleya, osobu koja je za Guenona bila praktičar crne magije i obični šarlatan, a svako

26 Vidjeti, naprimjer: Sedgwick, Mark, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 23–24.

27 Vidjeti, naprimjer: Silajdžić, Adnan, *40 hadisa sa komentarom*, Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka i El-Kalem, 2005, 217–220.

28 Usporedi: Proklo, *Osnove teologije*, Uvod i komentar E. R. Dodds, Zagreb: “Naprijed”, 1997, stav 25, str. 93–95; komentar stava 25, 279–280.

29 Isto, stav 21, 89; komentar stava 21, 274–276.

30 Shekhovtsov, Anton i Andreas Umland, “Is Aleksandr Dugin a Traditionalist? ‘Neo-Eurasianism’ and Perennial Philosophy”, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 68, No. 4, oktobar 2009, 666.

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društvo koje je Crowley osnovao za Rene Guenona je protu-inicijacijsko, a samim time *antitradicionalno*.<sup>31</sup>

Imajući u vidu sve rečeno, posebno naglašavamo da su oba autora, pored javnih predavanja, snažno prisutna u virtuelnom svijetu, i to preko Facebooka, YouTubea i Twitter naloga. Čak, ne bi bilo pretjerano zaključiti da ih upravo prisutnost u virtuelnom svijetu i čini veoma popularnim, što je samo po sebi neobično, budući da je virtuelni svijet jedna od vrijednosti koje su proizvedene upravo u Zapadnom svijetu kojeg, kako smo vidjeli, u njegovom totalitetu kritikuju.

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31 Isto, 670–671.





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