

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ
1925-2003

A. Izetbegović

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FIRST PRESIDENT OF INDEPENDENT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



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Alija Izetbegović was born on 8 August 1925 in Bosanski Šamac. He was three years old when his family moved to Sarajevo. In Sarajevo, after he finished elementary school, Alija Izetbegović enrolled in the First Realschule for Boys.

At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, created as a result of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles. The monarchist Yugoslavia, with its centralist social and political organization of government, represented the idea that there was only one people divided into three “tribes”: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Bosnian Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim people were given an option to identify as either Serbs or Croats. Such an option was particularly unacceptable to Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims).

During the First World War, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an immediate battleground, suffered very heavy casualties and devastation. Bosnian Muslims suffered the greatest losses and their suffering continued in the years following South Slav unification. Their difficult position in a new joint country triggered several waves of migration of Bosniaks to Turkey.

During the existence of this joint state, Bosnia and Herzegovina stagnated in every respect. Such politics culminated in the

erasure of its historical borders in 1929. That year the state was given a new name – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – in which Bosnia and Herzegovina was roughly divided and broken up into four banates in which the Bosnian Muslim population was made a minority, without any possibility to decide on their own fate. Muslim self-governance in religion, waqf and education, which they had won in the era of Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina, was abolished. The seat of the Islamic Community was moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade in 1930 for a period of several years.

The most prominent persons during that time who fought for a better and more dignified position of Bosnian Muslims within the joint state were Dr Mehmed Spaho, the leader of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, and the Grand Mufti Džemaludin-ef. Čaušević. Their difficult situation, amid deep ethnic disorientation, general indifference and the lack of an intellectual elite, was further exacerbated by the mysterious death of the Muslim leader Mehmed Spaho.

The fight of those who represented the interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of Muslims in particular, came down to political manoeuvring between Serbian and Croatian nationalist interests and their constant attempts to assert “their right” over its territory.

After the Croatian political parties gained more strength, an agreement was signed in 1939 as one of the ways to overcome conflicts between Serbia and Croatia, resulting in a new demarcation between Serbs and Croats, to the detriment of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Already carved up ten years earlier, it was now literally divided between its neighbours without its citizens being consulted.

The agreement between Serbs and Croats on mutual demarcation to the detriment of Bosnia and Herzegovina, triggered a wave of Muslim protests demanding autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The idea of autonomy and unity of peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina was supported by the leftist youth, comprising university students of different ethnic backgrounds.

It was thanks to students' open letters sent in 1937, 1938 and 1939 that the term "peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina" was introduced in the communist terminology. This created a basis for the idea of "the people's autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina", endorsed by communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their stance was the reason why numerous Bosniaks supported and took part in the National Liberation War led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the years during the war (1941 – 1945).

In those days, the development of communism, as a social ideology, echoed strongly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the Communist Party attracted a growing number of supporters.

Alija Izetbegović was initially attracted, for a short period of time, by the ideas of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ).

As a secondary school student, while supporting the ideas of social equality and anti-fascism, he succumbed to the influence of communist thought. However, rejecting the concept of a "universe without God", he left those circles shortly thereafter. At the age of 15 he joined a group of senior year students at Sarajevo's First Grammar School, brought together around the Muslim society "Sobriety". The goal of the Society was to fight against alcoholism, to preserve the identity of Muslims in the existing environment and to promote positive history.

In the years preceding the war, these secondary school students were thinking about creating a separate organization, whose activities would spark cultural renewal amongst Muslims. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia soon fell apart and they never received permission to operate legally.



The Izetbegović family moved to Bosnia from Belgrade, from where they were expelled together with other Muslims in the mid-19th century. These new settlers from Belgrade established what is today the city of Bosanski Šamac. The long-serving mayor of Bosanski Šamac and grandfather to future President Alija Izetbegović was one of those expelled. During his military service in Türkiye, in Istanbul, he met Sidika, the girl whom he later married.



During World War I, Mustafa Izetbegović fought as a soldier on the Italian front – on the Piave. He was seriously wounded there, and the consequences of this were felt as long as he lived. During this war, Bosnians of all faiths fought mainly within the Austro-Hungarian military units.

Mustafa Izetbegović, Alija Izetbegović's father, was a merchant. After a business failure he went bankrupt and decided to move to Sarajevo with his family in order to ensure that his children were educated.





Alija's mother Hiba and father Mustafa – third from the left



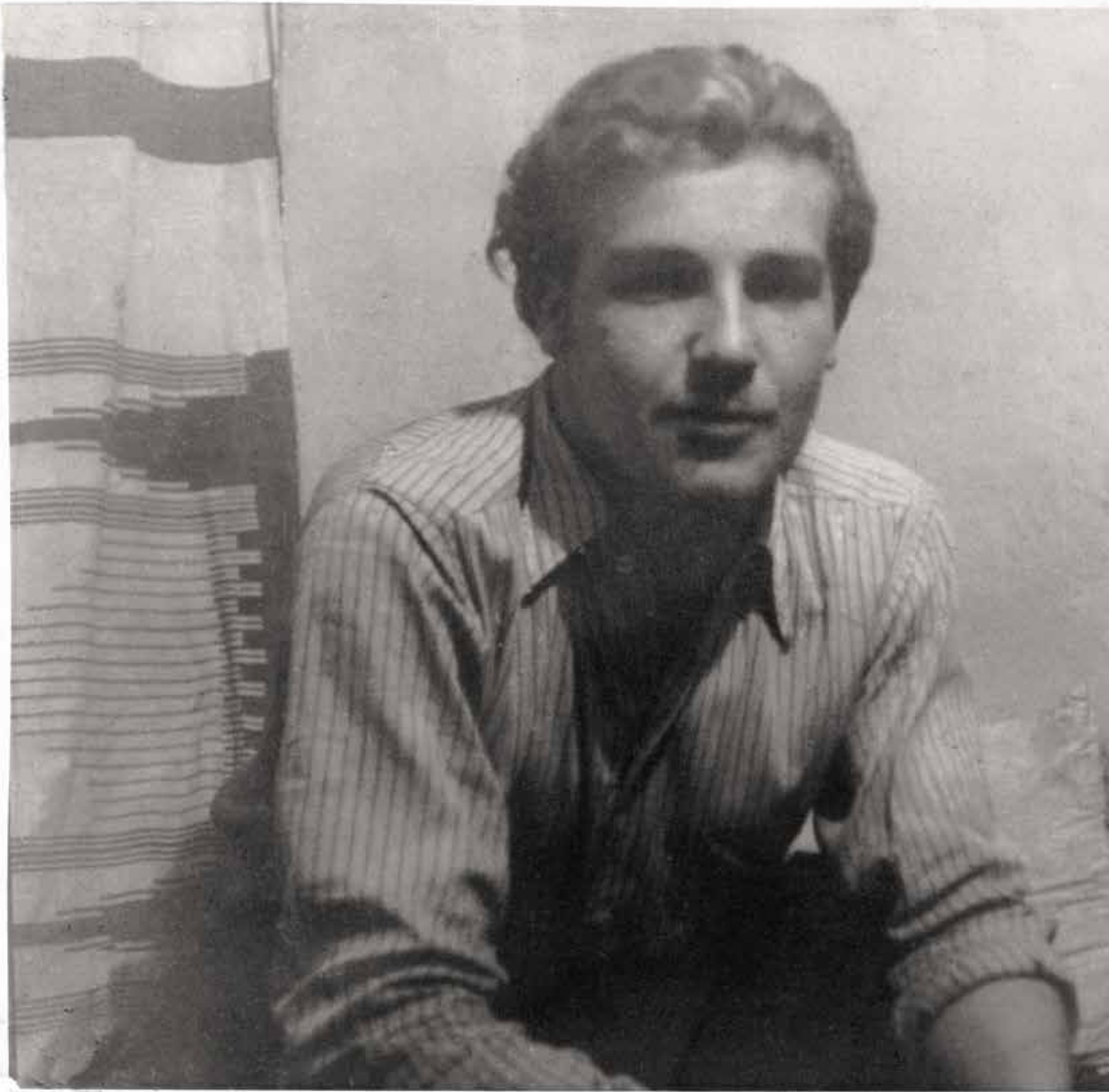
Photograph from high-school days. Alija Izetbegović, third from the left in the top row

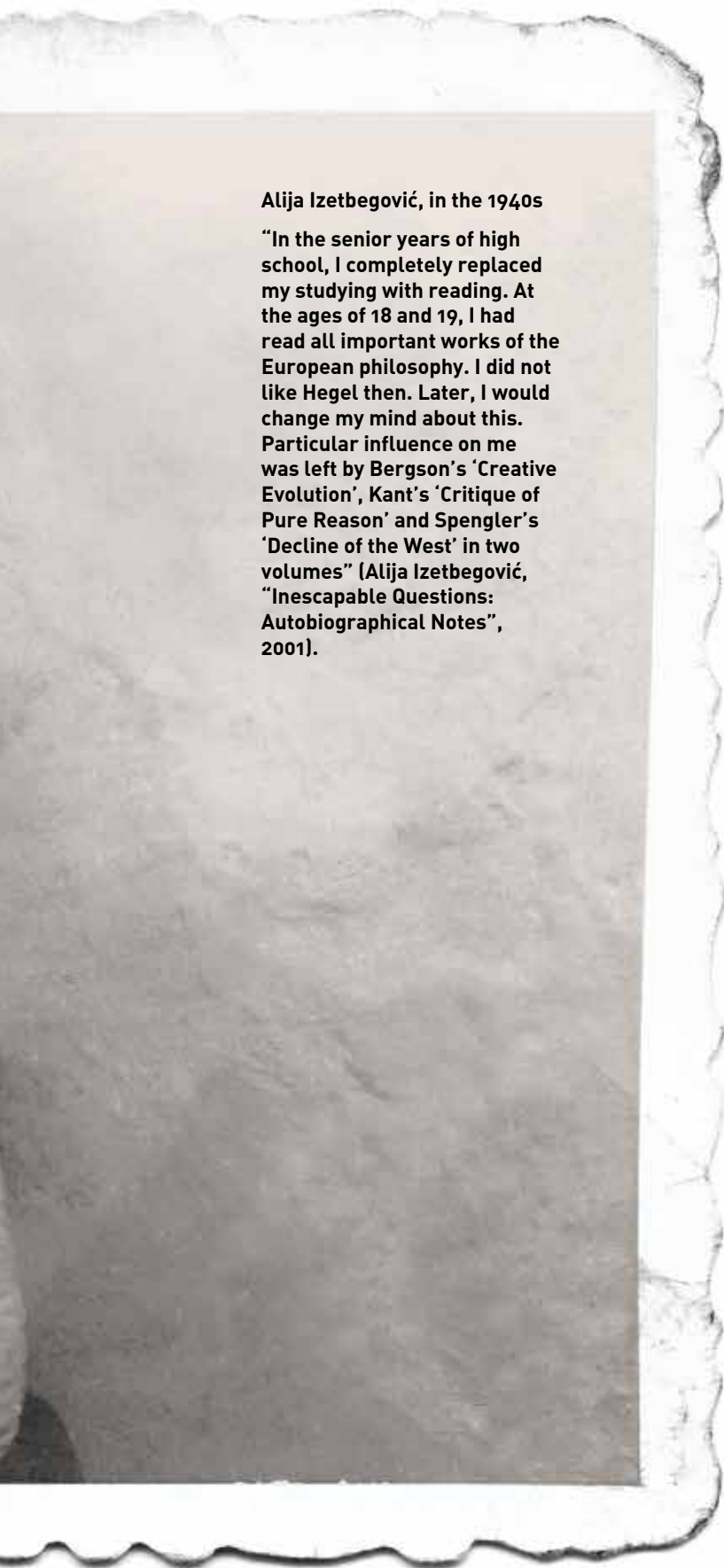




Beside Alija, Mustafa Izetbegović had five more children. Alija had three sisters, one younger brother and two half-brothers from his father's first marriage. Three years after the birth of Alija Izetbegović, in 1928, the whole family moved from Bosanski Šamac to Sarajevo. In Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegović completed the First Realschule for Boys.

Family photograph from 1934: sisters Nafija and Hajrija next to their father and mother; sister Arzija and brother Nurudin stand in front and half-brothers Sabrija and Bahrija are at the back; Alija Izetbegović is in the middle.





Alija Izetbegović, in the 1940s

“In the senior years of high school, I completely replaced my studying with reading. At the ages of 18 and 19, I had read all important works of the European philosophy. I did not like Hegel then. Later, I would change my mind about this. Particular influence on me was left by Bergson’s ‘Creative Evolution’, Kant’s ‘Critique of Pure Reason’ and Spengler’s ‘Decline of the West’ in two volumes” (Alija Izetbegović, “Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes”, 2001).

The Second World War brought even greater atrocities to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In April of 1941, a Nazi-allied group named ‘Ustasha’ came to power in Croatia and subsequently declared, under an agreement between the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Italy, an Independent State of Croatia (NDH) which annexed the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Independent State of Croatia attempted to forbid any mention of the particularity of the Bosnian state, and Bosnian Muslims were officially considered as Croats. Immediately after it was set up, the Independent State of Croatia began to commit genocide against the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, perpetrating the most horrific crimes primarily against Jews, Serbs and the Roma. Bosniaks and Croats who did not agree with the Ustasha politics were not spared.

Simultaneously, Muslims were the victims of genocide in the territories controlled by Draža Mihajlović’s Chetnik movement. Chetnik movement’s policy of “cleansing the state of non-Serb elements” led to the most horrific crimes committed in eastern and western Bosnia, eastern Herzegovina and Sandžak.

An armed rebellion against the Independent State of Croatia fought under the motto “brotherhood and unity” was led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the centre of the National Liberation War of the Peoples of Yugoslavia, where the most important battles were fought, was particularly significant. Of the total number of casualties of the war within the whole of Yugoslavia, nearly half perished on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As a result of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s role in the National Liberation Movement, the first session of the State Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) was held in Mrkonjić Grad on 25 November 1943, when the continuity of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s statehood was reaffirmed and its foundations restored. It is considered one of the most important dates in Bosnia and Herzegovina’s recent history and is marked as the Statehood Day.

Representatives of all peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina emphasized through the State Anti-Fascist Council for the

National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina that Bosnia and Herzegovina was “neither Serb nor Croat nor Muslim” but “equally Serb and Croat and Muslim”. Full equality of all three peoples was guaranteed and it was affirmed that the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not want to revert to a former state in which Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a province, had been oppressed by “Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian upper classes”.

By the decisions of the Second Session of ZAVNOBiH, held in Sanski Most in 1944, Bosnia and Herzegovina was set up as a federal unit of what would become a Yugoslav state union. Thanks to its prominent anti-nationalist and anti-fascist role, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia attracted support from the growing number of people across Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Unfortunately, during the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), held in Jajce on 29 November 1943, which laid the foundations of a new, socialist Yugoslavia, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not granted recognition of their autochthonous ethnicity, which largely affected their further difficult and uncertain status over the next half century.

On the eve of the collapse of the old Yugoslavia, in 1941, Alija Izetbegović attended a founding assembly of the “Young Muslims” organization. Its main aims were to raise awareness about religion and ethnicity and to emancipate the Muslim population. It was an attempt “to reach the roots through a search for origin”. It was not a search for ethnicity as much as it was for spiritual sources of Bosnian Muslims.

At the beginning of the massacres committed by Chetniks in eastern Bosnia, members of the Organization, Alija Izetbegović among them, were engaged in charitable work. They provided accommodation and aid to displaced people, protected persecuted Muslims from the Chetnik and Ustasha crimes and participated in reconstruction of destroyed houses and mosques in eastern Bosnia.

After he finished secondary school (in 1944), Alija Izetbegović had an obligation, under the laws of the Ustasha

regime in the Independent State of Croatia, to sign up for service in the Croatian Home Guard, which he refused to do. He decided to evade the draft and went into hiding, first in Sarajevo and afterwards fleeing to Posavina.

Again, the “Young Muslims” were not permitted legal registration because they refused to join the “Ustasha Youth”. A solution was found in the Ilmiye Association “Al Hidaya”, by becoming embedded in its youth wing.

The sole purpose of “Al Hidaya” was to preserve the identity and existence of Bosnian Muslims. Although it was rather pragmatic, and undetermined regarding its alliance with the National Liberation Movement led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, “Al Hidaya” gave a rousing endorsement to one of the most courageous statements made by citizens in Europe during World War II. Those were the resolutions signed in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Mostar, Zenica, Bijeljina, Prijedor, Bugojno, Bosanska Dubica and probably in other places across Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most significant members of the Bosnian Muslim intelligentsia and other notables protested publicly against persecution of innocent citizens, demanding punishment for the crimes committed by the Ustasha against Serbs and Jews. It was an act of public spirit and Islamic consciousness. Regardless, many of those who had signed the resolution were targeted by a new communist government after the country was freed from fascism.

Victory over fascism, unfortunately, did not bring equal rights to all, particularly not to the civic groups aiming to promote their religious identity. Such a policy was the consequence of the socialist revolution that was taking place simultaneously with the National Liberation War. As the post-war society in Yugoslavia was built on the model of the Soviet Union’s social system, and the idea of the rapid extinction of not only ethnicities but also religions was promoted, the “Young Muslims” could not legally register their organization after the liberation of the country. On the contrary, already in 1946, its activities towards awakening religious consciousness triggered the arrest of some members of the organization, including Alija Izetbegović.



With friends. This photograph was taken during the 1940s



Having wavered for a short time, Alija Izetbegović joined the group “Young Muslims” and devoted himself to studying Islam. The members of this movement searched for a way for Muslims to free themselves from their subjugated and disempowered position, considering that it was primarily important to return to the original messages of Islam.



"Young Muslims" group photo from the 1940s; Alija Izetbegović (second from the left in the second row).

"The Quran and Islam are far too important to be entrusted only to the clergy". (Alija Izetbegović, "Notes from prison: 1983 – 1988", 1999).



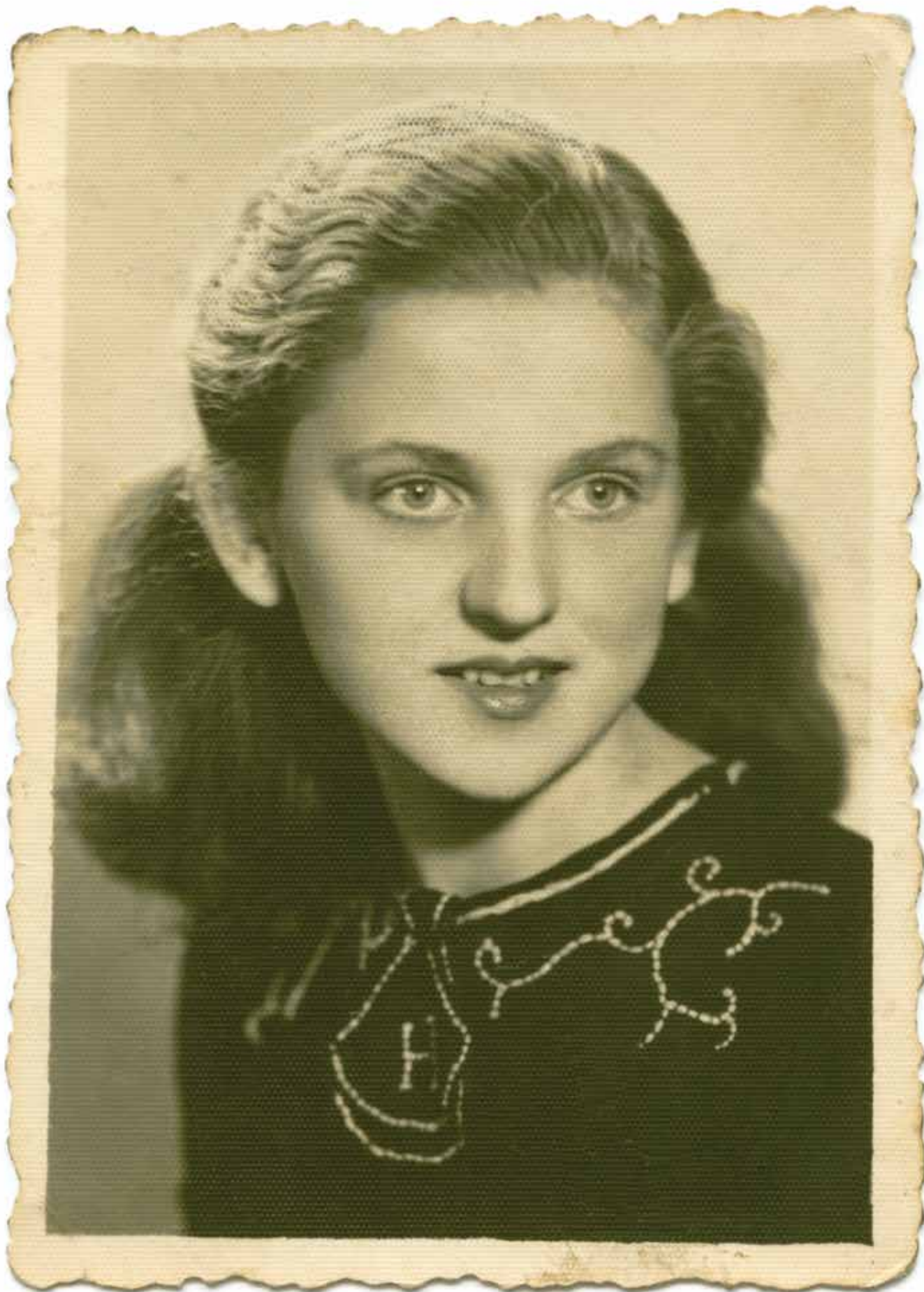
Alija Izetbegović (fifth from the right in the top row) with friends in the 1940s

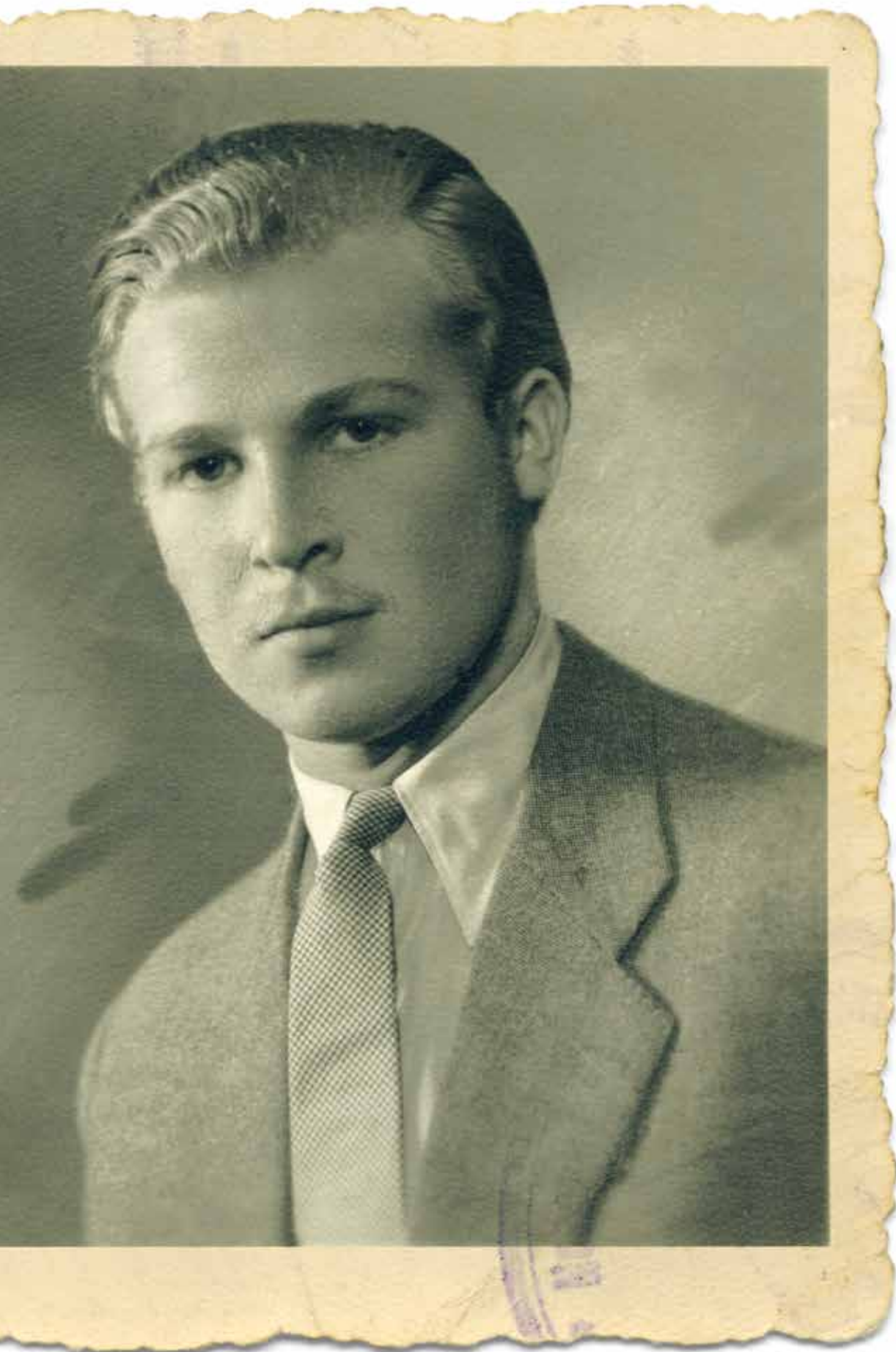


On the Goražde-Ustikolina road, 24 May 1943; From left to right: Edhem Šahović, Alija Izetbegović, Džemil Sabrihafizović and Hilmo Ćerimagić



One of "Young Muslims" operations: together with his friends, Izetbegović travelled to places where Muslims were attacked and killed, bringing humanitarian aid and helping to rescue the youngest and the infirm from Chetniks' encirclement. A trip to Ustikolina in 1943 – Alija Izetbegović, second from the left, top row.





Halida and Alija Izetbegović,
1943 – 1944

He met his wife Halida during the war, when he was 18. He wrote in his memoir "Inescapable Questions": "While people fled to cellars and shelters in panic, Halida and I would remain on the street and sit on a nearby rock or the nearest bench, convinced that nothing could happen to us. The two of us must have surely been the only people in the city who were happy to hear the sound of sirens warning of a possible attack".

ISLAM I ZNANOST (u teoriji)

(napisao Alija Izetbegović)

(Tema pod gornjim naslovom je izveštak iz rada
„ISLAM - IDEOLOGIJA ŽIVOTA“, Od Alije Izetbegovića)

Kao i u pitanju vrijednosti religije, filozofije, umjetnosti, politike tako i u pitanju vrijednosti nauke i civilizacije, ljudi su se mnogo razilazili.

Dok je Tolstoj nazvao religiju „svjetlošću života“ s druge strane je Marks naziva „opijumom naroda“, dok filozof Reskin kaže da je umjetnost odraz visine duha, dotle Ruso veli da je to samo finija, utančanija forma raskoši; jedni vele da je filozofija jedina pristupačna istini, a drugi je nazivaju štetnim i neplodnim umnim pehlivanstvom; jedna strana naziva politiku narodnom pedagogijom, a druga je naziva prijavim poslom i ne govori nikad o njoj bez izvjesne odvratnosti. Eto, sva ta četiri velika pokretača civilizacije bila su vrlo često izvrnuta jakoj kritici: jedni su u njima nalazili sve a drugi ništa. Isto se to događalo i sa naukom, kao petim, pokretičem, najjačim pokretačem civilizacije.

Dok su jedni tvrdili da je nauka štetna, da je iz života treba izbaciti dotle su drugi govorili potpuno protivno: sve probleme koje nameće život može riješiti jedino nauka i ona, također, može ostvariti sve ideale, koji su lebdili i koji danas lebde pred našim svijetom. Da se to sve ostvari, vele oni, potreban je jedino umni rad, gomilanje znanja, razviće i usavršenje mozga.

I jedan i drugi tabor imali su među svojim pristalicama mnogo velikih ljudi, učenjaka i filozofa.

Ruso a zanjime i Lev Tolstoj pisali su mnogo i ubjedljivo protiv nauke i civilizacije. Oni su se trudili da dokažu, kako u korak sa prosvjetom ide morala ikvarenost, i kako naučni progres razvraća i kvari ljude i narode.

Iz drugog tabora navesti ćemo europskog učenjaka Bekla, koji kaže: „Ako hoćemo da poznamo uslove od kojih zavise uspjesi životnog napredka, moramo ih tražiti u historiji sticanja i širenja umnog znanja. S vremena na vrijeme, ista, znatno ometaju opći tok stvari pojave fizičke prirode i moralna načela, no ta se faktori u toku vremena sredjuju i uravnotežuju, te tako umni zakoni mogu da rade slobodno i nezavisno od tih nižih, drugostepenih faktora.“ Ovo kaže jedan od evropskih učenjaka, alično govore još mnogi, a uostalom mi živimo u vremenu kada većina svijeta ovako misli.

Islam u to pitanju, u pitanju vrijednosti nauke, ima svoje originalno gledište. On je to svoje ~~gledište~~ stanovište čvrsto izgradio, svestranim razmatranjem svih sila i snaga, faktora koji pokreću čovječanstvo naprijed. Odredio je ~~svu~~ njihovo mjesto i ulogu u životu. Među njima nalazi i nauka, kao jedan od najvažnijih pokretača civilizacije. Ako hoćemo da pregledamo to gledište Islama, moramo poći iz daljeg.

Po islamu, ako hoćemo da uredimo život, i da u tom životu bude „maksimum sreće za maksimum ljudi“, trebamo imati pravoga, izgrađenoga čovjeka i osim toga postaviti dobre socijalno-ekonomske zakone. Ovdje smo spomenuli jednu originalnost Islama i jedino njemu svojstvenu osobinu. Najme, ako historijski posmatramo učenja koja su imala za cilj da uredi život, vidjećemo, uglavnom dvije osnovne različite crte: dok jedni svu brigu posvećuju da stvore dobro čovjeka, ne brinući se ni malo za zakone socijalnog i ekonomskog karaktera, drugi se brinu samo za ovo drugo, govoreći da će dobri socijalno-ekonomski zakoni stvoriti dobre čovjeka, vjerujući da ti zakoni imaju niti iz kojih se ispredaju ljudski karakteri. Veliki predstavnik prvog učenja bilo je kršćanstvo, a drugog komunizam. Historija govori da ni jedno ni drugo učenje nije doživjelo ostvarenje svojih ideala, nije stvorilo sreću raj na zemlji ni u kolikom opsegu.

Zato je Islam osim zbirke zakona socijalnih i ekonomskih, još dao recept za izgradnju harmonizirane ličnosti. Ta ličnost ne treba da živi uglavnom samo fizičkim životom, kao u antičkom svijetu, niti samo moralnim kao u evanđelju, a ni samo intelektualnim kao u Evropi. Ona treba da živi i fizički i moralnim i intelektualnim životom. Dakle, po islamu treba stvoriti čovjeka putem fizičkog podizanja i usavršenja, putem religioznog i islamskog progresa i kulture srca, putem umnog rada, gomilanja znanja, razvića i usavršenja mozga. Pošto je dao izvrsna pravila za čovjekov



Arrest Warrant for Alija Izetbegović,
1 March 1946

Following the country's liberation from fascism, the communist government began settling the scores with all those considered an enemy of the new social system. Among them was the "Young Muslims" – the movement that had brought together several thousand young people around an idea which the new system did not accept. Its activities focused on writing and publishing articles promoting an Islamic view of the world and the times they lived in. Those were the times of a pervasive atheist propaganda, which the "Young Muslims" were resolutely opposed to. Alija Izetbegović was among those who raised their voice against such practice, believing that it was an attack on the existence of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the autumn of 1945 Izetbegović had an open conflict with the members of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) during the assembly meeting of the still unbanned Muslim cultural association "Preporod". In a very tough speech, he strongly opposed the idea of the League taking over the activities of the cultural association. This led to the end of the meeting and a brawl, after which Alija Izetbegović was taken to a police station and kept in a basement throughout the night. He was warned that his activities would be under close surveillance from that day on.

Shortly afterwards he was conscripted to serve in the Yugoslav Army. Izetbegović served his military service in Sarajevo. During his military service, he was arrested for membership in a "hostile

organization" and, charged with three counts, handed over to the public prosecutor of the Sixth Military District. Despite his refusal to plead guilty in the Court Martial in Sarajevo, he was sentenced to three years in prison.

The Yugoslav union experienced an even more difficult time over the coming years as a result of the conflict that broke out between Tito and Stalin. A government crackdown on the Cominform supporters was often used to settle accounts with all other "subversive elements", including the people gathered around the idea of the "Young Muslims" movement, who were once again the target of a fierce repression. This time, it was far more brutal. In a new wave of arrests in 1949, hundreds of innocent young men were put behind bars and as many as four of the accused were sentenced to death. It could be said that Alija Izetbegović avoided the death penalty only because he was already in prison. It was a time of fear that continued until the early 1960s. After his release, Alija Izetbegović enrolled in the Faculty of Agronomy. Having finished his first two years of study, he transferred to another department – he enrolled in the Law School and graduated with a law degree from the Sarajevo University. After he graduated, he began working as a site manager in a construction company that implemented a hydropower plant construction project in Montenegro. In 1962, having successfully passed the bar exam, he became a legal adviser in Sarajevo's construction company "Niskogradnja".

During his military service, in 1946, Alija Izetbegović was arrested and handed over to the public prosecutor of the 6th Military District.



MINISTARSTVO
Odeljenje pravne pomoći
za grad Sarajevo
Pr. Br. 156/46
27-IV-1946 god.
SARAJEVO

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ЈАВНОМ ТУЖИОЦУ VI АРМИЈЕ

Предајемо вам ИЗЕТБЕГОВИЋ АЛИЈУ, син Мустафин и Хибе р. Цабија рођен 1925. г. у Бос. Шамцу, нежењен, вјере исламске, држављанин ФНРЈ, по занимању студент права, а сада у Ј.А. на служби у штабу 38. дивиз наставен у Сарајеву у Топлик ул. 13, зато што је:

1.-Још од оснотка непријатељске организације "Млади муслимани"-а то је било у првим данима окупације-припадао је њеном главном руководству, чији је циљ био да окупи што већи број муслиманске омладине око исте, и развијајући међу истом фашистичку пропаганду припремали је на њен непријатељски став према НОП-у, јер "ми нисмо у НОП-у видјели свој прави пут", како он каже у свом саслушању, које тиме, а и иначе користила само окупатору, јер су се из редова те организације регрутовали кадрови за непријатељске оружане формације;

2.-Што је, као један од најглавнијих, управо најглавнији члан руководства ове илегалне организације по ослобођењу, заједно са Чампаром Ђурефом, Узуновић Фахром, Шаховић Едхемом, Шакирбеговић Нецибом и његовом женом Азизом, Дервишевић Муртезом, наставмо са активном дјелатношћу и по ослобођењу, дајући смјернице раду и директиве другим непријатељским елементима из ове организације, да се не ангажује са осталом омладином у изградњи земље и да својим непријатељским ставом према Народној омладини, штетно дјелују на муслиманску омладину, одгајајући омладину која је била на позицијама ове организације у профашистичком духу, те ју на тај начин пасивизирајући, а читав овај рад су засигурно плаштем вјере, настојећи да на тај начин умање одговорност за своје непријатељско дјеловање; често је и сам иступао на јавним скуповима као члан ове организације, дајући на тај начин примјер "како треба да наступа муслиманска омладина";

3.-Био је потпуно упознат са свим припремама око организовања бјегства Шакирбеговића и његове жене Азизе у Турску, те око припрема које је вршио Шаховић Едхем у Дубровнику за бјегство у иностранство, а није хтјео да то јави властима, што је као војник Ј.А. морао то да учини, јер и сам имао намјеру да бјежи, чиме је починио злочин раван издаји државних интереса.

Својим дрским држањем приликом саслушања, не признавањем свега онога што га је теретило, а што су потврдили у својим саслушањима сви похапшени из ове групе, настојање да умањи значај ове непријатељске организације и да на тај начин извуче и себе и друге од одговорности пред судом, све то говори о његовом свјесном непријатељском држању и раду против државних интереса. Када се томе додају његове ријечи: да он није толики опортуниста да би био присталица НФ-а, а самим тим и данашњег државног уређења, онда се може доbitи још потпунија слика овог народног непријатеља, који треба да искуси што тежу казну за своје протународно дјеловање.

Именовани се налази у истражном затвору овог одељења од 1-III-1946. г.

Смрт фашизму - Слобода народу!

Прилог: његово саслушање

Начелник Руковода:

Дане Олбина/

Halida and Alija Izetbegović
after their wedding in 1949





A family
photograph,
1956





Lejla, Sabina and Bakir with their father, a family photograph from 1961



A family photograph, Sarajevo, 1962. The year Alija Izetbegović passed his bar exam and began working as a legal advisor.

Alija with his son
Bakir in Belgrade,
1964



The situation in the Yugoslav union started improving in the mid 1960's. As the country stabilized politically, many political prisoners were set free. There was a turnaround in the country's foreign policy and Josip Broz Tito followed the nonaligned movement policy, in response to the Cold War. The relations with the Soviet Union were normalized, economic reforms were undertaken and trade was liberalised, tourism began to develop, independent media emerged, the notorious chief of the State Security Service (UDBA) and vice president of the state, Aleksadar Ranković, was removed from office and foreign investments with a 49 % foreign equity cap were allowed.

These positive changes had an impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following many years of life without recognized identity, Bosnian Muslims were finally recognized as a separate ethnic group under an awkwardly chosen name of Muslims with a capital "M". Prior to that, they had to declare themselves as Serbs, Croats or "undeclared".

The political struggle for recognition of "Muslims" lasted from 1961 to 1971.

Under such circumstances Alija Izetbegović continued keeping company and meeting with his friends with whom he

discussed the position of Muslims, without attempting to operate as an organized group. He continued to work toward the emancipation and identity of Bosnian Muslims by writing for the newsletters of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as "Glasnik", "Takvim" and "Preporod", and participating in panel discussions, most of which were held in mosques in Sarajevo. As his own life experience taught him, Alija Izetbegović published his own texts under the pseudonym "LSB", a set of initial letters of the first names of his children.

As the country was opening up to the world, former prisoners were able to get a passport. Alija Izetbegović used this opportunity to travel abroad on numerous occasions, either for private purposes or for the purpose of meeting with the Bosnian diaspora and representatives of various Islamic organizations. At that time, Alija Izetbegović was more interested in the developments in the Islamic world, engaging in particular in overcoming antagonisms between various Islamic groups, notably between Shiites and Sunnis.

In the light of such thoughts, in the 1960s Alija Izetbegović began writing a book entitled "Islamic Declaration".



A family photograph, 1967



Paris, 1973



Halida Izetbegović, Istanbul, 1974 (photograph taken by Alija Izetbegović)

"This persistent pressure for women's employment out of the house, their inclusion in production, has its psychological form, too: it manifests in non-recognition of all the economic value a woman creates in her home, giving birth and raising children and keeping the house. The housewife, the worker who works ten to twelve hours per day, is presented in our statistics as unemployed and classified as "non-working element". We all know how much work a woman has, and at the same time, we all pretend we do not see it. Ignoring the work of a woman is another – this time moral – form of pressure against the woman to leave the house and turn her back to the family". (Alija Izetbegović, "Notes from Prison: 1983 – 1988", 1999)

The Izetbegović couple, 1970s



Vacation with his wife and children



In those days Bosnia and Herzegovina began to develop more intensely. Until then, it had been the Yugoslav republic with the highest number of undeveloped regions, the lowest economic growth and national income below the Yugoslav average. In 1974, the new Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRYU) was passed. It introduced elements of confederalism and finally made Bosnia and Herzegovina equal to other Yugoslav republics.

Yugoslav foreign policy still aimed at strengthening its position within the nonaligned movement, which resulted in a far better position for Muslims in the country. Under such circumstances and due to links established with many Islamic countries, the approach to Islamic thought was more liberal. Alija Izetbegović remained engaged in general issues of the Islamic world and attended lectures held in Tabački masjed in Sarajevo where his theses from the "Islamic Declaration" were often discussed.

After Josip Broz died in 1980, the most aggressive forms of nationalism re-emerged on the Yugoslav political scene. Not only was it widespread within the Communist League, it was fully reminiscent of the processes in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The economic crisis exacerbated political relations. 'Verbal delict' was established as a criminal offence. Again, ignoring the new situation, Alija Izetbegović, together with a small group of people involved with the same issues, continued to be occupied with Islamic topics.

He finished writing his book "Islam Between East and West" in the early 1980s. Izetbegović then went to Canada where he presented his work to Hasan Karačić, a prominent businessman and his old friend from secondary school. Karačić helped him to get published. In 1983, when the book was to be released, quite unexpectedly, Alija Izetbegović and twelve other Muslim intellectuals were arrested. The so-called Sarajevo Process began wherein, "in the name of the people" they were charged with defaming the state. The District Court in Sarajevo ruled that all defendants (although many of them did not know each other) "were guilty of joint enterprise for purposes of hostile activity". The guilty verdict was based mainly on what Izetbegović had written in his "Islamic Declaration". For this, he was sentenced to fourteen years in prison!

The book "Islam Between East and West" was published in the early 1984 by American Trust Publications in the United States of America.

The first edition print was sold out quickly and the book and its author attracted growing attention from academics. During that time, the author of the book served his prison time in Foča. Two years later, having turned sixty, Alija Izetbegović was spared penal labour, so he had more time to read and write. During that period, he wrote a book which would later be published under the title "My Escape to Freedom – Notes from Prison: 1983 – 1988" which was an analysis of European ideas and ideologies of the 20th century and their treatment of Islam.



After five years and eight months, on 25 November 1988, Alija Izetbegović was released, at the age of 63. As a multi-party system was being introduced in the country, Izetbegović and a group of like-minded individuals immediately set out to form one of the very first political parties aimed at preserving the ethnic interest of Bosniaks in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He was elected chairman of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) at its Founding Convention in May 1990 and then, after the SDA won the largest share of the vote in the first

multi-party elections held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in November the same year, he became President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was already facing the threat of blazing nationalism spilling over from Serbia, led by Slobodan Milošević.



Alija Izetbegović finished writing his book "Islam Between East and West" and left for Canada in 1981, where he presented his work to his old acquaintance from high-school days, Hasan Karačić, who accepted to be the publisher of the book. The photograph was taken in front of the home of the mentioned Bosniak immigrant and a successful Canadian businessman.

Атак на тековине револуције

У завршној ријечи јавни тужилац јасно утврдио, на основу увида у комплетан доказни поступак и материјал, да је дјелатност оптужених била усмјерена против братства и јединства и равноправности наших народа и народности, ради рушења БиХ као Социјалистичке Републике, и контрареволуционарног угрожавања друштвено-политичког система СФРЈ ● Пресуда се очекује крајем ове седмице

У вишечасовном плодовају заступник јавне тужбе Едина Решидовић јуче је Великом вијећу сарајевског Окружног суда аргументовано презентирала дио по дио инкриминисаних дела из широког мозаика оптужница, гдје ниједан догађај ни датум није био препуштен случају, већ, непобитним материјалним доказима и чињеницама који су још једном расвјетлили и указали на циљеве групе оптужених за организовано, непријатељско и контрареволуционарно дјеловање са позиција муслиманског национализма. У завршној ријечи јавни тужилац је јасно утврдио, на основу увида у комплетан доказни поступак и материјал, да је дјелатност оптужених била усмјерена против братства и јединства и равноправности наших народа и народности ради рушења БиХ као Социјалистичке Републике, а тиме и подривања друштвеног уређења Југославије. Идеју потпу групе националиста, који су заговарали стварање «етнички чисте» Босне и Херцеговине на принципима ислама као «јединства вјере и закона», чинила је «исламска декларација» — програм исламизације Муслимана, чија је девиза била и «Вјеровати и борити се».

На питања да ли је «Исламска декларација» била намијењена само исламском свијету, као својерасна монографија, или је, пак, била у најужој вези са платформом бивше терористичке организације «Млади муслимани» упућена као позив «свим муслиманима који знају гдје припадају», дала је прецизне одговоре јавни тужилац Едина Решидовић.

— Оптужени Алија Изетбеговић, који је и аутор «Исламске декларације», као и оптужени Омер Бехмен, давали су овај текст и другим лицима, грађанима наше земље, на читање ради стварања групе истомишљеника — истакла је Едина Решидовић, образлажући активност двојице првооптужених, коју јавна тужба квалификује као кривична дјела стварања групе, удруживања ради непријатељске дјелатности и контрареволуционарног угрожавања друштвеног уређења СФРЈ.

— На 40 страница овог инкриминисаног текста, чије је основно гледиште истоветно са главном тезом програма «Млади муслимани» да ислам није само вјера него cjелокупни систем живљења, ниједном ријечу се не искључује ни Југославије, а ни Босна и Херцеговина. Упућујући позив свим Муслиманима свијета апсурдна је одбрана оптуженог Изетбеговића да у тих 700 милиона нема Муслимана из Југославије, поготово ако се зна да у БиХ жи-

Тенденциозно «незнање»

У дискусијама на Табачком мјесциду постављено је и свако питање: «Ако дође до рата Југославије са неком од исламских земаља да ли би се наши муслимани борили?»

Одговор на ово питање, а које зна сваки пионир наше домовине, сваки грађанин Југославије, сви они што су се досад већ борили и који су и сутра спреми на жртве — једино није могао да пружи слушаоцима оптужени Хасан Ченгић.

ви већина становништва муслиманске националности — каже Едина Решидовић.

Ако се «Исламској декларацији» додају и други текстови, као што су «Муслимани у Југославији», «Структура исламске вјерске заједнице», као и написи објављени у странијој штампи, чији су аутори неки од оптужених, добија се кристално јасна слика да су оптужени Алија Изетбеговић и Омер Бехмен ширили лажну тезу о угрожености ислама и Муслимана у нашој земљи.

— Под претпоставком да је «Исламска декларација» била само литература за добронамјерног читаоца поставља се питање због чега је скривана, тајно слата у иностранство и због чега су је неки свједоци спавивали чак и након само летимичног читања појединих пасуса — обрнула се у завршној ријечи Едина Решидовић судском Вијећу.

Одговор је недвосмислен: «Исламска декларација» је била позив младој интелигенцији ради заговарања поретка супротном нашем социјалистичком самоуправном уређењу. «Декларација» је антисоцијалистичка и антикомунистичка и као таква њена примјена чини акт контрареволуционарног угрожавања нашег друштвено-политичког система. Констатација из «Декларације» да се «исламски препород не може започети без вјерске, али ни довршити без политичке револуције» одразила се и на даљу активност оптужених који су писаном и усменом ријечу покушали да заинтересују што већи број лица. А, за такву радњу, која је била прекривена плаштом такзване вјерске поуке, увелико се користила и трибина Дебатног клуба студената Исламско-теолошког факултета у Сарајеву гдје су предавања за вјернике припремали оптужени Хасан Ченгић и

Џемал Латиф. Да је Табачки мјесцид већ 1979. године изишао изван оквира религије, која је, како је то познато, у нашем друштву ствар приватног и слободног одређења сваког грађанина, најбоље указују и опомене упућене из Старјешинства Исламске вјерске заједнице. Свако предавање требало је доносити на увид Одбору Исламске вјерске заједнице, који се, како је то напомену јавни тужилац, формално односио према упућенима Старјешинства.

— Читање ајета из Кур'ана није, нити може бити кривично дјело — рекла је Едина Решидовић. — Али, оно што се чуло с проповједничке трибине и у дискусијама није било само читање свете књиге. Садистичким цијепањем цјелине Кур'ана, злоупотребљавајући свету књигу и вјешто манипулишући осјећањима вјерника, оптужени су не само извајерили принципе властите религије, већ и јавно ширили мржњу и раздор између наших народа и народности атакујући на оно што сви морамо чувати као зјеницу ока свога — братство и јединство — истакла је јавни тужилац читајући у судници крајње шовинистичке и екстремистичке суре и ајете.

Непријатељска активност оптужених прелази оквире и наше земље. Оптужени се повезују и са антијугословенском

емиграцијом у Аустрији, чија је веза био Теуфик Велагић, осведочени непријатељ наше земље. Заједно са оптуженим Изетбеговићем, Омером Бехменом и Исметом Касумагићем креће на пут и «Исламска декларација» која је посредством Теуфика Велагића била уручена званичном представништву једне исламске земље са сједиштем у Бечу. На истом мјесту договорано је и путовање у ову страну земљу у којем су такође учествовали оптужени Едhem Бичакчић и Хусо Живаљ.

— Зашто је ово путовање било тајно ако се оно прокламује само као туристичко-вјерска манифестација — упитао је јавни тужилац.

Зна се да је Југославија земља отворених граница која се свагда истиче као примјер, што је био још разлог мање да се у ову страну земљу путује без овјерених пасоша, па чак и бесплатно. Разлог посјете и боравка оптужених у овој странијој земљи непобитно су доказани: оптужени су злонамерно лажно и тенденциозно приказивајући стање и прилике у нашој земљи покушали да наруше углед Југославије међу несврстаним, као и добре и пријатељске односе наше земље са овом исламском државом.

Што се тиче оптужених Салиха Бехмена, Мустафе Спahiћа, Џемала Латифа, Мелике Салихбеговић и Дервиша Бурбегвића, који су оптужени због кривичног дјела непријатељске пропаганде, заступник јавне тужбе Едина Решидовић је у завршној ријечи истакла да је проведеним доказима несумњиво утврђено да су сви они починили дјело за које се терете. На основу потпуног признања оптужене Буле Бичакчић, која одговара због пружања помоћи починиоцу након почињеног кривичног дјела, заступник оптужбе је истакла да је утврђено да је она дјело и починила.

На крају завршне ријечи Едина Решидовић је предложила Суду да све оптужене огласи кривим за кривична дјела за које их оптужница терети и да при одмјеравању казне има у виду сва околности под којима су ова непријатељска дјела почињена, њихову тежину, као и то да су неки од оптужених већ одговарали због кривичних дјела против народа и државе.

У послеподневним сатима завршну ријеч изнијели су браниоци оптуженог Изетбеговића, а суђење се наставља данас изношењем завршних ријечи бранилаца осталих оптужених. Пресуда се очекује крајем ове седмице.

Б. РОМАНО — 3. БУЉУГИЋ

Права слика

Покушај оптуженог Алије Изетбеговића да се у току јавног суђења представи само као исламски писац који се никад није огријешо о братство и јединство осавјетилила је и са друге стране заступник јавне тужбе Едина Решидовић изнијевши низ чињеница из живота оптуженог Алије Изетбеговића.

Оптужени Изетбеговић је био један од главних руководилаца омладинске секције «Ел Хидаја» која је припадала организацији «Млади муслимани». Од 1943. године радио је на робовању младих муслимана за одлазак у Ханџар-дивизију. Из усташке архиве видљиво је да је Изетбеговић примљен на разговор код јерусалимског муфтије Ел Хусенија, Хитлеровог сарадника и оснивача злогласне Ханџар-дивизије. Већ 1946. године оптужени је осуђен за дјела против народа и државе. Године 1972. у иностранству је посјетио емигранта — ратног злочинца Јусуфа Бозића.

Како нам је изјавио судија Првог општинског суда Бранислав Тодић, који ће председавати кривичном вијећу, Изворника ће одговарати пред судом за кривично дјело клевете путем штампе. О чему се ради?

Прошлог мјесеца она је дала интервју часопису «Супер итд.», у коме је погрдним изразом оклеветала своју колегињу Милену Плавшић. Овај је није оставила дужна, па је одлучила да сатисфакцију затражи судским путем.

Ово несвакидашње суђење одржаће се најједароватније у септембру. Колико је познато, ово је први случај у посљедњих неколико година да се због клевете тужа пјевачи београдске естраде.

З. М.

МИЛЕНА ПЛАВШИЋ ТУЖИЛА ИЗВОРИНКУ МИЛОШЕВИЋ

Нови естрадни »ХИТ«

БЕОГРАД, 16. АВГУСТА — Због погрдног израза позната пјевачица народних пјесам Изворника Милошевић — Блам сјешће на оптуженичку клупу Општинског суда у Београду.

ИЗ СУДСКИХ КЛУПА

ИЗРЕЧЕНЕ ПРЕСУДЕ ГРУПИ МУСЛИМАНСКИХ НАЦИОНАЛИСТА

Непријатељима 90 година затвора

Алија Изетбеговић осуђен на 14 година затвора, Омер Бехмен на 15, Хасан Ченгић и Исмет Касумагић на по 10 година, Едхем Бичакчић на 7, Хусо Живаљ на 6, Салих Бехмен на 5, Мустафа Спахић на 5, Џемал Латиф на 6 година и 6 мјесеци, Мелика Салихбеговић на 5 година, Дервиш Ђурђевић на 6 година и Ђула Бичакчић на шест мјесеци

Јавно једномјесечно суђење непријатељској групи од дванаест лица оптужених за организовано дјеловање са позиција муслиманског национализма, а против братства, јединства и равноправности наших народа и народности, против власти радничке класе, ради рушења Босне и Херцеговине као социјалистичке републике, а тиме и подривања друштвеног уређења СФРЈ — добило је јуче и свој епилог. У препуној дворани сарајевског Окружног суда, јуче је Велико вијеће, којим је председавао судија Ризах Хаџић, саопштило пресуду.

Алија (Мустафа) Изетбеговић, 58-годишњи дипломирани правник из Сарајева и Омер (Мустафа) Бехмен 54-годишњи инжењер у ЖТО Сарајево због кривичног дјела удруживања ради непријатељске дјелатности, јер су створили групу ради контрареволуционарног угрожавања друштвено-политичког уређења наше земље осуђени су 14 односно 15 година затвора.

Подривање друштвеног уређења

За кривично дјело удруживања ради непријатељске дјелатности, јер су постали чланови ове групе те — због непријатељске пропаганде осуђени су: Хасан (Халида) Ченгић, 26 — годишњи имам из Стоца на јединствену казну затвора у трајању од десет година, Исмет (Халида) Касумагић, 55-годишњи инжењер металургије и савјетник у Институту «Хасан Бркић» из Зенице, на јединствену казну од десет година затвора, Едхем (Асима) Бичакчић 31-годишњи електроинжењер из «Електропривреде БиХ» у Сарајеву на 7 година затвора, и Хусо (Хамде) Живаљ, 34-годишњи

инжењер Института за процесну технику Машинског факултета у Сарајеву, на 6 година затвора.

Лажне тезе

На казне затвора због непријатељске пропаганде осуђени су: Салих (Мустафа) Бехмен, 61-годишњи наставник математике у Основној школи «Франьо Клуз» из Мостара, на пет година, Мустафа (Алије) Спахић, 33-годишњи имам из Вогошће, на пет година, Џемал (Сакиба) Латиф, 26-годишњи професор српскохрватског језика Газихусревбегове медресе, на шест година и шест мјесеци, Мелика (Хаскије) Салихбеговић, 38-годишња књижевница из Сарајева, на пет година и Дрвиш (Фехима) Ђурђевић, 35-годишњи правник у СИЗ-у науке у Сарајеву, на шест година затвора. Ђула (Асима) Бичакчић 30-годишња секретарица у РО «Електропренос» из Сарајева, осуђена је на шест мјесеци затвора због почињеног кривичног дјела пружања помоћи учиниоцу послјег извршеног кривичног дјела, јуче је пуштена из притвора до правомоћности пресуде. Истовремено, пресудом су Омер Бехмен, Салих Бехмен, Мустафа Спахић и Џемал Латиф ослобођени од неких инкриминација које им је оптужница стављала на терет.

У пресуди коју је јавно презентирао више од сат и по судија Ризах Хаџић детаљно је образложено како је ова група националиста организовано дјеловала заговарајући стварање «етнички чисте» Босне и Херцеговине с циљем формирања републике организоване на принципима ислама као «јединству вјере и закона», а чије су границе требало да се простиру у оквиру велике исламске државе од Авганистана, па све до Славонског Брода у Босни

и Херцеговини, уз припајање и појединих дијелова других република и аутономних покрајина наше земље. «Исламска декларација» чији је аутор Алија Изетбеговић, била је идејна платформа, готово идентична са програмом бивше терористичке организације «Млади муслимани» која је представљала отворен позив Муслиманима да се са планова пређе у акцију и то прво превратом у области одгоја, а затим у завршници и политичком револуцијом. Ширењем и умножавањем «Исламске декларације» која је давана на читање и употребу већем броју муслиманских интелектуалаца у Босни и Херцеговини желио се створити што већи број истомишљеника и припадника групе. Тај исти текст, чији је главни циљ био «исламизација Муслимана», тајно се упућивао и у друге земље, а уз помоћ антијугословенске емиграције из Аустрије овај програм био је предат и званичном представништву једне исламске земље у Бечу. Група националиста своју непријатељску дјелатност, коју је испољавала у земљи ширећи лажне тезе о угрожености Муслимана и ислама у Југославији, манипулишући и са осјећањима вјерника позивајући их на «борбени ислам» — затражила је подршку и из иностранства.

Енергично против националиста

Са исте платформе на којој су заснивали своје контрареволуционарне, противуставне циљеве наступили су и ван граница наше земље тражећи помоћ од једне исламске земље, гдје су у званичним институцијама покушавали да наруше углед Југославије међу несарстаним, и посебно добре односе наше земље са другим државама.

Образлажући пресуду судија Ризах Хаџић је рекао:

— Ово није било суђење ни вјери ни вјерницима, како су то хтјели да представе оптужени од самог почетка процеса. Зар је проповиједанје вјере громко изговарање порука на Табачком мексиду «Убиј невајерника», «Не дружи се с невајерницима», «Не тражи пријатеља у невајернику»? Ово није ништа друго до отворени атак на братство и јединство наших народа и народности, на тековину коју нам је и председник Тито оставио у аманет. Зар и код чињеница да су највиши органи Исламске вјерске заједнице забранили предавање у Дебатном клубу студената Исламског теолошког факултета јер су далеко превазишла религијски карактер. Још неко може тврдити да су поруке са проповиједничке трибине биле вјерске?! Зар то није, а доказало се и да јесте, безобзирни насртај на радничку власт, на слободу, братство и јединство, социјалистичко федеративно уређење Југославије. За заговарање циљеве «исламизације Босне и Херцеговине», «Исламску декларацију» и њену непобитну везу са програмом «Младих муслимана» и непријатељску пропаганду у земљи и ван ње, јасно је да су били уперени против наше социјалистичке самоуправне заједнице и свих наших народа и народности. Ово друштво ће се и даље и увијек борити против свих сличних актера и атака на основне вриједности нашег друштвеног уређења — кажео је на крају образложења пресуде судија Ризах Хаџић чије су ријечи биле поправљене дуготрајним аплаузом у судници.

Б. РОМАНО
З. БУЉУГИЋ



"In the name of the people," the Court passed a verdict finding Alija Izetbegović guilty for of the criminal offence of joint enterprise for the purpose of carrying out subversive activities. He was sentenced to 14 years in prison.



The moment of the sentencing in the "Sarajevo Process", 20 August 1983: "I loved Yugoslavia, but not its government... I have given all my love to freedom, there is none left for the government". (Concluding statement by Alija Izetbegović in the "Sarajevo Process")

PREDSEDNIŠTVU SFRJ
PREDSEDNIŠTVU SR BiH

Tokom prošle godine dva puta smo vam se obraćali s molbom da odmah obustavite dalje izdržavanje kazne zatvora svim muslimanskim intelektualcima osuđenim 1983. godine u Sarajevu na drakonske kazne zatvora od pet do petnaest godina. U međuvremenu su Džemaludin Latić i Salih Behmen pušteni na slobodu, dok se u zatvoru nalaze Alija Izetbegović, Omer Behmen, Ismet Kasumagić i Hasan Čengić. Nedavno su trojici ovih osuđenika aktom o pomilovanju neznatno smanjene kazne zatvora - Omeru Behmenu i Hasanu Čengiću za po jednu godinu, a Ismetu Kasumagiću za godinu i po. Jedino je Alija Izetbegović izuzet od ovog minimalnog pomilovanja, tako da njegova kazna zatvora od devet godina predstavlja u posljednjih tridesetak godina najdužu kaznu izrečenu za pisanu reč u Jugoslaviji, a možda i u svetu.

Ova drakonska kazna, nerazumljiva i besmislena, ipak je manji apsurd od same stvari zbog koje je Izetbegović osuđen. Njemu je "stavljena na teret intelektualna deklaracija", koju je napisao još 1970. i koja citirajući trinaest godina nije izazvala nikakvo podizanje organa gonjenja, da bi tak 1983. bila okvalifikovana kao kontrarevolucionarni napad na državno i društveno uređenje Jugoslavije. U njoj se daje vizija savremenog humanističkog i tolerantnog islama, zastupa načelo jednakosti svih ljudi i slobode savesti, kritikuju totalitarni oblik vlasti i kult ličnosti, odbacuje načelo "cilj opravdava sredstvo" i osporava uloga konzervativnih hodža i šejika. U njoj se govori o vascelom islamskom svetu ("od Maroka do Indonezije, i od Centralne Azije do transke Afrike"), ali u njoj nema ni jedne reči o Jugoslaviji i njenim prilikama i neprilikama. Čak je Okružni sud u Sarajevu u svojoj presudi (na 139. strani) sa čuđenjem zavezao kako "pada u oči da se Izetbegović trudi da u tekstu 'Deklaracije' ne spomene Jugoslaviju i BiH, mada spominje čak Japan, SSSR, Švedsku i staru Kartaginu". To, međutim, nije omelo ovaj sud da Izetbegovića osudi na petnaest godina zatvora zbog navodnog rušenja poretka u Jugoslaviji, a potom ni Savezni sud da u ovim Izetbegovićevim rečima "otkrije" neprijateljsku propagandu protiv ustavnog i društvenog uređenja Jugoslavije.

... 2. ...

strana 2

U ranijim predstavkama već smo upozorili na pravnu i moralnu neodrživost ove presude i izrazili uverenje da će sudjenje dvanaestorici muslimanskih intelektualaca u Sarajevu predstavljalo egzemplarno kažnjavanje za reč misao. Stoga vam još jednom predlažemo da bez oklevanja pustite na slobodu Aliju Izetbegovića, Omara Behmena, Ismeta Kasumagića i Hasana Čengića.

Tanasije Mladenović
Tanasije Mladenović

u ime Odbora :
Ljubomir Tadić
Ljubomir Tadić

ODBOR ZA ODBRANU SLOBODE MISLI I IZRAŽAVANJA:

prof.dr Andrija GUS
dr Nosta ČAVOŠKI
dr Ivan JANKOVIĆ
prof.dr Mihailo MARJANOVIĆ, član SANU
Borislav MINAJLOVIĆ-MIHIL, književnik
Tanasije MLADENOVIĆ, književnik
prof.dr Predrag PAVANSTIRA, član SANU
prof.dr Radovan SAMARDŽIĆ, član SANU
prof.dr Dragoslav SPELOVIĆ, član SANU
prof.dr Zorka GOLUBOVIĆ

Marija BEČKOVIĆ, član SANU
Dobrica ČOŠIĆ, član SANU
prof.dr Meca JOVANOVIĆ
Dragoslav MIRAJOVIĆ, član SANU
prof.dr Nikola MILOŠEVIĆ, član SANU
dr Gojko NIKOLIŠ, član SANU
Mida POPVIĆ, član SANU
Mladen SPENKOVIĆ, član SANU
prof.dr Ljubomir TADIĆ, član SANU
dr Vojislav KOSTUNICA

u Beogradu,
8.10.1987.

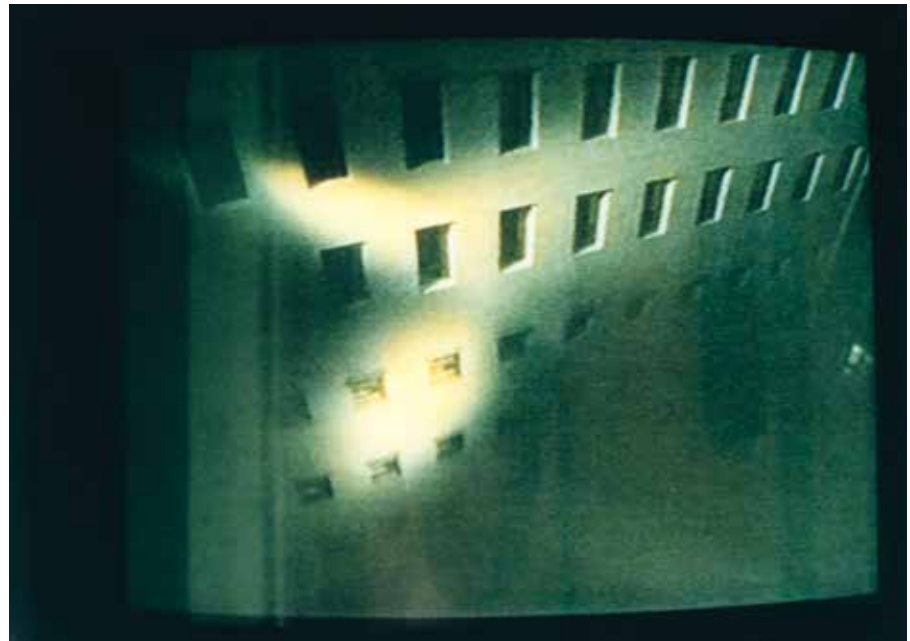
Proposal letter by the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression from Belgrade, for the release of Muslim intellectuals, 8 October 1987



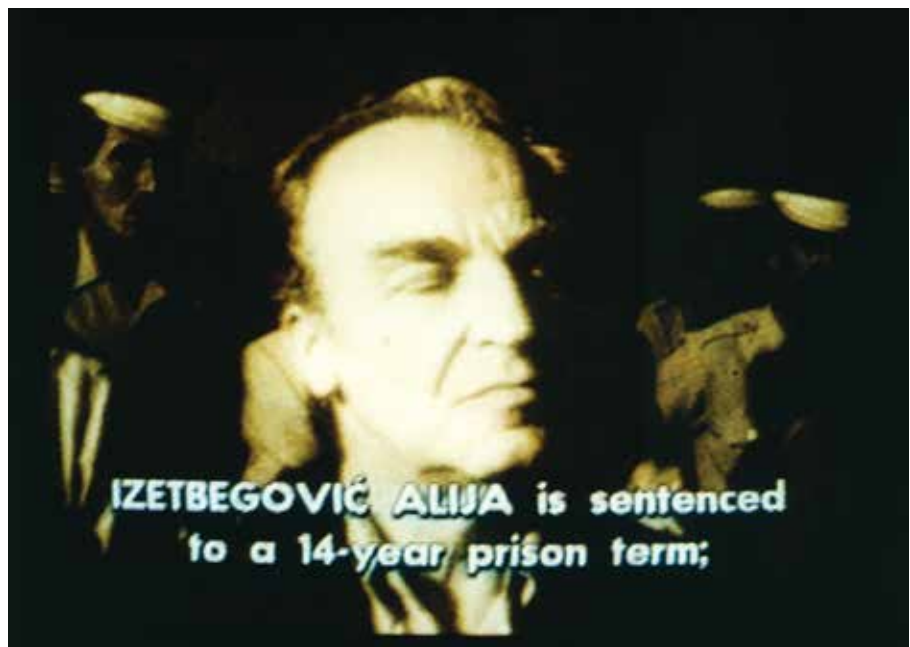
“What else could I have expected from the judges (prosecutors, investigators) who based their legal knowledge on the Marxist premise that ‘law is the will of the ruling class turned into law’ – a formula in cynical contradiction with the very idea of law” (Alija Izetbegović, “Notes from Prison, 1983 – 1988”)



After 5 years and 8 months, Alija Izetbegović was released from the Foča Prison. While in prison, he wrote “Notes from Prison: 1983 – 1988”, to be published many years later. The “Notes from Prison: 1983 – 1988” analyses the most important 20th century European ideologies, including communism, fascism, capitalism and their relations with Islam.



“I have been a Muslim and will remain so. I have felt as a fighter for the cause of Islam in the world and will feel that as long as I live. Because for me, Islam is another name for everything that is beautiful and noble and it is a name for a promise or hope for a better future of Muslim peoples, for their life in dignity and freedom; in one word, for all that, in my belief, was worth living for”. (Closing argument by Alija Izetbegović in the Sarajevo Process, 1983)



The Yugoslav union was already on the verge of collapse and its fate was left one more time to Europe and the rest of the world. No solution was found at the negotiating table.

The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia met in Belgrade in March 1991. Bosnia and Herzegovina's vote was the tie-breaking vote, which led to the decision not to approve the Yugoslav People's Army's request for support. Despite that, the Army (JNA) started the conflict on 27 June 1991, first in Slovenia and shortly afterwards in Croatia.

During the war in Croatia, the President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, appealed to recruits not to respond to the JNA's conscription notices for military service. In the course of military operations against Dubrovnik, on 1 October 1991, the JNA forces launched attacks on multiple targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina and burned down the villages of Ravno and Popovo. In October of 1991 the issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty was raised at the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Speaking from the Assembly rostrum, the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) chairman, Radovan Karadžić, openly threatened that Muslim population would be wiped out, and representatives of the Serb ethnic-based parties walked out of the Assembly session.

A decision on sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina and on independence referendum was made.

On 29 February and 1 March 1992, the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina voted on the future status of the country. The referendum attracted a national turnout of 64% of whom 99.4% chose an indivisible, sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina. The adjective "socialist" was removed from its official name.

Most of Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum and the Serb parties began to form para-state institutions. In an attempt to achieve a peaceful solution, Alija Izetbegović tried constantly to de-escalate frequent conflicts provoked by the Yugoslav National Army forces and Serb militia groups. But the situation was deteriorating. Attacks were launched on many places along the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Bijeljina, the local Serb paramilitary formations, backed by forces from Serbia proper, carried out a massacre against local non-Serbs.

On 6 April 1992, when the European Community recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence, an attack was launched on Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital. Shortly afterwards, Sarajevo came under a siege which would become the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern

warfare. In 1991, the United Nations had established an arms embargo which tied Bosnia and Herzegovina's hands, making it impossible for the country to defend itself. In those difficult and fateful days, Alija Izetbegović called on all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to oppose Greater Serbia's aggression against an internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Military forces under state control did not have enough weapons to oppose their far more numerous and better equipped enemy. Operations at the beginning of the war were aimed mainly at defending unoccupied territories. Bosniaks were the victim of unprecedented crimes. In the territories where people were unable to defend themselves against fierce attacks by the Yugoslav National Army and other Serb armed formations, civilians were the victims of merciless killings, expulsion, rape, destruction of cultural and historical heritage... Numerous concentration camps were formed.

Civilian targets in unoccupied cities and territories were exposed to brutal shelling and fire from all types of weapons. Even maternity hospitals were targeted.

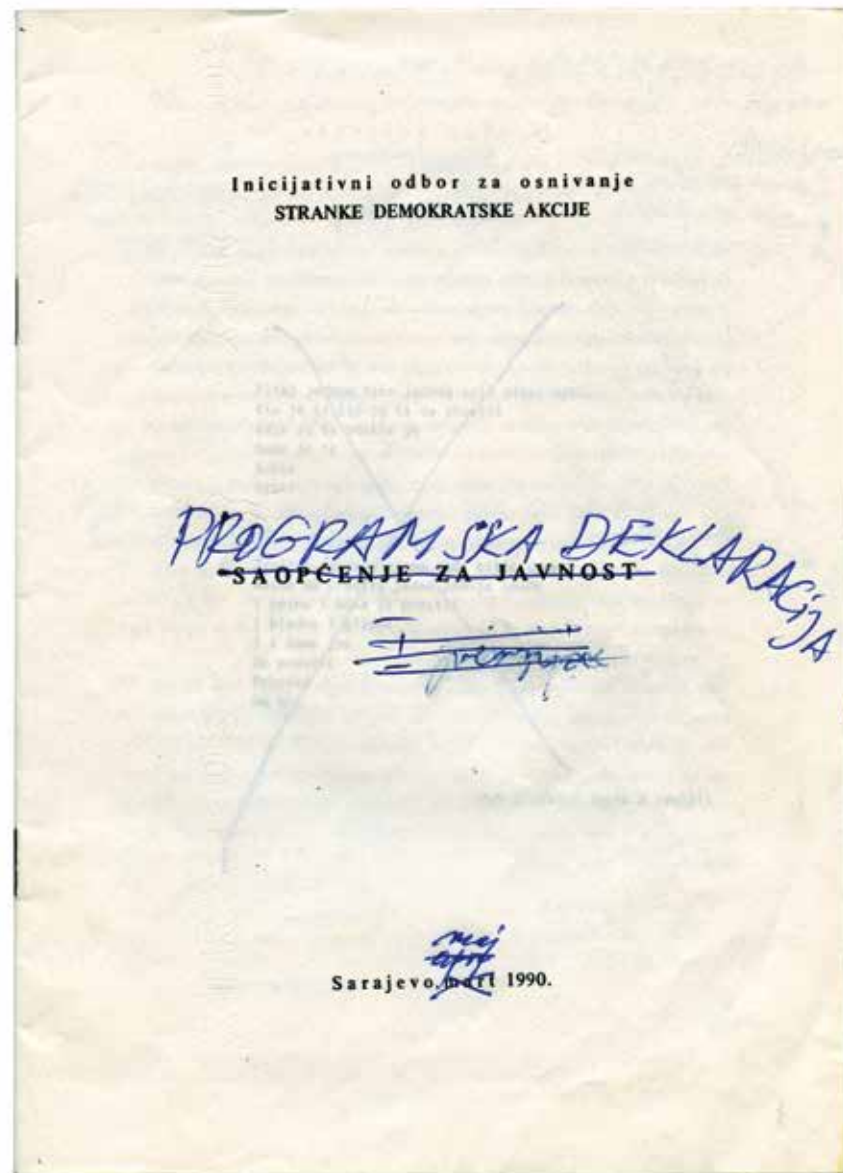
Even in such circumstances Izetbegović continued to pursue hate-free politics, insisting on defence of the country and looking for a solution at the negotiating table. The forces loyal to Bosnia and Herzegovina that were initially called simply as defenders grew into the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of the proposed peace solutions implied a breakup of the country. Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina was left to its own resources, fighting against a far better equipped enemy.

Attacks by the Croat Council of Defence (HVO), the Republic of Croatia's collaborator, made the position of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina even more difficult. Following the secret Franjo Tuđman-Slobodan Milošević deal to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina, military aggression "from the other side" opened a new front.

HVO's attacks, openly supported by Croatia in terms of personnel and logistics, ceased with the signing of the Washington Agreement in March of 1994. The Agreement created the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as one of the two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Bosnian Serb forces suffered increasingly heavy casualties, and changes to the situation in the battlefield led to a final peace settlement agreed in Dayton.

"This is not a just peace, but it is more just than the continuation of war", Alija Izetbegović said during the signing ceremony,



The Manifesto and fundamental principles and goals of the newly established Party of Democratic Action (SDA)

OSNOVNA NAČELA I CILJEVI STRANKE

1. Afirmacija ljudskih prava,
2. Demokratija,
3. Afirmacija nacionalne samobitnosti BiH Muslimana,
4. Autonomija i slobodna aktivnost svih vjerskih zajednica,
5. Tržišna privreda, privatno poduzetništvo, ukidanje svojine bez vlasnika, jeftinija država,
6. Unapređenje socijalnih prava,
7. Ravnopravnost šest naroda koji tvore Jugoslaviju, afirmacija legitimnih prava nacionalnih manjina,
8. Očuvanje integriteta i nepovredivosti granica Bosne i Hercegovine i Jugoslavije.

adding that "In the situation as it is, in the world as it is, a better peace could not have been achieved".

The Peace Agreement reached in Dayton was formally signed by Presidents of Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Élysée Palace in Paris.

During the aggression, Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered massive devastation, with a high death toll. In Srebrenica's UN-designated

"safe area" alone, over 8,000 Bosniaks were killed in a genocide.

More than 105,000 people were killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. Bosniak civilians account for the largest number of victims. Over one million people were driven from their homes, the economy was destroyed, cities were devastated...

Nevertheless, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been preserved – both as an idea and as a state.

**"Bosnia and Herzegovina as a citizen-based republic
– this is a definite position of the Muslim people:
not Islamic, not socialist, but citizen-based." (Alija
Izetbegović at an SDA election campaign rally in
Velika Kladuša, 15 September 1990)**

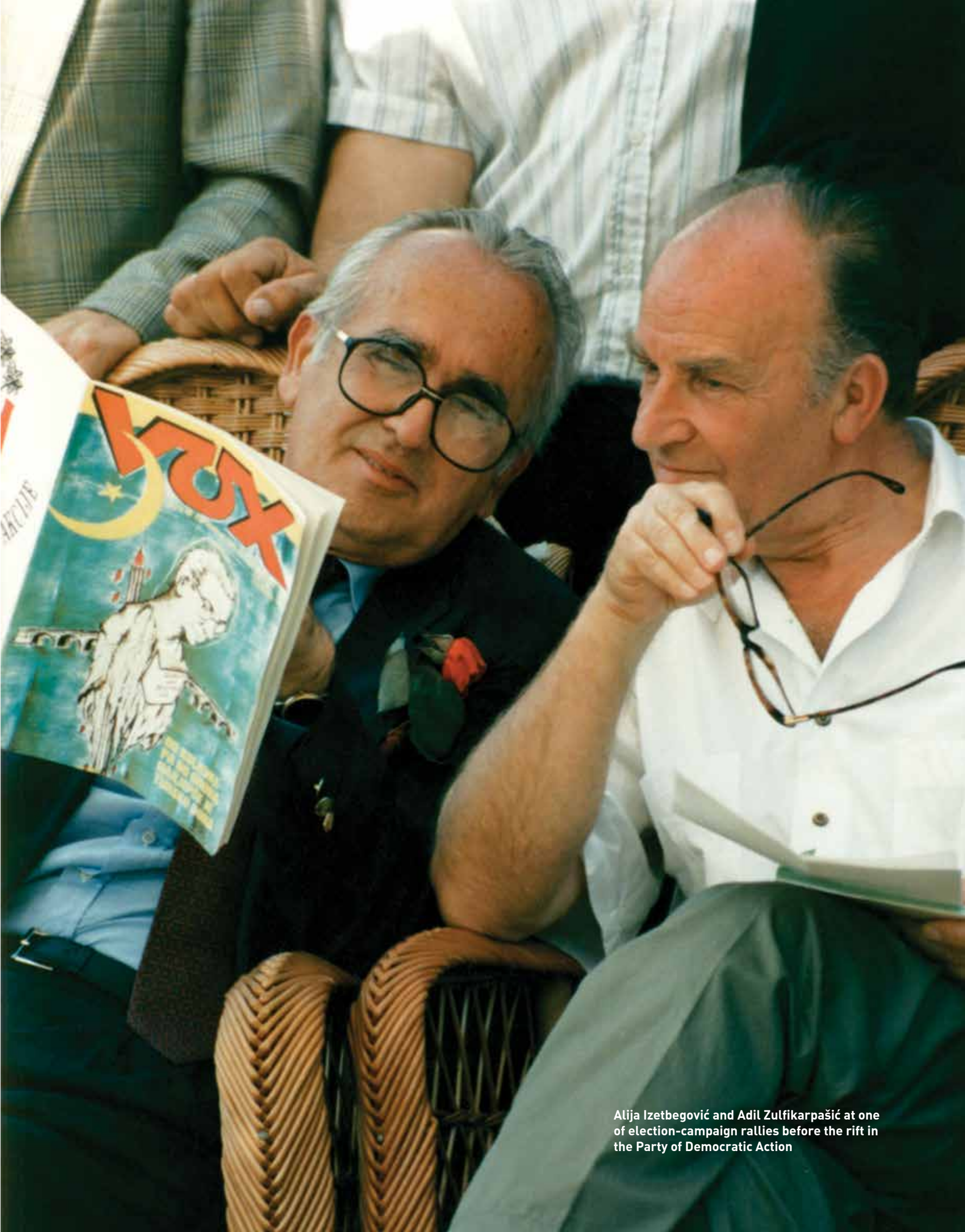






Alija Izetbegović, Adil Zulfikarpašić and Fikret Abdić in Velika Kladuša, 15 September 1990.

“If the threats that Slovenia and Croatia would leave Yugoslavia are carried out, Bosnia will not remain in rump Yugoslavia. Bosnia does not accept staying in Greater Serbia and being a part of it”. (From Alija Izetbegović’s speech in Velika Kladuša)

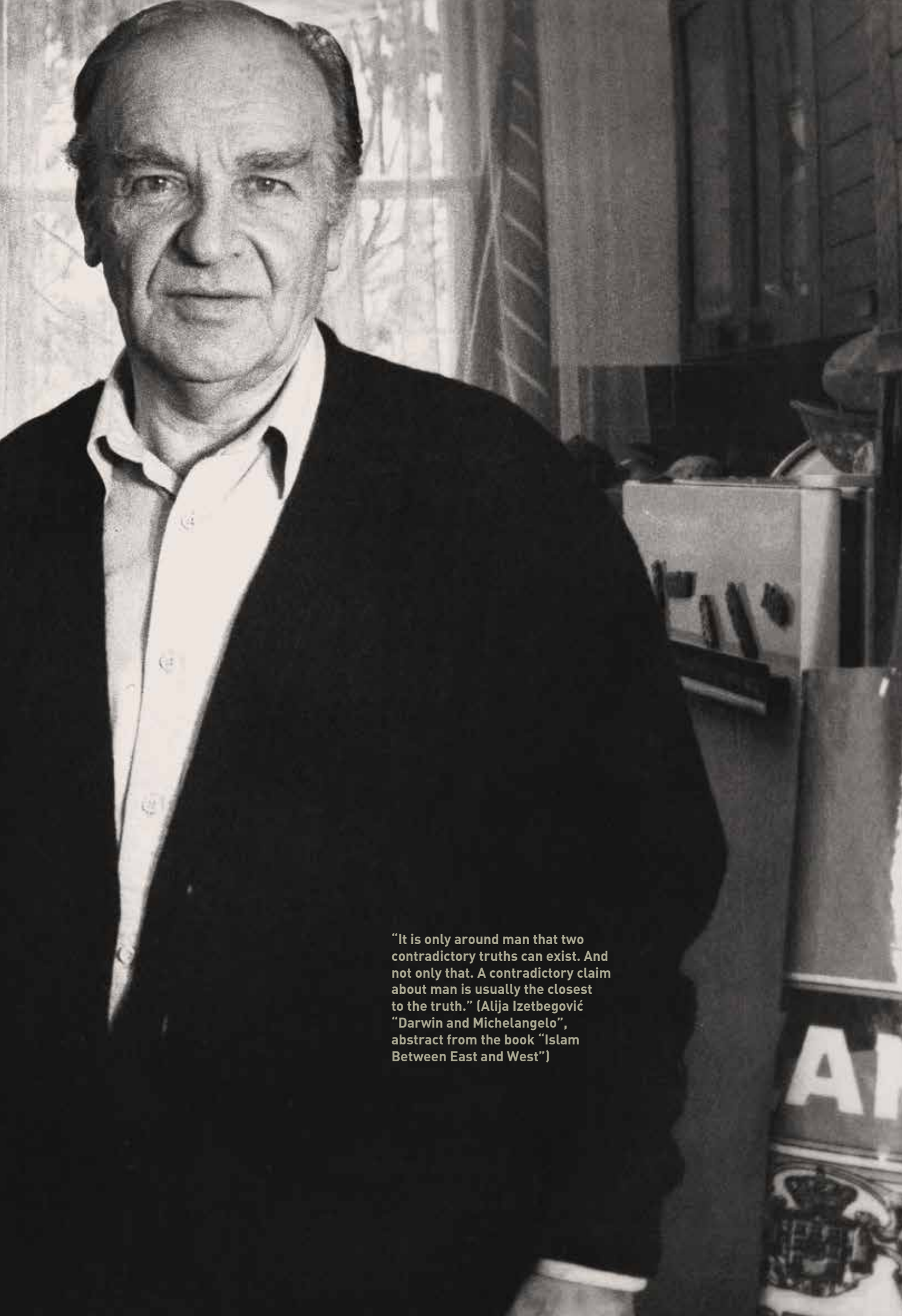


Alija Izetbegović and Adil Zulfikarpašić at one of election-campaign rallies before the rift in the Party of Democratic Action

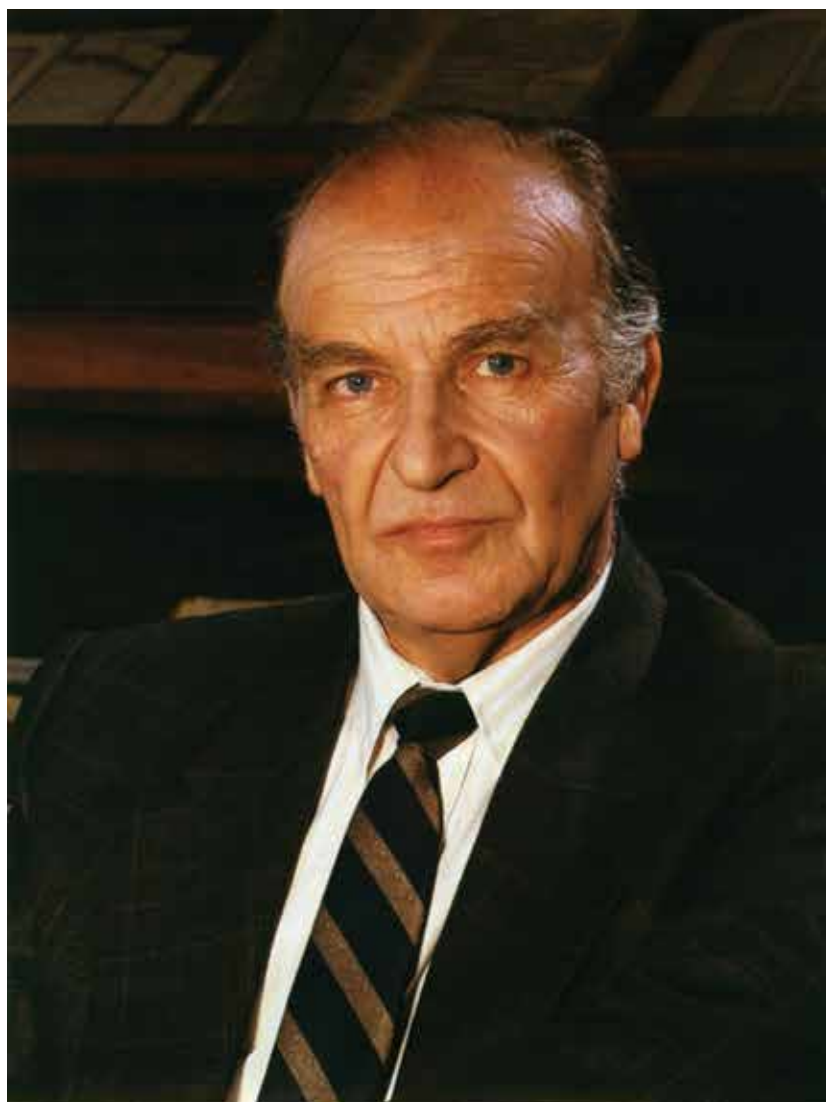
CHEN GESCHMACK

alno posuđe
m garancijom





"It is only around man that two contradictory truths can exist. And not only that. A contradictory claim about man is usually the closest to the truth." (Alija Izetbegović "Darwin and Michelangelo", abstract from the book "Islam Between East and West")



MUSLIMANI

Bosansko-hercegovački Muslimani predstavljaju autohtoni bosanski narod koji ima svoje tlo pod nogama, svoju historiju, svoju kulturu, svoju vjeru, svoje pjesnike i pisce, jednom riječju svoju prošlost i svoju budućnost. SDA će stoga oživljavati ovu nacionalnu svijest b-h Muslimana i insistirati na uvažavanju činjenice njihove nacionalne samobitnosti sa svim pravnim i političkim konsekvencijama.

Predsjednik
ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ
Alija Izetbegović



MUSLIMANSKA STRANKA

Produkcija: „SDA-Media“; dizajnirao: I. Palić; ilustracije: Z. Bekić; realizacija: „Bosna Studio“ 1998

Muslimanski glas



IZLAZI PETKOM • NOVA SERIJA • BROJ 33 • GODINA II • 6. DECEMBAR 1991. • CIJENA 30 DIN.

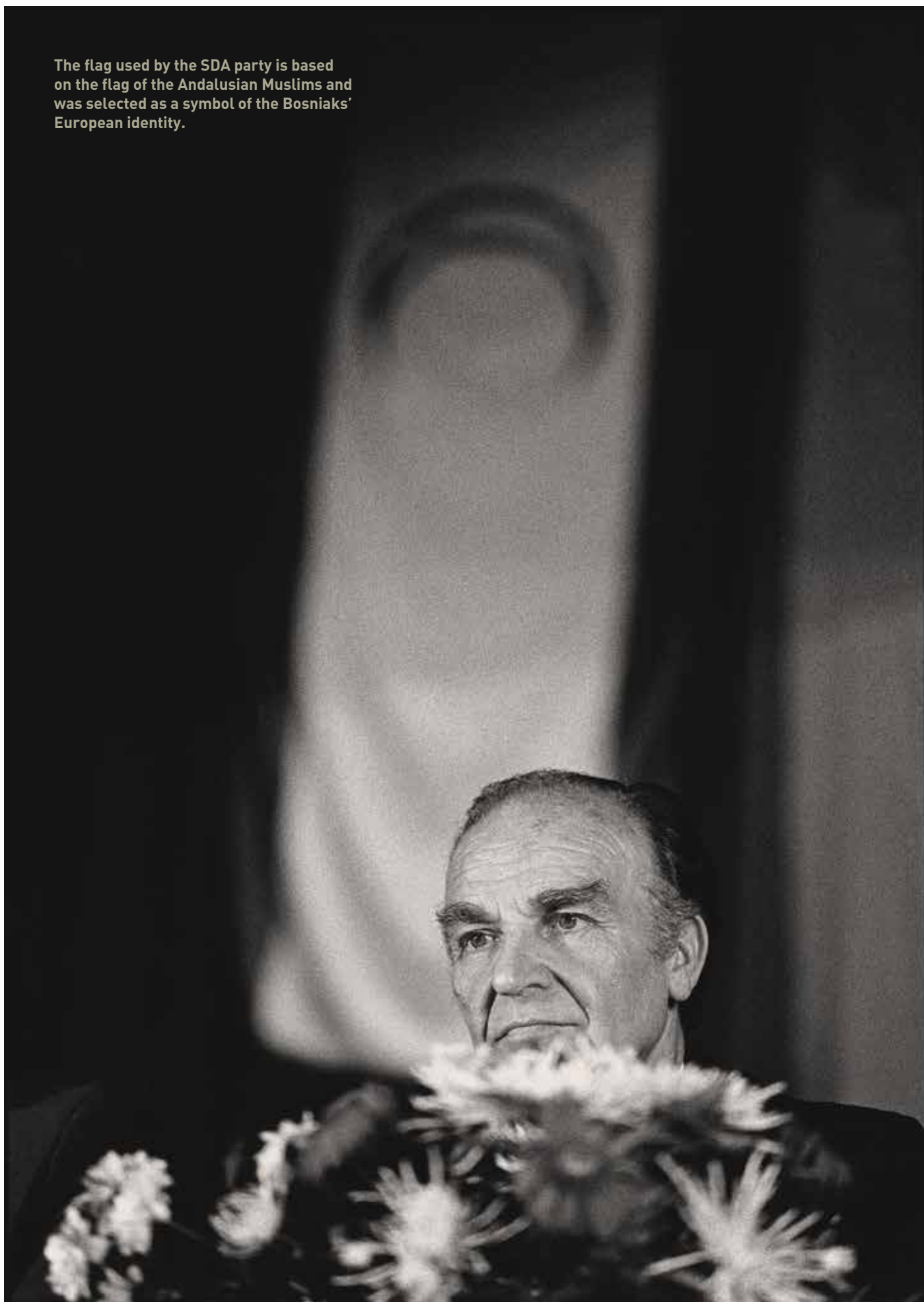


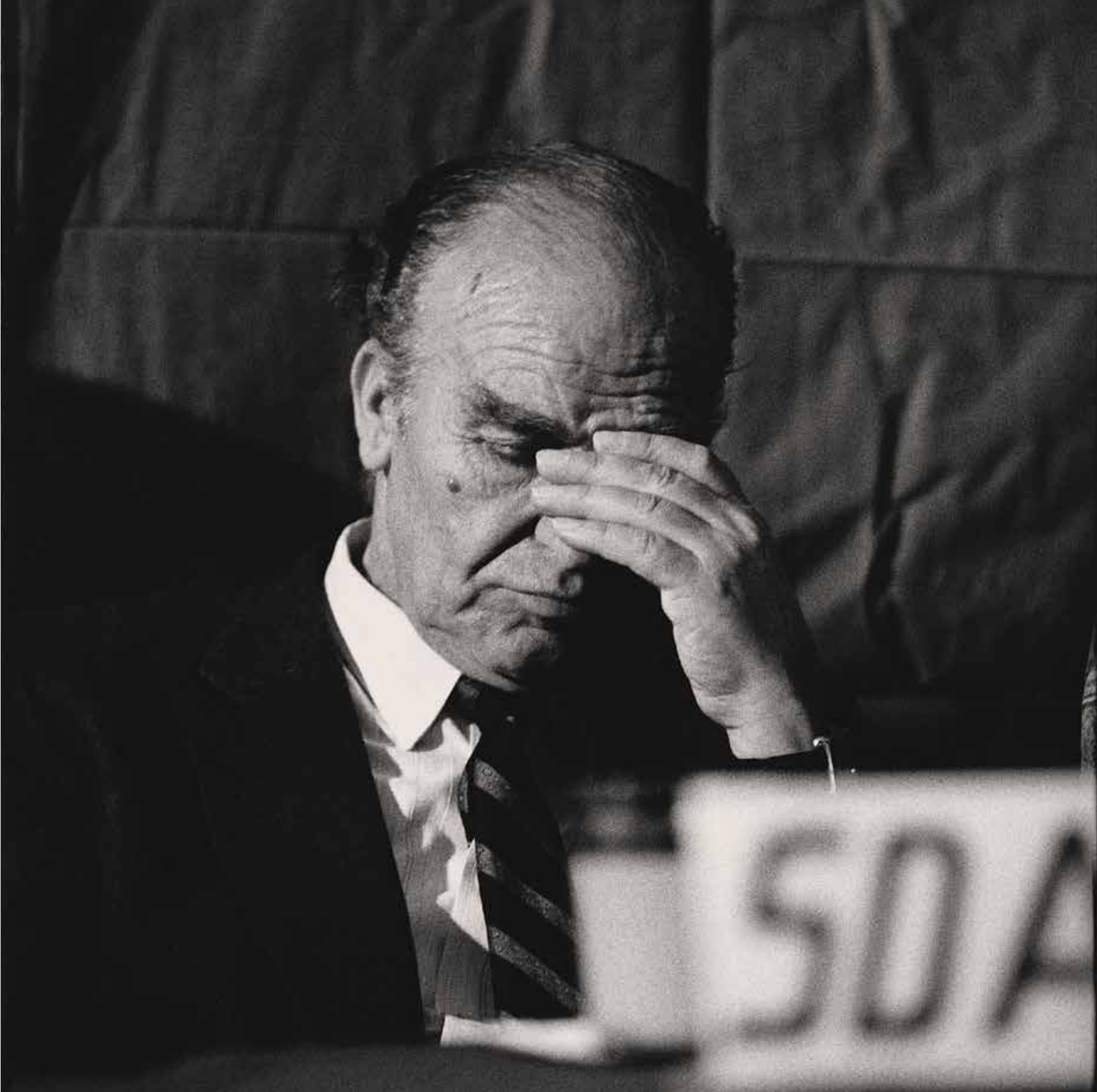
ODRŽAN 1. KONGRES SDA
VELIKIM BOGOM
SE KUNEMO:



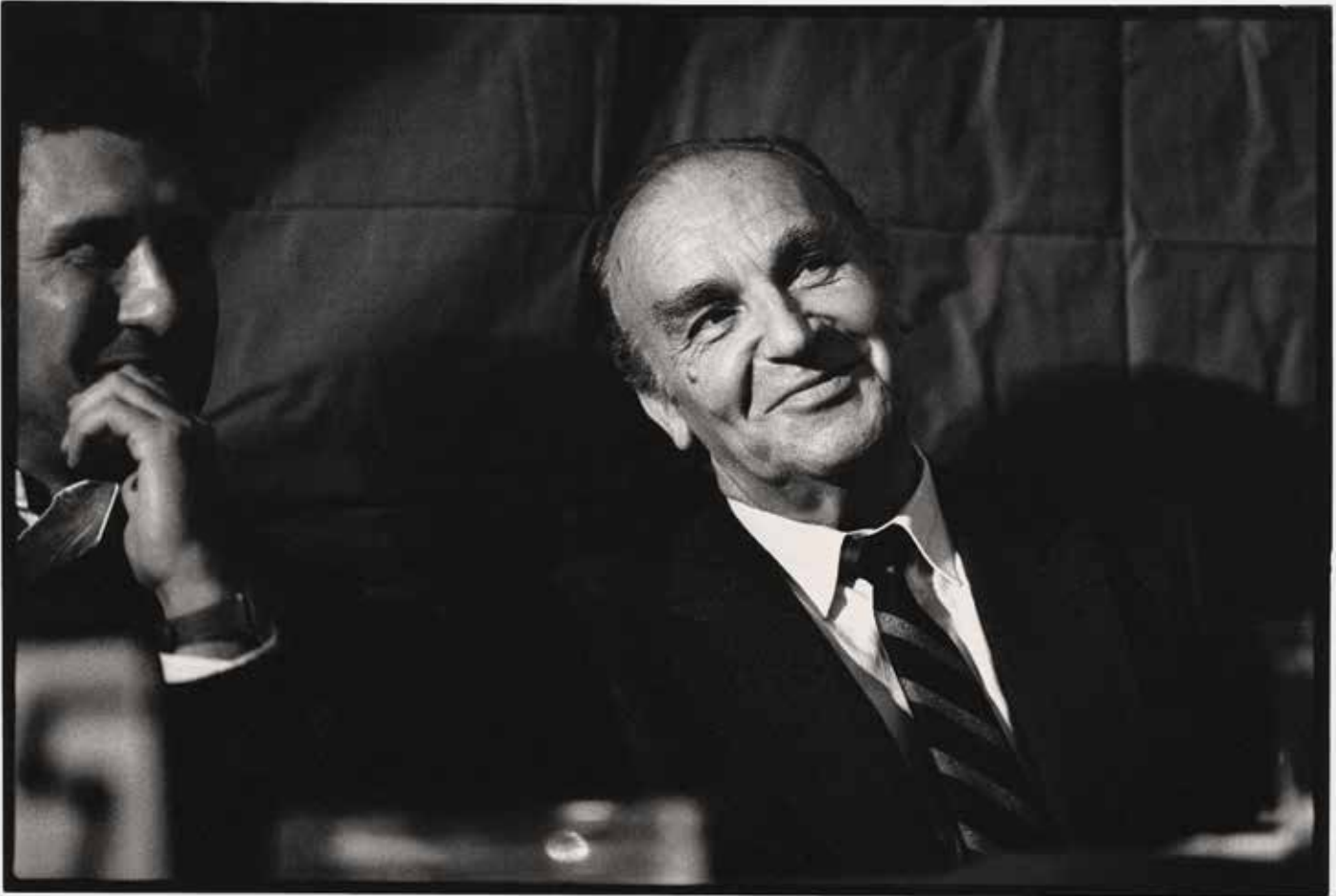
ROBOVI BITI
NEĆEMO

The flag used by the SDA party is based on the flag of the Andalusian Muslims and was selected as a symbol of the Bosniaks' European identity.





"The problem of the Balkans was, and still is, the problem of democracy. If we ignore the distant history and focus on the century that is just ending, in the first half of the century we will find monarchies, usually of the authoritarian type, in all countries of this part of the world, and in the second half, with the exception of Greece, communist governments. In one word, the Balkans has not been fortunate with democracy, or, to be more accurate, democracy with the Balkans". (Alija Izetbegović, "Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes", 2001)



"I think nothing can be achieved with prohibition and force when it comes to people's convictions".
(Alija Izetbegović, "Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes", 2001)

” The question is: do we need to change the institutions of a society or people's hearts? The only right answer is: both. Still, where to begin? – From the heart, of course, if it's possible and if you know how. ”



Election campaign talks with representatives of various political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Alija Izetbegović, second from the left



The first free pluralistic election in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was held on 18 November 1990.



Alija Izetbegović with his wife Halida, walking on the way to the polling station.



"A giant attempt to create a paradise on Earth without God and without Man, and against God and Man, was a total failure". (Alija Izetbegović, 1990)



20 December 1990 – the seven-member Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina taking the oath of office (left to right: Ejup Ganić, Nikola Koljević, Franjo Boras, Fikret Abdić, Biljana Plavšić, Alija Izetbegović and Stjepan Kljuić).

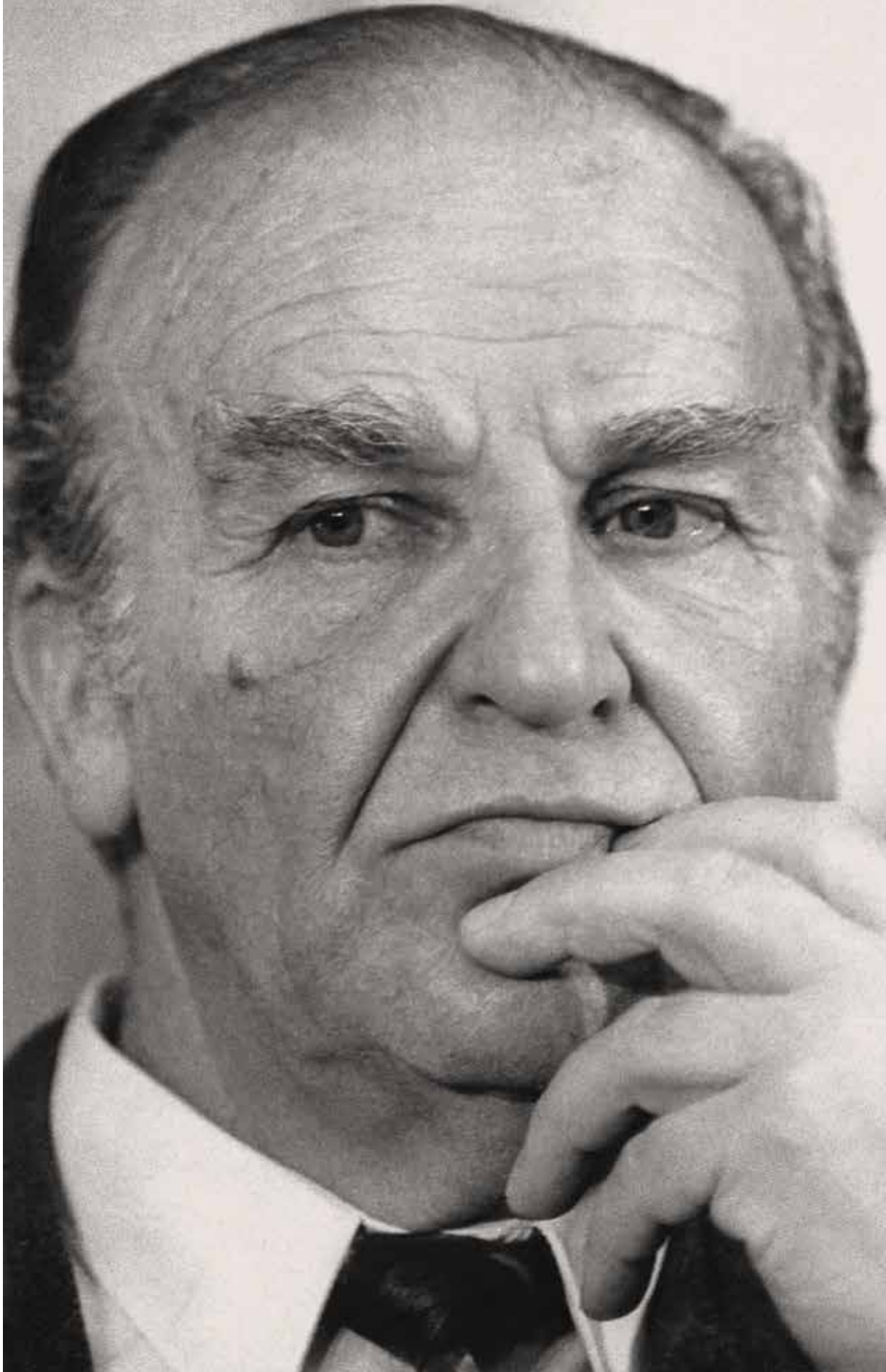


Dialogues seeking a peaceful solution did not produce results (Stjepan Kljuić – HDZ, Radovan Karadžić – SDS, Alija Izetbegović – SDA)



“Now, as regards the large concentration of the army in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I can say that the problem of the JNA (Yugoslav National Army) needs and must be addressed within a set of measures for Yugoslavia. (...) If a certain solution were imposed on Bosnia and Herzegovina by force, I am convinced it would only be a temporary solution, a period

of even greater instability after which the only way out would again be the direction that the people or the large majority accept. It is never too late to go to war. But if a war broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it would be a total war leaving in its wake three savage peoples walking on ashes and ruins.”
(Statement by Alija Izetbegović from mid-December 1991)



“I could have refused to participate in those meetings. But, what would today’s generations say – there was a chance and Izetbegović missed that chance. I did not dare miss a single chance that could, perhaps, lead towards a peaceful solution. Presidency meetings were one of these chances, no matter how much I had personally doubted their success. I pleaded with all my heart for

those meetings to take place. I insisted that important things be discussed, things that had to do with the survival of the country and that we give them the most serious consideration. It was worth trying. Without this attempt, I think we would be blaming ourselves today and others would be blaming us for having missed a chance to avoid war”. (Alija Izetbegović for RFE, 13 June 2000)



President Alija Izetbegović with the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, and the President of the Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kučan, in Sarajevo



Meeting of President Alija Izetbegović with the President of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević, and a delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church

SAR-02. BIH NA IVICI RATA.....SARAJEVO,07.NOV 91. ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ
 N A današnjem sastanku sa predstavnicima parlamentarnih stranka u BiH :
 BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA JE NA SAMOJ IVICI RATA..... TANJUG dh/H.DELIĆ





Lord Carrington, Special Envoy of the European Community and Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, together with Henry Wijnaendts, during a visit to Sarajevo, 19 December 1991

” Bosnia reminds me
of Jackson Pollock’s
paintings. ”



One of sessions of the presidents of six Yugoslav republics. Alija Izetbegović talking to Slovenian President Milan Kučan. Behind them, Serbian President Slobodan Milošević. (Stojčevac, Sarajevo, 6 June 1991)

Talks on the future of Yugoslavia:
Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman, and
Slobodan Milošević. Split, 12 June 1991







Previous page: Milan Kučan, Kiro Gligorov, Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman, Momir Bulatović, and Slobodan Milošević. Cetinje, 29 April 1991

“Did the attempt of reconciliation make sense? Even today I think it did. Such attempts are never meaningless.” (Alija Izetbegović, “Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes”, 2001)



Referendum for a sovereign, indivisible, single, open Bosnia and Herzegovina. Out of 3.253.847 people with a right to vote, 63.41% voted. The answer “YES” was circled by 99% of those who voted.

“The war had obviously been prepared. This transpired from later events, even directly from the documents that were taken

or we came by. The referendum, however, was important, considering the character of the war. We faced this situation: war before referendum and war after referendum. War before referendum is a civil war, and war after referendum was an act of aggression. That is why the referendum was important”. (Alija Izetbegović, 13 June 2000)

Socijalistička Republika Bosna i Hercegovina
SKUPŠTINA SOCIJALISTIČKE REPUBLIKE
BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

OBRAZAC R-5

GLASAČKI LISTIĆ

Republički referendum se održava
29. veljače - februara i 1. ožujka -
marta 1992. godine

PITANJE ZA IZJAŠNJAVANJE

**JESTE LI ZA SUVERENU I NEZAVISNU BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU, DRŽAVU RAVNOPRAVNIH
GRADANA, NARODA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE - MUSLIMANA, SRBA, HRVATA I PRIPADNIKA
DRUGIH NARODA KOJI U NJOJ ŽIVE?**

"ZA"

"PROTIV"

M. P. (Republička izborna komisija)

M. P. (Općinska - Opštinska izborna komisija)

UPUTSTVO: Glasovanje - glasanje se obavlja zaokruživanjem riječi "ZA" ili riječi "PROTIV"

Ballot paper from the referendum for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, held on 29 February and 1 March 1992



President Izetbegović voting during the referendum on the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina





On the same day the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized by the European Community, 6 April 1992, the siege of Sarajevo began. The siege of Sarajevo was the longest siege in the history of contemporary warfare. The city was shelled daily, and the most frequent targets were civilians and civilian buildings, including hospitals, even the Maternity Hospital. Despite proposals for the Military headquarters, Presidency and the Government to be relocated out of Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegović remained in the city.

Сукоб започео приликом покуšaja исељавања Дома ИНА, а потом се проширио на цијели град, при чему је Армија у борбу укључила тенкове, тешко наоружање и, потпомогнута ватром СДС, многе дијелове Сарајева претворila у бункире и рушевине.

[illegible]



Alija Izetbegovic walking
in the besieged city



Front page of the daily newspaper
Oslobođenje reporting on the
brutal attack on Sarajevo



François Mitterrand visited Sarajevo in 1992. President Izetbegović informed Mitterrand of the existence of concentration camps, indicating exactly where they were. The French president did not react to this, and in Paris he kept quiet about it. (Mathieu Braunstein, in the book: "François Mitterrand à Sarajevo: 28 juin 1992, le rendez-vous manqué", Paris, 2001)



Sarajevo, 1992

UREDJE REDAKCIJSKI KOLEGU • direktor Safko HASANEFENDIĆ • glavni i odgovorni urednik Kemal KURSPAHIĆ

Cilena 150 BHD

● Punih četrdeset minuta agresorski avioni su istresali smrtonosni teret na Gradačac ● U Čeliku pripremljena evakuacija stanovništva ● Razbijeni četnički napadi na kalesijskom i bihaćkom ratištu

67



France was the first country to open an embassy in besieged Sarajevo in January 1993.



Prime Minister of the Republic of Türkiye, Tansu Çiller, and Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, visiting besieged Sarajevo, 2 February 1994



In December 1994, former American President Jimmy Carter arrived in besieged Sarajevo with the aim to broker a ceasefire, that the aggressor did not honour.





Visiting the frontlines with Commander Ramiz Salčin, Žuč Hill
near Sarajevo, 25 July 1992



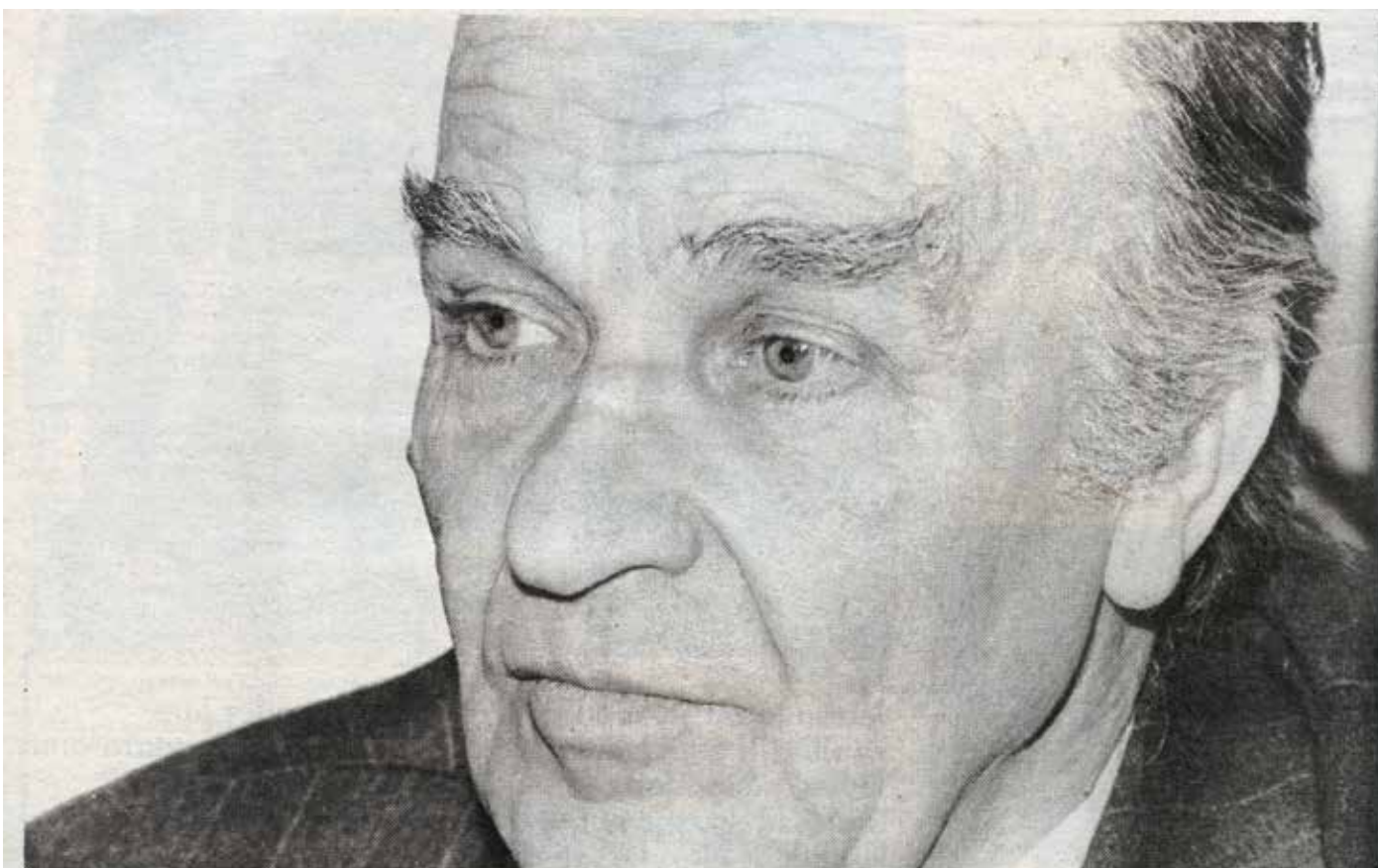
“Let no-one try to subdue us because we will not be subdued, or to deny us our rights because sooner or later we will get our rights back. We neither love life more than others nor are afraid of death more than others, and our wounds hurt us all equally.” (Alija Izetbegović, December 1991)

Alija Izetbegović talking to
Commander Ramiz Salčin, Žuč Hill,
25 July 1992





Igman Mountain,
December 1992



Izetbegović u Parizu

NE TREBAMO VAŠE VOJNIKE NI VAŠE SUZE

Nakon boravka u Rimu gdje se susreo sa Papom Ivanom Pavlom II, predsjednik Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine posjetio je Pariz. U Parizu se u pratnji francuskog filozofa **Bernanda Henry Levya** susreo s **Mitterrandom**, **Balladur**om i **Juppeom**. Od francuskog Predsjednika Izetbegović je tražio razumijevanje za bosanski zahtjev na odbranu odnosno skidanje embarga Bosni i Hercegovini na uvoz oružja.

Francuskoj javnosti Predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH **Alija Izetbegović** obratio se apelom, tražeci od Francuza da pomognu »bosanskom narodu u od-

brani njegove egzistencije«. Istakavši još jednom zahtjev za ukidanje embarga na isporuku oružja bosanskoj vladi. U izjavi koju je pročitao na francuskom Predsjednik **Izetbegović** je između ostalog poručio: »Medjunarodna zajednica je odbila da nas brani. Povijest će o tome suditi. Moja je zemlja još uvijek pod embargom na oružje. Ne može se jednom čovjeku ili narodu oduzeti pravo da se brani. Znam da to vas, Francuze, ogorčava. Francuska, zemlja slobode i ljudskih prava ne može nam vezati ruke. Čovječanstvo krvari u Sarajevu. Francuski prijatelji, mi ne želimo ni vaše vojnike ni vaše suze. Želimo moguć-

nost da se branimo. Bosanski narod hoće živjeti. Nije prekasno. Pomozite mu da odbrani svoju egzistenciju. Njegova sloboda je takodjer i vaša.«

Bosanci se sjećaju Izetbegovićeve posjete Parizu poslije koje je uslijedio referendum za neovisnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Bosansko hercegovaški građani su se izjasnili na tom referendumu za samostalnu, neovisnu i jedinstvenu držav Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Da li je to bio »francuski« referendum? Sjećanju li se Francuzi tadašnje Izetbegovićeve posjete njihovom predsjedniku **Mitterrandu**?
(Dž. H.)

Alija Izetbegović's appeal in Paris for lifting the arms embargo on the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Elie Wiesel visiting besieged Sarajevo



Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro shaking hands with President Alija Izetbegović in Rome, 1996
 “With some insane hope we are trying to preserve a vision of a civil and cosmopolitan Bosnia and Herzegovina. But this will not be possible without support of the international community.” (Alija Izetbegović, July 1992)



Alija Izetbegović and Bernard-Henri Lévy in Paris

“You were one of the first who realized that the war in Bosnia was not a usual war, it was something much deeper and more important, and something that concerned you too, and every free man and woman in the world”. (Alija Izetbegović, presenting an award to Lévy in Sarajevo, 8 April 1998)

On a visit to France, 1993,
photo by Alexis Duclos





“Only freedom does not wear with use” (Alija Izetbegović, “Notes from prison 1983 – 1988”, 1999)
Photo by Alexis Duclos



Alija Izetbegović with Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, during an official visit to Prague in 1995



Meeting King Fahd of Saudi Arabia in Jeddah, September 1993



Talking to Simon Wiesenthal in Vienna, 22 September 1992



Alija Izetbegović with François Mitterrand in Paris, 1992, photo by Alexis Duclos



Alija Izetbegović meeting Pope John Paul II for the first time. The Vatican, September 1991



Right to left: Alija Izetbegović, actor Emir Hadžihafizbegović, and General Rasim Delić

” In its initial stage the war in Bosnia was not a classic war, if we understand war as a clash of two armies. It was an attack of a powerful military machinery against barehanded people. The goal: the creation of Greater Serbia.

”



Visiting the frontlines





Meeting citizens of Tuzla



Visiting Tuzla



Address by President Alija Izetbegović at the session of the Council of the Congress of Bosniak Intellectuals in besieged Sarajevo, 22 December 1992

”

When analyses are made one day, when the miracle of the Bosnian resistance is examined from some historical distance, it will be found — I am sure — that the secret was somewhere in the souls or the character of the people.

”



Visiting the frontlines



Mostar: The Old Bridge was destroyed on 9 November 1993 by HVO (Croat Defence Council) forces.

Govor Predsjednika Izetbegovića na Generalnoj Skupštini 7. 10. '93.

ZAŠTO NAS UBIJATE?

Da li ste spremni prepustiti Bosnu i njen narod potpunom uništenju?

Gosp. Predsjedniče,
Medunarodna zajednica nema niti definiranu politiku niti jasan plan političke akcije koja bi olakšala prelaz sa komunističkih struktura koje su bile na vlasti pedeset godina na koncepte zasnovane na slobodi i demokraciji.

Vjerujemo da nije moguće pronaći rješenje niti za svjetske niti za lokalne sukobe sve dok se ne zauzme jasan stav prema općem pitanju postkomunističkog naslijeđa.

Negativne strane ovog problema u potpunosti su se očitalle na primjeru naše zemlje. Očito je da smo pod pritiskom preostalih snaga komunističke agresije to da se iskorijenjivanje svih šansi za demokratski razvoj događalo pred očima Evrope, Amerike i cijelog svijeta. Taj je čin proveden isključivo uz potrobu sile kroz agresiju, masovna ubojstva civila, uništavanje svih tragova civilizacije i kulture, zatiranje čitavih naroda sve do barbarijskih taktika paljenja i uništavanja zemlje.

Istovremeno s ovim nevidnim naslijeđem, eksperiment političke višesekcije pokušavan je nad našom zemljom. Provođi ga međunarodna zajednica koja, očito, na primjeru Bosne i Hercegovine testira različite modele jedne postkomunističke države.

No, taj se eksperiment, nažalost, provodi in vivo kroz ispitivanje različitih hipoteza na našem živom narodu i vladinom organizmu. Tako naš narod, naša zemlja i naša država umiru.

Prvi je eksperiment izvršen Londonskom konferencijom. Taj je koncept, koji je bio za zaustavljanje agresije, napušten bez jednog pokušaja za njegovim provođenjem, a to je samo intenziviralo rat na našem tlu. Potom slijedi pokušaj iznalaženja rješenja kroz ustavnu, pravnu i političku reformu za krizu koja je postala još dublja. Taj projekt, poznat kao Vance-Owenov plan, nitko nije ni pokušao primijeniti. Taj je plan napušten kako bi se mogao zamijeniti novim, utemeljenim na krivoj tezi da je na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine posrdači građanski rat između tri naroda te da jestoga teritorijalna podjela jedino rješenje. No taj plan nije zadovoljen niti cijelosti i da je - podjela zemlje po kriteriju etničke većine niti potpuno temeljna namjera - uspostavljanje mira. Kao posljedica tomu, nekontrolirani tok događaja će se nastaviti i uzrokovati nove patnje naroda.

Gosp. Predsjedniče,
Danas je narod Bosne i Hercegovine pred izborom ili pravednog obrambenog rata ili nepravdnog mira. Ako se rat nastavi povećava se rizik daljnje stradanja našeg naroda te daljnje uništenja naše nacije. On bi mogao značiti smrt tisuće ljudi.

Nepravdan mir je neprihvatljiv jer je zasnovan na obojnom i historijski neuspješnom konceptu etničke podjele i apartheida. To je pojačano i činjenicom da je čak i podjela nepoštena jer ide za tim da zadovolji agresorske apetite za daleko većim prostorima na račun žrtve.

No, ipak ne prihvatljivost u tzv. mirovnom planu koji nam se nameće nisu tek filozofske. Kao prva, svaki plan koji legitimizira genocid i promovira etničku podjelu će mnogo prije poslati sjeme za nove agresije te potaknuti plamen osveta. Kao drugo, svaki mir koji se ne obračuna uzročima rata će, u najboljem slučaju, ponuditi tek privremenu pomoć, a ne i stvarno rješenje koje je sada temeljno. Končno, mirovni plan koji ne osigurava živu Bosansku državu, ne uvažava čak ni najosnovnije potrebe žrtve te



ne osigurava nužne mjere za provođenje i stabilnost mira, a stvari i nije stvarni mirovni plan. Prošlojedno provizorno prihvatanje mirovnih prijedloga od strane bosanskog Parlamenta ovisno je o istim minimalnim dopunama koje smo konzistentno smatrali nužnim za održavanje trajnog mira.

Te su dopune slijedeće:
1) Bosanska Republika unutar predložene Unije Republika Bosne i Hercegovine mora biti geografski, ekonomski, politički te obrambeno sposobna za život.

2) Agresorske snage moraju predati kontrolu nad teritorijama s kojih su protjerali i ubili civilno stanovništvo tako da se može osigurati povrat na svoja ognjišta. Za više od 500.000 izbjeglica bit će u protivnom nemoguće vratiti se u svoja sela i gradove iz kojih su bili protjerani ako srpske snage koje su izvršile ubojstva, silovanja i zlostavljanja nastave kontrolirati ova područja. Postoji i mogućnost da neka od ovih područja budu pod privremenom administracijom međunarodnih mirovnih snaga.

3) Zaključni sporazum mora sadržavati jasna i specifična jamstva koja se tiču implementacije sporazuma od strane onih država i međunarodnih organizacija koje će dovesti do uspostavljanja mira. Takva jamstva moraju činiti sastavni dio mirovnih sporazuma i ne smiju se odgađati. U protivnom, izlazeće se riziku primjene novog sporazuma koji će, poput mnogih ranijih, postati bezvrijedan za uspostavljanje mira i tek voditi do daljnje legitimizacije agresora.

4) U slučaju da međunarodna zajednica nije uspješna u provođenju mirovnog plana, tada nam mora biti dozvoljeno pravo na samoodbranu.

U skladu sa svojim autoritetom i neizbježnom odgovornošću, Vijeće Sigurnosti trebalo bi ocijeniti plan pripremljen od strane Lorda Owena i gosp. Stoltenberga kako bi odredilo njegovu konzistentnost sa Poveljom Ujedinjenih Naroda i brojnim rezolucijama ranije prihvaćenim od Vijeća.

Vijeće ne može potpuno od svoje odgovornosti i inherentne neodoljivosti skrivajući se iza često ponavljane isprike: smi ćemo prihvatiti sve ono za što se dogovore sve tri strane

kada je jedna od strana, žrtva, pod pritiskom stvarne prijetnje masovnog gladovanja i genocida.

Kakova nastavljeni daljni dogovori o ovim pitanjima, bilo bi korisno kada bi se pregovarački tim proširio predstavnicima NATO-a koji bi najvjerojatnije služili kao posrednici u provođenju. To bi dodalo određen stupanj jasnoće, usmjerenja i kredibiliteta koji je dosada nedostajao u pregovorima.

A sada bi želio skrenuti pozornost na predstojeću humanitarnu tragediju koja se širi mojom zemljom. U ime svih stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine zahvaljujem se Ujedinjenim Narodima, svim vladama prijateljskih zemalja, privatnim institucijama i hrabrim pojedincima koji su pomogli osiguravanje humanitarne pomoći za Bosnu. Mi duboko cijenimo napore koji su dosada spasili mnoge živote. No s nadolazećom zimom bit će potrebno više pomoći ako ne želimo da naše ranjeno i slabo ishranjeno stanovništvo podlegne posljedicama gladovanja, bolesti i hladnoće. U tom smislu, nužno je da međunarodna zajednica i njene najmoćnije članice i relevantne regionalne organizacije:

1) poduzmu korake za uspostavljanje i provođenjem već dogovorenog prekida vatre

2) poduzme korake za prekid blokade dotoka humanitarne pomoći i ostalih nužnih sredstava - vode, struje, plina, kao što je već to predviđeno u nekoliko Rezolucija Vijeća Sigurnosti Ujedinjenih Naroda

3) ponovo otvori aerodrom u Tuzli kako bi se omogućio dotok humanitarne pomoći za više od milijun ljudi

4) utemelji jasne zahtjeve za prekidom opsade Sarajeva kao prvi korak za prekidom opsade i ostalih opkoljenih bosanskih gradova, uključujući ovdje i sigurnosne zone, određene Rezolucijama 824 i 836.

Naša bosanska manjina u Srbiji - Muslimani Sandžaka - uskraćena je u svojim pravima. Mnogi su ljudi, koji su branili prava svojih sunarodnjaka bilo uhapšeni bilo protjerani. Dok srpski režim navodno brani prava etničkih Srba u Hrvatskoj, on nije s druge strane voljan priznati ta ista prava manjinama koje žive u Srbiji. Mi tražimo poštovanje onih istih prava za Muslimane Sandžaka koja

Srbi za sebe traže u Hrvatskoj. Dakle, pregovori ne mogu zanemarivati vrlo važnu političku i humanitarnu pretpostavku.

Kao što je to nedavno izjavio Predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Clinton, pred ovim istim Ujedinjenim Narodima ne mogu biti svedeni u svaki svjetski sukob uključivanje UN-a može se provesti jedino u jasnim političkim i vojnim strukturnim na mjestu događaja. Tragom je, ipak, da je dosadašnje uključivanje UN-a u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo suprotnosti s bilo kakvom jasnom cilja i postojanošću i rješavanju problema. Moralna praznina stvarnom nesredenošću bila je privremeno ispunjena odlukom da se slijedi agresora na račun žrtve. Ovakva intervencija UN-a, sa svojom prisilnošću i prijetvornošću, sa svojim nosnim isticanjem izvršenja dužnosti, i tako ohenogrčavanja da se naoružamo, može ući u povijest kao osnovni instrument uništenja naše zemlje.

Tako ne možemo izbjeći ostalo pitanje. Zašto do sada nisu provedene Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti 836 koje nalaze oblikovati na gradova? Što se dogodilo sa zahtjevima Vijeća sigurnosti, uključujući Rezoluciju 752, koji su tražili potčinjenje srpske vojske i paravojnih formacija iz naše zemlje kao i njihovog teškog naoružanja? Zašto nisu provedene Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti 787 i 838, koje su tražile nadzirati granice između Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i tako sprečiti daljnji masovni protok oružja i namirjala za agresora u Bosni?

Više nije moguće govoriti o intervenciji. Uključivanje međunarodne zajednice u Bosni počelo je nametanjem embarga na uvoz oružja, a nastavilo se čitavim nizom nametnutih obaveza. UN mora li nastaviti do kraja svoje intervencije ili odlučiti da je opozove. No, bez obzira na odluku ne može se više nastaviti sadašnjom politikom UN-a, koja svrstava među sukrovice za uništenje bosanskog naroda.

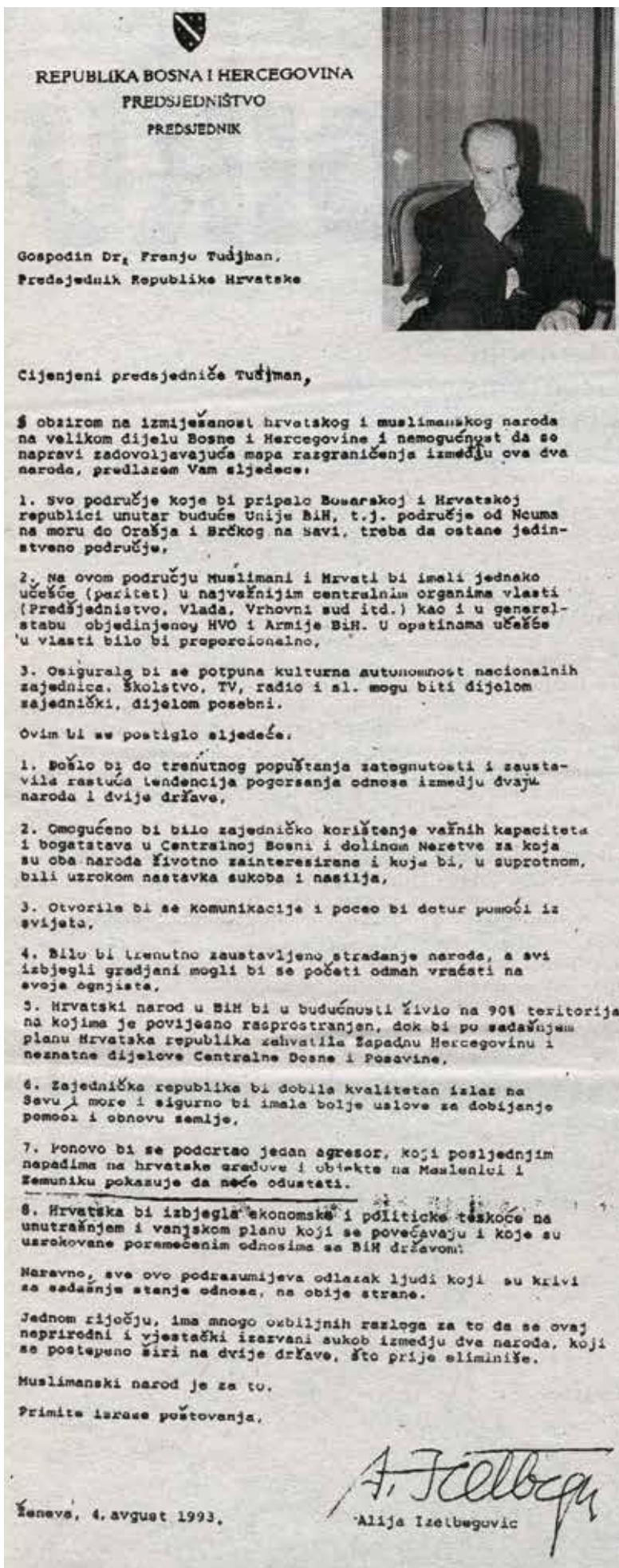
Moja Vlada se obavezuje na niti na idealu pluralističkog, demokratskog i vjerskonfessionalnog društva. Nažalost, neke od država koje su prihvatile ove ideale širom svijeta izdale su ih svojim nedjelovanjem prepuštanjem u svom vlastitom imenu. Mi ne možemo nastaviti našu borbu bez odgovarajuće pomoći izvan ili barem bez pružanja svih sredstava za našu samoodbranu.

Djelovanje našeg Parlamenta jeste u svom pristajanju uz mir, ali zahtjevima za živući državu i trajnim mirom. Ova su načela sramno napuštena od strane onih kojima je najveća dužnost i zadatka da ih održe u našoj zemlji. Mi ne možemo niti ćemo se prilagoditi težnjama tih vlada niti im dozvoliti da nas prisile da napustimo našu zadnju nalu za samoodržanje i stvarnim i trajnim mirom.

Mada je već proveden postupak kojim su mnogi svjedoci ovog zločina postali neosjetljivi na njegov zločin, sam taj uzas neće nikada prestati, a buduće pravice i poštene generacije svih država neće nikada moći oprostiti niti vjerovati državama koje su dozvolile da se to dogodi.

I na kraju, bilijun ljudi čeka da im tijelo poduzme neku akciju. Da li ste spremni prepustiti Bosnu i njen narod potpunom uništenju? Taj bilijun ljudi koji sam spomenuo, a i ne samo oni, neće Vam nikada oprostiti.

Hvala Vam.
(S engleskog A. A.-H.)



Letter to Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia, 4 August 1993

“ Pretty lies don’t help but bitter truths can be healing. ”



The Washington Agreement led to a cessation of hostilities between the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and HVO.



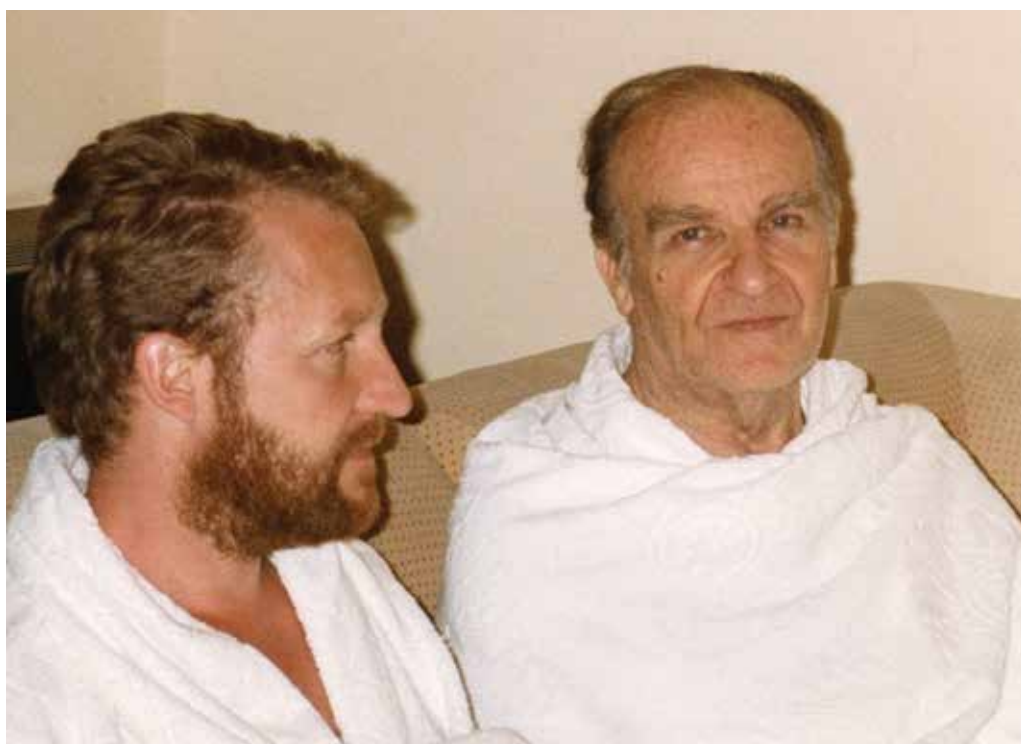
Alija Izetbegović and Franjo Tuđman signing the Washington Agreement, 18 March 1994. In the background: Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Haris Silajdžić, the U.S. President Bill Clinton, and the representative of Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Krešimir Zubak.



Alija Izetbegović, Bill Clinton, and Franjo Tuđman



The King Faisal Prize was awarded to Alija Izetbegović in 1993 in Saudi Arabia



In spring 1994, Alija Izetbegović made a pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj). (Left: Bakir Izetbegović)

” Why are the peoples whose prayer is purification and is tied to strict timekeeping not examples of cleanliness and punctuality? Why have the peoples who abstain from food and drink for thirty days a year not become models of discipline? How is it that after fourteen centuries of the aforementioned sometimes harsh and strict practices, cleanliness, punctuality, and discipline have not become their second nature or even an obsession? ”

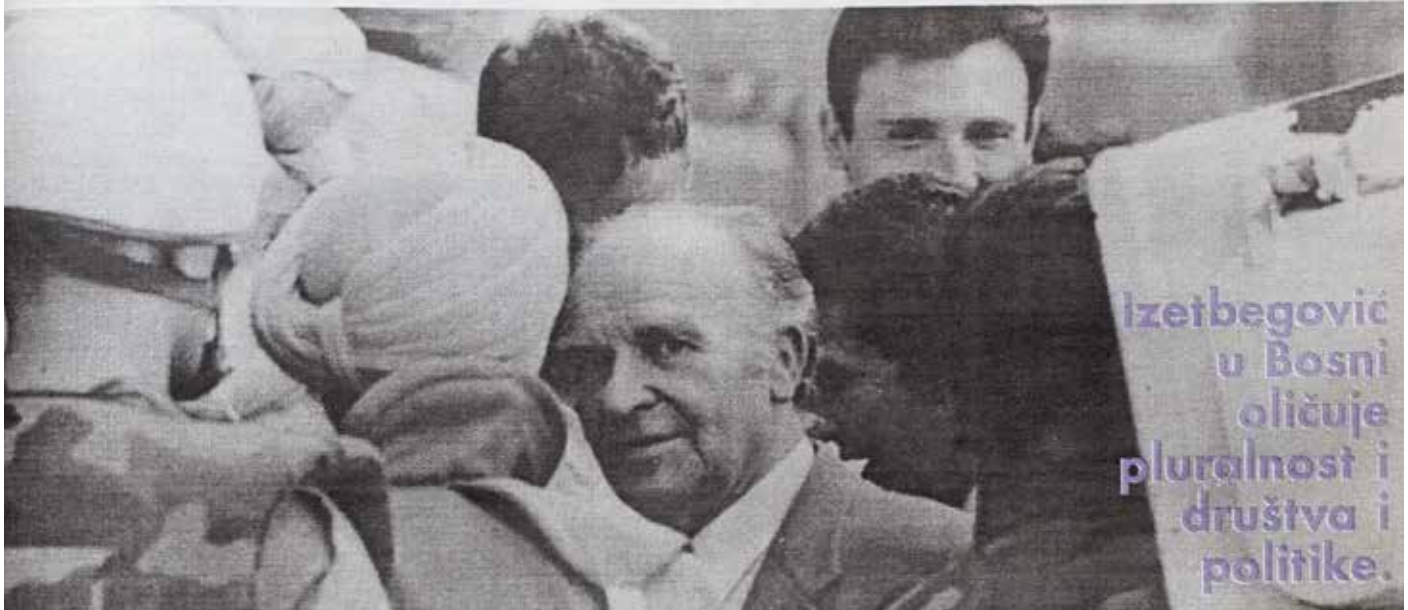
On the occasion of the presentation
of the King Faisal Prize, 1993





Muslimanska inventura u Bosni

SLOM TREĆE AGRESIJE





Meeting with soldiers in the Third Corps zone of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, near Olovo, 1995



Richard Holbrooke, Wesley Clark, and Alija Izetbegović in Sarajevo

“I don't think this country would exist today if it weren't for Izetbegović. Everybody can make a mistake, even he, but I repeat, if it weren't for him there would be no Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Richard Holbrooke, from an interview with *Dnevni avaz*, 3 October 2003)

”

The reasons for a rise or fall of a people are always complex and multiple. Only some of these reasons are objective, and as such, they are available for analysis and cognition. The other factors are unreachable and inexplicable as they are in people's hearts and will. But people have governments they deserve. Governments of various emirs or kings or corrupt civilians in some Islamic countries are a sure sign that there is something rotten in the people themselves, because fortune only favours the bold, and only good and sound peoples have the fortune of having good governments.

”

**DOSSIER
RETURNEES**

INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE

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SARAJEVO

The U.S. senator Bob Dole
and Alija Izetbegović in
Sarajevo, 1994





*To President Izetbegović
With best wishes,
| Joe Biden*

Bob Dole



Alija Izetbegović, the U.S. Republican Senator Bob Dole, and the U.S. Democratic Senator Joe Biden in Sarajevo, 1994



Meeting the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn, 18 March 1995



Jacques Chirac and Alija Izetbegović in Paris, 29 August 1995



Dayton, 21 November 1995

“During my long life, I have done the most various jobs: as a prisoner, I dug earth, carried mortar, chopped wood; later, as a free man, I managed a construction site, represented clients in court, and wrote articles. Yet, my hardest job was negotiating. To negotiate means to decide. And making decisions is the hardest task intended for unfortunate human being.” (Alija Izetbegović, “Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes”, 2001).

The Peace Agreement did not bring justice, but it did bring peace at the cost of numerous compromises. Administratively, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a single state comprising two entities and one district. Some critics of the work of the first president of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, reproved him for accepting the name of the smaller entity which discriminates against the other two peoples. Izetbegović himself considered the slow process of reintegrating and building a democratic and prosperous Bosnia and Herzegovina during the years following the signing of the Dayton Agreement as his own failure. On the other hand, the fact is that President Alija Izetbegović never sought revenge or censorship, not even during the war. This was how he virtually translated the idea of the right to freedom of opinion and speech, which he had advocated from the early days of his youth, into reality. Undoubtedly, it is only in distant future that historians will make the final judgment about Alija Izetbegović's role.

In the first post-war multi-party election, Alija Izetbegović was re-elected as a Member and then also as the first Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was preceded by some important decisions by the wartime Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including a decision to implement the Dayton Accords. The issues of Sarajevo, Mostar, Brčko... were addressed, with varying degrees of success.

During his ten-year tenure as a Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović continued to pursue the politics that sought solutions for Bosnia and Herzegovina through dialogue. He advocated a secular state with unhindered religious and all other freedoms.

Citing bad health, Izetbegović stepped down from the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in October 2000. Izetbegović announced at the Third Convention of the Party of Democratic Action, held in 2001, that he would not

participate in the SDA leadership election. After that, he was named SDA's honorary chairman.

In the final years of his life, Alija Izetbegović returned to writing. After a long break, he published several books, among them "My Escape to Freedom" (Notes from Prison) and "Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes" in which he explained his own views of the events before, during and after aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The post-war period brought him numerous international recognitions, among them the Annual Award of the American Centre for Democracy, an honorary doctorate from the University in Istanbul and the University in Riyadh, Medal of Freedom of the Republic of Türkiye, Order of Independence of the State of Qatar, Charter of Peace of the International League of Humanists, the Forum Crans Montana Prize for the promotion of human rights and in 2001 he was declared an Islamic thinker of the Hijri year of 1422 in Abu Dhabi.

Alija Izetbegović died at 2:25 pm on 19 October 2003 and was buried at the Kovači Memorial Cemetery in Sarajevo.

His funeral was attended by around 150,000 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider world and letters of condolences were sent from around a hundred countries. A letter of condolences by the U.S. Government read: "Izetbegović's personal courage helped the Bosnian people endure one of Europe's greatest tragedies since World War II".

Alija Izetbegović's last message to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina was: "Don't seek revenge; seek justice".

Thirty years after the Dayton Agreement was signed, despite all the difficulties, peace is lasting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many challenges and reforms leading to the country's accession to the European Union still lie ahead of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its citizens.

VANREDNO IZDANJE BESPLATAN PRIMJERAK

Dnevni avaz

Sarajevo • utorak, 28. 11. 1995.



SPORAZUM U DAYTONU

Karta razgraničenja

12-13. strana

Neslužbeni prevod

Front page of the newspaper *Dnevni Avaz* covering the initialled peace agreement in Dayton

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Broj 17068

Petak, 15. XII 1995. godine

U PARIZU POTPISAN MIROVNI SPORAZUM ZA BiH

Dobrodošlica miru

Predsjednici, Bosne i Hercegovine Alija Izetbegović, Srbije Slobodan Milošević, Hrvatske Franjo Tuđman tačno u 11 sati i 45 minuta stavili svoje potpise na istorijski sporazum • Ceremoniji prisustvovali brojni svjetski državnici

Specijalno
za "Oslobođenje"

PARIZ, 14. DECEMBAR - Sporazum o miru u Bosni i Hercegovini formalno je potpisan u 11 sati 45 minuta u Elizejskoj palati u Parizu. Predsjednik BiH Alija Izetbegović, Srbije Slobodan Milošević i Hrvatske Franjo Tuđman tačno u 11 sati i 45 minuta stavili su svoje potpise, dok su kao svjedoci i patroni iznad njih stajali predsjednici Francuske Žak Širak i Sjedinjenih Država Bill Clinton, njemački kancelar Helmut Kohl, te predsjednici vlada Velike Britanije Džon Major, Španije Felipe González i Rusije Viktor Cernomirdin, koji su zatim i sami parafirali sporazum.

Čin koji bi trebalo da donese mir Bosni i Hercegovini, označio ga na prostoru bivše Jugo-



Slika za istoriju: trenutak potpisivanja Mirovnog sporazuma

(Foto - Roper)

slavije i vratu Evropi zbivao se u tišini u prisustvu potpredsjednika vlada i ministara inostranih poslova i drugih zvaničnika iz 50 zemalja, te najviših ličnosti Ujedinjenih nacija, Evropske unije, Nata, Evropske organizacije za bezbjednost i saradnju, Konferencije islamskih zemalja, Savjeta i Parlamenta Evropa. Medusobno rukovanje svih potpisnika praćeno je diplomatskim aplauzom.

Bio je to svečani trenutak, koji bi trebalo da značajno obilježi istoriju, a kojem su prethodile tokom troipogodišnjeg rata bezbrojne rezolucije mirovne konferencije, pregovori, hiljade tona humanitarne pomoći, stacioniranje snaga Ujedinjenih nacija, Snaga za brze reakcije, konačno intervencija Nata i rasklapanje angažovanje Sjedinjenih Država. Dž.S.

• 3-7. strana

U ŽIŽI

Kraj rata

■ Emir HABUL

Ceremonijom u Parizu formalno je okončan rat u Bosni i Hercegovini. Majstori protokola udesili su da ovom činu nenamjerno daju i simbolički znak: ceremonija potpisivanja završena je u pet do dvanaest. Simbolika je i smiješak uz kimanje glavom, kojim je američki predsjednik poprio posjednu rečenicu iz izjave Alije Izetbegovića.

Tri predsjednika bivših jugoslovenskih republika imali su različito intonirane govore. Milošević je govorio o demokratiji i demokratskim institucijama koje će se uspostaviti poslije izbora. Doimao se kao čovjek koji nema veza s ovim ratom, kao kakav aktivista Helsinskog parlamenta s Islanda, što je, vjerovatno, činilo. Tuđman je, s druge strane, svim prisutnim održao lekciju iz povijesti. Izetbegović je bio konkretniji i sa jasnim porukama: šta ovaj sporazum znači za BiH, koji je odnos prema Srbima te šta Bosna očekuje od mira.

Najvažnije od svega je da je u Bosnu došao mir. Po formi i sadržini ovo je okrošeni mir. Njega je nakon troipogodišnjeg oklijevanja nametnula međunarodna zajednica: po-

kazujući tako da je to isto mogao uradi i 92. Zbog toga što je okrošeni, kao i sve nametnute stvari, ovaj mir ima svoje mane i zbog toga mora imati garande u Natu i velikim silama. Još jednom se potvrdilo da se u istoriji Bosne i Hercegovine ni kamen nije pomjerio bez saglasnosti velikih sila.

Ovaj rat u Bosni i Hercegovini nije se završio kao prethodni ratovi. Zato mir nije prilično euforija svojstvena pobjednicima, ili oslobođenim narodima i ljudima. Velike sile udesile su stvari tako da se rat završi remijem i da se pitanje mira tretira kao ugovor protagovanja rata, žrtve i velikih sila. Međutim, to ne znači da mir neće odrediti pobjednike.

Kao i rat, i mir će poželjeti svoje žrtve. Mir neće preživjeti Karadžić i njegova ekipa. U redovima HDZ snijene su već izvršene. Zbogovornici rata po pravilu gube u miru. S druge strane, srpska Bosna su u miru veće nego u ratu. Da je rat potrajao, žrtve se uvećavale, a stradanja nastavila, prijetila bi opasnost da se ideja Bosna potpuno potroši. Bez ideje Bosna nema ni nje same. U ambijentu mira, promotor ideje Bosna dobijaju veću kansu, a nije isključeno da ona postane i dominantan politički trend. Kada ideje postanu dominantne, onda iza sebe imaju pristalice koji i sebe i druge nastoje uvjeriti kako su oduvijek tako mislili. Stariji pamte, a knjige pišu da su 45, malene, svi bili partizani, ili su se pravili da su to bili.

Bosni, ipak, nije na odmet oprez. Postoje mišljenja da su dejtonskim sporazumom otvorene opcije i reintegracije i podjele Bosne. Najvažnije je da topovi umuknu. Zbogom crkvi! Ostalo je do politike.

GOVOR PREDSEDNIKA IZETBEGOVIĆA

Snaga modela

PARIZ, 14. DECEMBRA (BH PRESS) - Nakon potpisivanja mirovnog sporazuma za BiH, danas se predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH Alija Izetbegović obratio skupi u Parizu riječima:

"Zahvaljujem francuskoj vladi i francuskom narodu za domaćinstvo ove važne konferencije i za gostoprimstvo koje su nam ukazali. Zahvaljujem svim ovde u sali za učinjene napore da ova današnja konferencija bude moguća. Posebno izražavam priznanje američkom narodu, američkom Kongresu i predsjedniku Clintonu za ono što su učinili i što će učiniti da rat u regionu prestane i da otpočne mir. Došli smo ovdje da potpišemo ugovor o miru u BiH, koji smo parafirali u Dejtonu prije dvadesetak dana. Naš narod i naš parlament prihvatili su taj ugovor, učinili su to bez odlaščenja, poput čovjeka koji ispija koristan, ali gorak lijek.

Ipak, želim vas uvjeriti u našu budućnost, da potpisani ugovor i sve njegove dijelove dosljedno i pošteno provedemo. Naš cilj je bio i ostao cjelovita i demokratska Bosna. Odredbe ugovora to garantuju, ali hoće li te odredbe postati život ili će ostati mrtvo slovo na papiru to od ovog trenutka dobrim dijelom zavisi od nas, od toga šta hoćemo i šta možemo. Borba za te riječi nije izgubljena, ali nije ni dobijena. Ona se nastavlja drugim, mirujućim sredstvima, ne silom oružja, kojeg smo bili

lišeni, nego snagom ideja i duha. Vjerovao sam i tvrdio da je naš model višenacionalne zajednice i otvorenog društva nadmoćan i da ne može izgubiti. Došlo je vrijeme da to sebi i drugima dokazemo. Sa ovom mislima mi poručujemo Srbima da je rat završen i da zlo treba da prestane. Još jednom objavljujemo da nema revanša i osвете, ali da ima i treba da ima pravdu. Ljudska prava moraju svugdje biti uspostavljena, prognanici imaju pravo na svoj dom, a krivi na svoju kaznu, jer kazna je ljudsko pravo zločina. Srbima oko Sarajeva treba omogućiti izbor da odu ili da ostanu. Mi ih pozivamo da ostanu i nastavu živjeti u sigurnosti. Jedini uslov je da poštuju zakon BiH koji naređuje slobodu, a zabranjuje nasilje. Neka pomognu svojim susjedima da se vrate svojim kućama i neka sarađuju sa legalnim organima i vlastima BiH u uspostavljanju reda i zakona.

Zabraziti ćemo od mira i međunarodnih organizacija da u toku prijelaznog perioda posreduju u ostvarivanju kontakata na svim nivoima, kako bi se odredbe danas potpisanog ugovora u cijelosti provela. Pozivamo svijet da u ovom historijskom trenutku pomogne Bosni. Polajite vaše trupe da provedu ugovor o miru i ispunite svoja obećanja koja se lđu ekonomiske pomoći za obnovu zemlje. Bosna će vam to uzvratiti na najbolji način, postajući faktor mira i stabilnosti u ovom dijelu svijeta.



Signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in
Paris, 14 December 1995



“The moral victory is ours. There are no military victors. Everybody both won and lost”. (Alija Izetbegović for *El Mundo* answers the question “Who are the real victors of this war?”)

U Parizu potpisan
Sporazum o miru u
Bosni i Hercegovini

Rat je završen

Jučer su u Parizu, 15 minuta prije 12 sati, predsjednik Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Alija Izetbegović, hrvatski predsjednik Franjo Tuđman i srbijski predsjednik Slobodan Milošević potpisali Sporazum o miru na području bivše Jugoslavije, javlja BH-PRESS.

Svečanoj ceremoniji potpisivanja mirovnih dokumenata prisustvovali su predstavnici pedesetak država iz cijelog svijeta. Trojica predsjednika su svoje potpise stavili na dokumente čije je usaglašavanje postignuto 21. novembra ove godine u američkom gradu Dejtonu (Dayton).

Potpise na sporazum kao svjedoci stavili su predsjednik SAD Bill Clinton (Bill Clinton), njemački kancelar Helmut Kohl (Kohl), francuski predsjednik Jak Širak (Jacques Chirac), britanski premijer Džon Mejdžor (John Major), ruski premijer Viktor Černomirdin i španski premijer Felipe Gonzales u ime Evropske unije.

Ovim sporazumom zaustavljen je rat na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini, a vrijeme će tek pokazati da li će na ovim prostorima zaista i nastupiti istinski mir.

Francuski predsjednik Jak Širak, otvarajući ceremoniju potpisivanja mirovnog sporazu-

Sporazum potpisali predsjednici BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije, Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman i Slobodan Milošević • Svjedoci Sporazuma: Clinton, Širak, Kohl, Mejdžor, Černomirdin i Gonzales • Širak: - Istinski mir će još trebati graditi • Izetbegović: - Koristan ali gorak lijek • Tuđman: - Poticati demokratski razvitak • Milošević: - Nađen zajednički interes • Clinton: - Blagoslov djece za normalan život



Sporazum je potpisan: Vrijeme će pokazati da li će zavladati istinski mir

prekid globalnog sukoba u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Ljudima se, nažalost, iz sjećanja neće izbrisati 200.000 mrtvih, ubistva koja su se dešavala na području Evrope,

mir dode u to područje. Istinski mir će još trebati graditi. Sa tim mirom doći će i demokracija, a mi ćemo biti tu da pružimo bratsku ruku.

Međusobno priznanje BiH i SR Jugoslavije

Jučer je u Parizu, nešto prije stavljanja potpisa na mirovni sporazum za prostore bivše Jugoslavije, potpisan sporazum o međusobnom priznanju Republike BiH i Savezne Republike Jugoslavije, javlja BH-PRESS.

Sporazum su potpisali ministar vanjskih pos-

lova BiH Muhamed Šaćirbegović i jugoslovenski ministar spoljnih poslova Milan Milutinović.

Ovaj sporazum je odavno najavljivao i mogao bi predstavljati vrlo značajnu tačku u istinskom ostvarenju mirovnog procesa na prostorima Bosne i Hercegovine.

ma o BiH, obratio se učesnicima skupa sljedećim riječima: - Sa emocijama i zadovoljstvom prisustvujemo mirovnoj konferenciji koja će donijeti

milioni ranjenih i izbjeglih. Znamo da će sve ove strahote ostaviti duboki trag u srcu Evrope. Znamo da su svi ti razlozi dovoljni da se angažujemo da

Predsjednik Izetbegović zahvalio se svima u suli za učinjene napore da mirovna konferencija bude moguća.

Zelim vas uvjeriti u našu od-

lučnost da potpisani ugovor i sve njegove dijelove dosljedno i pošteno provedemo. Naš cilj je bio i ostao cjelovita i demokratska Bosna. Odredbe ugovora to garantuju, ali hoće li te odredbe postati život ili će ostati mrtvo slovo na papiru, to od ovog trenutka dobrim dijelom zavisi od nas, od toga šta hoćemo i šta možemo. Borba za te ciljeve nije izgubljena, ali nije ni dobijena - rekao je predsjednik Izetbegović.

Ta borba se, prema njegovim riječima, nastavlja drugim, miroljubivim sredstvima, ne silom oružja, "kojeg smo bili lišeni, nego snagom ideja i duha".

Srbijski predsjednik Slobodan Milošević je istakao da je mir u interesu svih ljudi koji ži-

ve na području bivše Jugoslavije.

Predsjednik Tuđman izjavio je da Hrvatska smatra da osnovne zadatke Međunarodnog vijeća za provedbu mira moraju biti usmjerene prvo na dovršenje sukcesije od bivše SFRJ na sve države sljednice, i drugo, što djelotvorniju pomoć za obnovu ratom razorenih područja.

- Predsjedniče Izetbegoviću, predsjedniče Tuđman i predsjedniče Miloševiću, uspostavljanjem mira odgovorili ste na poziv svojih naroda, čuli ste ih kada su rekli: "Zaustavite rat i patnje i dajte našoj djeci blagoslov normalnog života" - rekao je, između ostalog, američki predsjednik.

(Opširnije od 2. do 11. strane)

OSLOBODENJE

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Sarajevo, godina LIII

Broj 17140

Petak, 1. III 1996. godine

NAKON ČETIRI GODINE

Deblokirano Sarajevo

Federalna policija ušla u Iliaš, te otvorila putne komunikacije ka Zenici i Tuzli • Slobodni putevi omogućuju privredni razvoj RBiH i njenog glavnog grada • Garancije o sigurnosti

Glavni grad RBiH juče su zvanično deblokirali pripadnici federalne policije, u pratnji međunarodnih kolega i tiora. Minis-

ta je koje od Sarajeva vode ka Zenici i Tuzli.

"Poručujemo svim građanima Bosne i Hercegovine i svijetu

On je dodao da su Sarajevu u protekle četiri godine prošli mnogo krivi da bi dočekali dan skidanja opsade. Predsjednik Izvršnog odbora Skupštine grada Ševkija Okerić istakao je da "otvaranje komunikacija stvara mogućnosti za privredni i svaki drugi razvoj Sarajeva i države".

U centru Iliaša pripadnici Federalne policije i organa civilne vlasti postavili su državna obilježja, te Srbe koji su ih dočekali u ovom mjestu pozvali na zajednički život, garantujući im sigurnost. Međutim, niko od mještana koji su juče pratili preuzimanje vlasti nije sa sigurnošću mogao ustvrditi da li će ostati ili otići. Mnogi njihovi sunarodnici su tovarili stvari i odlazili u pravcu Ilidže.

Predstavnici federalnog MUP-a i sarajevske civilne vlasti slobodni putevima stigli su tokom dana posjetiti Visoko, Semizovac, Srednje i Olovo.

• 4. i 5. strana



Otvorene kapije za povratak kući

(Slika: Darko Ilakov)

tar unutrašnjih poslova FBiH Avdo Hebib vožnjom slobodnih puteva na simboličan način je otvorio putne komunikaci-

ta da je Sarajevo deblokirano. Ovo je trenutak koji ulazi u historiju", svečano je izjavio ministar Hebib.

OBRAČUNJE PREDSEDNIKA IZETBEGOVIĆA



Biti građanin BiH

Ljubavi prema narodu kojem pripadamo pridružimo ljubav prema domovini koja nam je zajednička

SARAJEVO, 29. FEBRUARA (BH PRESS) - Predsjednik Predsjedništva RBiH Alija Izetbegović uputio je povodom 1. marta, Dana nezavisnosti RBiH, čestitku građanima RBiH. U čestitki se kaže:

"Dragi građani BiH, okolnost da ovo poruku pišem u bolničkoj postelji neće uticati na njen smisao, možda hoće na njeno dubinu. Sutra je naš veliki praznik - Dan nezavisnosti BiH.

Zelio bih da ubuduće svi budemo manje Bošnjaci, Hrvati, Srbi, Jevreji, a više građani BiH. Ljubavi prema narodu kojem pripadamo pridružimo ljubav prema domovini koja nam je zajednička. Potrebne su nam ove ljubavi ako hoćemo da se rane zaliže i da se tragedija ne ponovi.

Dejton je zaustavio umiranje u Bosni. On je položio i temelje ce-

lovnog BiH sa svime što ta celovitost podrazumijeva i znači. Ali to su ipak samo temelji, a zgrada čeka svoje građane. Preostao je ogroman posao i od nas zavisi hoće li i kako taj važan posao biti obavljen.

Čestitajući vam sutrašnji praznik, ja vas pozivam da se okrenete ovom zadatku da bismo učvrstili ovaj krhki mir i da bismo našle snove o Bosni, kao zemlji tolerancije i slobode postepeno protvarali u stvarnost.

Nadam se da će mi Bog omogućiti da i sam učestvujem u ovom beskraino važnom poslu za našu decu. Ali bez obzira na to šta će se dogoditi, ostala su da sa vama dijelim dobro i zlo do kraja, kaže se u poruci predsjednika Izetbegovića građanima BiH.

KLINTONOVA ČESTITKA IZETBEGOVIĆU

Ideal može postati realnost

SARAJEVO, 29. FEBRUARA (BH PRESS) - Povodom nezavisnosti RBiH predsjednik SAD Bill Clinton uputio je predsjedniku Predsjedništva RBiH Aliji Izetbegoviću čestitku, u kojoj se kaže:

"Poštovani gospodine predsjedniče, u ime naroda SAD, upućujem Vama i narodu BiH svoje najtoplije pozdrave u povodu proslave Dana nezavisnosti BiH.

Svijet zna zastrašujuću cijenu koju je Vaša država platila za svoju nezavisnost. Ti i po godine rata odnijeli su u smrt desetine hiljada ljudi, dok su milioni ostali bez do-

ma i razdvojeni od svojih porodica. U toku svega toga BiH je ostala odana idealu tolerancije, multietničkog društva, implementacijom Dejtonskog sporazuma taj ideal može postati realnost za sve ljude u Bosni. Dok se mir na kome smo radili tako naporno da bismo ga postigli, učvršćuje, imamo razlog više da slavimo ovaj 1. mart.

Gospodine predsjedniče, dozvolite mi da Vas uvjerim da se narod Bosne može osloniti na čvrstu podršku SAD pred izazovima predstojeće godine.

Svim građanima Bosne i Hercegovine
čestitamo Dan nezavisnosti

Redakcija

u žiži
Bivši Teslićani

■ Hamza BAKŠIĆ

Demonstracije Teslićana koji hoće da se vrate kući dokaz su da Bosna počinje kipjeti na vatri dejtonskih obećanja i lokalnih odgađanja. Nije vjerovati da su demonstracije spontane, ali eventualni podsticaj mogao ih je samo ubrzati. Oko Teslića i drugde, takva zbivanja su neminovna.

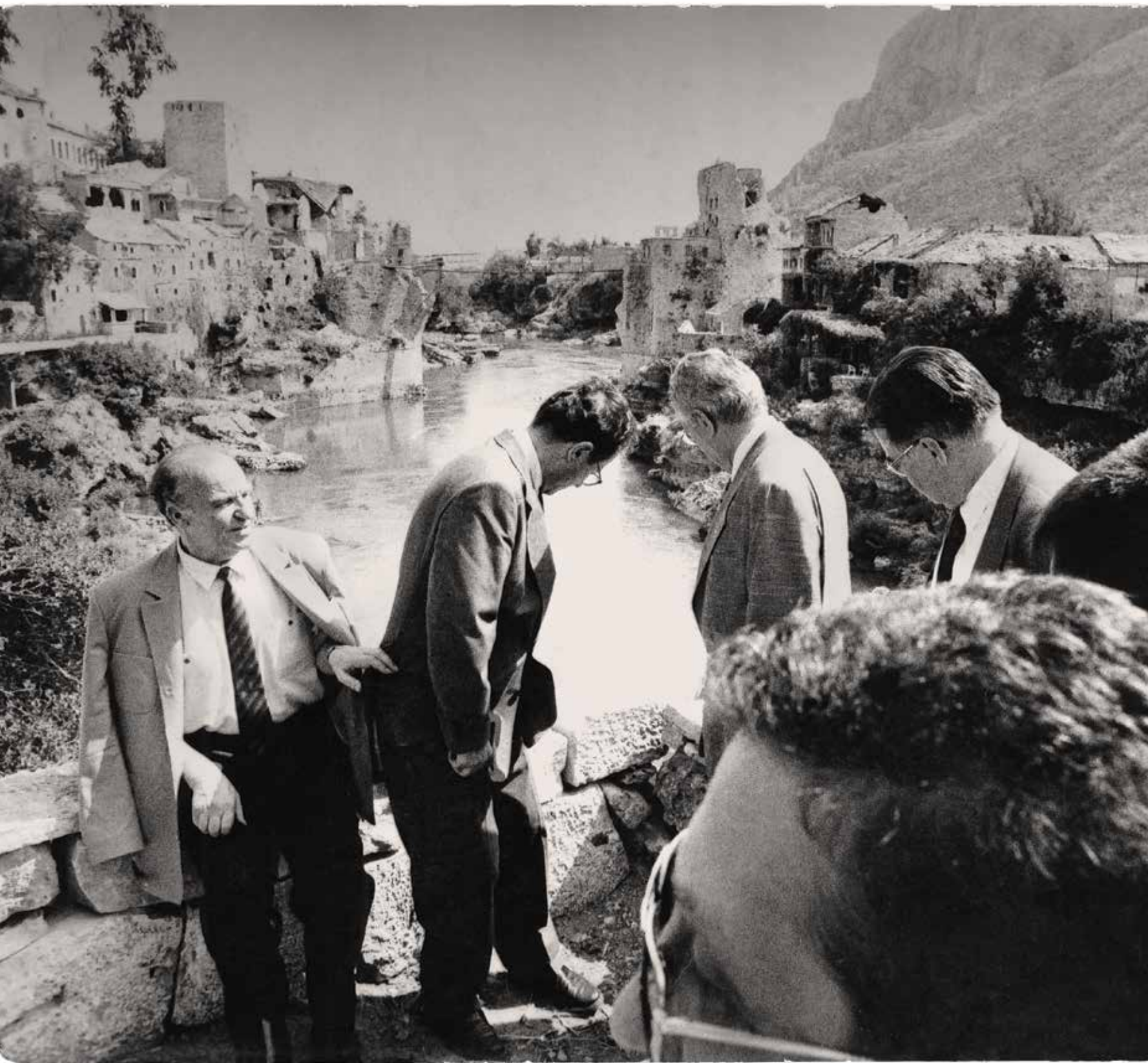
Na bosanskohercegovačkim prostorima, politika se pokazuje uspješnom uglavnom kad pretenduje na negativan učinak. Kad, na primjer, paljinsko rukovodstvo podržuje opravdane strahove jednog dijela okolosarajevskih Srba i budi neopravdane strahove kod ostalih naseljenika i stanovnika, može računati na uspjehom. Kad pred svjetskom javnošću prevroženje roba, velikim dijelom pljačku, ona predstavlja samo kao egzodus - a egzodus je samo scenografija za pljačku - opet može računati na rezultate. Kad, pak u Dejtonu čitava politička moć Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske, uz blagoslov vještaka, stane iz preseljenja nekoliko stotina porodica na njihova ograjta - svi staju tamo gdje su i bili, ili go-

lovo svi: pomaci su dozvani upravo da se ne bi moglo prigovoriti kako nije urađeno baš ništa.

Kad god treba diti temperaturu u međupolitičkim, međuentetetskim i međunarodnim odnosima, politika postigne rezultat. Kad je treba spustiti, posebno na duže vrijeme, kao što je slučaj u Mostaru, pred zaključcima se ispriječi grupa kabadahija koji, očito, imaju jaku političku logistiku - inače bi uprava zapadnog Mostara već saopćila javnosti ko je od napadača na Kotlika uhapšen. Vidjeli su ih na televiziji.

Otuda, potiče bosnanska varijanta događanja naroda koja se ovdje i sada zove, jednostavno: hoću kući. Otuda, Teslićani danas. Drvčani juče, kreću kući ili hoće da krenu kući. Veliki točak povratka konačno treba da se zakotrlja. Oni koji su protiv, znaju da je dovoljno zaustaviti ga na jednom pauc. Mostarci iz istočnog dijela grada, recimo, ne mogu kući jer su tamo izbjeglice iz Bugojna, ovi ne mogu u Bugojno, jer jačaju Bošnjaci ne mogu u Jajce, na kraju će se doći do Hrvata ili Bošnjaka iz Posavine, na primjer, i svi ostaju gdje jesu.

Velika politika dobila je u Dejtonu svoju šansu sa pilot-projektom. Ona tu šansu nije iskoristila. Dejtonski sporazumi su, međutim, i jedno veliko javno obećanje pučanstvu Bosne i Hercegovine. Povratak je dug polipolitički sporazuma onima koji su prognani. A Teslićani su neka vrsta plemenitih ispitivača duga.





Mostar, 1994



Alija Izetbegović and the Grand Mufti Mustafa-ef. Cerić
at the Kovači Memorial Cemetery



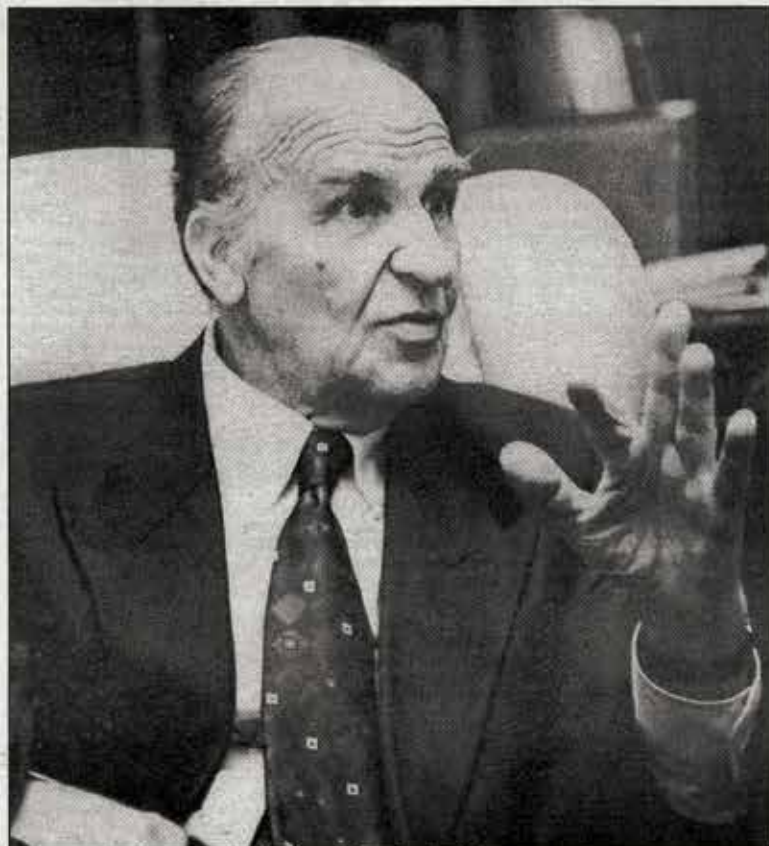
Brčko arbitration process. Sarajevo, 1996



Ekskluzivno Alija Izetbegović, predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH

CJELOVITA BOSNA JE REALAN CILJ

Amerika je iskreno za očuvanje Bosne • Ne vidim nikakve sličnosti između mene, Tuđmana i Miloševića • Nema reciprociteta kada su u pitanju ljudska prava • Očekujem da će Bičakčić uvesti drugi stil rada u Vladi • U izboru Silajdžića bilo je malo moje sebičnosti



Izetbegović: Zamisao Bosanskog fronta postavljena je vrlo široko

(foto: A. Zusi)

Predsjednik Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine Alija Izetbegović ljubazno se odao molbi "Dnevnog avaza" i dao intervju za naš list. Njegova ekscelencija Izetbegović u svom kabinetu primio je direktora i glavnog i odgovornog urednika Fahrudina Radončića i urednika političke rubrike Seada Numanovića i odgovorio na niz pitanja u kojima je rezimirao zbivanja u protekloj godini, ali i ocijenio neke društvene tokove i uloge pojedinih ličnosti u njima.

Predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH govorio je o sadašnjosti i budućnosti naše države, političkim relacijama u i oko nje, te utjecaju stranog faktora na ta zbivanja, problemima boraca i građana, kadrovskim i političkim promjenama, strateškim interesima BiH i bošnjačkog naroda. Titovoj ulozi, razlozima Silajdžićevog premijerskog povratka, budućnosti SDA...

Predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH govorio je o sadašnjosti i budućnosti naše države, političkim relacijama u i oko nje, te utjecaju stranog faktora na ta zbivanja, problemima boraca i građana, kadrovskim i političkim promjenama, strateškim interesima BiH i bošnjačkog naroda. Titovoj ulozi, razlozima Silajdžićevog premijerskog povratka, budućnosti SDA...

Bh. međe i njihovi čuvari

Daleko od granice

Ponovo otkazan sastanak mješovite komisije • Sporni kilometar kod Bihaća još bez rješenja • Strah od opstrukcija

Sudbina dosadašnjih ministara

Vrteška se pokrenula

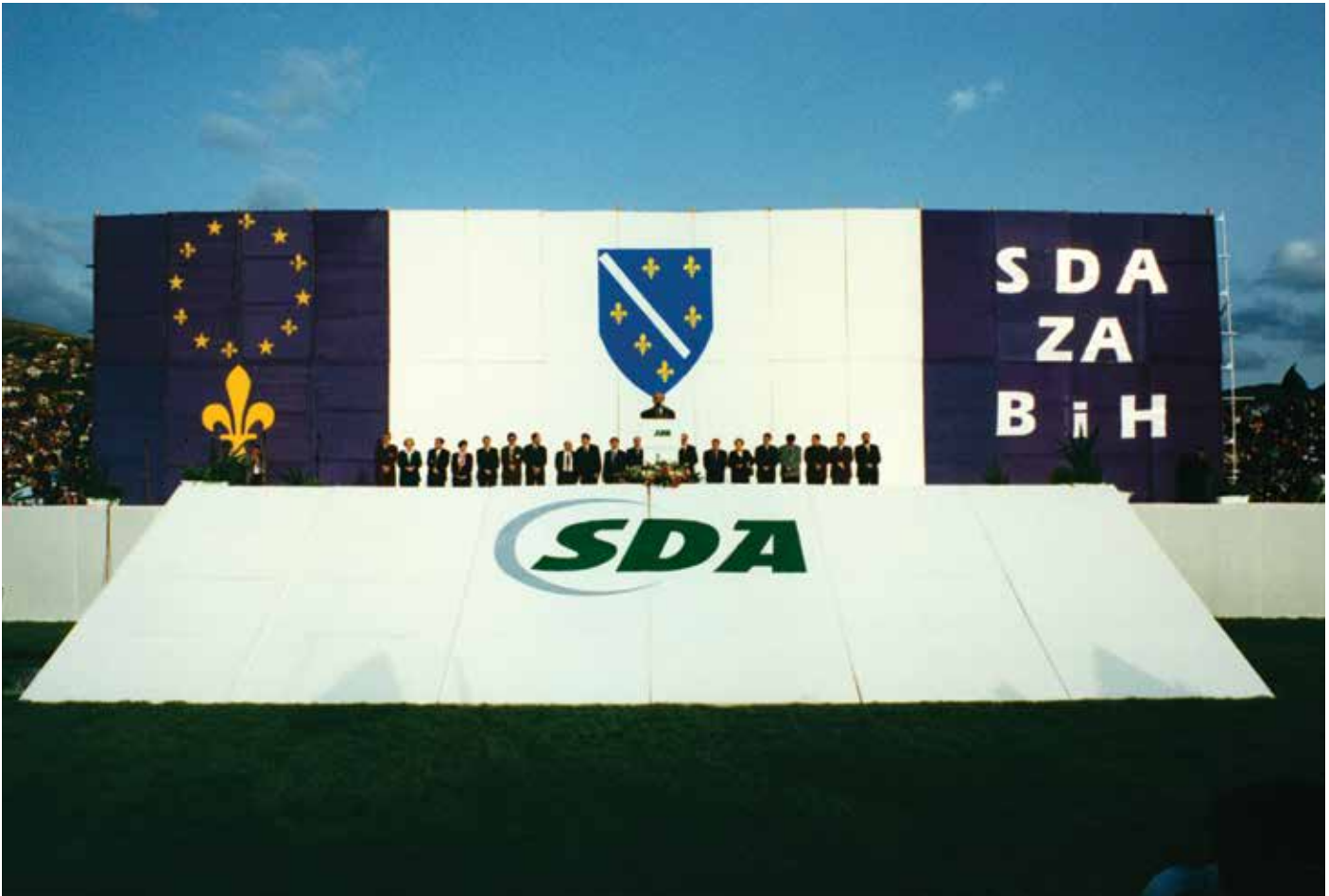
U ponedjeljak poklon kalendar



”

And what we call Bosnia isn't just a piece of land in the Balkans. For many of us, Bosnia is an idea. It is a belief that people of different religions, ethnicities and cultural traditions can live together.

”



Alija Izetbegović speaks at one of the SDA's election campaign rallies, 1996

Election rally for the 1996
General Elections

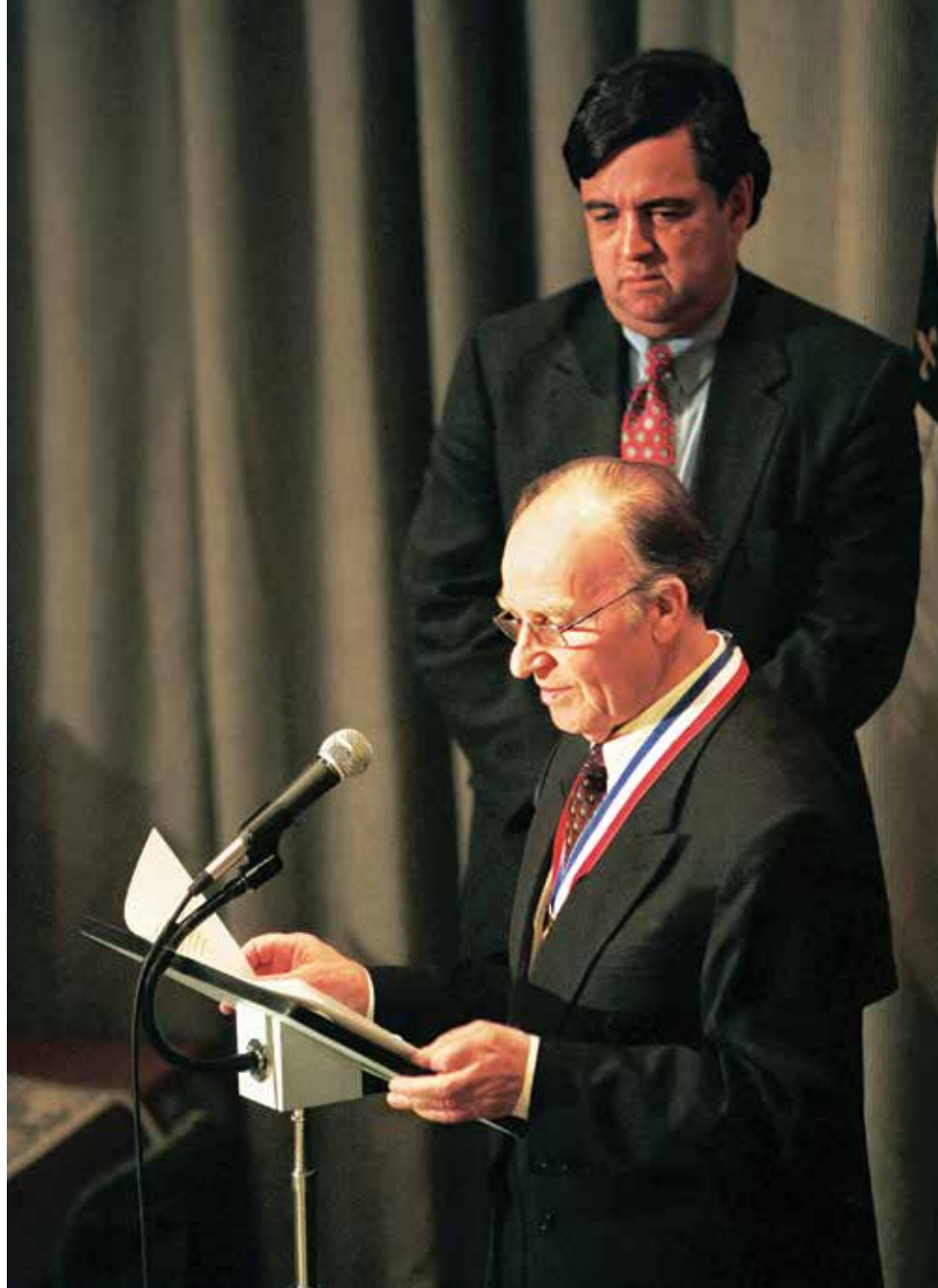




Carl Bildt, Krešimir Zubak and Alija Izetbegović. The Serb member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina is missing.



Members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the U.S. President Bill Clinton, on the occasion of his visit to Sarajevo. Momčilo Krajišnik (first from the left) was sentenced by The Hague Tribunal to 27 years in prison for his activities during the period of the aggression.



” My vision of Bosnia is clear: a united, democratic country. I believe this is your vision, too. It’s a vision, but life and reality are often something else. ”

The American Centre for Democracy
award ceremony, New York, 1997



After the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the SDA, led by Alija Izetbegović, continued to be the strongest political party in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Review of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina: President Alija Izetbegović with Generals Rasim Delić (right) and Sakib Mahmuljin (left).



U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Alija Izetbegović at the opening of the Sarajevo Airport, 16 August 1996



SDA election rally

Review of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina:
President Alija Izetbegović with General Rasim Delić

BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA





Meeting with Pope John Paul II in Sarajevo, 1997

“He never sided with the Catholics only. In Bosnia, he spoke to everyone, even expressly to the Muslims, and condemned the world’s indifference towards the fate of the victims. Only few officials in the world mentioned Bosnia in their public addresses so many times and so often.” (Alija Izetbegović, 1997)







To President Izetbegovic.

With admiration and respect

Madeline Albright

Meeting Madeline Albright, the first woman to become U.S. Secretary of State, during the Clinton administration, 1997



Alija Izetbegović and Klaus Kinkel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the FR of Germany in Mostar, in 1994

Klaus Kinkel stated in Sarajevo in 1998 that return of all Bosnian refugees to their homes was a question of the greatest importance for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. Germany hosted the largest number of Bosnian refugees during the aggression.



Meeting Saudi King Fahd



Visiting Saudi Arabia



With Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, then Mayor of Istanbul



President of the Republic of Türkiye Suleyman Demirel and President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegović during the visit to the Republic of Türkiye, 1997





Suleyman Demirel presents Alija Izetbegović with the Order of Freedom of the Republic of Türkiye, 1997

Alija Izetbegović was presented with the Order of Independence of the State of Qatar in 1998





Meeting with Emir Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani during the official visit of the Bosnian delegation to the State of Qatar



Visiting the soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on a training in Qatar

Election rally of the Coalition for United and Democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina in Tuzla, September 1998





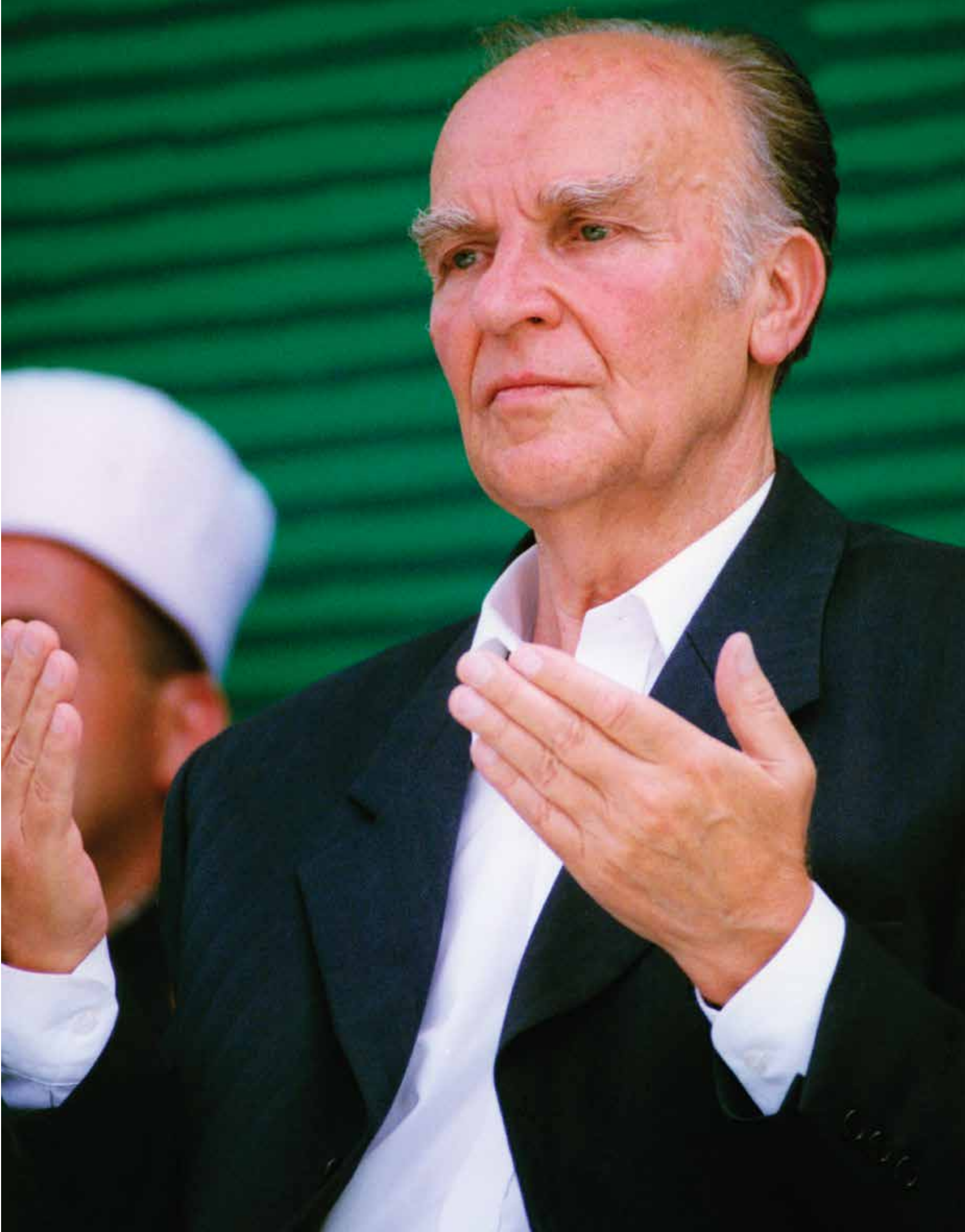
Arriving at the “Days of Ajvatovica” – a traditional religious and cultural event of great importance in the Bosniak tradition



Grand Mufti Mustafa ef. Cerić and Alija Izetbegović at “Ajvatovica”, 1997



” My mind constantly vacillates and wonders, but my heart has always been and has remained on the side of the faith. My moments of happiness were those when my mind and my heart were in harmony. ”





Mufti Nusret Avdibegović of Travnik, the Grand Mufti Mustafa ef. Cerić, Alija Izetbegović and Vice Grand Mufti Ismet ef. Spahić. Ajvatovica, 1997



"If we want Bosnia and Herzegovina, then we must not underline the ethnic question in Bosnia and Herzegovina too much. We should, if possible, try in the future to be Bosnians as much as possible, never forgetting, of course, who we are, never forgetting our traditions. Nobody should forget their traditions

and it is not a condition anywhere that you should forget your tradition if you want to be a Bosnian. It is the opposite. Everybody should cherish their traditions, but they should also cherish an ideal of the Bosnian state." (Alija Izetbegović, "Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes", 2001)



Observing the Day of Statehood of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Kovači Memorial Cemetery, 25 November 1995



Visiting the units of the Army of the
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina



"Srebrenica Genocide Memorial Day" – funeral
prayer for the victims of the Srebrenica
Genocide, Potočari, 11 July 2000





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

5. marta 1999.

Njegova Ekselencija
Alija Izetbegovic
Predsjedništvo Bosne i Hercegovine

Gospodine Predsjednice!

Prilikom pregledavanja jednog starog teksta iz stenopisa od tvog sudskog procesa 1984.-e godine u Sarajevu, jos jednom sam se uvjerio da sam zaista imao veliku sreću u svom zivotu sto sam se upoznao s tobom i saradjivao s tobom za vrijeme rata u BiH.

Principi koje si tada tokom jednog procesa tako elokventno zastupljao su istovetni sa onima koje si uvijek zastupljao pa i koje zastupljao danas. Ostao si njima vjeran. Amerikancima, po mom misljenju, bi trebali sve to prevesti pa prouciti kad bi htjeli bolje razumjeti tebe i tvoju misiju.

Potkraj prosle godine sam bio pocascen sto sam bio pozvan kao gost na svecanu veceru, priredjenu za "stare prijatelje BiH". Domacini, mada se sve to odvijalo usred Washingtona, su bili Haris Silajdzic i tvoj vrlo aktivan i talentiran ambasador ovdje Sven Alkalaj. Kad je doslo meni na red da progovorim, medju ostalom zahvalio sam "Aliji Izetbegovicu i Harisu Silajdzicu sto su branili principe medjunarodne zajednice, principe Evrope pa i principe Sjedinjenih Americkih Drzava".

Nesto poslije toga, jedna me novinarka pokusavala ubjediti da je sigurno bilo meni vrlo tesko u BiH za vrijeme rata. Nekako automatski sam odgovorio da meni licno nije bilo toliko tesko kako se mozda pretpostavlja, pa sam odmah objasnio i to kako za vrijeme rata mi se cinilo sve jasnije, a kako sada nije mi bas sve jasno ... kako za vrijeme rata znali smo tko je tko, s kim smo i s kime idemo naprijed ... dokle sada nismo sigurni.

Gospodine Predsjednice! Zahvaljujem se na paznji koju si pridao mojoj supruzi, Debori, dok je ona bila u Sarajevu za vrijeme jesenskih izbora. Ispricala mi je kad se vratila kako si rekao za mene da sam ti "prijatelj". To me je ogromna cast. Bila joj je cast da se upozna s tobom, da se slika s tobom i jos vise sto je mogla tebe intervjuisati za americku televiziju. To je bilo velika cast za nju i velika pomoc za njene TV programe. Istinski se zahvaljujem.

Znam da sam se par puta vec bio javio da bi mozda dosao poslije njene posjete. Medjutim, na zalost, nije se to ostvarilo. Nadam se da me razumijes i da me za to ne zamjeris. Nadam se da cu moci doci uskoro. Obavijesti cu te blagovremeno unaprijed.

Gospodine Predsjednice! Mi jesmo prijatelji, i to odavno. Smatram da smo stvorili nase prijateljstvo u izuzetno izazovnim prilikama u neobicnom periodu kroz radjanje drzave i kroz odbranu naroda. Molim te da razumijes da uvijek mozes na me racunati i ubuduce kadgod i gdje god bude trebalo.

Zelim tebi i tvojima i nasim zajednickim prijateljima sve najbolje.

Bosne ce biti!



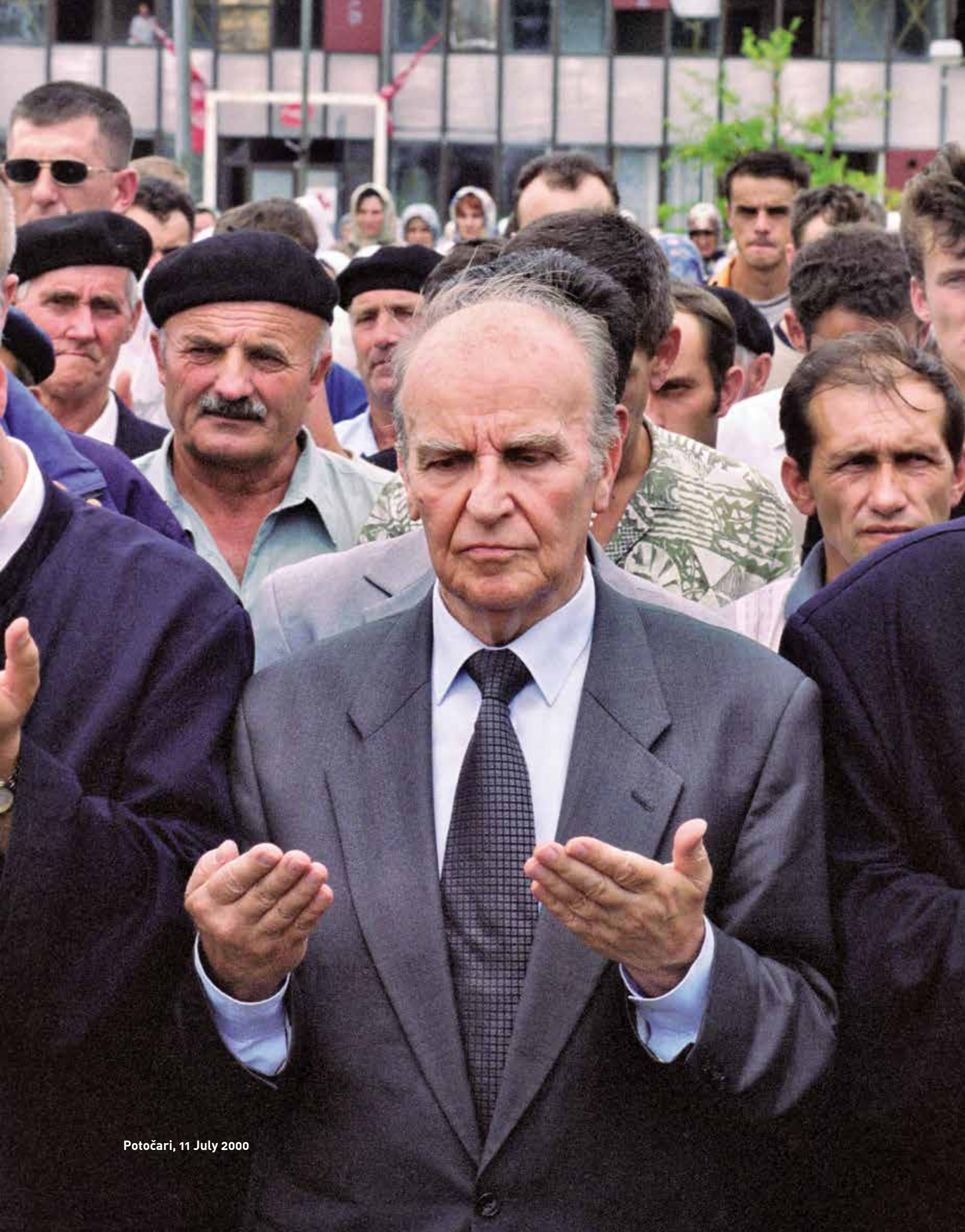
Victor Jackovich

Letter from Victor Jackovich, the U.S.
Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, to
President Alija Izetbegović



“Srebrenica was a safe area and we believed that the world would not allow a safe area – which under the provision of Article 7 of the Charter should be protected by force if it came under attack – to be

overrun in such a way. We trusted that the world would prevent an invasion of Srebrenica. This, however, did not happen. The world betrayed Srebrenica”. (RFE, Alija Izetbegović, 13 June 2000)



Potočari, 11 July 2000

”

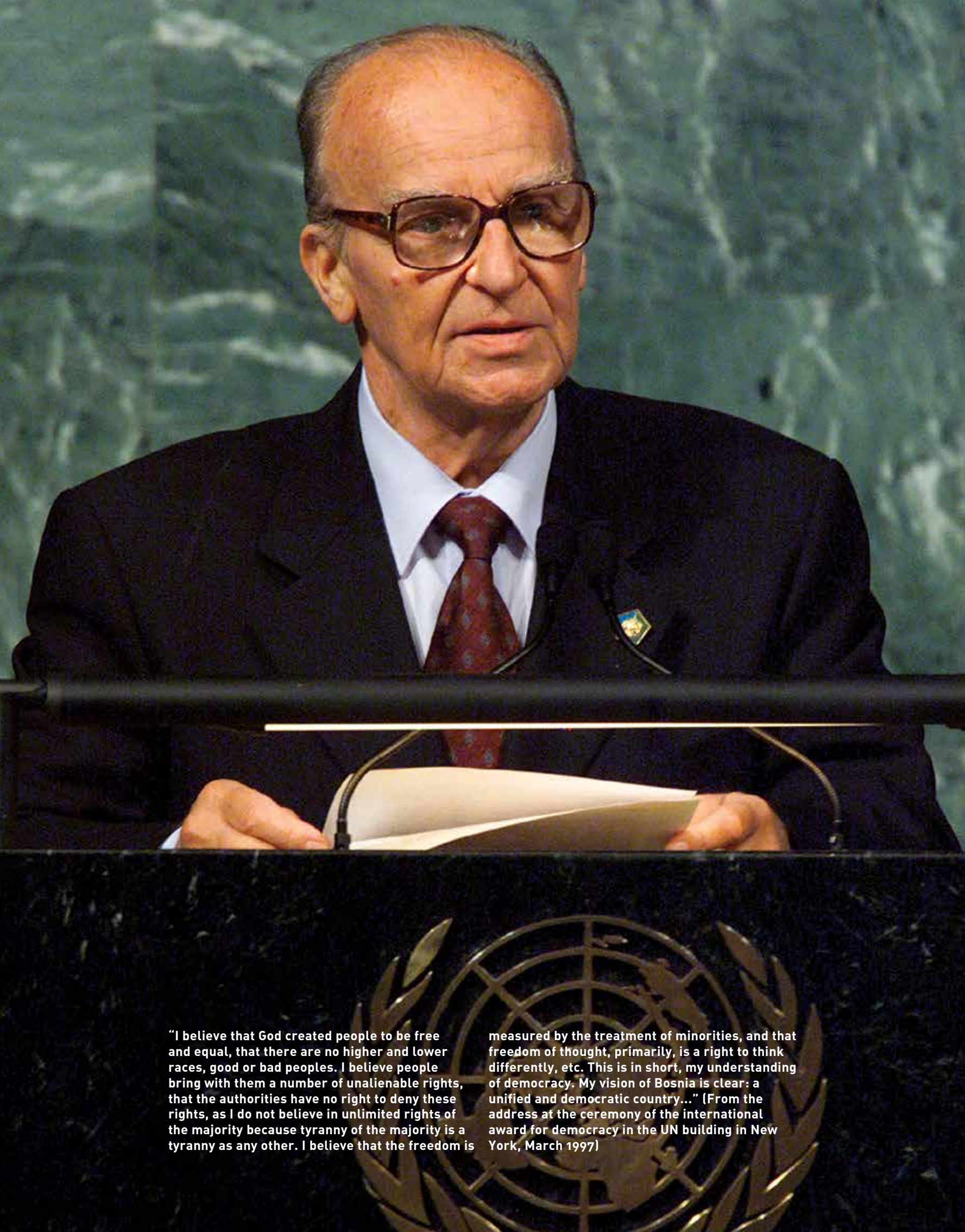
A person is not defined by his or her opinion but by his or her feelings. A person can completely change their opinion and remain the same person.

We speak of a change of a person only when their feelings change.

We can say that we choose certain opinions believing that they will contribute to achieving better what we are committed or attached to with our feelings.

”





"I believe that God created people to be free and equal, that there are no higher and lower races, good or bad peoples. I believe people bring with them a number of unalienable rights, that the authorities have no right to deny these rights, as I do not believe in unlimited rights of the majority because tyranny of the majority is a tyranny as any other. I believe that the freedom is

measured by the treatment of minorities, and that freedom of thought, primarily, is a right to think differently, etc. This is in short, my understanding of democracy. My vision of Bosnia is clear: a unified and democratic country..." (From the address at the ceremony of the international award for democracy in the UN building in New York, March 1997)



With the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan



Kofi Annan and members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the UN



Visiting the U.S. President
Bill Clinton, 1997



Hilari i Bill Clinton, Medlin Olbrajt, Alija Izetbegović i Kresimir Zubak u sarajevskom Narodnom pozorištu

Obraćanje predsjednika SAD-a Billa Clintona narodu Bosne

Amerikancima je stalo do Bosne

Mi smo ponosni što smo igrali ulogu ovdje i pomogli vam da utišate oružje i da razdvojite snage, da gradite fabrike, da dozvolite izbjeglicama da se vrate • Budućnost je na vama, ne na Amerikancima, ne na Evropljanima, ne na bilo kome drugom

Predsjednik Sjedinjenih Država Bill Clinton (Bill Clinton) obratio se jučer u Narodnom pozorištu u Sarajevu visokim državnim, političkim, vojnim i vjerskim ličnostima, a putem TV ekrana, i narodu Bosne i Hercegovine sa osnovnom porukom da ljudi ove zemlje treba sami da grade bolju budućnost i da će im svijet u tome pomoći.

- Dame i gospodo, mislim da treba da damo aplauz Maši i Faruku koji su obavili tako divan

posao. Zahvaljujem Sarajevskoj filharmoniji, predsjedniku Izetbegoviću, Zubaku, predstavnicima bosanske vlade, što su prisutni ovdje, predstavnicima građanskih i dobrotvornih organizacija širom svijeta, članovima američke delegacije, gospodi Olbrajt, članovima Kongresa, generalima Sheltonu, Klarku i Simskiju, narodu Sarajeva, narodu Bosne, rekao je predsjednik Clinton na početku govora i nastavio:

- Dozvolite da kažem da smo svi mi iz Sjedinjenih Država vr-

lo počastvovali što smo ovdje, da se okupimo u svitanje nakon duge tame. Za nas ovo je sezona proslava i mi izražavamo zahvalnost što je mir trijumfovao nad oružjima rata. Na pragu 21. stoljeća došli smo ovdje da odlučimo da gradimo novu eru, slobodnu od mračnih, najgorih momenata 20. stoljeća i puno najbriljantnijih mogućnosti.

Dvije godine poslije

Ono što smo moja porodica i ja i naša delegacija vidjeli na ulicama Sarajeva bilo je vrlo di-

rljivo za nas. Prije nešto više od dvije godine, žene, muškarci i djeca su trčali kroz vatru snajpera i granata u očajničkoj potrazi za vodom. Sada oni idu u sigurnosti na posao i školu. Tada su komadi plastike pokrivali gotovo svaki prozor, a sada je tamo, uglavnom, staklo. Rijetko se vidi plastika.

Onda su ljudi živjeli u ruševinama bombardiranih zgrada. Sada imaju krovove nad svojom glavom, grijanje, struju, vodu. Tada je Sarajevo bilo zaglibilo u hladnoću i razaranja. A sada

je kroz vaš rad počelo da se raskravljuje i da raste iznova, na suncu mira. Onda su radnje bile bez robe i kafane bile prazne. Sada su napunjene hranom i oživljene razgovorom.

I danas smo moja supruga i moja kćerka i ja učestvovali u tom razgovoru i popili jako dobru kafu. Upravo smo došli iz kafane u kojoj smo razgovarali sa nekoliko mladih ljudi koji ovdje rade i studiraju, različitih etničkih porijekla. Ljudi koji su se opredijelili da grade zaje-

Nastavak na 2. strani



*To His Excellency Alija Izetbegovic
Best Wishes,
Bill Clinton*

With the U.S. Secretary of
Defence William S. Cohen,
USA, 24 March 1997



Meeting with boxer
Muhammad Ali in New
York, 1995





German President Johannes Rau during the visit of the Presidency members of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin, 1999

“One thing is certain: we will have to divide or share – either territory or power. Better to share power.”



Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, and Alija Izetbegović, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, arriving at the Stability Pact summit in Sarajevo, 30 July 1999



President Alija Izetbegović meeting the conductor Zubin Mehta on the occasion of the performance of Mozart's *Requiem in D minor*, in the war-devastated Sarajevo City Hall, 19 June 1994



President Alija Izetbegović and Federal Minister of Culture, Science, Education, and Sports Fahrudin Rizvanbegović attending the Milan La Scala concert



Poster of the Milan La Scala concert in Sarajevo, 14 July 1997



Alija Izetbegović greeting American conductor Charles Ansbacher during the Ramadan concert in Sarajevo, 28 December 1997



Alija Izetbegović with his wife Halida attending Ramadan concert at the Sarajevo National Theatre



Lecture at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, 2001



Talking to the American Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Thomas Miller at the farewell dinner for the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Wolfgang Petritsch. Sarajevo, 23 October 2000

” Power either corrupts people
dangerously or gives corrupt
people a chance. ”

On October 15, 2000, two years before the expiration of his term, Alija Izetbegović left the building of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The following year he resigned as the leader of the Party of Democratic Action.

“My fight for Bosnia has not been a straight line. Historical facts are known, and I do not intend to – nor can I – change them. It’s a zig-zag line depending on the situation in Bosnia itself and outside, but the general direction has always been the same: preserving Bosnia as a single state in its internationally recognized borders”. (Alija Izetbegović, 1997)



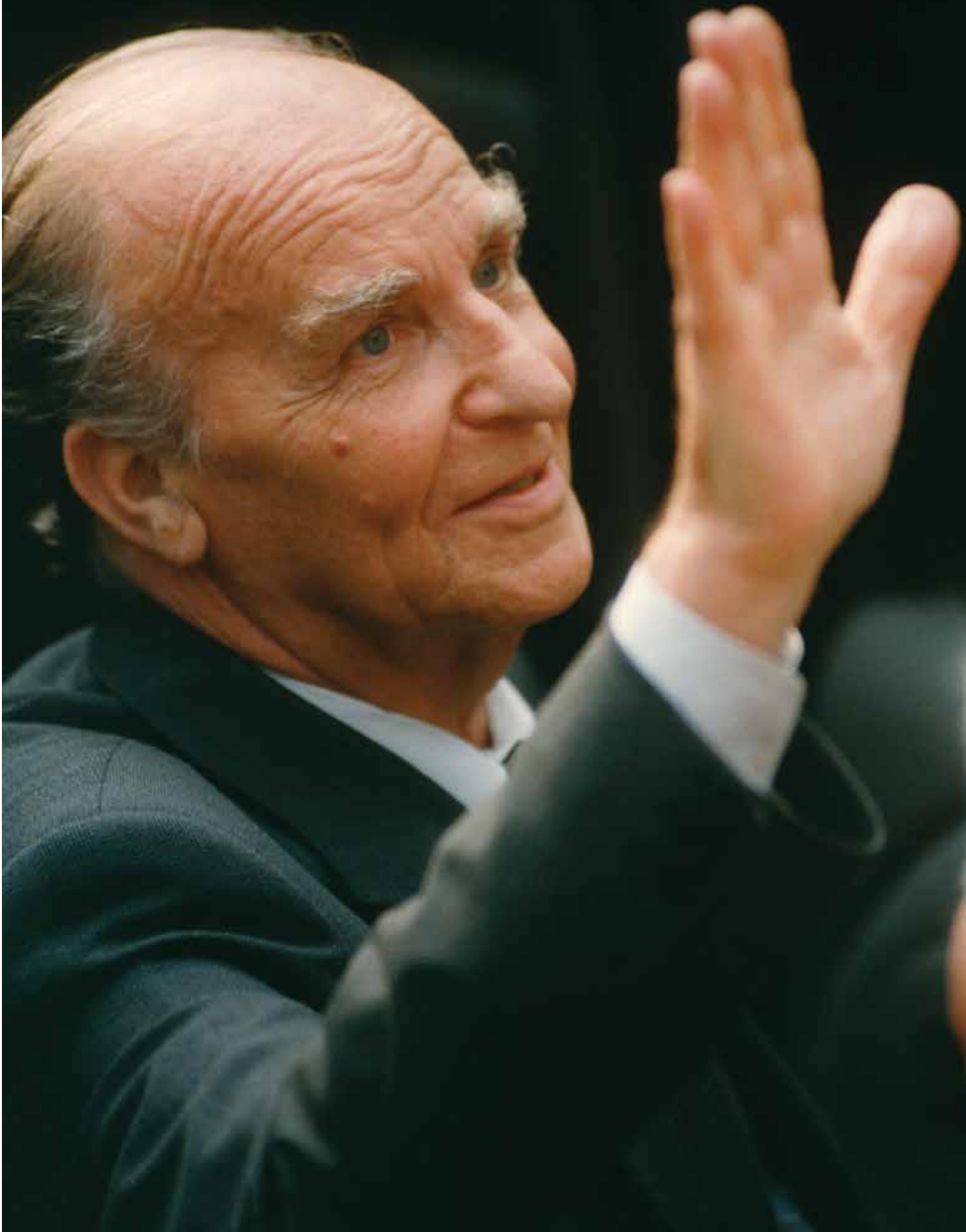
” When you see and endure everything,
when you rise after a thousand falls,
when you give up false hope and
consolation and grit your teeth to
openly look the truth in the eye, you
realize that the whole meaning of
life is to fight evil. In this fight very
little can be done, but it’s the only
thing we have. Beyond this fight, it is
desolation and dying forever. ”

“

You know how they were described by Meša Selimović in his novel ‘The Dervish and Death’: ‘They get their idleness from the East, and their pleasant life from the West. (...) They do not look like heroes, but they’re most difficult to frighten with threats; for a long time, they won’t pay attention to anything, they won’t care about what’s happening around them, and then, all of a sudden, everything matters to them, they mess with everything and turn everything on its head; then they doze off again. (...) they easily get annoyed with one man, even if he’s done them good. (...) Bad, good, gentle, cruel, lethargic, tempestuous, open, closed – they’re all of that and everything in between. And on top of everything, they’re mine and I’m theirs, like a river and a drop of water, and everything I’ve said about them I might as well say about myself.’ Thus, speaks Meša’s Hasan with poetic exaggeration. And I would say in the past 60 years I’ve pretty much come to know the people I belong to. I can say I have known them and have had an idea about them since 1940 onwards. I came to know them in peace and at war. They are good people, people on a qualitative rise, if one can say so, people who suffered a great deal and who will survive these most recent troubles. In any case, be they what they may, I am one of them.

”

"Unfortunately, the evil in history will never be vanquished. Man is faced with a constant struggle against evil. I believe the meaning of our lives and the meaning of human history lies in this." (Alija Izetbegović on the occasion of Day of Victory over Fascism, 9 May 1995)

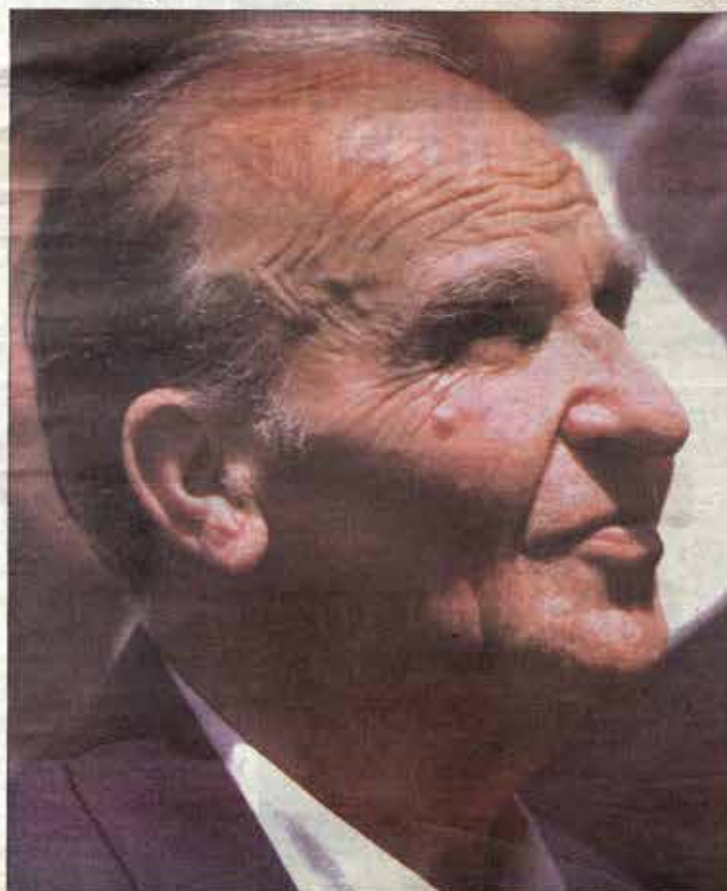




Jučer u 14 sati i 25 minuta u Sarajevu

UMRO ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ

Uzrok smrti je srčana bolest koja traje nekoliko godina, kazao je dr. Enver Raljević • U bolnicu smješten 10. septembra zbog povrede • Dženaza u srijedu u 14 sati na Marindvoru, ukop na mezarju Kovači



Jučer u 14,25 sati umro je Alija Izetbegović, bivši predsjednik Predsjedništva BiH i počasni predsjednik Stranke demokratske akcije. - Kao posljedica dugogo-

dišnjeg srčanog oboljenja uzrokovano ranijim infarktom srca, te pogoršano serijskom frakturom rebra sa komplikacijama došlo je do terminalne srčane slabosti i prestanka ra-

da srca 19. oktobra 2003. godine u 14,25 sati, saopćila je jučer novinarima šef ljekarskog konzilija prof. dr. Amila Arslanagić. 2. - 10. strana i Specijalni prilog

Na vijest o smrti

Pedi Ešdaun

**BEZ IZETBEGOVIĆA
OVA ZEMLJA NE
BI POSTOJALA**



Havijer Solana

**HRABRI
LIDER SVOGA
NARODA**

Stjepan Mesić
**NEUPITNA
DRŽAVNIČKA
ULOGA**



Redžep Tajip Erdoğan

**DIJELIMO
VAŠU BOL**

Abdulah Sidran

**ALIJA NE BI
VOLIO SLUŠATI
NAS PLAC**

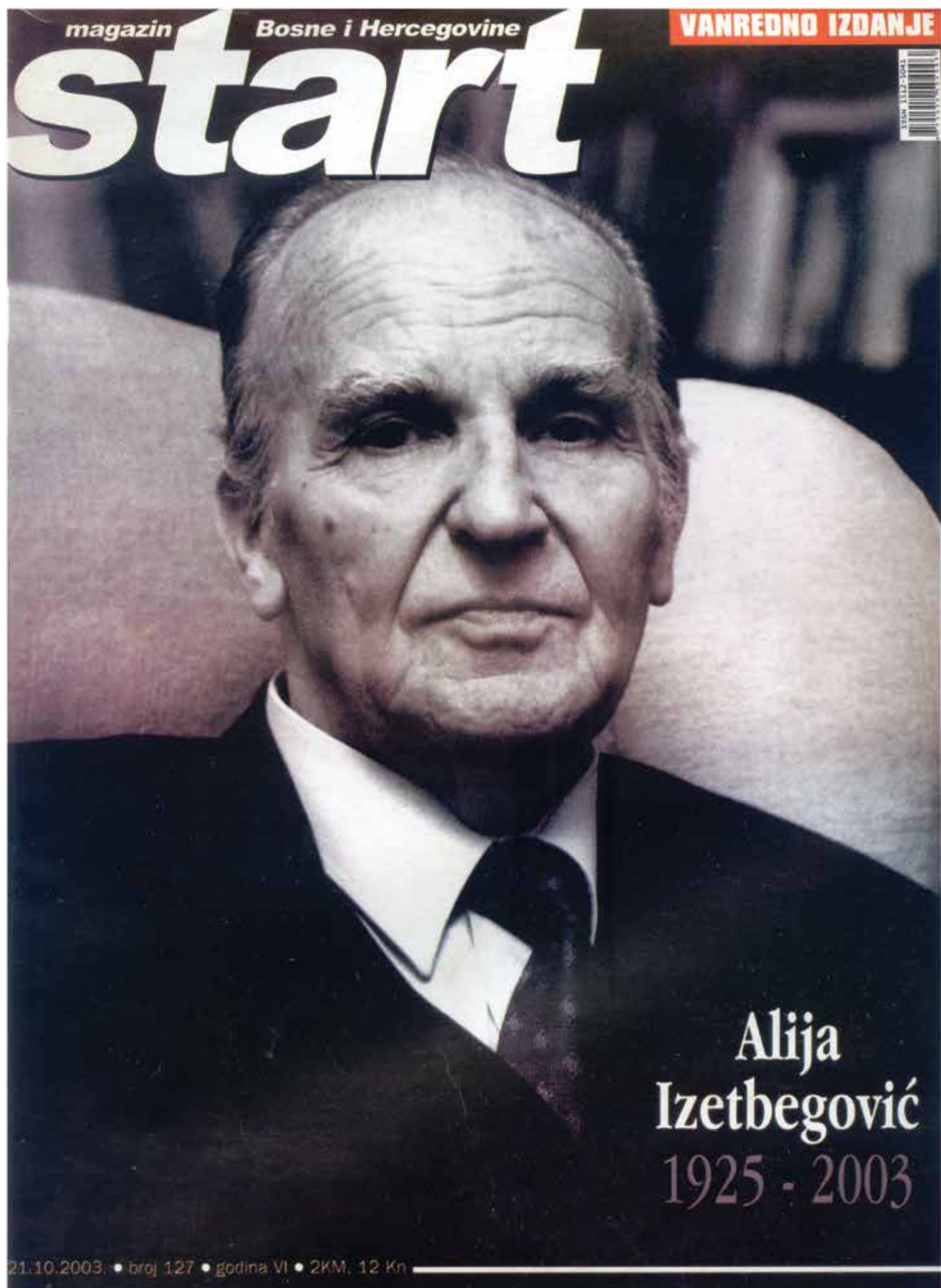


Dnevni avaz
Specijalni prilog

A close-up portrait of Alija Izetbegović, an elderly man with a serious expression, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and patterned tie. The background is dark and out of focus.

Alija Izetbegović

(8. 8. 1925 - 19. 10. 2003.)



DANI

BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKI NEWS MAGAZIN • SARAJEVO



SPECIJALNO IZDANJE 13 KM

O IZETBEGOVIĆU PIŠU

STJEPAN MESIĆ

THOMAS MILLER

FRA PETAR ANĐELOVIĆ

ATIF DUDAKOVIĆ

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ

RASIM KADIĆ

GOJKO BERIĆ

BERNARD-HENRI LEVY

IVAN LOVRENOVIĆ

SENAD HADŽIFEJZOVIĆ

MILE STOJIĆ

SAFET ORUČEVIĆ

MILJENKO JERGOVIĆ

“NE TRAŽITE OSVETU, NEGO PRAVDU”

(Posljednja poruka Alije Izetbegovića)

RICHARD HOLBROOKE I EVROPA BI BEZ NJEGA BILA DRUGAČIJA





Alija Izetbegović's funeral was attended by about 150,000 people; about 4,000 telegrams of condolence came; 44 official foreign delegations came and another 450 guests from Türkiye, including 105 members of the Turkish Parliament, and 50 members of the city authorities of Istanbul; there were more than 400 journalists; it was televised live with 37 cameras, and 35 television stations took over the FTV signal. Sarajevo, 22 October 2003





















”

If I were offered
to live once again,
I would refuse.
But, if I had to
be born again, I
would choose my
own life.

”

ALIJA

Mustafe i Hibe

VIZETBEGOVIC

25 - 2003

DOM

SHARONEMO

DA ROBOVI

PA





President of the Republic of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at Alija Izetbegović's grave

RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN, President of the Republic of Türkiye: "His mission is the expression of human dignity and an admirable tenacity, which represented an honour for the whole world. For the values he believed in, for his country and his people, he is an inexhaustible source of courage and extraordinary value".

MOHAMAD MAHATHIR, Prime Minister, Malaysia: "President Izetbegović was a great leader of Bosnia and Herzegovina who devoted his entire life to the well-being of his people as well as to their progress and prosperity".

GEORGE ROBERTSON, Secretary General of NATO: "Between 1992 and

1995 he was the voice of Bosnia and Herzegovina that fought for its survival. He led resistance from a besieged capital and worked dedicatedly to save Bosnia and Herzegovina's unity and independence".

JACQUES CHIRAC, President of the Republic of France: "France knows of the extraordinary courage which Alija Izetbegović demonstrated in the darkest days of the siege of Sarajevo. France knows of his historic role and political courage which he proved with his own contribution to national reconciliation by signing the Dayton Agreement in Paris which put an end to the war in December of 1995".

BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY, philosopher and writer: "He preached an Islam of tolerance, benevolence and modernity, civic Islam, but we did not listen to him. In 1992 he implored Europe to intervene, he warned François Mitterrand of the concentration camps set up in Bosnia and Herzegovina; François Mitterrand did not listen. We did not listen to Izetbegović just as we had not listened to Massoud, and then 200,000 people were killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the war broke out in Kosovo, which we could have avoided had we listened to him. He is Bosnia's De Gaulle. His credo was Islam but also democracy and multi-ethnicity".



**Seyyed Mohammad Khatami,
President of the Islamic Republic of
Iran, reciting an al-Fatihah prayer at
the grave of President Izetbegović**

CARLO AZEGLIO CIAMPI, President of the Republic of Italy: "His human values, his commitment to peace and stabilization of the region will leave a lasting imprint on the Balkan history".

ALEXANDER IVANKO, Russian journalist and UN spokesman in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1994-1998: "...The only honourable leader in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first president of the country, Alija Izetbegović... He personified civilized defenders of Sarajevo, tragedy of hundreds of thousands of ethnically cleansed people, memory of those killed in Srebrenica and on Bosnia's numerous fields, hills and mountains. His sad eyes after the Dayton

talks spoke much more than celebratory press statements made by their powerful organizers. It was the civilization of thousands of Bosnian citizens who saved the country's honour".

HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ, wartime Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "President Izetbegović was the person who marked the modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina."

IVAN SUPEK, President of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: "He was an example of a persevering fighter for freedom and rights of every individual. Owing to him Bosnia and Herzegovina became sovereign within its internationally recognized borders. He used every

opportunity to talk about Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence and indivisibility, about the rights of all three peoples in the country and all other groups. He loved Bosnia above all else, and also the people who considered Bosnia and Herzegovina as their homeland".

ENES KARIĆ, member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "President Alija Izetbegović was graced with many nice human qualities. He was a judicious, courageous and patient man and he balanced it all so well. I believe that it was through his sagacity, courage and patience that Izetbegović preserved Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Suleyman Demirel, former President of the Republic of Türkiye



HILMO NEIMARLIJA, Doctor of Philosophy: "Alija Izetbegović was a friend of mine from whom I learned a lot when I was young. For my generation he was a Muslim thinker and writer who refreshed the way of understanding Islam, Islamic values and institutions".

EMIR HADŽIHAFIZBEGOVIĆ, actor: "His struggle restored dignity and pride to his people and lifted their heads after one whole century; his victory over Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia's hegemony, his vision and wisdom will, sadly, remain a big unknown for some people who lost their way in life".

PADDY ASHDOWN, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina: "I reiterate that without Izetbegović this country would not exist today and I can feel for him nothing but deep admiration and extreme respect".

IVAN LOVRENOVIĆ, writer: "...Izetbegović was on the weaker side at every moment, in every respect, doomed to fail, but not only did he not fail, he emerged as politically undestroyed and morally more upright than all those with whom he had dealt with in the 'brotherly' hell in the 1990s. Last but not least, it will be remembered that Alija Izetbegović was the first among all protagonists of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina to

summon strength and have moral integrity to apologize publicly in the name of his ethnic group to all victims of the crimes committed by individuals from that group".

MILE STOJIĆ, writer: "Alija Izetbegović was unable to hate".

PREDRAG MATVEJEVIĆ, writer: "All of us who love Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of our origin, appreciate you and your achievements".

Father MILE BABIĆ, Professor of Philosophy and Theology: "Alija Izetbegović was a great person because he loved his country Bosnia and Herzegovina, and did everything he could for the



“With his personality and political activity, Alija left a strong mark on the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He dedicated his whole life to political activity and not even the hard years of prison life could break him. His statesmanship role was unquestionable in war and post-war years in Bosnia and Herzegovina – this hard period for all the states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia”. (Stjepan Mesić, President of the Republic of Croatia)

citizens and peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina so that they could live in peace and prosperity”.

DINO MUSTAFIĆ, film director: “Bosnia and Herzegovina lost its politician who had loved this country. History will objectivize his role and importance in the creation and preservation of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.

DRAGAN VIKIĆ, wartime Special Police Commander: “Alija was my commander during the war. In fact, he was the commander of us all. A good, modest man, and I believe that he worked hard during the war and shouldered a heavy burden in the most difficult times, when many people fled Bosnia”.

MILJENKO JERGOVIĆ, writer: “Alija Izetbegović is the man with fascinating blue eyes and those eyes were the first thing I noticed about him when I met him 11 years ago, at an Eid reception – I guess he still served as President of the Presidency. In the meantime, I met with him five or six times, under different circumstances and in different stages and I noticed that everything in him was growing older except those eyes which at moments seemed as if they had been designed by Benetton (‘Globus’)”.

JOVAN DIVJAK, General, Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina: “There are no differences between nationalists – a nationalist is a nationalist. For me, a

nationalist is a positive person if he protects the rights of his people, not at the cost of other people. Here, we have ethnic chauvinists who started and waged the war to imperil other peoples. Alija Izetbegović did not do that. For me, Alija Izetbegović is an honest and moral man”.

PETER MAAS, journalist: “At night, after an evening meal, which was usually after midnight as the talks were held at the Balkan time, Izetbegovic would leave the hotel to stroll near the lake, along an empty path, as it was in Switzerland where everybody is in bed at 11:00 p.m. One of his bodyguards walked behind him and if you

had noticed him without knowing who he was, you would have felt compassion for him, that lonely figure walking in the dark, slowly, bent, shaking his head. Poor man, you would have thought, he must be grieving a lot, his wife must have died recently. This would be true in a way because Izetbegović was attached to Bosnia like husband to wife.” (From his book “Love Thy Neighbour”)

RICHARD HOLBROOKE, American diplomat: “This country would not exist today if it were not for Izetbegović. All people make mistakes, including him, but let me reiterate, if it were not for him, there would be no Bosnia and Herzegovina. Milošević, too, said this in Dayton. He said that Izetbegović had won. After days and days of difficult negotiations, Milošević accepted that Sarajevo would belong to the Federation. He even said because

Izetbegović had never abandoned Sarajevo during the siege, he had won the right to that city. Krajišnik and Buha were enraged. Had Izetbegović left Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina would not have survived.”

Father PETAR ANĐELOVIĆ, Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena: “I met with Alija Izetbegović quite often. My impression was that he suffered a lot. Because his life assigned him the role that surpassed his strengths. Nevertheless, he fought and tried to do what was possible. I learned to respect him, keeping in mind that mistakes are possible while struggling in life. Therefore, as we are remembering Alija Izetbegović, may the Almighty have mercy on him and reward him for all of his honourable attempts and for all of his honourable deeds he did during his life.”

HATIDŽA MEHMEDOVIĆ, Mothers of the Enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa: “I no longer have my children and there is nobody I should be currying favour with or appease. For many years they were trying to manipulate us with their story about the Bosniak guilt and, of course, Alija Izetbegović’s guilt for the death of the Srebrenica Bosniaks. This was done by those who wanted to equate the so-called three sides and diminish the guilt of those who were really liable for the death of our children. I never accepted it, and I will certainly not accept it today. Alija Izetbegović was and remains president of Bosniaks and my president and, certainly, without him and his authority, Bosnia would be a large Srebrenica. Today, Bosniaks, who had Alija as their commander during the war, unlike others, have nothing to be ashamed of.”



”

Nobody ever managed to rule

Bosnia, it always only appeared so.

”

A. F. Zetser

PHOTOGRAPHS – SOURCES

Amel Emrić: pages 84, 85, 94, 141, 142, 146, 147, 149, 168, 169, 174, 175

Danilo Krstanović: pages 2, 98, 123, 151, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 186

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“Avaz”, photo archive: pages 83, 87, 101, 112, 120, 121 top

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The Izetbegović family archive: pages 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 48 bottom, 56, 57, 58, 66 bottom, 69, 72, 73 top, 74, 79 bottom, 80, 81 bottom, 86, 92, 102, 103, 125, 126, 127 bottom, 128, 132, 133, 140, 152, 154, 155, 157

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Alexis Duclos: pages 77, 78, 79 top, 81 top

The Visual Archive of the Directorate of Communications of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye: pages 129, 130, 131

Anadolu Agency photo archive: page 181

Yeni Şafak Gazetesi: page 128

Osman Topčagić: page 158 bottom

William J. Clinton Presidential Library: page 90

The Mostar Center for Peace photo archive: page 127 top

The Historical Archive of Sarajevo: page 157 bottom right



ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ 1925 – 2003
THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF INDEPENDENT BOSNIA AND HER-
ZEGOVINA

2nd EDITION

EDITORS

Fahrudin Rizvanbegović
Faris Nanić

PUBLISHER

Alija Izetbegović Foundation
70 Nusreta Fazlibegovića Str., Sarajevo

ON BEHALF OF THE PUBLISHER

Esma Zlatar

WRITER

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ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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LAYOUT AND TYPESETTING

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PHOTO EDITING

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH

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1st EDITION (published in 2007)

EDITORS

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IMAGE SCANNING

Aleksandar Kordić, TDP

IMAGE EDITING

Anes Šehić, Dotart

LAYOUT AND TYPESETTING

Hot Shop

BOOK DESIGN

Fabrika

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form or by any means without the prior publisher's permission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THE 2ND EDITION:

Ajet Arifi, Zijah Gafić, Nihad Kreševljaković, Turkish Coopera-
tion and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Public Institution "Sarajevo
Memorial Center" and Ahmed Kulanić, Bakir Izetbegović and the
Izetbegović family, Amel Emrić, Milomir Kovačević-Strašni, Re-
nata Krstanović, Tarik Samarah, Alma Pašić, Alexis Duclos, Safet
Oručević, Osman Topčagić, Mukerema Numić, SDA Headquar-
ters, "Oslobođenje" Photo Archive, "Dnevni avaz" Photo Archive,
Public Institution "Sarajevo Historical Archive", Media Center,
Center for Peace Mostar Photo Archive, Association "Videoarhiv
Sarajevo", Veterans' Association of the "Bosna" Police Unit.

The publication of this photo monograph was made possible
with the generous support of TİKA, on the occasion of the
centenary year of Alija Izetbegović's birth.

