

19.-22.10.2017.

# POLITIKE IZGRADNJE MIRA U REGIJI: OPTEREĆENJA PROŠLOSTI I VIZIJE BUDUĆNOSTI

Mjesto održavanja konferencije:  
Fakultet političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu



Uz podršku:



PRO-Budućnost



U saradnji sa:





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# **POLITIKE IZGRADNJE MIRA U REGIJI: OPTEREĆENJA PROŠLOSTI I VIZIJE BUDUĆNOSTI**

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## Uvodnik

Bosna i Hercegovina je civilizacijsko postignuće života različitosti u jedinstvu.

To jedinstvo nikada nije bilo harmonično niti idilično. Ali je u svim historijski mijenjama tokom dugotrajne povijesti održavano i svjedočeno. Bosanskohercegovačke različitosti – etničke, religijske, političke, kulturne, dijalektološke - u svim historijskim periodima bile su na iskušenju, podrivate kako od unutranjih partikularnosti tako od njihovih spoljnih pomagača. Ljudi ove zemlje svjedoče malo razdoblja mira i prosperiteta. Ali i ta rijetka vremena pružaju legitimnu nadu i uvjerenje da je miran suživot različitosti i poželjan i moguć te da je sam po sebi civilizacijska, etička i politička vrijednost.

Danas se Bosna i Hercegovina nalazi u svojevrsnom procijepu integrativnih i dezintegrativnih procesa. Njeni integrativni procesi, zasnovani na savremenim političkim dostignućima, demokratskim zasadima i evropskim političkim vrijednostima, potrebuju šire razumijevanje, prije svega neposrednog okruženja, tj. regiona kao i same evropske zajednice naroda. Ovakvo mirovno usmjerjenje, uvjereni smo, ima snažnu podršku najvećeg broja građana, stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine, budući su vrijednosti mira, sigurnosti, prosperiteta i ukupnog životnog boljštka bazične vrijednosti svakog čovjeka.

Ovakvu dobrobit bosanskohercegovačkim ljudima priječe brojni faktori, prije svega politički sistem zemlje, njegova etnička determinacija na kojoj su izrasle političke snage koje etničke razlike ljudi instrumentaliziraju u vlastite svrhe.

Bosna i Hercegovina je kao država i društvo zbog svoje prije svega etno-religijske heteronomnosti umnogome regionalno kontekstualizirana. Odnosno, politički procesi iz susjednih država Srbije i Hrvatske u velikoj mjeri uslovjavaju i karakter odnosa između bosanskohercegovačkih kulturnih partikularnosti. U tom smislu projekt izgradnje mira, suživota i povjerenja u Bosni i Hercegovini jeste zadaća prvenstveno njenih ljudi i

njihovih političkih predstavnika ali je taj proces sam po sebi neizvodiv bez njegove potpore iz okruženja.

Na ovaj regionalni aspekt mira se svakako treba dodati i aktuelni proces evroatlantskih integracija koji u percepciji ovdašnjih ljudi prije svega ima mir i stabilnost kao osnovne vrijednosti.

Uvjereni smo i sigurni, a to su i očekivanja domaćih ljudi ,da će proces evropeizacije bosanskohercegovačkog okruženja, a koji pored svih zastoja ipak teče, biti važan činilac i harmoniziranja odnosa kako u regionu tako i u samoj Bosni i Hercegovini.

Nadamo se da će sudionici Konferencije dati doprinos oživotvorenju vrijednostima slobode i dostojanstva pojedinca te podržati izgradnju mira i povjerenja na ovim prostorima. Želimo im dobrodošlicu i uspješan rad.

**Prof. dr Šaćir Filandra**

Dekan Fakulteta političkih nauka  
Univerzitet u Sarajevu



## *Editorial*

*Bosnia and Herzegovina is a civilizational achievement of diversity in unity.*

*Such unity has never been harmonious or idyllic. However, it maintained itself and was recorded during all historical changes in its history. The diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina – ethnic, religious, political, cultural and dialectological diversity – during all historical periods was at risk, undermined both by internal actors and their external accomplices. Persons from this country have experienced few periods of peace and prosperity. However, such rare periods give a legitimate hope and confidence that peaceful coexistence of diversities is both desirable and possible and that it is a civilizational, ethical and political value in itself.*

*Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina is caught in a double bind between integrative and disintegrative processes. Its integrative processes, based on modern political achievements, democratic bases and European political values, require a wider understanding, primarily of the immediate surrounding, i.e. the region, but also the European community of peoples. We are convinced that such a peace focus is strongly supported by the majority of citizens, inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, given the fact that values such as peace, security, prosperity and overall life standard improvement are fundamental values of every man.*

*Such well-being is unattainable for nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina due to numerous factors, and especially due to the ethnicity-based political system of the country, which resulted in political powers that are exploiting ethnic differences between persons for their own purposes.*

*Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state and society is to a large extent regionally contextualised due to its ethnic and religious heterogeneity. This is to say that political processes from the neighbouring countries, Serbia and Croatia, also condition to*

*a large extent the nature or relations between Bosnian and Herzegovinian cultural actors. In this respect, a peace, co-existence and trust building project in Bosnia and Herzegovina is primarily a task of its people and its political representatives, however, the process as such cannot be implemented without support from the region. In addition to the regional aspect of peace, one should certainly also consider the current process of Euro-Atlantic integration, which is seen by the people who live here as based on peace and stability as its core values.*

*We are convinced, and these are also the expectations of people who live here, that the process of EU accession in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is continuing in spite of all delays, will be an important factor for regulating relations both in the region and in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself.*

*We hope that conference participants contribute to the realization of the values of individual freedom and dignity and that they support building peace and trust in this region. We wish them a warm welcome and successful work.*

**Prof. Dr. Šaćir Filandra**  
Dean of the Faculty of Political Science  
University of Sarajevo





Drage/i učesnice/ci,

Više od 20 godina je prošlo od ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, ali region i dalje ulaze napore u izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću. Ovom konferencijom želimo otvoriti pitanja o politici izgradnje mira u regionu: Šta su opterećenja prošlosti, kakve su vizije za budućnost? Sretni smo što organizujemo konferenciju u Sarajevu, u Bosni i Hercegovini, u zemlji i društvu gdje su ova pitanja od presudnog značaja.

Tokom skoro četiri dana konferencije, poznati akademici, predstavnici civilnog društva, i mladi istraživači iz nekoliko zemalja će istaknuti različita gledišta, te pristupiti temi iz različitih uglova i pozadina. Kao organizacija civilnog društva koja se bavi suočavanjem sa prošlošću i izgradnjom mira, uvjereni smo da su teorija i praksa, kao i razmjena i saradnja između akademije i civilnog društva neophodni da bi razumjeli kontekst i njegovu složenost, te razvili pristupe za izgradnju mira. Veliko interesovanje za konferenciju i tjesan raspored konferencije, sa velikim brojem značajnih izlaganja nam je znak da su pitanja kojima se ona bavi zaista važna. Izgradnja mira se tiče sviju nas. Veoma se radujemo novim uvidima, dubljem razumijevanju i plodnim razgovorima na konferenciji.

**Judith Brand**

Forum Civilna mirovna služba

Program menadžerica u Bosni i Hercegovini

Forum civilna mirovna služba (forumZFD) je njemačka organizacija osnovana 1996. godine. ForumZFD realizuje projekte Civilne mirovne službe na Bliskom istoku, Zapadnom Balkanu i na Filipinima. Na Zapadnom Balkanu forumZFD se fokusira na suočavanje s prošlošću i izgradnju mira; blisko sarađuje sa civilnim društvom, institucijama i medijima kako bi zajednički sprovodili aktivnosti. Više informacija na: <https://westernbalkans.forumzfd.org/en>

*Dear participants,*

*More than 20 years have passed after the wars in former Yugoslavia, but the region still seems to struggle with peacebuilding and facing its past. With the conference, we want to raise the question on the politics of peacebuilding in the region: what are burdens from the past, what are visions for the future? We are very happy to be able to organize the conference in Sarajevo, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a country and society where those issues are of crucial importance.*

*During the nearly four days of the conference, widely known academicians, civil society representatives, young scholars from several countries will highlight various aspects, approach the topic from different angles and backgrounds. As a civil society organization engaged in dealing with the past and peacebuilding, we are strongly convinced that both theory and practise, exchange and cooperation among academia and civil society are necessary in order to understand the context and its complexity, and to develop approaches for peacebuilding. The high interest in the conference and the tight schedule with a large number of promising presentations are a sign to us that the questions we address with the conference are indeed important issues. Peacebuilding concerns us all. We are very much looking forward to new insights, deeper understanding and fruitful discussions.*

**Judith Brand**

*Forum Civil Peace Service*

*Programme Manager Bosnia and Herzegovina*

*Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD) is a German organisation that was established in 1996. forumZFD carries out projects of the Civil Peace Service in the Middle East, through the Western Balkans and the Philippines. In the Western Balkans, forumZFD focuses on dealing with the past and peacebuilding; it cooperates closely with civil society actors, institutions and media to jointly implement activities. More information: <https://westernbalkans.forumzfd.org/en>*



Poštovani/e učesnici/e konferencije,

Za nas, Southeast Europa Association (SOG), zadovoljstvo je biti partner na ovoj konferenciji koja se bavi važnim temama za region i pokreće pitanja o suočavanju sa teškom prošlošću, ali i razmatra potencijale za budućnost. Bosna i Hercegovina, kao i susjedne zemlje u regionu, oduvijek su bile važne za SOG i njene članice. SOG, kao organizacija koja za cilj ima podsticanje akademskog dijaloga, društveno-kulturne razmjene i političke debate, podržava ovu konferenciju koja ima odgovarajući pristup i okuplja poznate članove akademske zajednice iz različitih zemalja, mlade istraživače i predstavnike civilnog društva.

Pitanja poput kako se suočiti sa prošlošću u veoma podijeljenim društvima, da li i kako međunarodni akteri doprinose izgradnji mira, uloga obrazovanja, uključujući univerzitete, su od velikog značaja ne samo za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i region, već i za akademsko-politički diskurs u Europi uopšte.

Želimo plodne debate i razmjenu, i radujemo se dalnjem razgovoru o ishodima i uvidima koje će pružiti ova konferencija.

**Dr Hansjörg Brey,**

izvršni direktor

Southeast Europe Association (SOG)

Southeast Europe Association (Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft – SOG) je organizacija koja nastoji premostiti političku debatu kroz naučni dijalog i društveno-kulturne razmjene o Jugoistočnoj Europi. SOG se zasniva na individualnom članstvu i institucionalno ga podržava Njemački savezni vanjski ured u Berlinu. Od svog osnivanja 1952. godine, SOG je važna organizacija za vezu njemačke vanjske politike. Više informacija na: [www.sogde.org](http://www.sogde.org)



*Dear participants of the conference,*

*It is a pleasure for the Southeast Europa Association (SOG) to be a partner for this conference that deals with important topics for the region and raises questions on dealing with difficult pasts but also looking into potentials for the future. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as neighbouring countries in the region, have always been of great interest to the SOG and its members. The SOG as organization that aims at bridging academic dialogue, socio-cultural exchange and political debate is supporting this conference that has a corresponding approach and brings together well-known academics from various countries, young researchers and civil society representatives.*

*Issues on how to face the past in highly fragmented societies, how international actors are contributing to peace building or not, the role of education, including of universities are of high importance not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, but to an academic-political discourse in Europe in general.*

*We wish fruitful debates and exchange and are looking forward to further discussing outcomes and insights of this conference.*

**Dr. Hansjörg Brey**

*Executive Director*

*Southeast Europe Association (SOG)*

*The Southeast Europe Association (Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft – SOG) is an organization that seeks to bridge political debate with scientific dialog and socio-cultural exchange about Southeast Europe. The SOG is based on individual membership and is being supported institutionally by the German Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. Since its establishment in 1952 the SOG is an important liaison organization for German foreign policy. More information: [www.sogde.org](http://www.sogde.org)*



## Kolegice i kolege, dragi učesnici i učesnice Konferencije „Politike izgradnje mira u regiji: opterećenja prošlosti i vizije budućnosti“

Kraj dvadesetog stoljeća ostaje trajno upisan u naša sjećanja kao vrijeme smrti, kao doba u kojem je političko, vojno i kulturno nasilje trijumfiralo, odvodeći našu regiju na stranputicu historije.

Suočeni sa posljedicama agresivnih ratova devedesetih godina proteklog stoljeća, a koji su fundamentalno ugrozili naše zajedničko naslijeđe i naše novoformirane političke zajednice, upućeni smo, kao znanstvenici i kao odgovorna misleća bića na izgradnju mira, na stvaranje uvjeta koji će trajno onemogućiti ponovno izbijanje međudržavnog, međuetničkog i međuvjerskog nasilja. Mir je regulativna ideja uma, um je instrument naše spoznaje svijeta te se kao kriterij istine mir pojavljuje kao najviše dobro, kao trijumf boljih anđela naše prirode. No, da bi mir u našoj regiji progresivno rastao kao ireverzibilan proces, kao siguran indikator nastupanja veće epohe mira, prošlost, naročito bliska prošlost koja je uprljana nepojamnim zločinima, uključujući i zločine protiv čovječnosti i zločin genocida, mora biti odgovorno interpretirana, bez bilo kakvog zazora pred teškim pitanjima, pa tako i onima koji s naših izmaštanih, lažnih, ideologičkih predstava skidaju koprenu licemjerja i organiziranog zaborava.

Sarajevska konferencija koju organiziramo na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, u svetom gradu univerzalne ljudske povijesti patnje i nade, proizvest će, istinski se nadam, debatu o historijskim opterećenjima koja usložnjavanju progresivne i emancipatorske vizije budućnosti, ali i koja se instrumentaliziraju u pojasu prezenta od strane neodgovornih nacionalističkih, rušilačkih i kolosalno neodgovornih politika čiji protagonisti uporno odbijaju stvarati uvjete za transformaciju regije iz negativnog u pozitivni mir, iz pukog odsustva radikalnog nasilja u društva slobode i pravde. Na znanstvenicima, koji su odgovorni za razne vrste mode, a naročito za nacionalizam

kao najgoru vrstu mode težak je zadatak: kako bez banalizacije, autoviktimizacije i ideologičke ostrašćenosti, tragati za istinom, koja će kad-tad dovesti u pitanje lažne proroke i pristajanje da se služi zlatnom teletu.

Naš znanstveni forum, koji organiziramo u Sarajevu, kao nastavak veoma uspješne konferencije sličnog formata na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2015.godine, izrodit će, sigurno, i mnogo neslaganja, teorijskih i vrijednosnih razilaženja, nisu isključene ni priželjkivane tačke slaganja i interpretativnog konsenzusa, no, važno je, da, bez eritrističkih sklonosti, svojim radovima i diskusijama pridonesemo razumijevanju okidača nasilja na zapadnom Balkanu i stvaranju uvjeta za budućnost, koja neće biti tek puka metafizička činjenica već destinacija dobrog života i zdravog razuma.

U budućnosti, koja, uvjeren sam u to, uključuje i ovu sarajevsku konferenciju odgovornih i istini odanih istraživača, neće biti moralne identifikacije sa ratnim zločincima, naredbodavcima i egzekutorima masovnog ubistva naroda. Ako svojim argumentacijama doprinesemo stvaranju uvjeta za okončanje histerične kulture poricanja, ako kulturu sjećanja učinimo instrumentom odgovorne budućnosti a ne instrumentom trajnog boravka u lošoj prošlosti, te ako odanost istini prepostavimo naciju, već smo stupili na stazu mira. Mira, koji ne relativizira, ne eutanazira i ne regresira, već mira koji dinamizira i doprinosi razvoju naših država i zajedničke regije. To je, možda, utopijski horizont ali produktivna nacionalistička zbilja zahtijeva neočekivanog protivnika. Predlažem da mi, učesnici ove Konferencije budemo taj protivnik. Živjeli!

**Prof.dr.sc. Nerzuk Ćurak**

Predsjednik Programskega odbora



## *Colleagues, dear participants of the conference "Building peace in the region: burdens from the past and visions for the future"*

*The end of the 20th century rests forever inscribed in our memory as a time of death, as a period in which political, military and cultural violence has triumphed, carrying away our region to the sideways of history.*

*Faced with the consequences of the aggressive wars of the Nineties, which fundamentally jeopardised our common heritage and our newly formed political communities, we, as scientists and as responsible beings invested into peacebuilding, are versed to create conditions that will permanently make it impossible that interstate, interethnic and interreligious violence breaks out again. Peace is a regulative idea of the mind, the mind as an instrument of our understanding of the world. Peace, as a criterion of truth, appears as the ultimate good, the triumph of our nature's better angels. However, in order for peace to grow progressively in our region as an irreversible process, as a secure indicator for the appearance of a bigger époque of peace, the past, particularly the recent past which is blotted by unthinkable crimes, including crimes against humanity and genocide, needs to be interpreted responsibly, without any kind of backlash against difficult questions, especially those questions which take the veil of hypocrisy and organized neglect off our false, ideological apprehensions.*

*I hope that this conference, which we are organizing at the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Sarajevo, and in Sarajevo, the holy city of universal human history of suffering and hope, will truly open a substantial debate. This is a debate on historical burdens which complicate progressive and emancipatory visions of the future, instrumentalized by nationalistic, destructive and colossally irresponsible politics whose protagonists assertively refuse to create conditions for the region's transformation*



*from negative to positive peace; from bare absence of radical violence to societies of freedom and justice. For scientists, who are responsible for different kinds of fashions, in particular nationalism as the worst form of fashion, the task is tough: how, without banalization, self-victimization and ideological fervour, to search for the truth, the truth which will, sooner or later, scrutinize the false prophets and the enthusiastic worship of the golden calf.*

*Our scientific forum which we organize in this city, as a continuation of the very successful conference of a similar format at the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Belgrade in 2015, will surely generate a lot of disagreement, theoretical divergences and discrepancies of values. Points of interpretative consensus are neither excluded nor aimed for, however, it is important that we, through our works and discussions, without any kind of siding, contribute to understanding of the trigger of violence in Western Balkans, and to creation of the conditions for a future as a destination of a good life and healthy mind, rather than a bare metaphysical fact.*

*In the future, which, I am convinced, includes this Sarajevo conference as well, there will be no morale identification with war criminals, commanders and executors of mass killings. If we, with our argumentation, contribute to the creation of conditions to end the hysterical culture of denial; if we make the culture of remembrance an instrument for a responsible future and not an instrument of permanent stay in a bad past, and if we put the commitment to the truth above the commitment to the nation, then we are on the way to peace. A peace that does not relativize, nor euthanize or regress, but a peace which dynamizes and contributes to the development of our countries and the region. This is, maybe, an utopian horizon. However, a productive nationalistic reality demands an unexpected opponent. I propose that we, the participants of this conference, be that opponent. Živjeli!*

**Prof.dr.sc. Nerzuk Ćurak**

*President of the Organising Committee*

## Agenda

### KONFERENCIJA

# POLITIKE IZGRADNJE MIRA U REGIJI:

OPTEREĆENJA PROŠLOSTI  
I VIZIJE BUDUĆNOSTI

Radni jezici konferencije su bosanski/hrvatski/srpski i engleski jezik. Izlaganja koja su u agendi označena sa (E) su na engleskom jeziku. Prevod na engleski jezik je obezbijeden za panele 3 i 5.

**Četvrtak, 19.10.2017. godine**  
**Amfiteatar Fakulteta političkih nauka**  
**Uvod i moderacija:**  
**Nerzuk Čurak, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu**

18.00	<b>Keynote:</b> Nenad Dimitrijević, Centralno Evropski Univerzitet, Budimpešta, <i>Moralne osnove izgradnje mira</i>
18.45	Diskusija
<b>19.30</b>	<b>Koktel</b>

**Petak, 20.10.2017. godine**

9.00 – 9.30	<b>Registracija učesnika</b>
9.30 – 10.00	<b>Uvodna obraćanja:</b> Šaćir Filandra, dekan Fakulteta političkih nauka Judith Brand, Forum civilna mirovna služba (forumZFD) Tobias Flessenkemper, Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft
	<b>Panel 1:</b> <b>Interpretacije Bosne i Hercegovine u nacionalnim vizurama</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Asim Mujkić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu</b>
10.00	Dejan Jović, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, <i>Izgradnja mira u teorijama međunarodnih odnosa: primjenjivost na regiju Zapadnog Balkana</i>
10.15	Šaćir Filandra, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Politike historije – (de)konstrukcija narativa</i>
10.30	Damirka Mihaljević, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Mostaru, <i>Političko obrazovanje kao odgovor na probleme demokratizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini</i>
10.45	Sead Turčalo, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Interpretacije domovine/otadžbine u nacionalnim obrazovnim platformama: etničko kodiranje Bosne i Hercegovine</i>
11.00	Slavo Kukić, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Mostaru, <i>Nordijski model kao rješenje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu</i>
11.15	Asim Mujkić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Klasni karakter (ne)mira: studija slučaja Bosna i Hercegovina</i>
11.30 – 12.15	Diskusija
<b>12.15 – 13.15</b>	<b>Pauza za ručak</b>

	<p><b>Panel 2:</b>  <b>Izgradnja mira u suvremenoj Bosni i Hercegovini: izazovi i pouke</b>  <b>Moderatorica:</b>  <b>Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Istočnom Sarajevu</b></p>
13.15	Nebojša Vladislavljević, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu, <i>Demokratija i upravljanje sukobima u etnički podeljenim društvima</i>
13.30	Sabina Čehajić Clancy, Odsjek za političke nauke i međunarodne odnose, Sarajevska škola za nauku i tehnologiju, i Michal Bilewicz, Fakultet psihologije, Univerzitet u Varšavi, <i>Podsticanje pomirenja među grupama kroz moralne primjere</i>
13.45	Dino Abazović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Mir, socijalna rekonstrukcija i organizirana religija: studija slučaja Bosna i Hercegovina</i>
14.00	Jelena Golubović, Odsjek za sociologiju i antropologiju, Univerzitet Simon Fraser (Kanada), <i>Tiho rečeno: Usmena historija Sprkinja u Sarajevu (E)</i>
14.15	Amila Ždralović, Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Kapaciteti i ograničenja ženske mirovne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini</i>
14.30	Miloš Šolaja, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, <i>Konstruktivistički pristup međunarodne zajednice u postjugoslovenskoj krizi: studija slučaja Bosna i Hercegovina</i>
14.45	Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet Istočno Sarajevo, <i>Procesi pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini i regiji: rodni ekskursi</i>
15.00 – 15.45	Diskusija
<b>15.45 – 16.00</b>	<b>Kafe pauza</b>
	<p><b>Panel 3:</b>  <b>Uloga vanjskih aktera u procesu izgradnje mira u regiji</b>  <b>Moderator:</b>  <b>Vedran Džihić, Institut za političke nauke, Univerzitet u Beču</b></p>
16.00	Marie Janine Calic, Fakultet za historiju i umjetnost, Univerzitet Ludwig Maximilian, <i>Uloga EU: (ne)naučene lekcije (E)</i>
16.15	Beatrix Austin, Berghof Fondacija, <i>Vanjski akteri: razbijanje ili održavanje kulture žrtve u izgradnji mira (E)</i>
16.30	Hamza Karčić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Sjećanje na Srebrenicu: komparativna analiza rezolucija američkog Kongresa i Evropskog parlamenta</i>

16.45	Armina Galijaš, Centar za jugoistočne europske studije, Univerzitet Graz, <i>Ekonomija mira: investori i turisti (ni)su dobrodošli! Sarajevo i njegovo arapsko ekonomsko proljeće</i>
17.00	Vedran Džihić, Institut za političke nauke, Univerzitet u Beču, <i>Stabilokracija i (ne)mir u Bosni i Hercegovini: proturječnosti i kontradiktornosti vanjskih aktera u procesu izgradnje mira u Bosni i Hercegovini i regiji</i>
17.15 – 18.00	Diskusija

**Subota, 21.10.2017. godine**

**Uvod: Nermina Mujagić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu**

9.30	<p><b>Keynote:</b> Stef Jansen, Univerzitet u Mančesteru, <i>(Ne)događaji u Dejtonskom međuvremenu</i></p>
10.15 – 11.00	Diskusija
<b>11.00 – 11.15</b>	<b>Kafe pauza</b>
	<p><b>Panel 4:</b>  <b>Tranzicijska pravda i kultura sjećanja</b>  <b>Moderator:</b>  <b>Zarije Seizović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu</b></p>
11.15	Ljiljana Radonić, Odsjek za političke nauke, Univerzitet u Beču, <i>Od rata sjećanja na post-jugoslavenskom prostoru do izgradnje mira u regiji</i>
11.30	Radmila Nakarada, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu, i Jelena Volić – Hellbusch, Beogradski fond za političku izuzetnost, <i>Pomirenje i zaborav, bekstvo od istorije</i>
11.45	Vjollca Krasniqi, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Prištini, <i>Suočavanje sa prošlošću: rodna i poslijeratna pravda na Kosovu (E)</i>
12.00	Vjeran Pavlaković, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Rijeci, <i>Od osporavanih narativa do kontroverznih spomenika: izazovi memorijalizacije u postratnoj Hrvatskoj (E)</i>
12.15	Neruzik Ćurak, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Pamćenje zaborava i zaborav sjećanja: kultura poricanja u postdejtonskoj Bosni i Hercegovini</i>
12.30	Zarije Seizović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Kolektivna odgovornost i kultura poricanja: balkanski koncept poimanja krivice</i>
12.45 – 13.30	Diskusija
<b>13.30 – 14.30</b>	<b>Pauza za ručak</b>

	<b>Panel 5:</b> <b>Civilno društvo i izgradnja mira</b> <b>Moderatorica:</b> <b>Judith Brand, forumZFD</b>
14.30	Enver Đuliman, Norveški Helsinški komitet, <i>Mirovna uloga univerziteta</i>
14.45	Marko-Antonio Brkić, Sveučilište Hercegovina i Davor Marko, Centar za društvena istraživanja Analitika – Sarajevo, Koncept izgradnje mira – što smo razumjeli, što smo naučili, što nas čeka?
15.00	Nebojša Šavija – Valha, Nansen Dijalog Centar Sarajevo, Repolitizacija procesa izgradnje mira u BiH – od međuetničkog dijaloga do protesta: <i>Slučaj Jajce</i>
15.15	Andrea Zemskov-Züge, Berghof Foundation, <i>Koja prošlost? Čija pravda? Ka širem pristupu historiji i sjećanju u konfliktu (E)</i>
15.30	Stefan Jeremić, Helsinški komitet za ljudska prava Srbije, <i>Utjecaj Regionalne kancelarije za saradnju mladih na proces pomirenja u regionu Zapadnog Balkana</i>
15.45	Aleksandra Letić, Helsinški komitet za ljudska prava Republike Srpske, <i>Etnonacionalno podučavanje za nove konfliktne generacije?</i>
16.00 – 16.45	Diskusija
<b>16.45 – 17.00</b>	<b>Kafe pauza</b>
	<b>Panel 6:</b> <b>Budućnost izgradnje mira u regiji</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Nemanja Džuverović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu</b>
17.00	Monika Palmberger, Odsjek za socijalnu i kulturnu antropologiju, Univerzitet u Beče, <i>Prošlost kao potencijalni resurs za budućnost? Nostalgija za Jugoslavijom i njezino značanje u praksama "prelaska granica" (E)</i>
17.15	Damir Kapidžić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Odnos političkih stranaka u Jugoistočnoj Europi prema naslijedu rata</i>
17.30	Valida Repovac Nikšić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Reafirmacija kozmopolitskog društva u regiji</i>
17.45	Dražen Barbarić, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Mostaru, <i>Demokratizacija političkog krajolika ili o slobodi „lošeg izbora“</i>
18.00	Nermina Mujagić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Balans neprijateljstva kao ključna prepreka u izgradnji mira u Bosni i Hercegovini</i>
18.15	Nemanja Džuverović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu, <i>Značaj lokalnog konteksta za liberalnu izgradnju mira: slučaj SFRJ</i>
18.30 – 19.15	Diskusija

	<b>Nedjelja, 22.10.2017. godine</b>
	<b>Panel 7a:</b> <b>Doktorantski panel: Nova istraživanja o izgradnji mira u regiji (Sala broj 12)</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Harun Išerić, Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu</b>
10.00	Dijana Delaye, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, <i>Haški sud kao mehanizam tranzicijske pravde - društveni legitimitet Haškog suda</i>
10.15	Jasmin Hasanović, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Nekro-fetišizmi postjugoslovenskih geopolitika: prostori smrti kao etnonacionalni prostori</i>
10.30	Halida Đonlagić, Bhaktivedanta Institut, Ljubljana, <i>Javni diskurs vjerskih lidera i njihova uloga u izgradnji budućnosti (ne)mira u savremenoj BiH</i>
10.45	Veldin Kadić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Regionalna stabilnost, kontrola naoružanja i izgradnja mira u dejtonskom trouglu</i>
11.00	Harun Išerić, Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Uloga Ustavnog suda BiH u postizanju mira u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu</i>
11.15 – 12.00	Diskusija
	<b>Panel 7b:</b> <b>Doktorantski panel: Nova istraživanja o izgradnji mira u regiji (Sala broj 18)</b> <b>Moderatorica:</b> <b>Lejla Gačanica, Pravni fakultet, Sveučilište u Mostaru</b>
10.00	Rodoljub Jovanović, Univerzitet Deusto, Bilbao i Dea Marić, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, <i>Kontroverza u učionici? Na koji način se nastavnici historije u zemljama Zapadnog Balkana bave osjetljivim i kontroverznim temama?</i>
10.15	Selma Čosić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Izgradnja kulture mira/kulture nasilja u Bosni i Hercegovini</i>
10.30	Sarina Bakić, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, <i>Kultura kao instrument u izgradnji mira i pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini.</i>
10.45	Lejla Gačanica, Pravni fakultet, Sveučilište u Mostaru, <i>Neposlušna sjećanja: u potrazi za (drugom) prošlosti</i>
11.00 – 11.45	Diskusija
<b>12.00 – 12.30</b>	<b>Zatvaranje konferencije (Amfiteatar Fakulteta političkih nauka)</b>
<b>12.30</b>	<b>Koktel</b>



## Agenda

### CONFERENCE

# POLITICS OF BUILDING PEACE IN THE REGION:

BURDENS FROM THE PAST  
AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Working languages of the conference are Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and English.  
Presentations marked with (E) in the agenda, are in English. Translation into  
English is provided for panel 3 and 5.



**Thursday, 19/10/2017**  
**Amphitheater of the Faculty of Political Science**  
**Welcome note and moderation:**  
**Nerzuk Ćurak, Faculty of Political Science, Sarajevo**

18:00	<b>Keynote Address:</b> Nenad Dimitrijević, Central European University, Budapest, <i>Moral foundations of peacebuilding</i>
18:45	Discussion
19:30	<b>Cocktail</b>

**Friday, 20/10/2017**

9:00 – 9:30	<b>Registration of participants</b>
9:30 – 10:00	<b>Welcome notes:</b> Šaćir Filandra, Dean, Faculty of Political Science Judith Brand, Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD) Tobias Flessenkemper, Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft
	<b>Panel 1:</b> <b>Ethno-national interpretations of Bosnia and Herzegovina</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Asim Mujkić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo</b>
10:00	University of Zagreb, <i>Peacebuilding in International Relations Theory: Applicability to the region of the Western Balkans</i>
10:15	Šaćir Filandra, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Politics of History – The (de)construction of narratives</i>
10:30	Damirka Mihaljević, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Mostar, <i>Political education as a response to the challenges of democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
10:45	Sead Turčalo, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Interpretation of (home)land/(father)land in national education: Ethnic coding of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
11:00	Slavo Kukić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Mostar, <i>The Nordic model as solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
11:15	Asim Mujkić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>The class character of peace: A case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
11:30 – 12:15	Discussion
<b>12:15 – 13:15</b>	<b>Lunch break</b>

	<p><b>Panel 2:</b>  <b>Building peace in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina: Challenges and lessons learned</b>  <b>Moderator:</b>  <b>Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović, Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo</b></p>
13:15	Nebojša Vladisavljević, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade, <i>Democracy and conflict management in ethnically divided societies</i>
13:30	Sabina Čehajić Clancy, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Sarajevo School of Science and Technology, and Michał Bilewicz, Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw, <i>Fostering intergroup reconciliation through moral exemplars</i>
13:45	Dino Abazović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Peace, social reconstruction and organized religion: Case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
14:00	Jelena Golubović, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University (Canada), <i>Lowered voices: An oral history of Serb women in Sarajevo (E)</i>
14:15	Amila Ždralović, Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo, <i>Capacities and limitations of women's peace politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
14:30	Miloš Šolaja, Faculty of Political Science, University of Banja Luka, <i>Constructivist approach of the international community to post-Yugoslav crisis: Case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
14:45	Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović, Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo, <i>Processes of reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region: Gender excursus</i>
15:00 – 15:45	Discussion
<b>15:45 – 16:00</b>	<b>Coffee Break</b>
	<p><b>Panel 3:</b>  <b>The Role of external actors in the peacebuilding process in the region</b>  <b>Moderator:</b>  <b>Vedran Džihić, Institute for Political Science, University of Vienna</b></p>
16:00	Marie Janine Calic, Faculty of History and the Arts, Ludwig Maximilian University, <i>The role of the EU: Lessons (not) learned (E)</i>
16:15	Beatrix Austin, Berghof Foundation, <i>External Actors: Breaking or sustaining cultures of victimhood in peacebuilding (E)</i>

16:30	Hamza Karčić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Remembering Srebrenica: Comparative analysis of resolutions of US Congress and European Parliament</i>
16:45	Armina Galijaš, Center for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, <i>Economy of Peace: Investors and Tourists (not) Welcome! Sarajevo and its Arab Economic Spring</i>
17:00	Vedran Džihić, Institute for Political Science, University of Vienna, <i>Stabilocracy and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Inconsistencies and contradictions of external actors in the process of peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
17:15 – 18:00	Discussion

**Saturday, 21/10/2017**

**Moderation: Nermina Mujagić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo**

9:30	<b>Keynote Address:</b> Stef Jansen, University of Manchester, <i>(Non-)Events in the Dayton meantime</i>
10:15 – 11:00	Discussion
<b>11:00 – 11:15</b>	<b>Coffee Break</b>
	<p><b>Panel 4:</b>  <b>Transitional justice and culture of remembrance</b>  <b>Moderator:</b>  <b>Zarije Seizović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo</b></p>
11:15	Ljiljana Radonić, Department of Political Science, University of Vienna, <i>From the war on memory in former Yugoslavia to building peace in the region</i>
11:30	Radmila Nakarada, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade, and Jelena Volić – Hellbusch, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, <i>Reconciliation and forgetting, escape from history</i>
11:45	Vjollca Krasniqi, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Pristina, <i>Dealing with the past: Gender and post-war justice in Kosovo (E)</i>
12:00	Vjeran Pavlaković, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka, <i>From contested narratives to controversial monuments: Challenges of memorialization in post-war Croatia (E)</i>
12:15	Nerukz Ćurak, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Commemoration of forgetting and forgetting of commemoration: The culture of denial in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>

12:30	Zarije Seizović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Collective responsibility and the culture of denial: A Balkan concept of understanding guilt</i>
12:45 – 13:30	Discussion
<b>13:30 – 14:30</b>	<b>Lunch break</b>
	<b>Panel 5: Civil society and peacebuilding</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Judith Brand, forum ZFD</b>
14:30	Enver Đuliman, Norwegian Helsinki Committee, <i>Peace role of universities</i>
14:45	Marko-Antonio Brkić, University of Hercegovina, and Davor Marko, Center for Social Research "Analitika" – Sarajevo, <i>The concept of peacebuilding – what have we understood, what have we learned, what to expect?</i>
15:00	Nebojša Šavija – Valha, Nansen Dialogue Center Sarajevo, <i>Repoliticization of the peacebuilding process in Bosnia and Herzegovina – from interethnic dialogue to protests: The case study of Jajce</i>
15:15	Andrea Zemskov-Züge, Berghof Foundation, <i>Which past? Whose justice? Towards a broader approach to history and memory in conflict (E)</i>
15:30	Stefan Jeremić, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, <i>The influence of the Regional Youth Cooperation Office on the process of reconciliation in the Western Balkans</i>
15:45	Aleksandra Letić, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Republika Srpska, <i>Ethno-national teaching for new conflict generations?</i>
16:00 – 16:45	Discussion
<b>16:45 – 17:00</b>	<b>Coffee break</b>
	<b>Panel 6: The future of peacebuilding in the region</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Nemanja Džuverović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade</b>
17:00	Monika Palmberger, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, <i>The Past as a potential resource for the future? Nostalgia for Yugoslavia and its meaning for practices of "Border Crossing" (E)</i>

17:15	Damir Kapidžić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>South-East European political parties' attitudes towards the legacy of war</i>
17:30	Valida Repovac Nikšić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>The reaffirmation of a cosmopolitan society in the region</i>
17:45	Dražen Barbarić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Mostar, <i>Democratization of the political landscape or about the freedom of "bad choice"</i>
18:00	Nermina Mujagić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>The Balance of enmity as key obstacle to peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
18:15	Nemanja Džuverović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade, <i>Significance of local context for liberal peacebuilding: Case study of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia</i>
18:30 – 19:15	Discussion

**Sunday, 22/10/2017**

	<b>Panel 7a: PhD Candidates panel: New researches in peacebuilding in the region (Room 12)</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Harun Išerić, Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo</b>
10:00	Dijana Delaye, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, <i>The Hague Tribunal as mechanism of transitional justice – Social legitimacy of the Hague Tribunal</i>
10:15	Jasmin Hasanović, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Necrofetishism of post-Yugoslav geopolitics: Spaces of death as ethnonational spaces</i>
10:30	Halida Đonlagić, Bhaktivedanta Institute, Ljubljana, <i>Public discourse of religious leaders and their role in building the future of peace in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
10:45	Veldin Kadić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Regional stability, arms control and peacebuilding in the Dayton triangle</i>
11:00	Harun Išerić, Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo, <i>The role of the Constitutional Court in achieving peace in the Bosnia-Herzegovinian society</i>
11:15 – 12:00	Discussion

	<b>Panel 7b:</b> <b>PhD Candidates panel: New researches in peacebuilding in the region (Room 18)</b> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Lejla Gačanica, Faculty of Law, University of Mostar</b>
10:00	Rodoljub Jovanović, University of Deusto, Bilbao and Dea Marić, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, <i>Controversy in the Classroom? How do history teachers in the Western Balkans approach sensitive and controversial topics?</i>
10:15	Selma Čosić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Building a culture of peace/culture of violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
10:30	Sarina Bakić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, <i>Culture as an instrument for peacebuilding and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.</i>
10:45	Lejla Gačanica, Faculty of Law, University of Mostar, Disobedient memories: In search for (another) past
11:00 – 11:45	Discussion
<b>12:00 – 12:30</b>	<b>Conference closing (Amphitheater of the Faculty of Political Science)</b>
<b>12:30</b>	<b>Cocktail</b>





Organizatori:



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