ILUSTRACIJA – Rekonstrukcija izvedena na temelju izvora: Nepoznatí autor, *Detalj – Scena iz kahve*; ilustracija iz osmanskog albuma, Istanbul c. 1620. (Biblioteka Chester Beatty).

ILLUSTRATION – Reconstruction done on the basis of source: Unknown author, *Detail – Coffee house scene*; folio from an Ottoman album, Istanbul c. 1620 (Chester Beatty Library).

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Ferid MUHIĆ

BOŠNJACI I BOSNA:
studija iz filozofije politike (3)

BOSNIAKS AND BOSNIA:
A Study in the Philosophy of Politics (3)

Abstract

The third, final part of this study, analyses the relationship between Bosniaks and Bosnia through the interaction of three chronologically problem-related processes: The first, procedure, defined as 'The Archeology of the Politics of Oblivion' reconstructs in all previous research completely neglected aspects of the genesis of historical and political factors of the project of denial of Bosniaks as a separate people / nation, erasing their historical name, language name and ethnic, spiritual, cultural and state identity. Second, the issue of the relationship between Bosniaks as a people / nation and Bosnia, as their home state, which they created and defended, from the general problem-theory perspective as well as from recent events and with the current situation being considered. Third, the thesis is argued that the preservation of the historical name „Bosniaks“, returned on September 28, 1993, is a permanent strategic imperative of all Bosniaks in the world and a *conditio sine qua non* of the survival of Bosnia as a state and as a concept.. The initiative to use the territorial determinants „Bosnians“ or „Bosnians and Herzegovinians“ instead of the historical name, which aims to definitively remove Bosniaks from the historical scene as a people / nation, is critically analysed. Since the survival of Bosniaks is a necessary condition for the survival and existence of Bosnia, the imperatives of the historical moment require the unconditional acceptance of the historical name „Bosniaks“, the renewal of the sense of common belonging and mutual connection of Bosniaks as a people / nation, strengthening the emotional connection with one's own national being and establishing the awareness of the moral obligation of every individual Bosniak towards his/her Bosniak people and their home state of Bosnia.

Key words: *Bosniaks, Bosnia, genesis, memory, state.*

BOSNIAKS – A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE SURVIVAL OF BOSNIA

1. The Archeology of the Politics of Oblivion and the Program of Memory Restoration

Unsolicited question: the genesis of crime and the amnesia project!

bosniaks have lived practically a whole century without their national name and with a total ban on the use of the name of their language. That is, four full generations: from the last decade of the 19th century, to the last decade of the 20th century. Lived and survived! By all accounts, this is an unprecedented event in world history. Under various circumstances, peoples disappeared, but no one ever deleted their names, nor did they dispute their existence and forbid the use of the name of their language. If we do not know what happened to the Khazars, their name has been preserved to this day. If the Aztecs, Toltecs, Incas, Mayans ... had not been present as peoples on the world stage for a long time, their historical existence has not been questioned at any time and their names still sovereignly appear today in historical studies and archives, present in various contexts of modern life around the world. The indigenous peoples of North America, from the Cherokees who „lived and died proudly“ (sung in the modern hit chorus: „Cherokee People, Cherokee tribe / So proud you live, so proud you die!“), through the fighting Sioux, the indomitable Comanches, the freedom-loving Apaches, to the invincible Seminoles, have long since been reduced to lonely individuals and isolated micro-communities scattered throughout the reserves, or have been completely exterminated, like the Mohicans and Modoxes - but the names of these peoples have not been erased and shine brighter today than in their prime.

Only Bosniaks have had their national name erased and the name of their language banned, their culture and their state-building tradition denied, although, by the way, Bosnia as a state in the period of feudalism existed longer than any other state in the Balkans! This was done through a series of political decrees, passed from the imperial monarchy to the kingdom, from the kingdom to the democratic republic, just as a will is passed from generation to generation. This tacitly accepted legacy of denying the existence of Bosniaks as a people and a nation has such

deep roots that the name „Bosniak“ / „Bosniaks“ is still on the unofficial but very rigidly and consistently applied index of proscribed terms. This kind of *Index prohibitorum* of the national name of Bosniaks and the name of their mother tongue, the Bosnian language, has entered the subconscious of many Bosniaks, so that even the mere mention of these terms still causes some embarrassment and discomfort, while others encounter open resistance and energetic rejection, where they are more willing to accept any name, even if it was terminological nonsense, than to keep the original name of the people to whom they themselves belong.

A true science of archeology is needed to decipher the reasons for this dark story and remove the deposits that covered this dungeon for more than a century, in which the collective memory of Bosniaks as an ethnos, people and nation was permanently imprisoned and almost completely erased.

Under the layers of politically organized destruction of all traces of the ethnic, cultural and spiritual identity of Bosniaks and their particularly carefully erased state-building tradition, it has remained hidden to this day, or has been systematically and deliberately left out and therefore researchers completely missed the key question: How did Bosniaks get into such a situation in the first place? How is it that they have not kept even their national name, nor the name of their language, not even the awareness of themselves as a nation and a people, as other nations in the region have done, after all - in the whole world!? In this unanswered, whether forgotten or deliberately omitted question, lies the answer. The very fact that this question has not been asked so far, although it had to be asked in order to find an answer, confirms that at all costs they wanted to avoid just that question: How did Bosniaks lose their name and the name of their language, who and with what motives did they first falsify and deny and then appropriate their culture, history and state-building tradition? they wanted to avoid it because, through the question: Who and for what purpose took away from the Bosniaks everything that belonged to them as a people and a nation? - directly pointed the finger at the culprits: the nationalist and hegemonic circles of Serbia and Croatia!

If this question has not been asked so far, although it needed to be asked, it only confirms that, even with a delay of a whole century, it must now be asked and sought to be answered. It must be examined whether the Bosniaks themselves voluntarily renounced their national affiliation, history and tradition, or whether they simply neglected all that out of negligence and sloppiness (traits that are traditionally attached to them in order to disqualify themselves as a people) to ultimately completely forget who they used to be? If so, what made them change their minds and enumerate, first in March 1992, when at the Referendum, practically everyone, with one list, declared that they wanted an independent and sovereign state of Bosnia, within the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina? If, out of negligence, they forgot their name and who they once were, why did they unanimously decide on September 28, 1993, to return their original name „Bosniaks“ and the name „Bosnian language“ as the name of their mother tongue, including all the removed national attributes and its stolen history and state-building tradition, appropriated by others!?

The answer is as simple as it is devastating in its brutality:

Bosniaks have not been left without their name, without the name of their language, without their culture,

without their state-building tradition, without everything that belonged to them as a people and a nation, neither voluntarily, nor out of negligence or weak collective memory, but because it was all by force of law (hence lawlessness), taken away!

By political decisions motivated by the territorial pretensions of Serbian and Croatian nationalist circles, Bosniaks were forbidden to remember for more than a century and instead of remembering, oblivion was prescribed! A great injustice had been inflicted on them, unprecedented in the political history of the world, and this unheard of crime committed against them has been covered up. The victims of that crime - Bosniaks, an autochthonous people who have lived in the central Balkans since time immemorial and who for millennia represented and still make up the absolute majority in the whole of Bosnia (and Herzegovina), were simply crossed out and presented as a religious group formed in the late 15th century?? Bosniaks, the only natives of the Balkans, thus had their erased ethnic identity erased, their name taken away, the name of their language banned, their history and culture denied and were attributed the decree to the history and culture of Serbs and Croats, and Bosniaks themselves were explicitly permanently branded as apostates from the supposedly „ancestral faith“ whose followers they never were!

This truth should be constantly emphasized at every step, it should be introduced as a mandatory reading in all schools, it should be repeated again and again to every generation of Bosniaks! Let the Bosniaks themselves, but also the Serbs and Croats, as those who forbade the memory of Bosniaks and still do not recognize them today and deny the crimes and genocides they committed against Bosniaks, as well as those who accepted these ideological forgeries out of ignorance, just think : What would happen if today's Serbs and Croats were forced not to hear the name of their people anywhere for the next 100 years, neither in school, nor in a public place, nor in scientific debates, nor in political life or from the podium, never to hear the name of their people or the name of their language? What else would they remember if all their history and culture were presented to them as someone else's? How would they feel if, through four generations, all of them, from their earliest childhood, through their entire schooling, to the end of their lives, they were branded as criminals, mass murderers of civilians, children and the elderly, rapists and kidnappers, a mere floating mass of obscure origin, without its own tradition and culture!?

Let all politicians and all nations of the world ask themselves this question and think about it! When they understand all the enormous tragedy, injustice and violence of such a total ban on remembrance imposed on Bosniaks for more than a century, they will realize how unscrupulous, unjust and insatiable the ambition of the political regimes of Serbia and Croatia were, to physically destroy and spiritually annul Bosniaks as a separate people, to erase every trace of their national, cultural, spiritual, state-building existence! Only then will they be able to understand at least to some extent the proportions of injustice, the monstrous goal of violence and the tragic consequences that this brutal political project of the total erasure of the collective memory of Bosniaks had for four generations of Bosniaks - finally, consequences that Bosniaks suffer today and will feel for a long time!

**Bez referenduma
ne bi bilo Bosne**

BOSNA i HERCEGOVINA

FOTO: TURISTICKA AGENCIJA

**BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA
TO JE ZEMLJA
NA KOJOJ SAM ROĐEN,
NIK'O,
ODRASTAO
I ŽIVIM.
HOĆU DA TAKO BUDE
ZAUUVJEK**

**ZA
BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU**

OKU AKSI

ABDULAH KOLIJAKA: KAKO JE BIL BOSNA NEZAVISNOST
Srbi nisu htjeli, a Hrvati se kolebali

OSLOBODENJE

NE DAN REFERENDUMA O BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Odziv veoma dobar

U 14 godina Mirko Bešlić, predsjednik Republike Srbije, objavljuje prvi izjavu za medije na kojima se govori o budućnosti i budućem ustavno-pravnom statusu Bosne i Hercegovine. U izjavi Bešlić kaže kako je za njega najvažnije pitanje statusa Bosne i Hercegovine. U izjavi Bešlić kaže kako je za njega najvažnije pitanje statusa Bosne i Hercegovine.

BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKI NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK

OSLOBODJE
Sarajevo, godina LII • Broj 16781

ZAVRŠENO DVOEDNEVNO ZASJEDANJE SKUPŠTINE BiH

Proglasen Dan nezavisnosti

Oslobodnički borbeni pokret i narodni otpor u Bosni i Hercegovini, a 28. novembra 1991. godine, proglasili su nezavisnost Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Na saboru u Sarajevu, 28. novembra 1991. godine, proglasili su nezavisnost Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Na saboru u Sarajevu, 28. novembra 1991. godine, proglasili su nezavisnost Republike Bosne i Hercegovine.

This injustice cannot be corrected, nor can the consequences of this crime be compensated, but so much so that Bosniaks must be given full satisfaction by promoting the truth about the injustice inflicted on them and the crimes committed against these people at all levels of education and public life! It is true that Bosniaks, for the entire four generations, were forbidden the right to remember who they were, and even if anyone remembered, they were severely punished and silenced. Four generations of parents were not allowed to tell their children that they were Bosniaks, or that their parents were, or that there were ever any Bosniaks - until they themselves began to forget that! Bosniaks, both as a concept and as a term, were excluded from school textbooks, from political life not only as a people, but also as a term, as well as from scientific (therefore, necessarily: quasi-scientific) studies and debates. Three states had changed: Austro-Hungary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, SFR Yugoslavia; three political systems also changed: the imperial policy of Austro-Hungary, Serbian hegemony; federation of equal peoples and nationalities, in which everyone was equal - Bosniaks have always remained erased and registered as „Serbs“, „Croats“, „Undetermined“, „Yugoslavs“, „Muslims“, at all cost and never that what they were - Bosniaks! Through all these political changes, the ban on remembrance imposed on Bosniaks has remained unchanged!

The project of erasing the memory of Bosniaks, unprecedented in the entire history of mankind, was an almost fatal blow to the collective being and national consciousness of Bosniaks and caused permanent and irreparable damage to their historical development and national affirmation. Thousands and thousands of Bosniaks from each of these four generations have irrevocably been unborn from their ethnic, cultural and spiritual affiliation and permanently adopted the attributes of other people's identities. Many of them are still more active than ever in breaking from their national unity and regaining the memory of their original identity, advocating the abandonment of the Bosniak ethnic, spiritual and cultural matrix, proposing surrogates of empty territorial determinants as a replacement. Today, when the historical name is finally restored with so many sacrifices, they are giving it up!? So far they have boycotted it by not mentioning it, pushing it out of public use; now that is not enough for them, so they have already started openly, aggressively, imperatively - shamelessly! - demanding that Bosniaks completely give up their name, their cultural traditions and their spirituality!?

Did the 377 members of parliament and 80 delegates of the Bosniak Parliament, held on September 27-28, 1993 in Sarajevo, bombed day and night by the Serbian aggressor army, just gossip and gossip, did they not know what they were saying when they unanimously voted to return their national name of „Bosniaks“ ? And after all that, there are Bosniaks who are asking Bosniaks to stop being Bosniaks and become an empty territorial determinant - „Bosnians“ - in order to leave the status of the people on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, entirely to Serbs and Croats, and with Bosniaks once deleted, this time definitely. Removing Bosniaks from the historical scene - this is both the goal of the sponsors of this project of de-nationalization of Bosniaks, and the task of Bosniaks-quislings in charge of its realization, unsuccessfully hiding behind the narrative of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a „civil state“ in which Serbs would remain Serbs and Croats remained Croats, while Bosniaks would disappear in the fog of the determinant „Bosnians“, a poor group of „men without qualities“ from the book of the same name by Robert Muzil.

2. The role of the people/nation in the survival of the state: Bosniaks and the state of Bosnia

One should know: A people / nation can do without a state, a state cannot do without a people / nation Every nation is older than every state! The state does not create the people, but the people form the state. Bosniaks are older than Bosnia. There were Bosniaks even when Bosnia was not a state. But the state of Bosnia was not without Bosniaks. While there are Bosniaks, there will be Bosnians. Without Bosniaks who know and accept themselves as Bosniaks, there is no Bosnia, nor can there be! Because the real Bosnia is not a territory - Bosnia is a vision created from the collective spirit of generations and generations of Bosniaks. That Bosnia is worth defending and defending, for such a Bosnia it is worth dying and living!

Therefore, in the future, it is necessary to systematically, energetically, in all areas of life, use only the national name „Bosniaks“, as well as derivative „Bosniakism“, in order for today's generation to first be brought closer to their original name, then to be adopted, for it would become as normal and close to them as it is normal and close to every man to have his own name. In this way, the uneasiness, the embarrassment that the very word „Bosniak“ still causes in many Bosniaks, especially in Bosnia, will be gradually removed. Once, God willing, the national name and the name of the national language of all Bosniaks are gradually internalized, accepted, when fully adopted emotionally, they will return to a sense of love for their own people - Bosniaks, mature and with a strengthened awareness of the moral duty of each Bosniak towards their home country of Bosnia!

The dark saga, unprecedented in the history of the peoples of the world, known as the history of erasing the name „Bosniaks“, is also a history of systematically induced amnesia and forced coma that lasted for more than 100 years. First as Muslims, then as undecided, in one period „Yugoslavs“, and again as Muslims, this time with a capital „M“. Behind this seemingly generous offer, even an alleged concession, lurked an insidious trap: as Muslims, with a capital letter, they never were, nor could they be, as they were and what they are: a nation-building people in Bosnia! But that is why the name „Bosniaks“ was deleted, because they were precisely the nation-building people as Bosniaks. By erasing the national name „Bosniaks“ and accepting religious affiliation as the only common collective feature, all their ambitions in the realization of legitimate political demands for the exercise of collective rights were definitely sealed. The renewal of the campaign aimed at erasing the national name of Bosniaks and the name of their language intensified immediately after the act of their official renewal, on September 28, 1993. The reason that alarmed the opponents of restoring the memory of Bosniaks to their own name and identity, is quite clear today. It was the decision to return the national name and mother tongue name that was crucial for the national homogenization of Bosniaks and, so to speak, at the last minute, saved both Bosniaks as a people and Bosnia as a state.

By constituting themselves as a people, it is better to say: recognizing themselves and re-accepting themselves as a people, Bosniaks also recognized Bosnia as their homeland, inalienable, original, from time immemorial and *bir vaktile* their *vatan*, grandfather's land, hearth belonging to them! This self-awareness connected the

separated and disoriented stateless people who had been mostly Bosniaks until then, and melted them into a strong, indestructible community of emotionally close, spiritually poetic, ethnically related people.

Recognizing themselves, after the historical rupture, as a nation, Bosniaks once again became a nation! Because the people and the nation are not created by the power of political decisions or theoretical definitions, but are realities, facts that are manifested precisely in the sphere of spiritual common affiliation, through connection with a common history and a common future. By perceiving and accepting themselves in the critical moments from the beginning of the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, as one and always the same people, Bosniaks recognized a common enemy, directed against all of them as members of the same people. Mass executions and genocides committed in Bosnia during the aggression of 1992-95, flared up just after the aggressors realized that they no longer have an amorphous mass of individuals who headlessly seek salvation, but a nation aware of itself as a people and determined to defend its country as a people! In order to suppress the awakened national consciousness of Bosniaks, the aggressors did not kill either „Bosnians“ or „Herzegovinians“. not even some weird „Bosnians and Herzegovinians“ - but „Bosniaks“. When they realized that they had one true, united and connected people against them, their goal was to exterminate Bosniaks as a people (which is already contained in the term Genocide: *genus* - people, people of the same kind; *cid* - killing, therefore: killing, extermination of peoples), not just individuals, people as people, or even the population as the population. And to have against them an entire nation awakened from centuries of amnesia, faced with mortal danger, and determined to resist and defend itself, now meant to face imminent defeat.

The aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina was stopped and victory became possible only when Bosniaks organized and united nationally. Bosnia was defended by Bosniaks - since when have they become aware that they are one people, that they are Bosniaks! - in short, when from a mere mass of individuals, they connected and overnight transformed again into what they have always been: into a single nation!

As a people, Bosniaks have survived for centuries without their state of Bosnia, but Bosnia as it has always been, the Bosniak Bosnia, has survived by being preserved by Bosniaks. Bosnia as a state was renewed by the renewal of Bosniakism, by the fact that Bosniaks came to themselves, accepted themselves! That act of returning Bosniaks to Bosniaks saved Bosnia as a state – only this! The Jews survived as Jews for 2000 years without a state, and it was on the argument that throughout that period they remained Jews and survived as Jews, they got, as unjustly as possible, their state in the territory from which they had long since left. The seal of the territory of Bosnia was given by Bosniaks as a people. Bosniaks created the Bosnia Bosnia! Not only the state of Bosnia, but Bosnia, which they imagined, gave birth to from a common national being as an idea, bore it as a homeland and a hearth, as a nest! If there were no Bosniaks, there would be no Bosnia for a long time. When, in a particularly critical period for Bosnia, Austria-Hungary attacked Bosnia using the fact that the weakened Ottoman state, occupied by heavy wars in another part of the empire, could not send an army, Bosniaks self-organized and took up arms as a people and defended their Bosnia with a great victory over the Austro-Hungarian army in battle near Banja Luka in 1737!

3. Bosniaks - the foundation of the modern state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a necessary condition for its survival

The modern state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is *de jure* and *de facto*, divided into two, territorially almost completely equal parts in the ratio of 51%: 49%. At first glance, it may seem unusual that the civic concept of such a divided state, blocked by the Dayton Accords and complicated formally legal organizations, emphatically fragmented according to the principle of nationality, is most strongly advocated by some Bosniaks - indigenous and arguably the largest population in its entire territory. However, a closer analysis reveals that neither paradox nor the political ignorance of its protagonists is behind this demand. Namely, this is a consciously accepted task, commissioned by those political centers of Serbia and Croatia that have been trying to kidnap and appropriate Bosnia for more than a century. This is a task that can only be accomplished by abandoning the national identity of Bosniaks and erasing their ethnic, spiritual and cultural identity. According to this project, the process of de-nationalization and de-Islamization of Bosniaks should be realized by removing the originally and historically constituted ethnic, national and national name „Bosniaks“ and the adjective „Bosniak“ at all levels and officially replacing them with the names „Bosnians“ and / or „Bosnians and Herzegovinians“, with the adjectives „Bosnian“, and / or „Bosnian-Herzegovinian“, together with all the attributes of their special ethnic and national identity!

In a situation in which practically half of the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina is officially based on a strictly national determinant, which already in its name formally and legally emphasizes the exclusive right of Serbs to the entire territory of RS, by that name, to the question „Whose Republic is it?“ explicitly answers: „Srpska!“, while at the same time, Croats within the Federation equally apodictically insist on the exclusively Croatian national character of the parts of the common territory where Croats represent the majority, unilateral renunciation of Bosniaks from their own historical name, their cultural and spiritual tradition, obviously does not represent any political madness, but a consciously accepted project aimed at the (self) destruction of Bosniaks in all elements of their ethnic and national identity, which leads directly to the loss of their right to Bosnia and Herzegovina as the mother country of Bosniaks!

Today, March 1, 2021, on the Independence Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the last day of his term, Milorad Dodik, President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, rudely rejects the official congratulations of foreign statesmen, emphasizing that RS does not recognize that date because it has its own Statehood Day, January 9th. The fact that the decision on this date as the RS Independence Day was previously annulled by the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as by the international community and its High Representative, had no legal consequences. After those bans, in RS, that date is celebrated more festively than ever, with military parades and national celebrations! This is possible because the Federation and RS, which make up today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, are not complementary elements of a single political entity, but largely disparate political

creations with a high degree of autonomy without sufficiently effective instruments of political subordination to harmonize, synchronize or impose any form of a unified state.

The attempt to de-nationalize Bosniaks by changing their historical name, hiding behind the authority of contemporary political sociology, is more than unconvincing. Under the open influence and more or less discreet instructions from some centres of political world power, today the notions of people and nation in the current production of political sociology are mystified as if it were a political proposal that will be decided by a majority vote instead of arguments with real, objectively existing and long-clearly defined facts. As a result of this scientific submissiveness in contemporary political sociology and especially in political practice, two categories of nations appear equally:

1. nations that are;
2. nations that are not.

As an illustration of such methodological laxism and under the influence of political interests and dictates, we can cite the example of SFR Yugoslavia, in which, in addition to existing nations, two non-existent nations were officially recognized: „Muslims“ and „Yugoslavs“. This second non-existent nation was accepted mostly by Bosniaks de-nationalized into „undecided“ or „Muslims“, as well as by a number of citizens from ethnically mixed marriages, so that at one point, „Yugoslavs“ were the third „nation“ by number in SFRY! The effect of the administrative introduction of both of these non-existent nations was that Bosniaks officially disappeared as a nation and were reduced to a virtual construct of political sociology - a fictitious nation, a nation that is not, thus achieving the basic goal of such violence over facts.

Another example is Macedonia, where the attempt to nominate all citizens by nationality under the category „Macedonians“ initially failed because Albanians, Turks, Serbs, Roma, Bosniaks, Vlachs, for obvious reasons, could not accept to become fictitious. „Macedonians“, and at the same time to lose their real national status. Equally unacceptable was this proposal for Macedonians, who have a clearly demarcated national identity from all of the above.

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the proposal that Bosniaks, instead of their real national determinant, accept the status of a fictitious, non-existent nation „Bosnians“, i. e. „Bosnians and Herzegovinians“, while Serbs and Croats, would lead to the total de-nationalization of Bosniaks. Thus, this really existing autochthonous and most numerous nation on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina would come to a completely lost position in relation to Serbs and Croats in a state that is strictly divided according to the national principle into the Bosniak-Croat Federation and RS.

All this indicates that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a state where extreme nationalism is the highest principle and ultimate goal of the policy of both Serbs and Croats, advocating the de-nationalization of Bosniaks by replacing their original historical name with empty territorial determinants and abandoning their own cultural tradition and spiritual heritage, is not a consequence of some political stupidity, but is in fact a classic, carefully organized and consistently carried out high treason not only of Bosniaks, but also of Bosnia and Herzegovina as their home country!

BOSNO MOJA,

TI SI KLJUČ I LUK CIJELOG SVIJETA... IZA TEBE STOJI OTVOREN
PUT NA SVE KRAJEVE... ISTOKA I ZAPADA...

SVI SU HTJELI DA TE IMAJU DŽABA, A TI... A TI SE NISI DALA
NIKOME... DŽABA...

AKO MLEČANI NEĆE, HOĆE TURCI... SVI SU ISTI, ALI NEKI SU
BOLJI... A NEKI SU GORI... TI BIRAŠ BOLJEG KAD MOŽEŠ... BIRAŠ
GOREG KAD MORAŠ... UVIJEK BIRAŠ OD DVA ZLA MANJE ZLO ...

ALI, ZNAŠ: ZLO JE ZLO BILO MALO ILI VELIKO...

OTKAD ZNAŠ ZA SEBE, NE PRAVIŠ KRALJA ZA SEBE, VEĆ ZA
DRUGOG... TI SI NAJTRAŽENIJA ZA KING MEJKERA... TVOJI PLE-
MIĆI POSTADOŠE BEGOVIĆI... TVOJI BEGOVIĆI POSTADOŠE SLU-
GOVIĆI... ALI, TI SI BILA I OSTALA KRALJICA... NIKAD SE NISI

KRUNE ODREKLA... IAKO ZNAŠ: NEMA VIŠE NI TVOJIH PLEMIĆA NI
TVOJIH BEGOVIĆA... PRVI SU RAZBIJENI... DRUGI SU POBIJENI...

ALI, TI SI OSTALA KRALJICA UNATOČ SVIMA... TI SI KLJUČ I LUK
CIJELOG SVIJETA... IZA TEBE STOJI OTVOREN PUT NA SVE STRANE
SVIJETA...

TO ZNAJU TVOJI PRAVI SINOWI... ONI SU SADA TVOJI PLEMIĆI I
TVOJI BEGOVIĆI... ZA NJIH SI TI KRALJICA... ZA NJIH SI TI KLJUČ
I LUK... ZA NJIH SI TI KRALJICA KOJA SE BRANI SVOJOM LJEPOT-
TOM... KRALJICA KOJA KLJUČ DRŽI SVOJOM RUKOM... KRALJICA
KOJA LUK ZATEŽEŠ SVOJOM RUKOM...

KOJA LUK ZATEŽEŠ SVOJOM DUŠOM...
DUŠMANIMA SMETA TVOJA KRUNSKA LJEPOTA... SMETA IM TVOJA KRALJEVSKA RUKA...
SMETA IM TVOJA DOBRA BOSANSKA DUŠA... ONI HOĆE DA TI UNAKAZE LICE... HOĆE DA
TI OTSJEKU RUKU... HOĆE DA TI OTRUJU DUŠU... ALI, ONI TI NE MOGU NIŠTA...
LJEPOTA MJESeca NA NEBU JE NJIMA NEDOHVATLJIVA... KRALJEVSKA RUKA TVOJA
NJIMA JE MUKA... DUŠA TVOJA JE ČISTA **BOSANSKA RIJEKA** KOJA NEPRESUŠNO IZVIRE
OD PAMTIVIEKA... NISAM ZABRINUT...

BOSNO MOJA... TI NISI MUHTAČ MOJOJ MILOSTI... JA SAM MUHTAČ TVOJOJ SAMILOSTI...
ŠTO NE ZNAM DA CIJENIM TVOJU KRALJEVSKE LJEPOTU... ŠTO NISAM DOSTOJAN
TVOGA KRALJEVSKOG KLJUČA... ŠTO NE ZNAM DA DIŠEM TVOJOM **BOSANSKOM**
DUŠOM...

OPROSTI NAM, **BOSNO**, MI TI VIŠE NISMO NI PLEMIĆI NI BEGOVIĆI...

dr. Mustafa Cerić

Bosznia.
Régibb.

4. „I am reed, but unsinkable!“

the great French philosopher and mathematician Blaise Pascal, among his aphorisms, has one that reads: „I am a reed, but a reed that thinks!“ This aphorism is his answer to the fact that man, a mortal and weak being as he is, is just a mere reed - but a reed that thinks! With this key addition, he at the same time reminds us that self-consciousness, therefore, a thought that knows itself, that is self-aware, transcends all limitations, all transience. In the light of this truth, from a fragile reed, man suddenly rises to heights unattainable by all other beings! If, in one sense, man is truly a reed, in another more important sense, the self-conscious man is an unbreakable reed, for the thought in it is more than any reed, more than any tree no matter how large!

History confirms that, without the ability to think, all nations, not just individuals, ultimately the entire human race, are really just - reeds! Some reed peoples were exposed to stronger and some to weaker winds. No matter how big and strong it was, every nation, at one time, was exposed to the whirlwinds that turned it into reeds. Whether they managed to stay where they sprouted, or were blown away by stormy winds, all reed peoples survived or perished in the same way that every man survives or perishes: by preserving self-awareness or losing it! The Jews were uprooted by the whirlwinds from the ground on which they sprang and blew them up around the world like reeds. Yet everywhere and always, they kept alive the thought of themselves, remained where they were, what they were, and so they preserved themselves as a people and after two thousand years returned, albeit with international injustice, to the ground from which they were uprooted. Only those nations that, in all circumstances and throughout the history of their existence, have maintained awareness of themselves as a nation - have survived! Not only have members of those nations of which, after systematic physical destruction, only a few communities remained, preserved the idea of themselves as a people, remained equally authentic and aware of their collective affiliation and identity, but even the last Mohican is self-aware, was - a Mohican! - nothing less than what was sown by this people / tribe. On the other hand, the peoples who left their self-consciousness and thus actually renounced themselves, completely disappeared without a trace in the peoples into which they merged, so that hundreds of thousands of such people are less „Mohicans“ than the last one. Thought turns ordinary reed into an unbreakable tree; the absence of thought turns even the most powerful tree into an ordinary reed!

And therefore, God do not forgive those who demand that Bosniaks give up their Bosniak consciousness and become just a reed - because they know what they are doing! They know that, as long as Bosniaks know themselves as Bosniaks, as long as there is a living thought in them about who they are and what they are, what their name is, what the language they speak was called, what the foundations of their culture were and what their values are, their spiritualities, as well as all nations - after all, like every living man - if they are a reed, they are a reed that thinks! Now, when more and more people are persuading them to give up thinking about themselves as a people, Bosniaks can only remember themselves, their name, the name of their language, the foundations of

their culture, the highest values of their spirituality - they never for a moment get out of their minds and drop out of their hands. Let them stick to it like a reed, because if it is a reed - it is unsinkable! Because, only that reed can save them today from the total self-destruction into which they are being pushed, as it has always saved them!

There is no Bosnia without Bosniaks! This was well understood by those who, all these years since the plebiscite return of the national name „Bosniaks“, tirelessly dig and persuade Bosniaks to give up themselves, their self-awareness, to stop thinking, in short, to become - a mere reed! To thwart their plans, there is only one necessity: To keep Bosniaks - Bosniaks!

The first condition for success is simple: one should systematically, energetically, consistently and without exception in all areas of life, use only the national name „Bosniaks“, as well as the derivative „Bosniakism“. Thus, gradually, the original name will first approach today's generation, make it as normal and close as it is normal and close to each person's own name. At the same time, the uneasiness, the embarrassment that their historical, true and only name still causes in many Bosniaks, especially those from Bosnia, will be lost and thinned. In this way, the national name and the name of the national language will be gradually adopted, internalized, accepted, which will enable the renewal of an authentic sense of connection, mutual attachment and love for their own Bosniak people, and enable the formation of a clear awareness of the moral duty of every Bosniak to their motherland of Bosnia!

When the new generations of Bosniaks like their ethnic, national, national name, when they love it as they love their own name everywhere, they will fall in love with their own people through their names! Once renewed, the memory and acceptance of the national name will revive Bosniaks as a people and a nation, and make them close and precious to all the attributes of their national language, indigenous history, culture, spirituality and statehood!

And when they get used to their name as to themselves, Bosniaks will gain the awareness of belonging to their own nation and they will feel Bosnia as their own - state, grandfatherland, homeland, *vatan*, homeland, no matter how, but always as - their own! And it will transmit that noble feeling, tradition, culture, from generation to generation, in the Bosnian language, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighbouring countries, but around the world wherever Bosniaks live!

• NIKO NE ZNA GDJE JE ONA • MALO ZNAMO AL JE ZNANO • IZA GORE IZA DOLA • IZA SEDAM IZA OSAM • I JOŠ DALJE I JOŠ GORE •
PREKO GORKIH PREKO MORNJIH • PREKO GLOGA PREKO DRAČE • PREKO ŽEGE PREKO STEGE • PREKO SLUTNJE PREKO SUMNJE • IZA
DESET IZA DESET • I JOŠ DUBLJE I JOŠ JAČE • IZA SLUTNJE IZA TMAČE • GDJE PJETLOVI NE PJEVAJU • GDJE SE NE ZNA ZA GLAS ROG
• I JOŠ HUDE I JOŠ LUDE • IZA UMA IZA BOGA • IMA JEDNA MODRA RIJEKA • ŠIROKA JE DUBOKA JE • STO GODINA
ŠIROKA JE • TISUĆ LJEĆA DUBOKA JEST • O DULJINI I NE SANJAJ • TMA I TMUŠA NEPREBOLNA • STO GODINA ŠIROKA JE • IMA
JEDNA MODRA RIJEKA • IMA JEDNA MODRA RIJEKA • VALJA NAMA PREKO RIJEKE •

Modra rijeka, Mak Dizdar

No one knows where it is • We don't know much, but it's common knowledge • Behind a hill, behind the valley • Behind seven, behind eight •
And further and further even more • Across tired ones, across bitter ones • Across hawthorne, across thorny bushes • Across great heat, across tight
discipline • Through a hunch, through a doubt • Behind nine, behind ten • And deeper more, and more harder • Beyond silence, beyond great
darkness • Where roosters do not sing • Where the sound of a horn is unheard of • And more ominous and crazier even • Beyond the mind, beyond
God • [Chorus] • There is a blue river • It is wide, it is deep • It is a hundred years wide • A thousand years deep • Of length dare not even to
dream • Dark and darkest darkness impossible to overcome • There is a blue river • There is a blue river • [Chorus] • We are to go across the river

•Blue River, translation, musical-group Indexi

ВЪ ЛЕТО ЗРГ М(Е) С(Е) ЧА А СЕ ДЕЖН РАБ БОЖИ
ФЕВРА(РА) ОД ВАМЕТЬ ИО
АНУ ВЛАДКОВ ОРГАЦКА А СЕ ДЕЖН РАД
СРБЕВИДЬ Е(О) АА МРСО(О) НА

MEHMED A. AKŞAMIYA,
Ornament VIIb, 2000.

MEHMED A. AKŞAMIYA,
Ornament VIIb, 2000.