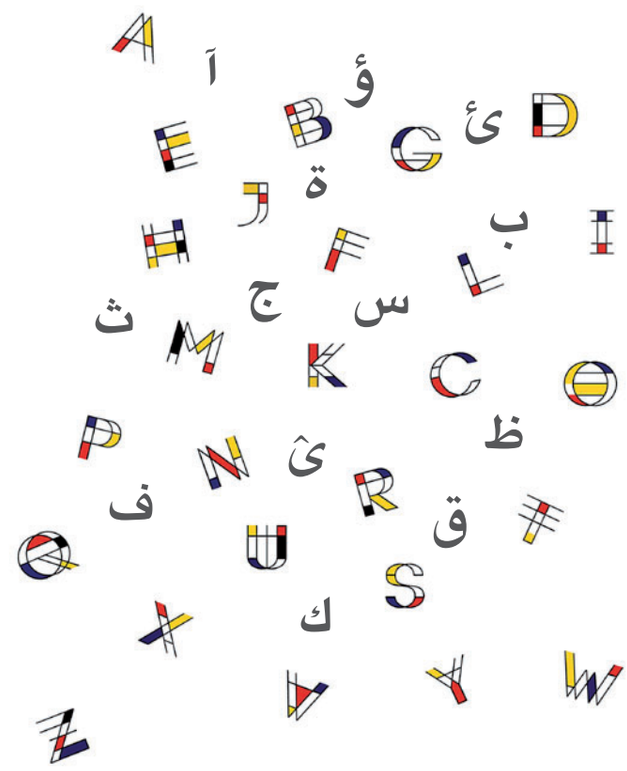
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A WORD ABOUT '**THE LETTER**'

Academician **Mehmed A. AKŠAMIJA**, BANU

There is no hand that would save someone against that which God has ordained –
Nor is there a word that may afterwards be spoken to remove the harm or benefit.

In the darkness, gilt wishes to be the same as gold –
But gold awaits the day to show itself in its true splendour.

Jalaluddin Rumi, Masnavi, Bayt 624/3342.

Although, at first glance, it may seem that this book is about a person, it is not. This book is primarily about the possibility of communication with the world from a Bosnian perspective. And this is not about any communication, but rather the communication of religious dialogue in a time, we may say, of the greatest challenges for Islam and Muslims not only in Bosnia, but also across Europe and the rest of the world. Bosnia, a land some people call the *land of heretics*, has always been in the focus of religious interest. From the ancient Bosnian ruler, Kulin Ban, to this day, the Byzantine and Roman Christians have been competing over the *Bosnian religious spirit*. With the arrival of Islam in the 15th century, Bosnia became a unique religious oasis that simultaneously connected and divided the East and the West, where Muslims and Christians, and later Jews, learned how to live in coexistence and tolerance within their Abrahamic tradition of similarities and differences.

The institution of the Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, which was initiated in 1882, has become the symbol of the formal Islamic tradition of the Bosniak nation. For over a century the office of the Grand Mufti of the Bosniak people was held by personalities who possessed the knowledge and wisdom of the place and time. At the turn of the 21st century, for two decades, the office of the Grand Mufti of the Bosniak people was held by Dr. Mustafa Cerić. We met in Zagreb in the late eighties, after his return from Chicago with the title of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), the first of its kind in the Islamic community of the former Yugoslavia. Since then, both during and after the war, I have worked on many projects for the Islamic community on the initiative of Grand Mufti Dr. Cerić. I have followed the Grand Mufti's domestic and international work activities. I have also participated in some of his dilemmas and his decisions. Now I would like, though only partially, to bear my testimony to some of those here. Certainly, in Bosnia there have always been more dilemmas than solutions. For Grand Mufti Dr. Cerić, these dilemmas were that much more difficult because there was *no manual or guide* as to how to be the Grand Mufti of the Bosniak people in conditions of war. After the breakup of the Yugoslav state and society, the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina once more began all over again. Grand Mufti Dr. Cerić was faced with many challenges and uncertainties. Indeed, the challenge of communication with the world was the most difficult. This documentary study is a story of how, and in what way, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia was successful in war and post-war conditions in carrying and conveying throughout the world, like a 'culture broker'*1, the voice of faith and culture of the Bosniak Muslims in the spirit of an appropriate respectful religious dialogue: a voice equally heard by the King of Saudi Arabia and the President of China, a voice listened to in Davos at the World Economic Forum and in Mecca at the Academy of Islamic Law of the Muslim World League. Surely, the voice of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia was recognizable in the Vatican as well as in Riyadh, Cairo, Amman, Oman, Beirut, Ankara, Tehran, Islamabad, Abu Dhabi, Moscow, Washington, New York, Sydney, Johannesburg, Abuja, Kuala Lumpur, Djakarta,

*1 The term '*broker of culture*' or '*cultural broker*' is not specifically defined, but it is defined through common use as 'a person who facilitates border crossing to another person or group of people from one culture to another'. Jezewski (in Jezewski & Sotnik, 2001) defines the brokering of culture as "the act of bridging, connecting and mediating between groups or persons of different cultural backgrounds in order to reduce conflict or bring about changes".

Singapore, Seoul, Manila... This book encompasses only part of the story of the voice of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, which is heard afar in both the East and the West, in the North and in the South. This is my personal view of the documentary testimony about some of the work activities of the spiritual leader of the Bosniak Muslims.

One of the last communications that I witnessed of the dialogue of Dr. Cerić, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, with the Christians, precisely with Catholics in Europe, was his *Letter to the Bishops of Europe*, which was the reason for the title of this book, "The Letter", to be published in Bosnian, English, German, Arabic and Polish. Grand Mufti Dr. Cerić (1993-2012) accepted the invitation of the Polish Ambassador, Piotr Nowina--Konopka, to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops and the response of the German bishops to the Polish bishops (1965) under the motto "We forgive and ask for forgiveness", which was held in the Vatican.

Guided by his instinct for the moment, as always, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Dr. Cerić, wrote "A Friendly Letter to the Bishops of Europe", which was signed by the Muftis of Sandžak, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Banja Luka and Mostar, along with several prominent Bosniak academics, professors and imams. This letter is a continuation of the long and fruitful inter-religious dialogue of Grand Mufti Dr. Cerić with the world, especially in Europe. Therefore, I have decided to present, in this book, some hitherto less known details of such activities, especially the activities of the Grand Mufti at prestigious American and European universities, such as Yale, Wisconsin-Madison, Munich, Vienna, Tübingen, Cambridge…

However, the "Declaration of European Muslims", released as a personal reflection on the terrorist attacks in New York on September 11th, 2001, in Madrid on 4th March, 2004, and in London in July, 2005, represents the most powerful expression of the Bosnian voice in condemning terrorism. Because of the importance of the clear and unequivocal message of this single document, and also because of the echoes that it sent throughout Europe, I have decided to include the "Declaration of European Muslims" in its integral form in Bosnian, English, German, French and Arabic to remain a permanent document of the Bosnian stance, more precisely the stance of the Bosnian supreme spiritual leader in a time of trial, and also with clear commitments with a desire that Europe and the rest of the world should be aware that European Muslims are committed to peace and coexistence with their neighbours.

Hence, convinced that evil grows stronger if good withdraws, Bosnians could not remain indifferent either to the bomb attack on the participants of the Boston Marathon in America of April 15th, 2013, or to the murder of unarmed soldiers in Woolwich, England on 22nd May, 2013. Now, as the President of the national organization, Grand Mufti Emeritus Dr. Cerić once again stands in the front line, together with Mr. Haris Hromić, in condemning terrorism through the "Declaration of the World Bosniak Congress on Common Security and Global Citizenship". This was a continuation of the "Declaration of European Muslims". As opposed to the first declaration, which conveys the religious sentiment of Muslims, the second is an expression of *the national sentiment of the Bosniak nation, as well as their European commitment with a clear condemnation of terrorism*.

The "Declaration on Common Security and Global Citizenship" is a clear message to the world that the Bosniak nation is part of the solution for peace and security in the world, and is therefore part of the global destiny of the world, as well. In this way, it completes the image of the religious and national commitment

of the Bosniak people, which is that they wish to be part and parcel of a free and democratic world. Their message is clear: *on the path to freedom and democracy neither their faith nor their culture is an obstacle; on the contrary, their faith and their culture are an incentive to fight for common peace and security in the world, as equal citizens of the world*. Therefore, Bosniak people condemn all forms of violence, particularly violence in the name of religion. Because violence in the name of religion is violence against the religion!

This Second Declaration also has its own significant place in the context of the *Letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops*, which reflects the high awareness of responsibility for European and world peace and security. The letter of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia to the European bishops is an expression of *the European spirit of unity in diversity of religions and cultures* as well.

The message is clear: the Bosniak nation is a European nation, and therefore it is important for the Bosniak voice to be heard in the fight against all evil and injustice in Europe and worldwide!

Thus, among other events, there was an event in Vienna at the Club of 3, of the Institute for Strategic Studies, of the Diplomatic Academy *(Diplomatische Akademie Wien - Institute for Strategic Studies).*

It was yet another in a series of statements delivered at an international conference by the now Grand Mufti Emeritus, Dr. Cerić, for peace, coexistence and reconciliation in the Balkans and the rest of Europe. However, this exposé in Vienna has been included only because it expresses more powerfully its protest against *Islamophobia*, which has recently once again begun to expand in Europe. Grand Mufti Emeritus Dr. Cerić has remained consistent in his principles of intercultural dialogue, but he has also remained true to his Islamic tradition and Bosnian culture. This, we can say, is the main message of this documentary and flatly visualized study: love yourself, respect others.

I have worked on this book with special reverence, because I feel that this message of interfaith and intercultural dialogue, expressed in the name of Bosniak Muslims through the word of their supreme spiritual authority, will have lasting value for future generations of Bosnian descendants. Also included are the specific reactions of eminent people in this country and the rest of the world on those substantive values that are presented and documented here. Maybe it is not all sufficiently clear to everyone at this time, but those who will come after us, I am sure, will certainly know that their ancestors were conscientious and responsible in their time for their own good, and that their messages at the time were met with the understanding and appreciation of many of the world's authorities. Therefore, let it be clear to everyone that this book is not the story **of a person**, but it is the story of **the idea of a person** who is trying to take every opportunity to spread the voice of Bosnian reason, the voice of Bosnian wisdom, the voice of Bosnian pride, the voice of Bosnian defiance of sleep...

In this way, and in this form, I wish to bear witness to this idea with pictures and documentary texts that I have collected over time from various sources. To tell the truth, this documentary material that has been recorded and collected is not complete. It is a modest portion that has, for this occasion, been isolated and quoted in the form that it has been found in. If the reader does find some errors in the text, or if any expert designers feel 'affected' by certain interventions in the editing of the book, I apologize in advance. However, I do wish to emphasize that I have strived to convey authentically all the content in its original form in correlation with the format of the specified registry edition.


EXP: DR. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI OF


BOSNIA

PREFACE

CONTINUOUS LEARNING ABOUT DIALOGUE THROUGH POSITIVE EXPERIENCES OF OTHERS

Senad ĆEMAN, Director of the VESATIJJA Centre for Dialogue

The call for dialogue and the acceptance of such a call has repeatedly proved to be a wise and salutary act for many complicated situations. In the beginning of the dialogue process, its participants suspect and challenge each other, eventually to understand and accept each other at the end of the story and, with sufficient hindsight, be hailed as wise and courageous.

In Islamic doctrine, dialogue is not foreign, but is an integral part of the call and the mission: "Invite (all) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in the way that is best" (An-Nahl, 125). The Qur'an is a book of dialogue. It is unrivalled in that respect. In it we often read about a dialogue of Allah's messengers with their people, a dialogue of Almighty Allah with creatures about the creation of man; finally, we read about a dialogue of the Lord with the worst of creatures, Iblis.

Each dialogue is based on real goals, pure intentions, good will and ethics filled with *conversation in the most beautiful way*. Sooner or later, it inevitably gives a positive outcome to the efforts to reach a solution. It seems that the problems come in their own right, and a solution should be reached with painstaking effort and very often only through dialogue.

Believing in dialogue, and in addition to actively participating in the Council for Interreligious Dialogue, in 2012 the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina established the Wasatiyya Centre for Dialogue. The aim of the Centre of Wasatiyya is to engage systematically in planned activities for promotion of the ideas of dialogue, tolerance and co-existence as fundamental determinants of the middle ground of Islam. As one of its main activities, the Centre of Wasatiyya is publishing notable publications of domestic and foreign authors on dialogue and issues of the Islamic tolerant way. We are pleased to be able to offer the Letters of Reconciliation by Polish and German Bishops, written in 1965, as a reference to the importance of such communication.

In late October 2015, Dr Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia (1993-2012) and Chairman of the Board of the Wasatiyya Centre for Dialogue, at the invitation of His Excellency the Polish Ambassador, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, attended a Conference in Rome devoted to the commemoration of the historical pastoral letter of the Polish bishops to their German colleagues. In this letter of 18 November 1965 the Polish bishops wrote to their spiritual brothers, "We forgive and we beg your forgiveness", to which the German bishops, on 5 December 1965, responded, "The extended hand we accept with fraternal respect".

In his address entitled *This letter must awaken a sincere desire for reconciliation among brothers,* Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić said that the occasion of the commemoration "is not only the right place, but it is the right time for an incentive to everyone in the world to take away a lesson and a message from the pastoral letters, and the lesson is that a loving heart is better than a hating heart, and the message is that a writing hand that writes a kind word is better than a killing hand that kills a man". This letter from Grand Mufti Cerić to the European Bishops was signed, on this occasion, by fifteen prominent Bosniak scholars as well.

In this edition, dear readers, we bring a reference to a review on this event by Dr Mate Zovkić, Professor Emeritus at the University of Sarajevo, titled *The Letters of Reconciliation of the Polish and German Bishops in 1965 to inspire an integration in Europe today,* which explains how the "Polish bishops began to ask what they could do to contribute to the reconciliation of their people with the Germans after all the violence that one had inflicted on the other throughout history, especially after the crimes of the Nazi rule over the Poles and Polish Jews during the occupation from 1939 to 1945". This letter announced "a desire for the suspension of controversy and the opening of dialogue", which was a "contribution to the moral reconstruction of the Polish nation".

The bishops' letter and the anniversary of its celebration was commented on by Dr. Ekrem Tucaković, editor of the informative Islamic newspaper "Preporod" as well. Under the title *The dignity of living European reality and preserving Muslim identity,* Tucaković emphasizes in his comment that the appearance and speech of Grand Mufti Cerić at the meeting "represents a call for dialogue, mutual openness and exploration, and finally acceptance of each other in their diversity for the common good and happiness".

Using the example of the bishops' letters of 1965 we can learn how it is possible to permanently establish a peaceful neighbourhood. It took a quarter of a century for the message of the Polish bishops to become a reality, and in 1989 the Poles and Germans became not only peaceful neighbours but also partners in the same alliance. The signatories of letters have long not been bishops, but the names of some of them will be remembered by history for placing their signatures on the documents. All of us together are further motivated by them to more persistently advocate real, and not tactical, dialogue.

Muslims can learn much from this letter, if they want to. The conditions of Muslim nations, especially in the Middle East today, are painful and desperate. Are Muslim scholars (Ulama) today at the same level of responsibility as the bishops in 1965? The bishops took twenty years after the Second World War to seek and offer forgiveness. As history often repeats itself, so it seems that such a step forward for the Muslim world is imminent. The war in Muslim societies will one day stop, and only then will it be meaningful to talk about peace.

The Germans and Poles were neighbours, Christians, Catholics and Protestants; two thousand Polish priests and five bishops (one quarter of the then episcopate) were executed by German soldiers in concentration camps. Reconciliation had always seemed impossible. So again, the bishops of these nations boldly walked every nation to reconciliation, considering it a primary religious and patriotic duty.

Syrians, Iranians, Turks, Kurds, Saudis, Yemenis and others are now in conflict similar to that of the Germans and Poles then. We believe that the Muslim nations and their representatives, after sincerely wishing for peace and mutual respect, will seek and offer forgiveness to each other. The reconciliation process will be initiated by the Ulama. The Bosniak people, with the painful experience of Genocide, has an obligation to be on the side of justice and to advocate it boldly, no matter how it looks or appears.

The Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, headed by the present Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Husein Kavazović, is strongly committed on a daily basis to world peace and dialogue with others. The decades of participation by Grand Mufti Cerić in numerous national and international forums on peace and coexistence have long been recognized by all the friends of peace. The invitation to attend and address the gathering at the fiftieth anniversary of the pastoral letter of the Polish and German bishops is only one of the many recognitions of him personally, as well as of the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian nation. The concise and clear words of Grand Mufti Cerić spoken on that occasion, "we embrace you and ask you to accept us" are a confirmation of the Bosnian identity, which directs and binds all people of good. It is an extremely reasonable message that *Europe is both your home and ours, in your peace and ours, in your security and ours, your friendship and ours,* which does not leave anyone indifferent, and makes life more enjoyable.

The Wasatiyya Centre for Dialogue, as an institution of the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in this way wants to contribute to the process of continuous learning about the importance of dialogue through the positive experiences of others. Creating the environment and active participation in genuine inter-religious and inter-Muslim dialogue is the responsibility of the Islamic community and all Muslims in the broadest sense, which is specifically placed at the behest of the people associated with the Centre. Determined, with God's help and the support of all who share a sense of responsibility and the importance of dialogue, to fulfil the specified trust, we will continue to work to promote the values of dialogue and the middle ground of Islam, constantly asking Almighty Allah to be our helper in this.

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Mi prhvatamo vas i želimo da vi pri
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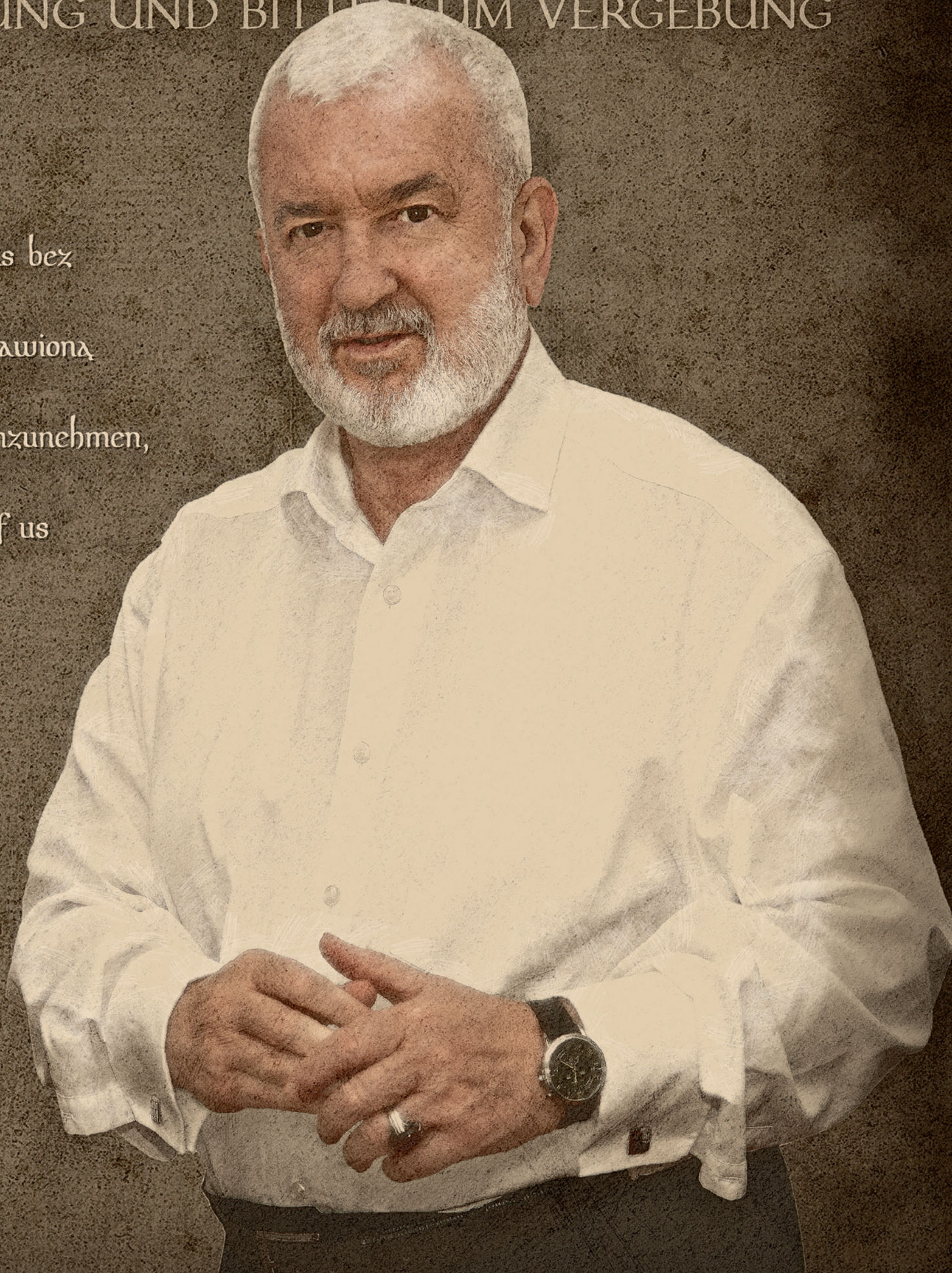
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RIM 26. oktobra 2015.
ROME October 26, 2015

POLSKICH DO BISKUPÓW NIEMIECKICH
RGEBUNG UND BITTE UM VERGEBUNG



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INTRODUCTION

THE LETTERS OF RECONCILIATION OF THE POLISH AND GERMAN BISHOPS, 1965, ARE STILL AN INSPIRATION FOR INTEGRATION IN EUROPE

Dr. **Mato ZOVKIĆ**, professor emeritus, University of Sarajevo

In November 2015, Poland and Germany, as two European countries, and the Catholic Bishops' Conference within these countries solemnly celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the letter whereby the Polish bishops, on 18th November 1965, publicly forgave the Germans for the injustices committed towards the Polish people throughout history, especially during the Nazi occupation from 1939 to 1945. The Polish bishops also asked the Germans in the same letter to forgive the injustice that the Poles had inflicted on them throughout history. The German bishops, gathered at the Second Vatican Council in Rome together with the Polish and other Catholic bishops of the world, responded on 5th December 1965 by accepting the proffered hand of reconciliation and, in turn, asked for forgiveness of crimes that the Germans had inflicted on the Poles. The Polish Ambassador, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, suggested to Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the former Grand Mufti of Bosnia and a prominent Bosniak intellectual, to address an appropriate letter to the Polish and German bishops as successors of the signatories of the letter of reconciliation of 1965. He readily did this with an open letter on October 26th, 2015, which was signed by 15 other prominent Bosniaks, asking the European bishops to contribute to the acceptance of those Muslims in Europe – Bosniaks and others – who do not, and should not, want to be a danger to Christians and other citizens of a pluralistic Europe.

The main celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Letters was held at the Shrine of Jasna Gora, in Czestochowa, Poland, on November 22nd, 2015, under the chairmanship of the President of the Episcopal Conference of Poland, Archbishop Stanislaw Gandecki, and Cardinal Reinhard Marx, president of the BC of Germany. For the occasion, the presidents of Poland (Andrzej Duda) and Germany (Joachim Gauck) signed a Joint Declaration of the permanent results of these letters for these two countries and for Europe over the past 50 years. Previously, in Rome on 26th October, a similar ceremony had been held in the German Catholic institutions in Rome, the Campo Santo Teutonico (Department of doctoral-student priests with a church and a small cemetery in the Vatican), where Archbishop Gandecki outlined the prospects for a future for Poland and Germany growing from the brave gestures of the Polish and German bishops in 1965.

Interested readers will find, in this study, the full text of these three letters. Therefore, I wish to introduce them in the context of the historical circumstances that they were born in, using the necessary clarifications from the *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* (11 volumes, Freiburg 2006) and about a dozen electronic items downloaded from Google. If any of the readers are interested in a broader insight into the Second Vatican Council 50 years later, they may make use of the latest book *The 50th Anniversary of the Opening Ceremony and the Beginning of the Second Vatican Council. Collection of Works,* Zagreb 2015.

The Letters of Reconciliation by the Polish and German Bishops in 1965 Appeared in Rome during the Conciliar Debate on the Church in the Modern World

In the Catholic tradition there is a good practice of regional and general councils, in which bishops and invited theologians discuss new issues of faith and the ecclesiastical order. The regional councils are convened and led by local bishops. The general council is convened by a pope as successor to St. Peter in leading the ecclesial community of Rome. Pope John XXIII announced a General Council in January 1959, whereby he gave prominence to the updating *(aggiornamento)* or healthy adaptation of the church to social and cultural changes, in order to be a sign of the salvation that God offers to all nations. The first phase of two years consisted of collecting proposals from bishops and

ecclesiastical schools. The Second Vatican Council opened on 11th October 1962. Through four years of sessions, the bishops attended working meetings in Rome for about two months at the end of the year. During the year, theological experts incorporated into future documents the thoughts that had been submitted in writing or recorded in plenary sessions. The Fourth Session lasted from 4th September to 8th December 1965, wherein the main document that the bishops discussed and adopted was the "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" *(Gaudium et spes).*

The first part of this document sets out the Christian doctrine of man's calling in the historical world, and the second part displays the biggest problems of humanity in present times. Among the problems illuminated by this document are marriage and family, the promotion of cultural prosperity, economic and social life, the mission and life of the political community, the promotion of peace and the building of the community of nations (cf. Vatican II, *Documents*, Zagreb 1972, 349–427). In the approach to international peace, justice and true development, this document requires the cooperation of Catholics in the various nations, as well as striving together with members of other religions and all people of good will (No. 88–90).

The socializing during the plenary sessions of the Council over four years, especially with thoughts of the efforts to build a more humane and just world, allowed bishops from different continents and countries the opportunity to come together and inform each other of the official policies of their countries. Thus, the Polish bishops began to ask themselves what they could do to contribute to the reconciliation of their people with the Germans after all the violence that they had inflicted on each other, especially after the crimes of the Nazi rule over the Poles and Polish Jews during the occupation from 1939 to 1945. The Germans at the time lived divided between two states: the so-called Democratic Republic of Germany, with a communist regime and the strong presence of the Russian army, and the Federal Republic of Germany, which respected Western-style democracy, but as of 1965 had not yet diplomatically recognized East Germany. During the breaking of its Nazi occupation, Poland was occupied by Soviet troops, who had stayed there for the next 45 years while preserving the imposed communist regime. The communist authorities revelled in the distrust and hostility between the Poles and Germans, while maintaining that the Poles would not have wanted Western-type freedom. Unlike those of Hungary and Albania, the Polish communist authorities still issued passports to young priests whom the bishops, or their religious superiors, selected for postgraduate studies in Rome. After graduation, these priests returned home wanting to continue their religious mission, as well as to serve their people. Fifteen of them were my colleagues at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome from 1969 to 1972, and I admired how they spoke about their people with pride and how they criticized the Communist rule in their country with great caution.

The Polish Bishops, in an Open Letter in 1965 to the Germans, not only Forgave, but also Asked for Forgiveness

In order to understand the prophetic gesture of the Polish bishops, one must be reminded of the key events of Polish history (*Short History of Poland*, University at Buffalo 2000, Google, 27/12/2015). Around the year 950, the Polish ruler Mieško I accepted the supremacy of the German Emperor Otto I, in order to protect his country from the invasions of other Germanic princes. In 965, he married the Czech princess Dobrava and, under her influence, along with his courtiers soon accepted Christianity of the Latin rite. Thus, Poland, in contrast to its eastern Slavic

neighbours, who received Christianity by way of missionaries from Constantinople (Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians) joined the circle of Western Europe. In the year 1000, the German King and Emperor, Otto III, visited the son of Mieško I, Boleslaw I the Brave, in Gniezno, the Polish capital at the time, where the Poles and Germans venerated the tomb of St. Adalbert of Prague (b. 956), the Apostle of the Slavs, whom Boleslaw allowed to accompany missionary work among the Prussians, who killed him in 997. King Casimir the Great (1333–1370) strengthened the country by raising castles with stone buildings and walls, and called on the Jews, who were persecuted by some European rulers. They had contributed to the economic reconstruction of the country and continued to settle for years to come. He had no male heirs, so his daughter Jadviga married the Lithuanian prince Vladislav Jagiello, who thus became the king of Poland (1386–1434) and founded the Jagiellonian dynasty. During his reign, Prussia, under the leadership of the Teutonic Knights, invaded Poland, but was defeated in 1410 by the combined armies of Lithuania and Poland. In 1493, a Parliament was introduced composed of the Sejm and Senate. In the 16th century, the Renaissance spread to Poland with more respect for the freedom of that which is different. In 1573 in Warsaw, a law on the freedom to practise different religions was adopted. Italian Renaissance artists came and raised significant buildings. Until then, scientific and literary works had been written in Latin, and thus began the period of writing in Polish. After the Jagiellonian dynasty had died out, the royal nephew, Sigismund III Vasa, the son of a Swedish king, who was raised Lutheran but ruled as an ardent Catholic, inherited the Swedish and Polish thrones (1566-1632). For religious reasons, the Swedes removed him from his throne and invaded Poland. In the second war against Poland (1655-58), the aggressors conquered all the land, but they failed to win the fortified monastery of Jasna Gora at Czestochowa, where the faithful worship the miraculous image of the Mother of Jesus. This has contributed to its growth into the Polish national shrine, representing a special sign of resistance to the German occupation and communist rule.

Poles are very proud that their king, Jan III Sobieski, decisively contributed to the Turks' not conquering Vienna in 1683. In the 18th century, foreigners dictated the size of the army for the Poles, and the Russians forced them to agree to the entry of Russian troops. Count Joseph Pulaski founded the Confederation for Resistance against the Russians in 1768, and his son, General Casimir, fought against the invaders for four years. The rebels were defeated, and in 1772 Poland was, for the first time, divided among neighbouring states, and Casimir Pulaski moved to the USA in 1777. The second Polish division was conducted by the Prussians, Russians and Austrians in 1795, and thus it remained until the end of the First World War. In 1830 and 1863 the Poles led rebellions against the Russians that ended in defeat. As, in the course of 1918, Russia and Germany fought against each other, the Poles, led by Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, gained liberation from foreign rule, but they could only keep their acquired independence for 21 years. After Hitler's army occupied Poland in early September 1939, the Soviet Red Army invaded Poland from the east. When, on August 1st, 1944, the Polish resistance movement began an open rebellion against the Germans, the Russian army stopped them, so the rebellion lasted only 63 days. Approximately 250,000 inhabitants of Warsaw were killed, and an outraged Hitler ordered the placement of dynamite under the buildings that still remained. At the time of the German occupation, approximately 3 million Polish Jews were brutally murdered in concentration camps. The Nazis had also sent Poles to concentration camps, wherein about three million Poles were killed, including six bishops and about 2,800 priests.

After the war, at the conference in Potsdam (July-August 1945), the winners decided to move the border between Poland and Russia at the expense of Poland, and also to move the border with East Germany to the Oder-Neisse line at the expense of Germany, so about 3.3 million Germans, mainly from the province of Silesia, were 'humanely relocated' to Germany. Poles from areas annexed to Russia were transferred to Poland. According to statistics collected by the Croatian historian, Ivo Banac, around 31 million citizens of Eastern Europe were subjected to the process of such a relocation ("Interview: 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, unfortunately in a new climate of conflict", *The Catholic Weekly* in 2015, no. 18, pp. 8–11). Church people in Poland wanted the Catholic bishops of Germany to impose the view among their people that the border on the Oder-Neisse was to remain constant, which in 1965 was unacceptable for Germans of all faiths and political orientations.

Led by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, 33 other Polish bishops who were in Rome signed the letter. At the beginning they announced to their "closest western neighbours" that next year,

with their people, they would celebrate the thousandth anniversary of Christianity in Poland at the national shrine of Jasna Gora. They refer to the Polish ruler Mieško, who received Christianity together with his courtiers in 966. This was the Middle Ages, when it was thought perfectly fine for all citizens to accept the faith of their ruler. In the historical foundations of the Christianity of their people, the Polish bishops include the pilgrimage of the German Emperor, Otto III, to Gniezno, together with the Polish ruler, Boleslaw the Brave, in 1000. Over time, "the Polish style of religion was developed, where religion and nation are closely interwoven and coalesce with one another, with all the positive, as well as negative, aspects of this problem". They point out that the worship of the Mother of Jesus by the Poles is associated with St. Adalbert of Prague, whom the Slavs call Vojtech (being a descendant of the Czech family Slavnik) in Gniezno, from where Poland fitted into Western culture. Vojtech-Adalbert studied theology in Magdeburg, a city with German language and culture, which served as a model for the establishment of Polish cities. As the German Emperor was the guardian of Polish rulers as his vassals, German traders, builders and artists had settled in Poland, keeping their surnames but still adapting to the new environment and becoming Polish, "from which Hitler and others derived a simple conclusion with fatal consequences; that Krakow and the whole of Poland are simply a German colony". The Polish bishops emphasized that they owe a debt of gratitude to western and German culture. One of the Westerners that had a beneficial effect was Saint Bruno of Querfurt (974–1009), a native of Eastern Saxony, who studied in Magdeburg and was a bishop in Poland with missionary activities among the Slavs, Lithuanians and Prussians. The bishops further noted St. Hedwig, the Duchess of Silesia, whom the Slavs called Jadvig (1174–1243). She was the mother of seven children, and had a positive effect on the political decisions of her husband as well as opponents of Silesia. She was a benefactor of the poor, so they called her the mother of the country. She endorsed the building of the Trebnitz convent, where she lived until her death. Her grave is still visited by German and Polish pilgrims who respect her as a builder of trust between Germans and Poles *(Brűckenheilige)*. The bishops point out here: "The best bridges between peoples can only be built by holy people, who are honest and who have clean hands".

Among the newer Polish spiritual greats mentioned by the bishops is the Franciscan Maximilian Kolbe (1894–1841), who at the time of the Nazi aggression led a Catholic publishing house; he was arrested in 1941 and deported to Auschwitz. When, at the end of July 1941, three prisoners escaped, deputy camp commander Karl Fritsch chose 10 convicts to punish with death by starvation in an underground bunker. One of the convicted was the father of the Frantiszek Gajowniczek family, who cried out, "My poor wife, my poor children!" Kolbe volunteered to take his place and was accepted. After two weeks the remaining nine had died, and the guards gave him a lethal injection. His body was burned on 15th August 1941. He was canonized in Rome by Pope John Paul II, a Pole, in 1982. The bishops further pointed out the Polish university in Krakow, which was founded in 1363 by King Casimir the Great, where a number of German scientists studied, among whom was the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543). The Rector of the University, Pawel Włodkowitz (1370–1435, Latin name Paulus Vladimiri) was also mentioned. During the Council in the Swiss town of Constance (1414–1418) he placed the conflict between the Polish and German orders called 'crusaders' in the context of learning about a righteous war, and he rejected the use of force in the spread of Christianity, emphasizing the natural rights of non-Christians. The Prussian members of the order had contributed to all Germans in Poland, receiving the mocking title of 'crusaders'. The German occupation during World War II was declared by the bishops a time of destruction and extermination, when six million of their citizens paid with their lives for the foreign occupation. Every family had mourned a particular deceased, while every German uniform represented a spectre and an occasion for hatred against the Germans: "We recall this terrible night only for us to be understood today".

They admit that their distrust of the Germans as their western neighbours is a generational problem. They accepted that the present Polish western border on the Oder-Neisse represents to the Germans a bitter consequence of the last war, but to them it is a matter of survival. While they pay tribute to the Germans who tried to oppose Nazism and therefore perished, the letter announced a desire for the suspension of the controversy and the opening of dialogue in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. They are encouraged to have dialogue through the recent celebration of a thousand years of Christianity among the Poles, which will also end a period of spiritual preparation of nine

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Grand Mufti of Bosnia (1993–2012) Dr. Mustafa Ceric to the European Bishops o
pastoral letter of the Polish Bishops of November 18, 1965 to their German sp

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f October 26, 2015 read in Rome on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the
piritual brothers and the response of the German Bishops of December 5, 1965.

years. They invite the German bishops, with their constituents, to become involved in their celebration and also to invite their Protestant citizens. Then they boldly and humbly declare: "In this all-Christian, and at the same time very human, spirit, we extend our arms to you from the bench of the Council, whose session is drawing to a close, we offer forgiveness and ask for forgiveness. And if you, German bishops and Council participants, fraternally accept the outstretched hand, only then can we in good conscience in Poland, in a totally Christian way, celebrate the one-thousandth anniversary. We cordially invite you to Poland to attend this ceremony. The bishops published this letter in the press. Among the representatives of the Poland of that time, the letter was met with strong condemnation for offering and seeking forgiveness, because ostensibly, on behalf of the whole people, only political representatives of the people can forgive. Most Polish Catholics also condemned the letter of their bishops, believing that the Germans as a nation did not deserve forgiveness. A period ensued wherein the bishops had to interpret, to their constituents and the state authorities, what they had wished to express through the letter.

Archbishop Stanislaw Gadecki, in his speech at a ceremony in Rome on 25th October 2015, pointed out that the letter represented a synthesis of Polish history through thousands of years, and that it enraged the Bolshevik government, which acted as if the history of the world began with their revolution. It was a contribution to the moral reconstruction of the Polish people, but it could not be based primarily on compliance with all aspects of justice. One of the signatories was the Archbishop of Krakow, Karol Wojtyla, who, as Pope John Paul II in the encyclical "God is rich in mercy" of 1980, demonstrated that, with justice, nations should be led by the principle of love. As the German bishops do not say in their reply that they accept the permanent loss of the territory of Silesia, which with the new border went to Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski wrote, in 1970 to German Cardinal J. Döpfner, "Our warmly outstretched hand was not unconditionally accepted". The German people needed to gain a general feeling for this, which was fulfilled in 1972 by 160 public officials with the *Memorandum of Bensberg*, inviting the German bishops to accept the new border between the two countries. Among the signatories of this letter was Professor Joseph Ratzinger, the future Pope Benedict XVI. After the two German states (FRG and GDR) signed the so-called Basic Agreement *(Grundlagenvertrag)* on mutual recognition on December 21st, 1972, they in fact recognized the new border between the Polish and German people. Archbishop Gandecki points out that the letter began the process of reconciliation, and the willing response of the German bishops came in generous financial aid to Polish dioceses and religious orders in the following decades.

According to him, the permanent results of the letter would be:

- Respect for common saints who were role models of faith and human action in history;
- Linking identity and memories in order to promote Christian values in these two nations in the past and present;
- Patience and perseverance in building consensus and unity;
- Continuous work on reconciliation with mutual forgiveness and trust in the Truth.

He concludes: "Since the writing of this *Message*, things have changed in the world and in the Church, including relations between the Churches in Poland and Germany. Poles are enjoying the freedom that they have achieved, and Germany a unity of which they could only have dreamed 50 years ago. What then seemed impossible, at least in the short term, has become a reality. In the context of European unity, the borders between our countries have been opened, which has facilitated and deepened relations between their citizens at various levels" (Wikimedia Commons, *President of Polish Episcopal Conference Marks Anniversary at Rome Event*, Google, 27/12/2015).

The German Bishops Pointed out that they See the Letter of their Polish Confreres as a Sign of a Common Future that they Hope and Strive for

The German bishops responded on December 5th, 1965, three days before the end of the Second Vatican Council. The letter was signed by the Archbishop of Cologne and Cardinal Josef Frings, with Cardinals J. Döpfner, archbishop of Munich, L. Jäger, archbishop of Paderborn, and 38 of the then German bishops who were in Rome. To understand their responses, here is some information from the history of the German people. Although Charlemagne (lived 747–814) was crowned the so-called Roman Emperor and nominally ruled the territory of today's Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland, the German tribes continued to live in their principalities, dukedoms and towns as small states. The Protestant reform initiated by Martin Luther (1483–1546) divided these tribes and

peoples into Lutherans, Catholics and Calvinists, which led to the Thirty Years' War in Europe (1618–1648), with devastation which is comparable with that of the Second World War. At the Westphalian peace agreement, the Latin legal principle *'Cuius regio, eius religio - Whose realm, his religion'* was adopted in the sense that civil and religious freedom in a particular territory could be enjoyed by those residents who accepted the faith of the respective rulers. Throughout the next two centuries the most powerful German states were Prussia, in northern Europe, with Protestant kings, and Austria, in Central Europe, with the Catholic Habsburg dynasty. After victory over Napoleon, the Vienna Congress of European countries, in 1815, accepted that the German territory included about 40 countries. The revolutions of 1848 offered the Prussian king, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the opportunity to take power over the unified Germany, but he declined it. The unification of the German states was decisively contributed to by Otto Bismarck (1815–1898), who served as Chancellor of Prussia from 1862 to 1890. Diplomatic manipulations took Prussia to war against Denmark, Austria and France and therefore caused the unification of Germany in 1871 under the dynasty of Prussian kings. In the area of domestic policy it is known as the so-called cultural struggle *(Kulturkampf)*. Part of this struggle was the Chancellor's attack on the German Catholic bishops who, at the First Vatican Council in 1870, signed the acceptance of the new Catholic dogma of papal infallibility and championship and thereby allegedly committed themselves to be promoters of foreign political interests in their country. The bishops responded with a theological interpretation of these religious truths, which are in no way binding on political agitation for the Pope.

The German Empire took part in the First World War (1914–1918) with their own goal of realigning Belgium and Poland as vassal countries and the expansion of colonies in Africa. With the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Germany had to give up some of its territory, accept payment of war reparations, reduce the number of its own troops, remove its emperor and establish the Weimar Republic. For all Germans this was a bitter defeat that allowed Hitler to promise the return of the rights and dignity of the Germans. In 1933, he was elected Chancellor and led the Nazi regime for 12 years. After the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Germany was divided into two countries: from the three post-war zones which were managed by the Americans, British and French, the Federal Republic of Germany was established, with a democratic government and the temporary capital of Bonn; and, from the eastern zone under Soviet administration, the Democratic Republic of Germany was established, with a communist regime. In August 1989, there was a bloodless revolution that led to the collapse of the communist regime in East Germany *(die Wende)*, then in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia and, at the end of this year, in Romania. With the skilful policy of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the two German states were allowed to be peacefully united. Through all the time of the existence of two German states, the Holy See had not acceded to the organization of new dioceses, so Berlin and its surrounding church belonged in both German states. Catholic bishops through all that time showed incorporation in the universal Catholic Church and solidarity with their people, which is clearly seen from their letters to the Polish bishops.

In the beginning, the German bishops stated that they accepted the initiative of the Polish brothers with hope that their talking to each other would improve and strengthen the brotherhood between the Polish and German peoples. Then they expressed gratitude to the bishops of France and Britain for coming to Cologne in 1948 to celebrate the Jubilee in the Cathedral, whereby they demonstrated Christian fraternity in Europe, and promising that they would come next year to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of Christianity among the Polish people. Furthermore, they accepted the worship of common saints that are beneficially linked to Germans and Poles in history. Thus followed a humble recognition of the atrocities of their people: "The Germans had, on behalf of the German people, done terrible things to the Polish people. We know that we have to deal with consequences of the war that are difficult for our country as well. We understand that, during the German occupation, painful wounds were left behind, and which, even with the greatest good will, are difficult to heal ... We are grateful that, in spite of the endless suffering of the Polish people, you remember the difficult fate of millions of expelled Germans and refugees". Slowly addressing the issue of guilt and pleas for forgiveness, the German bishops first offer a reminder that all Christians must recognize their personal and collective guilt before God, offering the prayer Our Father as Jesus' prayer: "Forgive us our trespasses!" Only then are Christians allowed to pray for the forgiveness of those to whom we have committed injustice:

"Application for forgiveness is an invitation, to everyone who has suffered injustice, to see this injustice through the merciful eyes of God and to allow a new beginning. This start is above all under the burden of the bitter consequences of the war, which was started and lost by Germany. Millions of Poles have had to move from the east to the areas assigned to them. We know very well what these regions are to Poland because of this. And millions of Germans were forced to leave their homeland, where their ancestors lived".

German bishops knew that their settlers, whom the natives called exiles, were speaking mostly on the right to a homeland in the region from where they were driven. The bishops explain that this is not preparing for a new aggression: "Through this it was clear to them that there is now growing a new generation that considers their fatherland the land that was given to their fathers". The bishops, with their constituents, wish to contribute to the extermination of hatred, hostility and revenge, to overcome all the unfortunate consequences of the unjust war in a satisfactory and fair manner: "Be sure that no German bishop wants anything else and will never support anything other than friendly relations of both nations in complete sincerity and genuine dialogue". In the final part, they are reminiscent of the experience of participation in the Council, where the bishops were not immediately clear of the proposed texts, but they were working together to come to a consensus. Therefore, they pledge to continue the dialogue and come to Czestochowa, as well as the other Polish shrines where common saints are venerated together, because at them Polish people today pray for strength and blessings from God. Joyfully, they point out that, at the time of the conciliar sessions, they conducted a pilgrimage to St. Peter's Cave in Rome, and there found the small chapel of Our Lady of Czestochowa with the image of St. Hedwig, regarded by the Polish people as the best expression of the Christian building of bridges *(Brückenbau)* between Poland and Germany. Willing to learn from these common saints, they give thanks for the forgiveness offered and the seeking of forgiveness, accepting with fraternal respect the outstretched hand, and offering a prayer to God that, through the intercession of Mary, Queen of Peace, "May the demon of hatred never separate our two peoples."

Journalist Tony Barber, in an article for the *Financial Times* on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of these letters, shows that the letter of the Polish bishops was the first step towards friendship between Poles and Germans: "But it also appears today as an act of moral imagination whose scope was greater than most people understood back in 1965. The letter is imbued with the hope of a refounded Poland, brave enough to tell painful historical truths to itself. Over the past 25 years, it has served as an impulse behind Poland's search for reconciliation not only with Germans, but also with others, notably Jews and Ukrainians". Then he quotes the letter of Alexander Kwasniewski, who, as President of Poland, in July 2001 published a public apology to the Jewish community for the execution of hundreds of Polish Jews committed by Poles in the eastern town of Jedwabne in July 1941 under the shadow of the Nazi occupation. This made it possible for the Museum of the History of Polish Jews to be opened in Warsaw in 2014, in which the central theme was the cultural role of Jews in Polish national history from the Middle Ages onwards. This contributed to the public's discovery of the Jewish elements in the history of Poland and the erasure of the stereotype of Poland as a nursery for European anti-Semitism. This new wave has contributed to reconciliation between Poland and Ukraine, which have inflicted violence upon each other in the past, but Poland is now a member of NATO, and the EU contributes to the rapprochement of Ukraine with Europe.

On November 23rd, 2015, via the agency *Polish News*, journalist Lauren Owens published an article about the joint appeal of Polish president Andrzej Duda and German president Joachim Gauck on the occasion of the celebration in Czestochowa. Both presidents pointed out that in 1965 there was an awareness of war trauma, and the Germans were only just beginning to see the awesomeness of the crimes committed and damage caused not only by the German government, but also by many Germans. In their assessment this was a brave gesture at the time of the Cold War, when all the Poles feared 'west-German revanchism', and this fear was deliberately incited by the communist government. Duda and Gauck gladly point out: "We, the presidents of Poland and Germany, with a feeling of endless gratitude, state this as an act of establishing a peaceful neighbourhood. On behalf of our peoples we heartily express gratitude to all who have followed the path dovetailed by the Message of the Polish bishops, and who have contributed to Polish-German reconciliation... In both countries, the Church went ahead of the politics in the process of bringing together Poland and Germany, although the government of West Germany shortly thereafter, in accordance

with its eastern policy, had taken the measures introduced by the socialist forces". They recalled the gesture of Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1972, who knelt before the monument to the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto, and the sign of peace exchanged by Helmut Kohl and Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the Mass of reconciliation in Križova on 12th November 1989, two months after a non-communist government was set up in Poland, and three days after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The presidents concluded, "Today, the Poles and Germans are much more than just good neighbours. They are partners in the same alliance. One of the main goals set 50 years ago by the Message of the Polish Bishops became a reality after 1989. A free Poland is once again a member of the European family".

Grand Mufti Emeritus Dr. M. Cerić Asks Bishops to Accept Muslims who have Lived in Europe for Centuries or are Settling for Reasons of Safety

In the beginning, Reis Emeritus testified that he had accepted the initiative of the Polish ambassador because the pastoral letter of Polish and German bishops of 50 years ago "incites today a sense of peace and friendship". The Roman celebration of this anniversary is the right time for the message that "better is the heart that loves than the one that hates; better is the hand that writes a kind word than the one that kills". Although aware that all signatories of the *Message* of 1965 are deceased, he knows that the new generation of bishops standing at the heads of church institutions of Poland and Germany can influence their believers and other citizens in their countries. Therefore, he addressed them directly with "Dear bishops, dear friends!" He recalls the persecution of the early Muslims from Mecca, who were taken in by the Christian king Negus of Abyssinia, and thereby left a trail in the Qur'an 5:82, which suggests friendly relations between the followers of Jesus and Mohammed.

Aware that a small number of extremist Muslim theologians read the Qur'an with incitement to hostility toward Christians, Dr. Cerić includes himself among the majority of Muslims, who see, in their holy book, inspiration for tolerance and friendly relations with Christians. This is immediately reminiscent of the Letter of Muslim Notables of 24th September 2014, addressed to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and other fighters of the so-called Islamic State (ISIL or ISIS), which was signed by 126 members of the Ulama from various countries, including the Grand Mufti of Egypt and the Mufti of Jerusalem and all Palestine. The original is in Arabic, but the Muslims themselves translated it into English and made a summary of the 24 theses understandable to those who have no professional training as Muslims, or who are not Muslim. The signatory under the number 38 is "Prof. Mustafa Cerić, former Grandi Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina". The key thesis of this summary is clear for the Muslim majority, in which the signatory under the number 38 is proud to be included:

- It is forbidden in Islam to oversimplify the Sharia and to ignore the accepted Islamic sciences;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to kill the innocent;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to kill delegates, ambassadors and diplomats, and it is therefore forbidden to kill journalists and support workers;
- In Islam, forced speech is prohibited;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to deprive women of their rights;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to impose legal punishments (hudud) without following the correct procedures that ensure justice and mercy;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to attribute evil to God;
- In Islam, it is forbidden to proclaim a Caliphate without the consent of all Muslims.

Relying on K 49:13, Dr. Cerić sees God's will in the diversity of peoples and cultures, claiming that no religion, no nation can be happy and live prosperously in isolation. He views Europe "in a specific communion with the Islamic world in space, history, culture and economy". He then says, "Therefore, I feel free to invite you not to close your European doors to those who seek refuge with us, nor to raise your walls against those who come to us because their homes and homeland have been destroyed". This is reminiscent of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who, in our time, are fleeing Afganistan, Iraq, Syria and some other countries with a majority Muslim population because of the violence they are exposed to. From the history of Europe, he states that it is ready for the ethics of community. He believes that the bishops who signed the letter in 1965 contributed to today's Europe being "a continent of peace, coexistence, social justice and prosperity for all people of good will".

In this context he considers it inexplicable why, in Bosnia, the Genocide against the Bosniak people took place, when Bosniaks are a European people which has inherited a thousand-year tradition of honour and human dignity, human rights and freedom,

and unity in diversity. Thankful to Pope Francis for his visit to Sarajevo on 6th June 2015, during which the head of the Catholic Church called the capital city the Jerusalem of Europe, the Grand Mufti Emeritus calls for conditions to be made for the Holocaust and Genocide never to occur again. With the diagnosis that there is a fear of Islam, that European Christians are in fear of Muslim migrants who arrive and Muslim natives of Europe are in fear of those who spread the evil of the fear of Muslims, he recalls that the Letters of 1965 reflect on the experience of fear of the other and the different. Therefore, in these letters we see the importance for all Europeans "to believe that truth, justice, peace and reconciliation are values of the first order". He expects the gracious acceptance of the letter signed by him alongside prominent Bosnian Muftis and intellectuals who feel they are Europeans. They accept other Europeans and want to be accepted for the common good, and they say that there is no reason to be afraid of Islam and Muslims because in their name they carry the meaning of a peaceful man. In this spirit, he lists four quotations from the Qur'an, from which can be seen the origin of all people in their foreparents Adam and Eve (2:35), respect for what God has revealed through Moses and Jesus (2:136) and the believer's view of the Mother of Jesus (3:42; 3:47; 3:45).

He ends by inviting the bishops of Europe, as Christian religious leaders, to join him in a prayer that he has repeatedly recited for the victims of the Srebrenica Genocide, and also at inter-religious meetings in which he has actively participated. This prayer is composed of traditional material from the Bible and the Qur'an, and indeed the faithful of the three monotheistic religions can offer it. I have a preference for the invocations, "If we are caught by the fear of tyrants, empower us with Moses' justice. If we are offered hatred, save us with the love of Jesus". This last prayer is reminiscent of the open letter of Muslim leaders from Jordan and other countries to Pope Benedict XVI and other Christian leaders in October 2007 with the title of *The joint word for us and you* (also translated into Bosnian and issued in Sarajevo in 2010 as a book by CNS). In this promising document, signed by the Grand Mufti of Bosnia and several Bosniak intellectuals, Muslim scholars based the possibility of dialogue with Christians on Jesus' proclamation of love for God and neighbour as the supreme ethical values, and find a basis for such learning and behaviour in the Qur'an. The Catholic response to this outstretched hand of Muslims was the establishment of the Catholic-Muslim Forum, which was first held in Rome on 4th to 6th November 2008; Cerić actively participated in this event. In the end, all the participants were received in audience by Pope Benedict, who heard their greetings, among which was that of Grand Mufti Cerić, whereby he sent his word of support. The Pope gave the Council for Interreligious Dialogue the task of taking care of the continuation of this dialogue



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In the Catholic tradition there is a practice of pastoral letters, which bishops of individual dioceses direct to their constituents or the Episcopal Conference of each country. In 1965, at the end of the Second Vatican Council, the Polish and German bishops had used this form of making a pastoral proposal to each other and their own religious communities in their nations to contribute to reconciliation and confidence among Poles and Germans after World War II. They were aware that they were not representatives of the political or judicial power of their people and that they could only suggest, not order, the path of reconciliation and trust. Their prophetic gesture began to bear

Dr. sc. Mato ZOVKIĆ, professor emeritus

fruit especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe. Polish historian and political scientist Pawel Kowal, in an article on the occasion of the anniversary, called the venture of the Polish and German bishops the "Diplomacy of Pastoral Letters" (*New Eastern Europe,* 18th November 2015). It had created a climate wherein the Polish and Ukrainian bishops signed a joint letter of reconciliation between the two nations on June 18th, 2005, as did the president of the Episcopal Conference of Poland, Archbishop Michalik, and Russian Patriarch Kirill for a "Joint Message to the Polish and Russian people" on August 17th, 2012.

Reis Emeritus Dr. Mustafa Cerić accepted this form of public communication and asked the current European bishops to create, with their constituents and civil authorities, spirit of openness towards Muslims who are not, and do not want to be, a threat to European countries. He constructively used his affiliation to the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and readiness to contribute to the preservation of the Bosniak ethnic and religious identity. I hope that the Christians of our country and other countries in Europe graciously accept this initiative of the Bosniak intellectuals.

I welcome the initiative for these three letters to be published in Bosnian in Sarajevo, as Christian, Muslim and other readers of this book may find material for peaceful existence in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries of Europe, while respecting each other's ethnic and religious identity within the communion alongside the differences that still remain significant to us.





Advertising material printed in Poland on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the exchange of Pastoral Letters (right above) and the zloty with the image of Bishop Bolesław Kominek (left)


ORIGINAL
PHOTO DOKUMENTATION



"We accept and we beg for acceptance
Europe is your and our homeland,
in your and our peace,
in your and our security,
in your and our friendship."

Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ

ROMA - Campo Santo Teutonico
Dr Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufty of B&H



ROME - CAMPO SANTO TEUTONICO - OCTOBER 26, 2015

THE ADDRESS OF Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ ON THE OCCASION OF HIS READING OF THE FRIENDLY LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN BISHOPS

Thank you, Professor Czyżewski, for this introduction.
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Brothers and Sisters,
Friends,
Good Morning, Assalamu Alaikum, Shalom.

You take what you like. I'm really honoured by the invitation of the Polish Ambassador to the Holy See, His Excellency Piotr Nowina-Konopka. And I ask the moderator in advance for forgiveness of my sin, if I take too long. I have learnt something new today. I want to reflect and say, I belong to a Slavic people. We are Slavs, but there are some disputes whether we are really Slavs, or Illyrians. I am proud to be of Slavic origin if that is so, if only for the Polish people. Because a Polish man explained to us how the cosmos works. And the sun. We, the Slavic people, gave to the world the most influential Pope in the history of the Pontificate, I believe. The Polish people, on our Slavic behalf, had this letter written to the Germans. So the Germans have to appreciate what we Slavic people do in Europe generally, and in the Balkans particularly. As we do appreciate what the German people do to my people, receiving them as refugees; and all these people who come from the Middle East, they just want to come to Germany. I have just come from Frankfurt, where I stayed for two days with my people in Kassel. And of course I want to share with you my great honour, because I knew Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who became, I can say, my friend, because he resigned as special representative of Boutros Boutros-Ghali at that time, because he could not bear to see the Genocide in Bosnia. So I initiated that the victims of Genocide in Bosnia give him a special award, called "Srebrenica 1995". You people of Poland should be proud of your Tadeusz, as I am proud of him as being of Slavic origin.

Thank you.

Now I cannot tell you how excited I am, your Excellency, to be with you. When I read this letter, I could not but write my own letter to you bishops in Europe. This is an original letter, which I have written for this occasion. Indeed, it is inspired by the idea of the Common Word, which you will already have heard of. So I would like your patience. It is not a long letter. I want this letter to be heard here in Rome, as I am speaking on behalf of my religion, my faith, my Bosnian culture, from Bosnia, and my long history of one thousand years of coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. You probably know better than I do how we Bosniaks have behaved throughout history, since the time of the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Tito's empire, and then we became what we are now and here. So I just want you to listen to this voice that represents all of this. And I'm very small, of course. A small Grand Mufti from a small country. But I carry a big burden of this small country in the heart of Europe. I would like to paraphrase the expression "we forgive and beg for forgiveness" by telling you, "we accept and we beg for acceptance". Europe is your homeland and ours; in your peace and ours; in your security and ours; in your friendship and ours.

Dear friends, I am honoured by the invitation of His Excellency the Ambassador, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, to actively participate in the commemoration of the historic pastoral letter that the Polish bishops addressed to the German bishops,

and their response to the Polish bishops' 50 years ago. This pastoral letter of the bishops evokes today, in each and every man of goodwill, a sense of peace and friendship. Indeed, this letter awakens a sincere desire for reconciliation among brothers. Rome is the right place for this historical commemoration. But this is not only the right place. This is also the right time for an incentive for all people of good heart in the world to learn a lesson and accept the message of this pastoral letter. The lesson is that the heart of love is better than the heart of hate. And the message is that the hand of the good healer is better than the hand of the evil killer.

Your Eminences,

Inspired by the example of your fraternal and pastoral love in Europe, I felt the need and the freedom to write you, the European bishops, this letter on behalf of my faith, Islam, my Bosnian culture and the historical experience of my homeland, Bosnia. This letter is an expression of friendship. As you know, the first murder was fratricidal: Cain killed his brother, Abel. Jesus, the son of Mary, peace be upon him, was accepted and followed by his friends, his disciples, the Apostles, Al-Hawaryun. They were not his brothers: they were his friends in love. Thus the love of friends can be even stronger than the love of brothers by blood. The first Muslims in Mecca were persecuted by their brothers. In order to save themselves from their brothers they found refuge in a Christian friend, the King of Abyssinia, Negus. Thus King Negus has become a historic symbol of friendship between Muslims and Christians. Perhaps here lies the primordial wisdom of the Qur'anic guidance to the Muslims: "You will surely find the nearest of them in affection of you, the believers who say, We are Christians. That is because among them are priests and monks, and because they are not arrogant".

Dear friends,

This Qur'anic description of your pastoral modesty requires my acceptance of, and my respect for, you as my friends. I am aware that there have been, and there will be, some who read the Qur'an with the intention of encouraging an enmity. I write to you on behalf of the majority of Muslims who read the Qur'an, and they find there reasons for friendship. You will understand therefore that for me, myself, there is no stronger motivation than the Qur'an to offer you my friendship and to receive yours. Also, you will understand that it is a privilege for me, as a survivor of Genocide in the land of Bosnia, to address you with a message of freindship and appeal for the ethics of sharing. The past, in which there were mistakes, we cannot change, but we can influence the future to be better than our past in the spirit of our togetherness, which is incumbent on us all by the word of God from Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, peace be upon all of them. If it was possible in the past to build walls and hedges in exclusive spaces, such as Christendom and Islam, today this is no longer possible. Not only in Europe, but also anywhere in the world, no one religion, no one culture, no one nation can be in isolation. All religions, cultures and nations of the world rely *a priori* on each other, and therefore it is necessary that we know each other. This truth has been highlighted in the holy Qur'an in this way: "All men, behold, We have created you all out of male and female, and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you might come to know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is the most deeply conscious of Him. Behold, God is all-knowing, all-aware."

Your Excellency,

Certainly your letters of 1965 have greatly contributed to Europe's being what it is today: a continent of peace, coexistence, social justice and prosperity for all people of good will. Therefore it is inexplicable why, at the end of the 20th century, on the territory of this Europe as it is, a Genocide was allowed to take place against my people in Bosnia, a land with 1,000 years of great human values which are the essence of today's Europe; the values of human good and dignity, human rights and freedom, human peace and coexistence, and the value of unity in diversity. If Pope Francis said that the city of Sarajevo is the Jerusalem of Europe, then Europe has the right to be proud of its Sarajevo, in the same way as the city of Sarajevo is proud

to belong to an open and free Europe, where the cry of *Never Again!* to Holocaust and Genocide must become embedded in the minds of all of us.

Dear bishops of Europe,

Obviously we are all in fear. You in Europe are in fear of a spreading fear of Islam, while we Muslims in Europe are in fear of those who are spreading the fear of us, here and now. If anyone has it, it is Europe that has an experience of false fears of those who are different. This is precisely what your letters are all about: the call to freedom from false fears of you, yourself, and of others that are different from you. It is because of that that your letters have a historical importance, not only for you as bishops, but also for all Europeans who believe that truth, justice, peace and reconciliation are values of the first order. So I hope that you will understand this letter, signed by prominent muftis, imams and Muslim intellectuals in Europe, as the voice of reason and knowledge that Adam and Eve are our common father and mother. It is not possible that we know everything about each other, but it is possible that we accept one another in a way such that we present ourselves to each other without prejudice or fear.

We accept you, and we beg for your acceptance of us without prejudice or fear.

It is not enough that we have an awareness of each other; it is necessary that we have a willingness to accept one another in a spirit of common good for all of us here and now in Europe, which has no reason to be afraid of anyone, or anything, least of all of Islam and Muslims, who in their names carry the meaning of the peaceful man. Here, my dear friends, I would like to bring you a few quotes from the Holy Qur'an, which tells us of our spiritual common ground, and thus releases us from the fear of one another. "Say, O Muslims, we believe in God, and that which is revealed unto us, and that which was revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which Moses and Jesus received, and that which the Prophets received from their Lord. We make no distinctions between any of them, and unto Him we have surrendered."

Finally, I would like you to join me in this prayer that I have repeatedly recited at the collective funeral in Potočari, in Srebrenica, for the souls of the victims of Genocide.

"Dear God, if we forget Thee, do not forget us. If we make a mistake, give us the strength of the repentance of Adam; if we are darkened by false belief, enlighten us with the true faith of Abraham; if disaster befalls us, teach us how to build a Noah's Ark of salvation; if we are caught by the fear of tyrants, empower us with the justice of Moses; if we are offered hatred, save us with the love of Jesus; if we are expelled from our homes, strengthen us with Mohammad's desire to return to our homes. Dear God, may peace be upon all the Prophets of God: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammad."

Your Eminency,

In the hope that we will meet always in peace and understanding, please accept my sincere expression of personal respect.

Thank you.

If anyone wants to take a copy, I didn't read the whole letter, because it's somewhat longer; it is available by the grace of my friend, Mars Manser. This letter will be published in Sarajevo, in Bosnia. And it is in Bosnian, English, Arabic, and it will be translated into German. And it will be published in a special booklet. This is my letter, signed by the Muftis of Serbia, Sandžak, Slovenia, Banja Luka and Mostar, and by some intellectuals from the University of Sarajevo and the University of Tuzla. And the President of the Bosniak Academy of Sciences and Arts. So that's my contribution, and my gratitude to my brothers, to my Slavic brothers in Poland for their great historical initiative. And my gratitude to the Polish Ambassador, who noticed and invited me to represent the Muslims here in Rome, on that 50th anniversary of this great historic letter.

So may God bless you all. Thank you.





“Mi treba da mijenjamo granice koje nas sprečavaju da
otvorimo naša srca i naše umove jedni drugima u nadi
da zaslužimo Božji blagoslov...
Naš je put po sredini od vječnosti *(ezela)*, koja je izvan našeg dodira
do vječnosti *(ebeda)*, koja je izvan našeg dohvata.
Milošću našeg zajedničkog Stvoritelja, Jednog Boga, nismo ostavljeni
sami u sredini našeg putovanja od "vječnosti" do "vječnosti" -
mi imamo Božju riječ koja bijaše na početku i koja će biti na kraju...
Mi, muslimani, kršćani i Jevreji, tvrdimo da se borimo za nadu,
ljubav i pravdu. Ali, čiju nadu, čiju ljubav i čiju pravdu? Ne shvatamo
li da ljubav i pravda moraju biti praćeni jevrejskom nadom?
Nije li nam jednako jasno da ljubav i pravdu mora slijediti kršćanska
ljubav prema komšiji? I, nakaraju, ne slažemo li se da
s nadom i ljubavlju mora doći
muslimanska pravda za sve? ”

Reisu-l-ulema dr. Mustafa Cerić,
MEĐUNARODNA KONFERENCIJA VIJEĆA KRŠĆANA I JEVREJA
"**MIJENJANJE GRANICA**"
Prezentacija nagrade Sir Sigmund Sternberg za 2004.
Krunidbena Gradska sala u Ahenu, Njemačka
18-21 juli, 2004.



"We should change the borders which prevent us to open our hearts
and our minds to one another in the hope that we
may earn God's blessings...
Ours is the middle of the road from the eternity ***(azal)*** that is out of
our touch to the eternity *(abad)* that is out of our reach.
By the mercy of our common Creator the One God we are not left
alone in the middle of our journey from the "eternity"
to the "eternity" – we have the Word of God that was
in the beginning and that will be in the end...
We, Muslims, Christians and Jews, claim that we are
committed to strive for hope, love and justice. But whose hope,
whose love and whose justice? Don't we realize that love and justice
must temper the Jewish hope? Don't we,
equally, see that hope and justice must follow the Christian love
for a neighbor? And finally, don't we agree that hope and
love must come out with the Muslim justice for all?"

Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Dr. Mustafa Ceric,
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHISTIANS AND JEWS
"**CHANGING BORDERS**"
Presentation of ICCJ International Sir Sigmund Stemberg Award
Coronation Hall of Aachen Town Hall, Germany
18 - 21 July, 2004

SVJETSKI BOŠNJAČKI KONGRES
WORLD BOSNIAK CONGRESS

The friendly Muslim letter of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia (1993-2012), Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ, to the European bishops of October 26, 2015, read in Rome on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the pastoral letter of the Polish bishops of November 18, 1965, to their German spiritual brothers, and the response of the German bishops of December 5, 1965.



We accept and we beg for acceptance.
Europe is your homeland and ours,
in your peace and ours,
in your security and ours,
in your friendship and ours.

Dear Friends,

I am honoured by the invitation of His Excellency Ambassador Piotr Nowin-Konopak to actively participate in the commemoration of the historic pastoral letter that the Polish bishops addressed to the German bishops, and their response to the Polish bishops, fifty years ago.

This pastoral letter of the bishops evokes in each and every man a sense of good will for peace and friendship. Indeed, this letter awakens a sincere desire for reconciliation among brothers.

Rome is the right place for this historical memory.

But this is not only the right place. This is also the right time for an incentive for all people of good heart in the world to learn a lesson and accept the message of this pastoral letter: the lesson is that the heart of love is better than the heart of hate; and the message is that the hand of a good healer is better than the hand of an evil killer.

Your Eminences,

Inspired by the example of your fraternal and pastoral love in Europe, I felt the need and the freedom to write to you, the European bishops, this letter on behalf of my faith, Islam, my Bosniak culture and the historical experience of my homeland, Bosnia. This letter is an expression of friendship. As you know, the first murder was fratricidal. Cain killed his brother Abel. Jesus, the son of Mary, peace be upon him, was accepted and followed by his friends, his disciples, the apostles, *Al-Hawariyyun*. They were not his brothers. They were his friends in love. Thus, the love of friends can be even stronger than the love of brothers by blood.

The first Muslims in Mecca were persecuted by their brothers. In order to save themselves from their brothers, they found refuge in a Christian friend, the king of Abyssinia, Negus. Thus, King Negus has become a historic symbol of friendship between Muslims and Christians. Perhaps here lies the primordial wisdom of the Qur'anic guidance to the Muslims *You will surely find the nearest of them in affection to (you) the believers who say, 'We are Christians'. That is because among them are priests and monks. And because they are not arrogant.* (Qur'an, 5:82).

Dear Friends,

This Qur'anic description of your pastoral modesty requires my acceptance of, and respect for, you as my friends. I am aware that there have been, and there will be, some who read the Qur'an with the intention of encouraging an enmity. I write to you on behalf of the majority of Muslims, who read the Qur'an and find there reasons for friendship. You will understand, therefore, that for myself there is no stronger motivation than the Qur'an to offer you my friendship, and to receive yours.

You will also understand that it is my privilege, as one of the survivors of Genocide in Bosnia, to address you with a message of friendship and to invite you to the common virtue of the ethics of sharing. What is life but sharing? Our mistakes of the past we cannot change. But we can exert influence that our future be better than our past in the spirit of the ethics of sharing, as we are taught by the eternal word of God from Adam through Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus to Muhammad, peace be upon all of them.

If it was possible in the past to build walls and hedge exclusive spaces such as Christendom and Islam, today this is no longer possible. Not only in Europe, but also anywhere in the world, no one religion, no one culture, no one nation can be in isolation. All religions, cultures and nations of the world rely a priori on each other,

and therefore it is necessary that we know each other. This truth has been highlighted in the Holy Qur'an in this way: *O men! Behold, We have created you all out of a male and a female, and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you might come to know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is most deeply conscious of Him. Behold, God is all-knowing, all-awar.* (Qur'an, 49:13).

Your Eminences,

Allow me to tell you that our Europe today is not on the margins of the centre of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, nor is Europe the centre of the world today. Europe today is in communion with itself and the whole world. Indeed, Europe is in specific communion with the Islamic world: geographically, historically, culturally and economically. In fact, the European and Islamic civilizations are fused by a destiny like Siamese twins. Any attempt of their separation causes pain and suffering in both of these two civilizational circles. Therefore, we are all aware that a severe surgical separation of the European and Islamic civilizations, as in the case of Siamese twins, would lead to the instant death of both, or of one only. No one knows which one. Because of this, the European and Islamic civilizations do not have a choice but to know and accept each other in the spirit of mutual friendship, based on the consciousness of the right of all men and women to life, religion, freedom, property and dignity.

Thus I feel free to call on you that we don't close our European doors to those seeking refuge with us, and that we don't build walls against those who come to us because their homes and homeland have been destroyed. Europe has survived all that the living human being could have survived: endless divisions, long-lasting wars, unbearable suffering, merciless persecution... But Europe has risen from its ashes from Westphalia (1648) to Maastricht (1992) and shown the whole world that it is capable of peace and coexistence, that it is ready to adopt the ethics of sharing.

Your Emonences,

Certainly, your letters of 1965 have greatly contributed to Europe's being what it is today: a continent of peace, coexistence, social justice and prosperity for all people of good will. Therefore, it is inexplicable why, at the end of the twentieth century on the territory of this Europe as it is, a Genocide was allowed to take place against my people in Bosnia, a land with a thousand years of great human values which are the essence

of today's Europe, namely the values of human good and dignity, human rights and freedoms, human peace and coexistence, and the value of unity in diversity.

If Pope Francis said that the city of Sarajevo is the Jerusalem of Europe, then Europe has the right to be proud of its Sarajevo in the same way as the city of Sarajevo is proud of belonging to an open and free Europe, where the cry of "Never again!" to Holocaust and Genocide must become embedded in the minds of all of us.

Dear bishops of Europe,

Obviously, we are all in fear. You in Europe are in fear of a spreading fear of Islam. And we Muslims in Europe are in fear of those who are spreading the fear of us here and now. If anyone has it, it is Europe that has an experience of false fears of those who are different. This is precisely what your letters are all about: the call to freedom from false fears of you yourselves and of others who are different from you. It is because of that that your letters have a historic importance not only for you as bishops, but also for all Europeans who believe that truth, justice, peace and reconciliation are values of the first order. So I hope that you will understand this letter, signed by prominent Muftis, Imams and Muslim intellectuals in Europe, as the voice of reason and knowledge that Adam and Eve are our common father and mother. It is not possible that we know everything about each other, but it is possible that we accept one another in such a way that we present ourselves to each other without prejudice or fear.

We accept you, and we beg for your acceptance of us without prejudice or fear.

It is not enough that we have an awareness of each other. It is necessary that we have a willingness to accept one another in a spirit of common good for all of us here and now in Europe, which has no reason to be afraid of anyone or anything, least of all Islam and Muslims, who in their names carry the meaning of the *Peaceful Man*.

Here, my dear friends, I would like to bring you a few quotes from the Holy Qur'an, which tells us of our spiritual common ground and thus releases us from the fear of one another:

And We said: *O Adam! Dwell thou and thy wife in the Garden, and eat ye freely of the fruits thereof where ye will; but come not near this tree lest ye become wrongdoers.* [2:35] Say O Muslims: *We believe in God and that which is revealed unto us and that which was revealed unto Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which Moses and Jesus received, and that which the Prophets received from their*

Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and unto Him we have surrendered. [2:136] And when the angels said: *O Mary! Lo! God hath chosen thee and made thee pure, and hath preferred thee above all women of creation.* [3:42] [Jesus said:] *And I come confirming that which was before me of the Torah, and to make lawful some of that which was forbidden unto you. I come unto you with a sign from your Lord, so keep your duty to God and obey me.* [3:50] She [Mary] said: *My Lord! How can I have a child when no mortal hath touched me?* He [Gabriel] said: *So it will be. God createth what He will. If He decreeth a thing, He saith unto it only: Be! And it is.* [3:47] And remember when the angels said: *O Mary! Lo! God giveth thee glad tidings of a word from Him, whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, illustrious in the world and the Hereafter, and one of those brought near to God.* [3:45]

Finally, I would like you to join me in this prayer that I have repeatedly recited at the collective funeral in Potočari, near Srebrenica, for the souls of the victims of Genocide:

Dear God, if we forget Thee, Do not forget us!

If we make a mistake, give us the strength of the repentance of Adam!

If we are darkened by false belief, enlighten us with the true faith of Abraham!

If disaster befalls us, teach us how to build the Noah's Ark of salvation!

If we are caught by fear of tyrants, empower us with the justice of Moses!

If we are offered hatred, save us with the love of Jesus!

If we are expelled from our homes, strengthen us with Muhammad's desire to return to our homes!

Dear God, may peace be upon all of the Prophets of God: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad!

Your Eminences, in the hope that we will meet always in peace and understanding, please accept my sincere expressions of personal respect.

AUTHORIZED

Mustafa Cerić, PhD
Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1993-2012)

The signatories to the letter:

Academician Muhamed Filipović
president of the Bosniak Academy of Sciences and Arts
BANU

Mr. Muamer Zukorlić
Mufti of Sandžak, Serbia

Dr. Mevludin Dudić
Mufti of Serbia

Academician Mehmed A. Akšamija
University of Sarajevo

Rešad Plojović
Mufti in Sandžak, Serbia

S.Kurtćehajić
Prof. Dr. Suad Kurtćehajić
University of Sarajevo



Seid Smajkić
Mufti of Mostar - Bosnia

Edhem Čamdžić
Mufti of Banja Luka - Bosnia

Dr. Aziz ef. Hasanović
Mufti of Zagreb

Prof. Dr. Safvet Halilović
University of Zenica - Bosnia

Mr. Jakub ef. Salkica
Chief Imam in Zenica - Bosnia

Prof. Dr. Sedad Dizdarević
University of Zenica - Bosnia

Dr. Mensur Valjevac
University of Zenica - Bosnia

Mr. Džemal ef. Salkić, imam
Sheikh Sufi Order of Naqshband - Bosnia

Benjamin ef. Idriz
Imam of Munich

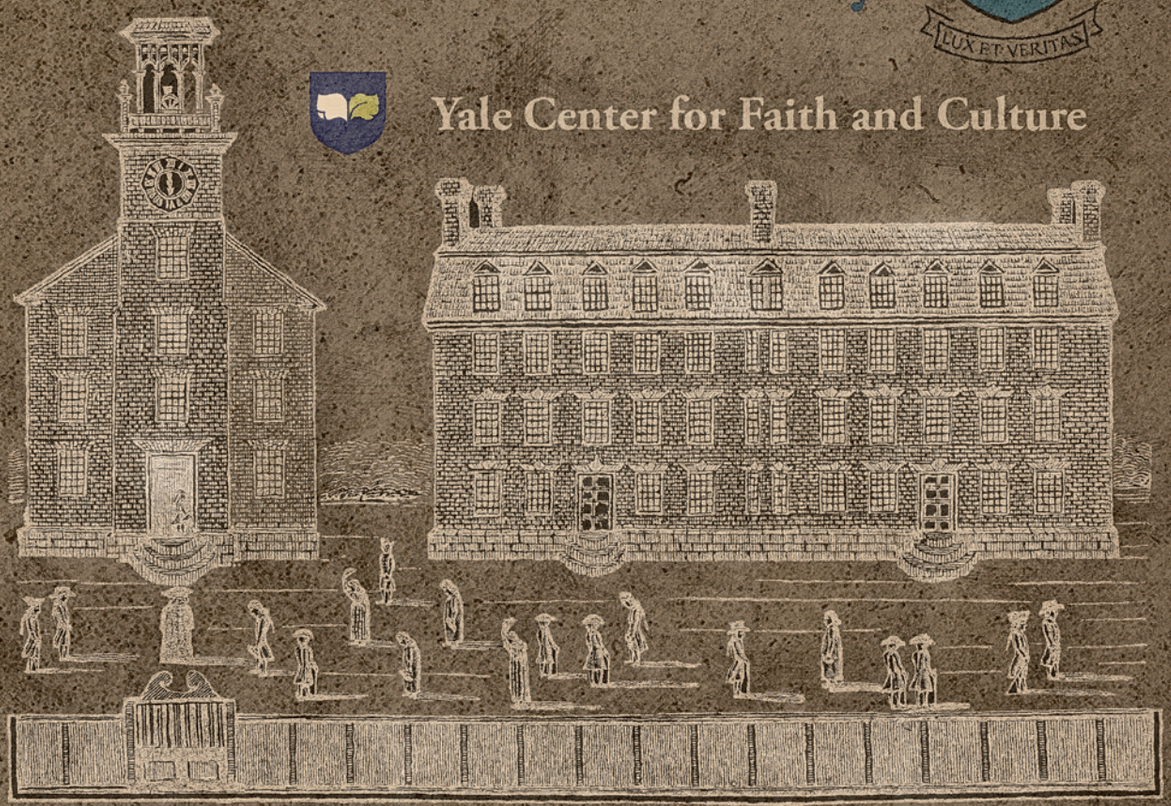
Dr. Nedžad Grabus
Mufti of Ljubljana - Slovenia



Yale University

LUX ET VERITAS

Yale Center for Faith and Culture



YALE COLLEGE IN 1764.

"My advice is that everybody should stick to their faith and practice it and not attempt to deny others the right to do the same. People should also be honest and not allow themselves to be intoxicated by the occasion and give in to pressure to water down either their beliefs or what constitutes their basic interests... Surrendering a portion of identity in the particular can actually cause a fulfilling of identity on the general, or international, level of the human race."

Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Ceric,
MAR '09 - ISM Yale University

DIALOGUE IN U.S.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology - MIT, University of Wisconsin and Birmingham's Temple Emanu-El, 2006



European Muslim Identity in the New Millennium

MIT news April 4, 2006

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, addresses some of the issues and challenges resulting from the presence of several million Muslims in Europe. He shares some of his thoughts on the integration of the large European Muslim minorities into the social, political and cultural structures of Europe and addresses the question of how Muslims can help build multi-faith, pluralistic European nation states that are more tolerant of and open to 'the other'. Sponsored by the MIT Muslim Students' Association with support from the Technology and Culture Forum, the Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the Center for International Studies.

Religious integration possible for Europe's Muslims, Grand Mufti says in talk

MIT news April 12, 2006

Assimilation is possible for the roughly 30 million or more Muslims currently living in Europe, according to **Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the highest official of religious law in that country. "Europe has never been a continent of one faith," **Cerić** told the audience gathered in Room 54-100 for his April 4 talk titled, "European Muslim Identity in the New Millennium." The responsibility for assimilation lies with both the European Muslim minority and the European majority, he said. Dr. **Cerić** proposed that a third option be added to the traditional Islamic concept that one either lives in an Islamic country or in a state of war fighting to keep the values of Islam alive: "Europe is neither a house of Islam or war. Europe is the house of contract, peace and reconciliation," he said. "An understanding of Europe is very important for Muslims," said Dr. **Cerić**, who said Muslims should try to embrace this third option, and that many Europeans need to eliminate their prejudice against Islam. "I worry about the future of Muslims in Europe especially after recent events in Denmark," said Dr. **Cerić**, referring to the editorial cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed in a negative light that appeared in a Danish newspaper and set off a series of violent protests around the world. The cartoons were "meant to hurt," Dr. **Cerić** said. They "left a bitter feeling." Condemning the recent terrorist attacks against the United States, England and Spain, Dr. **Cerić** said that "Muslims around the world have been shocked (by the attacks)." He encouraged Muslims in Europe to be proactive. "The East believes Islam is the answer and the West believes Islam is the problem ... both are using and misusing Islam," Dr. **Cerić** said. He encouraged Muslims to live by the principle that "Islam is about the West and the East," he said. "I am very optimistic," **Cerić** said. "I believe in the new generation of Muslims."



The Grand Mufti Visits Madison

Thurstay, 18 May 2006

He journeyed into the heart of the conflict Bosnia as thousands were fleeing the other way. He agonized with Bosnian women who had been raped or had their husbands & children killed while attempting to council them on how to walk in forgiveness. And he made an impassioned plea for people to not view all Muslims as al-qaeida terrorists. "He" is **His Eminence Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia**, spiritual leader for millions of European Muslims. A tall, towering figure of a man, **Dr. Cerić** spoke before a highly attentive audience of 150-200 at U.W. Madison's Grainger Hall Friday, April 7, 2006, as part of an annual conference of U.W. Madison's Lubar Institute for the Study of the Abrahamic Religions, "The Ten Commandments and their Appropriations in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam." The conference was held April 7-8, 2006. A "mufti" is an Islamic scholar who is an interpreter or expounder of Islamic law, capable of issuing "fatwas", which are legal pronouncements in Islam issued by a religious law specialist on a specific issue...

Very personable and at times, humorous, **Dr. Cerić** remarked that all the Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) should get along because of their similarities. He said it was the duty of Islam, as the last religion, to make this cooperation happen, and that the three religions could work together to do a lot of good. He emphasized that he was not going to get hung up on "aspects of our religions upon which we differ." Rather, he was concentrating on those things each religion held in common. One such

commonality was the topic of forgiveness. He related how, during the Bosnian war, he helped and counseled several Bosnian women who had suffered horrible atrocities. He said if there was ever a people who could speak to the necessity and yet difficulty of granting forgiveness, it was these Bosnian women. **Dr. Cerić** was asked by Muslim authorities to be the spiritual authority in Bosnia during the Bosnian war. So as everyone else moved fast to get out of the way of the war, **Dr. Cerić** and his family moved in. He has remained there to this day.

Birmingham's Temple Emanu-El

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Suffering, Easter, and Love

Robert Montgomery - Wednesday, April 12, 2006

This past week, I was among some people in Birmingham who hosted **Dr. Mustafa Cerić** here in town. It's not every week that some Jews and some Christians get together with some Muslims to host someone who is the leader of a religious group in Bosnia. But it happened this week...

While in the world of politics and nationalism, one only meets others with the attitude of protecting our own interests and assuring our own security and superiority, in the world of genuine faith, only those who love have any authority or legitimacy. Jesus became a servant of people who hated him. He gave himself in love to those who had no intention of doing the same for him. We ourselves are among them. **Dr. Cerić** is a man who has witnessed the horror of people slaughtering others in order to gain advantage over them, and many people dared to say they were doing it in the name of defending their religious faith from the threat of others and their religion. Those claims are absurd, but few voices arose to say, "There is nothing religious in this. It is only cruelty, murder and self-deception." So, yes, it is ironic that as a Muslim, **Dr. Cerić** surprises so many of us Christians in the fact that he has made the decision, hard as it is, not to hate in return. He has decided that his own pain is not a valid reason to hate others and seek to repay evil for evil. And because of that, everyone is suspicious of him. Is he only pretending, in order to deceive us as Americans, or as Christians or as Jews? Surely he hates. Surely he must. Here is a man who has come through Genocide, been present to bury countless thousands of people killed by people claiming to be Christians, and yet that is not enough for us to respect him. There is an implicit demand that he also reassure us that all Muslims everywhere will think like he does, when there is no way, for example, that any of us can ever assure anyone that everyone who claims to be Christian will behave like Jesus did. **Dr. Cerić** knows that won't happen. He saw too much in Bosnia about people who claimed to be Christian. Yet, we still demand that those who have suffered the most absorb their pain on their own and then rise above it in order to tell the rest of us (most of whom have not suffered so much) that there is hope for us. At the end of the day, we are always suspicious of those who try to forgive. At the same time, we only trust people who we believe won't let their pain become a reason for hate or for lashing out. I honestly can't explain why some people are able to experience pain and not turn toward evil themselves, as much as I try to expect that of myself. I actually expect it of every truly faithful person. I know that the voices inside can be simply overwhelming. But it is the surest sign I have in all the world that God is alive because there are people who endure evil and somehow turn toward love anyway, as impossible as that seems. It is, of course, the story of Jesus Christ, above all, for us Christians, for us Gentiles who hated God and for Gentiles like us who tortured and murdered Jesus in cooperation with some who claimed to be the most religious people of the day. It's the story of God who brings good out of evil. It is the story of God who raises from the dead those who commit themselves to the way in which God lives - by the power of sacrifice in the service of love. That is what Jesus Christ lived and died to show us and give us, and God accepted his faithfulness and his death as enough to cover the horribly ugly sins of the whole world. Good Friday is the climax of just how far Jesus was prepared to go in service to the God who loves. Easter is the proof that those who put their faith in God may see and suffer great pain, but they will not regret the decision to love.





European Muslim Identity in the New Millennium

April 04, 2006
Category: lectures/conferences: humanities/social sciences;
Speaker: **Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, Grand Mufti of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

... The **Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina** will address some of the challenges resulting from the presence of several million Muslims in Europe. He will share his thoughts on the integration of Europe's large Muslim minorities into its social, political and cultural structures, and will address ways in which Muslims can help to build multi-faith, pluralistic European nation states that are more tolerant of and open to "the other."

Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Cerić, visited BAACBH

WC news May 22, 2007

Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa ef. Cerić, visited the Bosniak American Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina. BAACBH representatives informed **Dr. Cerić** of recent and current BAACBH activities. The Grand Mufti expressed his interest in BAACBH projects and voiced his support for ongoing activities. The Grand Mufti emphasized the crucial role of the United States in the stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. **Dr. Cerić** was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Azra Cerić. The Grand Mufti's visit to Washington, D.C. also included a lecture at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, meetings with Congressmen Chris Smith and Russ Carnahan (co-sponsors of the Congressional Bosnian Caucus), a meeting with Archbishop Wurel, Cardinal Adam Maida and Cardinal McCarric, as well as a speech at Catholic University.

Exclusive: The Arab Hijacking of Bosnian Muslims

Stephen Schwartz - 2007/05/29

... Some of us imagined that **Dr. Cerić** would use a lecture at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the American capital to discuss the lessons of Bosnian interfaith history – including the exemplary history of Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Jewish cooperation as documented in my 2005 book "Sarajevo Rose". But he did not. Rather, he delivered himself of a gassy, meandering, namedropping discourse that said nothing whatever. He reviewed the history of the human intellect from the Greeks on, seldom elucidating citations that could have been, and probably were, taken from a dictionary of quotations. All his statements blandly reaffirmed the need for tolerance and understanding, as if he were describing different cloud formations on a summer day.



Muslim-Christian Common Word in Yale

IslamOnline.net & News Agencies

This week, a global bid to connect Muslims and Christians Faith leaders' quest for understanding, commonality begins Tuesday at Yale.

"The common understanding here is that we have different theological languages but the ultimate object of our discussion is the same," Kalin. NEW HAVEN - More than 150 Muslim and Christian scholars are meeting this week in Yale University to foster better understanding under a Muslim initiative on commonalities between Islam and Christianity. "The common understanding here is that we have different theological languages but the ultimate object of our discussion is the same," Ibrahim Kalin, spokesman for co-organizer Muslim Common Word group, told Reuters Sunday, July 27. He said participating scholars would focus their discussions on common religious grounds. "There is only one God but we approach God with different languages." The conference, themed "Loving God and Neighbor in Word and Deed: Implications for Muslims and Christians," started Friday with closed-door talks among 60 theologians. It will expand to 150 in public sessions during the period of July 28-31. The conference is the first public dialogue since 138 Muslim scholars and dignitaries from 43 countries sent an open letter to the world's Christian clergy last October. The letter, themed "A Common Word Between Us and You," calls for dialogue to declare the common ground between Islam and Christianity. "We have broken the ice of mistrust between the West and Islam with this initiative," said **Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, the grand mufti of Bosnia who is taking part in Yale meeting. "In world affairs today, the rule should not be the argument of force but the force of argument."

Impressions of the Balkans

Jennifer Freeman, MAR '09 - ISM Yale University

October 20, 2009

During his talk I was struck by the fact that he recommended tolerance in interfaith dialogue even at the "loss of some identity," because in an earlier interview conducted by Nadeem Azam, which we were given as preparatory material, **Dr. Cerić** said of interfaith dialogue: "My advice is that everybody should stick to their faith and practice it and not attempt to deny others the right to do the same. People should also be honest and not allow themselves to be intoxicated by the occasion and give in to pressure to water down either their beliefs or what constitutes their basic interests." When pressed on the apparent conflict in the statements of the interview and that of our current conversation, **Dr. Cerić** responded that tolerance works as a general concept and that the loss of identity occurs on the particular level. In other words, surrendering a portion of identity in the particular can actually cause a fulfilling of identity on the general, or international, level of the human race.



Religion is key in conflict resolution

NEW YORK, Sept. 17 (UPI)

Religious and political leaders each have roles to play in conflict resolution, say prominent leaders at the inaugural meeting of the Clinton Global Initiative. Former Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Rabbi Michael Melchior, **Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, **Grand Mufti of Bosnia**, and David Smock, director of the religion and peacemaking initiative at the U.S. Institute of Peace, spoke Friday at the Sheraton New York hotel. "You can't exclude religion if you are interested in solving problems," said Albright reflecting on her conflict-resolution experience, admitting she came from a generation of diplomats who didn't believe religion and foreign policy went together.



Exclusive: Grand Mufti of Bosnia Speaks in St. Louis

THE GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD DAILY REPORT

Each year, a different faith group is assigned the chairmanship of the Interfaith Partnership/Faith Beyond Walls annual dinner. This year, the dinner was hosted by the St. Louis Muslim community, and the largest crowd in the event's 18-year history turned out for a night of interfaith dialogue. About 420 people of all religious stripes converged on the Hilton St. Louis Frontenac Thursday night to share a meal and hear from the night's keynote speaker, **Dr. Mustafa Cerić,** the grand mufti of Bosnia. The report notes that **Cerić** is on the advisory council of the Tony Blair Faith Foundation, and was one of the 138 original signatories of "A Common Word Between Us and You." A recent post discussed the recent conference at Georgetown University titled "A Common Word: A Global Agenda for Change," where **Dr. Cerić** was in attendance.



A Common Word Global Leaders Forum Muslim-Christian Relations in a 21st Century World

October 7, 2009

"A Common Word Between Us and You" was a two-day conference at Georgetown University gathering political and religious leaders, scholars, media, and community representatives to discuss the future of Muslim-Christian relations in the 21st century. The opening panel was moderated by Mr. Riz Khan, host of "The Riz Khan Show" on Al-Jazeera English. Panelists included The Right Honorable Tony Blair, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Founder of the Tony Blair Faith Foundation; His Excellency Kjell Magne Bondevik, former Prime Minister of Norway and President of the Oslo Center for Human RIghts; Dr. John L. Esposito, founding director of the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University; **His Excellency Sheikh Dr. Mustafa Efendi Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina**; and Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and Leader of the Opposition of the Malaysian Parliament. The Common Word conference was sponsored by the Office of the President at the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, together with the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought of Jordan. The conference took place October 7-8, 2009 at Georgetown University.

DIALOGUE IN U.S. AND EUROPE

University of Southern California 2003, University of Cambridge 2009 and Universitat Tubingen 2012

Beyond Violence: Religious Sources of Social Transformation

May 5–7, 2003 | University of Southern California

In May, CRCC co-sponsored a conference that brought nearly 300 academics and practitioners to USC. "Beyond Violence: Religious Sources of Social Transformation," explored how religious traditions can motivate people to work for justice and reconciliation. The conference was also notable because it joined four organizations in the effort: the Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies, the Omar Ibn Al Khattab foundation, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and USC College's Center for Religion and Civic Culture. "The conference represents the kind of outreach that is critical in today's violent world," says Joseph Aoun, dean of the College of Letters, Arts and Sciences. "The sponsors deserve credit for their efforts to promote peace and seek solutions to conflict. Their collaboration is an important example of the kind of partnerships USC has forged with neighboring religious organizations." The conference featured experts on religion and violence from the perspectives of both academics and practitioners. Noted philosopher Charles Taylor, Emeritus professor at McGill University, delivered an address, "Notes on the Sources of Violence, Perennial and Modern." Rabbi Reuven Firestone of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute was both a conference organizer and presenter. Other speakers were **Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia**, Rabbi Irving Greenberg of the Jewish Life Network, R. Scott Appleby of the University of Notre Dame and author of The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000). Fr. Michael Lapsley of South Africa and practitioners from Palestine, Japan, and Los Angeles spoke about their experiences in the field. "By examining ways to reach beyond violence, this conference has brought us together as members of the human family who are deeply involved in the well-being of our world," says **Dr. Cerić**. The **Grand Mufti** expressed his interest in BAACBH projects and voiced his support for ongoing activities. The **Grand Mufti** emphasized the crucial role of the United States in the stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region.

Communique of the Conference on A Common Word and Future Muslim-Christian Engagement

Cambridge Inter-Faith Programme - Publication: 07/12/2009

Communiqué of the Conference on A Common Word and Future Muslim-Christian Engagement Delivered on behalf of the Christian and Muslim Scholars gathered in attendance

We, the Christian and Muslim leaders and scholars gathered for the Conference on A Common Word and Future Muslim-Christian Engagement from 12 to 15 October 2008AD/1429AH, give thanks to Almighty God for the opportunity to meet together and grow in mutual understanding, trust and friendship. We wish to express our particular gratitude to the His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, for convening the conference in partnership with the Cambridge Inter-Faith Programme and the Royal Aal Al-Bayt Foundation, and for hosting us at Lambeth Palace...

We are conscious that our meeting represented the most significant gathering of international Muslim leaders ever to take place in the United Kingdom, matched by a similarly wide diversity of traditions and geographical backgrounds amongst the Christian participants. We were greatly stimulated by the opening addresses to the conference by the Archbishop and His Excellency Dr. Ali Gomaa, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, and the responses to their addresses by **His Eminence Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia Herzegovina** and His Beatitude Gregorios III, Melkite Greek-Catholic Patriarch of Antioch & All the East, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem.

We live in an increasingly global world that brings with it increased interdependence. The closer we are drawn together by this globalisation and interdependence, the more urgent is the need to understand and respect one another in order to find a way out of our troubles. Meeting at a time of great turbulence in the world financial system our hearts go out to the many people thro ghout the world whose lives and livelihood are affected by the current crisis. When a crisis of this magnitude occurs, we are all tempted to think solely of ourselves and our families and ignore the treatment of minorities and the less fortunate. In this conference we are celebrating the shared values of love of

God and love of neighbour, the basis of A Common Word, whilst reflecting self-critically on how often we fall short of these standards. We believe that the divine commandment to love our neighbour should prompt all people to act with compassion towards others, to fulfil their duty of helping to alleviate misery and hardship. It is out of an understanding of shared values that we urge world leaders and our faithful everywhere to act together to ensure that the burden of this financial crisis, and also the global environmental crisis, does not fall unevenly on the weak and the poor. We must seize the opportunity for implementing a more equitable global economic system that also respects our role as stewards of the earth's resources...

EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN

Speech of Raisu-l-ulama at the opening of Germany's First Center of Islamic Theology

MINA - 24 January 2012

The Official Opening of Germany's First Center of Islamic Theology - the University of Tübingen Festsaal - Speech By Raisu-l-ulama Dr. Mustafa Cerić

"... Indeed, it is a great pleasure for me to express a sincere appreciation on behalf of the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as Muslim Communities in Germany and all European Muslims who are committed to peace and security in Europe to the University of Tübingen for an historic motion that will, for sure, make a new productive and constructive relationship not only between the Muslim Community and the German State and Society, but also between the Muslim World and Europe as a whole. Hence, as an European let me proudly and loudly congratulate to Germany for its bold and visionary move toward a peaceful, prosperous, successful and Happy Europe of many-faiths, many-cultures and many opportunities for future European generations free from fear of each other, free from war against each other and free from Holocaust and Genocide upon each other.

I am sure that the future students at the Islamic Theology of the University of Tübingen will carry out the message of peace - Salām, and that is Islām - peaceful submission to Almighty Gad, the message of security - Amān, and that is Īmān - faith, and the message of beauty of humanism - Hasen and that is Ihsān - righteousness. Indeed, this is the core of Islamic Theology - peace, security and human solidarity - of all Muslims, who shall work hard to fulfill these moral and ethical demands wherever they are, especially here at the University of Tübingen where both theological faculties of Tübingen University, namely Evangelic and Catholic Faculties of Theology, deserve special respect because of their contribution to the world academic history...

This new Center of Islamic Theology in Tübingen will bring a fresh spirit into the academic life, a spirit which embraces the multi-cultural and multi-religious nature of Europe. Thus, the Center of Islamic Theology, which will promote a culture of peace, tolerance, democratic values and human rights, is a blessing for Europe and a hope for the Muslim Community that should appreciate the good will of German state and society...

Therefore, my special appreciation for this project is due to all people who were behind this program. My personal gratitude is due especially o the Rector of Eberhard Karls University in Tübingen Prof. Dr. Bern Engler who made this academic endeavor possible. Today as never before we need such brains and such people who recognize the needs for inter-religious dialogue and multi-religious society in Europe. I am proud of the fact that the representatives of Muslim communities have welcomed this idea and showed an outmost level of cooperation for the process of realization of this unique Center for Islamic Theology.

There are many challenges we are facing today in our different ways, but it seems that some challenges are common to all of us, such as challenges of selfishness, loneliness, materialism and consumerism. If by anything, these challenges might be faced by sincere faith and strong bonds among the believers who are aware of the truth that we are all created by One and the Same God, Who loves us all because we are all His creatures and we are all human beings who are in need of His care which comes through our human care of each other. Indeed, the God's care comes through a friendly care of your brother, of your neighbor, of your colleague, of your teacher and of your student. Thus, we need faith in God in order to have trust in man, and we need trust in man in order to have hope in peace and security in the world. Those who have imagined that it is possible to live as if God does not exist, have missed the argument and failed in their prediction because we see now that people are seeking refuge in God either as their personal salvation or collective peace and security."



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Symposium on the State of West-Islamic Dialogue

BERKLEY CENTER - CENTER NEWS, October 16, 2007

Symposium on the State of West-Islamic Dialogue Georgetown University hosted an all-day Symposium on the State of West-Islamic Dialogue on October 16, 2007. The symposium brought together international thought leaders and public figures to address West-Islamic dialogue in its religious, political, and social dimensions. The symposium was convened in the context of the World Economic Forum's planned First Annual Report on the State of West-Islamic Dialogue. The report, a collaborative effort with Georgetown University, was presented at the Forum's annual meeting in Davos in January 2008.

Panels: **West-Islamic Dialogue: Religion and Values**

Professor John Esposito
Director, Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University

Dr. Mustafa Cerić
Reisu-l-uleme, Grand Mufti, Islamic Community in Bosnia and Hercegovina

Professor Seyyed Hossein Nasr
University Professor of Islamic Studies, George Washington University

AFGHANS CAN BRING PEACE AND STABILITY IN AFGHANISTAN BY DIALOGUE, RECONCILIATION AND BY CLARIFYING THE CONCEPT OF JIHAD

George Mason University, Washington D.C.- 30 November 2011

... This project was designed by Afghan Muslim peace builders and scholars in cooperation with a variety of local and international partners and contributors. For the first time, more than 120 Afghan Imams and civil society leaders engaged directly with leading Muslim scholars such as Shaykh-ul-Islam Dr. Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, General Secretary of the OIC Prof Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, President of Al-Azhar University, Dr. Usamah al-Abd, **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Shaykh Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, Shaykh Hisham Kabbani and various other scholars.

THE PROJECT FOR ISLAMIC COOPERATION FOR A PEACEFUL FUTURE IN AFGHANISTAN

30 NOVEMBER - 02 DECEMBER 2011 IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY

From Afghanistan and from around the globe, imams, civil society leaders, and world renowned Islamic scholars participated in "Islamic Cooperation for a Peaceful Future in Afghanistan," an unprecedented gathering of over 120 imams and scholars, from all provinces of Afghanistan and every corner of the world, which took place in Istanbul. The conference was a non-governmental forum with impartial views toward governments and opposition groups. Participants have joined with the Afghanistan Advisory Board of The Project for Islamic Cooperation for a Peaceful Future in Afghanistan, Marmara University, and George Mason University, in the exploration of vital themes of peace for the future of Afghanistan... Prominent senior scholars of the Islamic world who addressed the conference participants included Shaykh-ul-Islam Dr. Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri; the Grand Mufti of Jordan, the **Grand Mufiti of Bosnia Dr. Mustafa Cerić** and the Grand Mufti of Istanbul; Dr. Usamah Al Abd, President of Al-Azhar University; Sheykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani; Kh. As'ad Said Ali, Vice Chairman of Nahdatul Ulama, Indonesia; Shaykh Muhammad Imdad Hussain Pirzada; and many others listed below.The Project's goal is to provide much-needed forums and opportunities to help generate local, regional and international Islamic cooperation in support of peace in Afghanistan. At the heart of this process has been the meeting of world famous Islamic scholars with Afghan Imams from all over Afghanistan. The Afghan Imams and the global Islamic scholars have never had the chance to meet each other in the past and inspire each other.

Inspiring teachings, guidance, and models of peacemaking and peacebuilding on key issues of the conference were presented by these great scholars. There was a creative combination and alignment with Afghan cultural and Islamic values that for the first time in decades was presented independently to a global forum of Islamic scholars. Together, they have demonstrated extraordinary courage and brilliance in the peaceful leadership and guidance of Islamic civilization.

As we prepare to return, each to our own countries and contexts, we resolve to act on the oft- repeated desire to

find the means of ensuring that the two letters we have discussed and the wonderful fruits of our time together are spread amongst our co-religionists; that the spirit of collaboration, mutual respect and desire for greater understanding may be the mark of our relationship for the benefit of all humankind.

To God be the glory for that which has been achieved in these days together, and may God guide us in the right path as we carry forward the work begun.

Bosnian Grand Mufti To Speak At International Islamic University In Pakistan

The News, Pakistan, February 21, 2010

As part of the Karvaan-e-Amn campaign for peace in Pakistan built on Islamic concepts of justice and tolerance, **Reis ul Ulema and Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, will be arriving in Pakistan on February 20th for a two-day visit. **Grand Mufti Cerić**, Europes leading Islamic authority, was instrumental in providing spiritual and moral guidance to Bosnian Muslims as they fought to defend their lives while preserving their attachment to Islamic concepts of tolerance and coexistence. Pakistan and its people are fondly remembered by Bosnian Muslims as staunch supporters during their hour of need. And now, the violence in Pakistan perpetrated by Muslims against their brothers praying in mosques or holding processions is a cause of deep concern and anguish to the Muslims of Bosnia and Europe.

Karvaan-e-Amn, a collection of Pakistani and international Islamic scholars, organisations and individuals, has arranged the **Grand Muftis** visit as part of a campaign to build bridges in support of the people of Pakistan. In a recent letter published in national dailies, **Dr. Mustafa Cerić** called for peace between Muslims; he condemned suicide bombings and the heinous killing of civilians. The visit will build on this expression of Islamic solidarity.

Muslim unity must for combating terrorism

Daily Times, Monday, February 22, 2010

Unity amongst Muslim countries is essential for combating terrorism, **Bosnian grand mufti Dr. Cerić** said on Sunday, according to a press release. **Dr. Cerić**, who is on a two-day visit to Pakistan, said this while delivering a lecture at the International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI). He expressed solidarity with Pakistanis in their fight against terrorism and thanked Pakistan for supporting Bosnia's independence movement. The Bosnian grand mufti said terrorism has not only affected Pakistan but the whole Muslim world as well. **Dr. Cerić** said religious scholars advocated that Muslims should lay down their lives for Islam, but failed to explain how one should live his life according to Islamic principles. His remarks were greatly applauded by the audience. The lecture was also attended by Dr. Ragheb Naeemi, head of the Jamia Naeemia in Lahore, Federal Religious Affairs Minister Syed Hamid Saeed Kazmi, scholars and people from all walks of life. **Dr. Cerić** also interacted with journalists from the print and electronic media and met government officials and the Bosnian ambassador to Pakistan. **Dr. Cerić's** visit was part of the Karvaan-e-Aman campaign, organised by the Radical Middle Way, which aims to build an international network of scholars, individuals and organisations.

Bosnian Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić

The News, Pakistan, February 21, 2010

Speaking during a lecture on "Islam As a Religion to Live" he said that the secularization of the Muslim history, except perhaps in Turkey and Tunisia, has failed. The Pakistani daily The News quoted **Dr. Cerić** as saying: "The idea of secularization did not come to Muslims as a result of their own experience, but a majority of the Muslim Ulema [religious scholars] have always felt that it came from the West by political and sometimes even military pressure." **Dr. Cerić** said that "in the entire Muslim world consisting of 57 countries, there are only 500 universities, while in USA alone, there are 5,758 universities... not a single university in the whole of Islamic world is featured [as one of] the top 500 universities." He said that the literacy rate in the Christian world is 90 percent while it is 40 percent in the Muslim world. He added that there are 15 Christian countries where the literacy rate is 100 percent but that not one country in the Muslim world enjoys 100 percent literacy rate. He said that for Muslims, who believe in the concept of Islamization, secularism is nothing more than an ethnic, racial and national conception of cultural identity. Nevertheless, Muslims did accept the concept of the nation state identity for whatever reasons, and thus are aware of the concept of multiple identities. He added that it is within the idea of multiple identities that one could find satisfaction for a universal identity.



EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN

...If by anything, these challenges might be faced by sincere faith and strong bonds among the believers who are aware of the truth that we are all created by One and the Same God, Who loves us all because we are all His creatures and we are all human beings who are in need of His care which comes through our human care of each other.

Indeed, the God's care comes through a friendly care of your brother, of your neighbor, of your colleague, of your teacher and of your student. Thus, we need faith in God in order to have trust in man, and we need trust in man in order to have hope in peace and security in the world.

Raisu-l-ulama Dr. Mustafa Cerić
University of Tübingen - First Center of Islamic Theology
January 24, 2012


UNIVERSITÄT
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VATICAN DIALOGUE

Bosnian mufti, shocked in 2006, says he's happy after Vatican forum

ClericalWhispers-Saturday, November 08.2008

Although he said he had been shocked by Pope Benedict XVI's 2006 speech in Regensburg, Germany, the grand mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina said he felt the best way to respond was to seek a dialogue. Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the grand mufti, said he signed the 2007 letter,"A Common Word," to Pope Benedict and other Christian leaders in order to "break the ice" and start a serious conversation.

The letter resulted in the Vatican and the scholars establishing the Catholic-Muslim Forum, which held its first meeting Nov. 4-6 at the Vatican. Asked about the Regensburg lecture after the forum participants met the pope Nov.6, Ceric said, "We Muslims at first took pope's lecture as a shock, and we were confused."

Muslims were used to hearing the media portray Islam in a negative and stereotypical way, he said, "but when we heard that from the pope, that was a shock for us. To qualify the Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, as inhumane and Islam as an irrational religion, that was a shock."

The pope had been quoting medieval Byzantine emperor and later clarified that he was not endorsing the sentiment by using the quote. Dr. Cerić said he and the other scholars who drafted and signed the letter to the pope wanted a conversation, a chance to explain their faith and educate Christians.

"Martin Luther King, may he rest in peace in the hereafter, he came and said 'I have a dream.' What do you think would have happened if he said, 'I have a complaint?' Would anyone have listened to him? No one would have listened to him," the grand mufti said. Dr. Cerić said the Muslim scholars' Common Word letter was saying, "We have a dream to come together and see how we can work together for peace."

..."I'm going back to Sarajevo to report to my people, especially the young people to my sons and daughter that they will have a better future," Dr. Cerić said.

Bosnia's Muslims may honor John Paul II with monument

David Kerr – Vatican City, Apr 28, 2011

Bosnia's Muslim community may erect a new monument to Pope John Paul II in the capital city of Sarajevo. The news comes only days before the late pontiff is beatified at a service in St Peter's Square in Rome.

"Pope John Paul II is one of the most important figures of the 20th century," Dr. Mustafa Cerić, a leader of the community told Associated Press, April 27.

Ceric met the Pope when religious leaders gathered in the Italian town of Assisi to pray for world peace back in 1986. But it's the solidarity that Pope John Paul offered to Bosnia during the darkest chapter of their recent history that gains the late pontiff most gratitude.

From 1992 to 1996 the majority Muslim population of Sarajevo endured a brutal siege at the hands of rival Serb forces. Dr. Cerić says that the people of the city waited "every Sunday to hear his (Pope John Paul's) messages of hope," carried across the radio airwaves. "This is why I think he deserves to have a statue here in the city of Sarajevo," he says.

Pope John Paul had wanted to visit Sarajevo at the height of the siege but his trip was canceled after the Serb forces said they couldn't guarantee his safety.

He did eventually visit in 1997, a year after the war concluded, to be met by thankful crowds in front of Sarajevo's cathedral. Many of those who came to meet and greet the Pope were Muslim. Hence that's also how the location most touted as home for any new monument to him.

Says Dr. Cerić, "In the 21st century we are missing such a personality as John Paul II was."

Document No1



14 27 novembre 2015

A c

Dai musulma

C'è anche un Islam che non intende rinunciare ad Avicenna, ad Averroè, cioè alla capacità di filosofare, di accostare necessariamente l'ambito del credere con quello della ragione. E di ritenere, dunque, che non si possa accedere al trascendente, a Dio, solo per mezzo del sentimento, a volte puro, a volte cieco. Avicenna, beninteso: il filosofo, il medico, il fisico e il matematico. E Averroè, anche giurista e teologo. È questo un Islam che non ha mai divorziato dalla scienza, dalla "al-gabr", l'algebra, come pure dai nomi arabi delle stelle: Deneb, Rigel, Algol o Aldebaran.

Ed è anche un Islam di minoranza, che trova oggi forte opposizione nei media, avversato all'interno e all'esterno. È l'Islam, ad esempio, della Bosnia Erzegovina, dove il Gran Mufti emerito Mustafa Ceric', dottore in studi islamici, insiste da anni sull'importanza di avere una forte rappresentanza religiosa centrale, almeno in Europa, sul modello della Chiesa cattolica.

Il motivo non è legato al potere, ma al bisogno di accostarsi al testo sacro in modo corretto: possono sorgere, infatti, problemi interpretativi in assenza di un'autorità, da tutti riconosciuta, che dica l'ultima parola sul Corano. Di questa singolare realtà, ne abbiamo parlato con il sociologo Semso Osmanovic, presidente della Comunità bosniaca islamica a Trieste.

Quanti bosniaci musulmani sono oggi presenti a Trieste e in regione?

Attualmente, a Trieste, siamo in mille e diecimila circa nel Friuli Venezia Giulia. Siamo sunniti, di scuola hanafita, una corrente dell'Islam particolarmente attenta a non mortificare le capacità razionali umane.

Qual è la situazione storica

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ECONOMIA E SOCIETÀ — Vita Nuova

olloquio con il sociologo Semso Osmanovic

ni bosniaci un sostegno alla ragione



Bosnia Erzegovina, ste?
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viltà dell'Islam nei Balcani. Con l'occupazione austro-ungarica nel 1878, come momento cruciale nella nuova storia dei Bosgnacchi, ebbe inizio il processo di convivenza con la cultura dell'Europa occidentale. Quando nel 1918, si è creata la Jugoslavia, non è stato chiesto ai Bosgnacchi di partecipare alla creazione del nuovo stato; tuttavia essi hanno accettato lo stesso il Regno di Jugoslavia come loro stato, il quale, in generale, rispettava i loro sentimenti religiosi.

Con la seconda Jugoslavia, dal 1945 in poi, inizia il tentativo di repressione del Bosgnacchi, prima attraverso una lunga e insistente negazione della loro particolarità nazionale e poi con il soffocamento dell'Islam. Dopo il fallimento anche di questo tentativo, si provò con il genocidio del 1992. Questa data sarà ricordata come il tentativo più orribile di distruzione di un popolo in Europa dalla Seconda guerra mondiale. Ma il popolo, al quale volevano riservare la morte collettiva, solo perché appartenente al sublime Islam, è riuscito ad auto organizzarsi e a fermare il nemico, mentre a liberare parti della patria occupata. La luce dell'Islam continuerà ad illuminare l'Europa dal suo angolo bosniaco, se Dio vuole.

Che cosa è il Corano?

Il Corano è la raccolta di ciò che Dio ha rivelato a Maometto per mezzo dell'angelo Gabriele. Maometto li ha memorizzati e poi li ha dettati ai suoi compagni, finché gli scrivani non l'hanno trascritto, controllando e verificando il testo alcune volte. Neanche una parola, nei 114 capitoli o sure, è stata cambiata negli anni, sicché il Corano è in ogni dettaglio un testo unico e soprannaturale, rivelato a Maometto quattordici secoli fa.

Di che cosa parla il Corano?

Il Corano, l'ultima Parola Sacra, è la fonte principale della religione e della sua pratica dei Musulmani. Si occupa di tutti i temi che riguardano gli esseri umani: la saggezza, la religione, la preghiera e la legge, ma il suo tema centrale riguarda il rapporto tra Dio e il suo Creato. Nello stesso tempo, il Corano dà indicazioni per una società giusta, per un corretto comportamento del popolo e per un sistema economico giusto.

Esistono altre fonti religiose?

Sì. Il Sunnet (la Sunna, ndr), ovvero gli scritti e l'esempio del Messaggero divino, è la seconda autorità per i musulmani. Hadis è una notizia tramandata di fonte certa su quello che il Messaggero ha detto, fatto e approvato. La fede nel Sunnet è parte della fede islamica.

Il testo va preso alla lettera?

No, il testo va interpretato. È proibita l'interpretazione versetto per versetto. Per garantire questo, sarebbe da promuovere una gerarchia religiosa, che non sempre è presente nell'Islam. Per quel che riguarda la Bosnia, a capo c'è il Gran Mufti, che elegge i vari Mufti territoriali. A loro volta i Muftì eleggono gli Imam, che prevedono la preghiera nelle moschee.

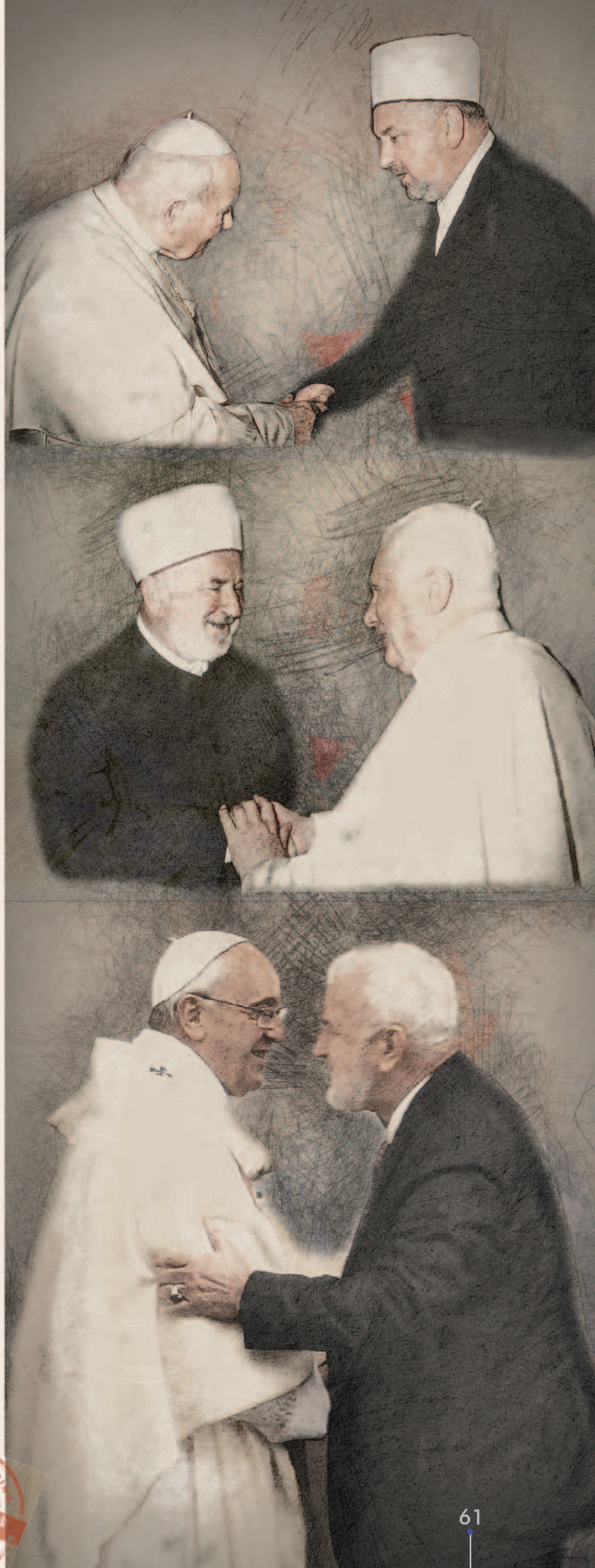


(a cura di Silvio Brachetta)

VITA NUOVA, Nov 27, 2015

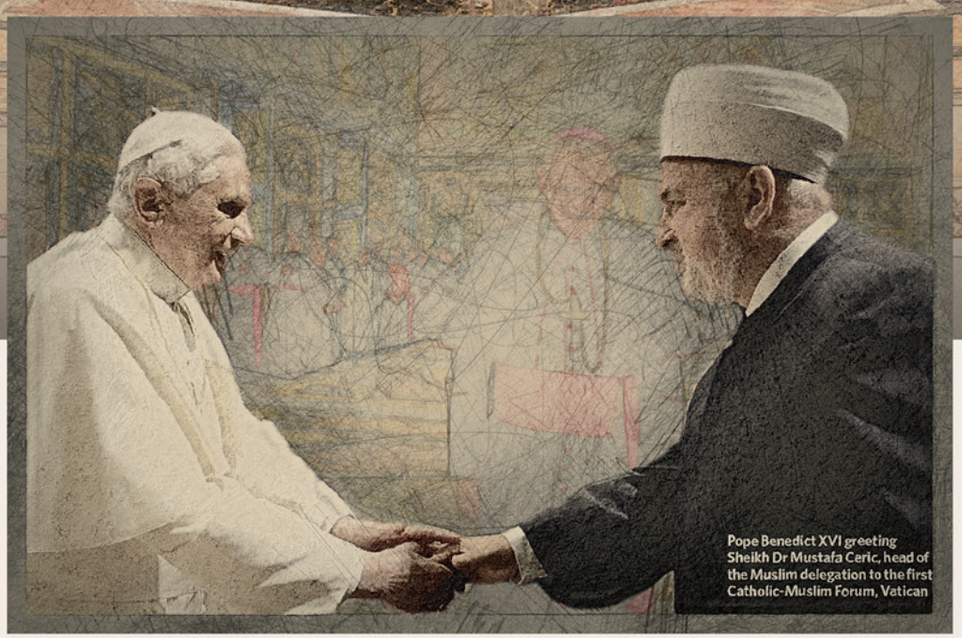
ncis, the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Mustafa Cerić** attended in September 2015, in ce and victims of the First World War. On that occasion the **Mufti Cerić** gave nce", known as "The Srebrenica Flower", which is designed to remind on the of Genocide as well as to convey a message so that it never happen again to ing "The Flower of Remembrance" the Pope Francis paid the respect for the orld. We should remind you also that in Trieste, Italy, there is a cemetery where d as victims of war. There is an initiative for their identification and honoring them in a proper way.





CLIPPING ORIGINALE

THE COMMON WORD DOSSIER



Pope Benedict XVI greeting Sheikh Dr Mustafa Ceric, head of the Muslim delegation to the first Catholic-Muslim Forum, Vatican

THE COMMON WORD DOSSIER

The Spirit of the "Magna Charta of Dialogue"
- Vatican, November 4-6 2008

Love of God, Love of Neighbor - This summit centered on the theme "Love of God, Love of Neighbor" and marked the third major gathering to result from the publication of *A Common Word Between Us and You*. It was also the first event to be sponsored by the Catholic-Muslim Forum of the Vatican's Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. Sessions focused on "Theological and Spiritual Foundations" and "Human Dignity and Mutual Respect" in each faith. Each religious tradition was represented by 24 scholars and religious leaders. In his remarks at the event, Pope Benedict XVI emphasized the connection between God's love for humanity and the religious mandate to care for the poor, the importance of protecting fundamental human rights, and the need to reject violence in the name of God. The final statement issued by the Forum outlined the sources of love and human dignity within each tradition and pointed to areas of cooperative action, such as care for the poor.

Called to Be Instruments of Love and Harmony - November 6, 2008 - In their final statement issued after the first meeting of the Catholic-Muslim Forum on "Love of God, Love of Neighbor", participants applaud the "warm and convivial spirit" of the dialogue and outline where they found areas of commonality and difference. The statement begins by using scriptural quotations to explain how each tradition understands love. It then explores how this love should be manifested in human relationships, including respect for human dignity and religious freedom, the rejection of violence, and care for the poor and oppressed. The statement also stresses the important role of education in improving interreligious understanding. The statement concludes with the participants agreeing to reconvene in two years in a Muslim-majority country.

Catholics, Muslims open landmark talks at Vatican
Senior Vatican and Islamic scholars launched their first Catholic-Muslim Forum on Tuesday to improve relations between the world's two largest faiths by discussing what unites and divides them.

Muslims seek crisis management plan with Vatican - Yale hosts high-level Christian-Muslim dialogue
Delegation leaders Cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran and Bosnian Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić opened the session with a moment of silence so delegations, each comprising 28 members and advisers, could say their own prayers for its success. "It was a very cordial atmosphere," one delegate said.

Love of God, love of neighbor' dialog
... In discussing the Forum, Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the grand mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina, responded to the pope's remarks by saying that dialogue is the key not only to justice and peace, but also to countering exaggerated forms of secularism that have led to "wealth without effort, pleasure without conscience, education without morality, business without ethics, politics without principles, science without responsibility, faith without sacrifice and religion without compassion." The mufti said to the pope, "Love is strengthened by working to overcome conflicts together."



Government Not

AUTHORIZED

CATHOLIC-MUSLIM FORUM - FIRST SEMINAR - ROME
TUESDAY 4TH – THURSDAY 6TH NOVENBER 2008

LOVE OF GOD, LOVE OF NEIGHBOR

HIS EMINENCE Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA

Audience of His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI

Bismillahir-rahmanir-rahim Wassalatu Wassalamu ala Rasulilllahi wa ikhwanihi!

Your Holiness, Dear Friends,

It is a great delight for me to speak to Your Holiness on behalf of the Muslim delegation with an open heart of love for God and love of neighbour, as the Common Word between us and you urges, for the sake of peace and justice in the world. Your meeting with our delegation is not only a major step forward for the Muslim-Catholic dialogue, but also affords great hope of a better future for the whole of humanity. It has been reported that the Caliph Harun al-Rashid asked the great Muslim jurist al-Shafi'i to speak about the Book of God, but he replied to the Caliph:

- About which of the Books of God do you want me to speak, O Caliph of the Believers, for God has revealed many books?

(عَنْ أيِّ كِتَابِ مِنْ كُتُبِ اللهِ تَسْأَلُنِي يَا أَمِيرَ المُؤْمِنِينَ؟
فَإِنَّ اللهَ قَدْ أَنْزَلَ كُتُباً كَثِيرَةً)

It is in this spirit of religious openness of the Islamic tradition that we Muslims appreciate the message of the Second Vatican Council in its declaration Nostra Aetate. This fact gives us hope of a firm foundation for the Common Word between us and you, as we are facing many challenges of our time. And we are told in the Holy Qur'an: By the ages, man is in loss except those who have faith and do righteous deeds and those who tell the truth and encourage others to tell the truth and those who are patient and encourage others to be patient in peace and justice (Qur'an: 103). And we are reminded in the Bible: To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven (Ecclesiastes 3:1 - 8). Then what is the purpose of our age? Is it the clash or alliance of civilizations? Is it violence or reconciliation? What are the fears of our time? And what are the hopes? The fears are many. Ours is a time of grave sins, such as wealth without effort, pleasure without conscience, education without morality, business without ethics, politics without principles, science without responsibility, faith without sacrifice, and religion without compassion. But our hopes are many. Ours is a time of great opportunities in the sense that the rich nations must share their wealth with the poor nations; that men of full stomachs must understand the grief of hungry people; that poor children must share the joy of education and success in society with their peers; that refugees must return to their homes and share the blessings of safety and freedom with the rest of the world without racism, xenophobia and discrimination. Ours could be the best of times if we knew that the true law is in the heart. The drama of war and peace, the story of hate and love, the state of fear and hope, the reason of might and right – all these phenomena are in the human heart. We, the children of Adam, should repent for our sins as our father Adam did, in humility and submission to Almighty God, for the sake of the birth of new seasons of human life. For ours should be a time of the healing of human hearts, not the killing of human minds; ours should be a time to build up a civilization that will gather building-stones together instead of casting them away; ours should be a time to embrace each other in the love of God who created us all, not to turn away from our neighbour; ours should be a time of love, not hate, a time of peace and justice, not war; a time not to keep silent, but to speak out fearlessly as Christians and Muslims for the Holy Land to become a place of Holy Peace. The need for the Muslim-Catholic dialogue is obvious not only because of our claim to the common heritage of Abraham, but also because of our heritage of a historical

interaction that could not be avoided in the past and a historical responsibility that cannot be ignored in the future. It is precisely in this historical unavoidability of the encounter of Catholicism and Islam that we see the reason for the advancement of A Common Word Between Us and You in many areas of mutual concern, such as war and peace, justice and injustice, hunger and poverty, and the trust and prosperity of the world. Love is strengthened by working to overcome conflicts together. Your Holiness, dear friends, I am a survivor of the four years of the Sarajevo siege at the end of the last century. As you know, Bosnian Muslims suffered Genocide. I have come here to join you in prayer for truth, justice, peace and the reconciliation of our common land of Europe. We will not forget your predecessor, John Paul II, when he repeatedly said:

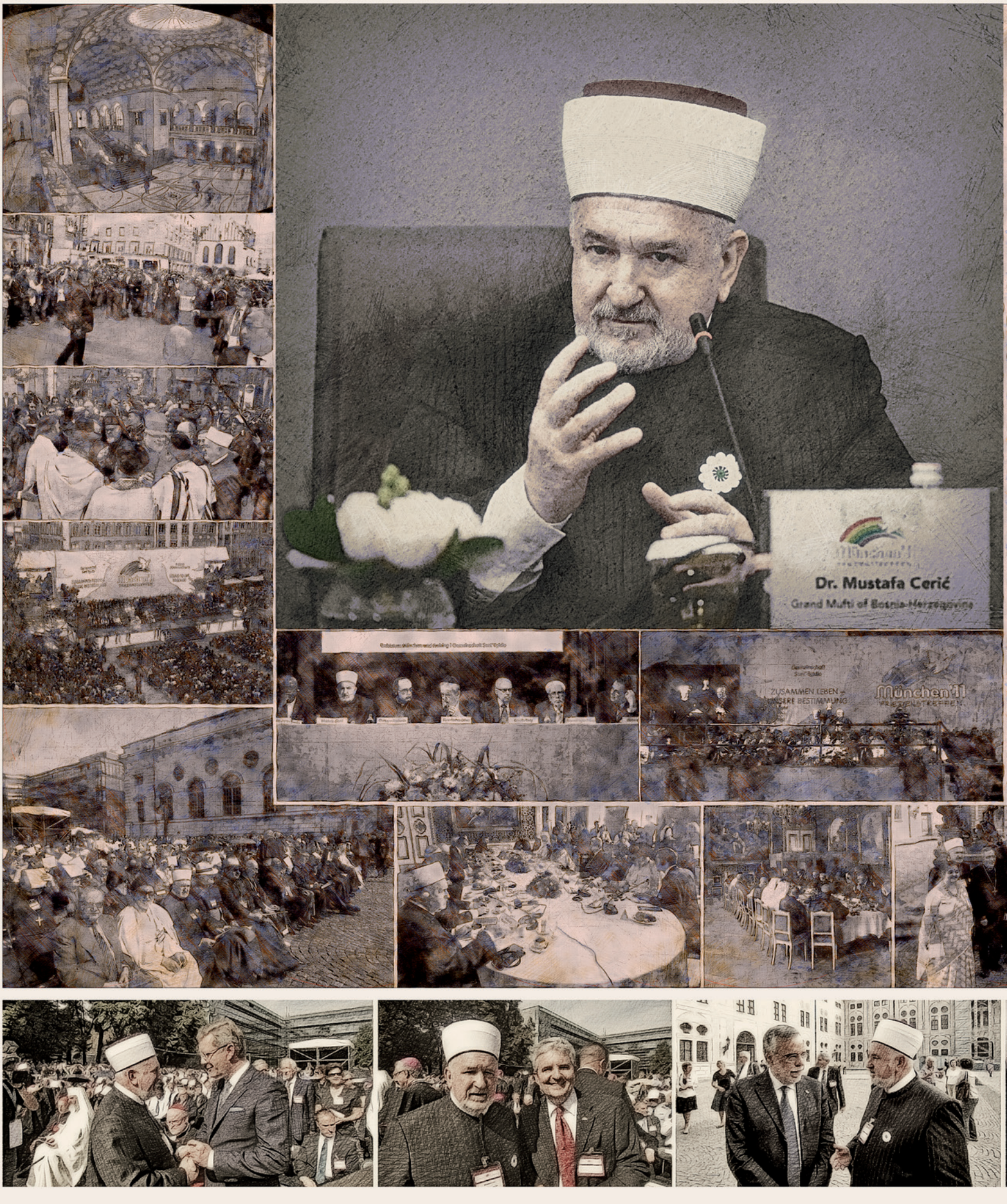
- You are not alone. We are with you in our prayers! Having heard that I would speak with you today, some Bosnian children, who lost their fathers in Srebrenica, asked me to read to you their Bosnian prayer:

O God, do not let success deceive us, nor failure take us to despair! Always remind us that failure is a temptation that precedes success! **O God**, teach us that tolerance is the highest degree of strength, and the desire for revenge the first sign of weakness! **O God**, if you deprive us of our property, give us hope! If you grant us success, give us also the will to overcome defeat! If you take from us the blessing of health, provide us with the blessing of faith! **O God**, if we sin against people, give us the strength of apology! And if people sin against us, give us the strength of forgiveness! **O God**, if we forget Thee, do not forget us!



ZUSAMMEN LEBEN – UNSERE BESTIMMUNG

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitat - BOUND TO LIVE TOGETHER
Internationales Friedenstreffen - Religionen und Kulturen im Dialog, Munchen 2011





Islamic-Christian Dialogue: a New Era by Dr. Mustafa Ceric
Munich, 13th September 2011

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

Common Values

Because of this common heritage, we also share certain values, basic values and derived from them rights, human rights in particular, laid down in the Qur'an and Bible as well. The Bible calls them the Ten Commandments; the Qur'an describes them as the content of the two tablets handed over to Moses (7:144-145; 6:152-154; 17:23-39). These values include the value of life and respect for its integrity, the value of religion and respect for the differences of its expressions, the value of freedom and respects for its limits, because my freedom ends where the other's freedom begins, the value of property and the respect for the possessions of others, and the value of human dignity and respect for the otherness of the other. Though religious in their essence, it is for long that these values and derived from them rights, human rights, have become not only European, but universally accepted values and rights. They are European as much as they are universal, and they are universal as much as they are common to all human beings, irrespective of their ethnic belonging, religious commitment, cultural background and/or political orientation...

And finally: the value of human dignity and respect for the otherness of the other(s), irrespective of whether they are males or females, blacks or whites, young or old, Muslims, Christians, Jews, or followers of other religions. Though this value is certainly accepted as a common value, we see, however, the need that it be developed further in many parts of Europe and beyond, especially in terms of the fight against discrimination and denying equal rights to men and women, against xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia etc...

Common Tasks

Irrespective of the debate, which sounds to me somehow artificial, whether "Islam belongs to Germany" or not, Muslims are here and will stay here, like in any other European country, too. That means, as in the past, Muslims have, and will have, their part to play in the shaping of the future of Europe as well. In other words: The future of Europe will be the outcome of joint, Muslim/non-Muslim efforts. To quote Wolf Lepenies once again: Not a rather "naïve and wishful 'coalition of civilizations' is the alternative to the irresponsible construct of a "clash of civilizations", but the awareness of the common history and the lessons drawn from it. Or, as Aimé Césaire, the famous Martiniquan poet, once put it: "The shortest way into the future is contemplating the past"...

Document No 3


Islamic Community in BiH
Archdiocese of Vrhbosna-Sarajevo
Serbian Orthodox Church
Jewish Community of BiH
Living Together is the Future
Religions and Cultures in Dialogue
9 September, 2012
Community of Sant'Egidio
Living Together
is Future

LIVING TOGETHER IS THE FUTURE, SARAJEVO

Reading of the Appeal for Peace "Sarajevo 2012"
by four young people belonging to different religions

PRESS CLIPPING
ORIGINAL

The Comunità di Sant'Egidio: Religions and Ciltures in Dialogue in Sarajevo

ISSUE 1- Nov 2012

Twenty years after the war, Sarajevo re–invents itself as a new paradigm of peaceful coexistence. Ali Carlentini reports on an important interfaith gathering.

Between 9th to 12th of September, Christians, Muslims, Jews and Asian leaders met to hold dialogue and prayer upon the invitation of the Comunità di Sant'Egidio in the city of Sarajevo. The event has been an annual occurrence since it was inaugurated in the city of Assisi-Italy in 1989. Sarajevo still carries the signs of a horrifying war which left 12,000 Bosnian Muslims, Catholics and Serbs dead. Certainly the history of this city adds a great poignancy to the term dialogue between religions as it has lived through the reality of a divisive war. The question being posed was is it possible to live together when we are ethnically and religiously so different? After three days the reply came out strong and clear; religions have to establish the foundations of peace enabling people to live together in a globalized world where the "other" is ever closer. The participants in Sarajevo represented those who reject hate and violence in the name of God. The presence of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Irenej who came to assist the mass conducted by the cardinal Vinko Puljic illustrated how old barriers were melting away. The words spoken by the **Bosnian Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić** were also poignant: "the victims of the last war deserve our sincere efforts for peace and reconciliation". Cynics might ask if dialogue really changes relationships among people.

... In its final appeal the gathering stressed the increasing danger of new cultures of resentment, hate and fear. The conference also underlined the necessity to find courage to face new difficulties by understanding that the war was a great evil and left a poisoned heritage. Gatherings like this help to detoxify the past and build the foundations of a better future.

Appeal for peace, coexistence, tolerance and dialogue

Published On: Wed, Sep 12th, 2012

With the reading, signing and handing over of the "Appeal for Peace of 2012" and the final procession in Sarajevo, the Traditional World Meeting of Peace was officially at an end. "Our future is a life together - Religions and cultures in dialogue" was organized by the Community of Sant'Egidio, making Sarajevo the world center for peace and coexistence. The meeting brought together about a hundred religious leaders, highest political officials and prominent figures from the world of culture, as well as about 3,000 participants from all over the world.

Messages of peace, the need for tolerance and co-existence of all religions and people around the world was sent from Sarajevo, in the wake of the Spirit of Assisi, the prayer and reconciliation that has been organized since 1986.

The reading of the Appeal was preceded by a prayer for peace, which was held at several locations in Sarajevo, in accordance with various religious traditions. Afterwards, a procession of peace was organized towards the closing of the ceremony before the Armed Forces of B&H.

In the final word of the message for the need for peace, tolerance and coexistence, the religious leader, Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community in B&H Mustafa ef. Cerić said:

Eminencies, Excelencies, Brothers and Sisters, Dear Friends,

Dobrdošli, Hoşgeldiniz and Welcome to Sarajevo, the city of peace, the city of many faiths and cultures, the city of many good people, the city of many memories, the city of many historic events. Indeed, this International Meeting for Peace will be recorded as one of the most important Sarajevo events in recent history.

It is, therefore, my honor to greet you all on behalf of all the people of good will of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Also, it is my pleasure to express thanks on behalf of all you, who have come here from all over the world, to the Community of Sant'Egidio for its tireless effort in promoting peace around the world.

Our special gratitude goes to the Community of Sant'Egidio for choosing Sarajevo to be the world city of peace this year. We remember the twentieth anniversary of its besiege. Eleven thousands Sarajevo citizens of different faiths and nationalities of whom one thousand were children have been killed as a result of four years of the siege.

These innocent Sarajevo victims deserve our respect and their relatives deserve our condolences. But more than that, they deserve our sincere commitment to truth, justice, peace and reconciliation; they deserve our honest oath to God and humanity that we will do whatever we can so that never again it happens to anyone what has happened here.

Eminences, Excellences, Brothers and Sisters, Dear Friends,

Your coming to Sarajevo which is considered to be the second Jerusalem in the world and the first Jerusalem in Europe to celebrate peace is your best gift you can give to the world peace.

We should not forget that 2014 will be the one hundredth anniversary of the First World War that started here in Sarajevo. This historical fact makes this city to the front of world peace-war choice. The international meeting for peace this year is a clear message to the whole world that our choice is peace, not war; that our option is security, not terrorism; that our right is freedom and dignity; and that our hearts and minds are of this sincere prayer...

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Committed to improving the the State of the World - Davos

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THE STATE OF THE WORLD

JEDDAH, 20 June 2006 – Perhaps Bosnia is the most frightening manifestation of Europe's Islamophobia in recent times. The wars between the portions of the former Yugoslavia raged in the 1990s and, at one point, Muslims became the target of ethnic cleansing. It would be easy to imagine radicalized Muslim leaders emerging from that era but Bosnia's Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić is the exact opposite.

Instead of calls for revenge, he calls for dialogue. Instead of sanction for acts of terror, he calls for the most severe condemnation of them. In short, Dr. Ceric is a leader committed to restoring respect for Islam through mutual tolerance and understanding.

When interviewed last month by Arab News at the World Economic Forum on the Middle East in Sharm El-Sheikh, Dr. Cerić wore a Western suit and bore a striking resemblance to the American author, Ernest Hemingway. He feels that compromise with the West and the complete abandonment of violence perpetrated in the name of God is the only way for Islam to move forward if it is to survive in the age of globalization.

ISLAM IN EUROPE: IDEALS AND REALITIES

Dr. Mustafa Cerić has served as Grandi Mufti of Bosnia-Herzogovina since 1999. In 2007 he received the 2007 Theodor Heuss Foundation award for his contribution to spreading and strengthening democracy.

The history of Islam in Europe is full of useful insights for dialogue today, especially about memory and understanding of identity. We may believe that we have freedom today to create our identities, but more often are created by others and profoundly shaped by our past.

Yet, humans fall into two categories: those whose indentities and the memories on which they are founded are locked in the past and those whose memory draws from history but looks to the future. Europe's debates about its religious identities and the memories on which it is founded are a case in point. We would do well to recall the facts of history to build our future.

Like the sun, all the revealed religions in the East. The great prophets and messengers all came from the East and none from Europe. The three Abrahamic faiths all came to Europe at times and by paths that we can pinpoint. All are equal in belonging to Europe. Europe must understand that we are here as indigenous Muslims. We are not the ghosts. We are the hosts of Europe.

Islam arrived in Europe by two main gates: the gate of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century and the gate of the Balkan Peninsula in the 14th century. Eight centuries of Islamic presence in Andalusia, Spain produced a unique tradition of religious and cultural tolerance as well as academic freedom, which helped propel Europe on its way to humanism and renaissance. This ideal of the Andalusian tolerance, sadly, did not survive the Eurpean history. Why Islam did not survive in Andalusia, but did in Bosnia is a legitimate question to ask.

...Islam has been indigenous to Europe for five centuries, with deeply engrained traditions and five centuries of memories. In June 2007 Bosnia celebrated 600 years of Islamic tradition in the Balkans.

There are three kinds of people: those who remember, those who think and those who dream. Most people remember the past, fewer people think, and the least numbers of people dream or create new values of life. We need more people who dream that our future will be better than our past.

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

"COUNCIL OF 100"
MEETINGS AT THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM DAVOS

January 28, 2007

The Executive Group of the Council of 100 met as part of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting in Davos; C100, briefly, is a WEF initiative (rather atypical among WEP activities) than aims to further dialogue and understanding between "the Islamic World" and "the West."

I will be following up with colleagues on numerous bilateral discussions; of particular interest was the keen interest of Prince Phillippe of Belgium in the work both of the World Bank's Development Dialogue and Georgetown University's Berkley Center, of Christoph Stuckelberg (Global Ethics Institute) in the work of both institutions on linkages between religion and anti-corruption work, and Dr. Mustafa Cerić (Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina) in exploring possible joint religion-/development avenues in the Balkans.

BIZ FORUM OUT OF THIS WORLD-VIEW

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the grand mufti of Bosnia, came to New York for a presentation on "what is sacred in today's world" at a dinner meeting of the World Economic Forum.

TOLERANCE

In the major plenary session, at the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria, titled Bridging Religious Divides, Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thami, Emir of Qatar, Mr. Klaus Schwab,; The Chief Rabbi of Israel, Meir Lau; H.E. Frances Cardinal Arinze; H.E. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia; His Grace George l. Carvey, Archbishop of Cantebury and H.H. Pujya Swami Chidanand Saraswatiji (Munji) answered questions posed by Professor Klaus Schwab, the founder and president of the World Economic Forum. (February 2002)



IDEALS AND REALITIES • 2001 / 2009



2009 / 2011 • PROJECT ALADDIN







Projet ALADIN ALADDIN Project

LIBERTY - JUSTICE - TRUTH

Leaders of Three Major Religions – Christian, Jewish and Muslim – Visit Auschwitz Together 2009

Project Aladdin is a multi-faceted cultural initiative launched in March 2009 under the patronage of UNESCO with the aim of countering Holocaust denial and all forms of racism and intolerance, while promoting intercultural dialogue, particularly among Muslims and Jews. The project was initiated by the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, a French foundation dedicated to keeping alive the memory of the Holocaust.

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL
document No 6

Liberty - Justice - Truth

Gray Falcon - April 25, 2009

"Muslims and Jews have a joint experience of persecution and genocide in Europe: both were expelled from Spain (Endelus) in the fifteenth century, with the Sephardic Jews finding a safe haven in Sarajevo, which is best witnessed by the Sarajevo Holy Haggadah, and both suffered a genocide in the twentieth century, Jews from the Nazis and Bosnian Muslims from the Serbian aggressors." (Reisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa Cerić)

Muslim leaders visit Auschwitz

French news agency AFP - February 1, 2011

"I am here to say to those who deny the Holocaust in Auschwitz, and those who deny the genocide in Srebrenica [in 1995], that they are also committing genocide," said the **grand mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mustafa Cerić**, in a speech, the French news agency AFP reported.

Leaders of Three Major Religions – Christian, Jewish and Muslim – Visit Auschwitz Together

Prister, Roman, Feb 2, 2011 - Issue 10, Spring 2012

The diplomats made their way in freezing weather where religious prayers were offered and the visitors laid wreathes. **Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, a Muslim leader from the former Yugoslavia said, "I came to Auschwitz because I wanted to see with my own eyes what the Nazis did. I didn't believe in the Holocaust until the same thing happened to the people in my country in the Balkans."

Bosnian Muslims and Jews have a joint experience of persecution and genocide in Europe

Twenty Ten Blog at WordPress - January 13, 2011

Dr. Mustafa Cerić is the Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina (leader of Islamic community) and a prominent member of the Committee on Conscience fighting against the Holocaust denial. Invited by president of Fondation pour la Memoire de la Shoah, David de Rothschild, **Reisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa Cerić** took part today in Paris, the seat of the UNESCO, in the presentation of Projet Aladin, accompanied by some two hundred prominent intellectuals, historians, academics and political personae from thirty countries, most of them from the Islamic world. The gathering is about cultural and educational initiative for promotion of the Jewish-Muslim dialogue based upon mutual acquaintance, respect and refusal to deny and diminish Holocaust. Hosted by the UNESCO, former President of France Jacques Chirac, Prince El-Hassan bin Talaal of Jordan, former President of Indonesia Abdurrahman Wahid and former German Chancellor Gerhardt Schroeder, project "Aladdin" aims to assist in Muslim-Jewish dialogue so as to remove many a prejudice and stereotype which burden the Muslim- Jewish relations in the world.

Unite in the struggle against anti-Semitism and Islamophobia In this regard, **Reisu-l-ulema, Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, stated in Paris: I thank Mr. David de Rothschild to participate in this interesting project hosted by the UNESCO and supported by world statesmen, intellectuals, historians and theologians. The importance of this is augmented because of the fact that I come from Bosnia and Herzegovina where, at the end of the 20th century, a genocide was perpetrated upon Muslims in Europe, several decades after the Holocaust. This is, therefore, the right opportunity and place for me to remind all that Muslims and Jews have reasons to gather around a joint project such as this one and unite in the struggle against anti-Semitism and Islam-phobia, which phobia has gathered speed of recent.







THE ROAD MAP TO A CULTURE OF PEACE

Bosnian Grand Mufti Mustafa Ceric Appointed To U.N. Panel 2010, RCCG Leader task United Nations on World Peace, Religious Leaders Seek Formal UN Recognition 2012

Prominent world figures in UN panel seek to bridge cultural divides to bolster peace

Bosnian Grand Mufti Appointed To U.N. Panel

UN News Centre - February 19, 2010

The United Nations has reported that **Bosnian Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić** is one of the members of a new panel "entrusted with furthering peace founded on justice, respect for human rights, gender equality and solidarity." According to the announcement:

18 February 2010 – The United Nations today inaugurated a panel of prominent political, intellectual and religious figures from all regions entrusted with furthering peace founded on justice, respect for human rights, gender equality and solidarity in the context of an increasingly globalized world. "This day marks the beginning of an intellectual journey throughout which we will reflect on ways to trace new perspectives for peace in the 21st century," UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Director-General Irina Bokova said at the launching ceremony in Paris of the High Panel on Peace and Dialogue among Cultures. The ceremony also marked the launching of the of the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures, and the panel will take into account the challenges posed by climate change, management of resources and ethical and economic issues in regard to strengthening peace… Panel members range from politicians such as former Icelandic president Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, to religious personalities such as **Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, to Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Laureate for Literature and France's Simone Veil, the former president of the European Parliament and honorary president of the Foundation for the memory of the Shoah (Holocaust).

Rccg Leader task United Nations on World Peace

Rccg Israel - 27 August 2012

The General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God, RCCG, Pastor Enoch Adejare Adeboye has called on the United Nations to fill the vacuum that exists in the international arena and establish a United Nations Alliance for the Culture of Peace. The RCCG General Overseer hosted a summit meeting of religious leaders at the UN on June 20 to present an initiative that would give religions, academics and parliamentarians a voice in the UN. Sponsored by the Inter-Parliamentary Coalition for Global Ethics and co-sponsored by the Mission of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the UN and the Christ Redeemers Friends Trust, CRFT, with the patronage of former Director General of UNESCO, Frederico Mayor who introduced the "culture of peace" at the UN, the summit brought together leaders in the Abraha-mic faith groups, to an international mini summit. Keynote addresses were presented by the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, (the Grand Imam of all of Europe) and the Chief Rabbi of Geneva, Yitzhak Dayan, (representative of the Conference of European Rabbis to the UN) focused on the shared values of people of faith. Pastor Adeboye, General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God, introduced the initiative as a "Road Map to the Culture of Peace" and empha-sized; "The goal of the meeting was to mobilize, create and empower for the first time, a global network of spiritual leaders, educators, governments and officials, UN representatives as a leading force for peace through the creation of a partnership to fight against intolerance, racism, terrorism and violence on all levels. "It is our view as religious leaders, academicians and parliamentarians that the UN resolutions on a culture of peace must be an intrinsic part of any and all peace processes and implemented as a matter of global ethics by all member-states of the United Nations" Pastor Adeboye noted, "we have come together at the UN today on a historic mission to serve as a spearhead for this initiative." The presentations by the high level delegates were of significant importance. The delegates to the mini summit called upon the UN to assure the protection of religious sites of all faiths…and to adopt into practice the relevant global ethics specified in international declarations and UN resolutions on the culture of peace. Pastor Adeboye explained in the aftermath of the conference that the UN General Assembly has passed a series of resolutions over the past few years for the development of a Culture of Peace and Dialogue among civilizations. Unfortunately, the resolutions remain words on paper as they are not being implemented or incorporated in any way into efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East.



U.N. PANEL / RELIGIOUS LEADERS SEEK PEACE • 2010 / 2012



2009 / 2012 • BOSNIAN MUSLIM LEADER SPEAKS OUT ON MUSLIM-JEWISH RELATIONS





500-YEAR SAGA OF THE SARAJEVO HAGGADAH

Museum of Jewish Heritage
(MJH) – a Living Memorial to the Holocaust here in New York, 2012

How Bosnian Muslims Save and Protect Jewish Haggadah

WebPublicaPress/New York - Museum of Jewish Heritage, March 2012

The copy of Sarajevo Passover Haggadah one of the oldest Sephardic Haggadahs in the world, which everal times during the recent history was presented on Monday to the Museum of Jewish Heritage (MJH) – a Living Memorial to the Holocaust here in New York. The story of sarajevo's Haggadah reminds how we should care about each other. Receiving the gift from **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Dr. Mustafa Cerić** the director of MJH, **Mr. David G. Marwell** said: "The Sarajevo Haggadah has become synonymous with freedom. Not just freedom from slavery when the Jews fled Egypt, but freedom to practice religion and live without fear. Our Bosnian brothers and sisters endured displacement and genocide, and have had to rebuild after tragedy. Our cultures are forever linked in this way."

... "The story of the Sarajevo Haggadah is a lasting example of cultural tolerance and shared destiny of Jewish and Bosniak people. The Sarajevo Haggadah is a true symbol of salvation and hope for common humanity. We in Bosnia have been safeguarding this tolerance for centuries. Now it is time that we do everything in our power to protect our common heritage together," said **Reis-Ul-Ullama Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community of Bosnia.**

Jews and Bosnian Muslims Have Joint Experience in Persecution and Genocide

Julia Gorin - May 04th 2009

The Sarajevo Haggadah, which Dr. Cerić mentions, had to be hidden during the war from the "tolerant" NDH authorities. Muslims claim they saved it from destruction. Croats say it was a Croat who did it. In any event, the book was saved. But what happened to the Jews? It suffices to state that Muslims and Jews have a joint experience of persecution and genocide in Europe: both were expelled from Spain (Endelus) in the fifteenth century, with the Sephardic Jews finding a safe haven in Sarajevo, which is best witnessed by the Sarajevo Holy Haggadah, and both suffered a genocide in the twentieth century, Jews from the Nazis and Bosnian Muslims from the Serbian aggressors.

Gripande and Sarajevo

Tony Blair Faith Foundation Faith Shorts, 2011

A copy of the Sarajevo Haggadah was gifted to former **Prime Minister Tony Blair** by **the Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina Mustafa Dr. Cerić** during the awards ceremony for the Tony Blair Faith Foundation's Faith Shorts competition in December 2011. The Grand Mufti presented it as a symbol of interfaith cooperation and respect, while recounting the protection of the Jewish book by Muslims on two occasions in history.

We do not want the genocide of a people

Haber Pan - 30 May 2011

The **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Herzeboviona, Dr. Mustafa Cerić** presented a copy of a 500 year old Hagadah saved from Nazi destruction as a gift to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Fifth Bi-Annual Meeting of the Elijah Board of World Religious Leaders

Wisdom - Oxford, 18-22 March 2012

The meeting with the interfaith community took place in the Divinity School of Oxford. A highlight was the presentation of a copy of the famous Sarajevo Haggadah by **Dr. Mustafa Cerić**, the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia** to **Alon Goshen-Gottstein**. In presenting it, the Mufti made the appeal that we all respect and protect each others' scriptures stop hese.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER

SEPTEMBER 10, 2014 AT RONALD REAGAN BUILDING AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTER, WOODROW WILSON PLAZA, PENNSYLVANIA AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN NOISES AND SIGNALS

Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI EMERITUS OF BOSNIA

(Dr. Cerić will address current global geopolitical challenges, notably schisms in the Middle East and their consequences for the European security project and integration of the Western Balkans into the EU and NATO)

Was Samuel Huntington right in his theory of the Clash of Civilizations, a theory that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world?

The theory was proposed in 1992 in response to *The End of History and the Last Man,* a book by Huntington's former student Francis Fukuyama. Huntington later expanded his thesis in a book of 1996, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*

I had the chance to meet Prof. Huntington in 2002 at the Davos World Economic Forum, which was held in New York as a token of solidarity in the aftermath of the 11th of September. I introduced myself to him as the Grand Mufti of Bosnia and said, "Professor Huntington, I pray to God that you live long enough to see that your theory was wrong, so that you should write a new book on a new theory of *The Interaction of Civilizations and the Moral Recovery of the World...* I hope my country of Bosnia will be a good motivation for your new book..."

[...] He didn't respond to my comment, and, obviously, my prayer was not answered. Prof. Huntington passed away, and his theory is still a big puzzle for all of us who are trying to figure out what is really happening today around the world. Are we really at the point of the clash of civilizations and the remaking of the world order, if not at the heart of it all?

[...] Let me give you some examples of great cultural and civilizational signals that have held the Western-Islamic twins together in good health and wealth. Of course, there is no cooperation without interaction. Indeed, if physics teaches us that there are four distinct types of force through which the manifold transformations of matter and energy arise – the strong, the electromagnetic, the weak and the gravitational interactions – then I believe that we can find, in these two civilizations, such forces through which the manifold transformations of mind and spirit may arise as a result of the interactions of the strong and the weak, the influential and the gravitational.

In fact, it was due to the Islamic-Western interactions in the fields of philosophy, theology, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, medicine, architecture and literature, as well as trade and travel, that the mind and spirit of the West could have been transformed into the reason of the Renaissance as the marking transition from mediaeval times to modern.

If, as has been said, language does not lie, then we may easily discover the fruits of Islamic-Western interactions in the past by looking up many English words which are from Arabic or Islamic roots: for instance, admiral *(amir al-bahr),* algebra *(al-jabr),* alghoritm *(al-khwarizmi),* almanac *(al-manakh),* altas *(atlas),* azimuth *(as-sumit),* caliber *(galib),* candy *(qandi),* chek *(sakk),* chemistry *(al-kimiya),* cotton *(qutun),* gala *(khila),* mafia *(mahya),* mattress *(matrah),* rice *(ruzz),* risk *(rizq),* root *(rut),* sugar *(sukkar),* tennis *(tennis),* traffic *(trafiq),* zenith *(sumut),* zero *(sifr),* etc.

When, however, noise prevails over the right cultural and civilizational signals, the Siamese twins are faced with a life-and-death decision as to whether to stay inseparable for life or to accept surgery of separation that might lead to the death of one or both of them.

This is how I see the situation today. Some see, in the similarity of these two civilizations, a reason for conflict rather than integration. This kind of attitude leads us almost to the conclusion that the similarity, and not the difference, provokes the conflict, while the difference brings respect. We are familiar with the



history of severe debate among similar, not different, religious groups, debate that has often turned into very violent conflict. I have in mind some historical conflicts between the Sunnites and Shiites in the Muslim religion, and the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants in the case of Christianity. I am sure that such examples exist in Judaism as well.

The logic of this kind of conflict among those who are similar, whatever it may be, lies in the false notion that, in order for me to keep the purity of my religion, a deep difference must be seen in the other who is similar to me; but, at the same time, his difference is not tolerated. This is, I believe, the real issue of the relationship between the two living civilizations – the Western and Islamic: their similarity, not the difference in their spiritual roots; their hope, not fear of each other; their love, not hate of each other; and their justice towards each other, and not oppression of each other*[1].

Should I remind you that the glorious time of the Islamic civilization was a time of its interaction with other civilizations? The idea of isolation is strange to the Islamic civilization.

It is clear, then, that Muslims in the past knew how to interact with others who had been both similar to and different from their faith and their expectations of life and history. They were guided by strong belief in confirmation rather than denunciation, belief in sharing rather than belief in staring. Furthermore, they knew how to appreciate the different opinions amongst themselves.

The current crisis, or noises, of the relationship of the civilizational twins may be seen in the lack of self-confidence of the Islamic twin, which has come as the result of a cultural insecurity which was introduced at a time of loss of self-actualization. It is now the centre of Islamic civilization that should send and receive the right signals so that the noises don't prevail. But its Western twin must also be able to tell the difference between the right signals and wrong noises.

The periphery of Islam is becoming impatient to see practical action from the centre in terms of translating the unique spiritual richness of Islamic civilization. The periphery of Islam cannot understand why the centre is slow in addressing so many contemporary issues which stand in the way of moral, political and economic development.

I believe that the living Islamic civilizations of today have no choice but to come to the realization that their future is in their ability to synthesize their past memory with the future history which may unfold itself in the internal co-operation of all the aspects of rich spiritual gifts and intellectual fruits, as well as in the external interaction of all the possibilities of the advancement of human life that positive human knowledge may offer to an individual and society.

In addition to that, Muslims today must come to the point of self-respect, so that others may respect them as well, and they must know that today's world operates on the basis of mutual trust, which requires much more time to build than to destroy.

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*[1] Cited from my paper presented at the conference: "Beyond Violence: Religious Sources for Social Transformation" at the University of Southern California on the 5-7th of May, 2003, under my topic: ***Judaism, Christianity, Islam****: Hope or Fear of our Time.*

BRUSSELS GATHERING CALLS FOR CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND JEWS IN EUROPE

Foundation for Ethnic Understanding and Jewish World Congress (JWC), 2010

Some 50 European Muslim and Jewish faith leaders, who met for the first time Monday n Brussels, urged better protection of religious minorities in Europe and vowed to establish closer ties.

BRUSSELS (EJP) - Maud Swinnen - 06/Dec/2010

In a statement issued after their one-day encounter, they urged closer cooperation between the two communities and steps "to ensure that Jews and Muslims are able to practice our respective faiths fully and unimpeded by intrusive, discriminatory and unfair governmental regulations."

It also urged "cooperative projects to succor the poor and homeless of all backgrounds, to help protect new immigrants who are threatened by hatred and xenophobia, and to heal the environment, bringing together Muslim and Jewish youth for joint programming." And it denounced all forms of violence in the name of any religion or ideology. Monday's event was organized by the European Jewish Congress along with the World Jewish Congress and the New York-based Foundation for Ethnic Understanding (FFEU)... In his speech, European Jewish Congress President Moshe Kantor called on the EU countries to immediately adopt the framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia. He outlined what he called the necessary foundations for a more tolerant Europe. "It is vital that we invest greater efforts and resources into education, starting at the kindergarten level," he said. He continued: "All of Europe needs to have a common unifier, a starting point which all Europeans can rally around and that should be equality, reconciliation and preventing the spread of intolerance." "Above all we need to bolster legislation against hate, racism and xenophobia at all levels. The current legislation is not enough. The law must become a tool for a more enlightened and unified Europe where those that ferment hate should receive proper sanction." As part of the gathering, a joint delegation met with the president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, who supported the efforts undertaken by the group. They also held a working lunch at the European Commission's Brussels headquarters. "Today, we have hopefully kick-started a movement that will spread across Europe," said FFEU President and WJC Vice President Rabbi Marc Schneier. **Bosnian grand mufti Dr. Cerić** in his speech said: "Our two communities must focus more on what unites us than what separates us. We also must restrain the radicals within our own ranks and make sure they don't gain the upper hand".







PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINALE

THE FOUNDATION FOR ETHNIC UNDERSTANDING
GATHERING OF EUROPEAN MUSLIM JEWISH LEADERS

Brussels, 6. December 2010

Address: Dr. Moshe Kantor, President of the European Jewish Congress &
Reisu-l- ulema Mustafa Effendi Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina

The Challenges of Building Trust between Communities in Europe

There are three basic human needs which are at the same time human basic pleasures: the physical need or pleasure (اللذة الجسديّة); the intellectual need or pleasure (اللذة الفكريّة); and the spiritual need or pleasure (اللذة الروحيّة).

The contemporary civilization is obsessed by a search for human physical and intellectual needs, nay passions, while more or less neglecting human spiritual need. The today's human technology is cable to produce such a quantity of all sorts of food as never before in human history. However, in today's world there are 850 millions of hungry people across the globe: 820 millions are in Africa and Asia; 25 millions are in the countries of transition, whereas in the developed countries there are 9 millions of hungry people. In today's world every third second one person dies out of hunger 75% of whom are children, while, on the other side, some kitchens and restaurants daily throw out 50% of their cooked and uncooked food. If people do not change soon their behavior toward sharing the blessings of food with those who are in need, there will be 25 thousand people dying out of hunger every day.

Information revolution as development of technologies (such as computers, digital communication, microchips) in the second half of the 20th century has led to a great intellectual satisfaction of humanity. But, again, not all people of today's world are enjoying the blessings of intellectual revolution as a basic human need and pleasure. The intellectual needs of some are met easily while the others have no access to that basic pleasure despite the fact that there is a huge surplus in the production of both physical and intellectual pleasures in some parts of our world. This fact of the matter tells us that the judgment of both our body and our reason are not trustworthy because they are selfish and prone to justify even unreasonable human behavior.

Document No 9

GATHERING OF EUROPEAN MUSLIM AND JEWISH LEADERS • 2010



2009 / 2012 • MUSLIM AND JEWISH DIALOGUE IN EUROPE



MUSLIM AND JEWISH LEADERS URGE EUROPEAN UNION HEADS NOT TO PANDER TO EXTREME-RIGHT

Joint declaration on the occasion of Europe Day 2011







Gathering calls for closer cooperation between Muslims and Jews in Europe

European Jewish Press, 6 December 2010

The World Jewish Congress considers dialogue with representatives of moderate Islam as "one of the most important and challenging issues at this time.

In 2008, WJC leaders met with King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia at an inter-faith conference in the Spanish capital Madrid. Later that year, WJC President Ronald S. Lauder also called on the Saudi monarch in New York. In December 2011, WJC Vice-President Marc Schneier was received by King Hamad of Bahrain at the royal palace in Manama.

Ahead of a meeting of European religious leaders representing all major faiths in Europe, **Bosnian Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić** and Brussels Chief Rabbi Albert Guigui handed the document on behalf of the 33 signatories to Commission President José Manuel Barroso, European Parliament President Jerzy Buzek and European Council President Herman Van Rompuy.

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

EUROPEAN MUSLIM AND JEWISH LEADERS: JOINT DECLARATION ON THE OCCASION OF EUROPE DAY 2011

JWorld Jewish Congress, 9 May 2011

On the occasion of Europe Day, 9 May 2011, we the undersigned representatives of Muslim and Jewish communities in Europe have come together to make this joint declaration. Europe is our common home. Jews and Muslims live side-by-side in every European country and our two communities are important components of Europe's religious, cultural and social tapestry. Both Muslims and Jews have deep roots and historical experience on this continent. Our two faiths and communities are an integral part of Europe: past, present and future. As Jews, Muslims, and as Europeans, we are deeply concerned about the increasing manifestations of Islamophobia (anti-Muslim bigotry) and anti-Semitism in countries across Europe. We are troubled by the growth of racist and xenophobic movements. We believe that individuals and organizations espousing such malign and hateful ideologies represent a grave threat to the fundamental European values of pluralism, democracy, mutual respect and cooperation. In response to this growing threat, we Muslims and Jews resolve to work together to counter efforts to demonize or marginalize either of our communities. Bigotry against any Jew or any Muslim is an attack on all Muslims and all Jews. We are united in our belief in the dignity of all peoples. On this Europe Day we remember together the horrors that took place on this continent in the 1940s - a campaign of mass murder, unique in history, which resulted in the annihilation of one third of world Jewry in the Holocaust. That atrocity and others, such as the mass killing of Muslim civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the 1990s, resulted from the triumph of racist and xenophobic ideologies that demonized those that they targeted. We wish to work together with all Europeans of conscience to put a stop to any group that espouses racist or xenophobic ideologies long before they are in a position to gain legislative or other power. We must never allow anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia or racism to become respectable in today's Europe. In that regard, we call upon all political leaders not to pander to these groups by echoing their rhetoric. We recognise that the issues of identity, integration, multiculturalism and immigration are complex ones which need to be addressed properly and in consultation with the minority communities in Europe. However there must be no tolerance for the demonization of entire faith communities. We dedicate our efforts on Europe Day 2011 both to the memories of past victims of genocide and to our own children and children's children. We take this stand today so that all the children of Europe will grow to maturity in friendship and mutual trust in a continent finally and blessedly free of hatred, fear and violence.

Signed by:

Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Interreligious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Mr. Serge Cwajgenbaum, Secretary General European Jewish Congress, France; Sheikh Prof. Mohamed El Sharkawy, Dean Al-Azhar College of Islamic Studies, United Kingdom; Dr. Moshe Kantor, President European Jewish Congress, Russian Federation; Rabbi Benjamin Soussan, Chief Rabbi of Baden, Germany ...

U.S. - ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

Inter-faith Dialogue, 2006 - 2012

The forum was launched in the wake of the September 11th attacks. Its goal was the development of research and outreach programs designed to improve U.S. relations with Muslim states and communities. A particular challenge in that moment of tension and frustration was the virtual absence of dialogue between leaders of the United States and the Muslim world.

With the generous support of the Government of Qatar, the Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World launched the first U.S.-Islamic World Forum in 2004. The purpose was to promote a better understanding of the problems involved in U.S. relations with the Islamic world, through the creation of an ongoing and collaborative dialogue between Muslim and American leaders. At that first session, 165 leaders from the United States and 37 Muslim states – from government ministers to news editors – gathered to discuss topics from the Middle East peace process to private-sector entrepreneurship and new Internet media.

document No 11

U.S. - Islamic World Forum - Doha - 2008

... The following individuals known to be associated and/or supportive of the global Muslim Brotherhood were in attendance: **Dr. Mustafa Cerić** (Grand Mufti of Bosnia); John Esposito (Georgetown University); Sherman Jackson (University of MIchigan); Marc Lynch (George Williams University); Ahmed Younis (a former leader of Muslim Public Affairs Council MPAC); Salman Al-Marayati (MAPC Director).

U.S. - Islamic World Forum - Washington, D.C. - 2011

... Past participants include notable dignitaries such as President Bill Clinton; Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey; Secretary of State Madeleine Albright; President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan; Commander of the U.S. Central Command David Petraeus; the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina Dr. Mustafa Cerić** and many others.

U.S. - Islamic World Forums - Doha - 2012

... Past participants have included President Bill Clinton; Secretary of State Hillary Clinton; Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey; Secretary of State Madeleine Albright; President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan; Commander of the U.S. Central Command David Petraeus; the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina Dr. Mustafa Cerić**; Secretary General of ASEAN Surin Pitsuwan; and Secretary General of the OIC Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu.

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

Bosnian Mufti flays violent protests

DOHA - Source: The Peninsula - 2/20/2006

The Danish cartoons controversy has given a lesson to the West on what Islam is all about and the Muslims on how they should behave on the face of such a provocative issue, according to **Dr. Cerić Mustafa, Mufti of Bosnia. Cerić Mustafa** is in Doha attending the US-Islamic World Forum.

"I believe there are some positive results for this controversy. The West will now know that insulting Islam and its Prophet cannot simply go in the name of freedom of expression," **Dr. Cerić Mustafa** told The Peninsula, on the sidelines of the conference.

He added that the issue had helped convince the West about the limits of freedom of expression and the contradictions in their own stand on the issue. He said Muslims, by reacting violently against the blasphemous cartoons in many countries had lost an opportunity to teach the West what the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) actually stood for. "This is totally against Islam," he said expressing grief and surprise over the latest surprise over the latest incidents in Libya and Nigeria where several people were killed in violent protests. He said Muslims in Bosnia also protested against the cartoons peacefully. "The West understands Muslims more than the Muslims understand the West. But they mostly don't show the willingness to come down and interact with the Muslims," he observed. He said the current controversy is intermingled with political issues. "This is not the first time the Prophet was insulted in the West. Several books and articles were written for this purpose in the past. But now the situation has changed and the political elements in the Islam-West relations have contributed a lot to this controversy," he added...

But later, many newspapers published the cartoons calling it "freedom of expression".

"This cartoons have not decreased our respect for our Prophet, but it didn't increase freedoms in Europe," **Dr. Cerić** said. Echoing the sentiments of other religious leaders **Dr. Ceric** added the cartoons that were published in several European, western and Asian publications, have "united all Muslims, whether radicals or not".



U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD • 2006 / 2012



2008 / 2012 • TRESPECTING DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE



THE ELIJAH INTERFAITH INSTITUTE

THE ELIJAH BOARD OF WORLD RELIGIOUS - MUSLIM LEADERS



The Elijah Board of World Religious Leaders brings together some of the world's most prominent religious figures from Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and the Religions of India. The Elijah Board of World Religious Leaders is unique in mission and scope. It brings together an unparalleled group of religious leaders from all over the world in an exchange of ideas that leads to transformation within religions and their teachings. It provides a platform and an opportunity for these religious leaders to collectively address today's problems from within the resources of their own traditions. The wisdom of multiple traditions is shared as a collective voice, respecting diversity and difference, is found. This voice is created in concert with the scholars of the Elijah Interfaith Academy, who serve the Board in its reflections.



Grand Mufti Dr. Mustapha Cerić's contribution to the Sharing Wisdom section of this newsletter follows:

By admin, 2012

In this short article on the occasion of September 21, 2012 that has been proclaimed as the International Day of Peace, Sustainable Peace for a Sustainable Future,I have tried to show that the very word of Islam and Muslim carries the message of peace and security in the world. .. the fact that Islam is portrayed as a religion of violence and Muslim is seen as a man of terror and terrorism should not confuse genuine Muslims to believe in peace and work for peace in the world.

It is not first time in history that a religion is misinterpreted by prejudices of those who are stuck by their hatred toward the Other; it is not first time in history that a concept of a faith has been constantly misguided into the opposite direction; and it is not first time in history that the victims of prejudices must realize that a misconception about them will not go away by itself. They must rise up and speak up about their real concepts of life, of faith, of culture and of peace in the world. But not only speak, they must act in a convincing manner so that what they say that they believe, preach and teach is in practice of their own life. A personal example is more powerful than a thousand of words of an empty preaching.

Indeed, as Muslims we must admit that there are some irresponsible men among us who are doing disservice by their service to Islam and Muslims in a way that no one understands and no one can accept. They are spreading misconceptions about Islam and Muslims in such a way that generations will have hard time to clear that up. An injustice does not justify another injustice. The Muslims are advised by Allah Almighty that they should promote peace and do justice even to their enemy in order to change their heart and make them their friends: – Good and Evil are not the same. Therefore, you should always promote Good and thus if there is an enmity between you and him, he might as a result of your goodness become your sincere friend.

And that is the concept of peace in Islam – to make all people feel friends to each other, especially in a multicultural, multireligious, multiracial and multilingual society such as a society of Europe.

Document No 12

MUSLIM BUILDERS OF WORLD CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

The 500 most influential Muslims 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012 - Notable Muslims

The Muslim500
The World's Most Influential Muslims

ORIGINAL

Top 50 – The 500 most influential muslims in the world 2010 and 2011
August 24, 2011

43. His Eminence Sheikh Professor Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ, Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
44. H.E. Sheikh Professor Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

20 Most Influential Contemporary Sunni Ulama
2011 Edition

18. His Eminence Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ (b 1952), grand mufti of Bosnia;

document

Nominations for The Top 500 Most Influential Muslims for 2012
Amman, Jordan: May 9th, 2012

...The RISSC is an independent research entity affiliated with the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought. The Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought is an international Islamic non-governmental, independent institute headquartered in Amman, the capital of the Kingdom of Jordan... Nominations will be evaluated on the basis of the influence that particular Muslims have had within the Muslim community and the manner in which their influence has benefited the Muslim community, both within the Islamic world and in terms of representing Islam to non-Muslims.

H.E. Sheikh Professor Dr. Mustafa Cerić, Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Mustafa Cerić is a guiding light for Islam in Europe and the leading Islamic authority there; he became Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993. Ceric is outspoken on interfaith initiatives in the Muslim World and is considered one of the most influential Muslim leaders of current times.

Advocate of Cross-Cultural Engagement

In 2006, Cerić issued the 'Declaration of European Muslims' to the European Union stating that European Muslims are dedicated to the common values of law, tolerance, democracy and human rights, the value of life, faith, freedom, property, and dignity. In May 2009 Ceric disregarded warnings of possible violent protest by visiting Serbia and spoke at a sermon in the town of Tutin about the need for Bosnian and Serbian Muslims to unite as one entity.

Peace Activist

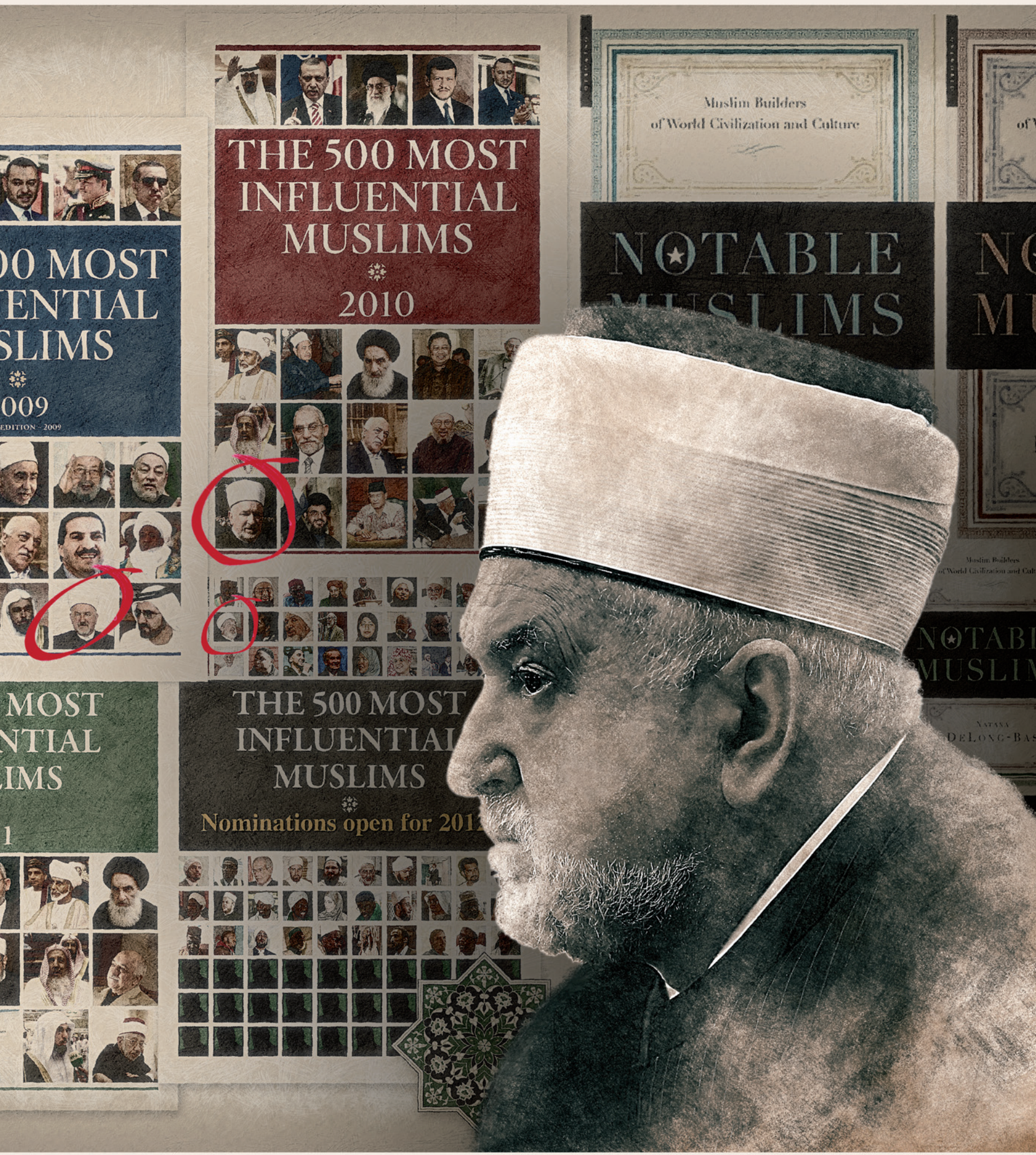
Ceric joined the International Religious Advisory Council of the Tony Blair Faith Foundation in 2008, committing himself to its mission of promoting respect and religious pluralism through discussions on social injustice.

Natana DeLong-Bas: **Notable Muslims: Grand Mufti of Bosnia one of the 100 most respected**

The book is compiled with the biographies and accomplishments of the hundred most prominent Muslims in history, at the option of the author DeLong-Bas. The selected names are personalities that have made a significant contribution to the development of their societies, as well as the global community. Among names such as NBA star Kareem Abdul Jabbar, Nobel Peace Prize winner Shirin Ebadi, hip-hop artist Mos Def, world boxing champion Muhammad Ali, award winning journalist and best-selling author, Ahmed Rashid, popular musician and benefactor Yusuf Islam, Nobel Prize winner for Chemistry Ahmed Zewail - is the name of the **Grand Mufti of Bosnia Dr. Mustafa Cerić**. Presenting the Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina as one of 100 most prominent Muslims in Islamic history, as a builder of the global civilization and culture, Professor Nathana J. DeLong-Bas points out that he "is becoming an internationally recognized leader of the Muslim-Christian dialogue".

„As the spiritual leader of Bosnian Muslims, **Cerić** has called upon the history of inter-religious and inter-ethnic tolerance and cooperation in the country, which is key to national reconstruction and the foundation for a lasting peace ... **Cerić** believes that the spirit of openness and cooperation is a productive and accurate reflection of the Bosnian identity ... Although some see the diversity of faiths in Bosnia as a depravity and a weakness, **Cerić** sees it as a sign of regional strength. He constantly condemns terrorism and racism, reflecting and emphasizing the views of those that he leads ... **Cerić's** crucial role as a national healer and peacemaker, is acknowledged by election into the Advisory Council of the World Institute for Political Affairs, New School University, and involvement in the dialogue, "The Islamic World - America - the West", which promotes greater communication in the Islamic world and about the Islamic world in the United States and in the West. With **Cerić's** religious leadership in Bosnia, he is also committed to building and strengthening ties between the Bosnian Muslims and other Muslim communities around the world ..."




THE 500 MOST INFLUENTIAL MUSLIMS
2010
Muslim Builders of World Civilization and Culture
NOTABLE
THE 500 MOST INFLUENTIAL MUSLIMS
Nominations open for 201



Introduction by Ambassador Akbar Ahmed to the "DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS" by the Grand Mufti of Bosnia

This document has been long overdue. A clear clarion call to Muslims is much needed; a reminder that Islam is a religion of *adl*, justice, *ihsan*, compassion and balance, and above all a religion that encourages the pursuit and practice of *'ilm* or knowledge. After all, knowledge is the second-most used word in the Quran after the word for God.

In the post 9/11 age in which we live, Islam faces many challenges. However, this Declaration by one of Europe's leading intellectuals clearly establishes that Islam has the resilience, compassion and imagination to meet the challenges. Written by a leading religious scholar who has thought deeply about these issues, the Declaration needs to be repeated not only for Muslims in Europe but Muslims generally living in the West – especially those in the United States of America and in the rest of the Muslim world. Its message could not be more important.

I had the pleasure of meeting the author when he was on a trip to London a decade ago, and I still recall a phrase that he quoted. The dilemma, he said, for Muslims in the Balkans was that to Asians they looked too European, and to Europeans they looked Asian. In that sense they were a people in the middle. To me that was the perfect metaphor for Islam itself. Indeed the Prophet of Islam repeatedly talked of Muslims as the people in the middle. I therefore congratulate the author for reclaiming the middle ground for Islam.

It is for this reason that the Declaration, which is more a crie de coeur than an academic thesis, needs to be heard. I will quote its last line to underline the importance of its message: "We will take different paths in life, but, no matter where we go, we take a little of each other everywhere". It is in this spirit of a world community living in the throes of globalization – where societies are juxtaposed, overlapping and sometimes in conflict – that the Declaration assumes such importance. Read it, distribute it, discuss it and act on it.

Ambassador Akbar Ahmed
Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies
and Visiting Fellow, The Brookings Institution,
Washington DC, USA,
January 2006.



INTRODUCTION
A DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS*

BY
Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ
GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA

*This document is a product of five years' experience of interreligious dialogue. This document is intended to inspire further discussion as to the future status of Islam and Muslims in Europe – the West.

The tragic events of 11th September 2001 in New York, 11th March 2004 in Madrid and 7th July 2005 in London*1 leave no one indifferent. Muslims around the world, especially, have been shocked by the fact that the perpetrators of these terrorist attacks claimed to have acted in the name of Islam. No reasonable person can accept that such violence against innocent people be carried out in his/her name. So Muslims across the Globe have condemned the terrorist attack in New York, the massacre in Madrid and the terror in London in the strongest terms possible.

*1 Of course, one should be aware of other attacks, such as in Riyadh 1995, Dhahran 1996, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam 1998, Yemen 2000, Bali 2002 and Istanbul 2003, but the attacks in New York, Madrid and London are the most disturbing to Islam-West relations.

But, many people say, that is not enough. Muslims should do more to persuade European public opinion that their faith is worthy of respect and that their stay in Europe is welcome.

Leaving aside those in Europe who will remain Islamophobic in all circumstances, Muslims must realize that the general feeling about their faith in Europe nowadays

is not favourable. European Muslims must take the issue of violence in the name of Islam very seriously, not because some people hate Islam and Muslims, but because the act of violence, the act of terror, the act of hatred in the name of Islam, is wrong. It is against Muslim beliefs. It is against Muslim interests in the world, especially in Europe.

European Muslims must develop a programme for anti-violence. They must fully and unequivocally proclaim to the whole world the non-violent nature of their faith and teach their children that the right way to success in this world, and to salvation in the hereafter, is not through argument of force, but through force of peaceful argument.

European Muslims must come out with a clear Declaration to the European Union, to the Muslims who live in Europe, and to the Muslim World as a whole.

The European Union

To the European Union, the Declaration of European Muslims should contain a clear message that European Muslims are fully and unequivocally committed to the rule of law, to the principles of tolerance, to the values of democracy and human rights, and to the belief that each and every human being has the right to five essential values: the value of life, the value of faith, the value of freedom, the value of property, and the value of dignity.

Having introduced their commitments to the European Union, European Muslims have the right to express their expectations in the Declaration, such as:

- the institutionalization of Islam in Europe;
- the economic development of the Muslim community so that it may have full spiritual and cultural freedom and independence;
- the development of Islamic schools capable of educating European-born Muslims for the new challenges of European society;
- a political freedom that will enable European Muslims to have their legitimate representatives in European state parliaments;
- a relaxation of European migration policy, which has become very restrictive towards Muslims recently;
- opening the way for Muslim law to be recognized;
- and the protection of European Muslims from Islamophobia, ethnic cleansing, Genocide and the like.

Muslims who live in Europe

To Muslims who live in Europe, the aim of the Declaration of European Muslims is equally important for the clear and unequivocal articulation of their Islamic identity and European citizenship. First of all, Muslims who live in Europe must realize that freedom is not a gift. Muslim freedom in Europe must be earned. And the overall status of Muslims must be recognized in spite of xenophobic opposition.

Of course, with freedom comes responsibility. So those who are ready to take responsibility deserve freedom. Despite the fact that European Muslims do not enjoy full freedom from fear and poverty in Europe, it is now more appropriate for them to speak about their responsibilities than about their freedoms because, by assuming their responsibilities in European economic, political and cultural life, Muslims who live in Europe will earn their right to freedom. Hence, the freedom of European Muslims will not be somebody's mercy, but an earned value which can neither be denied nor be taken away.

The most important statement that should be contained in the Declaration to Muslims who live in Europe is their obligation to present Islam to the western audience as a universal Weltanschauung, and not as a tribal, ethnic, or national culture. Muslims cannot expect Europeans to appreciate the universal message of Islam if they are constantly faced with an ethnic or national face of Islam. European Muslims can demonstrate to the European public the universalism of Islam, but they can also show that Europe is a good place for Muslims themselves to discover the power and beauty of the universality of Islam.

Muslims should be honest and admit that it is in Europe that many of them have discovered Islam in a totally different way from in their homeland, because it is here in Europe that they meet their fellow Muslims from other parts of the Muslim world and thus begin to appreciate the diversity of Islamic experience and culture. Muslims who live in Europe have the right, indeed the duty, to develop their own European culture of Islam, as the result of the interaction between East and West.[*2] This new renaissance will lead humanity to a better and safer world.

[*2] The first interaction occurred in Baghdad in the eighth century, and the second in Spain in the twelfth. Now there is occurring the third interaction between East and West (Islam and Europe) via Baghdad once again.

The Muslim World (*Ummah*)

Although the notion of globalization is somewhat vague, its impact is felt almost everywhere in all fields of life: political, economic, cultural and religious. The idea of global awareness should not be strange to Muslims. In essence, Islam is a universal faith and a global phenomenon. It would have been fully appropriate if the Muslims had come with an agenda of globalization in terms of a global freedom and security, because Muslims are scattered almost everywhere on the globe, and so their freedom and security are of global importance.

However, Muslims have failed to come up with a genuine idea of globalization, and in addition they are in general unable to live in a global world. Muslims have no global strategy; they have no global mind or mentality; they do not even have a global calendar to save them from an embarrassing confusion about the date of Ead al-Adha. Above all, and most unfortunately, they have an image of threatening the freedom and security of the world: they have the stigma of global terrorism.

It is because of the stigma of Islamic terrorism from which Muslims are unjustly suffering today that a Declaration of European Muslims should be worked out and directed to the Muslim World in order to emphasize the importance of a change from a negative global image to a positive global image for Muslims, especially in matters of their faith.

The centre of Islam should take the lead in providing global guidance in practical matters of our universal faith, in global issues of our time, and in global dialogue with our neighbours.

But, before the presentation of the text of the Declaration, some explanations are needed in order for it to be understood how Muslims understand Europe, how they feel about Islam in a European environment, and what stance they take as to their belonging to the Muslim World (*the Ummah*).

I

EUROPE

Europe is neither *Dāru-l-islām* (the House of Islam) nor *Dāru-l-harb* (the House of War). Europe is *Dāru-l-sulh* (the House of Agreement or Contract).

Europe is not *Dāru-l-islām* because Muslims do not constitute the majority

of the European population, and thus Muslim law cannot be fully implemented. Europe is not *Dāru-l-harb* because some aspects of Muslim law can be implemented.

The land of Europe is *Dāru-l-sulh* because it is possible to live in accordance with Islam in the context of the Social Contract "as the principles that free and rational persons concerned to further their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association".*3

*3 John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 11.

It is not difficult to prove that the idea of a contract, social or otherwise, is a legitimate one. We have plenty of doctrinal and historical documents which indicate the concept of *Sulh* (peace, [re]conciliation, settlement, accord, contract) as an opposite to the concept of *Harb* (war, warfare, fight, combat etc.).

The very idea of Islam is peace with God, with His Messenger, and with the rule of law: *God does call to the House of Peace...*4 *The servants of al-Rahman are those who walk on the earth in humbleness, and when the ignorant address them, they say, 'Peace'!* *5

*4 Qur'an, 10:25.
*5 Qur'an, 25:63

It is in the spirit of these Qur'anic verses that the Messenger of God (peace be upon him) made treaties with the Bedouins at al-Hudaybiyya, with Jews and Christians at al-Madinah, and with the neighbouring kings of Abyssinia, Persia and Byzantium. The rightful Caliphs have faithfully followed the example of the Messenger, and, in turn, they have been followed by good Muslim rulers throughout the history of Islam as well. This historical fact of the Social Contract, which has been initiated by Muslim goodwill towards other nations and religions, has been well documented by Muhammad Hamidullah.*6

*6 Muhammad Hamidullah, *Majmuah al-Wathaiq al-Siyasiyyah li al-Ahd al-Nabawi we al-Khilafah al-Rashidah*. Dar al-Irshad, Beirut, 1389-1969.

As we have said, we have no difficulty in proving the validity of the theory of contract because we can safely claim that it is a genuine part of overall Islamic doctrine and history. Our difficulty lies, however, in the lack of a genuine concept of the Social Contract that could be applied in the context of a European environment that would guarantee a decent status for Islam as a way of life, and of Muslims as citizens of Europe.

First, we have to understand Europe as the House of Peace, not the House of War.

Second, we have to know what the issues are that should be included in the framework of the Social Contract.

And, thirdly, we have to set up an organization or institution that can represent both Islam as a world religion and Muslims as good citizens of Europe.

We should say that the Contract is the dictate of reason, whereas the Covenant is the will of the heart/faith. Hence, we define a Muslim as a man with an allegiance to God as an act of the will of his heart/faith; and we define a citizen as a man with a duty to the state as an act of the dictate of his reason.

By the Covenant, man gives his heart to God and receives inner security; by the Contract he gives his reason to the state and receives social security as an inhabitant of a city or town. A citizen is entitled to the rights and privileges of a free man, he is a member of a state, a native or naturalized person who owes loyalty to a government and is entitled to protection from it of his life, religion, freedom, property and dignity.

Europe, as the **House of Contract**, opens the way for a sincere dialogue not only with Christians as such, but also with European society as a whole:
Invite (all) to the Way of your Lord with wisdom and good preaching, and argue with them in the ways that are best. For your Lord knows best who have strayed from His Path and who receive guidance.[*7]

[*7] Qur'an, 16:125.

This Qur'anic principle assumes that the dialogue among religions and cultures must be contextual, equitable and meaningful; it must be scholarly, objective and comprehensive. But to achieve this level of discourse with European society, we must understand its contemporary philosophy, culture and politics. Its philosophy is based on the logic of rationality and science. Its culture is derived from the history of Christianity. And its politics is conceived of the notion of the survival of the fittest.

Let us be clear here: understanding is not accepting. On the contrary, non-understanding leads to the acceptance of things that should be rejected by the spirit of the *covenant* as well as to the rejection of things that should be accepted by force of the *contract*.

Furthermore, the ignorance of the reality of European society in its various dimensions makes us unable to distinguish good from bad, and useful from harmful, European products which are available for our use. It seems that Europe has more knowledge about Muslims than willingness to accept them, whereas Muslims have less knowledge about Europe than readiness to accept it. This is the basic difference between the European approach to Islam and the Muslim approach to Europe, i.e., the European lack of will to accept Muslims as they are, and the Muslim lack of knowledge of Europe as it is. Europe is ready to tol-

erate Islam in its House, but it is not ready yet to accept Muslims in its political, social and cultural life. On the other hand, Muslims are ready to accept Europe as it is, but are not doing enough to increase their knowledge about the European political, social and cultural environment, which would change their position in European society.

If we accept the concept of the **House of Peace** as our concept for Europe in terms of the true Muslim as a good European citizen, then we should know what the issues are which must concern us to make the concept practical. We should know what the issues are that create tensions between Muslimness and European citizenship. Are they political or economic, cultural or religious? It is correct to say that the issues are all of these.

Politically, Muslims in Europe must know what their human rights are in terms of the representation of their community. They must insist on the removal of prejudices towards Islam and Muslims that exist in the general European public created by the biased media and supported by some political establishments. Islamophobia is a result of political and cultural intolerance and hatred.

We must teach Europe to accept Muslim values and to appreciate the sweat of Muslim workers and intellectuals in building a prosperous and free Europe. It is not only historically that Europe is indebted to Muslims for its freedom and prosperity, but it is also the contemporary Muslim contribution to its development that gives us the right to say that Europe owes us a lot.

Economically, we must demand an equal chance for the economic growth of the Muslim European community.

Of course, economic issues are very much connected with the issue of education, which must be our foremost concern. In a broad sense of the word, education designates the totality of influences that nature or other men are able to exercise either on our intelligence or on our will. It includes all that we ourselves do and all that others do for us. It includes even indirect effects on the character and faculties of men produced by things having quite a different objective: by laws, by forms of government, industrial products, and even by physical phenomena, independent of human will, such as climate, soil and locality[*8]

[*8] See Emile Durkheim, ***Education and Sociology***, The Free Press, New York, 1956, p. 61.

This definition of education reminds us of the fact that: first, we must know what those things are that we should do to be able to exercise influence on the intelligence and will of our children; second, we must be aware of the things that others do to influence the character and faculties of our children; third,

we must be familiar with the laws and forms of European governments that indirectly shape the minds of our children; and, fourthly, we must recognize the physical phenomena of Europe so that we may appreciate the economic and cultural needs of the European Muslim community. For, before asking others to do their part for us, we must ourselves do our part in education. We must set up a clear and comprehensive educational programme that should be based both on the fundamental principles of the spirit of our faith as the act of our will and on our fundamental rights and duties as European citizens. It is exactly in the reconciliation of these two demands that I see the need for a development of the concept of *Dar-l-sulh* (House of the Social Contract) that should be applied in Europe.

As to the religious issues, they are dependent much on the solution of the above-mentioned issues of politics, economics and culture. Our religion is our way of life. Therefore, the religious issues cannot be left isolated from our life. The building of a mosque in Europe is a religious issue, but it cannot be solved without the political will of the European governments; it cannot be maintained without the economic ability of the Muslim community; and it does not serve the purpose without proper educational facilities.

Muslim affairs in Europe should not be limited to religious issues. They should be extended to social issues as well. Our religion should be treated as being as natural and legal as any other religion in Europe in accordance with the freedom of one's conscience. Unfortunately, Islam has not been naturalized in Europe yet. It still has the status of a stranger or a special status that is tolerated, but not accepted as an equal representative of the overall European spiritual heritage, despite the fact that it stands today as the second religion to Christianity in many European countries.

European Muslims today are facing great difficulties in preserving their identity because of the lack of will in some European governments to regulate their religious needs and social rights. They are expected to be integrated into European society, very often, to the extent of losing their Muslim identity. Generally, from the European media one gets the impression that, for a Muslim to be a good European citizen, he must deny his Islamic origin, or he will face charges for all that is done by any Muslim at any time, anywhere in the world, as his own fault.

It is because of this impression that the state of affairs of Muslims in Europe is not only religious, in the sense of an ethical or moral Muslim personality, but in many cases their state of affairs is overwhelmingly political – so much so that they live permanently under the pressure of fear and uncertainty. Therefore,

Islam must be depoliticized in the sense of a universal religion that has, as its main goal, to teach its followers good behaviour in a global society. This, of course, does not mean that Muslims should not be well informed about the politics of that global society. On the contrary, Muslims should be well equipped with knowledge of global politics in order to be able to save their religion from bad politicization.

Having said that, we have come to the most important issue of Islam in Europe: namely, the issue of representation and institution. First we have to know that, by an approximate estimation, thirty million Muslims live in Europe today. They represent three different groups: 1) indigenous, 2) emigrant and 3) native. By the indigenous group we mean those Muslims who have a long historical background in Europe, such as the Muslims of Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Bulgaria etc; by the emigrant group we mean those Muslims who have migrated to Europe, either as students or workers, and have permanently settled, mainly in England, Germany and France; and by the native group we mean the young generation that has been born in Europe of Muslim emigrant parents. All these groups have one thing in common, viz. Islam. They differ, however, in their human experience and their life expectation. The indigenous Muslims have on their back a big burden of history, and they expect to be supported in their struggle for their religious and cultural continuity in Europe; the emigrant Muslims are making an effort to establish themselves in Europe, and they expect to overcome the status of a European stranger; and the European-born Muslims are in a state of struggle to preserve their Islamic identity in a challenging European political, economic and cultural environment, and they expect somebody to tell them how to be proud of their faith and their European birth.

What is to be done so that the common value of Islam can become a common ground of all Muslims in Europe? It is now time that we seriously consider a way of institutionalizing the presence both of Islam as a universal religion and of Muslims as global citizens. It is clear to everyone that a voluntary representation of Islam and Muslims in Europe is as misleading as anything that is against Muslim dignity and European peace. It is not enough that Europe recognize the presence of Islam in its land. Muslims deserve more than that. They deserve that their presence be legalized in the sense of creating a political and economic climate in which European Muslims can represent themselves through institutions that should have both governmental support and public acceptance. Muslims are very much offended by the insistence of some European media on the presentation of Islam in Europe by the image of Muslim terrorists.

II

ISLAM

There are several reasons why the issue of the status of Islam in Europe is of an utmost importance. The perception that, in its self-understanding, Europe has been a Christian continent is not correct. It is a historical fact that many centuries have witnessed not only Muslim but also Jewish people who have lived in Europe. Both of them have made significant contributions to European life and culture. However, the penetration of Islam into the Balkans and the Iberian Peninsula has left bitter memories of suffering and hatred. Although they have different histories, both Muslim and Jewish communities have been subjected to discrimination and violent persecution that has lasted right to our times.

Unfortunately, Muslims themselves have not always been able to present their case in a manner that is both understandable and acceptable to the European public.

Sometimes, Islam has been presented in such a sophisticated and academically complicated way that the minds of ordinary people can hardly comprehend. And sometimes Islam has been introduced in such a brutally simplified way that it cannot reach out to the hearts of honest people.

The difficulty of a clear comprehension of Islam and the lack of a direction for Muslims living in Europe create an unnecessary misunderstanding and mistrust between Islam and Europe that often leads to a bitter feeling.

Nevertheless, the future of Europe will be one of many faiths, including Islam. Therefore, the sooner we realize the urgent need to overcome the history of enmity, the better for both Islam and Europe. In their thinking, Muslims have to give an adequate place to European history, and Europeans must realize that Islam has its history in Europe and take into account the fact that many European countries have sizeable Muslim populations. This is particularly urgent, as existing prejudices against Islam are continuously nourished by a mix of political events, cultural differences and active ignorance.

In addition to that, we have to know that religion is not just an abstract idea or a simple belief. Religion is one of the very important concrete factors that shape people's identities as individual persons and as groups. Therefore, it is our duty to find a way to harness the potential of religions to motivate their believers to strive for peace, justice and tolerance in everyday life situations.

For a long time now, Islam has been in the focus of both the East*9 and the West*10. In the East, Islam is a centre of attraction, and in the West it is a centre of attention. The East believes that Islam is the solution, whereas the West thinks that Islam is the problem. In the East, people claim to defend Islam against its enemies, whereas in the West people believe that Islam is threatening their way of life. Hence, Islam has become a magic word of the East in the face of the West; and it has become a big puzzle of the West in the face of the East. It is – indeed – one of the biggest challenges of our times to comprehend the magic word of the East and to appreciate the puzzle faced by the West.

*9 By the ***East*** we mean regions where the faith and culture of Islam predominate, especially the Middle East, where most of the Muslim countries are located..

*10 And the ***West*** here means regions lying to the west, especially the countries of Europe and America.

It is not for the first time in history that the West does not comprehend the mystique of the East and, vice versa, that the East does not appreciate the perplexity of the West. For instance, Alexander the Great could have become the future ruler of Asia in the East provided he had been able to untie the Gordian knot through patience, and not by the sword. And the King of Granada in Spain, Hassan bin Ismail, could have built more Alhambras in Europe provided he had appreciated the diversity of European religious and cultural life, as his great predecessors had been doing for centuries before him.

Furthermore, it took a long time for Europe to accept the mind of the great philosopher Ibn Rushd, known as Averroës, while the book De l´Esprit des Lois (The Spirit of the Laws) of Montesquieu took a long time to be seriously studied in the East. These historical instances clearly illustrate the fact that the East and the West have always been in a process of dialectical interaction which often helped them to change the path of history towards better conditions for humanity.

The first historic interaction between East and West took place in Baghdad, and the second in Andalusia. In Baghdad the Muslim Caliph al-Ma'mūn brought the minds of East and West to work out the translation of human wisdom at the time. In Andalusia western intellectuals visited Muslim universities to study humanities, the result of which was European humanism and renaissance. I believe that we are now at the threshold of a third historic interaction between East and West, which again has to do with the phenomenon of Baghdad.

Of course, it has not always been easy for the West to understand the spirit of the East. Nor for the East to accept the mind of the West, but in the end the

West had no choice but to adopt the faith of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad (peace be upon all of them), which came from the East. In addition, the East could not avoid the path from Might to Right, from Mythology to Science, from Slavery to Freedom, and from the Theory of State to the Legitimacy of State, which came from the West.

However, the dialectical tensions between East and West nowadays are quite different from previous historical instances. Now the West is not what it used to be – the non-communist countries of Europe and America – and the East is no longer the communist countries of the Soviet Union. Now the West tends to perceive itself as the non-Islamic countries of Europe and America, and the East is somehow defined as the Muslim countries of the Middle East, or non-Christian countries with non-Western values. The best example to that effect is the case of Turkey, which is a non-Christian country, and it is therefore not part of the West.

In addition, there is a perception in the minds of a number of western intellectuals that Islam is today what communism was yesterday to the West: the big obstacle, nay, the real threat to the way of western life and civilization. Some people in the West believe that the dialogue between Islam and the West is a waste of time, and the only way for the West to deal with Islam and Muslims is therefore the argument of force, not the force of argument.

On the other hand, there are people in the East who believe that the West is an old enemy of Islam, and so Muslims should fight the West. They believe that there cannot be any dialogue between Islam and the West. According to their logic, there can be only the dialectical opposition between the two.

Our difficulty in facing the above views lies in the fact that those who promote the idea of religious and cultural conflict take Islam as their starting point for their idea of the Clash of Civilizations. They forget, however, that Islam is not communism and that the Muslim world is not the Soviet Union.

Islam is a way of life that is compatible with the way of common reason and human decency both in the West and in the East. In addition, the Muslim world is a great diversity of nations and cultures united by the idea of human goodwill in both the East and the West.

On the basis of what has been said so far, one tends to believe that Islam is a victim both of the East and of the West. Why is it so?

Firstly, because the East is too weak to live up to Islamic ideals such as freedom, democracy and human rights; and the West is too arrogant to recognize the Islamic sincerity in morality. Secondly, Islam is a victim of both the East and the West because the East is too narrow-minded to allow the universal spirit of

Islam to prevail over the tribal mentality; and the West is too xenophobic to recognize the fact that Islam is its neighbour to stay.

Unfortunately, the extreme views of some people, in both the East and the West, reduce Islam to their liking and thus suffocate both Islam as a faith of freedom of good choice (Arabic *ikhtijar*) freedom of good choice as opposed to freedom of evil choice) and Muslims as freedom-loving people. They forget, however, that Islam is not reducible to any particular race, colour or nationality and that Muslims are eligible to have God-given freedom, decent democracy and legitimate human rights. Muslim people should not be treated as immature children who cannot bear the responsibility of freedom, the challenge of democracy and the legitimacy of human rights.

No, it is not true. Islam has never been a reason for the suspension of freedom. On the contrary, Islam has taught humanity that there shall be no compulsion in religion. *Lā ikrāhe fi el-dīn* there shall be freedom in religion because a lie cannot be imposed and the truth needs no force. So the question is now: Who is imposing the lie and who needs force for the truth? Obviously, those who believe that 'might makes right' tend to impose the lie, and those who think that they have the right to play the role of God tend to enforce only their truth.

Once again, Islam is used and misused both by the East and by the West. Why? Firstly, because the East claims to defend Islam, but in fact the East uses (or misuses) Islam to cover up its own shortcomings. Thus, the bitter truth is that Islam is defending Muslims more than Muslims are defending Islam. As for the West, it is also using (or misusing) Islam to show the western audience that an enemy has been found and that the world should trust western heroes who are in search of weapons of mass destruction.

And, secondly, Islam is used and misused by both the East and the West in order to demonstrate that Islam, as a way of life for more than one billion Muslims around the world, is an obstacle on the way to a better relationship between East and West. The people in the East who believe that there should be no dialogue with the West say that the West is a devil: therefore, those who live in the West are doomed to go to hell. And, to prove that, they use – indeed, they misuse – the name of Islam.

Similarly, some people in the West believe that Islam, as an idea that came from the Orient, is not acceptable to the Occident simply because it is an oriental idea. They do not want to know, however, that thanks to the very idea of Islam their own cultural heritage from Greece was saved, and their own religion was strengthened, by the Islamic confirmation of the validity of divinely inspired

books such as the *Tawrat* (Torah) and the *Injil* (Gospel). So, the people in the West who have a hard time curing themselves of the disease of xenophobia use – indeed, misuse – Islam to promote Islamophobia in the West.

We are, indeed, in desperate need, as never before, to say that Islam is beyond the East and the West. Why? Firstly, because Islam is both faith and religion, culture and politics, people and land, East and West. This dual meaning is inseparable from the full meaning of Islam because Islam is a deep faith of the individual heart and a recognizable religion of the collective conscience; it is a unique culture of the world and a real politics of the globe; it is a large number of people around the world and a vast land in the heart of the planet; Islam is an inerasable sample of the East and an inevitable presence in the West.

Secondly, Islam is beyond the East and the West because of the Qur'anic verse that says: *You should know by now that it is not the Right Way only to face your faces towards East and West. But the Right Way is for you to have trust in God, and in the Day of accountability, and in Angels, and in the Book, and in God's Messengers.*

It is the Right Way also that you spend your wealth on your kin in need, on orphans, on the needy, on the wayfarer, on those who ask, and for the freedom of slaves. Also, the Right Way is to hold fast to prayer, to observe prescribed charity, to honour the contracts which you have made, to be firm and patient in hardship, and to overcome times of fear. Such people, says the Qur'an*, are on the Right Way to the truth, and they are close to God.*[*II]

[*II] Kur'an, II, 177.

Thirdly, Islam is beyond the East and the West because Jews, Christians and Muslims share a belief in the One God, who created us all from a single soul, then scattered us like seeds into countless human beings; they share the same father, Adam, and the same mother, Eve; they share the air they breathe and the rise of the sun they see every day; they share Abraham's faith and Noah's Ark for salvation; they share a love of the Virgin Maryam (Mary) and a respect for her son Isa (Jesus); they share true stories about Moses and his people, divinely guided around the Sinai desert; they share the clear word of the Holy Qur'an and the exemplary life of the Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him); and they have no choice but to accept the Ethics of Sharing as the right way towards a better future for all. Based on what has been said, it is obvious that Islam will stay beyond East and West. The East will continue to claim the ideals, and the West will face the realities of its relationship to Islam and Muslims. It is in the context of these ideals and realities of Islam that European Muslims should seek their place to stay in Europe.

While Islam is beyond East and West, Muslims are not. They are neither beyond nor between the East and the West any more. They are now in the midst of all of this and all of that. Of course, European Muslims have the right to hold fast to the ideals of the East, but they have an obligation to face the realities of the West, as well.

It is not only that the realities of the West are merciless, but also that the ideals of the East are no longer the same. In fact, European Muslims are now in a position to articulate some ideals of the East which one day might become realities both of the East and of the West. This is, indeed, the most challenging mission for today's Muslims: to be a vanguard in promoting good and preventing evil. This is also the right way for the Ummah to regain dignity at a time of despair. Here is the power of the moral teaching of Islam – in its broad moral view, which comes from the idea of promoting good and preventing evil, an idea from which may be derived the following moral imperatives:

First: **Read and Learn!**

Read and learn in the name of God who has created.[*12]

[*12] Kur'an, 96:1.

This means, then, that the revelation of the Qur'an did not begin with the imperative of faith, but with the imperative of knowledge.

God Almighty did not ask Muhammad (peace be upon him) to believe; He asked him to read and learn what and how to believe. This is so because man is born with faith. There is no need, therefore, to ask man to believe if that is already in his soul. But there is a need to remind man that he ought to read and learn what is in his soul. So man needs knowledge with faith as well as faith with knowledge. And here is where both East and West need Islam to teach them: the East to practise knowledge, and the West to appreciate faith.

Second: **Believe and work hard**

Those who believe and work hard deserve God's forgiveness and a great reward[*13]

[*13] Kur'an, 5:9.

Man lives neither in a pure spiritual world without matter, nor in a pure material world without spirit. The secret of success is that man unites in himself these two values: his spirit and his body. In other words, the purpose of man's life is in the activity of his spirit, and that is his faith, and in the activity of his body, and that is his hard work. Muslims will regain their dignity if they learn how to make a balance between these two forces of progress: the faith of heart and the work of hand.

At the moment there is a big discrepancy between the Muslim heart and the Muslim hand; there is a big gap between Muslim faith and Muslim work. There is no Muslim dignity unless this gap is overcome in such a way that the faith of heart and the power of mind work together.

Third: **Be pious and respect your parents**

God Almighty has prescribed that you worship none except Him and that you do good to your parents...[14]

[14] Kur'an, 17:23.

This Qur'anic emphasis on the relationship between worship of God and respect for parents has a strong massage both the East and the West. The message to the East is not to concede to the pressure to give up on family values; and the message to the West is to stop the hazardous game with the future of humanity. The institution of family tradition has no alternative. The issue of family values is not only a moral demand of human society, but also an existential condition of humanity.

The attempt to break the common law of family life is the equal of an attempt to break the common law of the nature of the sunrise in the East.

Fourth: **Be honest and fight for your rights**

Labour on the way of God courageously and honestly...[15]

[15] Kur'an, 22:78.

Success here and salvation in the hereafter do not come by themselves. One should go after his/her success. One should fight for his/her rights here and now. One should also work for salvation in the hereafter; one should deserve God's mercy.

The difference between the East and the West is that the East believes more in God's mercy than in hard work, whereas the West relies more on hard work than on the mercy of God.

Fifth: **Be aware of tomorrow**

Let every one, male and female, see what he/she is doing for tomorrow...[16]

[16] Kur'an, 59:18.

In this verse of the Holy Qur'an there is clear proof that we have the right, nay the obligation, to plan our future and to believe that our future may be better than our past.

It is really peculiar how some have come to the idea that the Muslim future is hopeless, and so hope lies only in the Muslim past as a way of life and a goal of

history. This idea has no foundation in Islam. It is not only that God teaches the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) that "your future will be better than your past"(Qur'an, 93:4), but also that common reason tells us that we cannot change our past, but we can, with God's help, shape our future.

So we are not responsible for past Muslim history, but we are responsible for future Muslim history. That nation has been and gone. What awaits them is what they deserved, and what awaits you is what you have deserved (Qur'an 2:141). So Muslims should not be afraid to think about their future, in the same way as they should not be possessed by their past. Muslims have a future because they have faith in God. And they have faith in God because they believe that truth and justice will prevail.

III

THE UMMAH (THE MUSLIM WORLD)

The *Ummah* is the Universal Muslim Community, tied with the bond of faith in the One God and the last prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him). Muslims believe that the Ummah is a legitimate heir of the successive revelations of God from Adam through Abraham, Noah, Moses and Jesus to Muhammad (peace be upon all of them). Islam is an inclusive religion by the fact that it recognizes the existence of other religions. It is, therefore, an Islamic duty upon each and every Muslim male and female to promote mutual respect among all faiths. Therefore, by its nature, Islam is a global religion.

Although the notion of globalization is somewhat vague, its impact is felt almost everywhere in all fields of life: political, economic, cultural, and religious. To Muslims the idea of a global awareness should not be a strange thing. In its essence, Islam is a universal faith and a global phenomenon. It would have been fully appropriate if Muslims had come with an agenda of globalization in terms of global freedom and security, because Muslims are scattered almost everywhere on the Globe, and so their freedom and security are of global importance.

However, it is not only that Muslims have failed to come with a genuine idea of globalization, but they are, generally speaking, failing now to live in a global world. Muslims have no global strategy; they have no global mind and head; they have no global calendar to save them from the embarrassment of confusion about the date of Eid al-Adha. Unfortunately, they have the image

of threatening the freedom and security of the world: they have the stigma of global terrorism.

It is because of these images and stigmas from which Muslims are unjustly suffering today that a **Declaration of European Muslims** should be worked out for the Muslim World in order to emphasize the importance of the need for a change from a bad global image to a good global image for Muslims, especially in matters of their faith.

The centre of Islam should take the lead in providing global guidance in practical matters of our universal faith, in global issues of our time, and in global dialogue with our neighbourhood.

As a Muslim of European origin and as a European of Muslim faith
I expect my fellow Muslims, wherever they may be,
to prove to the world that Islam
is both sincere faith and rightful religion;
that it is both attractive culture and
peaceful politics; that it is both good people
and rich land;
and that Islam is both
the wise man of the East
and the rational man of the West.





A DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

expressing the stance of European Muslims regarding the attack in New York in September 2001, the massacre in Madrid in March 2004, and the bomb explosion in London in July 2005

Whereas on 11th September 2001 thousands of men and women who worked at the World Trade Center in New York were killed by a terrorist attack, and on 11th March 2004 hundreds of people who were travelling by train in Madrid were massacred, and on 7th July 2005 in London many innocent passengers were victims of bomb explosions in London, and whereas all these acts of violence against humanity have been attributed to "Islamic terrorism";

• Whereas, following the New York attack, the Madrid massacre and the London bombing, European Muslims live under the heavy pressure of collective guilt for 'Islamic terrorism' which is constantly being propagated by some politicians and media;

• Whereas European Muslims believe that there is no collective guilt, but an individual responsibility;

• Whereas European Muslims suffer from Islamophobia due to irresponsible coverage of Muslim issues in Europe by some media;

• Whereas European Muslims love freedom for others as they love it for themselves and appreciate citizenship and human rights in multicultural societies;

• Whereas European Muslims would like to raise their children in peace and security with other religious communities in Europe on the basis of the 'Ethics of Sharing';

• Whereas Islam teaches Muslims that Jews and Christians are People of the Book, and so all Jews, Christians and Muslims should learn how to share their common spiritual roots and their common hopes for the future without prejudice in order to avoid discrimination, low self-esteem, demoralization, religious and

racial hatred, helplessness, lack of control, social avoidance, lack of opportunities, and political underrepresentation;

• Whereas Europe is a common continent of many faiths, nations, languages, cultures and customs;

• Whereas Europe is proud of its road from slavery to freedom, from mythology to science, from might to right and from theory of state to legitimacy of state, as well as Europe's commitment to the basic values of human rights and democracy;

• Whereas European Muslims want to be part of European life and prosperity as well as the social, political, cultural and moral development of European societies: Now therefore be it

Declared,

I

TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

– THAT IT IS THE POSITION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS THAT –

1. Europe is the House of Peace and Security based on the principle of the social contract.

2. The land of Europe is the **House of Social Contract** because it is possible to live in accordance with one's faith in the context of "the principles that free and rational persons concerned to further their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association" (John Rawls).

3. A Contract is man's dictate of reason, whereas a Covenant is man's will of heart/faith. Hence, a Muslim is a man with an allegiance to God as an act of the will of his heart/faith, and the citizen is a man with a duty to the state as an act of the dictate of his reason. By the Covenant, man gives his heart to God and receives inner security; by the Contract he gives his reason to the state and receives social security as an inhabitant of a city or town. A citizen is entitled to the rights and privileges of a free man, he is a member of a state, a native or naturalized person who owes loyalty to a government and is entitled to its protection of his life, religion, freedom, property and dignity.

4. European Muslims are fully and unequivocally committed to the following

European common values:

- the rule of law;
- the principles of tolerance;
- the values of democracy and human rights;
- and to the belief that each and every human being has the right to five essential values: the value of life, the value of faith, the value of freedom, the value of property, and the value of dignity.

5. As they try to live decent life in Europe, European Muslims have the following expectations:

- the institutionalization of Islam in Europe;
- the economic development of the Muslim Community so that it may have full spiritual and cultural freedom and independence;
- the development of Islamic schools capable of educating European- born Muslims for the new challenges of multicultural societies;
- a political freedom that will enable European Muslims to have their legitimate representatives in European state parliaments;
- the relaxation over the European migration policy, which has tended to be very restrictive towards Muslims recently;
- opening the way for Muslim law to be recognized in matters of personal status such as family law;
- and the protection of European Muslims from Islamophobia, ethnic cleansing, Genocide and the like.

6. European Muslims are committed to a comprehensive joint programme for religious dialogue that will:

- build awareness of the complexities of the secular context in which religions exist today;
- promote understanding, respect differences and explore common ground;
- affirm religious identities as important instruments for dealing with insecurity and conflict, and for learning to respect and live with diversity in situations of conflict;
- contribute to ongoing discourse on human rights;
- create an understanding of the 'otherness' of the 'other' person;
- show the complex relationship between religion, culture, politics and economics, and highlight the factors which lead towards positive contributions by religions to common efforts for truth, justice and peace;

- identify religious principles, moral and ethical values and norms that are comparable, and which can be negotiated for a life together, and those that are distinct to each faith; and recognize possible differences, tensions and misunderstandings between particular moral and ethical values in different religions;
- highlight the positive historical experiences, and recall the memories of good neighbourhood and living together, that are also part of Europe's history;
- establish a common platform for religious coexistence in the spirit of the good will that can be found both in the Books of God and in the hope for our common future.

II

TO THE MUSLIMS WHO LIVE IN EUROPE

– THAT IT IS THE SENSE OF THE EUROPEAN MUSLIMS THAT –

1. Muslims who live in Europe should realize that freedom is not a gift. Muslim freedom in Europe must be earned. And the overall status of Muslims must be recognized in spite of xenophobic opposition.

2. Muslims who live in Europe should be more concerned now about their responsibilities than about their freedoms because, by assuming their responsibility in European economic, political and cultural life, the Muslims who live in Europe will earn their right to freedom. Hence, the freedom of European Muslims will not be somebody's mercy, but an earned value which can be neither denied nor taken away.

3. Muslims who live in Europe should present Islam to the western audience as a universal Weltanschauung, and not as a tribal, ethnic or national culture. Muslims cannot expect Europeans to appreciate the universal message of Islam if they are constantly faced with an ethnic or national colour of Islam. It is not only that European Muslims can impress the European public with the universalism of Islam, but also that Europe is a good place for Muslims themselves to discover the power and beauty of the universality of Islam.

4. It is in the West that many Muslims discover Islam in a totally different way from their homeland because here they meet their fellow Muslims from other

parts of the Muslim world and thus begin to appreciate the diversity of Islamic experience and culture. Muslims who live in Europe have the right, nay the duty, to develop their own European culture of Islam as a proof of the third interaction between the East and the West and as a need for a new renaissance that will lead humanity to a better and safer world.

5. The young generation of Muslims who live in Europe should be spiritually strong and intellectually bold to break the Muslim's own stereotypes about Islam before asking others to change their stereotypes. Muslim youth must take the lead into their future, not wait for the elders to do their job. Muslim youth should not be shy to take the lead into a better future for Muslims who live in Europe.

6. Muslims who live in Europe should commit themselves to the following imperatives of their faith:

- **Read and Learn!**

The revelation of the Qur'an did not begin with the imperative of faith, but with the imperative of knowledge. God Almighty did not ask Muhammad (peace be upon him) to believe, but asked him to read and learn what and how to believe. This is so because man is born with faith. There is no need, therefore, to ask man to believe, if that is already in his soul. But there is a need to remind man that he ought to read and learn what is in his soul. So man needs knowledge with faith, as well as faith with knowledge.

- **Believe and work hard!**

Man lives neither in a pure spiritual world without matter, nor in a pure material world without spirit. The secret of success is that man unites in himself these two values: his spirit and his body. In other words, the purpose of man's life is in the activity of his spirit, and that is his faith, and in the activity of his body, and that is his hard work. There cannot be Muslim dignity unless the big gap between the faith of heart and the power of mind is closed.

- **Be pious and respect your parents!**

The Qur'anic emphasis on the link between worship of God and respect for parents has a strong message for both the East and the West. The message to the East is not to concede to the pressure to give up on family values;

and the message to the West is to stop the hazardous game with the future of humanity. The institution of family tradition has no alternative. The issue of family values is not only a moral demand of human society, but also an existential condition of humanity. The attempt to break the common law of family life is the equal of an attempt to break the common law of the nature of the sunrise in the East. No one has been able to change the nature of the sunrise; no one will be able to break the law of family life as long as the sun rises by the will of God Almighty.

• Be honest and fight for your rights!

The success here and the salvation in the hereafter do not come by themselves. One should go after his/her success. One should fight for his/her rights here and now. One should also work for the salvation in the hereafter; one should deserve God's mercy. The difference between the East and the West is that the East believes more in God's mercy than in hard work, whereas the West relies more on hard work than on the mercy of God.

• Be aware of tomorrow!

There is clear proof in the Holy Qur'an that we have the right, nay the duty, to plan our future and to believe that our future may be better than our past. It is really peculiar how some have come to the idea that the Muslim future is hopeless, and so hope lies only in the Muslim past as a way of life and a goal of history. This idea has no foundation in Islam. It is not only that God Almighty teaches us that our future might be better than our past, but also that common reason tells us that we cannot change our past, but we can, with God's help, shape our future. So we are not responsible for past Muslim history, but we are responsible for future Muslim history. Muslims should not be afraid to think about their future, in the same way as they should not be possessed by their past. Muslims have a future because they have faith in God. And they have faith in God because they believe that truth and justice will prevail.

III

TO THE MUSLIM WORLD

– THAT IT IS THE SENSE OF THE EUROPEAN MUSLIMS THAT –

1. The Muslim world is a universal community of Muslims who are brothers by their common faith in the One God and in the prophethood of Muhammad, peace be upon him.

2. The idea of a global awareness should not be a strange thing to Muslims. In its essence, Islam is a universal faith and a global phenomenon. It would have been fully appropriate if Muslims had come up with an agenda of globalization in terms of global freedom and security, because Muslims are scattered almost everywhere on the globe, and so their freedom and security are of global importance.

3. It is not only that Muslims have failed to come up with a genuine idea of globalization, but that they are, generally speaking, failing to influence the global world. Muslims have no global strategy; they have no global mind and head; they have no global calendar to save them from the embarrassment of confusion about the date of Eid al-Adha. Unfortunately, they have an image of threatening the freedom and security of the world: they have the stigma of global terrorism.

4. It is because of the stigma of Islamic terrorism from which Muslims are unjustly suffering today that a Declaration of the European Muslims to the Muslim Word should be worked out in order to emphasize the importance of a change from a bad global image to a good global image for Muslims, especially in matters of their faith.

5. The centre of Islam should take the lead in providing global guidance in practical matters of our universal faith, in global issues of our time, and in global dialogue with our neighbours.

6. Muslims, wherever they may be, should prove to the whole world that Islam is both sincere faith and rightful religion, that it is both attractive culture and peaceful politics, that it is both good people and rich land, and that Islam is both the wise man of the East and the rational man of the West.

7. It is wrong to accuse Islam of the lack of democracy in the Muslim world; it is a sin to violate human rights in the name of Islam; it is a crime against Islam to tolerate a high rate of illiteracy in the Muslim world and to witness a huge gap between enormously rich and extremely poor people in the Muslim world.

8. European Muslims have the right and the duty to raise these and other issues which have an impact on the future of their children as they try to figure out who they are and what they are supposed to do as Muslims in a European environment.

9. European Muslims call for a global Muslim community to take the lead in promoting peace and security in the world.

10. The Muslim world is a legitimate Ummah that should be capable of carrying out the duty of a morally good, rationally balanced, economically just and globally proactive Community which is trustworthy of partnership and friendship everywhere.

* * *

We all take different paths in life, but no matter where we go,
we take a little of each other everywhere!

Friends are God's way of caring for us!

* * *





THE "DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS" BY Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ:
APPRAISAL AND DEBATE IN GERMANY

by Stefan Jakob Wimmer

Dr. Stefan Jakob Wimmer is a scholar of Cultural Sciences, an associate professor at the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich, and Curator of Hebrew and the Ancient Near East at the Bavarian State Library. He holds a Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and teaches at the Catholic Theological Faculty in Munich. He is co-founder and vice-chairman of the "Friends of Abraham Society" for interreligious dialogue in Munich and vice-chairman of the Centre for Islam in Europe, Munich (ZIE-M)".

Rupert Neudeck is well known as a humanitarian activist in both Bosnia and Germany. As founder and director of the "Cap Anamur" and "Green Helmets Peace Corps" organizations, based near Cologne, he has, for many decades, been initiating numerous humanitarian aid projects all around the globe, including during the disastrous years of aggression against Bosnia in the 1990s. A street in Sarajevo has been named "Ulica Cap Anamur" in appreciation, and Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić has become a member of the "Green Helmets" board of trustees. During one of his frequent public appearances, in 2006 at the University of Munich, Rupert Neudeck lectured about his experiences in large parts of the Islamic world. He stressed the point that, even though Bosnian Muslims had become victims of Genocide, they continued to reach out for reconciliation, rejecting mechanisms of hatred and revenge. Elaborating on the leading stance taken up in this process by the Reisu-l-ulema, Neudeck drew the attention of the audience to Cerić's "Declaration of European Muslims": "Mustafa Cerić speaks with the vocabulary of firmly-rooted European tradition… Pope Benedict XVI would be well advised to discuss the guidelines for a future European society with this man in Sarajevo."*1

When the Reisu-l-ulema himself announced the Declaration in February 2006 at a ceremony in Zagreb, he summarized his motives: "It is a personal – it is probably too much to say 'confession' – but a personal appeal to the European audience not to make a mistake in generalizing all Muslims and not to spread Islamophobia, which was, I think, going on in Europe and in the West generally, especially after September 11. And the second message was to Muslims who live in Europe to take seriously these three events that may have great consequences for their stay in Europe and their status in Europe. And the third message is to the Muslim world at large to ask them to help us in the West, and especially in Europe, to develop a kind of dialogue that is acceptable to us as Muslims, as well as to our European neighbours."*2

The Declaration triggered a portrayal of Mustafa Cerić, in the prestigious German weekly "Die Zeit", by Jörg Lau. The article says the Declaration addresses terrorism, European values, human rights, and the commitment shown by European Muslims to the principles of the liberal constitutional state... "One day, the Mufti believes, there should be a single institutional representation for Europe's Muslims. Of course he is aware how unlikely this is for the time being, facing the ethnic, cultural and religious rifts among European Muslims. But his Declaration may well be seen as an application for the position of a European Grand Mufti…

In his Declaration the Grand Mufti instigates re-thinking on Muslims' belonging to Europe beyond the classical Islamic self-conception: Europe, according to Cerić, was neither

*1 A written version of Neudeck's lecture (not quite identical to the spoken word) is published in R. Neudeck, Leben und Sterben im Islam. Eine Herausforderung an die 'westliche Welt', in: *Blätter Abrahams*. Beiträge zum interreligiösen Dialog 5, 2006, pp. 57-71.

*2 Interview with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on 14.03.2006;

'House of Islam', because different religions coexist here on an equal basis, nor 'House of War' which needed to be conquered by Islam. Europe should be understood as 'House of Social Contract'. Here, the Mufti explains, everyone can live according to his beliefs, while the state order is based on principles 'which free and rational individuals can accept in their own best interest', just as the American philosopher John Rawls described it. For Mustafa Cerić there is no contradiction between a contract of free and equal human beings constituting the political order, and the individual covenant between the believer and God."*3

In September 2006 the Reisu-l-ulema met German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Berlin, and acquired further public attention when he was awarded the renowned Theodor Heuss Prize in 2007, following similar awards in other European countries.*4 This was to be followed in 2008 by the Eugen Biser Award in Munich.*5

Between the two distinct occasions a brief controversy had developed around a controversial statement by a Member of the German Bundestag, Kristina Köhler, of the governing Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Referring to an article by Mustafa Cerić entitled "The challenge of a single Muslim authority in Europe", which had been published in the December 2007 issue of the political periodical "European View"*6, Köhler reacted half a year later with accusations that Cerić was "seemingly calling into question the rule of law and democracy" and instead pleading for a Muslim "Sharia-goverened parallel world" in Europe and for a "European caliphate".*7 She delivered her statements to "Welt Online", the internet edition of the conservative German daily "Die Welt" (12/05/2008). Other media were bewildered by Köhler's allegations, for two reasons.*8 The "European View" is itself published by the Centre for European Studies in Brussels, which is closely related to the European People's Party, the Christian Democrats' representation in the European Parliament. Moreover, Cerić's views, as issued in his paper, provide no basis for Köhler's accusations: elaborate passages clearly advocate the very opposite of the allegations. The Grand Mufti himself turned to Chancellor Angela Merkel in a letter, voicing "concern about very irritating interpretations of an isolated aspect" of his article and reaffirming his commitment to a democratic and pluralistic society: "In 21st-century Europe, Islamic law, in the sense of a social contract as I suggest, can and must be consistent with the values of state and society, as they are defined in an exemplary manner in the German Grundgesetz (constitution) and now also in the Lisbon Treaty".*9 Cerić again had occasion to reiterate his positions in Munich when he lectured in Nymphenburg Castle on "Islam in Europe: New approaches in dialogue", in November 2008.*10

The 'Köhler affair' illustrates, in an exemplary manner, a *modus operandi* that has increasingly been taken up by Islamophobic circles, not only in Germany. Their notion that

*3 Die Zeit, 20.11.2006; transl. by SJW.

*4 Awarded by the Theodor Heuss Foundation, named after the first President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1949-1959). Mustafa Cerić received the prize together with Rita Süssmuth, former Chairperson of the German Bundestag, for promoting interreligious dialogue between Muslims and Christians.

*5 The Catholic Eugen Biser Foundation conferred the award on three initiators of the initiative "A Common Word Between Us and You": Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talal of Jordan, Shaykh Al-Habib Ali Zain Al-Abidin Al-Jifri of the UAE, and Reisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa Cerić of Bosnia and Hercegovina, on 22/11/2008.

*6 European View 2007/6, pp. 41-48.

*7 KKristina Köhler, now named Kristina Schröder, became a member of Chancellor Angela Merkel's cabinet in 2009 and serves today as Federal Minister for the Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth Affairs.

*8 See *Der Spiegel* ("Als der Obermufti einmal Scharia sagte:" Y. Musharbash), 2008/08/15.

Islam must, by its very nature, be incompatible with modern European values, and an Islamic leader cannot but strive for overall supremacy and for the implementation of mediaeval perceptions, is an unquestioned premise in their ideology. Whatever is uttered by Muslims is then interpreted in this sense, even when this means picking out truncated quotations isolated from their context and consciously either ignoring what is actually being written or said, or turning it into the opposite.

Amidst these differing conceptions in Germany it was more than appropriate to further advance the most seminal expression of Cerić's views and visions: the "Declaration of European Muslims". Motivated by Rupert Neudeck's above-mentioned appearance in Munich, which had been organized by the Friends of Abraham Society, an academic interfaith organization, this same society commissioned the author of this contribution to provide a German translation of the Declaration. With the help of native Bosnian members of the Islamic Community of Penzberg, near Munich, the translation, which is based on the English version, was checked with the wording and spirit of the Bosnian original. As a result "Die Deklaration europäischer Muslime" was published in the Society's periodical, *Beiträge zum interreligiösen Dialog* 6, 2006, pp. 7-15 ("Leaves of Abraham. Contributions for interreligious dialogue").

The Reisu-l-ulema was then invited by the Friends of Abraham to Munich and lectured, co-sponsored by the Islamic Community of Penzberg, the Protestant Academy of Munich, the Catholic peace movement Pax Christi, and the Chair for Religious Education, in an overcrowded auditorium maximum at the Ludwig-Maximilian University on "Islam in Europe – Towards European Identity and Integration" (23/11/2007). In the announcements of the event, Dr. Mustafa Cerić was introduced as a "leading Islamic authority in Europe. In his 'Declaration of European Muslims' he takes a position for Islam as being compatible with the values of a democratic, open and future-oriented society."

Cerić concluded his speech in Munich with an emotional appeal to recognize the tremendous relevance of the Bosnian experience for Europe as a whole: "I believe that the Bosnians have shown to the whole world that they are worthy of respect for their cross-religious cooperation and tolerance. Because Sarajevo is not only a symbol of the eternal city of tolerance, but also a sign of European unity in a diversity of faiths and cultures… Because Bosnia is not only the heart of the Balkans, but also the soul of Europe. Thus, the soul of Europe will not be at peace until Bosnia takes its place in the European family of nations. This fact Europe should understand now more than ever before."*11

Prof. Stephan Leimgruber of the Catholic Theological Faculty of Munich University, Imam Benjamin Idriz of the Penzberg Islamic community and the present writer then proposed to focus on the Declaration in a book project which, as a whole, introduces to German readers the Bosnian experience of Islam as a model for future institutionalization and establishment of Islamic structures and Muslim life in Germany and Europe. The book, entitled "Islam mit europäischem Gesicht. Perspektiven und Impulse" ("Islam with a European Countenance. Outlook and Impetus") appeared in 2010 in a Catholic publishing house.*12 The text of the Declaration provides the core of the book. It is then evaluated in three elaborate statements by a Catholic theologian, a Protestant theologian and a Muslim scholar – all of whom welcome the content and importance of the document and address diverse questions as a starting

*9 Letter by Mustafa Cerić to Chancellor Angela Merkel, 21.05.2008.

*10 Nymphenburger Gespräche ("Nymphenburg Talks") 21.11.2008; http://www.nymphenburger-gespraeche.de/archiv/pressespiegelarchiv/67-abp02009ihtml.

point for further discussions. Prof. Lothar Bily SDB, rector of the Philosophical-Theological College Benediktbeuern (Bavaria), points out the difficulty resulting from the fact that the Declaration addresses a modern, secular 'Western' society and, at the same time, the so-called Islamic world with sometimes widely different preconditions. Rev. Dr. Rainer Oechslen, in charge of interreligious dialogue and relations with Islam for the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Bavaria, raises the question of how the traditional family model, advocated by the Grand Mufti, can comply with widespread alternative ways of life, including the human rights of homosexuals, who deserve the same care and protection – not enmity – of their religion. Dr. Aziz Hasanović, Deputy Mufti of Croatia, takes on the manifold stimulations and recalls that "the Declaration strives to introduce European norms as their own standards into the contemporary learning of Muslims... It is but a starting point rather than a destination that has already been reached."*13

The presentation of the Declaration and the discussion around it are further embedded in contributions that outline the historic roots of Islam in Europe, describe the historic and present situation of Islam in Austria and in Bosnia, and develop perspectives for an institutionalization of Islam in Germany. It is shown that Mustafa Cerić's Declaration provides indeed a treasure of ethical, social and spiritual guidelines and stimulations that may help to shape the common future of Muslims and non-Muslims on the European stage.

As a conclusion, the three editors sum up:
"Islam is not alien to Europe. This conclusion is neither a spectacular discovery by our book nor a provocative new thesis. It simply describes a component of European reality today and in the past. Muslims have participated not only in the political history of the continent, but also in the multi-coloured spectrum of European culture and humanities; they have their share in the architecture, arts, music, philosophy and sciences of Europe…

Our book deliberately focuses attention on the kind of Muslims who have hardly been perceived, even though – and, at the same time, because – they are and have always been at home in Europe. Because Muslims in the Balkans have always been part of the Islamic Ummah and yet have never lived exclusively among themselves, but around and together with other religions and ethnicities with whom they have formed common identities. Because they embody Ottoman and Austrian legacies, because they pray in the direction of Mecca but strive to define their identity in the direction of Brussels…

It is utterly impressive how, in spite of all their pain, Bosnian Muslims have succeeded in coping with their sorrow. No vows for revenge and retaliation to the very last drop of blood, no endless vicious cycles of continued fighting, violence and terror, such as dominate in other parts of the world, not least, unfortunately, the Islamic world, and aggravate hopelessness and desperation. This, too, is an imposing, authentic manifestation of Islamic reality in Europe – a fact that has not yet entered our awareness.

The spiritual head of Bosnian Muslims, Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić, who was elected to the office of Reisu-l-ulema in 1993, during the siege and shelling of Sarajevo, has decisively encouraged and shaped this approach of reconciliation. His view is turned to the future, and the "Declaration of European Muslims" is clear and impressive evidence for it. Along with his pragmatic and positive approach, Cerić does not view its text and contents as a dogmatic, final document, but rather

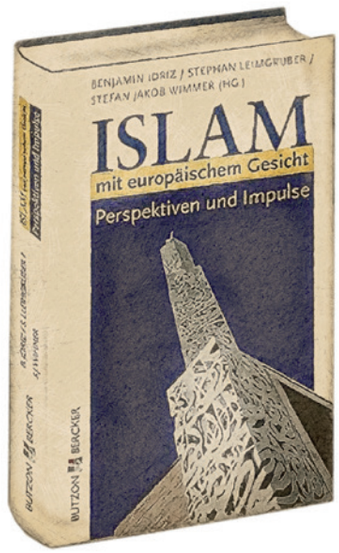
*11 The speech was delivered in English and a written translation issued in German.

*12 B. Idriz, S. Leimgruber, S.J. Wimmer (eds.), *Islam mit europäischem Gesicht*, Butzon & Bercker Vlg., Kevelaer 2010.

*13 Idriz/Leimgruber/Wimmer, *Islam mit europäischem Gesicht*, p. 146.



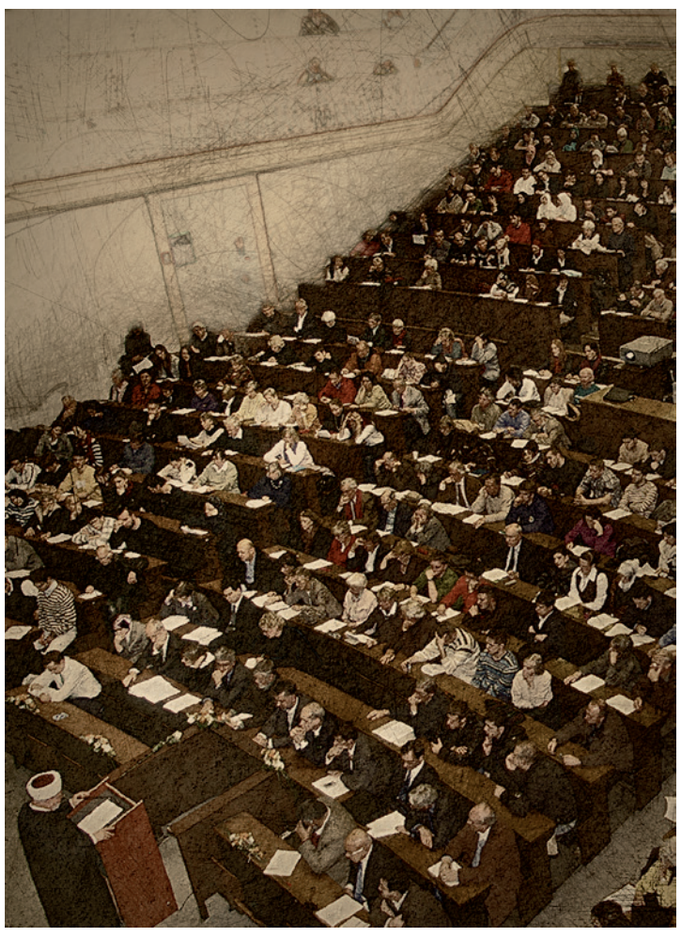
Stephan LEIMGRUBER, Dr. Mustafa CERĆ, Benjamin IDRIZ i Stefan Jakob WIMMER:
Islam in Europe - Integration and identity, Munich 2007



Islam with European face: perspectives and impulses from
Benjamin IDRIZ, Stephan LEIMGRUBER, Stefan Jakob WIMMER

in the sense of a draft aimed at triggering debate in order to discuss and struggle for its particular propositions…

In Western Europe we need to pay more attention to the native Muslims of Europe, and we need to advance the discussion of Dr. Cerić's Declaration. This will not only respond to the legitimate demands of Muslims in our neighbourhood. It will also foster the benefit of all Europeans. Especially in Germany we have a chance to resort to the proven experience of Islam (in Bosnia) as presented above, and, when adapted to our specific circumstances and needs, to help in the shaping of a modern, European face of Islam."*14



Lecture by Dr Mustafa Cerić, on the subject of
Islam in Europe - Integration and Identity, Munich 2007

*14 Idriz/Leimgruber/Wimmer, *Islam mit europäischem Gesicht*, pp. 221-225; transl. by SJW.



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Austria: A locomotive for cooperation in Central Europe and the Balkans



"We are all losers if we don't understand that we live in an interdependent world, that the East cannot live without the West and the West cannot live without the East. And if we understand that, it will be easier for us to develop tolerance, which will be a sign of our strength. Because intolerance is a sign of our weakness."

Grand Mufti emeritus of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Ceric,
April '16 - WIEN



Holy peace, not holy War
Just peace

We must

We may behave immorally but we can't escape bad consequences

Peace is power of good! Be good!

War is power of evil!

There is no alternative to Peace!

Difference:
Faith, Religion, Morality

Indeed, we will live all in Peace or none will live in Peace

Faith is natural!
Religion might be artificial!
Morality is common to all!
By the power of reason!!!

it is good to be big,
but it is better to be Great!

~~Peace Makers of Peace keepers~~

~~We must be humans!~~ !!
No, we must behave like humans, not like beasts!

Abel is man of peace!

Kain is man of war!

Who is Abel today?
who is Kain of today

Syrian boy is a human being!

#Who are we humans?
~~Are we humans?~~
~~Are we beasts?~~

What is the difference between a human being from a beast?

~~world~~ threads

Three global threats against humanity
① nuclear weapons!
② climate change
③ human hunger!

We know how to talk about peace!
But we don't know how to stop the wars!

~~total~~ ~~responsibility~~ life

As a survivor of Genocide in Bosnia, I have witnessed the worst war since ~~World War~~ Second World War II

faith, love, hope

A new vision for the World!

VIENNA CONFERENCE ON
THE HUMANITARIAN IMPACT
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
8–9 DEC. 2014

GLOBAL
SECURITY
INSTITUTE



DECEMBER 8, 2014

VIENNA CONFERENCE
ORGANIZED BY *GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTE*
PROMOTING SECURITY FOR ALL

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE MORAL COMPASS

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, former Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, began by invoking the Biblical story of the brothers Cain and Abel - in which the peaceful Abel is killed by his brother Cain because of the latter's greed for power - and argued that, today, the story might be more readily understood as the battle between humanity and nuclear weapons, and that we mustn't let Abel, or humanity, be conquered and destined for ruin by Cain, or nuclear weapons:

"It is because of this universe of divine moral law that I, the Abel of this time, say to the Cain of this time that the acts of uranium mining, refinement and enrichment, production of nuclear weapons or nuclear fuels, nuclear testing, use of nuclear weapons, operation of nuclear weapons, power plants, nuclear power-plant accidents, reprocessing of used nuclear fuel, storage and disposal of nuclear waste, and use of depleted uranium weapons are humanly disgraceful, legally unsustainable and morally unacceptable."

Dr. Cerić continued: "I am here to remind my fellow Muslims that we must be people of faith, who are the messengers of peace, who are the peaceful men, as our name calls us to be. Hence, we need to join forces with other people of faith to play a much-needed vital role in helping to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world."

APRIL 8, 2016

VIENNA CONFERENCE

ORGANIZED BY *DIPLOMATISCHE AKADEMIE WIEN*
INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES - CLUB OF 3

A DRIVING FORCE FOR COOPERATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

Priorities for Cooperation – The Cumulative Challenge of Extremism: Islamist, Anti-Semitic and Right Wing Politics

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Salam/Shalom/Good afternoon,
Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak at this Vienna Conference.

I

I am a Muslim, and a proud one. More than that, I am a professional Muslim by the robe of a Mufti. I should say I used to be the Grand Mufti of Bosnia for twenty years. Now, I am a Mufti at large. Also, I should say I am not an immigrant to Europe. I used to be an emigrant to America. In the 1980s I had a good time in Chicago. Indeed, Chicago is my kind of town. Two of my children were born there. But I could not stay in Chicago. I had to return, or to 'migrate' to Europe. I had to come back to my ancestral homeland, to my home country, Bosnia. I never thought that I might become defenceless, homeless, landless and stateless until I heard a politician in my neighbourhood say to me: "Don't think that you will not lead Bosnia and Herzegovina into hell, and the Muslim people perhaps into annihilation, because the Muslims cannot defend themselves if there is war"*1. This made me really think that people are not born defenceless, homeless, landless and stateless. People are made so by soulless, heartless, mindless and conscienceless men. Thus, the unprecedented wave of refugees*2 from the East to Europe is not a cause for someone's concern. It is rather the effect of someone's carelessness about the mindlessness of men who have no heart for human rights.

II

I am a Bosnian, and a proud one as well. My ancestors are *Dobri Bošnjani*, the Dear Bosnians, the Bosniaks. They adopted the faith of Islam in the 15th century. Before that, they had been practising a sort of Christianity and had had their own independent church, the Bosnian Church, *Crkva bosanska*, which was considered heretical by both the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox hierarchies. Needless to say,

*1 **Radovan Karadžić** speaking at the Bosnian Parliament on the night of 14–15 October 1991 as a threat to the citizens of Bosnia, the majority of them being Bosniaks of the Muslim faith, if they opt for a referendum on Bosnian independence as communist Yugoslavia was about to collapse in the aftermath of the collapse of the Communst Bloc, headed by the Soviet Union.

*2 A displaced person is not the same as a refugee, who is running away. A displaced person is one who is being persecuted by someone, who is being forced to leave his home and his homeland. Syrian refugees are running away not because Europe is dearer to them than Syria, but because they are being expelled from their homes and their homeland by those who have neither soul nor heart. They are seeking refuge from their persecutors. Thus, they are *expellees,* not *fugitives.*



none of the three Abrahamic traditions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – was born here in Europe. All of them migrated to Europe. Europe has adopted them at certain times in history and under certain historical circumstances with a certain warmth or coolness. Of course, Europe had had its native religion or religions, but they had been replaced by the immigrant religions from the East. But can a religion be an immigrant? Can an idea be an intruder? Can a culture be a stranger? Can a song be a poisonous voice?

III

Very much so, from Socrates to Jesus, the strange idea and the new faith have been declared to be as poisonous as venomous snakes; Socrates had to drink poison in order to free the Athenians from his strange idea, and Jesus, according to the Christian belief[*3], had to suffer crucifixion in order to free humanity from sin by his new faith. From Copernicus to Martin Luther King, new ideas and genuine faith have paid a heavy price for freedom of thought and human rights; from Marx to Hitler, a spectre has been haunting Europe: the spectre of communism and fascism, radicalism and extremism, chauvinism and nationalism, fanaticism and mythology, separatism and terrorism; from Holocaust to Genocide, is Europe still struggling to find out what Zarathustra said to the old saint in the forest? Is God dead[*4]? Europe is not sure yet whether God is alive. Or it looks as if God is neither dead nor alive. Europe is in between, between its lost trust in God and its search for the human soul, between its open art and its closed culture, between its last song and its first big bang. And I am in between as well, between my fear and my hope. I am afraid of my faith's being proclaimed as a new spectre haunting Europe – the spectre of Islam, with or without immigrants from the East. However, my hope is stronger than my fear. I might be naïve, but I cannot help but think that out of such fear Europe will become stronger in its commitment to democracy and human rights, to the rule of law and the respect of human life, to social justice, peace and security, to the right of each person to be as he or she wishes to be and as she or he likes to live.

IV

I am a European, and a proud one no matter what. I belong to both the great Muslim philosopher Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and the great European philosopher René Descartes (d. 1650). Or, I might say, they both belong to me, as they believed that the certainty of truth might be found in mathematics.

[*3] Muslims believe that 'Isa, son of Maryam, was not crucified – only that it appeared so to some people: *They slew him not nor crucified him, but it appeared so unto them... but was 'raised up' to God...* (Qur'an, 4:157-158).

[*4] An indication to the allusion of Friedrich Nietzsche in his book, "Thus Spoke Zarathustra", where he said in his "Prologue", *And what does the saint do in the forest?" asked Zarathustra. The saint answered: 'I make songs and sing them; and in making songs. I laugh and weep and growl and hum: thus do I praise God... With singing, weeping, laughing, growling and humming do I praise the God who is my God...' When Zarathustra was alone, however, he said to his heart: 'Could it be possible?! This old saint in the forest has not yet heard of it, that God is dead!'* This phrase of Nietzsche's has made a great change in Europe in regard to belief in God, so that there is an impression that man can live as if God does not exist.

V

Now, let me share with you something you might think about later. As you know, today is Friday, the day of the week of my Holy Prayer, as Holy Mass on Sunday is to the Catholics, and Holy Shabbat on Saturday to the Jews. It is not obligatory for the organizer of this Conference to be aware of my Muslim prayer timetable. It was, perhaps, my duty to remind the organizer not to put me on the panel of speakers at this time, the time of my Friday prayer*[5]. I am sure that the organizer would not object to my request. But I did not ask the favour. I risked missing my Friday prayer today. Why, you might ask, have I opted for a self-inflicted guilt of conscience, because my conscience is not at peace if I am not at peace with God?

VI

But who cares about my peace with God as long as I am at peace with my fellow Europeans? And that is what I thought today. I wanted to show you how important for me are your opinions about my being a Muslim from Bosnia. I thought you wanted to see me this way. Indeed, I was afraid to ask for time for my prayer today in one of the many mosques in Vienna. Don't take it hard on you yourself. It is I who am in trouble with it, not you. I am now my own judge. I don't need to hear anybody's judgment any more about me, about my faith, about my culture, and about ethics and morality. I get enough of it every day from everybody, everywhere. I am simply afraid to say anything. I am afraid of my missing the real affairs. I am afraid of being accused of self-defence, self-defiance, self-diligence and self-compliance.

VII

Please allow me to be honest and say I am envious of my Jewish friend, the Rabbi, who is here to tell Europe how he feels about anti-Semitism. I am deprived of such a privilege to tell you how I feel about anti-Islamism or Islamophobia in Europe and in the Balkans even though it is on the rise more than anti-Semitism or equally so. Instead, I am supposed to tell you how I feel about Islamic *extremism, fanaticism, fundamentalism, jihadism, caliphism, isilism, daishism, suicidism, wahhabism, salafism, terrorism* etc. You may trust me if I tell you that I have nothing new to add to the information you have already stored about all of these issues. It seems that the whole cosmos is full of daily conventional, special and social media reports about the unspeakable atrocities committed in the name of Islam, although no one knows exactly who those committers are. Or everyone knows exactly who they are, but no one dares to speak out about their identities. They are those who have been terrorizing the conscience of humanity for many years gone and will, it seems, continue to do so for many years to come. No matter what I say in condemnation or abjuration of violence in the name of my faith, it is not enough because I cannot stop it. So my statement is irrelevant. However, let me say it anyway as testimony to my pan-Europeanism in the voice of a Muslim and a Bosnian. Let me say my word about the recent terrorist attacks in Brussels.

VIII

Indeed, the terrorist attacks carried out on March 22, 2016 in Brussels, the capital city of the European Union, at the airport and in the metro shocked the whole world. It is very painful for the families and friends of the victims. I am expressing to them my deep and sincere condolences. We in Bosnia know best how they feel. Only those who have experienced terror can truly sympathize with the victims of terrorism.

*[5] I have used the status, *rukhsa*, of visitor *(musafir)* in Vienna, which says that the Friday congressional prayer is not an obligation for a visitor, but it is better if he performs it in the Mosque.

IX

Out of fear of making a mistake, so far I have shied away from the difficult and sensitive questions regarding the phenomenon of the so-called ISIL (or ISIS). Or I wanted to avoid being misunderstood by those who follow me and those who look over my work. But I can no longer remain silent. I have to ask these hard questions. How is it possible that no one knows who ISIL is? Where are they coming from? Who made them what they are, and for what purpose? Who made them militarily strong? Who trained them? Who is hiding behind the masks of ISIL? Who has decided to kill everybody in the East and the West on behalf of and against Islam? Who is playing with the destiny of humanity?

X

Planet Earth is not Mars. Nor are ISIL Martians. They are earthly evildoers who spread fear among people and nations, who expel people from their homes to seek refuge in fields of tents. Seven million Syrians have been expelled from warm homes to suffer in the open and in the cold winter days and nights. Was the invasion of Iraq necessary? Was it necessary for Syria to happen? Is the crisis in Yemen only the beginning or the end of something? Does anyone know what everyone knows? This is a big conspiracy against Islam and Muslims in the East and the West!

XI

I have never been a believer in conspiracy theories. But the attacks in Brussels changed me forever. It seems to me that everything became clear. This evil has no end because no one wants to go back to the beginning. Which is as terrifying as the end. And the end might be for evil to win or to be defeated. You might ask, "What do you mean?" Well, I mean that good must finally speak out clearly and loudly with one voice and in united action by all who know where the evil comes from. Do you not see that evil is louder and more effective than good? This is what scares me the most. Letting evil win. You might ask, "What do you mean?" Well, I mean that you might be tempted to accept ISIL's story about Islam and Muslims as it is spreading now all over the world. You get the impression that they, ISIL, are the ones who are fighting for the honour of Islam and the freedom of Muslims. Until it is fully clear that the story about ISIL is not the story of Islam, but an anti-Islamic campaign, and that this campaign of ISIL about ISIL is not for the freedom of Muslims, but for the slavery of Muslims, we will not be able to put an end to the violence that has recently ravaged both the East and the West.

XII

I am not highly fascinated by the history of Europe. And I owe nothing to it, especially after the Serbian Genocide against my people in Bosnia. But Europe is my home. All Europeans are my fellow citizens, my neighbours. Their peace and security are my peace and security. Their fear and suffering are my fear and suffering. As a Muslim I was raised to love my faith and respect the faith of the other. I have never heard from my mother or my father that we should hate the other who is different from us. Never did I hear from my teacher, my *hodža*, a single bad word about our neighbours of the other religion, especially not about those who share similar views with us. I was taught to respect them because they are the owners of the Book, *Ahl al-Kutāb*. Hence, the story about Islam from ISIL disturbs our Muslim peace of mind. We do not know how to defend ourselves from these stories. We do not know how to explain to our neighbours

and our friends that what they say in their forums is against us Muslims and our faith of Islam. It is against our Islamic values; it is against the values of Europe: the value of life, the value of faith, the value of freedom, the value of property and the value of honour.

Now let me go back to my Muslim status in Europe,
my Bosnian case in the Balkans and my future in my state of Bosnia.

XIII

I hope that Europe has realized by now that it cannot ignore any more the need for an institutionalization of Islam in the sense of making the Muslim presence in Europe legal through proper laws and regulations of Muslim public religious and cultural work. I believe that the status of Muslims' being treated as a group of outlaws because of their faith is over. It is time to think seriously about the establishment of a home-made European Muslim University where the second and third generation of European Muslim youth can be trained to take responsibility for their faith and culture in the context of an overall European civilizational code. As long as Muslim European youth are dependent on, or addicted to, outside guidance for their faith education, we will be at risk of their extreme and radical views. European Muslims are now grown up and mature enough not to need any kind of paternalism, be it religious or political, provided that they feel that they are not ghosts here in Europe, but hosts with patriotic rights and duties. This feeling of the host instead of the ghost is achievable by education as the key factor in the fight against religious as well as political radicalism, extremism and terrorism. I believe that Europe is capable of overcoming its fear of a distorted picture of Islam. If I am not afraid as a Muslim, why should you be afraid as Christians, Jews, Buddhists, atheists, agnostics etc. Don't you see that ISIL frightens and kills Muslims before anyone else?

XIV

As to my case in the Balkans, I must raise a complaint. I know that it is better to have a dream than to have a complaint. I have learnt that from the great dreamer, the great Martin Luther King, who knew that no one would listen to his complaint. Thus, he never said, "I have a complaint". He said, "I have a dream". Unfortunately, my dream was faded by a much worse argument: the verdict of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) as it acquitted Serbian politician Vojislav Šešelj of all charges against him, such as counts of crimes against humanity: persecutions, deportation, inhumane acts, and six war crimes, murder, torture, cruel treatment, wanton destruction of villages, destruction or wilful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion or education, and plunder of public or private property. Instead, Judge Antonetti found the ICTY prosecution guilty of confusion and incompetence. In its justification for the acquittal, the Tribunal majority even suggested that Šešelj's inflammatory speeches calling for the

extermination of Croats "were made in a context of conflict and were meant to boost the morale of the troops of his camp, rather than calling upon them to spare no one". Isn't it very scary for the victims of Genocide in the Balkans to hear such a justification of criminal violence from the highest world court of justice? The victims thought that at least those bystanders in Europe would acknowledge their pain. "In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends", as Martin Luther King has put it so truthfully. In this context, and for the sake of the peace of my mind, today I have only one message for Europe. Please don't allow yourself to be deceived twice in such a way that you don't believe your own eyes, but accept that they tell you lies, that they play with your minds and hearts, that they get the prize for their Genocidal crimes. There is a great proverb which says that a wise man will not allow a serpent to bite him twice from the same pit.

XV

Finally, I have to share with you my great fear, perhaps the greatest of all my fears. I am not sure I can tell you all, but if I mention the name 'Mostar' you may guess what is at stake. Mostar is one of the most beautiful cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. And the people of all faiths and nationalities in Mostar are the most loveable ones. Unfortunately, the war has made it ugly. The very symbol of the city, the Old Bridge, from which came the name of the city Mostar, was destroyed. But it was repaired, and it looks now as beautiful as before. However, the wounds on the human souls are still there. They must be cured as well. Not by divisions, but by a connection by the bridge of the human good will that is always there in the spirit of men who are open-minded. My fear is that the Neretva River might divide Mostar, which would be a beginning of the end of my people there. But not only there. If Mostar is divided according to ethnic and religious lines, the whole of Bosnia might be divided so. And that would be the end of my Bosniak people, the threat that we heard from Radovan Karadžić at the beginning of the Genocide, which came despite the promise of "Never again". I hope this time we will not fail. We will not allow Mostar, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, to be betrayed. Whatever you might think, one thing is for sure: Bosnia is a great opportunity for a multiethnic and multicultural Europe. The state and the society of Bosnia are miniatures of the state and the society of the European Union. The political challenges of Bosnia are the same as the challenges of the whole of Europe, the unity of a state and a society in diversity. This is not easy, but we have no choice but do it, because neither the meek nor the aggressive will inherit the earth, but the cooperative. Therefore, I believe that Bosnia should not wait any longer, but become a full member of the family of Europe as soon as possible. After all, Bosnia deserves to live in peace and security as a full member of NATO's program of peace and security in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, an area that is as turbulent as ever, but yet as peaceful as it must be.



SGI QUARTERLY - COMMON THREADS
CREATIVE RESPONSES TO A CHANGING WORLD
A BUDDHIST FORUM FOR PEACE, CULTURE AND EDUCATION
TOKYO, JAPAN, JULY 2016

WHEN HEARTS GROW HARD

Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI EMERITUS OF BOSNIA,

explains why he supported the joint statement of *Faith Communities on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons* issued at the Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons held in Vienna, Austria, in 2014.

I am neither a biologist nor an anthropologist. I don't have detailed knowledge of the social sciences. And I am no expert in human psychology and development. I am a humanist with a wearying human mind and a sensitive human heart.

I am afraid when faced with the facts of the nuclear threat to human life on Earth; I am frightened by the menace of climate change – global temperatures that in recent years have ranged from the very highest to the very lowest in recorded history; and I am terrified by the images of the deadly hunger that ravishes so many people in the world, when 1 percent of the richest men possess 48 percent of the world's wealth.

But, more than that, I am afraid because there are people who are unconcerned about these three looming threats to humanity: nuclear weapons, climate change and hunger. It is as if, for some people, life on Earth does not matter; as if we had another planet we could escape to. No, there is no other refuge for us in the cosmos if we destroy this place in which we have been entrusted to live.

Refugees fleeing the carnage in Syria still have hope of finding sanctuary in Europe or other parts of the Earth. But what if there were no safe place on Earth for people to go? What if the oceans rejected us? What if the air refused to yield to human demands? What if our food itself became a deadly poison?

Imagine aliens from another planet observing us humans. Would they tell us that we resemble beasts in the jungle? Would we be offended by their appraisal? Perhaps it would be the beasts who would be offended to be likened to humans – humans who kill wantonly, while the beasts in the jungle kill only for food.

"No! No!" the humans would protest. "We are not beasts. We are humans. We have hearts that love. We have minds capable of complex thought. And we have hands that kill… But we are still human. You aliens are wrong. We are not beasts who kill each other in the jungle. We are humans with love for each other! We hold peace conferences around the world to show our love. We are united in one big human soul for peace. Don't you see, our friends? We confer with each other for the sake of our planet – a planet where we like to live in peace like humans, not like beasts. So don't call us beasts. We are humans indeed."

But what if our alien friends, strangers from another planet, ask us about the current wars – not one, but many – raging

in our world? What if they confront us with the truth that we humans, who so dislike to be compared to beasts, know how to talk about peace but don't know how to stop waging war?

What if our alien friends from another world were to tell us that we humans are hypocrites who have a hard time telling the truth but are skilled in manipulation and lies?

These are hard questions, aren't they? So, how shall we – as humans, not beasts – respond to our alien friends? Each of us should try his or her best to answer them.

"What if they confront us with the truth that we know how to talk about peace but don't know how to stop waging war?"

As a Genocide survivor from Bosnia, I have witnessed the worst war since World War II. The cry of "Never again" failed in Bosnia. Once again, an intolerable affront to the human conscience occurred: Genocide. I have lived it. And I have survived it in order to testify that law does not exist in books; it exists in the human heart, and in the heart exists the soul, and in the soul exists trust, and trust is in God, the Loving, the Merciful, the Caring, the Good.

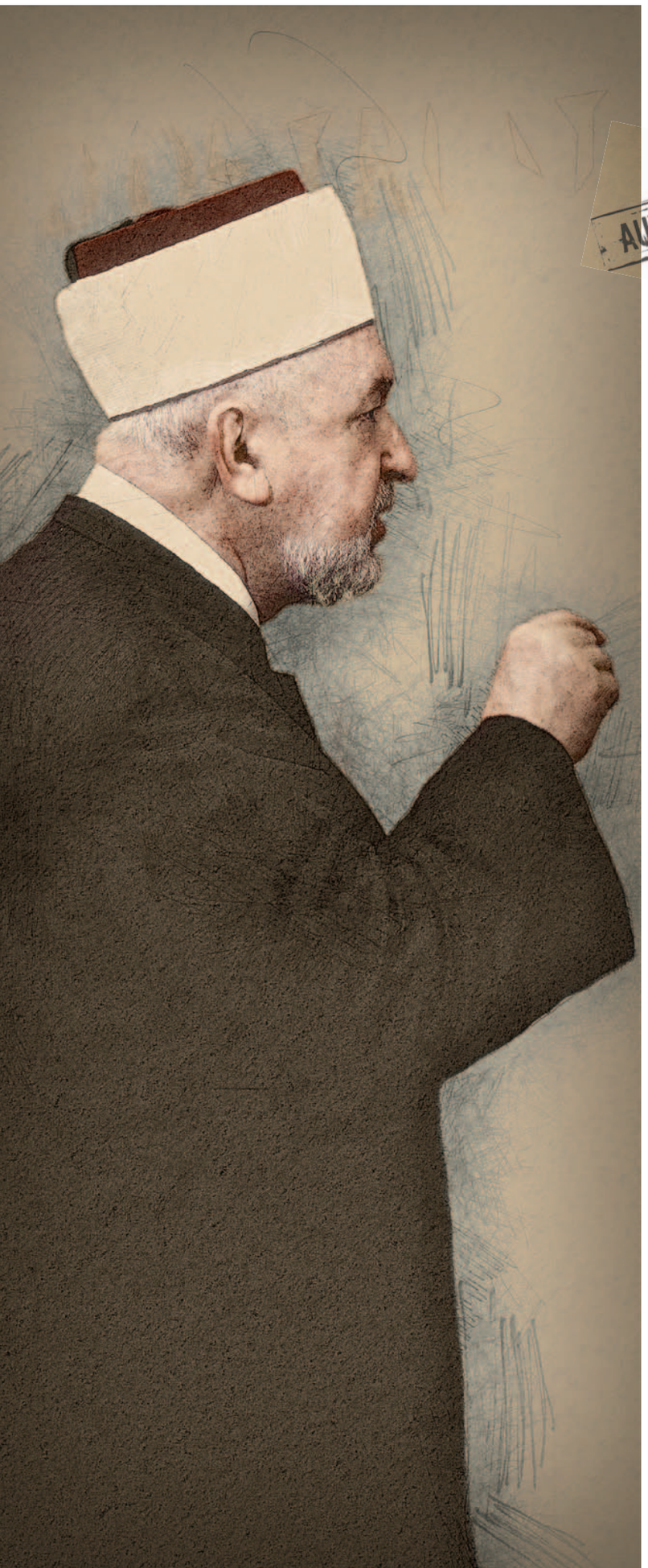
Thus, I would like to ask our alien friends from another planet: How can we find our heart, our soul? How can we recover our trust? How can we earn our trust in God, who is watching us as we seem to lose our minds, our hearts, our souls, our trust in each other?

Yes, we need help, because we are becoming helpless and hopeless. We need someone to tell us how to help the little Syrian girl who is crying, stained with tears and blood before our naked eyes!

We need someone to show us how to give hope to a little boy who is drifting on the ocean, fleeing for his safety from endless wars!

We need someone from heaven to soften our human hearts, which seem to have become harder than rock.

There are rocks out of which rivers gush; there are rocks which split asunder so that water flows from them; indeed, there are rocks which fall down before Merciful God. But some human hearts are harder than the rocks. These hard human hearts are the progenitors of war.



It has been said that the optimist in crisees an opportunity for success whereas the pessimist sees in crisis the possibility of failure.

Although the idea of cultural and religious dialogue is as old as the human race, it was Martin Buber who picked up the idea and introduced it to the modern world in the post-world-war crisis in his famous book "I and Thou".

So ours is a time of crisis in which we should see an opportunity for success rather than a reason for failure.

I

From the point of view of an outsider, Islam has four faces: 1) spiritual, 2) cultural, 3) economic and 4) political.

Usually, the West looks at the political face of Islam with a sceptical eye, but it embraces the economic face of Islam with open arms.

The west is not very much interested in either the spiritual or cultural face of Islam.

So the challenge for the West is to try to see beyond the political face of Islam into the spiritual and cultural side of Islam, which is more promising for a better relationship between the East and the West.

II

Seventy percent of all the world's refugees today are Muslims?!

Of all the wars that are waged in the world today, most are being waged in lands with a Muslim majority!

The one-and-a-half billion Muslims in the world deserve a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations.

And the challenge for the West is to give an opportunity to the East to play the role of a constructive partner in world peace, and the challenge for the East is to accept responsibility for global security.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND WEST
KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA - FEBRUARY 11, 2006

FIVE GREAT CHALLENGES

HIS EMINENCE Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA

Conference on "Who speaks for Islam? Who speaks for the West?"
The Challenges Posed by Science and Technology to the Muslim-Western Relationship

III

It is known that Muslims produced a unique document in the Constitution of Medina in the seventh century, in which all the religious groups of Medina were recognized by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as free and independent entities. For centuries, the Constitution of Medina has been the cornerstone for an inclusive Muslim approach to non-Muslim religions and cultures.

It is also known that Europe produced the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which was successful, by and large, in determining both religious and political toleration for the three great European religious communities of the time – Roman Catholic, Lutheran Christian, and Calvinist Christian. I believe that it is now time for a new Peace of Westphalia that would include other European religions, especially Judaism and Islam.

So the challenge for Muslims is to revive the Constitution of Medina for the sake of an inclusive approach to religious and cultural coexistence, especially with Jews and Christians in those lands where Muslims are in the majority.

And the challenge for the West is to accept Islam in its treaties of religious and political toleration, and the challenge for Islam is to promote the Ethics of Sharing.

IV

Two phenomena of Islamic history are not easy to explain – the phenomenon of the tremendous rise and spread of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries and the phenomenon of the dramatic decline of Muslim influence in world affairs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

From a high scientific, cultural and political profile in global history, Muslims have come down to the margin of history.

For the last two centuries Muslims have been trying to come back to the mainstream of modern history.

One way, some thought, was to adopt both the principle and the model of secularization of history in the way the West was doing, but the others argued that the way for Muslims to come back into the mainstream of modern history was the way of the Islamization of history, both as a matter of principle and as a matter of model.

The challenge for the East is to avoid both assimilation by secularization and isolation by Islamization, but instead the East should understand that neither the meek nor the aggressive will inherit the earth, but the cooperative in world affairs.

V

The question of trust between the Muslim world and the West is the most significant challenge of all.

It is almost right to say that trust between the East and West today is at its lowest level in history.

Those who can find a way of restoring the lost trust between East and West, i.e., between the Muslim world and the West, may claim to have found the way to a better world for all.

So the challenge for both the East and the West is to regain the trust that will lead the world to permanent peace and security.

There shall be no nuclear threats!
There shall be no more Hiroshima and Nagasaki!

Dialogue is no longer enough: Muslims in the Arab world are despairing of the West's attitude towards them

Robert Fisk - Independent @indyvoices,
Khartoum, Tuesday 7 December 1993

The sauna, the cocktail, classical music, these were the physical luxuries we might crave on earth. But the 'quiet, comfortable room' was clearly heaven. Just open the door. Was it with such abandon that the boy martyrs of the Iran-Iraq war drove their motor-scooters into Saddam's minefields? Or was it anger and frustration that motivated the young Lebanese who blew themselves up next to Israeli convoys in southern Lebanon? And if local conflicts can engender such ferocity, what are to be the consequences of the Genocide of Muslims in Bosnia?

In Khartoum these past four days, Muslims – and several Christians – from 82 different countries have been asking thislast question at a very unusual conference.

[...] The gathering revealed unhappy realities as well as understandable fears within the Islamic world. At the opening session, a Nigerian woman doctor asked delegates to remember that Muslim women deserved just treatment and equality of opportunity under Islam. '*Be fair to us*', she pleaded in her short and moving address. But when Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the Imam of Sarajevo, remarked that he hoped more women would speak at the conference, many of the Muslim delegates burst into laughter. Mr Cerić, who has consistently demanded equality for all under the shell-fire of Sarajevo, glowered angrily.

I suspect that Mr Cerić, the Imam of Bosnia, was thinking along the same lines when I came across him in the lobby of the Hilton hotel. Last summer, when we met under bombardment in Sarajevo, he had vouchsafed his belief that the Christian West despised the Muslims who lived peacefully among them, but that Muslims and Christians must maintain a dialogue without mutual recrimination. Now, in Khartoum, his attitude was less patient. Dialogue was no longer enough, he said. Muslims had to assert their identity and force the West to listen. 'Our civilisations must talk to each other – but directly. We must be honest with each other. Up to now, we have tried to be nice and said to each other: '*Let's live together'. That was very pleasant. But now we must be very honest and speak straight out about our problems, not just as human beings but as Muslims*.'

It was a statement; but it was also a warning.

Interreligious dialogue and the state in Muslim modernity

December 9, 2011
IN AUTHORITY, COMMUNITY & IDENTITY

... As the Bosnian Grand Mufti, Dr. Cerić, argued, part of the business of inter-religious dialogue is to ensure that the "serious business of politics is not left to politicians alone." Inter-religious dialogue can help to do this by articulating universal truths about human existence and questioning, fustigating, and pulling politics (and each other) towards those divine ideals. Religion, of course, is also too important a business to be left to religious leaders alone. It is the political imperative of constructing everyday peace and order that moves politicians to host initiatives such as these in the first place and to invite religious leaders to remember their vocation as mediators of divine compassion, including here on this earth. This represents a new model of religion and state in global politics, one in which religious and political leaders recognize their distinct, but dependent, universes of action and meet together in the public sphere to work towards the common good.

Dialogue aims to save mankind from destruction: Dr. Cerić

Badea Abu Al-Naja - Arab News, Madrid, Thu, 2008-07-24

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the mufti of Bosnia, has said that the Madrid Interfaith Conference, which was organized by the Muslim World League (MWL) following a call by Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah, was aimed at saving mankind from total destruction.

"The conference called by King Abdullah aims to save the human race – irrespective of religion, race or nationality – from moral degeneration," he said, speaking to Arab News.

"The prophets and religions appeared in the East, and the West learned from them. But, in modern times, the East has been learning from the West," he said.

The mufti said that, over the past 200 years, Muslims have been living in a state of anguish. "About 70 percent of the refugees of the world are Muslims. Most of the wars are being fought in Muslim lands, though they do not initiate any attack on others. On top of the injustice and humiliation meted out to Muslims, Westerners link Muslims with terrorism. This contradiction creates a sense of insecurity and discontentment among Muslims," he said.

Commenting on the importance of the dialogue, the mufti said, "King Abdullah's initiative has brought back peace of mind and self-confidence to Muslims. There is no need to fear dialogue with other religions and cultures when we are confident about our religion and culture. Therefore, we welcome dialogue. We should display to the world the shining features of Islam and its noble values. When we interact with others, our positive qualities should make an impact on them, while we in turn should be influenced by those features of theirs which are acceptable to Islam."

Morality and Knowledge in the Muslim World

MINA, Amman - Jordan University, May 8, 2014

Shaikh Dr. Mustafa Cerić said: "... Today's Muslims are not fully aware of the equal importance of morality and knowledge for their overall cultural and their overall civilizational advancement. There is today a sharp division between those Muslims who believe in knowledge only, without a sense of morality, and those who care about morality only, without a desire to gain knowledge.

Here lies the answer to the question why today's Muslims are not influential. It is because they have lost the ability to produce knowledge. Here are some facts: in the entire Muslim World (57 Muslim Countries) there are only 500 universities; in the USA alone there are 5,758 universities; in India alone there are 8,407 universities; not one university in the entire Islamic World features in the Top 500; literacy in the Christian World is 90%; literacy in the Muslim World 40%; in 15 Christian-majority countries the literacy rate is 100%; in none of the Muslim-majority countries is the literacy rate 100%; 98% in Christian countries have completed primary education; only 50% in Muslim countries have completed primary education; 40% in Christian countries have attended university; in Muslim countries a dismal 2% have attended university; Muslim-majority countries have 230 scientists per one million; in the USA there are 5000 scientists per million; the Christian world has 1000 technicians per million; in the entire Arab world there are only 50 technicians per million; the Muslim world spends 0.2% of GDP on research/development; the Christian world spends 5% of GDP on research/development.

Today's Muslims also lack the ability to diffuse knowledge. Here is a comparison: Pakistan, 23 daily newspapers per 1000 citizens; Singapore, 360 per 1000 citizens; in the UK, 2000 book titles per million citizens; in Egypt, only 20.

Furthermore, Muslims lack the skill to apply knowledge! Here are some facts: the export of high-tech products from Pakistan is 1% of its entire exports; from Saudi Arabia it is 0.3%; from Kuwait, Morocco and Algeria altogether, 0.3%. Compare this with Singapore alone, which exports 58% of its high-tech products.

This data should not discourage us, but it should warn us to go back to the basics of our faith, which teaches us that knowledge equals faith *('ilm = īmān)*, while ignorance equals unfaith *(jahl = kufr)*. In particular, Muslims must learn how to apply their theoretical knowledge to their practical life.



WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THE STATE OF THE WORLD

"This would be my Muslim response to the question of how and in what manner religion can transform the trend of intolerance and misunderstanding between peoples and nations. I hope that the examples, given here, about the Muslims' tolerance would serve as an inspiration to all - Muslims, Christians and Jews so that they can comprehend that there is no other way but through dialogue, tolerance and mutual understanding so that together we can build a better world in every place."

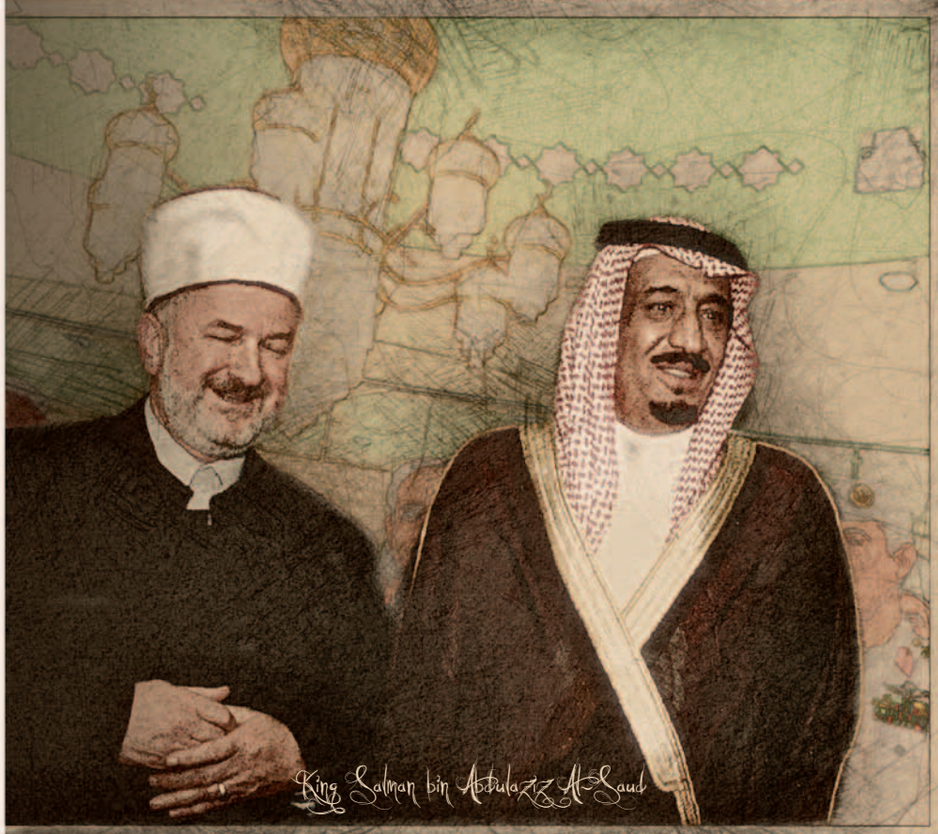
Reisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa Ceric in Davos 2009.
One of three recipients of a prestigious German prize for religious tolerance based on the "Common Word" Project.

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King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud



King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud



Ambasador



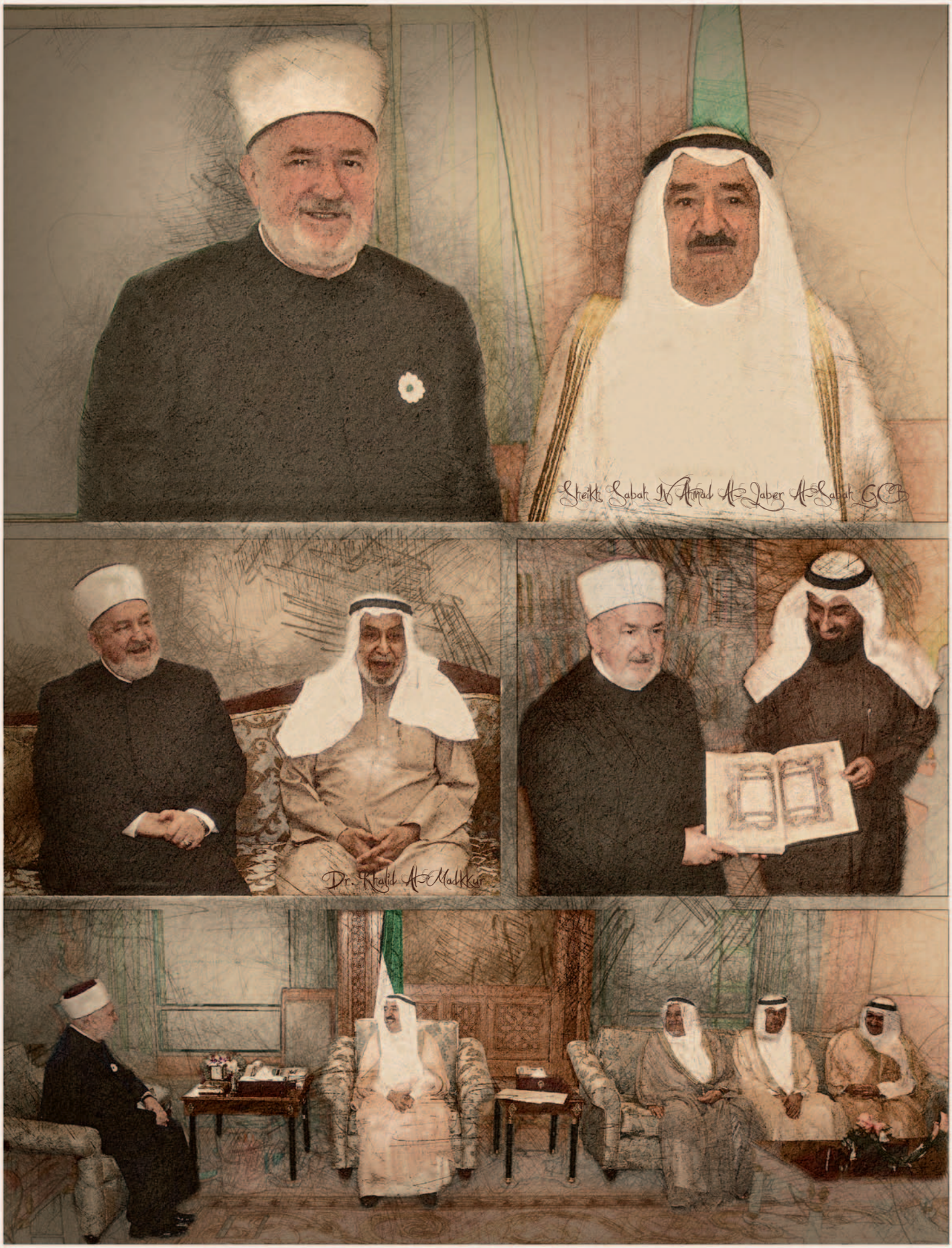


Abdulah Muhsin Al-Turki

LET THE BOSNIAN-SAUDIS FRIENDSHIP LIVE FOR EVER!



KUWAIT'S BEST MODEL FOR MODERATION IN BOSNIA!



QATAR'S LASTING IDEAS & DEEDS IN BOSNIA!



AUTHOR
ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTATION

JORDAN'S LOVING HEART & MIND IN BOSNIA!



AUTHOR ARCHIVE
ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTATION



MALAYSIA'S UNFORGETTABLE RIGHTEOUS HAND IN BOSNIA!



AUTHOR'S ARCHIVE
ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTATION

BOSNIA IS MY STORY OF LIFE AND DEATH!

Dr. Ahmet Davutoglu at a Conference: "Ottoman Heritage & Muslims Communities in the Balkans"
- Sarajevo, October, 16. 2009



A GOOD HEART & RIGHTEOUS HAND OF UNITED ARAB EMIRATES




Sheikh Sultan bin Muhammad Al-Qasimi,
Ruler of Sharjah Emirate



COMMON GROUND NEWS SERVICE (CGNEWS)
CONSTRUCTIVE ARTICLES THAT FOSTER DIALOGUE
AMMAN, JORDAN, 3 SEPTEMBER 2013

SUNNI-SHIA RELATIONS THE KEY TO REGIONAL STABILITY

Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI EMERITUS OF BOSNIA
AND A VISITING PROFESSOR AT WISE UNIVERSITY IN AMMAN, JORDAN

Today, it's undeniable that the Middle East is seeing a period of rising sectarian violence between Sunnis and Shi'as, especially in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. On 20 August, King Abdullah II of Jordan addressed Sunni and Shi'a religious leaders at a conference of the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, speaking about the "danger of manipulating religion for political purposes and sowing the seeds of hateful ethnic and intra-religious sectarian division."

Historically, the region has not suffered from the gross religious and denominational intolerance that was seen in Europe between Catholics and Protestants, especially in the 1500s and 1600s. In Europe, the way out was the series of peace treaties that comprised the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, referred to by some contemporaries as the "Peace of Exhaustion".

Perhaps the Middle East need not exhaust itself with war to realise that good Sunni-Shi'a relations are the key to regional and global stability. The lessons of Westphalia could be applied to the Middle East today.

Europe fought a decades-long war to realise that the way forward is religious and political tolerance based on mutual respect for the shared right of different nations and religions to exist without interference. Maybe not with love, but Europe has finally learnt how to respect unity in diversity of both religious beliefs and political opinions, beginning with Westphalia.

The Middle East, in fact, possesses a historical precedent for mutual respect between Sunnis and Shi'as, as well as adherents to other schools of religious thought.

The fact that today's main centre of Sunni learning, Al-Azhar University in Cairo, was founded in 970 by the ruler of the Shi'a Fatimid Dynasty tells us more than anything else that Sunni-Shi'a cohabitation has been a matter of historical routine and a common way of Muslim life.

Thus, it should not be a surprise that the prominent Sunni authority of Al-Azhar, the late Sheikh Mahmoud Shaltut, issued a fatwa (a nonbinding religious legal opinion) in 1958 declaring the Shi'a Jafari school of theology legitimate under Islam. That similarly helped in establishing the Council for the Rapprochement of Islamic Theological Schools at the time.

Furthermore, a good personal and scholarly relationship between Sheikh Shaltut of Al-Azhar and Ayatollah Muhammad Taghi Ghomi of Iran during the 1960s still serves as an exemplary point of meeting between the two schools of Islam.



On the occasion of the launch of their initiative in Cairo to bring Sunnis and Shi'as together, Sheikh Shaltut said, "Here we have the Egyptians, Iranians, Lebanese, Iraqis, Pakistanis and others from the Muslim world; and here we have the Sunnis of Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali schools together with the Shi'as of Imami and Zaydi schools sitting at one table where you hear echoes of sound knowledge of literal, spiritual and legal wit in the spirit of brotherhood."

Ayatollah Ghomi echoed him, acknowledging, "Sunni and Shi'a scholars are sitting at one table …in search of a recovery from a disease of sectarian division on the ground of the guidance of Islam and its principles, and thus by their knowledge they have made this epoch one of many glorious Islamic epochs."

A famous Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad says, "Allah will send, for the Muslim community, on the eve of each century, someone who will renew its genuine faith." When we read this, we cannot but think that it's time that the Muslim world, especially the Middle East, realise it needs to deeply reconsider its religious, moral and political thinking.

What we need today are efforts such as those of Sheikh Shaltut and Ayatollah Ghomi for better communication between Sunnis and Shi'as. We need efforts that go beyond the dirty game of struggling for political power, which inflames sectarian division.

Indeed, we ought to commend the rekindling of this spirit through the formation of the World Assembly for the Rapprochement of Islamic Schools in 1988 in Tehran. It is hoped that others will follow suit. The assembly's current Secretary General, Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Taskhiri, proudly says that this World Assembly was established with the blessings of Ayatollah Al-Khamanei to be a continuation of Shaltut and Ghomi's efforts in Cairo.

It would be an unforgivable historical mistake if the current events in the Middle East led the region to mulūk al-tawā'if (a break-down into different kingdoms along community lines), just as it did under the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalusia with tragic and traumatic historical consequences for the whole Muslim community.

Hence, we hope that the spirit of Sunni-Shi'a relations of Sheikh Shaltut and Ayatollah Ghomi will be renewed in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and all over the Muslim world. And we hope that we will soon witness a Muslim peace that will last for centuries to come.

AUTHOR ARCHIVE
ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTATION




IRAN'S LOVE FOR BOSNIA
IS EVERLASTING!
Ayatollah Ahmad Jannat
Ayatollah Ahmad Khatami

BOSNIA SEEKS KNOWLEDGE UP TO CHINA & CHERISH FRIENDSHIP UP TO THE BUDDHISTS!



JAPAN IS BOSNIAN EVERLASTING PEACE LOVING FRIEND!

Middle East Conflict Threatens Global Peace - World Religious Leaders Urge G8 Governments
KYOTO, Aug 28 2006 - SAPPORO, 4 July 2008



AUTHOR ARCHIVE
ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTATION



“Od devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, posebno nakon Genocida, na Balkanu se rađa jedan stari novi narod koji, uz Božiju milost, piše svoju vlastitu povijest. Bošnjaci su platili previsoku cijenu za svoju slobodu da bi je se sada odrekli i da bi svoju i sudbinu svoje djece prepustili nekome ko ih je decenijima proganjao, njihove majke i sestre silovao, njihove domove rušio, njihova imanja prisvajao i nad njima Genocid počinio.”

Reisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa ef. Cerić, Bošnjaci su pod jarmom neznanja, tiranije i korupcije, Dnevni Avaz, 30. 8. 2011.



“Since the twenties of the last century, especially after the Genocide, an old-new nation was born in the Balkans. This nation, with God's blessings, is now writing its own history. The Bosniak people paid too heavy a price to give up on their freedom and to leave theirs and the destiny of their children to those who have been persecuting them for decades, who have raped their mothers, who have destroyed their homes, who have devastated their properties, who have committed Genocide against them..."

Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić in an interview for the daily "Avaz", August 8, 2011, The Bosniaks are under the yoke of ignorance, tyranny and corruption.

Photo Alija M. AKŠAMIJA



INTRODUCTION
A DECLARATION OF THE WORLD BOSNIAK CONGRESS

In July 2005 at the East Mosque of London, in the aftermath of the attacks in New York in September 2001, the massacre in Madrid in March 2004 and the bomb explosion in London in July 2005, Dr. Mustafa Cerić, as Raisu-l-ulama and Grand Mufti of Bosnia, issued the *Declaration of European Muslims*.

The Declaration has been endorsed by the Islamic Forum of Europe and largely supported across Europe. In an interview with RFE/RL on March 14, 2006, Cerić described the declaration. "It is a personal – it is probably too much to say 'confession' – but a personal appeal to the European audience not to make a mistake in generalizing all Muslims, and not to spread Islamophobia, which was, I think, going on in Europe and in the West generally, especially after September 11 [2001]," Cerić said. "The second message was to those Muslims who live in Europe to take seriously these three events that may have great consequences for their stay in Europe and their status in Europe. And the third message was to the Muslim world at large to ask them to help us in the West, and especially in Europe, to develop a kind of dialogue that is acceptable to us as Muslims, as well as to our European neighbours."

Eight years after the issue of the *Declaration of European Muslims*, now as president of the World Bosniak Congress and Grand Mufti Emeritus of Bosnia, Dr. Cerić has led the effort to issue the *Second Declaration on Common Security and Global Citizenship*. The Congress was inaugurated in Sarajevo on December 29, 2012, as a global national voice for the Bosniak nation in the aftermath of the last GENOCIDE in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This *Second Declaration* comes as a response to recent events in Boston and London with an emphasis on the unacceptable use and abuse of the name of Allah and Islam, especially in the case of the London killing. At this time Dr. Mustafa Cerić, president of the World Bosniak Congress, is calling on the Bosniak nation to take a bold stance on their faith and culture and be a good example to others: to condemn violence and promote peace and tolerance wherever they are.



JUNE 26, 2013

THE DECLARATION OF THE WORLD BOSNIAK CONGRESS ON COMMON SECURITY AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

The World Bosniak Congress has issued this *Declaration on Common Security and Global Citizenship*, expressing the views of the Bosniak nation regarding the fatal Boston Marathon Bombing of 15 April, 2013, and the horrific act of violence on the streets of London in 22 May, 2013, where the holy phrase "Allahu Akbar" has been used, and the holy name of Islam has been abused.

Whereas, in the Boston Marathon Bombing, three people were killed and more than a hundred wounded by terrorist attack, and in Woolwich an off-duty British soldier was killed, and whereas these acts of violence have been attributed to Muslims with a perception that they are inspired by Islamic teachings to commit massacre of innocent people in such horrendous manner;

Whereas, following the Boston Marathon Bombing and the horrific act of violence on the streets of London, with blood on the hands of a killer with a meat cleaver, Muslims live under the intense pressure of a collective guilt for 'Islamic terrorism', which is constantly portrayed as if that is Islamic in nature;

Whereas we believe that it is time that Muslim scholars and intellectuals of all schools and denominations should come together and issue a strong statement for common security and global citizenship against those who are using the name of Allah and Islam in the wrong way;

Whereas the Bosniak nation has almost been annihilated and suffered the worst of all crimes against humanity – Genocide – whereby they were exposed to indiscriminate shelling and their women were raped and tortured, and whereas they experienced the humiliation of concentration camps, the Bosniaks feel that it is both their human right and their moral duty to speak out clear and loud against the abuse of the holy name of Allah and the peaceful name of Islam for a brutal, profane purpose which is endangering the future of their children;

Whereas the great majority of Muslims around the world are peaceful men and women who love to live in peace and harmony with their neighbours, to provide a decent life for their families, and to contribute to the wellbeing of their communities;

Whereas human life is God's gift, and thus each and every human being is entitled to the right to life, faith, freedom, property and dignity:

Now therefore be it Declared to the World of Humanity, it is the view of the World Bosniak Congress that:

• Common security and global citizenship are two essential values of human freedom and equality.

• The faith of Islam *al-īmān* designates the idea of *al-ʿamn*: security, safety, continuity, reliability, trust. Hence, the meaning of *al-īmān*, faith, is not only the faith of the faithful, but also the security of the other. Hence, the one who is *al-mu'min* (faithful), and that is the state of *al-īmān* (inner security) and *al-amān* (public trust), is a genuine Muslim who loves peace, who works for peace, and who brings about solidarity and cooperation in society. For neither the meek nor the aggressive will inherit the earth, but the cooperative, which means the peaceful man who works for the security of all, i.e., the Common Security.

• As in the case of the word *al-īmān*, we have three root letters for *al-islām* to guide us to the real meaning of Islam and the Muslim. Thus, the letters *sīn*, *mīm* and *lām* are the three Arabic letters designating the concept of peace in Islam as the core drive of an entire Weltanschauung for a Muslim. While *Islam* means submission to the will of Allah Almighty, it also includes peaceful submission, peaceful acceptance and peaceful practice of Islam in the name of Allah Almighty. It is the very idea of Islam that bears witness to a historic affirmative action that "there shall be no compulsion in religion". This Qur'anic declaration of the seventh century is unique, not only in its historic initiative, but also in its farsighted divine vision for a humanity that has learnt by now that forceful submission, not only to a religion, but also to any ideology, has not worked and will never work. Therefore, Islam has brought about a principle that a forceful submission to God is not acceptable to God Himself, because only peaceful acceptance of submission is valid submission to God, because God Himself is Peace, *al-Salām*, and thus He accepts only peaceful worship and peaceful relations among human beings. Indeed, peaceful submission to God assumes a peace of mind that comes as a result of an inner security of faith, i.e. trust in God and in man. If Islam means peaceful submission to Allah Almighty, then the word *Muslim* literally means "a peaceful man", a man who spreads peace in the world. This is best expressed by the Prophet Muhammad in his definition of a Muslim, where he said: *The Muslim, i.e. the peaceful man, is the one who makes other Muslims, i.e. other peaceful men, safe from his hands and his words!*

• The third fundamental pillar of an Islamic edifice of peace and security is the idea of *al-ihsān*, which designates beauty/beautiful, well/wellbeing, good/goodness, right/righteousness. Thus, we read that the faithful Muslim, male or female, should always keep his/her human character beautiful in the eyes of

others, he/she should always do good to others, he/she should always be a good example to others, and he/she should be always righteous to fellow human beings to gain the title of *Muhsin*, one who does good and behaves rightly towards others, not only to get their approval, but also to be seen by God, who sees what he/she is doing although he/she does not see God. This is the highest degree of beauty of the human soul, this is the highest moral value of the human being – indeed, and this is the highest ideal of the concept of Common Security and Global Citizenship.

• This is not the first time in history that a religion has been misinterpreted by the prejudices of those who are shackled by their hatred towards the Other; it is not the first time in history, either, that the concept of a faith has been misguided by its own followers into the opposite direction; and it is not the first time in history that the victims of prejudice must realize that a misconception about them will not go away by itself. They must rise up and speak out about their real concept of life, faith, culture, peace and security as part and parcel of humanity. But not only speak: they must act in a convincing manner so that what they say they believe, preach and teach is in the practice of their own life. A personal example is more powerful than a thousand words of empty preaching.

• Indeed, Muslims must admit that there are irresponsible men among them who are doing disservice by their wrong service to Islam. No one understands and accepts what some violent individuals and groups are doing, claiming the noble name of Islam. They are spreading misconceptions about Islam and Muslims in such a way that generations to come will have a hard time clearing that up. An injustice does not justify another injustice. Muslims are advised by Allah Almighty that they should promote peace and do justice even to their enemies in order to change their hearts and make them their friends: *Good and Evil are not the same. Therefore, you should always promote Good and thus, if there is an enmity between you and him, he might, as a result of your goodness, become your sincere friend.* It is important as well that we work to eliminate the causes and incentives that instigate extremism and violence. Unsolved internal issues, foreign polices, racism and islamophobia are some of the issues that must be taken care of seriously and comprehensively. A negligence of these issues is irresponsible and does not solve the problem we are faced with today.

• Muslim preachers around the world need to preach the peace and tolerance of Islam and stop condemning each other in the name of Islam. Muslim preachers, especially those who speak from the pulpit of a Mosque or through global broadcasting media, bear great responsibility for common security among the world's nations. Muslim preachers must have a feeling and responsibility for the peace and security of Muslims everywhere. A curse upon a brother of the same faith with different theological opinions is not bravery, but a sign of cowardice. The real bravery of a Muslim preacher is his guidance to his brother to live in peace, security, freedom and dignity with the rest of peaceful humanity.

The World Bosniak Congress calls upon all Muslims around the world to:

• Stand up for citizens of the countries that have given them shelter and protection when they needed them most, and to protect the safety and security of their fellow citizens by rejecting and actively preventing, whenever possible, any and all acts of terror;

• Raise their children and help educate future generations of Muslims of various nations to be an integral part of the societies they live in and call home, and to know that the ends do not justify violent means, and that acts of killing and/or injuring innocent civilians are in complete contradiction to the basic principles of Islam, as well as basic humanity;

• Show their neighbours and communities how Islam can be a force behind improving the social and economic conditions of our communities, by following the principles of Islam that command us to feed the needy and protect our neighbours, to live in peace and harmony with the rest of humanity;

• Speak out against hatred, and join us in defending the basic principles of humanity, and to share with their neighbours and colleagues the fact that Islam belongs to neither East nor West, but to the hearts of those who want to live in peace and security with others.

Committed to common security and global citizenship, the World Bosniak Congress calls upon the Bosniak people wherever they are to:

• Promote the founding charter of the World Bosniak Congress, in which it has been declared that God's gifts of life, religion, nation, freedom, property and honour are inalienable rights of every man and every people;

• Preserve the Islamic community of Bosnia-Herzegovina as the sole and united community of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of Bosniaks outside their homeland, and of other Muslims who accept it as their own, striving to preserve the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks in line with the requirements of the time and place by establishing and maintaining contacts and cooperation with communities, institutions and organizations in activities which promote peace, justice and good-will among all people, with the ultimate goal of prompting good and preventing evil; and to live by the Qur'anic injunction to *hold fast all together by the rope which God (stretches out for you) and be not divided among yourselves;*

• Commit to the founding principle of the World Bosniak Congress, which calls for deep awareness and historical responsibility in today's generation of Bosniaks, who have survived Genocide, to do everything in their power to prevent their decedents from becoming victims of a new Genocide. Because of their difficult and testing history, Bosniaks have a unique responsibility to be the standard-bearers of morality and pluralism in all the lands that they inhabit and call home;



• Uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, religion or other status, especially article 3, which states that everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person;

• Uphold article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which state that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

• Never forget the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind;

• And promote globally the *Declaration of European Muslims*, which has declared the Bosniak conviction and profound belief that Islam teaches Muslims that Jews and Christians are People of the Book, and so all Jews, Christians, and Muslims should learn to share their common spiritual roots and their common future hopes without prejudice in order to avoid discrimination, low self-esteem, demoralization, religious and racial hatred, helplessness, lack of control, social avoidance, lack of opportunities, and political under-representation.

All considered, let it be resolved that, with a great sense of pride and trust in the compassionate character of the Bosniak tradition of Islam, the World Bosniak Congress will encourage Bosniaks worldwide to:

• Vigorously pursue these aims through constant education of their youth and their communities of decent moral values, while openly and loudly rejecting violence of any kind and all acts of terror as fundamentally un-Islamic, immoral and inhumane;

• Strongly demonstrate a perpetual and proactive responsibility and duty to systematically engage their communities on all levels of personal and institutional collaboration so as to solidify the trust and confidence of their fellow citizens in every aspect of human endeavour;

• Do, every day, whatever they can as integral and trusted members of their communities, as well as citizens of many countries in the world, in order to help each other pave the way towards common security and lasting peace with justice for all. Join us in this battle to defend and promote the positive, constructive and everlasting Islamic values of peace and justice while rejecting terrorism, as it is always wrong, regardless of its origin and aim.

• And ensure that Bosniaks will always remember that real happiness is not simply to be loved, but to love the other, because the more you give it to the other the more you have it for yourself.

2010 / 2012 • BOSNIAK MUSLIM THANKSGIVING



AIVATOVICA (AJVATOVICA)

Address of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Dr. Mustafa Cerić, on the occasion of the 500th Anniversary of Aivatovica (Aivatovica, Rajab 15, 1431 / June 27, 2010)



*Aivatovica is the most famous place of '**dovište**' (thanksgiving) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Bosniak Muslims gather annually on the seventh Monday after the Jurjevday (23 April). Within the mosaic of the Bosnian reality, the Aivatovica is remarkable by centuries-long tradition, which is honored by a great number of visitors.*

Prusac: 500th Aivatovica

The Bosniak people are a Community [Commonwealth] bound both by blood and tradition, not by faith only. Strange attitudes toward them are enough to prove that. By the end of the last century, when they were exposed to Genocide, many of them, the Bosniaks, had learned for the first time that they are the Bosniaks, not from their own teachers (the Bosniaks), but from their persecutors (non-Bosniaks). The irony of the Bosniak people is that they are a nation of a definitive historical circle, but lacking a support of the state that should hold them together. As a substitute to the lack of the state, the Bosniak people, have developed the sense of their living Community [Commonwealth] to which they proudly belong as individuals wherever they are. This sense of belonging to the Community [Commonwealth] enables the Bosniak people to cope with the hatred and disrespect that they often encounter in their living surroundings.

... Only the collective endeavor of ours that is in the heart and soul of each and every Bosniak around the world can restore the pride of our nation and our hope for a better future. And the collective endeavor of ours is our homeland, our mother country and our mother state. Let them accuse us of nationalism. They will label this collective endeavor of ours, without which we can neither live nor die, as something despicable. However, this nationalism does not aim towards supremacy, but towards human dignity and human life. If the Bosniak people were not destined to live in an intolerant and Islamophobic environment, I would be the first one against all forms of nationalism in favor of universal humanism...

Fifteen years ago, Europe allowed Genocide to happen against the Bosniak people. Last year, the European Parliament passed a Resolution which proclaimed July 11th as a day for the EU commemoration of the Serbian Genocide in Srebrenica, whereby it called upon all Member States of the European Union and the Western Balkan countries to do so. However, this is not enough... For the Bosniak people, Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a charity or a protectorate project, but a matter the of importance of first-hand for the entire Bosniak people.

Prusac: 501st Aivatovica

In his speech at Aivatovica, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia Mustafa Cerić stated that for five hundred years Aivatovica has validated its meaning and significance. "The obligation of the future generations of Bosniaks is to establish the standards for the evaluation of the Bosniak spiritual, intellectual and artistic achievements, which will be an incentive to work harder and better in the affirmation of the Bosniak national and cultural identity."

"... As a nation the Bosniak people should go back to the fundamental principles of their religion, tradition and culture that teach them that the meaning of life is not the greed, and that happiness is not in a pile of material things, but the happiness is in the understanding of the meaning of life, which is the call for peace, security and selflessness in helping the others."

Prusac: 502st Aivatovica

Recalling the tragedies that had befallen the Bosniak people, Grand Mufti Cerić emphasized that the Bosniak people should never again allow themselves to be in the position where they are unable to protect their families, homes, and buildings of historical significance, such as the Ferhadiya in Banja Luka anf the Aladža mosque in Foča.

"Therefore, the Bosniak people must have an organized, responsible and strong national line of defense; they must have a united spiritual and moral line of defense, namely the Islamic Community. Unfortunately, the first line of defense is broken," said Grand Mufti Cerić.

The Grand Mufti stated that there is no need to force anyone to love Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also no one has the right to deny the right to the Bosniak people to behold that this country is the only country they have and they belong to. "The right of the Bosniak people to their own language, culture and spirituality is the number one issue. The current generation does not have the right to leave behind a debt to future generations, the debt that must be paid by the blood of Genocide. The time is over when the other nations used the Bosniak people for their own national interests.", said Cerić.

He reminded that the Bosniak people, as all other nations, had good and bad leaders, but considering the circumstances in which they, are the Bosniak people cannot afford the luxury to have bad leaders.

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

MESSAGE OF THE GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA DR. MUSTAFA CERIĆ

on the occasion of the anniversaries of the SERBIAN GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA (2001-2012)



Never again should neither Auschwitz nor Srebrenica happen to anyone and anywhere!

"... In one day the word was silenced of those who lie speechless here today in Potočari before God and the world; but he word of those who are guilty of crime against humanity is not silenced yet because they have no shame before God and the world. There is nothing to say here that the world did not know at the time and does not know today. Here we can only listen to what was said long ago in the Old Testament, in the New Testament and the Last Testament of the Holy Qur'an: *We are all children of Adam, and Adam is from clay. There is no superiority of a nation over a nation, nor a race over a race, nor a color over of a color, nor a of skin over a skin but by a good character...*

... As long as a nation does not have the courage to face the truth about its individuals who committed crimes against humanity in its name no matter how many of them are, that nation risks to suffer the blame of a collective guilt. The Genocide that was committed here, could not be committed in the name of God, nor in the name of humanity, nor in the name of human rights...

... It is not possible to understand the inhumanity of those who are still fiddling their lies and shamelessly spreading their notorious reputation about Srebrenica. However, it is possible to have the trust in the Hague, where the lie is to be removed and the truth is to be strengthened about the evil of those who have neither the heart nor the soul for the good of those who have the heart and the soul to do the justice and help the peace and reconciliation among all people of good will...

... Here in Potočari it is the beginning or the end of the road of the European future. We want to believe that here is the beginning of a better future for all of us because Srebrenica is a great temptation, which Europe should overcome for a better future and a promised salvation for all...

... This is the place and this is the day that reminds every man, whoever and wherever he may be, that the truth about the crime against an innocent man shall not be hidden and that the justice shall not be...

... And this is the place and this is the day when we all need to remember that love, not hate is our common salvation; peace, not war, is our common happiness; coexistence, not violence, is our common blessing; the truth, not a lie is our common way out of the darkness into the light; that justice and not the shabbiness is our common law and that the reconciliation and not the revenge is our common duty."

SREBRENICA IS OUR HOLY PLACE • 2001/2012



1992 / 1995 • THE DEFINITIONS OF EVIL DO NOT PROVIDE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS: WHY HOLOCAUST? WHY GENOCIDE?





Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić's
Statement on the occasion of 15th Anniversary of Genocide in Bosnia
- MINA NEWS, Wednesday, July 7, 2010

It is metaphysical, but the question about evil is a relevant one because "evil is a fact of life"... However, the definitions of Evil do not provide answers to the questions: Why Holocaust? Why Genocide? Why was an infant girl of Bosnia raped? Why was an innocent boy of Srebrenica killed? Why the Bosnian Muslims were betrayed by the United Nations Protection Force on 11th of July 1995 in Srebrenica where thousands of men and boys who had sought safety were massacred? Why Europe has allowed to be deceived by the evil of Serbian army? Where does evil begin? What makes evil so fascinating? While the metaphysical reflections about the roots of and reasons for evil-doing may continue as an abstract debate, the legal action against evildoers must be concrete so that they may receive their rights as it was noticed that: 'the war criminals have the right to punishment' because their evil cannot survive human conscience...

...The victims of Srebrenica genocide are aware that the past cannot be changed, but they appreciate the recognition of their pain by EU as a good sign that genocide will not be repeated in the future to anyone.

Yes, it is easy to identify with victims. But if we want to prevent future genocides, we must do more than occasional show of sympathy with the victims of genocide. We must understand the deep psychology of the perpetrators as well as bystanders. We must comprehend what it is that makes some people, who otherwise look "normal", to hate other groups and to join in, or stand by and witness their planned and systematic elimination? We all must learn about the Holocaust and Genocide not only as a historical fact, but also as a way to teach our children about the danger of racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and other instances of human intolerance. We must teach all high-school pupils to value democracy and human rights and encourage them to reject hatred, intolerance and ethnic conflict.

Khutba by Dr. Mustafa Cerić on the Occasion of 11th of July
(The Day of Burial of the Shahids - Martyrs of Srebrenica Genocide, 1995)
- MINA NEWS, July 11, 2011

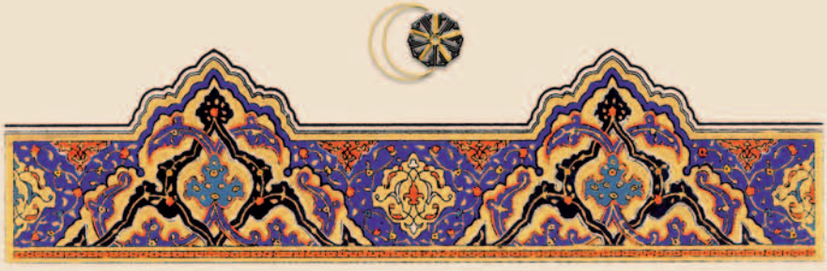


... In fact, we must have a new vision for the mission of the United Nations. Indeed, we need a New United Nations for the 21st century that will redefine its mission in the sense of the **Art of Peace** against the **Art of War**, the **Just Peace** against the **Just War**, and the **Holy Peace** against the **Holy War**. It is here that I see the significance of faith and the role of religious leaders who can greatly contribute to the change of philosophy of the **Art of War** into the philosophy of the **Art of Peace**. Imagine how it would be if the human mind and energy were used for the art of peace instead of the art of war? After all, what is the art of war but the art of killing and destroying? Are we killers and destroyers only? No, I think that God Almighty has created us for the purpose of peace, not for the purpose of war.

CURRICULUM VITAE

REISU-L-ULEMA EMERITUS DR. MUSTAFA EF. CERIĆ

This is the document of Manshoora which confirms the election & tenure of the office of Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.



V ime Allaha, Svemilosnog, Samilosnog.

Hvala Allahu, Gospodaru svjetova, Vladaru Dana sudnjega, Moćnom i Uzvišenom, koji je ljude obdario šerijatom, a sljedbenike šerijata obdario učenjacima koji poučavaju na putu istine.
Blagoslovljen neka je Muhammed vjerovjesnik, njegova časna porodica i njegovi ashabi koji pozivaju dobru i odvraćaju od zablude.
U Kur'anu časnom stoji zapovijed muslimanima da odgovorne dužnosti povjeravaju onima koji su ih dostojni. Najodgovornije dužnosti u zajednici muslimana su dužnosti imama i učitelja na putu istine. Te dužnosti povjeravaju se alimima koji se odlučno drže Allahova puta i koji izvršavaju obaveze koje su u ime Boga preuzeli.

OVA MENŠURA POTVRĐUJE IZBOR I PRAVO VRŠENJA DUŽNOSTI REISU-L-ULEME ISLAMSKE ZAJEDNICE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

MENŠURA

se dodjeljuje

Doktoru MUSTAFI efendiji CERIĆU

Doktor Mustafa efendija Cerić je trinaesti reisu-l-ulema Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Javnim preuzimanjem ove menšure i davanjem zakletve u ime Boga da će odgovorno vršiti povjerenu dužnost, doktor Mustafa efendija Cerić stječe šerijatske ovlasti poglavara Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini i Bošnjaka u svijetu.

O vjernici, budite strpljivi i izdržljivi, na granicama bdijte i Allaha se bojte, da biste postigli ono što želite!

U Sarajevu, 20. rebiu-l-evvela 1417/5. augusta 1996. godine

Članovi odbora za dodjelu menšure

Hilmo Neimarlija

Dr. Omer Nakičević

Hafiz Ismet Spahić

Muhamed Salkić

Nihad Halilbegović



AUTHOR ARCHIVE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTATION



بسم الله الرحمن الر

الحمد لله رب العالمين ، الذي أنعم علينا بنعمة الإسلام وك
سعدت في ظلها البشرية ردحا من الزمن فانتشر العدل والإح
والصلاة والسلام على رسولنا محمد وعلى آله وأصحابه الأخي
فلقد أيد الله الملة الحنفية بالعلماء الذين ي
﴿ ..فمنهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلا﴾ ..
وبما أن الله جل وعلا قد أمرنا في كتابه الكريم ، بأن نؤفدي الا
والمعلمين والمربين ، هي من أهم أمور المسلمين ، فإنه من ال
الأتقياء والمتمسكين بكتاب الله وسنة نبيه بحزم وعزم ، فهم الذين يؤدو
فان هذا المنشور يصدق على إنتخاب رئيس العلماء للمس
على أحقية ممارسة جميع الحقوق

وبتسليم هذا المن

ضيلة الدكتور مصطفى بن

ث عشر في البوسنة والهرسك ..
سم الله وأمام المسلمين ، فإن فضيلة
يات الشرعية الممنوحة له من خلا
وسنة والهرسك وكذا المسلمين البو

برروا وصابروا ورابطو

١٤٢١ هـ الموافق لـ ٥ اغس

أعضاء لجنة المنشور :
حلمي نيمارلي

I

• Born: February 5, 1952 in Bosnia.

• Matriculation degree from Gazi Husrevbegova Medresa (Islamic High School, the highest school in Islamic education at the time), Sarajevo in 1972 with the highest grade.

• 1974 received a special scholarship from the Ministry of al-Awqaf of Egypt for Islamic Studies.

• 1978 graduated from the University of al-Azhar, Cairo, in the Arabic Language and Literature.

• From 1978 to 1981 was Grand Imam, the regional supervisor of Islamic work, and a correspodent to the biweekly Islamic newsletter "Preporod" & the monthly journal on Islamic Theology, "Islamska Misao", published Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

• 1981 was appointed as the Imam (Director) of the Islamic Cultural Center of Greater Chicago, Northbrook, USA.

• In the academic year 1982-83 was admitted to the University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations (NELC) for graduate stady.

• Bypassed M.A. degree at the University of Chicago, USA.

• Was named a Bruce MacLeish Fellow for the 1983-84 school year.

• Was awarded fellowship for further graduate study at the University of Chicago for the 1984-85 school year.

• 1985 - was appointed as a part-time Instructor in Islamic Studies at the American Islamic College in Chicago.

• 1986 - WITH HONOR passed final examination for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, (Ph.D.) at the University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations (NELC), in the field of Islamic Theology under the tutorship of the Professor Fazlur Rahman. The subject of doctoral dissertation: *A Study of the Theology of Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi (ca. 235/850 - 333/944).*

II

• Is interested in religious comparative studies, especially Judao-Christian-Islamic Relations.

• Took two courses at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago: Ethics, Cosmogony and Cosmology and Introduction to Theology.

• In Chicago was involved in Muslim Christian Dialoque, a member of Ad Hoc Steering Commitee for Impoved Muslim-Christian Relations.

• Gave lectures at Lutheran School of Theology, and many other Universities, Colleges and Islamic Centers on various Islamic issues.

III

References:

• Professor **Fazlur Rahman**, the Professor of Islamic Thought at the University of Chicago, Department of NELC.

• Professor **Fred M. Donner**, the Assistant Professor of Classical History Islam at the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute and Department of NELC.

• Professor **John Woods**, the Assistant Professor of Islamic History at the University of Chicago, Department of History.



IV

The Yearly Chronicles:

• 1993 •

- Elected in absence Naibu-Rais, acting Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, during the besiege of the city of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

• 1995

- Published: ***The Roots of Systematic Theology in Islam****: A Study of the Theology of Imam Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (ca. 235/850 - 333/944),* Institute of The International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

• 1996 •

- Received *Manshoora* for the tenure of Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, the supreme post in Bosnia in the Islamic Community.

• 1997 •

- Recipient of ***First Class Award*** presented by Egyptian President for *extraordinary contribution in the fields of Islamic thought in the country and abroad.*

- Founder-Member: the *European Council for Fatwas and Research.*

- Founder-Member: *Interreligious Council of Bosnia--Herzegovina.*

• 1998 •

- First election to the seven-year term of the post of Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, the supreme head of Islamic Community.

- SPEAKER: *Islam: Civil and Political Rights and Universal declaration on Human Rights,* Seminar on Islamic viewpoints /enrichment of universal character of human rights, Geneva, Switzerland.

• 2000 •

- Became member of the ***Fiqh Academy*** in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: *The Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders,* August, UN, New York.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: *Religions in Europe Cooperation for Peace,* the European Meeting of WCRP, Rovereto, Italy.

• 2001 •

- Founder-Member: the *Foundation of Srebrenica--Potočari Memorial and Cemetery.*

- Founder-Member: *Islamic European Council,* Paris, France.

• 2001–2009 • Active Participant & Speaker at the Annual meeting of *World Economic Forum,* Davos, Switzerland.

• 2002 •

- Published in Bosnian: ***Vjera, narod, država*** (Faith, Nation & State) Ilmiyya, the Bosnian Ulama Association.

- SPEAKER: the Conference in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council: *International Security & the Fight against Terrorism, Islam against Terrorism,* Vienna.

- SPEAKER: the Conference Muslims in the West: *One Year After, Oxford Center for Islamic Studies,* September, Oxford, UK.

- SPEAKER: the Seminar: *Dialogue between Religions and Cultures,* September, Lebanon.

- SPEAKER: the Conference One year after 9/11: *The Future of the Trialogue in Europe,* Bad Hamburg, Germany.

- PARTICIPANT: *the Islamic-Christian Dialogue,* Bahrain.

- SPEAKER: *Major Challenges in Europe to Common Living,* the First Meeting of WCRP European Council of Religious Leaders, Oslo, Norway.

• **2003**

SPEAKER: the Conference: ***Judaism, Christianity, Islam****: Hope or Fear of our Times, Beyond Violence: Religious Sources of Social Transformation,* Omar ibn Khattab Foundation and Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies, May, Los Angeles, USA.

- PARTICIPANT: the *South-East Europe Meeting 2003*, World Economic Forum, Athens, Greece.

- SPEAKER: ***European Islam****: Continuous Evolution and Recent Arrival, the Conference Representing Islam,* British Council, Watford. UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *11th Conference of the European Council for Fatwa and Research,* Stockholm, Sweden.

- SPEAKER: *Identities-Rites-Symbols-Public Life,* the European meeting Interfaith Europe, Graz, Austria.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: the OSCE Conference: *Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination,* EU, Vienna, Austria.

- HOST: *the Second Meeting of ECRL*, Sarajevo, Bosnia--Herzegovina.

- SPEAKER: ***The Many Voices of Islam****: Cultivating Intellectual Pluralism*, the Conference: Contemporary Islamic Synthesis, American University's Center for Global Peace and Mohammed Said Farsi Chair of Islamic Peace, Alexandria, Egypt.

- SPEAKER: ***The Religious Factor***, the Conference: *Political & Religious Frontiers in the Mediterranean,* European Institute of the Mediterranean, Barcelona, Spain.

- SPEAKER: the *Forum 2000 Project* – Interreligious meeting, Prague, Czech Republic.

- SPEAKER: the *17th Meeting of Muslim World League*, Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, ***The Islamic World****: Challenges and Opportunities*, Iran.

• **2004**

- SPEAKER: the Conference, ***Fiqh Today*** *– Muslim as Minorities, Association Muslim Social Scientists,* February, London, UK.

- SPEAKER: the *Meeting of the Executive Committee of (ECRL),* March, Moscow, Russia.

- PARTICIPANT: the *7th Islamic Conference,* March, Kuwait.

- SPEAKER: the International Conference, *The Position of Islam toward Terrorism,* Islamic University *El-Imam Muhamed bin Saud*, Riyadh Endowment, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: the 16th International Islamic Conference, *Value of Religions Tolerance in the World,* Ministry of Endowment, Cairo, Egypt.

- SPEAKER: the World Economic Forum, C-100, ***Facing the Real Challenges:*** *Partnering for a Renaissance,* Amman, Jordan.

- SPEAKER: the *Beware Prejudices,* Democracy Center, Vienna, Austria.

- PARTICIPANT: the Qatar conference on Muslim--Christian Dialogue Religious Liberty: *A Theme for Christian-Muslim Dialogue*, Emir of the State of Qatar and Gulf Center for Studies University of Qatar, Doha, Qatar.

- Signatory of *Memorandum of understanding between Islamic Community of Republic of Turkey & Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina,* Ankara, Turkey.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Conference of Council for Fatwa and Research,* London, UK.

- SPEAKER: the Forum: ***New Perspectives on Peace**: Unity and plurality in Europe,* Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- Recipient of 2004 ICCJ ***Annual Sternberg Award** for exceptional contribution to the improvement of understanding between the faiths by International Council of Christians and Jews, London, UK.*

- Ceremony for the Award of the 2003 ***Félix Houphouët--Boigny Peace Prize UNESCO***, for the *Co-recipient of 2003 Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize UNESCO for distinguished contribution to interfaith dialogue, tolerance and peace,* Paris, France.

- SPEAKER: the International Symposium: *Islam, Society & Modernity,* Univerzite libre de Bruxelle, Brussels, Belgium.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Al-Durusu – Al-Hasenije,* Morocco.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, ***Tools for Peace**? – The role of religion in conflicts,* Christian Council of Sweden, Norrkoping, Sweden.

- PARTICIPANT: *The VII General Convention of Association for Da'wa,* Tripoli, Libya.

- SPEAKER: the First session of the International Commission for Peace Research (UNESCO), *Contribution of the Dialogue Among Civilizations to Peace Research,* Paris, France.

- SPEAKER: the Regional Summit, ***The Development of Inter-ethnic and Inter-religious Dialogue** – Important factor for the Stability and Progress of South-East Europe,* Government of Albania and the director general UNESCO Mr. Koichiro Matsuura, Tirana, Albania.

- Member of the ***Academy***, the ***Aal Albayt Foundation for Islamic Thought***, Jordan.

• 2005

- SPEAKER: the 5th Conference of Rabita, *Cultural--civilization Dialog, Goals and Courses,* Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: ***Muslims and Civil Engagement***, the Islamic Forum Europe, *Challenges of Freedom and Fear for Muslims in Europe,* London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *5th Doha Forum on Democracy and Free Trade,* University of Qatar and Qatar's Chamber of Trade and Industry, Doha, Qatar.

- PARTICIPANT: the *U.S. – Islamic World Forum,* The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution - State of Qatar, April, Doha, Qatar.

- PARTICIPANT: the Symposium: ***The Catholic Church and the World Religious**: 40 Years of Nostra Aetate – The Discovery of the World Church at the Second Vatican Council,* Theologian Faculty of Salzburg University - St. Virgil Education Center of the Salzburg Archdose, Salzburg, Austria.

- PARTICIPANT: the Ceremony of Prince Naif bin Abdulaziz Al Saud International Award for Prophet's Sunnah and Contemporary Islamic Studies, April, Medina, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: The Doha Debates: *This House Believes that the War on Terror has Become a War on Islam.* BBC Hard-talk Program, Doha, Qatar.

- SPEAKER: *How Much Religion does Europe Need?* - the Conference, The Discovery of Europe, Syrian Government, Graz, Austria.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Executive Committee Meeting ECRL,* Ankara, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the *Srebrenica Anniversary Event King's College London,* Imperial War Museum, Foreign and Commonwealth office, London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *International Conference of the Aal Albayt Foundation for Islamic Thought in Jordan,* Amman, Jordan.

- SPEAKER: the JIMAS Conference 2005: *Preparing for the Hereafter Sincere Worship of God-Faithful Service to Humanity,* London, UK.

- SPEAKER: *Religion, Culture and Identity in the Balkans,* the VI Eurasian Islamic Council, Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the Clinton Global Initiative, *Religion as Source of Conflict, Religion as Solution to Conflict,* New York, USA.

- SPEAKER: *Islam in Europe or a European Islam,* the VI Congress of Gniezno, The Europe of Dialogue, Gniezno, Poland.

- SPEAKER: the *10th Anniversary Commemoration of the Dayton Peace Accords,* United States Department of State, Appeal of Conscience Foundation, Washington, USA.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Meeting of the International Trustees of Religions for Peace,* WCRP, USA, Istanbul, Turkey.

- Received the ***Award Gazi Husrev-bey*** of Appreciation, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Member of the *Council of 100 Leaders of the World Economic Forum.*

- **Second election** to the seven-year term of the post of Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, the supreme head of Islamic Community.

- Member of *International Commission for Peace Research* chaired by Dr. Henry Kissinger, UNESCO.

• 2006

- SPEAKER: ***Islamophobia in Europe**: Its Roots and Treatments,* Islamic Religion Community Graz, Austria.

- Official visit to Syria on the invitation of the *Ministry of Endowment of Syria*.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, ***Who Speaks for Islam? Who Speaks for the West?***, Dialogues: *Islamic World US-The West,* New York University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

- SPEAKER, the *Meeting with Dr. Ursula Plasnik,* The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vienna, Austria.

- PARTICIPATION: the *US Islamic World Forum 2006,* Doha, Qatar.

- SPEAKER: *New ways for understanding between cultures,* European Parliament, Strasbourg, France.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: *Islam and the Art of Forgiveness,* the World Council of the Islamic Call Conference, The Muslim College, London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Conference of Rabita,* Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: *The Ten Commandments as a Basis for Meaningful Jewish-Christian-Muslim Dialogue,* the Conference on the Ten Commandments and their appropriations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, The University of Wisconsin Law School Madison, Madison, USA.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, *Dialogue of Cultures and Religions,* Federal Ministry of the Interior of Austria, Vienna, Austria.

- PARTICIPANT: the World Economic Forum on the Middle East, *The Promise of a New Generation,* Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt.

- SPEAKER: the New Agora Symposium, *Cafe Europa-Bosnia Generation,* The Borderland Foundation, Sarajevo, Bosnia.

- SPEAKER: The Mighty and the Almighty, the FORTUNE Brainstorn event, *Life in a Connected World,* Fortune magazine and the Aspen Institute, Aspen, USA.

- SPEAKER: ***European Declaration***, the Conference on Muslims of Europe: *Challenges and Opportunity,* Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the *World Summit of Religious Leaders,* Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Moscow, Russia.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Council for Fatwa and Research,* Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the International Islamic Unity Conference, *World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought,* Tehran, Iran.

- PARTICIPANT-SPEAKER: the 8th World Assembly of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, ***Religions for Peace****: Confronting Violence and Advancing Shared Security,* Kyoto, Japan.

- SPEAKER: the Conference *One Sea, Three Faiths,* UNIMED, Rome, Italy.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Working Meeting and Dinner with Chancellor Merkel on Islam and Integration in Europe,* The Weidenfeld Institute for Strategic Dialogue and German Federal Chancellery, September, Berlin, Germany.

- SPEAKER: the Interreligious Meeting of Islam and Judaism, *Bejahad after Bejahada,* Zagreb, Croatia.

- Member of *Executive Council of World Forum of Ulama,* Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

- Announced *A Declaration of European Muslims* in London, UK.

• 2007

- SPEAKER: the Doha Conference for Dialogue of Islamic Schools of Thought, *Role of Proximity in the Umma's Real Unity,* Doha, Qatar.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Conference on Kosovo: ***Building Bridges of Understanding and Cooperation****, The Aftermath of the Kosovo Final Status: The Future of Inter-cultural Cooperation in Kosovo and its Challenges,* 2007 Annual Gathering of the CEP task Force on Inter-Cultural Dialogue, February, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

- SPEAKER: *History of the Institutionalized Training of Imams in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* the Conference, Academic Freedom and Religious Freedom, Leiden University, Leiden, Holland.

- PARTICIPANT: the Conference, *Transatlantic Dialogue on Islam and Integration,* Migration Policy Institute and Weidenfeld Institute for Strategic Dialogue, Berlin, Germany.

- SPEAKER: International Conference, *Islam in Europe,* The Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of Republic of Austria, March, Vienna, Austria.

- Co recipient of ***Theodor-Heuss-Prize 2007*** for extraordinary personal commitment to the cause of the interreligious dialogue and its impact on the integration process for peaceful future in Europe.

- SPEAKER: the Colloquium at the occasion of 42 Theodor--Prize Awarding Ceremony, *Religion und Integration in Europe,* Stuttgart, Germany.

- SPEAKER: ***Islam in Europe*** *– the Indigenous Muslim Perspective,* Carnegie Council or Ethics in International Affairs, New York, USA.

- SPEAKER: *The Art of Tolerance,* Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, USA.

- SPEAKER: Muslims in the West: Engagement and Representation, the International Conference, *Islam and Muslims in the World Today,* University of Cambridge, London, UK.

- SPEAKER: *The Place of Religion in Peace Research in Bosnia--Herzegovina or in the Balkans,* the Experts meeting, The place of religions in international relations and place research in the twenty first century, UNESCO, Paris, France.

- SPEAKER: *Muslim Presence in Europe and the Future Agenda of Inter-religious Dialogue,* Inauguration of the European Abrahamic Forum, Zurich, Switzerland.

- SPEAKER: the Trialogue Salzburg, *Paths and Pitfalls of Interreligious Understanding,* The Salzburg Art Festival and Bertelsmann Stiftung, Salzburg, Austria.

- Recipient of 2007 ***Order of Al-Hussain*** of the *First Class* – bestowed by His Majesty King Abdullah II - Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in recognition of extraordinary efforts in the field of islamic thought, Aman, Jordan.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Fourteenth General Conference of the Royal Aal al-Bayt,* Institute for Islamic Thought (Love in the Holy Qur'an), Amman, Jordan.

- SPEAKER: ***West-Islamic Dialogue****: Religion and values,* Symposium on the State of West-Islamic Dialogue, Georgetown University, USA.

- SPEAKER: the ***PopTech event***, *The Human Impact,* Maine, USA.

- Co-signatory of an Open Letter, *A Common Word Between Us and You* – a appeal addressed to all Christian churches, for dialogue on the basis of love of God and love of the neighbor ("The Letter by 138", 13 Oct 2007).

- SPEAKER: *Muslim and Christians in Europe-Shared Perspectives on a Common Future,* the 25th Anniversary of the Christian Islamic Society, Cologne, Germany.

- SPEAKER: *the Celebration of Dr. Otto von Habsburg 95 Birthday,* November, Vienna, Austria.

- SPEAKER: *Islam in Europe: Integration and Identity,* Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich, Germany.

• **2008**

- SPEAKER: the First International Conference on Radicalization and Political Violence, *The International Center for the Study of Radicalization and political Violence,* January, London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *U.S. – Islamic World Forum,* February, Doha, Qatar.

- SPEAKER: the ***High-level Meeting***, *Muslims as Citizens of the West,* CEP, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of R Slovenia, Castle Jable, Slovenia.

- PARTICIPANT: at the *Executive Meeting of ECRL,* March, Berlin, Germany.

- PARTICIPANT: *Meeting of European Religious Leaders with Representatives of the European Union,* Brussels, Belgium.

- Recipient of 2007 ***Lifetime Achievement Award*** for outstanding intellectual contribution to the message of Islam and for a truly distinguished career and service to the field of Islamic thought by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists.

- SPEAKER: *Towards a Muslim Social Contract in Europe,* the Second Annual Zaki Badawi Memorial Lecture, London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: *the Dublin Diplomatic Conference on Cluster Munitions,* WCRP, Dublin, Ireland.

- SPEAKER: *In What Way May Religion and Faith Contribute to Dialogue and Peacemaking in the Middle East?* - the

Conference, *Tolerance and Compassion,* Henrik Wergeland: Poet and Activist, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Norway.

- SPEAKER: *Peace and Reconciliation between Nations and Cultures, the Conference, Intercultural Dialogue for the Greater Europe,* The European Union and the Balkans, Center for EU Enlargement Studies, Zagreb, Croatia.

- SPEAKER: ***Advancing Shared Security****: The Commitments of the World's Religions,* the World Religious Leaders Summit for Peace, on the occasion of the G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit, WCRP, Sapporo, Japan.

- SPEAKER: the ***Conference, Loving God and Neighbor in Word and Deed***: *Implications for Muslims and Christians,* Yale University and Yale Center for Faith and Culture, Yale University, USA.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, *A Common Word and Future Muslim-Christian Engagement,* The Archbishop of Canterbury and University of Cambridge Inter-Faith Program, London, UK.

- SPEAKER: Social Contract – ***A Muslim Perspective, the Symposium***: *Envisioning Future in the Balkans Culture, Politics,* Organization and Areas of Cooperation, IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Istanbul, Turkey.

- Head of the Muslim delegation: *the 1st Catholic--Muslim forum Love of God,* Love of Neighbor, Vatican.

- Co-recipient of ***Eugen Biser Award 2008*** for extraordinary contribution to Muslim-Christian dialogue and consequent and blessed endeavours towards peace among the nations.

- SPEAKER: *A Common Word Between Us and You,* Theological motives and expectations at the Ceremony of Eugen Biser Award, Munich, Germany.

• 2009

- SPEAKER: the *Meeting on Intercultural Dialogue in the Western Balkans,* Second Meeting of CEP Task Force on Inter-Cultural Dialogue, March, Jable Castle, Slovenia.

- PARTICIPANT: the ***Meeting of the C-1 Executive Committee***, *The C-1 World Dialogue,* March, London, UK.

- SPEAKER: the ***World Halal Forum***, *Achieving Global Halal Integrity,* KasehDia, May, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

- SPEAKER: the ***Muslim-Christian Dialogue***, *Common Roots of the Two Great Religions,* the 27th annual meeting of Interaction Council, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: the *VII Eurasian Islamic Council,* Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: *6th Annual Meeting of ECRL,* Lille, France.

- ***Presentation of Resolution of Srebrenica,*** IFIMES, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

- SPEAKER: *Sharia and Muslim Social Contract in Europe,* Katolische Akademie in Berlin, June, Berlin, Germany.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Interfaith Gathering of Rome on the occasion of G8 Summit 2009,* Italian Bishops Conference and Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, Italy.

- PARTICIPANT: the *European Council for Fatwa and Research,* Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the ***Fourth Common Word Conference***, *A Common Word Between Us and You: A Global Agenda for Change,* Georgetown University and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim- -Christian Understanding with the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, October, Georgetown University, USA.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: *Seeking Common Ground,* 18th Annual Interfaith Dinner Celebration, Interfaith Partnership/ Faith Beyond Walls, October, St. Louis, USA.

- SPEAKER: the ***International Balkan Conference***: *Islamic Education in South Eastern Europe,* Wien University, October, Vienna, Austria.

- SPEAKER: *The Place of Religion in Peace Research in the Balkans,* Unesco International Commission for Peace Research, October, Paris, France.

- SPEAKER: ***Halal Industry****: Growing Importance in Today's Economy,* World Halal Forum Europe, Halal Market Potential – A Regional Focus, Hague, Holland.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: *10th International Agenda Setting Conference-Promotion C1,* Zurich, Switzerland.

- SPEAKER: the *UN Climate Change Conference 2009, Religions for Peace-Europe,* Copenhagen, Denmark.

• 2010

- KEYNOTE LECTURE: the ***International Islamic University Islamabad***, *The Radical Middle Way-Karvaan-e-Amn Campaign,* February, Islamabad, Pakistan.

- Member of the *High Panel on Peace and Dialogue among Cultures.*

SPEAKER: the *Inaugural Meeting of the High Panel on Peace and Dialogue among Cultures,* February, UNESCO, Paris, France.

- SPEAKER: the *20th Meeting of World Islamic Council of Da'wa,* April, Istanbul, Turkey.

- PARTICIPAANT: the *7th* ***Annual Meeting of ECRL:*** *At the crossroads. Justice, equality and sharing as a basis for cultures of peace*, April, Istanbul, Turkey.

- KEYNOTE SPEAKER: the ***European Inter-religious Consultation***, *Healing of memories,* World Council of Churches and Reconciliation Center, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- SPEAKER: The Eulogy on German Federal Minister Dr. Wolfgang Schauble for the *Tolerance Award* of the Evangelische Akademie Tutzing, Munich, Germany.

- SPEAKER: the *13th Eurasian Economic Summit,* The Marmara Foundation, Istanbul, Turkey.

- SPEAKER: the Conference: ***New Beginning****: US-Muslim Relations,* the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, June, Alexandria, Egypt.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Executive Meeting of C-1 World Dialogue Foundation,* London, UK.

- SPEAKER: the Conference of Muslim World League (Rabita), *Reality and Future,* Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

- KEYNOTE ADDRESS: the ***Spiritual Revolution****: The Challenge of the 21st Century,* the International Conference, The Future of Faith in the Age of Globalization, Association of Muslim Social Scientists and Faculty of Islamic Studies in Sarajevo, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- PARTICIPANT: the Muslim-Christian Dialogue, ***A Common Word***, *Islam, Christianity and the Environment,* Eugen Biser Foundation and HRH Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talal, Amman, Jordan.

- Recipient of ***King Abdullah I Bin Al Hussein Award*** for Islamic Civilisation Research in recognition of his distinguished contribution to serving Islamic causes by His Majesty King Abdullah, September, Amman, Jordan.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Fifteenth General Conference of the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought on Environment in Islam,* September Amman, Jordan.

- SPEAKER: the *Aspen Ministers Forum,* Madeleine Albright Bertelsmann Foundation, Madrid, Spain.

- SPEAKER: the *Conference of Muslim World League,* Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

- SPEAKER: the *Gothenburg IV-Ecumenical Conference on Arms Trade,* London, UK.

- PARTICIPANT: the *Meeting of European Council of Religious Leaders,* London, UK.

- SPEAKER: the Conference, *Christians and Muslims Building a Common Future,* Geneva, Switzerland.

- SPEAKER: the *Beijing Forum 2010,* Beijing, China.

- GUEST OF HONOR AND SPEAKER: the ***Ist Global Halal Congress****, Halal Development Council,* Karachi, Pakistan.

- SPEAKER: the *Gathering of European Muslim and Jewish Leaders,* The Foundation for Ethnic Understanding, Brussels, Belgium.

• 2011

- PARTICIPANT: the Initiative of the Establishment of the *Permanent Forum for the Culture of Peace and Global Ethics at the United Nations.*

- One of the founders of the Bosniak Academy of Sciences and Arts - BANU, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

• 2012

- Recipient of ***Award of the Ducci Foundation Peace Prize 2012.*** - Rome for promoting the dialogue and the distension between religions and cultures, Rome, Italy.

- SPEAKER: the ceremonial opening of a new *Center for Islamic Theology* at the University of Tübingen, the south-west of Germany.

- Finished his two decades tenure of Raisu-l-ulama, the Grand Mufti of Bosnia.

- One of the founders of the ***World Bosniak Congress*** - SBK & the First President.

• 2013

- Two years visiting professor at the *World Islamic Science & Education University,* Amman, Jordan.

- SPEAKER: the *Inaugural Session of the Halal Congress Middle East* in the UAE.

- SPEAKER: *Promoting Religious Harmony*, at the International Conference on Terrorist Rehabilitation & Community Resilience, Singapore, Malaysia.

- SPEAKER: the University of Edinburgh's Alwaleed Center, *Series of festival events,* UK.

• 2014

- PARTICIPANT: the *Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies*, under patronage of HH Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed, UAE Minister of Goreing Affairs, UAE.

- In May announced his candidacy for the Presidency of the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- PARTICIPANT: seminar at Muis Academy & Harmony Center in Singapour under the title ***Ethics and Diversity****: Contributions of Islamic Religious Leadership to the Modern World*. This was second visit to the *Islamic Religious Council* of Singapour (MUIS), the first being within the Distinguished Visitors Programme (DVP) in 2011.

- PARTICIPANT: held *A Seminar at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies* (RSIS), Malaysia.

- PARTICIPANT: one of 120 Islamic scholars from around the world, who signed an *open letter* denouncing Islamic State militants and refuting their religious arguments.

- SPEAKER: delivered speeches at *Georgetown University* and the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, USA.

- Presented to a Living Memorial to the Holocaust in New York the Museum of Jewish Heritage (MJH) one of the oldest Sephardic Haggadahs in the world, known as the ***Sarajevo Haggadah***, which was rescued by Bosnian Muslims several times during the recent history, USA.

- PARTICIPANT: the third Seminar of the *Catholic-Muslim Forum* in Rome, Italy.

- SPEAKER: the Third International Conference on the *Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons,* Vienna, Austria.

• 2015

In January made a statement on the occasion of the commemorating the International Holocaust Remembrance Day and the 70th Anniversary of Liberation of the Notorious Nazi Death Camp – Auschwitz. *The 20th century, above all, will be remembered by grave crimes against humanity in Europe – Holocaust against Jews and Genocide against Bosniaks,* he said.

- KEYNOTE ADDRESS: the *26th Annual Session of the Crans Montana Forum* in Brussels, Belgium.

- SPEAKER: the *World Summit 2015 of the Universal Peace Federation in Seoul,* South Korea.

- PARTICIPATION: the *Global Economic Symposium* (GES) in Kiel, Germany.

- In October read his *Friendly Letter to the European Bishops* in Rome on the occasion of the *Fiftieth anniversary of the pastoral letter of the Polish Bishops of November 18, 1965 to their German spiritual brothers and the response of the German Bishops of December 5, 1965,* Rome, Italy.

- A member of the *Board of the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies,* Abu Dhabi, UAE.



"Each nation likes to have its authentic path in history and so the Bosniak nation likes to have its own path as well. No nation likes to be neither without a name nor without a trace. Therefore, it is necessary for the Bosniak people to be aware of their own existence as a nation and to regain their self-esteem, which is necessary for their healthy and prosperous existence".

Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić, On the 500th Jubilee of "Aivatovica", the Website, "Klix", June 27, 2010

THEY SAID...
IT WAS RECORDED

BROTHERHOOD AND RESPECT

Over the last few decades I have been following Dr. Mustafa Cerić's work and what he has been trying to achieve – through and after the sad experiences of the people of Bosnia. He has been a central figure of their resistance in the name of dignity and identity, the very struggle of the Bosnian people when they were facing the Genocide and the attacks of the extremist Serbs and Croats during the 1990s.

For the last 15 years we have been in touch and working together. I learned a lot from the Bosnian experience, from his message and from the messages that were spread around by people who were working with him. For Europe today, the voice of Sarajevo, the voice of the Mufti of Sarajevo, the voice of Dr. Mustafa Cerić, is a voice which needs to be heard. While he is reaching 60, a time when sometimes we must look back and ask ourselves what we have done with our lives, I just want to let him know that he has achieved a lot, there are so many of us following in the footsteps of his example, of his message, trying our best to be good Muslims, to be good Europeans, to be good citizens and to call for peace, dignity and justice. We will remember that, while he was under attack, while Bosnia was under attack, the dignity of the Bosnian Muslims was to never give up and still, when standing up with dignity, not to respond to the bad, the undignified human behaviour, with bad.

TARIQ RAMADAN
PROFESSOR OF CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND DIRECTOR, RESEARCH CENTER FOR ISLAMIC LEGISLATION AND ETHICS

In Relation to Jewish-Muslim and Interfaith Relations in Our Times: IN HONOR OF Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ

One of the most outstanding personalities in this regard, not only as a Muslim leader but as a religious leader in general, is Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the Reis Al Ulama and Grand Mufti of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has emerged out of the crucible of his country's trials as a spokesperson for godliness and goodliness, embodying the noble teachings of Islam and demonstrating the antithesis of those who abuse religion to sow distrust and violence.

RABBI DAVID ROSEN
INTERNATIONAL DIRECTOR, INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (AJC)

HERO OF A RELEVANT TRADITION

In 1993, the Mufti was interviewed by the journalist Robert Fisk. *We are being killed, he said, because we want to live together. We Bosnians are defending your principles – your principles in Europe.*

Dr Cerić is an old-school Hanafi mufti. He is a living example of the Islamic insight that, through intelligent fidelity to tradition, we most truly bond not only with our past but with our contemporaries.

ABDAL HAKIM MURAD
DEAN, THE CAMBRIDGE MUSLIM COLLEGE

A LEADERSHIP BASED ON TWO READINGS

Of his many distinguished and exceptional qualities, what I think has impressed me most about Dr. Mustafa Cerić has been his ability to master and combine what have been termed the 'two readings'. This refers to the readings of Revelation and of the real existential or time-space reality of man's existence.

ANAS AL SHAYKH-ALI, CBE, FRSA
ACADEMIC ADVISOR AND EUROPE REGIONAL DIRECTOR,
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT

A TRUST AND ACCEPTANCE: THE STUFF FOR BUILDING OUR COMMON FUTURE

Dr. Cerić is not only, and justly, regarded as one of the most influential Muslim figures and voices of global Islam, but more specifically identified with the development, maturity and growing consciousness of European Islam, having been described as a *guiding light for Islam in Europe*. But his name is also indissociable from that of Bosnian Muslims and our consciousness of their recent history and plight.

ABDOOL MAGID ABDOOL KARIM VAKIL
PRESIDENT, COMUNIDADE ISLAMICA DE LISBOA AND
PRESIDENT, OF THE FORUM ABRAAMICO DE PORTUGAL

Prof. Shaykh Mustafa Cerić: A LEADER WE WILL NEED IN THE YEARS TO COME

Prof. Shaykh Mustafa Cerić is a gifted and versatile scholar and leader whose accomplishments have been recognized on numerous occasions. Trusting that the other contributors to this volume have covered other aspects of his reach, personality and work, I will focus on one episode of our long acquaintance which I consider particularly telling: our cooperation on the project of bringing Bosnian students to the International Islamic University, Malaysia (IIUM), whose rector I was from 1988 to 1999.

As for Bosnia, thanks to the initiative of Prof. Mustafa Cerić, the University has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina providing for all sorts of cooperation between the two institutions.

ABDULHAMID A. ABUSULAYMAN
PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND
FORMER RECTOR, OF THE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

A VOICE OF EUROPEAN ISLAM

We are honouring an exceptional religious leader. He combines academic learning with spiritual wisdom and deep moral values. Dr. Mustafa Cerić is not only a leader of his own community of faith in Bosnia and Herzegovina; he is a face for Islam in Europe. He is a voice of reason and faith on the world stage of dialogue. He is the voice of a multi-cultural, multi-faith Europe. Through his engagement in numerous institutions and organizations, he has earned respect for his advocacy for human rights, religious freedom and democracy.

Deeply rooted in the painful, and yet promising, history of the Balkans, he lives with the theological and existential dilemma of truth, justice and reconciliation. Without compromising the genuine message of his religion, he is a forceful advocate for a modern Muslim democracy with European values. He speaks to secular and religious authorities with enthusiasm and eloquence, not shying away from confrontation when needed, but always with compassion for the victims of religious, ethnic and political extremism. As with so many religious leaders, he struggles to overcome an inherent ambiguity between a national and an international profile. As is the experience of many religious leaders, he may have more critics at home than abroad.

We trust that the wise and moderate Muslim voice of our friend will continue to be heard in interfaith dialogue and in the public square of Europe and in world debate – God willing – for many years to come.

BISHOP GUNNAR STALSETT
FORMER BISHOP OF OSLO AND
MODERATOR, EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

ORIGINAL

SEVEN YEARS OF MY CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE GRAND MUFTI MUSTAFA CERIĆ

In all the work we have done together over the years, I have never seen anyone as committed to God, to Islam and to Muslims. I have never seen anyone as committed to any enterprise that seeks the good of Islam or the Muslim, or, for that matter, the good of all people. There is no one I have found as trustworthy and as reliable as Grand Mufti Cerić. I always know that no matter how busy he is, no matter what else he has going on, he will make time for any project if he is convinced that there is some greater good in it; and, when he is involved, he will give it all his intelligence, will, emotion and heart.

H.R.H. PRINCE GHAZI BIN MUHAMMAD BIN TALAL
PERSONAL ENVOY OF, AND CHIEF ADVISOR TO,
H.M. KING ABDULLAH II FOR RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

A WORD ON THE GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ

My first meeting with the honourable Grand Mufti Dr. Mustafa Cerić produced a strong cognitive shock for me. This European Muslim viewed himself and others with a power of sight that was different from the sight of a Muslim from the East – as is mine – towards him and others. As much as he is a believer and adheres to the principles of his faith, he is as proud of his European origin and firmly holds on to the values deriving from these roots. Because of this, he felt – or rather caused me to feel – that, whenever relations between the East and the West turned sour for whatever reason, he was placed in an extremely difficult and complicated situation, as he, as a European, was not understood in the East, and at the same time, as a Muslim, he was not accepted in the West.

MUHAMMED ES-SEMMAK
SECRETARY GENERAL, ISLAMIC SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN LEBANON;
SECRETARY GENERAL, ISLAMIC-CHRISTIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR DIALOGUE;
SECRETARY, ARAB TEAM FOR ISLAMIC-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

BUILDING BRIDGES: Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Sage and spiritual leader, courageous prophetic voice, and forthright and loyal friend: those attributes well describe our special colleague, Mustafa Cerić. He and I have shared experiences of countless international interreligious meetings in many corners of the world over the past 12 years, in gatherings both large and small, cordial and tense, high-minded and grounded in immediate realities. Dr. Cerić can always be counted on to speak sense and common sense, to bring humanity to a dry discussion, to engage as human to human, and to work intensely to find strong, and perhaps unexpected, bridges across deep divides.

KATHERINE MARSHALL
SENIOR FELLOW AND VISITING PROFESSOR, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WORLD FAITHS DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE

MUSTAFA CERIĆ: THE MUFTI SCHOLAR, ACTIVIST REFORMER

Influenced by Bosnia-Herzegovina's multi-religious societies, Cerić advocates a democracy incorporating a strong policy of religious pluralism and rejects proponents of a 'clash': *We don't believe in the clashes of civilizations, we don't believe in the clashes of religions, we believe in the clashes between civilization and non-civilization: …We believe in the clashes between religion and non-religion, we believe in the clashes between good and evil, because it happens all the time.* He denounces Muslims who oppose multicultural, multi-religious and multinational life, noting that the Quran states many times, *If God wanted, he could have created you to be one nation, but he wanted you to be different nations…*

JOHN L. ESPOSITO
DIRECTOR, THE PRINCE ALWALEED BIN TALAL CENTER
FOR MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING,
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

PRESS CLIPPING ORIGINAL

SERVING THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY – AN ESSAY IN HONOUR OF Dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ

As the reisu-l-ulema of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Cerić is a leader in more ways than even the title 'Grand Mufti' can suggest. First and foremost, he is one of the few leaders of the Muslim world who commands respect from both the East and the West. The countless awards heaped on him by renowned organizations throughout the world for his contribution to interreligious and interfaith dialogue bear testimony to this. His leadership goes well beyond the boundaries of Bosnia-Herzegovina, considering his "exceptional contribution to interfaith understanding" in Europe, as well as his self-initiated itinerant missions in Asia to promote a more compassionate approach to religion.

ANWAR IBRAHIM
MALSYSIAN MP AND FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

EUROPE AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD: THE TANGLED RELATIONS

In this context comes the distinguished role of Sheikh Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the Grand Mufti of the Islamic community in Bosnia & Herzegovina, in presenting the rights of his disempowered people and the grave suffering at the hands of their aggressor, in defence of their identity, religion and survival, in the propagation of the tolerant Islamic values that call upon dialogue, benefaction and reciprocation in the best sense, in establishing bridges of understanding and cooperation with members of the heavenly religions and various human cultures in order to surpass divisions of the past, and in the establishment of a new, just system that will protect human rights, and prevent violence and hostility.

ABDULAZIZ IBN USMAN ET-TUVEJDŽIRL
DIRECTOR GENERAL, ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION - ISESCO AND SECRETARY GENERAL, FEDERATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

PRODUCING ISLAMIC KNOWLEDGE IN WESTERN EUROPE

On the whole, the European Fatwa Council, following Mustafa Cerić's advice, tries to ease Muslim integration in Europe without sliding into assimilation.

MURAD WILFRIED HOFMANN
FORMER GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO ALGERIA AND MOROCCO

HE HAS DEFENDED THE HONOUR AND DIGNITY OF THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY, THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE OF BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA AND THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IN A REASONABLE AND WISE MANNER

It may be stated that the honourable Dr. Mustafa Cerić is one of those people that follow the teachings and goals of this Prophet, as well as his method. During all of my years of knowing him and being in contact with him, I was a witness to his never-ending show of defence of the honour and dignity of the Islamic Community, the sovereignty of the state of Bosnia & Herzegovina and the national identity of the Bosnian Muslims in a reasonable and wise manner. He advocated the position that politics should serve religion. He was consistent with this attitude. He constantly tried to veer away from exclusive behaviour in the promotion of religion and the division of Muslims. He also warned others to stay away from this type of practice.

AKBAR EYDI
DIRECTOR, MULLA SADRA FOUNDATION IN B&H

HE REPRESENTS TO ME A MORAL MAN AND A SPIRITUAL WORKER FOR ISLAM

Dr. Cerić has his own positions and beliefs, arrived at during his studies of the Arabic language and Islamic sciences. His lifetime of experience has made it possible for him to contribute as a member of the Founding Assembly of Rabita, the Muslim World League, and as a member of the Academy of Islamic Law of Rabita, where he has spoken at many congresses and events...

ABDULLAH IBN ABDULMUHSIN ET-TURKI
SECRETARY GENERAL, LEAGUE OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD – RABITE

DRINKING FROM THE SPRING OF BOSNIA AND THE BRITISH CONNECTION - PART I

The Grand Mufti was both impressive and humane. I well remember waiting with some trepidation in the Grand Mufti's HQ, waiting for him to meet our interfaith group. I had no idea what to expect, but when he walked in fully robed I imagined we were going to be treated very formally. Nothing could be further from the truth. He began by insisting that one of our group, a female curate of the Church of England, came to sit next to him. He then proceeded to ask all of us for not just our names and where we came from, but more about our own faith. In every case he was able to make very meaningful connections that illuminated his deep and wide scholarship. His bright eyes conveyed a warmth and humanity. His knowledge of my Christian tradition, a lesser-known branch of non-conformism (the United Reformed Church) was what impressed me most.

MARGARET FRANCES MINOLETTI, Adult Safeguarding Team, London

I have found the Grand Mufti to be very inspirational, pragmatic and optimistic, and someone who has an in-depth understanding of contemporary issues which affect Muslims and society at large.

DILOWAR HUSSAIN KHAN, Executive Director, London Muslim Center

MUSTAFA CERIĆ: THE GRAND MUFTI AND THE PERSON

Delivering lectures and speeches, writing appeals and warnings, giving interviews to printed and electronic media, intensively and with no reservations, speaking to intellectuals, politicians, ambassadors, representatives of the military structures. To everyone, he explains the structure of the Islamic community, its significance and its role in Bosnia & Herzegovina. In his showroom, and everywhere else, he speaks to war victims, displaced persons; he guides them and councils them, he helps them. He has always had time for everyone. He has never denied anyone.

His frankness in communication was sometimes met with misunderstanding from certain authorities, who accused him of being overly involved in all walks of life in our society. However, this was without doubt the wrong impression. His desire was to give help. The level of trust that people bestowed upon him simply led him to be in the centre of all issues and events in our country, not as someone who would instigate a problem, but as someone who tried to offer a solution or to help in the resolution of an issue. Dr. Mustafa Cerić was not a coward, and never during his mandate was he afraid to confront an evil or an injustice, no matter what direction it came from.

And, in such a merciless struggle, many low blows were directed towards him, but he always remained poised and dignified. Of course, he was aware that in turbulent times he must do the best he could despite the errors that are companions to all those who, in their lifetimes, must make difficult decisions.

MUHAREM HASANBEGOVIĆ
CHIEF OF THE CABINET OF THE GRAND MUFTI OF BOSNIA

DRINKING FROM THE SPRING OF BOSNIA AND THE BRITISH CONNECTION - PART II

As a Mufti he came across as a '*visionary*' with clear goals of where he would like his country to be, and very determinedly working towards this. Inspirational in that he demonstrates and expresses great hope in his country and people, despite experiencing very bitter and personal loss and pain – that alone gives confidence that as human beings we can bring about change as long as we have an optimistic and '*can do*' attitude!

JAHANARA KHANOM, Service Manager, Social Enterprise Microfinance

My introduction to the Grand Mufti was at a seminar at the London School of Economics at the height of the Bosnian War. The seminar room was full of students standing and covering every little space there was available. *No, I do not want anyone to go from here to fight in Bosnia: your struggle, your 'jihad', is to be the best students and the best experts in the fields of your studies here in your home country, Britain.* This was a response to a question asked by an enthusiastic young student. Like many, I was surprised by this response, but his words resonated with my conscience. I had the privilege to visit him in Bosnia in the summer of 2009 on an inter-faith trip. Present were representatives of the Christian faith group (from various denominations) and Baha'i communities, and of atheists and Muslims, to which I belong, too. His attention to each and every one of us who were present in the room was such that he made us all feel important, equal and comfortable, as if he had known us for many years. He is an intellectual giant, yet humorous and down-to-earth. For me he is not the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, but the Mufti of Muftis of Muslims of Europe. I remember his last words from sitting beside him in his office: *Protect the interests of others and they will protect yours.*

MOHAMMED MATIN, Credit Control Officer, London



The Mufti has a very warm personality. You are able to feel at ease with him almost immediately. His humour adds to this, too. His knowledge of both the secular and the religious is also impressive. Correction, inspiring! You are left with a sense of awe having met him and have the yearning to meet him again.

MUJIBUL ISLAM, teacher
Secretary, Muslim Council of Britain, Youth Committee

I am impressed by his connection with tradition, and also with western audiences… He has had significant impact in engaging with leading interfaith partners (Archbishop of Canterbury etc.) at a high level. He was also strong enough to stand up for himself and the ideas he believes in – e.g. when we were debating issues around Muslims in Europe…

DILAWAR HUSSAIN, Head of Policy Research Center, Leicester

He is the people's Mufti, a man who knows their pulse and loves to be surrounded by them. He is a realist, a truly European Mufti and a European Muslim leader. He needs to come out of the Bosnian border to the heartland of Europe, interact with new generations who are confused because of their non-European baggage. I hope he leaves behind him many more Cerićes to shed the light of Islam in European territory.

MUSLEH FARADHI, School headteacher,
President, Islamic Forum of Europe

The Grand Mufti appeared as someone who is genuine and sincere, a person with vision and depth.

NAZMIN KHANOM, school teacher

A person of charisma and prayer. Someone interested in the person he was talking to, a 'gentleman' in the English sense! Someone who was interested in Christian matters and the way world faiths might work together for the good of all.

REVD. CHRISITINE BERYL HAL, St. Dunstan's Church, Stepney,
Church of England

Whereas Islam teaches Muslims that Jews and Christians are the People of the Book ... so all the Jews, Christians and Muslims should learn that how they should share their common spiritual roots ... Europ Islam Muslims

whereas Europ is a common ground continet of many faiths

Muslims, citizens and brothers

Europe Islam

Sovereignty # Freedom

The Muslim World (the Ummah) ①

Faith

Authority

Religion ②

Morality ③

Right # Might

Mythology # Science

Theory of State

#

Legitimicy of State

① Autority by Force

② Authority by good example

To the European Union to the Muslim world (the ummah)

Muslims who live in Europe;

Read
Learn
Believe
Work hard

Definition:

Europe is the House of Peace!

Europe is not the House of War!

Europe is ~~Covenant~~ ~~Contract~~ Socion Contract

responsibility before freedom!

Freedom must be ~~given~~ no, not, EARND

Freedom must be earnd!

be honest

Difference between

Islam is not the ghost!

Islam is the host in Europe!

Covenant and Contract

Citizen-Immigrant

Heart Mind

State Constitutions

Peace-Security

Loyalty of Reason

Faith of Heart

~~Complaint~~ fight for your rights!

~~Hate~~ of tomorrow

Be aware

AFTERWORD

THE DIGNITY OF LIVING THE EUROPEAN REALITY AND PRESERVING THE MUSLIM IDENTITY

Dr. Ekrem TUCAKOVIĆ

It is assumed that Islam first appeared in South East Europe in the 8th century, when a Muslim army besieged Constantinople. However, historical sources have recorded the Muslim Kaliz tribe living in Hungary in the 9th century. It is estimated that, by the mid-13th century, there were between 40,000 and 50,000 Muslims living in Hungary. The Muslim historian, Abu Hamid al-Andalus al-Garnati, who resided, and was a judge, in this country in the period 1150-1153, wrote about the Hungarian Muslims. The famous Muslim historian, Yakut al-Hamawi, met a group of those Muslims in Damascus at the beginning of the 12th century. Hungarian rulers issued several documents prohibiting the practising of Islam so that, as of the early 14th century, Hungarian Muslims had vanished.

In 1492, after nearly eight centuries of Muslim presence in Spain, Catholic kings conquered Granada, the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims were guaranteed safety if they remained in their homes by the agreement on the surrender of Granada. However, in 1609, King Philip III marked the Muslims as culprits for the crisis in the country, and ordered approximately 300,000 of them to leave the country. According to a description by the modern Spanish writer, Juan Goytisolo, this persecution continued until 1614 and was carried out in particularly "brutal manner", with the looting of property, atrocities and killings, because those "who did not wish to leave had to be killed." On the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the persecution of Spanish Muslims, in mid-March 2009, in an article in the daily newspaper El Pais, Goytisolo described the persecution as the first ethnic cleansing in Europe, saying it was "the European precedent of ethnic cleansing" and accused "official and academic Spain of being locked in a castle of silence".

The Experience of the Muslims of the Balkans

In contrast to the two aforementioned tragic cases, the Muslims of the Balkans, as an indigenous people of Europe, after the loss of political, economic and military power, and in a condition of domination by non-Muslim governments and ideology, are living their second century of European history. Whether they will survive here, and to what extent, remains to be seen. Whether they will see the fate of the Hungarian Muslims, or the history of Andalusia will repeat itself in all of its destructiveness, remains an open issue and a cause for anxiety. Could a new King Philip III appear to blame Muslims for all the weaknesses and problems in the country and in Europe, and order their persecution or conversion? Cynics would say that the surviving Muslims in the Balkans have actually survived because there was not enough time, nor were there favourable conditions, for an extended period of time for the nation-states of the Balkans to completely erase the presence of indigenous Muslims in the Balkans, despite their centuries-old and deeply-rooted culture and civilization in the region, which distinguishes them from the current migrant Muslim communities in the European continent.

History and destiny during a little more than a century of existence by Bosniak Muslims outside the Muslim state framework, i.e. after the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, do not give much reason for satisfaction either. The area inhabited by Muslims is constantly decreasing, with Muslims being killed and disempowered so much that, in the end, the consequences of the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, when a large number of Bosniak Muslims were victims of Genocide, and with a much larger number of them scattered across the world, are that Muslim living space in Bosnia and

Herzegovina is now reduced to a very narrow area, resembling the reservations for Native Americans, the ghettos for Jews in World War II, or tiny areas surrounded by the territory of what is now the reduced Palestinian living space. It remains a constant concern and cause for anxiety that, due to some new adverse geopolitical conditions or turbulences on the European or global political and societal scene, the Muslims of the Balkans would become victims of anti-Muslim, Islamophobic and Euro-American right-wing extremism. Of course, we must add to all this the undeniable historical fact that, after more or less every war or violent revolution, as well as after the uprising of 1804 and the First Serbian Uprising, the number of Muslims in the Balkans and their habitat were rapidly reduced. Accordingly, periods of war have always been periods of suffering and persecution of Muslims, and have resulted in the loss of population and territory. Even at times of peace, there were unfavourable periods for Muslims, as is illustrated by the persecution of Muslim Turks from Bulgaria in the early 1980s, or the mass killing of Muslims in Šahovići in 1924 by Montenegrin militias.

The contemporary context

Present circumstances in which Muslims live in Europe also carry many challenges and uncertainties. The political scene is burdened with the pressure of a large number of refugees who are trying to find refuge in European countries, as a result of the brutal bloody conflict in the Middle East. This climate favours the radical right wing and nationalist European groups and the spread of anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim propaganda. As a result, European societies are becoming increasingly intolerant of migrants from the Middle East, who are Muslims, and Islamophobia has become the social and political response to Muslims' needs, including their fundamental rights.

Because of the stronger and more open expression of dangerous intolerance towards Muslims, there is a particular significance, from the Muslim perspective, of the news reported by global and local media – as a world event of the first order – about the historic meeting of Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus' that took place on 12th February 2016 in Havana, Cuba.

This was an opportunity to emphasize that the meeting had been prepared in secret for a long time, that this was the first meeting of the heads of the two Churches since the great Christian Schism of 1054, and that the main subject of the meeting was the persecution of Christians in the Middle East. The religious leaders adopted a joint statement in which they called upon "the international community for urgent action to prevent Christians from being expelled from the Middle East," whereby they expressed regret "for the wounds inflicted by conflicts between Christians in the distant or recent past", and in the context of the unity of Christians expressed the hope that their "meeting will contribute to the reconstruction of this unity with God". In a joint announcement of the meeting, the Vatican and the Moscow Patriarchate stressed their belief that the meeting "will mark an important stage in the relations between the two Churches".

The reaction to this event in some Muslim circles could be summed up in the following statement: while the heads of Christian churches painstakingly seek avenues for convergence, strengthening of mutual understanding, overcoming of historical misunderstandings and overcoming of the bloody historical phase in their relations, traditional Muslim societies in the key centres of Muslim civilization and spirituality – Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya – painfully suffer from inner sectarian conflicts, violence and destruction. Of course, an important, perhaps decisive, role in these conflicts, whether by active participation or indirect creation of an environment and causes, is played by those who are provided with spiritual care by their church leaders, who are calling for the protection of Christians and the elimination of violence in the area.

Of course, in light of the Bosniak Muslim experience, understanding and cooperation between Christians, and all that

leads to it, is a welcome development, just like any other act that is beneficial to human society, but there must be mechanisms that are able to contain and eliminate reasons for fear, whether historical or current, because freedom from fear is necessary, because it was not a rare case that local Muslims were victimized just for being Muslims. A particular anxiety and fear is caused by strong statements and acts of European Islamophobia, because the last Genocide of Bosnian Muslims was preceded by their dehumanization, with the denial of their European cultural and civilizational rootedness.

A friendly letter:
"We accept you and wish for you to accept us"

It is important to bear in mind the broader socio-political global and regional context of the emergence of the "Friendly Letter" from the Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1993 to 2012), Dr. Mustafa Cerić, also signed by a group of prominent Bosniak-Muslim intellectuals and distinguished Islamic figures, to the European bishops, which was read on 26th October 2015 in Rome by Dr. Mustafa Cerić, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the pastoral letter sent by Polish bishops, on 18th November 1965, to their spiritual brothers and the response from the German bishops of 5th December 1965. "Encouraged by the example of your fraternal and pastoral love in Europe, I felt the need and the freedom, bishops of Europe, to write a letter on behalf of my religion, Islam, my Bosniak culture and the historical experience of my country, Bosnia. This letter is a friendly one," reads the letter of the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Mustafa Cerić.

The aforementioned socio-political context and the event itself give this act of the Muslim authorities, prominent muftis, imams of the Muslim Bosniak intellectuals, the seriousness it envisioned. The reason, then, that the Polish bishops sent a letter to the German bishops on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the end of World War II, inviting them to call for dialogue, reconciliation and brotherhood, with the basic message: "We forgive and ask for forgiveness". The German bishops responded with fraternal respect, accepting the outstretched hand, and expressed hope that the threat of hatred would never tear them apart. Coincidence or not, 20 years after the end of the bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the religious and intellectual authorities of the nation that had suffered great casualties before the eyes of the whole world, and with incomprehensible indifference of international makers of political and social power, sent a letter to representatives of the most important ecclesiastical institution with the following message:

'*We accept you and wish for you to accept us,*
Europe is your home and ours,
in your peace and ours,
in your security and ours,
in your friendship and ours'.

I think the key message in the letter of the Muslim authorities is "We accept you and wish you to accept us without fear and prejudice," containing all the historical and current drama of Muslim issues in Europe, because it is due to rejection and prejudice that painful stages of suffering and persecution had emerged. At the same time, this message carries a huge challenge to European bishops and the Church, as well as political entities, because it is a test whether they will accept this invitation and the outstretched hand of mutual acceptance in the full scope of their own identity and equality.

Also, if something and someone is to be accepted, it needs to be acquainted with and studied. Thus, the stage of acceptance is preceded by the process of dialogue and conversation, sincere opening and introductions, mutual representation, and good intentions. Consequently, this call by the representatives of this minority group, an agonized and often stigmatized European religious community and its intellectual authority, represents at the same time a call for dialogue, mutual opening and exploration, and finally acceptance of each other in their diversity for the common good and happiness. It is a deeply human and civilizational

impulse and call, strongly based on the best modern traditions of human rights and fundamental freedoms, imbued with universal Quranic and Islamic principles "O men! Behold, We have created you all out of a male and a female, and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you might come to know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is most deeply conscious of Him. Behold, God is all-knowing, all-aware!" (Al-Hujurat, 13).

Also the "Letter" expressed the important fact that knowledge alone does not suffice for acceptance of one another, which "requires the willingness to accept each other in the spirit of the common good for all of us here and now in Europe, that there is no need to be afraid of anybody or anything, least of all Islam and Muslims, who in their very name carry the meaning of the peaceful man." Good will is an important prerequisite for the success of the process of accepting the other, but not in a way that the other is to give up their own identity and become like the other to be accepted, but, as stated in this letter, "to accept each other in the spirit in which we present ourselves without prejudice and without fear."

The "Friendly Letter" indicates the current misplacement of historical divisions into exclusive religious and cultural zones and geographical areas and their origin zones of 'Christendom' or 'Islam', because in the era of globalization such divisions are unsustainable, "not only in Europe, but anywhere in the world, where no religion, no culture, no nation can be in isolation. All religions, cultures and nations of the world a priori rely on each other, and therefore it is necessary to know each other."

Furthermore, it is important to stress that this call for acceptance by the Muslim side has full historical merit and credibility; it contains a moral and humanistic capital that has accumulated for more than a century and therefore cannot be characterized by something unexpected and unusual, or externally driven. In fact, through the historic effort to protect themselves from the suffering of other ethnic and religious groups in very difficult circumstances of war, Muslims and their Islamic community have tested and demonstrated their practical readiness to accept others and those who are different, despite the fact that others have had a problem in accepting them as they are. Tradition, worthy of genuine respect, acceptance of that which is different, the individual and institutional fight against violence and crime has been built up over a long period by the leaders and the Ulama of the Islamic community together with Bosniak intellectuals and responsible people among the Bosniaks. An illustration of the selflessness and amazing courage, integrity, and determination to protect the basic human rights of every human being, as the highest of God's creatures and the holder of the gift and the sanctity of life, not just their coreligionists or members of their ethnic groups, are the Muslim resolutions condemning the persecution of the population on racial, religious and ethnic grounds by fascists and their puppets. Prominent Bosnian representatives, despite their lives being exposed to danger, in various towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina during World War II, in public, by signing and publishing their Resolution, strongly condemned the persecution of civilians and the killing of Jews, Serbs, Romanies and anti-fascists by Hitler's Nazi regime and the Independent Croatian State, as well as the systematic murder and persecution of Bosniaks by Chetnik units and followers of the Greater Serbia ideology. The Sarajevo Resolution El-Hidaje, of 18th October 1941, whose initiator was Mehmed ef. Handžić and Kasim ef. Dobrača, was the beginning of all the resolutions that followed. The Sarajevo Resolution, with conviction, strongly protested against the atrocities committed by the invaders and the Ustashas, and requires "genuine security of life, honour and religion for all citizens in the country, no matter their differences", and "not to take any action which may provoke rebellion and bloodshed among the people", to punish all criminals, initiators and commanders of crime, and to prevent, under the strictest punishment, any religious intolerance. The Sarajevo Resolution was followed by other resolutions in Prijedor, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bijeljina and Tuzla. All the resolutions, especially the

one in Sarajevo, were signed by the most prominent representatives of the religious, cultural and public life of Bosniaks.

The Ulama and Bosniak intellectuals strongly opposed the persecution of Romanies, and because of that saved numerous Romany lives during World War II. The struggle to save the lives of Romanies, at the time of the domination of fascist terror, strongly illustrates the resolution by the Bosniak intellectuals published in Zenica on 26th May 1942. This resolution was signed by 27 prominent Zenica Bosniaks. On that occasion, the Ulama Majlis in Sarajevo, through the Office of the Grand Mufti, sent a petition to the government, demanding protection for the Romany from persecution and concentration camps. The response to the petition stated: "The Ministry of the Interior, at the request of the Deputy Prime Minister, telegraphed an order to the camp in Jasenovac to release the Gypsies. Furthermore, orders have been issued to all police units and parishes to leave alone the Muslim Gypsies and not to send them to the camps, while orders have also been issued to the camps not to admit Gypsies."

In other sensitive and complex social and security situations, the Bosniak Ulama was the prominent voice against violence, calling for understanding and offering a hand of cooperation and acceptance, expressing a firm commitment to an active partnership with others in the responsibility for the peace and well-being of people of all races, religions and nations. For example, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, in addition to decisive condemnation of terrorism, and in order to present the views of Muslim Bosniaks to the international public, the Islamic community, upon the proposal of the then Grand Mufti Mustafa ef. Cerić, adopted, on 11th March 2004 in Madrid, and on 7th July 2005 in London, the Declaration of European Muslims, voicing its stance and message to the European Union, those Muslims living in Europe, and the entire Muslim world. The document was translated into English, Arabic, Turkish, French and German, and, among other things, "since European Muslims want to be part of European life and prosperity as well as the social, political, cultural and moral development of European societies," declares to the European Community the attitude of European Muslims: "European Muslims are fully and clearly committed to the following of European values: the rule of law, the principles of tolerance, the values of democracy and human rights, the belief that every human being has the right to five core values: life, faith, freedom, wealth and honour."

These selected examples testify unambiguously as to how consistent and principled the Bosnian Ulama, the Islamic community and Bosniak representatives have always been in their fight against violence and persecution of innocent people based on their religion, race or nation. Without a doubt, Muslim Bosniaks have had no dilemma about accepting the other and the necessity of active cooperation and unity with other nations aimed at building a world of peace and stability, cooperation and mutual respect. This commitment was motivated by their negative experience of suffering and persecution in the 20th century, which ended in the Genocide in Srebrenica in 1995. Although Bosnia and Herzegovina "from Kulin Ban to the present day" has greatly and intensively suffered from injustice, terror, misunderstanding and rejection, from Bosnia and Herzegovina there have always come voices that forgive and pray for forgiveness, and have always helped the cause and interest of those oppressed and persecuted.

Therefore, in the existing internal and external national and social conditionality, the age of Islamophobia and the spread of prejudice against Muslims, the "Friendly Letter" of the Grand Mufti to the European Bishops, which includes a call for acceptance without fear and prejudice, and offers the same kind of acceptance, is of great importance and historical value. It once again shows that Muslim Bosnians are willing and able to develop and adopt the ethics of community and responsibility for peace and coexistence in the world. Of course, the special value and quality of the "Friendly Letter" lies in the fact that it is a Muslim initiative and action rather than a reaction; striving to

be the subject, not the object, of social processes; a search for a solution, rather than agreeing to imposed solutions. In addition, this letter of the Bosniak Ulama continues and perpetuates the courageous search for solutions of difficult and complex issues relating to human rights and freedoms of all people. In this way the Bosniak Ulama is also making a significant contribution to European humanistic and libertarian thought and the tradition of caring for others and those who are different, as the most valuable element of European civilizational heritage. The contemporary heirs of the honoured Bosniak Ulama are also not waiting for the majority religious group in Europe to offer their acceptance and the conditions under which they will do it. They will rather initiate and offer, publicly and openly, to the majority religious group, their acceptance and cooperation for the common good, and also seek the same for themselves. They know that most of their venerable predecessors did not wait, nor did they seek permission from powerful governing structures, in World War II in order to make a stand on behalf of the people persecuted because of their religion and nation. They simply followed the account of their faith, the voice of their conscience and their sense of human and Islamic responsibility.

With this in mind, it is hoped that European religious institutions and their officials will recognize the value of the interlocutors that are being offered them in the respected spiritual and intellectual Muslim authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Sandžak/Serbia and their organized institutions, which can, more actively and with larger capacities, be included in all European processes of strengthening stability and equality.

Internal discussions and forgiveness

The Bishops' pastoral letter and the "Friendly Letter" of the Muslim intellectuals, led by Grand Mufti Cerić, can be inspiring and useful as a guideline for a new or different approach to developing communication on difficult, contentious and controversial issues and events from different religious groups, even within a religious community, to which the "Friendly Letter" alludes: "This is the right time for an incentive to everyone in the world to take lessons and receive messages from the pastoral letters: the lesson that better is the heart that loves than the one that hates; and the message that better is the hand that writes a kind word than the one that kills."

The question of forgiveness and acceptance can, in the context of calls for forgiveness and acceptance, be viewed on several levels that reinforce the purpose of such an act and provide the breadth of application. At the theological and doctrinal level, recognition of sins and asking forgiveness is the way of relief and purification, as a precondition for man's ascent and dignified life. *Confess, recognize your sin and your moral decline, your being misled and led astray, understand what you did, man; ask for forgiveness, for the burden of sin not to interrupt, restrain your steps, burden your mind and intellect.* This is the clear Qur'anic perspective and an important message to a man in his relationship with God, which then transfers to other aspects of human life. This is one of the immutable principles on which this world exists, and the confession of sin and asking for forgiveness inherent to human nature. The first human beings, Adam and Eve, cry out for forgiveness as salvation from being lost "They said: Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves. If Thou forgive us not and have not mercy on us, surely we are of the lost." (Al-Araf: 23); "Then Adam received words from his Lord, and He forgive him; Indeed, it is He who is the Accepting of repentance, the Merciful." (Al-Baqarah: 37).

Moreover, the task of repentance is a lasting one: "And turn in repentance to Allah together, O you the faithful, in order that you are successful" (An-Nur: 31). "Verily, God loves those who turn unto Him in repentance, and He loves those who

keep themselves pure" (Al-Baqarah: 222). The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "O people, repent to Allah, because I was, indeed, repentant to Him one hundred times a day." Sincere and wholehearted repentance frees and liberates, according to the words of the Prophet (peace be upon him): "Penitent from sin is one who has no sin".

At the level of interpersonal relations, which are imbued with these orders of faith, the confession of sins and the seeking of forgiveness seems to be one of the basic principles in interpersonal communion: forgiveness among men, forgiving one another, as God forgives sincere seekers of forgiveness, those who realize their mistakes, distance themselves from error and do not return to it. If people are not freed from the burden of sin, they cannot have good relationships among themselves and be a happy and successful community.

At the level of the Muslim attitude, it seems to be particularly important and necessary to encourage inter-Muslim dialogues of the Ulama at different levels and in different forms, internal discussions that will lead to mutual forgiveness of errors and injustices and the need to develop a sense of asking for forgiveness, acceptance of others and asking to be accepted. At this moment, a priority would be to encourage and intensify the Alim and Ulama communication channels and content between the Sunni and Shiite Muslim groups, which will lead to the creation of an environment and a sense of the need for mutual forgiveness and seeking of forgiveness, love and happiness and prosperity of all Muslims. Understandably, it needs to occur not only between the two groups, but also within each of them.

But brave and radical action requires the Ulama to be bold and independent, and not linked to the governing state structure and not harnessed politically in the ruling system. The Ulama that does not have the freedom and the possibility of an autonomous assessment of what has happened, and actions based on such information, will not be allowed or able to, because of the limited interests of the ruling political structures, to forgive others and run such an initiative, unless it is in the interests of the ruling political and state elite. Therefore, it is difficult to expect, in these circumstances, a respectable and relevant group of Sunni Ulama in general, or Sunni Ulama of one country, to send a brotherly and friendly letter to the Shiia Ulama with the slogan "We forgive you and we ask for your forgiveness," or the other way around.

When it comes to the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and internal Bosnian relations, I consider it important to develop mutual dialogue between proponents of different currents of Islamic thought, and different generations of the Ulama. Also, between those Alims and Ulama who have gained knowledge of their faith in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Iran and other countries and international Islamic centres of learning. Very cordial, brotherly openness and acceptance will eliminate many prejudices about each other and strengthen the capacity and the effects of the Alim mission and purposes of Alim action. In such a climate it is possible to expect the voices and calls: We forgive you, and pray for your forgiveness; I accept you without fear and prejudice, so accept us also. In such a social climate and with such consciousness, the Ulama can advocate unity and brotherhood both in word and in deed.

appendix
in other languages

Bosnian
Deutsch/German
Polish
French

SLOVO O SLOVU **PISMA**

Akademik **Mehmed A. AKŠAMIJA**, BANU

Nema te ruke koja će nekoga odbraniti od onoga što mu je Bog odredio -
Niti ima riječi koja se može u tom pogovoru progovoriti da bi otklonila štetu ili donijela korist.

U tami pozlata želi da bude isto što i pravo zlato -
A zlato iščekuje dan da se pokaže u svom sjaju.

Dželaluddin Rumi, Mesnevija, Bejt 624/3342.

Premda na prvi pogled može izgledati da je ova dokumentarna studija posvećena osobi, ona je prije svega posvećena mogućnostima komunikacije sa svijetom iz bosanske perspektive. I to ne bilo kakvoj komunikaciji, već religijskom dijalogu u vrijeme golemih izazova za islam i muslimane ne samo u Bosni, već i u Evropi i svijetu. Bosna *zemlja heretika*, oduvijek je bila u fokusu religijskog interesovanja. Od Kulina bana pa do naših dana hrišćanski Bizant i kršćanski Rim su se natjecali oko *bosanskog religijskog duha*. Dolaskom islama u 15. stoljeću Bosna je postala jedinstvena religijska oaza, gdje su se istodobno i spajali i razdvojili istok i zapad, gdje su se muslimani, kršćani i hrišćani, a nešto kasnije i Jevreji, učili suživotu i toleranciji u njihovim ibrahimovskim/abrahamovskim sličnostima i različitostima.

Institucija reisu-l-uleme u Bosni je od 1882. godine postala simbol formalne islamske tradicije Bošnjaka. Više od jednog stoljeća dužnost reisu-l-uleme u Bošnjaka obnašale su ličnosti, koje su posjedovale znanje i mudrost svog mjesta i vremena. Krajem prošlog i početkom ovog 21. stoljeća u vremenu od dvije decenije dužnost reisu-l-uleme u Bošnjaka obnašao je dr. Mustafa Cerić. Upoznali smo se krajem osamdesetih prošlog stoljeća u Zagrebu nakon njegovog povratka iz Čikaga sa titulom doktora filozofije (Ph.D.), prvom te vrste u Islamskoj zajednici bivše Jugoslavije. Od tada pa sve do danas radio sam na mnogim projektima za Islamsku zajednicu na inicijativu reisu-l-uleme dr. Cerića, kako u ratu tako i poslije. Pratio sam reisu-l-ulemin domaći i međunarodni rad i djelovanje. Sudjelovao sam u nekim njegovim dilemama i rješenjima o kojima danas i ovdje djelimično svjedočim. Dakako, u Bosni je uvijek bilo više dilema nego rješenja. Za reisu-l-ulemu dr. Cerića dileme su bile tim veće što za obnašanje dužnosti reisu-l-uleme u Bošnjaka u ratnim uvjetima nije bilo ni *priručnika* ni *vodiča*. Nakon raspada jugoslovenskog društva i države, u Islamskoj zajednici u Bosni i Hercegovini je opet počinjalo sve iz početka. Reisu-l-ulema dr. Cerić je bio suočen sa mnogim nepoznanicama i izazovima od kojih je komunikacija sa svjetom bila najizazovnija. Ova dokumentarna studija je upravo priča o tome kako je i na koji način bosanski reisu-l-ulema u ratnim i poratnim uvjetima uspijevao da nosi i pronosi svijetom, poput "culture broker-a"*[1], glas vjere i kulture Bošnjaka muslimana u duhu primjerenog i konstruktivnog religijskog dijaloga; glas kojeg je podjednako slušao kralj Saudijske Arabije i predsjednik Kine; glas koji se čuo kako u Davosu na "Svjetskom ekonomskom forumu" tako i u Mekki na "Fikhskoj akademiji Muslimanske svjetske lige". Doista, glas bosanskog reisu-l-uleme postao je prepoznatljiv kako u Vatikanu tako i u Rijadu, Kairu, Amanu, Omanu, Bejrutu, Ankari, Teheranu, Islamabadu, Abu Dabiju, Moskvi, Vašingtonu, Njujorku, Sidneju, Johanesburgu, Abudži, Kuala Lumpuru, Džakarti, Singapuru, Seulu, Manili, Tokiju... Ova knjiga obrađuje samo jedan dio priče o tom glasu reisu-l-uleme, koji se čuo daleko i na istoku i na zapadu... Ovo je moj osobni vid dokumentarnog svjedočenja o nekim aktivnostima duhovnog poglavara u Bošnjaka muslimana.

*[1] Izraz "broker of culture" ili "cultural broker" u prijevodu na bosanski jezik "pronostitelj kulture" ili "kulturni pronositelj" nije posebno definiran, ali je definiran kroz uobičajenu upotrebu sa označavanjem osobe koja olakšava prelaz granice drugoj osobi ili grupi ljudi iz jedne u drugu kulturu. Jezewski (u: Jezewski & Sotnik, 2001) definira pronošenje kulture kao "čin premošćavanja, povezivanja i posredovanja između grupa ili osoba različitih kulturnih pozadina u svrhu reduciranja konflikta ili proizvodnje promjene".

Jedna od posljednjih dijaloških komunikacija reisu-l-uleme dr. Cerića sa kršćanima, preciznije sa katolicima u Evropi, kojoj sam svjedočio, bila je njegovo *Pismo evropskim biskupima*, što je bio i povod za naslov ove knjige "**Pismo**", koju objavljujemo na bosanskom, engleskom, njemčkom, arapskom i poljskom jeziku. Naime, reisu-l-ulema dr. Cerić (1993-2012) se odazvao pozivu poljskog ambasadora Piotra Nowina-Konopka da u Vatikanu prisustvuje obilježavanju pedesete godišnjice od objavljivanja *Pisma poljskih biskupa njemačkim biskupima i odgovoru njemačkih biskupa poljskim biskupima* (1965) pod motom: "Mi praštamo i molimo za oprost".

Vođen instiktom trenutka, kao i uvijek, reisu-l-ulema dr. Cerić je napisao "Prijateljsko pismo evropskim biskupima", kojeg su potpisali sandžački, ljubljanski, zagrebački, banjalučki i mostarski muftija zajedeno sa još nekoliko istaknutih bošnjačkih akademika, profesora i imama. Pismo predstavlja kontinuitet dugog i plodnog međureligijskog dijaloga reisu-l-uleme dr. Cerića u svijetu, posebno u Evropi, pa sam stoga odlučio da u ovoj knjizi predstavim i neke do sada manje poznate detalje iz takvih aktivnosti, posebno reisu-l-ulemine aktivnosti na prestižnim američkim i evropskim univerzitetima, poput Jela, Medisona, Vinskosina, Minhena, Beča, Tibingena, Kembridža ...

No, "Deklaracija evropskih muslimana", objavljena kao osobna refleksija na njujorški 11. septembar, 2001, madridski 4. mart, 2004, i londonski juli, 2005. godine, predstavlja najsnažniji izraz bosanskog glasa u osudi terorizma. Zbog važnosti jasnih i nedvosmislenih poruka u ovom jedinstvenom dokumentu, ali i zbog odjeka koji je imala u Evropi, odlučio sam uvrstiti "Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana" u integralnoj formi na bosanskom, engleskom, njemačkom, francuskom i arapskom jeziku da ostane trajni dokument bosanskog stava, preciznije stava bosanskog vrhovnog duhovnog poglavara u vremenu teških iskušenja, ali i jasnih opredjeljenja sa željom da Evropa i svijet znaju da su evropski muslimani opredijeljeni za mir i suživot sa svojim komšijama.

Dakle, uvjereni da zlo jača ako se dobro povlači, Bošnjaci nisu mogli ostati ravnodušni ni prema bombaškom napadu na učesnike Bostonskog maratona u Americi od 15. aprila, 2013. godine, kao ni prema ubojstvu nenaoružanog vojnika u Vulviču (Woolwich) u Engleskoj od 22. maja, 2013. godine. Sada kao predsjednik nacionalne organizacije, reisu-l-ulema emeritus dr. Cerić je opet stao na čelo, zajedno sa gosp. Harisom Hromićem, u osudi terorizma kroz "Deklaraciju Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa o zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu". Bio je to nastavak "Deklaracije evropskih muslimana". Zar razliku od Prve, koja izržava vjerski osjećaj muslimana, ova Druga deklaracija je *izraz nacionalnog osjećanja Bošnjaka, kao i njihovo evropsko očitovanje sa jasnom osudom terorizma*.

"Deklaracija o zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu" je jasna poruka svijetu da su Bošnjaci dio rješenja za mir i sigurnost u svijetu, te da, stoga, dijele globalnu sudbinu svijeta. Na ovaj način upotpunjava se slika vjerske i nacionalne opredijeljenosti Bošnjaka, a to je da oni žele da budu dio slobodnog i demokratskog svijeta. Njihova poruka je jasna: *na putu slobode i demokracije nisu im ni njihova vjera ni njihova kultura nikakva smetnja, već, naprotiv, njihova vjera,*

kao i njihova kultura su im poticaj da se bore za zajednički mir i sigurnost u svijetu, kao ravnopravni svjetski građani. Zbog toga Bošnjaci osuđuju svaki oblik nasilja, posebno nasilja u ime vjere. Jer, *nasilje u ime vjere je nasilje protiv vjere!*

Ova Druga deklaracija ima, također, svoje važno mjesto u okviru *Pisma poljskih biskupa njemačkim biskupima*, u kome se očituje visoka svijest odgovornosti za evropski i svjetski mir i sigurnost. Pismo bosanskog reisu-l-uleme evropskim biskupima je isto tako *izraz evropskog duha jedinstva u različitosti vjera i kultura*.

Poruka je jasna: *Bošnjaci su evropski narod i zato je važno da se čuje njihiov glas u borbi protiv svakog zla i nepravde u Evropi i svijetu!*

Tako se, između ostalih događanja, desilo i u Beču na Diplomatskoj Akademiji - Institut za strateške studije - Klub Tri *(Diplomatische Akademie Wien - Institute for Strategic Studies - Club of 3)*.

Bio je to još jedan u nizu očitovanja na međunarodnoj konferenciji, tada reisu-l-uleme emeritusa dr. Cerića, za mir, suživot i pomirenje na Balkanu i u Evropi. No, ovaj ekspoze u Beču uvršten je samo zato što se u njemu snažnije osjeća doza protesta protiv *islamofobije,* koja se u posljednje vrijme širi Evropom. Reisu-l-ulema emeritus dr. Cerić je ostao dosljedan principima međukulturalnog dijaloga, ali je isto tako ostao vjeran svojoj islamskoj tradiciji i bosanskoj kulturi. To je, možemo reći, glavna poruka ove dokumentarne i plošno vizualizirane studije - voli svoje, poštuj tuđe.

Sa posebnim pijetetom sam radio na ovoj knjizi zato što osjećam da ove poruke za međuvjerski i međukulturalni dijalog, izrečene u ime muslimana Bošnjaka kroz riječ njihovog vrhovnog duhovnog autoriteta, imaju trajnu vrijednost za buduće generacije bosanskih potomaka. Također, uvrštena su i određena reagiranja eminentnih osoba iz zemlje i svijeta na one sadržajne vrijednosti koje su ovdje prezentirane i dokumentirane. Možda to danas nije svima dovoljno jasno, ali onima koji dođu poslije nas, pretpostavljam, bit će zasigurno jasnije da su njihovi preci bili savjesni i odgovorni u svoje vrijeme za njihovo dobro, kao i da su njihove onovremenske poruke nailazile na razumijevanje i uvažavanje mnogih svjetskih autoriteta. Zato neka bude svima jasno da ova knjiga nije priča **o osobi**, već o **ideji osobe** koja je nastojala da iskoristi svaku priliku kako bi pronijela glas bosanskog razuma, glas bosanske mudrosti, glas bosanskog ponosa, glas bosanskog prkosa od sna...

Na ovaj način i ovakvom formom želio sam da svjedočim o takvoj ideji slikom i dokumentarnim tekstovima koje sam tokom vremena prikupljao iz različitih izvora. Istini na volju, nije riječ o kompletnom dokumentarnom materijalu koji je zabilježen i prikupljen. Radi se o jednom skromnijem dijelu koji je, za ovu priliku, izdvojen i citiran u formi kakvoj je i pronađen. Ukoliko čitalac bude naišao na neke greške u tekstu, ili se neko od stručnih dizajnera osjeti "povrijeđenim" zbog određenih intervencija u prijelomu knjige, unaprijed se izvinjavam, ali i dajem do znanja da sam nastojao da autentično prenesem sve sadržaje u izvornom obliku u suodnosu sa formatom zadanog knjižnog izdanja.

PREDGOVOR

STALNO UČITI O DIJALOGU KROZ POZITIVNA ISKUSTVA DRUGIH

mr. sc. **Senad ĆEMAN**, Direktor Centra za dijalog - VESATIJJA

Poziv na dijalog i prihvatanje takvog poziva se bezbroj puta pokazao kao mudar i spasonosan čin za mnoge zamršene situacije. U početku procesa dijaloga, njegovi sudionici se sumnjiče i osporavaju, vremenom razumiju i prihvataju, da bi na koncu događaja i sa dovoljne vremenske distance bili slavljeni kao mudri i odvažni ljudi.

Islamskom učenju dijalog nije stran: on je sastavni dio poziva i misije: „Na put Gospodara svoga mudro i lijepim savjetom pozivaj i s njima na najljepši način raspravljaj." (En-Nahl, 125) Kur'an je knjiga dijaloga, bez premca, u kojoj često nailazimo na: dijalog Allahovih poslanika sa njihovim narodima; dijalog Uzvišenog Allaha sa stvorenjima prilikom stvaranja čovjeka; na kraju, dijalog Gospodara sa najgorim stvorenjem, Iblisom.

Svaki dijalog zasnovan na pravim ciljevima, čistim namjerama, dobroj volji i etici ispunjenoj *razgovorom na najljepši način*, prije ili kasnije neminovno daje pozitivan ishod naporima dolaska do rješenja. Čini se kako problemi dolaze sami po sebi, a do rješenja valja doći mukotrpnim nastojanjima i vrlo često jedino putem dijaloga.

Vjerujući u dijalog, Islamska zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini je pored aktivnog učešća u Vijeću za međureligijski dijalog, osnovala 2012. godine Centar za dijalog – Vesatijja, sa ciljem da se na sistematski način, planiranim aktivnostima i djelatnostima bavi promoviranjem ideje dijaloga, tolerancije i suživota kao temeljnih odrednica srednjeg puta islama. Kako je jedna od osnovnih djelatnosti Centra publiciranje zapaženih ostvarenja domaćih i stranih autora o dijalogu i pitanjima srednjeg islamskog puta, raduje nas da smo u prilici ponuditi Pisma pomirenja poljskih i njemačkih biskupa iz 1965. godine i osvrte na njihov značaj.

Krajem oktobra 2015. godine, dr. Mustafa ef. Cerić, reisu-l-ulema (1993.-2012.) i predsjednik Upravnog odbora Centra za dijalog – Vesatijja je na poziv NJ.E. poljskog ambasadora Piotra Nowina-Konopka, u Rimu prisustvovao činu sjećanja na povijesna pastirska pisma biskupa. Poljski biskupi su 18. novembra 1965. godine pisali njihovoj duhovnoj braći „nudimo oprost i molimo za oprost", na što su im njemački biskupi 5. decembra 1965. godine odgovorili da „pruženu ruku prihvatamo s bratskim poštovanjem".

U svom obraćanju, naslovljenom *Ovo pismo mora probuditi iskrenu želju za pomirenjem među braćom,* reis Mustafa ef. Cerić je kazao da prigoda sjećanja „nije samo pravo mjesto, nego je i pravo vrijeme za poticaj svima u svijetu da uzmu pouku i poruku iz ovog pastirskog pisma: pouku da je bolje srce koji voli nego ono koje mrzi; i poruku da je bolja ruka koja piše lijepu riječ nego ona koja ubija čovjeka". Pročitano pismo je tom prigodom uz reisa Cerića potpisalo petnaest uglednih Bošnjaka.

U ovom izdanju, poštovani čitaoci, donosimo osvrt na događaj dr. Mate Zovkića, profesora emeritusa Univerziteta u Sarajevu *Pisma pomirenja poljskih i njemačkih biskupa 1965. godine nadahnjuju i danas na integriranje u Evropi,* u kome pojašnjava kako su se „poljski biskupi počeli pitati, što mogu učiniti da doprinesu pomirenju svoga naroda s njemačkim nakon svih nasilja koja su u povijesti jedni drugima nanosili, osobito nakon zločina nacističke vlasti nad Poljacima i poljskim Židovima u vrijeme okupacije od 1939. do 1945". Ovim pismom su najavili „želju za obustavom polemike i otvaranjem dijaloga", što je bio „doprinos moralnoj obnovi poljskog naroda".

Na biskupska pisma i godišnjicu njihovog obilježavanja se osvrnuo i dr. Ekrem Tucaković, urednik *Preporoda,* tekstom *U dostojanstvu živjeti evropsku stvarnost i čuvati muslimanski*

identitet, u kome naglašava da pojavljivanje i obraćanje reisa Cerića na skupu „predstavlja istodobno poziv na dijalog, međusobno otvaranje i upoznavanje, te, na koncu, prihvatanje jedni drugih u njihovoj različitosti, a za zajedničko dobro i sreću".

Na primjeru biskupskih pisama iz 1965. godine može se učiti na koji način je moguće trajno utemeljiti mirno susjedstvo. Trebalo je da prođe četvrt stoljeća da poruka poljskih biskupa postane stvarnost, a 1989. godine Poljaci i Nijemci postanu ne samo mirne komšije nego i partneri u istom savezu. Potpisnici pisama odavno više nisu biskupi, ali imena nekih od njih će se u historiji pamtiti upravo po stavljenom potpisu na te dokumente. Sve zajedno nas to dodatno motivira da upornije zagovaramo stvarni a ne taktički dijalog.

Muslimani iz ovog pisma, kad bi htjeli, mogu mnogo naučiti. Stanje muslimanskih naroda, prije svega na Bliskom istoku danas, veoma je teško. Da li je muslimanska ulema danas na stepenu odgovornosti biskupa iz 1965.? Biskupima je trebalo dvadeset godina nakon Drugog svjetskog rata da zatraže i ponude oprost. Kako se historija često ponavlja, tako se čini da je takav iskorak za muslimanski svijet neminovan. Rat u muslimanskim društvima će jednog dana prestati, a tada će imati smisla jedino o miru razgovarati.

Nijemci i Poljaci su bili komšije, kršćani, katolici i protestanti; dvije hiljade poljskih svećenika i pet biskupa (jedna četvrtina tadašnjeg episkopata) su pogubili njemački vojnici u logorima. Pomirenje se činilo nemogućim zauvijek. Pa opet, biskupi tih naroda odvažno povedoše narod ka pomirenju, smatrajući to primarnom vjerskom i patriotskom obavezom.

Sirijci, Iranci, Turci, Kurdi, Saudijci, Jemenci i ostali su danas u sukobu sličnom ondašnjem, njemačko-poljskom. Vjerujemo da će muslimanski narodi i njihovi predstavnici nakon što iskreno požele međusobni mir i uvažavanje, zatražiti i ponuditi oprost jedni drugima. Proces pomirenja će inicirati ulema. Bošnjački narod sa bolnim iskustvom Genocida ima obavezu biti na strani pravde i za nju se hrabro zalagati, ma kako ona izgledala ili se prikazivala.

Islamska zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini na čelu sa reisu-l-ulemom Husejn ef. Kavazovićem se svakodnevno i snažno zalaže za mir u svijetu i dijalog sa drugima. Višedecenijsko učešće reisa Cerića na brojnim domaćim i međunarodnim forumima o miru i suživotu je davno prepoznato od svih prijatelja mira. Poziv da prisustvuje i obrati se skupu na pedesetoj godišnjici pastirskog pisma poljskih i njemačkih biskupa je samo jedno u nizu priznanja njemu osobno, Islamskoj zajednici u Bosni i Hercegovini i Bošnjacima pripadnicima Zajednice. Sažet i jasan govor reisa Cerića upućen prisutnima da „mi prihvatamo vas i molimo da vi prihvatite nas" jeste potvrda bošnjačkog identiteta, koja usmjerava i obavezuje sve ljude dobra. Njegova krajnje razumna poruka: „Evropa je i vaš i naš dom, u vašem i našem miru, u vašoj i našoj sigurnosti, u vašem i našem prijateljstvu" ne ostavlja nikoga ravnodušnim, a život čini ugodnijim.

Centar za dijalog – Vesatijja kao ustanova Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini i na ovaj način želi doprinijeti procesu stalnog učenja o značaju dijaloga kroz pozitivna iskustva drugih. Kreiranje ambijenta i aktivno učešće u iskrenom međuvjerskom i međumuslimanskom dijalogu je obaveza Islamske zajednice i svih muslimana u najširem smislu, koja je posebno stavljena u amanet ljudima vezanim za Centar. Odlučni da uz Božiju pomoć i podršku svih koji dijele osjećaj odgovornosti i značaja dijaloga ispunimo zadati emanet, nastavit ćemo raditi na promociji vrijednosti dijaloga i srednjeg puta islama, stalno moleći Allaha da nam bude u tome pomagač.

UVOD

PISMA POMIRENJA POLJSKIH I NJEMAČKIH BISKUPA 1965. GODINE KROZ POZITIVNA ISKUSTVA DRUGIH

dr. sc. **Mato ZOVKIĆ**, profesor emeritus Univerziteta u Sarajevu

U studenom 2015. Poljska i Njemačka kao dvije europske države i katoličke biskupske konferencije unutar tih država svečano su proslavile pedesetu obljetnicu pisma kojim su biskupi Poljske 18. studenog 1965. javno oprostili Nijemcima nepravde učinjene poljskom narodu kroz povijest, osobito u vrijeme nacističke okupacije od 1939. do 1945. Poljski biskupi su u istom pismu također zamolili Nijemce za oproštenje nepravda koje su Poljaci njima nanijeli tokom povijesti. Njemački biskupi, okupljeni na Drugom vatikanskom saboru u Rimu zajedno s poljskim i drugim katoličkim biskupima svijeta, odgovorili su 5. prosinca 1965. prihvaćajući ispruženu ruku pomirenja i moleći za oproštenje zločina koje su Nijemci nanijeli Poljacima. Ambasador Poljske Piotr Nowina-Konopka predložio je dr. Mustafi Ceriću kao bivšem reisu i istaknutom bošnjačkom intelektualcu da se prigodnim pismom obrati današnjim poljskim i njemačkim biskupima kao nasljednicima potpisnika pisma pomirenja iz god. 1965. On je to spremno učinio otvorenim pismom 26. listopada 2015. koje je potpisalo još 15 bošnjačkih uglednika, moleći europske biskupe da pridonose prihvaćanju bošnjačkih i drugih muslimana u Europi koji nisu i nikako ne žele biti opasnost kršćanima i drugim građanima pluralne Europe.

Glavna svečanost pedesete obljetnice ovih pisama održana je u svetištu Jasna Gora, Čenstohova u Poljskoj, 22. studenog 2015. pod predsjedanjem predsjednika Biskupske konferencije Poljske nadbiskupa Stanislawa Gandeckog i kardinala Reincharda Marxa, predsjednika BK Njemačke. Za tu zgodu predsjednici Poljske Andrzej Duda i Njemačke Joachim Gauck potpisali su zajedničku Izjavu o trajnim plodovima tih pisama za ove dvije zemlje i za Europu kroz 50 godina. Prije toga, u Rimu je 26. listopada održana slična svečanost u njemačkoj katoličkoj instituciji u Rimu Campo santo teutonico (Zavod za svećenike doktorante s crkvom i malim grobljem u Vatikanu) na kojoj je nadbiskup Gandecki izložio perspektive za budućnost Poljske i Njemačke koje rastu iz hrabre geste poljskih i njemačkih biskupa 1965. godine.

Zainteresirani čitatelji naći će u ovoj studiji puni tekst ovih triju pisama. Stoga ih želim predstaviti iz konteksta povijesnih prilika u kojima su nastala, služeći se nužnim pojašnjenjima iz *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* (11 svezaka, Freiburg/M 2006.) i desetak elektronskih članaka preuzetih iz Googlea. Ako koga od čitatelja zanima širi uvid u Drugi vatikanski sabor nakon 50 godina, može se poslužiti najnovijom knjigom *50. obljetnica svečanog otvaranja i početka Drugog vatikanskog koncila. Zbornik radova*, Zagreb 2015.

Pisma pomirenja poljskih i njemačkih biskupa 1965. nastala u Rimu za vrijeme saborske rasprave o Crkvi u suvremenom svijetu

U katoličkoj tradiciji postoji dobro iskustvo krajevnih i općih sabora na kojima biskupi i pozvani teolozi raspravljaju o novim pitanjima vjere i crkvenog uređenja. Krajevne sazivaju i vode domaći biskupi a opće pape kao nasljednici sv. Petra u vođenju Rimske crkvene zajednice. Papa Ivan XXIII. najavio je u siječnju 1959. opći sabor te mu za glavnu temu dao posadašnjenje (*aggiornamento*) ili zdravu prilagodbu Crkve socijalnim i kulturnim promjenama, kako bi bila znak spasenja što ga Bog nudi svima narodima. Prva faza bile su dvije godine skupljanja radnih prijedloga od biskupa i crkvenih učilišta te je Drugi vatikanski sabor otvoren 11. listopada 1962. Kroz četiri godine zasjedao je tako da su biskupi oko dva mjeseca pod kraj godine bili na radnim susretima u Rimu a teološki stručnjaci su tijekom godine ugrađivali u buduće dokumente misli predložene pismeno ili na plenarnim zasjedanjima. Četvrto zasjedanje trajalo je od 4. rujna do 8. prosinca 1965. i glavni dokument o kojem su biskupi tada raspravljali te ga na kraju usvojili je „Pastoralna konstitucija o Crkvi u današnjem svijetu“ (*Gauidium et spes*).

U prvom dijelu tog dokumenta izneseno je kršćansko učenje o čovjekovu pozivu u povijesnom svijetu a u drugom neki gorući problemi današnjeg čovječanstva. Među ovim problemima osvijetljen je brak i obitelj, zatim promicanje kulturnog napretka, ekonomsko-socijalni život, zadaća i život političke zajednice, promicanje mira i izgradnja zajednice naroda (usp. II Vatikanski sabor, *Dokumenti*, Zagreb 1972, 349-427). U pristupu međunarodnom miru, pravdi i istinskom razvoju ovaj dokument traži suradnju katolika u različitim narodima, ali i zalaganje zajedno s pripadnicima drugih religija i svim ljudima dobre volje (br. 88-90). Drugujući na plenarnim zasjedanjima sabora kroz četiri godine te osobito razmišljajući o zalaganju za izgradnju humanijeg i pravednijeg svijeta, biskupi iz različitih kontinenata i država imali su priliku zbližiti se i jedni druge informirati mimo službene politike svojih država. Tako su se poljski biskupi počeli pitati, što mogu učiniti da doprinesu pomirenju svoga naroda s njemačkim nakon svih nasilja koja su u povijesti jedni drugima nanosili, osobito nakon zločina nacističke vlasti nad Poljacima i poljskim Židovima u vrijeme okupacije od 1939. do 1945. Nijemci su tada živjeli podijeljeni u dvije države: tzv. Demokratska republika Njemačka s komunističkim režimom i jakom prisutnošću ruske vojske te Savezna republika Njemačka koja je poštivala demokraciju zapadnog stila, ali 1965. još nije diplomatski priznavala Istočnu Njemačku. Prigodom slamanja nacističke okupacije Poljsku su zauzeli sovjetski vojnici i tu ostali slijedećih 45 godina čuvajući nametnuti komunistički režim. Komunističkoj vlasti odgovaralo je da se nepovjerenje i neprijateljstvo između Poljaka i Nijemaca održava, kako Poljaci ne bi poželjeli slobodu zapadnog tipa. Za razliku od Madžarske i Albanije, komunističke vlasti Poljske su ipak izdavale putovnice mladim svećenicima koje su biskupi ili njihovi redovnički poglavari određivali za postdiplomski studij u Rimu, a ti svećenici su se po završetku studija vraćali u domovinu želeći nastaviti svoje religiozno poslanje ali i služiti svome narodu. Petnaestak njih bili su moje kolege na Papinskom biblijskom institutu u Rimu od 1969. do 1972. i divio sam im se s kakvim ponosom govore o svome narodu i s velikim oprezom kritiziraju komunističku vlast u svojoj zemlji.

Poljski biskupi u otvorenom pismu 1965. Nijemcima nisu samo oprostili nego su i tražili oproštenje

Za razumijevanje proročke geste poljskih biskupa potrebno je podsjetiti se na ključne događaje poljske povijesti („Short History of Poland", University of Buffalo 2000, Google, 27. 12. 2015). Poljski vladar Mieško I prihvatio je oko god. 950. vrhovništvo njemačkog cara Otona I da bi svoju zemlju zaštitio od provala drugih germanskih knezova. God 965. oženio je češku princezu Dobravu te pod njezinim utjecajem zajedno sa svojim dvorjanima uskoro prihvatio kršćanstvo latinskog obreda. Tako je Poljska, za razliku od istočnih slavenskih susjeda koji su kršćanstvo primili od misionara iz Carigrada (Rusi, Bjelorusi, Ukrajinci) ušla u krug Zapadne Europe. God. 1000. njemački kralj i car Oto III pohodio je Mieškova sina Boleslava I Hrabrog u Gnieznu, ondašnjem glavnom gradu Poljske, gdje su Poljaci i Nijemci štovali grob sv. Adallerta Praškoga (r. 956.), apostola Slavena kojemu je Boleslav dopustio da pođe misionarski djelovati među Pruse a oni su ga god. 997. ubili. Kralj Kazimir Veliki (1333-1370.) učvrstio je zemlju podizanjem dvoraca s kamenim građevinama i zidinama te pozvao Židove, koje su protjerivali neki europski vladari, a oni su pridonijeli ekonomskoj obnovi zemlje te su se i kasnije nastavljali doseljavati. Nije imao muških potomaka pa se njegova kći Jadviga udala za litvanskog kneza Vladislava Jagiela koji je time postao i kralj Poljske (1386.-1434.) i osnovao dinastiju Jagielovića. U njegovo vrijeme Pruska je pod vodstvom teutonskih vitezova provalila u Poljsku, ali su je god. 1410. porazile ujedinjene vojske Litve i Poljske. God 1493. uveden je parlament sastavljen od sejma i senata. U 16. stoljeću proširena je renesansa u Poljsku s više poštovanja za slobodu različitih, a 1573. u Varšavi je usvojen zakon o slobodi prakticiranja različitih religija. Talijanski renesansni

umjetnici dolazili su te podizali značajne građevine. Dotada su znanstvena i književna djela bila pisana na latinskom a tada je počelo razdoblje pisanja na poljskom. Nakon što je izumrla dinastija Jagielovića, kraljev nećak Sigismund III Vasa, inače sin švedskog kralja, odgojen luteranski ali kao vladar gorljivi katolik, naslijedio je švedsko i poljsko prijestolje (1566-1632.). Šveđani su ga zbog vjere skinuli sa svoga prijestolja te izvršili invaziju na Poljsku. U drugom ratu protiv Poljske (1655-58) agresori su bili pokorili svu zemlju, ali nisu uspjeli osvojiti utvrđeni samostan Jasna Gora kod Čenstohove gdje su vjernici štovali čudotvornu sliku Majke Isusove i to je pridonijelo izrastanju toga mjesta u poljsko nacionalno svetište koje je bilo posebni znak otpora u vrijeme njemačke okupacije i komunističke vladavine.

Poljaci su veoma ponosni što je njihov kralj Jan III Sobjecki odlučno pridonio da Turci ne osvoje Beč god. 1683. U 18. stoljeću stranci su diktirali Poljacima koliku vojsku smiju držati a Rusi su ih prisilili da pristanu na dolazak ruskih trupa. Grof Josip Pulaski osnovao je god. 1768. konfederaciju za otpor Rusima te je njegov sin general Kazimir četiri godine ratovao protiv okupatora. Ustanici su poraženi i Poljska je god. 1772. bila prvi puta razdijeljena među susjedne države, a Kazimir Pulaski odselio u SAD god 1777. Drugu diobu Poljske proveli su Prusi, Rusi i Austrijanci god. 1795. i tako je ostalo do svršetka Prvog svjetskog rata. Poljaci su 1830. i 1863. digli ustanak protiv Rusa koji je završio porazom. Kako su u toku 1918. Rusija i Njemačka međusobno ratovale, Poljaci su se pod vodstvom maršala Jozefa Pilsudskog oslobodili od vladavine stranaca, ali su izborenu samostalnost mogli zadržati samo 21 godinu. Nakon što je Hilterova vojska početkom rujna 1939. okupirala Poljsku, sovjetska Crvena armija okupirala je Poljsku s istoka. Kad je 1. kolovoza 1944. poljski pokret otpora počeo otvoreni ustanak protiv Nijemaca, ruska vojska ih je zaustavila tako da je ustanak trajao samo 63 dana. Oko 250.000 stanovnika Varšave bili su pobijeni a razbješnjeli Hitler naredio postavljanje dinamita pod zgrade koje su još otale čitave. U vrijeme njemačke okupacije oko 3 milijuna poljskih Židova okrutno su ubijani u koncentracionim logorima. Nacisti su slali u logore i Poljake tako da je ubijeno oko tri milijuna Poljaka, od toga šest biskupa te oko 2800 svećenika.

Nakon rata pobjednici su na konferenciji u Potsdamu (srpanj-kolovoz 1945.) odlučili pomaknuti granicu Poljske prema Rusiji na štetu Poljske a granicu prema Istočnoj Njemačkoj na crtu Odra-Nisa na štetu Njemačke tako da je oko 3,3 milijuna Nijemaca uglavnom iz pokrajine Šlezije „humano preseljeno" u Njemačku. Poljaci iz krajeva pripojenih Rusiji preseljeni su u Poljsku. Prema statistici koju je prikupio hrvatski povjesničar Ivo Banac procesu ovakvog preseljavanja podvrgnuto je oko 31 milijun ondašnjih stanovnika u Istočnoj Europi („Intervju: 70. obljetnica svršetka Drugog svjetskog rata, nažalost, u ozračju novih sukoba", *Katolički tjednik* 2015, br. 18, str. 8-11). Crkveni ljudi u Poljskoj željeli su da katolički biskupi Njemačke u svom narodu stvaraju stav kako granica na Odri i Nisi ostaje stalno, što je za Nijemce svih vjera i političkih usmjerenja god. 1965. bilo neprihvatljivo.

Na čelu s kardinalom Štefanom Wišinskim, pismo su potpisala još 33 ondašnja poljska biskupa koji su se našli u Rimu. Oni svojim „najbližim zapadnim susjedima" na početku najavljuju da će slijedeće godine slaviti sa svojim narodom tisuću godišnjicu kršćanstva kod Poljaka u nacionalnom svetištu Jasna Gora. Spominju poljskog vladara Mieška koji je primio kršćanstvo zajedno sa svojim dvorjanima god. 966. Bio je to srednji vijek kada se smatralo da je sasvim uredu ako svi državljani prihvaćaju vjeru svoga vladara. U historijske temelje kršćanstva u svome narodu poljski biskupi ubrajaju i hodočašće njemačkog cara Otona III u Gniezno zajedno s poljskim vladarom Boleslavom Hrabrim god. 1000. S vremenom se „razvio poljski stil religije, u kojem su religija i nacija usko isprepleteni i srasli jedno s drugim, sa svim pozitivnim, ali i negativnim stranama ovoga problema". Ističu kako je štovanje Majke Isusove kod Poljaka povezano sa sv. Adalbertom Praškim kojega Slaveni nazivaju Vojtjehom (bio je potomak

češke obitelji Slavnik) u Gnieznu odakle se Poljska uklapala u zapadnjačku kulturu. Vojtjeh-Adalbert studirao je teologiju u Magdeburgu, gradu s njemačkim jezikom i kulturom koji je poslužio kao uzor pri osnivanju poljskih gradova. Kako je njemački car bio zaštitinik poljskih vladara kao vazala, u Poljsku su doseljavali njemački trgovci, graditelji i umjetnici, zadržali svoja prezimena ali se prilagodili novoj sredini te se polonizirali „iz čega su Hitler i drugi s kobnim posljedicama izveli jednostavan zaključak, da su Krakov i cijela Poljska samo jedna njemačka naseobina". Poljski biskupi ističu kako imaju mnogo toga zahvaliti zapadnoj i njemačkoj kulturi. Jedan od Zapadnjaka s blagotvornim utjecajem bio je Sveti Bruno od Kverfurta (974-1009.), rodom iz Istočne Saksonije, koji je studirao u Magdeburgu te bio biskup u Poljskoj s poslanjem na misionarsko djelovanje među Slavenima, Litvancima i Prusima. Biskupi nadalje navode Sv. Hedvigu, vojvotkinju Šlezije, koju Slaveni nazivaju Jadvigom (1174-1243.). Bila je majka sedmero djece te je pozitivno utjecala na političke odluke svoga muža kao i protivnika Šlezije. Bila je dobrotvorka siromašnih tako da su je nazvali majkom zemlje. Dala je podići samostan u Trebnitzu gdje je dovršila svoj život a njezin grob i danas pohađaju njemački i poljski hodočasnici koji je štuju kao graditeljicu povjerenja između Nijemaca i Poljaka (*Brűckenheilige*). Biskupi ovdje ističu: „Najbolje mostove između naroda mogu graditi samo sveti ljudi, koji su iskreni i koji imaju čiste ruke".

Od novijih poljskih duhovnih velikana biskupi spominju franjevca Maksimilijana Kolbea (1894.-1841.) koji je u vrijeme nacističke agresije vodio katoličku izdavačku kuću, uhićen je 1941. i deportiran u Auschwitz. Kad su koncem srpnja 1941. pobjegla tri zatvorenika, zamjenik zapovjednika logora Karl Fritsch odabrao je 10 kažnjenika za smrt od gladi u podzemnom bunkeru. Jedan od tako osuđenih bio je otac obitelji Frantiszek Gajowniczek koji je kriknuo: „Jadna moja žena, jadna moja djeca!" Kolbe se javio mjesto njega i bio prihvaćen. Nakon dva tjedna ostala devetorica su umrla, a stražari su njemu dali smrtonosnu injekciju. Tijelo mu je spaljeno 15. 8. 1941. Svetim ga proglasio u Rimu papa Poljak Ivan Pavao II. 1982. godine. Biskupi nadalje navode poljski univerzitet u Krakovu koji je osnovao 1363. kralj Kazimir Veliki, a na njemu su studirali i brojni njemački znanstvenici, među kojima je bio i astronom Nikola Kopernik (1473.-1543.). Spominju i rektora ovog univerziteta Pawela Wlodkowica (1370.-1435., latinski nazvan *Paulus Vladimiri*) koji je na saboru u švicarskom gradu Konstancu (1414.-1418.) konflikt između Poljske i Njemačkog reda zvanog „križari" stavio u kontekst učenja o pravednom ratu te odbacio primjenu sile u širenju kršćanstva, ističući prirodna prava nekršćana. Pruski pripadnici ovog reda doprinijeli su da su u Poljskoj svi Nijemci dobili podrugljivi naziv „križari". Njemačku okupaciju za vrijeme drugog svjetskog rata biskupi nazivaju vremenom uništenja i istrebljenja kada je šest milijuna njihovih državljana stranu okupaciju platilo svojim životom. Svaka njihova obitelj oplakivala je god. 1965. pokojeg stradaloga a svaka njemačka uniforma bila im je sablast i prigoda za mržnju protiv Nijemaca: „Podsjećamo na ovu užasnu noć samo zbog toga kako bi nas se danas moglo razumjeti".

Priznaju da im je generacijski problem nepovjerenje prema Nijemcima kao zapadnom susjedu. Prihvaćaju da sadašnja zapadna granica Poljske na Odri i Nisi Nijemcima predstavlja gorku posljedicu posljednjeg rata, ali njima je ona pitanje opstanka. Dok odaju priznanje Nijemcima koji su se pokušali suprotstaviti nacizmu i zbog toga stradavali, ovim pismom najavljuju želju za obustavom polemike i otvaranjem dijaloga u duhu Drugog vatikanskog sabora. Na dijalog ih potiče skora proslava tisuću godina kršćanstva kod Poljaka kojom će završiti razdoblje duhovne priprave od devet godina. Mole njemačke biskupe da se sa svojim vjernicima uključe u ovu njihovu proslavu te da na to pozovu i svoje protestantske sugrađane. Zatim hrabro i ponizno izjavljuju: „U ovom svekršćanskom i istovremeno veoma ljudskom duhu pružamo vam ruke iz klupa koncila čije se zasjedanje bliži kraju, nudimo oprost i molimo za oprost. I ako vi, njemački biskupi i koncilski sudionici, bratski prihvatite ispruženu ruku, tek onda možemo mirne savjesti u Poljskoj, na potpuno kršćanski način proslaviti tisućugodišnjicu. Najsrdačnije vas pozivamo u Poljsku kako biste prisustvovali ovoj svečanosti". Biskupi su svoje pismo objavili u tisku. Kod predstavnika ondašnje Poljske pismo je naišlo na oštru osudu zbog nuđenja i traženja oproštenja, jer tobože u ime cijeloga naroda mogu opraštati samo politički predstavnici naroda. Većina katoličkih Poljaka vjernika također je osudila pismo svojih biskupa smatrajući

da Nijemci kao narod ne zaslužuju oproštenje. Slijedilo je razdoblje u kojem su biskupi svojim vjernicima i državnoj vlasti morali tumačiti što su pismom željeli iskazati.

Nadbiskup Stanislav Gandecki na svečanosti u Rimu 25. listopada 2015. u svom govoru istaknuo je kako je ovo pismo predstavilo sintezu poljske povijesti kroz tisuću godina te da je razbjesnilo boljševičku vlast koja se ponašala kao da je povijest svijeta počela njihovom revolucijom. Ono je bilo doprinos moralnoj obnovi poljskog naroda, ali se nije moglo temeljiti prvenstveno na udovoljavanju svim vidovima pravde. Jedan od potpisnika bio je nadbiskup Krakova Karol Wojtyla koji je kao papa Ivan Pavao II. u enciklici „Bog bogat milosrđem" god. 1980. pokazao da se uz pravdu narodi trebaju voditi i načelom ljubavi. Kako njemački biskupi u svom odgovoru nisu rekli da prihvaćaju na stalno gubitak teritorija Šleske koji je novom granicom pripao Poljskoj, kardinal Wyszynski napisao je god. 1970. njemačkom kardinalu J. Döpfneru „Naša toplo ispružena ruka nije bila bezrezervno prihvaćena". Trebalo je kod njemačkog naroda stvoriti raspoloženje za to, što je god. 1972. učinilo 160 javnih djelatnika Memorandumom iz Bensberga pozivajući njemačke biskupe da prihvate novu granicu između dviju država. Među potpisnicima ovoga pisma bio je i profesor Joseph Ratzinger, kasniji papa Benedikt XVI. Nakon što su dvije njemačke države (BRD i DDR) 21. prosinca 1972. potpisale tzv. Temeljni ugovor (*Grundlagenvertrag*) o međusobnom priznavanju, faktično su priznale i novu granicu između poljskog i njemačkog naroda. Nadbiskup Gandecki ističe da je pismo započelo proces pomirenja, a zoran odgovor njemačkih biskupa dolazio je u izdašnom financijskom pomaganju poljskih biskupija i redovničkih zajednica decenijima. Po njegovoj procjeni trajni plodovi pisma bili bi:

- Poštivanje zajedničkih svetaca koji su bili uzor vjere i humanog djelovanja kroz povijest;
- Povezivanje identiteta i sjećanja radi promicanja kršćanskih vrijednosti kod ovih dvaju naroda u prošlosti i sadašnjosti;
- Strpljivost i ustrajnost u izgrađivanju konsenzusa i zajedništva;
- Trajan rad na pomirenju uz međusobno opraštanje i povjerenje u Istinu.

On zaključuje: „Otkako je napisana ova *Poruka* promijenile su se stvari u svijetu i u Crkvi, uključujući i odnose među Crkvama u Poljskoj i Njemačkoj. Poljaci uživaju slobodu koju su postigli, a Njemačka jedinstvo o kojem se samo moglo sanjati pred 50 godina. Ono što je tada izgledalo nemoguće, barem u kratkom roku, postalo je stvarnost. U kontekstu jedinstva Europe, otvorene su granice među našim zemljama pa je to olakšalo i produbilo odnose među njihovim građanima na različitim razinama" (Wikimedia Commons, *President of Polish Episcopal Conference Marks Anniversary at Rome Even*t, Google, 27. 12. 2015).

Njemački biskupi istaknuli su da pismo subraće Poljaka gledaju kao znak zajedničke budućnosti kojoj se nadaju i teže

Njemački biskupi odgovorili su 5. prosinca 1965, tri dana pred završetak Drugog vatikanskog sabora. Pismo su potpisali kölnski nadbiskup i kardinal Josef Frings s kardinalima J. Döpfnerom, münhenskim nadbiskupom, L. Jägerom nadbiskupom Paderbornom i još 38 ondašnjih njemačkih biskupa koji su se našli u Rimu. Za razumijevanje njihova odgovora, evo nekoliko podataka iz povijesti njemačkog naroda. Iako se Karlo Veliki (živio od 747. do 814.) dao god. 800. okruniti za tzv. rimskog cara te nominalno vladao područjem današnje Belgije, Francuske, Njemačke, Nizozemske i Švicarske, njemačka plemena nastavila su živjeti u svojim kneževinama, vojvodstvima i gradovima kao male države. Protestantska reforma koju je pokrenuo Martin Luther (1483.-1546.) podijelila je ova plemena i narode na luterane, katolike i kalvine, što je dovelo do tridesetgodišnjeg rata u Europi (1618-1648.) s opustošenjem kakvo se može usporediti s onim iz Drugog svjetskog rata. Na westfalskom mirovnom dogovoru usvojeno je latinsko pravno načelo „Cuius regio illius religio – čije područje njegova i religija" u smislu da građansku i vjersku slobodu na određenom državnom području mogu uživati stanovnici koji prihvate vjeru dotičnog vladara. Kroz slijedeća dva stoljeća najjače njemačke države bile su Pruska na sjeveru Europe s protestantskim kraljevima te Austrija u centralnoj Europi s katoličkom dinastijom Habsburgovaca. Nakon pobjede nad Napoleonom, na bečkom kongresu europskih država god. 1815. prihvaćeno je

da njemački teritorij obuhvaća oko 40 država. U revolucijama god. 1848. ponuđeno je pruskom kralju Friedrichu Wilhelmu IV da preuzme vlast nad ujedinjenom Njemačkom, ali je on to odbio. Ujedinjenju njemačkih država odlučno je pridonio Otto Bismarck (1815.-1898.) koji je od 1862. do 1890. obavljao službu kancelara Pruske. Diplomatskim manipulacijama izazvao je rat Pruske protiv Danske, Austrije i Francuske a time i ujedinjenje Njemačke god. 1871. pod dinastijom pruskih kraljeva. Na području unutarnje politike poznat je po tzv. kulturnoj borbi (*IKulturkampf*). Dio ove borbe bio je i kancelarev napad na njemačke katoličke biskupe što su potpisali na Prvom vatikanskom saboru god. 1870. pristanak na nove katoličke dogme o papinu prvenstvu i nezabludivosti te se time navodno obvezali da će biti promicatelji stranog političkog interesa u svojoj državi. Biskupi su odgovorili teološkim tumačenjem tih vjerskih istina koje ih nikako ne vežu na političko agitiranje za papu.

Njemačko carstvo sudjelovalo je u Prvom svjetskom ratu (1914.-1918.) uz vlastiti cilj podlaganja Belgije i Poljske kao vazalnih zemalja te proširenje kolonija u Africi. Mirom u Versaillesu god. 1919. Njemačka se morala odreći nekih svojih teritorija, prihvatiti plaćanje ratnih reparacija i smanjenje broja vlastitih vojnika te skinuti cara i osnovati Weimarsku republiku. To je za sve Nijemce bio gorki poraz koji je omogućio Hitleru da obećanjima o povratku prava i dostojanstva Nijemcima bude god. 1933. izabran za kancelara i 12 godina vodi nacistički režim. Nakon poraza Hitlera 1945. Njemačka je razdijeljena u dvije države: od triju poratnih zona kojima su upravljali Amerikanci, Britanci i Francuzi organizirana je Savezna republika Njemačka s demokratskom vlašću i privremenim glavnim gradom Bonnom, a od istočne zone pod sovjetskom upravom načinjena je Demokratska republika Njemačka s komunističkim režimom. U kolovozu 1989. došlo je bez krvave revolucije do urušavanja komunističkog režima u Istočnoj Njemačkoj (*die Wende*), zatim u Mađarskoj, Poljskoj i Čehoslovačkoj i pod kraj te godine u Rumunjskoj. To je, uz vještu politiku kancelara Helmuta Kohla, omogućilo da se mirno ujedine dvije njemačke države. Kroz sve vrijeme postojanja dviju njemačkih država, Sveta Stolica nije pristupila organiziranju novih biskupija tako da je Berlin s okolicom crkveno spadao u obje njemačke države. Katolički biskupi kroz sve to vrijeme pokazivali su uklopljenost u sveopću Katoličku crkvu i solidarnost sa svojim narodom, što se zorno vidi iz njihova pisma poljskim biskupima.

Njemački biskupi na početku izjavljuju da prihvaćaju inicijativu poljske subraće s nadom da će njihov međusobni razgovor unaprijediti i učvrstiti bratstvo između poljskog i njemačkog naroda. Zatim izriču zahvalnost biskupima Francuske i Britanije što su dolaskom u Köln 1948. na proslavu jubileja u katedrali očitovali kršćansko bratstvo u Europi i obećaju da će i oni doći slijedeće godine na proslavu tisuću godišnjice kršćanstva kod Poljaka. Nadalje, prihvaćaju štovanje zajedničkih svetaca koji su blagotvorno povezivali Nijemce i Poljake kroz povijest. Slijedi ponizno priznanje zlodjela njihova naroda: „Nijemci su u ime njemačkog naroda učinili užasne stvari poljskom narodu. Znamo da se moramo nositi s posljedicama rata koje su teške i za našu zemlju. Razumijemo da je vrijeme njemačke okupacije iza sebe ostavilo bolne rane, koje i pored najbolje volje teško zarastaju… Zahvalni smo što se i pored beskrajne patnje poljskog naroda prisjećate i teške sudbine milijuna prognanih Nijemaca i izbjeglica“. Dolazeći na pitanje krivnje i molbe za oproštenje, njemački biskupi najprije podsjećaju kako svi kršćani priznaju svoju osobnu i zajedničku krivnju pred Bogom moleći Očenaš kao Isusovu molitvu: „Oprosti nam duge naše!“ Tek tada smiju kršćani moliti bližnje za oproštenje učinjenih nepravda: „Molba za oproštenje je poziv svakome kome je nanesena nepravda da ovu nepravdu vidi milostivim očima Boga i da dopusti novi početak. Ovaj početak je nadasve pod teretom gorkih posljedica rata koji je započela i izgubila Njemačka. Milijuni Poljaka su se s istoka morali preseliti u područja koja su im dodijeljena. Dobro znamo što

današnjoj Poljskoj zbog toga znače ova područja. A i milijuni Nijemaca morali su napustiti svoju domovinu u kojoj su živjeli njihovi preci".

Njemački biskupi znali su da njihovi doseljenici, koje su starosjedioci zvali prognanima, govore o pravu na domovinu u kraju odakle su otjerani. Biskupi tumače da to nije pripremanje za novu agresiju: „Njima je pri tome jasno da tamo sada raste jedna nova generacija koja upravo smatra svojom domovinom zemlju koja je bila dana njihovim očevima". Biskupi sa svojim vjernicima žele doprinositi istrebljivanju mržnje, neprijateljstva i revanšizma, kako bi svi nadišli nesretne posljedice nepravednog rata na zadovoljavajući i pravedan način: „Budite sigurni da nijedan njemački biskup ne želi ništa drugo i da neće nikada podržavati ništa drugo osim prijateljskog odnosa oba naroda u potpunoj iskrenosti i istinskom dijalogu". U zaključnom dijelu podsjećaju na iskustvo sudjelovanja na koncilu, gdje biskupima nisu odmah bili jasni predloženi tekstovi, ali su radeći zajedno dolazili do konsenzusa. Zato obećavaju nastavak dijaloga i dolazak u Čenstohovu kao i ostala poljska svetišta gdje se časte zajednički sveci jer u njima poljski narod danas moli od Boga snagu i blagoslov. S radošću ističu kako su u vrijeme koncilskih zasjedanja hodočastili u špilje Sv. Petra u Rimu te tu našli i malu kapelu Gospe Čenstohovske sa slikom Sv. Hedvige koju poljski narod gleda kao najbolji izraz kršćanske izgradnje mostova (*Brückenbau*) između Poljske i Njemačke. Spremni učiti od ove zajedničke svetice, zahvaljuju za ponuđeno oproštenje i traženje oproštenja, prihvaćaju s bratskim poštovanjem ispruženu ruku te upućuju molitvu Bogu da po zagovoru Marije, kraljice mira, „zloduh mržnje nikada više ne razdvoji naša dva naroda".

Novinar Tony Barber, u članku za *Financial Times* prigodom pedesete obljetnice ovih pisama kaže da je pismo poljskih biskupa bilo prvi korak prema prijateljstvu Poljaka i Nijemaca: „Ono, međutim, danas izgleda kao čin moralne maštovitosti kojemu je cilj bio veći nego što je razumjela većina ljudi one 1965. Pismo je prožeto nadom u ponovnu uspostavu Poljske, dovoljno hrabre da sama sebi govori mučne povijesne istine. Kroz minulih 25 godina služilo je kao impuls Poljskoj za traženje pomirenja ne samo s Nijemcima nego i s drugima, posebno Židovima i Ukrajincima". Zatim navodi pismo Aleksandra Kwasniewskog koji je kao predsjednik Poljske u srpnju 2001. objavio javnu ispriku Židovskoj zajednici Poljske za pogubljenje stotina Židova koje su počinili Poljaci u istočnom gradu Jedwabne u srpnju 1941. pod sjenom nacističke okupacije. To je omogućilo da se god. 2014. u Varšavi otvori Muzej povijesti poljskih Židova u kojem je središnja tema kulturna uloga Židova u nacionalnoj povijesti Poljske od srednjeg vijeka dalje. To pridonosi da javnost otkriva židovske elemente u povijesti Poljske i briše stereotip o Poljskoj kao rasadniku europskog antisemitizma. Ovaj novi val pridonosi pomirenju između Poljske i Ukrajine koje su jedna drugoj u prošlosti nanosile nasilja, a Poljska sada kao članica NATO i EU pridonosi zbližavanju Ukrajine s Europom.

Novinar Lauren Owens objavio je u agenciji *Polish News* 23. studenog 2015. članak o zajedničkom proglasu poljskog predsjednika Andrzeja Dude i njemačkog Joachima Gaucka prigodom proslave u Čenstohovi. Oba predsjednika ističu kako je god. 1965. postojala svijest o ratnoj traumi a kod Nijemaca se tek počela uočavati strahovitost zločina i štete što su ih počinili ne samo njemačka država nego i mnogi Nijemci. Po njihovoj procjeni bila je to hrabra gesta u vremenu hladnog rata, kada su se svi Poljaci bojali „zapadno-njemačkog revanšizma", a taj strah su namjerno raspirivale komunističke vlasti. Duda i Gauck s radošću ističu: „Mi predsjednici Poljske i Njemačke, s osjećajem beskrajne zahvalnosti, navodimo taj čin utemeljenja mirnog susjedstva. U ime naših naroda izražavamo od srca zahvalnost svima koji su slijedili stazu užlijebljenu Porukom poljskih biskupa i doprinijeli poljsko-njemačkom izmirenju… U obje zemlje Crkve su išle ispred politike u procesu zbližavanja Poljske i Njemačke, iako je vlada Zapadne Njemačke ubrzo po svojoj istočnoj politici

poduzela ono što su otpočele socijalne snage". Podsjetili su na gestu kancelara Willy Brandta god. 1972. koji je kleknuo pred spomenikom herojima varšavskog geta te na znak mira koji su izmijenili Helmut Kohl i Tadeusz Mazowiecki na Misi pomirenja u Križovi 12. studenog 1989, dva mjeseca nakon što je postavljena nekomunistička vlada u Poljskoj, tri dana nakon rušenja berlinskog zida. Predsjednici zaključuju: „Danas su Poljaci i Nijemci mnogo više nego samo dobri susjedi. Oni su partneri u istom savezu. Jedan od glavnih ciljeva postavljen pred 50 godina Porukom poljskih biskupa postao je stvarnost nakon 1989. Slobodna Poljska ponovo je članica europske obitelji."

Reis emeritus dr. M. Cerić moli biskupe da prihvaćaju muslimane koji u Europi žive stoljećima ili doseljavaju iz sigurnosnih razloga

Reis emeritus svjedoči na početku da je prihvatio inicijativu poljskog ambasadora zato što pastirsko pismo poljskih i njemačkih biskupa od prije 50 godina „budi danas osjećaj mira i prijateljstva". Rimska proslava te godišnjice je pravo vrijeme za poruku da je „bolje srce koje voli nego ono koje mrzi; da je bolja ruka koja piše lijepu riječ nego ona koja ubija". Iako je svjestan da su pomrli svi potpisnici *Poruke* iz god. 1965, on zna da nova generacija biskupa stoji na čelima crkvenih institucija Poljske i Njemačke te da oni mogu utjecati na svoje vjernike i druge građane u svojim zemljama. Zato im se obraća izravno s „Cijenjeni biskupi; Poštovani prijatelji!" Podsjeća na progon prvih muslimana u Meki koje je primio kršćanski kralj Abesinije Negus, i o tome je ostao trag u Kur'anu 5:82 koji predlaže prijateljske odnose Isusovih i Muhamedovih sljedbenika.

Svjestan da mali broj ekstremističkih muslimanskih teologa čita Kur'an uz poticanje na neprijateljstvo prema kršćanima, dr. Cerić sebe ubraja u većinu muslimana koji u svojoj svetoj knjizi vide nadahnuće za tolerantne i prijateljske odnose prema kršćanima. Ovim izravno podsjeća na Pismo muslimanskih uglednika od 24. rujna 2014. upućeno Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadiju i drugim borcima tzv. Islamske države (ISIL) koje je potpisalo 126 članova uleme iz različitih zemalja, a među njima su veliki muftija Egipta te muftija Jeruzalema i cijele Palestine. Izvornik je na arapskom ali su ga sami muslimani preveli na engleski te načinili sažetak od 24 teze razumljive onima koji nemaju stručnu muslimansku naobrazbu ili nisu muslimani. Potpisnik pod brojem 38 je „Prof. Mustafa Cerić, former Grandi Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina". Ključne teze iz ovog sažetka su jasne za muslimansku većinu u koju se s ponosom ubraja i potpisnik pod brojem 38:

- Zabranjeno je u islamu previše pojednostavljivati stvari šerijata te ignorirati prihvaćene islamske znanosti;
- U islamu je zabranjeno ubijati nevine;
- U islamu je zabranjeno ubijati izaslanike, ambasadore i diplomate pa je stoga zabranjeno ubijati novinare i pomoćne radnike;
- U islamu je zabranjeno prisilno obraćanje;
- U islamu je zabranjeno oduzimati ženama njihova prava;
- U islamu je zabranjeno donositi zakonske kazne (*hudud*) bez pridržavanja ispravnih procedura koje osiguravaju pravdu i milosrđe;
- U islamu je zabranjeno Bogu pripisivati zle čine;
- U islamu je zabranjeno proglašavati kalifat bez pristanka svih muslimana.

Oslanjajući se na K 49:13 dr. Cerić vidi u različnosti naroda i kultura Božje pripuštenje tvrdeći da nijedna vjera, nijedna nacija ne može sretno i prosperitetno živjeti u izolaciji. Gleda Europu „u specifičnom zajedništvu s islamskim svijetom prostorno, povijesno, kulturno i ekonomski". On zatim ističe: „Stoga, osjećam slobodu da vas pozovem da ne zatvaramo europska vrata ispred onih koji traže utočište kod nas, niti da podižemo zidove protiv onih koji nam dolaze zato što su im uništili dom i domovinu". Time podsjeća na stotine tisuća izbjeglica koji u naše vrijeme bježe iz Afganistana, Iraka, Sirije i nekih drugih zemalja s većinskim muslimanskim stanovništvom zbog nasilja kojima su izloženi. Iz povijesti Europe on čita kako je spremna na etiku zajedništva. Smatra da su biskupi potpisnici Pisma iz 1965. pridonijeli da Europa danas bude „kontinent mira, suživota, socijalne pravde i blagostanja za sve ljude dobre volje".

Iz tog konteksta smatra da je neobjašnjivo zašto se u Bosni dogodio Genocid protiv bošnjačkog naroda, a Bošnjaci su europski narod koji baštini tisućugodišnju tradiciju ljudske časti i dostojanstva, ljudskog prava i slobode te jedinstva u različnosti. Zahvalan papi Franji za posjet Sarajevu 6. lipnja 2015., prilikom kojega je poglavar Katoličke crkve nazvao glavni grad BiH Jeruzalemom Europe, reis emeritus poziva da se stvaraju uvjeti kako se Holokaust ni Genocid ne bi više nikada dogodili. Uz dijagnozu kako postoji strah od islama,

europski kršćani u strahu od muslimanskih migranata koji pristižu, a muslimani starosjedioci Europe u strahu od onih koji šire zlobni strah od muslimana, podsjeća kako Pisma iz 1965. odišu iskustvom straha od drugih i drugačijih. Zato u tim pismima vidi važnost za sve Europljane „koji vjeruju da su istina, pravda, mir i pomirenje vrijednosti prvoga reda". On očekuje dobrohotno prihvaćanje pisma koje zajedno s njime potpisuju ugledne bošnjačke muftije i intelektualci što se osjećaju Europljanima. Oni prihvaćaju druge Europljane i žele biti prihvaćani radi općeg dobra te poručuju kako nema potrebe strahovati od islama i muslimana koji u svome imenu nose značenje miroljubivog čovjeka. U tom duhu navodi četiri citata iz Kur'ana iz kojih je razvidno porijeklo svih ljudi od praroditelja Adama i Eve (2:35), poštovanje prema onome što je Bog objavio po Mojsiju i Isusu (2:136) te vjerničko gledanje na Isusovu Majku (3:42; 3:47; 3:45).

Završava pozivom biskupima Europe da mu se kao kršćanski vjerski poglavari pridruže u molitvi koju je više puta izgovorio za žrtve Genocida u Srebrenici, ali i na međureligijskim skupovima kod kojih je aktivno sudjelovao. Ta molitva sastavljena je od tradicijske građe iz Biblije i Kur'ana i zaista je mogu moliti vjernici triju monoteističkih religija. Meni se najviše sviđaju zazivi: „Ako nas uhvati strah od silnika, osposobi nas Mojsijevom pravdom. Ako nam se ponudi mržnja, spasi nas Isusovom ljubavlju". Ovim posljednjim zazivom podsjeća na otvoreno pismo muslimanske uleme iz Jordana i drugih zemalja papi Benediktu XVI i drugim kršćanskim poglavarima iz listopada 2007. s naslovom *Zjednička riječ za nas i vas* (tako prevedeno na bosanski te izdano u Sarajevu 2010. kao knjiga CNS-a). U tom perspektivnom dokumentu, koji su potpisali reis IZ u BiH i još neki bošnjački intelektualci, muslimanski znanstvenici temelje mogućnost dijaloga s kršćanima na Isusovu proglasu o ljubavi prema Bogu i bližnjemu kao vrhunskim etičkim vrijednostima te nalaze u Kur'anu podlogu za takvo učenje i ponašanje. Katolički odgovor na ovu ispruženu ruku muslimana bio je osnivanje Katoličko-muslimanskog foruma koji se prvi puta sastao u Rimu od 4. do 6. studenog 2008. te je i reis Cerić na njemu aktivno sudjelovao. Na kraju je sve sudionike primio u svečanu audijenciju papa Benedikt, saslušao njihove pozdrave među kojima je bio i onaj reisa Cerića te im uputio riječ podrške. Papa je predao Vijeću za međureligijski dijalog zadaću da vodi brigu o nastavku ovog dijaloga.

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U katoličkoj tradiciji postoji praksa pastirskih pisama koja upravljaju biskupi pojedine biskupije svojim vjernicima ili Biskupske konferencije u pojedinoj državi. Poljski i njemački biskupi poslužili su se god. 1965., prigodom završetka Drugog vatikanskog sabora, tim oblikom upućivanja pastirskog predlaganja jedni drugima i vlastitim vjerničkim zajednicama u njihovim narodima da doprinesu pomirenju i povjerenju među Poljacima i Nijemcima nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Oni su bili svjesni da nisu predstavnici političke ni sudske vlasti u svome narodu te da mogu samo predlagati, ne naređivati na putu pomirenja i povjerenja. Njihova proročka gesta počela je donositi plodove osobito nakon pada berlinskog zida i urušavanja komunističkih režima u zemljama Istočne i Centralne Europe. Poljski povjesničar i politolog Pawel Kowal u članku prigodom ove obljetnice nazvao je pothvat poljskih i njemačkih biskupa „Diplomacijom pastoralnih pisama" („Diplomacy of Pastoral Letters", New Eastern Europe, 18 November 2015). Ono je stvaralo klimu da poljski i ukrajinski biskupi potpišu zajednički pismo pomirenja dvaju naroda 18. lipnja 2005. te predsjednik BK Poljske nadbiskup Michalik i ruski patrijarh Kiril 17. kolovoza 2012. „Zajedničku poruku poljskom i ruskom narodu".

Reis emeritus dr. Mustafa Cerić prihvatio je ovakav oblik javnog komuniciranja te zamolio današnje europske biskupe da kod svojih vjernika i građanskih vlasti stvaraju duh otvorenosti prema muslimanima koji nisu i ne žele biti opasnost u europskim zemljama. Konstruktivno je iskoristio svoju pripadnost Islamskoj zajednici u Bosni i Hercegovini i spremnost da pridonosi čuvanju bošnjačkog etničkog i religioznog identiteta. Nadam se da će kršćani naše zemlje i drugih zemalja Europe dobrohotno prihvatiti ovu inicijativu bošnjačkih intelektualaca.

Pozdravljam inicijativu da se ova tri pisma objave na bosanskom u Sarajevu, jer kršćanski, muslimanski i drugi čitatelji mogu u ovoj knjizi naći građu za mirno življenje u Bosni i Hercegovini te drugim zemljama Europe, poštujući etnički i vjernički identitet jedni drugih u granicama zajedništva uz razlike koje nam i dalje ostaju važne.



Bischof Hengsbach – Papa Paweł VI i kardinal Bolesław Kominek



PASTIRSKO PISMO POLJSKIH BISKUPA OD 18. NOVEMBRA 1965. GODINE NJIHOVOJ DUHOVNOJ BRAĆI I ODGOVOR NJEMAČKIH BISKUPA OD 5. DECEMBRA 1965. GODINE

Velečasna braćo koncili![*1]

Dopušteno nam je časna braćo, da, prije nego što se završi zasjedanje koncila, našim najbližim zapadnim susjedima saopćimo radosnu vijest, da će sljedeće godine – u godini Gospodnjoj 1966. – Crkva Isusa Krista u Poljskoj, a sa njom i cijeli poljski narod obilježiti hiljaditu godišnjicu svog pokrštenja, a time i proslavu hiljadugodišnjice svog nacionalnog i državnog postojanja.

Ovim putem Vas pozivamo da na bratski, ali istovremeno i najsvečaniji način, uzmete učešće u crkvenim obilježavanjima milenijumske svečanosti u Poljskoj; vrhunac poljskog *Te deum laudamus* (Tebe Boga hvalimo, op.prev.) će se odigrati početkom maja 1966. godine na Jasna Gäri, kod svete Majke Božije, kraljice Poljske.

Sljedeći zapisi bi mogli poslužiti kao istorijsko, a istovremeno i kao veoma savremeno izlaganje našega milenijuma, a možda bi i uz Božiju pomoć mogli približiti naša dva naroda.

Nepobitno je da je 966. godine poljski vojvoda Mješko I (Mieszko I) pod uticajem svoje supruge Dubravke (Dombrowke), kćerke češkog kralja, zajedno sa svojim dvorjanima prihvatio sveti sakrament krštenja.

Od ovog trenutka se hrišćansko misioniranje u Poljskoj – hrišćanski apostoli su ga već generacijama ranije najavljivali u našoj zemlji – proširilo na područje cijele Poljske.

Mješkov sin i nasljednik, Boleslav Hrabri (Boleslaw Chrobry) je nastavio sa kristanizacijom, koju je započeo njegov otac i ishodio je od tadašnjeg Pape Silvestra II uspostavu vlastite poljske hijerarhije s prvom metropolom u Gnieznom i tri sufraganske biskupije u Krakovu, Breslauu, Kolbergu. Gniezno do 1821. i nadalje ostaje metropola biskupije u Breslauu. 1000. godine se tadašnji vladar Rimskog carstva, car Oto III, kao hodočasnik zajedno sa Boleslavom Hrabrim zaputio prema metalnoj škrinji svetog Vojtjeh Adalberta, koji je nekoliko godina ranije umro mučeničkom smrću među baltičkim Prusima. Dva vladara, rimski i budući kralj Poljske (neposredno prije smrti je okrunjen za kralja), su bosonogi prešli dug put do svetih mošti u Gnieznom, kojima su se potom klanjali ispunjeni velikom pobožnošću i ganutošću.

Ovo su istorijski počeci hrišćanske Poljske, a istovremeno i počeci njenog nacionalnog i državnog jedinstva. Na ovim temeljima – hrišćanskim, crkvenim, nacionalnim i državnim istovremeno – je ona nadalje 1000 godina kroz generacije izgrađivana od vladara, kraljeva, biskupa i svećenika. Simbioza između hrišćanstva, crkve i države je u Poljskoj postojala od početka i nikada zapravo nije razbijena. Vremenom je proizvela skoro pa sveopći poljski način razmišljanja: Poljsko je istovremeno i katoličko. Iz njega je nastao i poljski stil religije, u kojem su religija i nacija od početka usko isprepleteni i srasli jedno s drugim, sa svim pozitivnim, ali i negativnim stranama ovog problema.

Ovom religioznom stilu života kao glavni izražaj odvajkada pripada poljski kult Djevice Marije. Najstarije poljske crkve su posvećene Majci Božijoj (pored ostalih i Metropolitanska katedrala u Gnieznom; najstarija poljska pjesma, tako reći uspavanka poljskog naroda o Bogorodici, koja se do danas pjeva: „Bogurodzica-dziewica, Bogiem Slawiona Maryja“ (Bogorodice-Djevice Marijo). Njen nastanak tradicija povezuje sa svetim Vojtjehom, slično kao što to legenda čini s bijelim poljskim orlovima u gnijezdu Gnieznog. Ova i slične tradicije i narodne legende, koje obavijaju istorijske činjenice kao bršljan, su se tako ispreplele sa onim što je zajedničko narodu i hrišćanstvu da ih je jednostavno nemoguće rasplesti, a da pri tome ne nastane neka šteta. Oni će kasnije uticati na sva poljska kulturna dešavanja, cjelokupni poljski nacionalni i

[*1] Ovo je doslovan prijevod na bosanski jezik sa njemačkog u duhu kršćanske tradicije..

kulturni razvoj, čak štaviše oni će ga velikim dijelom i oblikovati. Prema najnovijim istorijskim podacima ovi naši počeci imaju sljedeće političko i kulturno značenje: „Susretom s carstvom Ota Velikog prije hiljadu godina desio se ulazak Poljske u latinsko hrišćanstvo, i zahvaljujući spretnoj, divljenja vrijednoj politici Mješkova I, a potom i Boleslava Hrabrog, ona je postala ravnopravan član univerzalno koncipiranog Rimskog carstva Ota III, koje je bilo usredsređeno na obuhvatanje cjelokupnog dijela svijeta koji nije pripadao Vizantiji, čime je Poljska dala odlučujući doprinos u oblikovanju istočne Evrope...“

Time je postavljen temelj i stvoreni struktura i preduslovi za dolazeće plodonosne njemačko-poljske odnose i za širenje zapadnjačke kulture.

U kasnijem razvoju istorije njemačko-poljski odnosi nažalost nisu uvijek bili plodonosni, a posljednjih vijekova su se tako reći preobrazili u jednu vrstu susjedskog „zakletog neprijateljstva“. O tome kasnije.

Priključivanje novog poljskog carstva Zapadu i to uz pomoć papinstva, kojem su se poljski kraljevi uvijek nanovo stavljali na raspolaganje, je u srednjem vijeku dovelo do žive i veoma bogate razmjene između Poljske i zapadnih naroda u svakom pogledu, osobito sa južnonjemačkim državama, ali i sa Burgundima i Flamancima, sa Italijom i kasnije sa Francuskom i Austrijom kao i sa italijanskim renesansnim državama, pri čemu je Poljska naravno kao mlađa državna tvorevina, kao najmlađa među starijom braćom hrišćanske Evrope, u početku više uzimala nego što je davala.

Između Kalisza i Krakova, poljskih kraljevskih gradova srednjeg vijeka, kao i između Bamberga, Speyera, Mainca, Praga, Kelna i Lyiona i Clairvauxa i Genta se nije razmjenjivala samo roba. Sa Zapada su stigli Benediktinci, Cistercijanci, a kasnije i prosjački redovi koji su Poljskoj, u novoj hrišćanskoj zemlji, odmah uzeli zamah; potom je u srednjem vijeku uvedeno i njemačko Magdeburško pravo, koje je uveliko poslužilo pri osnivanju poljskih gradova.U Poljsku su nagrnuli i njemački trgovci, arhitekte, umjetnici i preseljenici, od kojih se veoma veliki broj njih srodio sa poljskim narodnim obilježjima: njemačka prezimena su mogli da zadrže. U velikoj građanskoj crkvi St. Maria u Krakau-u i danas možemo vidjeti nadgrobne natpise mnogobrojnih njemačkih porodica iz srednjeg vijeka, koje su vremenom sve postale poljske, iz čega su Hitler i drugi-sa kobnim posljedicama- izveli jednostavan zaključak, da su Krakov i cijela Poljska samo jedna njemačka naseobina i da moraju biti i tretirani na taj način. – Klasični primjer njemačko-poljske saradnje je svjetski poznati kipar Veit Stoß iz Nürnberga (Wit Stwosz), koji je skoro cijeli svoj život djelovao u Krakovu; njegova tamošnja djela su sva inspirisana od ***Genius loci*** (lat. *duh/zaštinik mjesta*, op.prev.) poljskom okolinom: u Krakovu je osnovao vlastitu umjetničku školu, koja je još kroz generacije nastavila s radom i inspirisala Poljsku.

Poljaci su braću sa hrišćanskog Zapada, koji su im došli kao vjesnici istinske kulture veoma poštovali i nikada nisu prešućivali njihovo plemensko porijeklo koje nije bilo poljsko. Imamo zbilja mnogo toga zahvaliti zapadnoj i njemačkoj kulturi. Nama su sa Zapada došli i apostoli i sveci, i oni su vjerovatno ono najvrijednije što nam je poklonio Zapad.

Njihov blagoslovljen društveni uticaj osjećamo još i danas na mnogim mjestima. Među najpoznatije ubrajamo svetog Brunu od Querfurta zvanog, „biskup pustinjaka“, koji je evangelizirao slavenski i litavski sjeveroistok u dogovoru sa Boleslavom Hrabrim. Potom posebno svetu Hedvigu (Jadwiga), vojvotkinju od Šlezije, rodom iz Andechsa, suprugu poljskog kneza Heinricha Bradatog (Brodaty) od Šlezije i osnivačicu Cistercijanskog samostana u Trebnici (Trebnitz), gdje je i sahranjena. Ona je u 13. vijeku bila najveća dobročiniteljka poljskog naroda u ondašnjim zapadnim područjima piastovske Poljske, u Šleziji. Historijski je prilično sigurno da je, kako bi mogla služiti prostom poljskom narodu, čak naučila i poljski jezik. Nakon njene smrti i njenog neposrednog proglašavanja sveticom poljski i njemački narod je bez prestanka navirao u rojevima ka njenom grobu u Trzebnici – kasniji naziv Trebnitz, i na hiljade i hiljade njih to čine još i danas. Niko ne zamjera našoj velikoj

svetici što je bila njemačkog porijekla; naprotiv, ona se općenito smatra – ako zanemarimo nekoliko nacionalističkih fanatika – najboljim primjerom gradnje hrišćanskog mosta između Poljske i Njemačke -, pri tome se radujemo, kada i na njemačkoj strani prilično često čujemo isto mišljenje. Najbolje mostove između naroda mogu graditi samo sveti ljudi, samo takvi, koji su iskreni i koji imaju čiste ruke. Oni svom bratskom narodu ne žele ništa da oduzmu, bilo da se radi o jeziku ili običajima, zemlji, materijalnim dobrima; naprotiv: oni mu donose izuzetno vrijedna kulturna dobra, i obično mu daju ono najvrijednije što posjeduju: samog sebe, i time bacaju sjeme svoje sopstvene ličnosti na plodno tlo nove susjedske misionarske zemlje; ono tada po riječima Spasiteljevim rađa stostruko i to kroz generacije. Na taj način mi u Poljskoj posmatramo svetu Hedvigu od Šlezije, na taj način posmatramo i sve druge misionare i mučenike, koji su po dolasku iz zapadnih zemalja djelovali u Poljskoj na čelu sa već pomenutim apostolom i mučenikom Vojtjehom-Adalbertom iz Praga. U tome je vjerovatno i najdublja razlika između pravog hrišćanskog kulturnog misionarstva i tzv. danas s pravom neodobravanog kolonijalizma.

Kako je Poljska nakon 1200. godine glede svojih stanovnika i instutucija postajala sve više katolička, tako je dobijala i sopstvene poljske svece.

Biskupa Stanislava (Stanislaus Szeczpanowski) od Krakova, vjernika koji je otvoreno zastupao svoju vjeru i mučenika je još u 12. vijeku na oltaru ubio kralj Boleslav Odvažni. (Sam kralj je umro kao pokajnik u progonstvu u jednom samostanu u Gornjoj Austriji). Na grobu svetog Stanislava u kraljevskoj Biskupskoj crkvi od Krakova u njegovu čast nastala je maestralna pjesma, koja se danas na latinskom jeziku pjeva svugdje u Poljskoj: „Gaude mater Polonia, prole foecunda nobili...“

Tada se na nebeskom svodu pojavilo poljsko sveto trozviježđe iz porodice Odrowaz (stara porodična loza, koja je više vijekova imala svoje sjedište u Odri u Gornjoj Šleziji). Najvažniji od njih je sveti Hijacint (Hyazinth) – na poljskom se zove Jacek –, dominikanski apostol, koji je cijelu istočnu Evropu od Morave do Baltika, od Litve do Kijeva izmjerio ogromnim koracima. Njegovog rođaka, svetog Czeslawa, također dominikanca, koji je tadašnji grad Wroclaw branio od Mongola i koji je sahranjen u današnjem Wroclawu u novosagrađenoj crkvi Vojtjeh - (Adalbert) pobožni stanovnici poštuju kao zaštitnika grada, koji je 1945. godine nanovo iznikao iz ruševina. I naposljetku, u Krakovu počiva sveta Branislava (Bronisława), koja je tradicionalno sestra svetog Czeslava, norbertanka iz Šlezije.

Zvijezde na svetom nebu postaju sve brojnije: u Saczu je sveta Kunigunda, u Gnieznom Bogumil i sveta Jolanta, u Masoviji Vladislav, na kraljevskom dvoru u Krakovu sveta kraljica Jadviga, nova poljska Hedviga, koja čeka na svoje proglašenje sveticom. Kasnije im se pridružuju novi sveci i mučenici: sveti Stanislav Kostka, jezuitski početnik u Rimu, sveti Johannes Kantius, profesor na Jagiellonski Univerzitetu u Krakovu, sveti Anderas Bobola, mučenik iz istočne Poljske, koji je 1938.godine proglašen svecem i drugi sveci, sve do franjevačkog patera Maximiliana Kolbea, mučenika iz koncentracionog logora u Aušvicu, koji je svoj život dobrovoljno dao za svoju braću. Trenutno u Rimu oko 30 poljskih kandidata čeka na svoje proglašenje svetim i blaženim. Naš narod poštuje svoje svece i posmatra ih kao najplemenitiji plod, koji jedna hrišćanska zemlja može da iznjedri.

Gore navedeni poljski univerzitet u Krakovu je pored Praga bio prvi te vrste na cijelom istočnoevropskom području. Osnovan još 1363.godine od kralja Kazimira Velikog (Kazimierz Wielki); vijekovima je bio središte ne samo poljskog nego i univerzalnog evropskog kulturnog zračenja u svim pravcima, u najboljem smislu riječi. U 15. i 16. vijeku, kada šlezijske države dinastije Piast više nisu pripadala poljskom kraljevstu, u Krakovu su studirali i predavali na hiljade studenata i profesora iz Bratislavije (Breslau), Raciborca (Raciborz), Glivica (Gliwice), Glogova (Glogow), Nise (Nysa), Opole (Opole) i mnogih drugih gradova Šlezije. Njihova imena i nazivi njihovih

rodnih mjesta su upisani u starim univerzitetskim registrima na poljsko-latinskom idiomu. Tu je navedeno i ime Nikole Kopernika. Studirao je astronomiju u Krakovu kod profesora Martina Bylica. Ovaj univerzitet je iznjedrio stotine učenjaka najvišeg naučničkog ranga i darovao ih evropskoj kulturi: matematičare, fizičare, medicinare, pravnike, astronome, historičare i filozofe. Među njima se nalazi i poznati Pawel Wlodkowic, rektor na Univerzitetu u Krakovu, koji je na koncilu u Konstancu (Konstanz) otvoreno i slobodno, s najvećim učenjačkim autoritetom, poučavao o religijskoj i humanoj toleranciji, što se za tadašnje vrijeme smatralo nečuvenim, i koji je s velikom hrabrošću zastupao mišljenje: "Bezbožnički narodi istočne Evrope nisu nezaštićeni, samovolji drugih prepušteni ljudi, koji treba i smiju da budu preobraćeni ognjem i mačem. Oni imaju prirodna ljudska prava isto kao i hrišćani..."

Wlodkowic je, tako reći, bio klasičan primjer tolerantnog i liberalnog poljskog razmišljanja. Njegove teze su bile usmjerene protiv njemačkih viteških redova, tzv. „križara", koji su u to vrijeme na slavenskom sjeveru i pruskim i baltičkim državama tamošnje starosjedioce preobraćivali upravo ognjem i mačem, i koji su za evropsko hrišćanstvo i njegov simbol, krst, ali i za crkvu, u čije ime su djelovali, tokom vijekova postali užasan i veoma kompromitirajući teret. Još i danas, nakon mnogih generacija i vijekova, pojam „Krzyzak" (Križar) za svakog Poljaka označava uvrjedljivu riječ i prikazu i nažalost se od davnina veoma često identifikuje sa nijemstvom. S područja naseljavanja „križara" su kasnije proistekli oni Prusi, zbog kojih je sve njemačko u državi Poljskoj došlo na zao glas. Tokom istorijskog razvoja predstavljani su pod sljedećim imenima: onaj Albreht od Pruske, Fridrih tzv. Veliki, Bizmark i konačno Hitler kao krajnja tačka.

Na Fridriha II cijeli poljski narod je odvajkada gledao kao na osobu koja je najodgovornija za podjelu Poljske, i to nesumnjivo nije sasvim neopravdano. Sto pedeset godina je poljski narod, koji se sastojao od nekoliko miliona stanovnika, živio odvojen od tadašnjih velesila: Pruske, Rusije i Austrije, sve do 1918. godine kada krajem Prvog svjetskog rata polako uspijeva da izađe iz groba; oslabljen do krajnjih granica, izgradio je tada, suočavajući se s najvećim teškoćama, nanovo svoju suverenu egzistenciju...

Nakon kratke nezavisnosti koja je trajala oko 20 godina (1918.-1939.) poljski narod je bez sopstvene krivice zadesilo ono, što se, eufemistički rečeno, prosto naziva Drugim svjetskim ratom, na šta smo međutim mi Poljaci gledali kao na potpuno uništenje i istrebljenje. Nad našu jadnu domovinu se spustila užasno tamna noć, onakva kakvu generacijama nismo bili doživjeli. Ona se kod nas općenito naziva „vrijeme njemačke okupacije" i pod ovim imenom je ušla u poljsku istoriju. Svi smo bili nemoćni i bespomoćni. Zemlja je bila preplavljena koncentracionim logorima u kojima su dimnjaci krematorija dimili dan i noć. Preko šest miliona poljskih državljana, među njima većina onih židovskog porijekla, su ovo vrijeme okupacije morali platiti svojim životom. Vodeća poljska intelektualna klasa je jednostavno uništena. Dvije hiljade poljskih svećenika i pet biskupa (jedna četvrtina tadašnjeg episkopata) su ubijeni u logorima. Stotine svećenika i desetine hiljada civila je strijeljano početkom rata na licu mjesta (778 svećenika u diocezi Kulm). Sama dioceza u Wloctaweku je u ratu izgubila 48 posto svojih svećenika, dioceza u Kulmu 47 posto njih. Mnogi drugi su se bili iselili. Sjemeništa su ukinuta. Svaka njemačka uniforma, ne samo SS uniforma, je za Poljake postala ne samo sablasna, nego i predmet mržnje prema Nijemcima. Sve poljske porodice su oplakivale svoje žrtve. Ne želimo da nabrajamo sve, kako ne bismo ponovo otvarali još nezarasle rane. Podsjećamo na ovu užasnu noć u Poljskoj samo zbog toga kako bi nas se danas dijelom mogli razumjeti, nas same i naš današnji način razmišljanja... Pokušavamo da zaboravimo. Nadamo se da će vrijeme- veliki Božiji kairos- polako izliječiti duševne rane.

Nakon svega onoga što se desilo u prošlosti – nažalost u bliskoj prošlosti-, ne čudi da je cijeli poljski narod pod teškim pritiskom elementarne potrebe za sigurnošću i što na svog

najbližeg zapadnog susjeda još uvijek gleda s nepovjerenjem. Ovaj duševni stav je tako reći naš generacijski problem, koji će, dao Bog, uz dobru volju nestati i koji mora nestati. U teškim političkim i duševnim nevoljama naroda, u njegovoj, vijekovima dugoj rastrganosti su Katolička crkva i sveta Djevica uvijek bivali sidro za spasavanje i simbol nacionalnog jedinstva naroda, zajedno sa poljskim porodicama. U svim borbama za slobodu u vrijeme potčinjavanja Poljaci su sa ovim simbolima odlazili na barikade, bijeli orlovi na jednoj strani – Majka Božija na drugoj strani zastave. Deviza je uvijek glasila: „Za vašu i našu slobodu."

To je otprilike - prikazan sasvim općenito - hiljadugodišnji razvoj poljske istorije kulture sa posebnim osvrtom na njemačko-poljsko susjedstvo. Obostrani odnosi su još uvijek pod velikim teretom koji se povećava zbog ove osjetljive situacije među susjedima. Zapadna granica Poljske na Odri i Nisi je, kako mi to shvatamo, za Njemačku jedan veoma gorak plod iz posljednjeg rata koji je vodio uništavanju masa – zajedno sa patnjom miliona izbjeglih i prognanih Nijemaca (nastao naredbom više savezničkih pobjedničkih sila – Potsdam 1945!). veliki dio stanovništva je ove krajeve napustio iz straha od ruskog fronta i izbjegao je prema zapadu. – Za našu domovinu koja iz masovnih ubistava nije izašla kao pobjednička država, već do krajnjih granica oslabljena, to je pitanje egzistencije a ne pitanje „većeg životnog prostora"!- (ili „größeren Lebensraumes! - je bio jedan od glavnih političkih ciljeva Adolfa Hitlera, te vrlo važna stavka za nacionalsocijalističke ideologije. Služila je kao motivacija za ekspanzionističku politiku Trećeg Reicha, u svrhu stvaranja tzv. Velike Njemačke. U svojoj knjizi Mein Kampf Hitler je jasno izrazio svoj stav o tome da Nijemci trebaju životni prostor koji bi se nalazio na istoku (Drang nach Osten). op.prev.); osim ako je postojala namjera da se narod sa preko 30 miliona stanovnika ugura u uski koridor „Generalne guvernature" od 1939. do 1945. godine – bez zapadnih područja; ali i bez istočnih područja, iz kojih su od 1945. godine milioni Poljaka morali preći u „zapadna područja Potsdama". Kuda su tada uopšte trebali da odu, obzirom da je tzv. Generalna guvernatura zajedno sa glavnim gradom Varšavom bila potpuno uništena. Valovi uništenja u posljednjem ratu nisu samo jednom, kao u Njemačkoj, već od 1914. godine u više navrata prelazili preko Poljske, i to naprijed i nazad kao jahači apokalipse, i svaki put su iza sebe ostavljali ruševine, bijedu, bolest, epidemije, suze i smrt i rastuće komplekse osvete i mržnje.

Nemojte se srditi na nas zbog navedenih dešavanja iz posljednjeg poglavlja naših hiljadu godina! Ovo treba u manjoj mjeri da bude optužba, a u većoj mjeri opravdanje! Jako dobro nam je poznato da je jedan veoma veliki dio njemačkog stanovništva godinama patio pod nadljudskim pritiskom savjesti zbog nacionalnog socijalizma, poznate su nam grozne duševne patnje kojima su svojevremeno bili izloženi pravedni i odgovorni njemački biskupi, spomenuli bismo ovdje kardinale von Faulhabera, von Galena, von Preysinga. Poznati su nam mučenici „Bijele ruže", članovi pokreta otpora „20.Juli"; znamo da su mnogi laici i svećenici žrtvovali svoje živote (Lichtenberg, Metzger, Klausener i mnogu drugi). Hiljade Nijemaca su kao hrišćani i komunisti dijelili sudbinu naše poljske braće....

I pored svega, pored ove skoro beznadne, prošlošću opterećene situacije, upravo na temelju ove situacije, uzvišena braćo, mi Vam dovikujemo: Pokušajmo da zaboravimo! Bez polemike, bez daljnjeg hladnog rata, ali s početkom novog dijaloga, kakvom danas svugdje teže koncil i papa Pavao VI. Kada na obje strane postoji istinski dobra volja – a u to pak ne treba sumnjati -, onda mora da uspije i ozbiljan dijalog i da s vremenom postane plodonosan – pored svega, pored ove osjetljive situacije. Nama na ekumenskom koncilu se čini nužnim, da ovaj dijalog započnemo na biskupskom pastirskom nivou, i to bez oklijevanja, da se bolje upoznamo, da bolje upoznamo naše zajedničke narodne običaje, religijski kult i stil života, ukorijenjen u prošlosti i uslovljen upravo ovom kulturnom prošlošću.

Pokušali smo da se kroz veliku devetnicu sa cijelim poljskim narodom pripremimo za proslavu hiljadugodišnjice pod visokim patronatom Blažene Djevice Marije. Devet godina (od 1957.do 1965. god.) smo u smislu „per Mariam ad Jesum" uključivali propovjedaonicu u Poljskoj, ali i cjelokupno dušebrižništvo, u važne moderne dušebrižničke probleme i društvene zadatke : Dušebrižništvo za omladinu, društvena izgradnja u pravdi i ljubavi, opasnosti društva, istraživanje nacionalne svijesti, brak i bračni život, katekizmički zadaci i sl.

Cijeli narod je i duševno aktivno uzeo učešće u ekumenskom koncilu i to molitvom, žrtvom i pokajanjem. Tokom zasjedanja koncila u svim župama su održane mise, a sveta slika Majke Božije kao i ispovjedaonice i pričesne klupe u Częstochowi su sedmicama bile opkoljene delegacijama iz župa s područja cijele Poljske, koje su htjele da pomognu ličnom žrtvom i molitvom.

Konačno, mi smo se ove godine, posljednjoj u velikoj devetnici, svi posvetili Majci Božijoj - biskupi, svećenici, redovnici kao i svi staleži našeg vjerskog naroda. Od strašnih moralnih i društvenih opasnosti, koji su duševna prijetnja našem narodu, ali i koji ugrožavaju njegovu egzistenciju, nas može spasiti samo pomoć i milost našeg Spasitelja, a koje želimo izmoliti posredstvom Njegove majke, Blažene Djevice Marije. Predajemo Vam se puni dječijeg povjerenja. Samo tako možemo duševno postati slobodni, kao oni koji služe i koji su istovremeno slobodna djeca – da, čak kao „robovi Božji", kako to kazuje sveti Pavel.

Molimo vas, katoličke pastire njemačkog naroda, pokušajte da na vaš vlastiti način proslavite hrišćansku hiljadugodišnjicu, bilo da je to kroz molitvu ili posebnu godišnjicu spomena. Za svaku gestu ove vrste ćemo vam biti zahvalni. Molimo vas da naše pozdrave i našu zahvalu prenesete njemačkoj protestantskoj braći, koji se zajedno s nama i vama trude da iznađu rješenja za naše probleme.

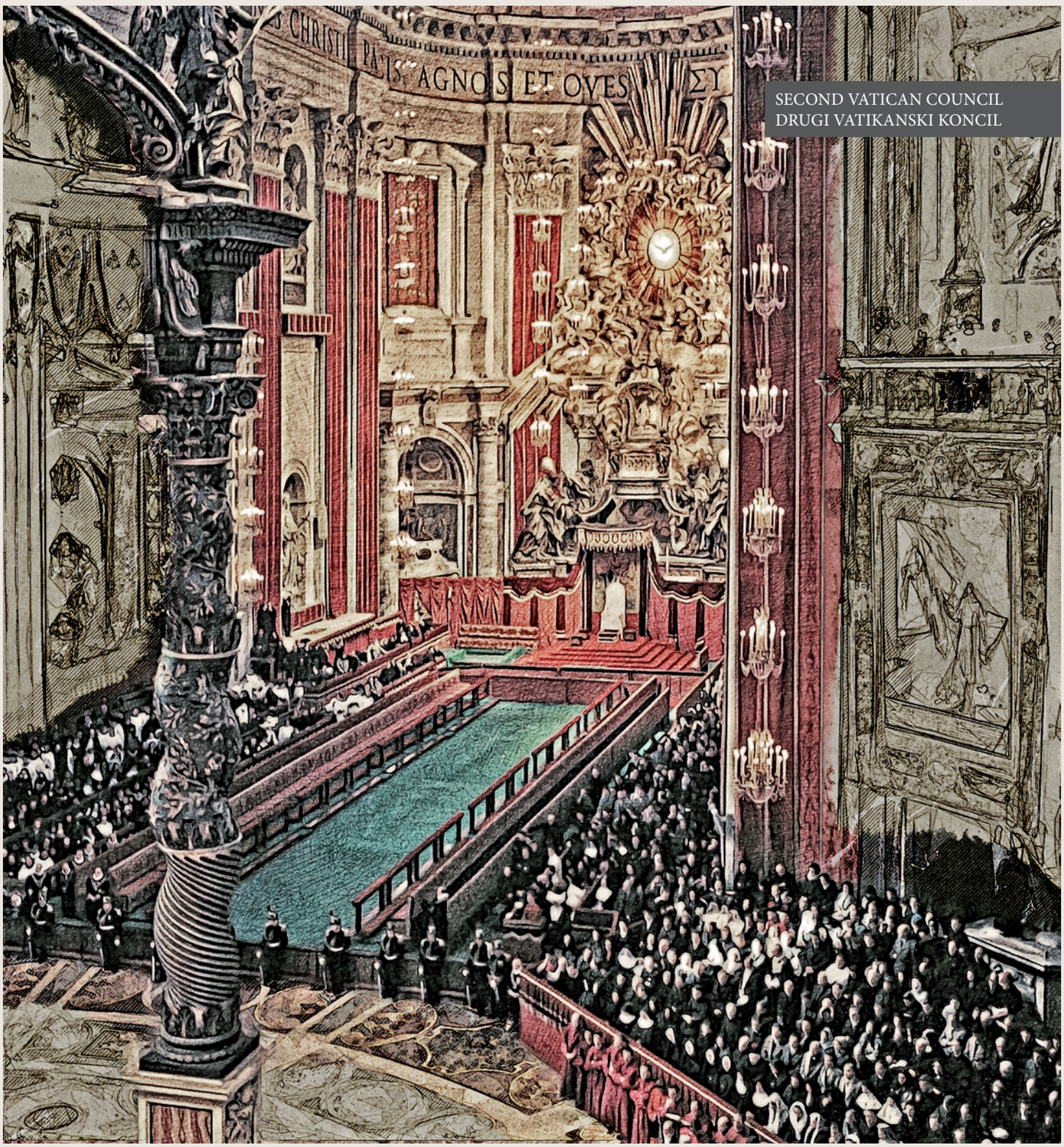
U ovom svehrišćanskom i istovremeno veoma ljudskom duhu pružamo vam ruke iz klupa koncila čije se zasjedanje bliži kraju, nudimo oprost i molimo za oprost. I ako vi, njemački biskupi i očevi koncili, bratski prihvatite ispruženu ruku, tek onda možemo mirne savjesti u Poljskoj, na potpuno hrišćanski način proslaviti hiljadugodišnjicu. Najsrdačnije vas pozivamo u Poljsku kako biste prisustvovali ovoj svečanosti.

Neka vladaju milosrdni Spasitelj i Djevica Marija, kraljica Poljske, Regina Mundi i Mater Ecclesiae.

Rim, 18.novembra 1965. godine

Potpisnici poljskog pisma:

Stefan Cardinalis Wyszyliski, Primas Poloniae Antonius Baraniak, Archiepiscopus Posnaniensis Bolesiaw Kominek, Archiepp. Tit. u Wrociawu Carolus Wojtyla, Archiepiscopus Metropolita Cracoviensis Antono Pawlowski, Episcopus Vladislaviensis Casimirus Joseph Kowalski, Episcopus Culmensis Michael Klepacz, Episcopus Lodzensis, Ord. Czestaw Falkowski, Episcopus Lomzensis Petrus Kalwa, Episcopus Lublinensis Franciscus Jop, Episcopus u Opole Herbertus Bednorz, Episcopus Coadiutor Katovicensis Stefan Barela, Episcopus Czestochoviensis Bogdan Sikorski, Episcopus Plocensis Edmund Nowicki, Episcopus Gedanensis Joannes Jaroszewicz, Admin. Apost. Kielcensis Jerzy Ablewicz, Episcopus Tarnovlensis Joseph Drzazga, Episcopus Vic. co. p. Olsztyn Stanistaw Jakiel, Vic. Cap. Przemygl Andrzej Wronka, Episcopus Auxil. u Wroclawu Venceslaus Majewski, Episcopus Auxil. Varsaviensis Georgius Stroba, Episcopus Auxil. u Gorzöwu Franciscus Jedwabski, Episcopus Auxil. u Pozriafi Julianus Groblicki, Episcopus Auxil. Cracoviensis Carolus Pgkala, Episcopus Auxil. u Tarnöwu Zygfryd Kowalski, Episcopus Auxil. Culmensis Georgius Modzelewski, Episcopus Auxil. Varsaviensis Jan Wosifiski, Episcopus Auxil. Plocensis Bogdan Bejze, Episcopus Auxil. Lodzensis Thaddaeus Szyagrzyk, Episcopus Auxil. Czestochoviensis Venceslaus Skomorucha, Episcopus Auxil. u Siedlce Jan Zargba, Episcopus Auxil. Vladislaviensis Henricus Grzondziel, Episcopus Auxil. u Opole Joseph Kurpas, Episcopus Auxil. Katovicensis Ladislaus Rubin, Episcopus Auxil. Gnesnensis Paulus Latusek, Episcopus Auxil. in Wroclaw Joannes Czerniak, Episcopus Auxil. u Gnienzno.



SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL
DRUGI VATIKANSKI KONCIL


Bischof Hengsbach
Rom, 18 November 1965
Hochwürdige Konzilsbrüder!
Es sei uns gestattet, Ehrwürdige Brüder, ehe das Konzil
sich verabschiedet, Ihnen, unseren nächsten westlichen Nachbarn,
die freudige Botschaft mitzuteilen, dass im nächsten Jahre - im
Jahre des Herrn 1966 - die Kirche Christi in Polen und mit ihr
zusammen das gesamte polnische Volk das Millenium seiner Taufe
und d djahrfeier seines nationalen und staat-
l
r aber auch zugleich
eiern des polnischen
polnischen Te Deum
la na Góra, bei der Hl.Mut-
ter nden.
als historischer und zu-
gleicl es Milleniums dienen
und vi ere beiden Völker im ge-
genseit bringen.
ndfrei fest, dass im Jahre
966 der durch Einfluss seiner Gemah-
lin, der er Dombrowka, zusammen mit sei-
nem Hofsta Herzog das heilige Sakrament

ODGOVOR NJEMAČKIH BISKUPA POLJSKIM BISKUPIMA OD 5.DECEMBRA 1965.GODINE

Prečasna braćo u biskupskoj službi!

Sganutošću i radošću smo primili Vaše pismo od 18. novembra ove godine i Vaš prijateljski poziv na svečanost povodom hiljadugodišnjice kristijanizacije poljskog naroda. Riječi koje ste nam uputili shvatamo kao skupocjen plod našeg zajedničkog koncilskog rada. Sa zahvalnošću ih prihvatamo i nadamo se da ćemo moći nastaviti zajednički dijalog, koji smo započeli u Poljskoj i Njemačkoj. Uz Božiju pomoć ovaj će razgovor unaprijediti i učvrstiti bratstvo između poljskog i njemačkog naroda.

Svjesni smo koliko je mnogim hrišćanima u Evropi nakon užasa Drugog svjetskog rata bilo teško i još uvijek jeste, da se cijelim srcem drže temeljne istine naše vjere, da smo djeca nebeskog oca i braća po Isusu Kristu. Ovo hrišćansko bratstvo je 1948. godine prilikom proslave jubileja u Katedrali u Kelnu posjetom francuskih i engleskih kardinala i biskupa našlo svoj dugo priželjkivani izraz. Neka sljedeće godine hiljadita godišnjica pokrštenja Poljske također nađe ovakav izraz.

Vašim pismom ste nas časna braćo podsjetili na to sa koliko vrpca je poljski narod već vijekovima vezan za hrišćansku Evropu i koju ulogu je odigrao u historiji ove hrišćanske Evrope – i koju će, nadamo se, i dalje da igra. Bili ste tako velikodušni da iz svih ovih vijekova prije svega i uglavnom navedete primjere, koji su kako Vašem tako i našem narodu na čast, primjere zajedničkog rada, iskrenog poštovanja, plodne razmjene i međusobnog podupiranja, iako je sve ovo moglo izgubiti na važnosti s obzirom na nepravdu i patnju s kojima je poljski narod morao da se nosi tokom istorije. Vaše podsjećanje na to kako je Poljska crkva u srednjem vijeku uprkos svim granicama imala bogatu razmjenu sa njemačkim gradovima, opštinama i redovima za nas predstavlja utješan nagovještaj zajedničke budućnosti kojoj smo se nadali i kojoj smo svim silama težili. Duboko nas dira da smo spojeni u poštovanju svete Hedvige, koja je njemačkog porijekla i koja je je pak - kako pišete - bila najveća dobročiniteljka poljskog naroda u 13. vijeku. Zahvalnost za ove svijetle strane poljsko-njemačkog odnosa tokom historije nesumnjivo dugujemo našoj zajedničkoj hrišćanskoj vjeri. Ubijeđeni smo i dijelimo Vaše mišljenje časna braćo: Ako i uprkos svim različitostima želimo biti Kristova braća, ako mi biskupi, što je na ovom koncilu postalo jasno, želimo prije svega i prvenstveno da budemo kolegij pastira,koji služe jednom Bogu naroda, i ako na taj način vodimo naše crkve, onda tama koja se nadvila nad naša dva naroda mora da izblijedi.

Nijemci su u ime njemačkog naroda učinili užasne stvari poljskom narodu. Znamo da se moramo nositi sa posljedicama rata, koje su teške i za našu zemlju. Razumijemo da je vrijeme njemačke okupacije iza sebe ostavilo bolne rane, koje i pored najbolje volje teško zarastaju. Zato smo još zahvalniji kada i pored ovih činjenica sa istinskom hrišćanskom velikodušnošću priznajete da je u vrijeme nacionalnog socijalizma jedan veliki broj njemačkog stanovništva bio pod teškim pritiskom savjesti. Zahvalni smo što se i pored miliona poljskih žrtava iz onog vremena prisjećate Nijemaca koji su se oduprli zloduhu i od kojih su neki dali svoj život. Utjeha nam je da su mnogi naši sveštenici i vjernici u onoj noći mržnje uz molitvu požrtvovano zastupali obespravljeni poljski narod i što su zarad ove hrišćanske ljubavi prihvatili zatvor i smrt. Zahvalni smo što se i pored beskrajne patnje poljskog naroda prisjećate i teške sudbine miliona prognanih Nijemaca i izbjeglica.

Obračunavanje krivice i nepravde – tu smo istog mišljenja – nam naravno ne može pomoći u prevazilaženju problema. Djeca smo zajedničkog nebeskog Oca. Sva ljudska nepravda

je u prvom redu krivica pred Bogom, njega moramo prvog moliti za oproštaj. Molitva Oče naš „oprosti nam naše grijehe!“ je usmjerena u prvom redu Njemu. Onda smijemo iskrenog srca i naše susjede moliti za oproštaj. Zaborav je ljudski. Molba za oproštaj je poziv svakome kome je nanesena nepravda da ovu nepravdu vidi milostivim očima Boga i da dopusti novi početak.

Ovaj početak je nadasve pod teretom gorkih posljedica rata, koji je započela i izgubila Njemačka. Milioni Poljaka su se sa istoka morali preseliti u područja koja su im dodijeljena. Dobro znamo šta današnjoj Poljskoj zbog toga znače ova područja. Ali i milioni Nijemaca su morali napustiti svoju domovinu u kojoj su živjeli njihovi očevi i preci. Oni zemlju nisu naseljavali kao osvajači nego su ih vijekovima pozivali domaći knezovi. S toga Vam u ljubavi i istini moramo kazati: Kada ovi Nijemci govore o „pravu na domovinu“ oni nemaju – sa nekoliko izuzetaka - agresivne namjere. Naši Šležani, stanovnici Pomeranije i Istočne Pruske time žele kazati da su s pravom živjeli u svojoj staroj domovini i da će ostati vezani za tu domovinu. Njima je pri tome jasno da tamo sada raste jedna nova generacija, koja zemlju, koja je bila data njihovim očevima, također posmatra kao svoju domovinu.

Hrišćanska ljubav pokušava da se stavi na mjesto onoga s brigama i nevoljama i na taj način prevlada napetosti i pobijedi granice. Ona želi da istrijebi zloduha mržnje, neprijateljstva i revanšizma. Na taj način će doprinijeti da sve sve strane prevaziđu nesretne ratne posljedice na zadovoljavajući i pravedan način. Budite sigurni da nijedan njemački biskup ne želi ništa drugo i da neće nikada podržavati ništa drugo osim prijateljskog odnosa oba naroda u potpunoj istini i iskrenom dijalogu.

U ovom bratstvu dobre volje može nas ohrabriti iskustvo koncila. Ni putevi koncila nisu uvijek bili shvatljivi. Cilj nije uvijek bio jasan i saglediv, a očevi su često oklijevajući stajali na raskrsnicama puteva, kada bi im uz Božiju pomoć bio pokazan put i ponekad poklonjeno iznenađujuće rješenje. Zajedno s Vama se nadamo da će Bog našim dvama narodima u budućnosti ukazati na rješenja kada mu damo dokaze naše dobre volje. Kao znak dobre volje, časna braćo, želimo da u iskrenoj zahvalnosti na Vašem pozivu kao hodočasnici dođemo na Vaše svetište Velike Gospe u Tschechonstochau i uzmemo učešće u Vašoj i radosti Vašeg cijelog naroda. Zajedno s Vama se želimo moliti na svetištima, na kojima poljski narod često, a osobito u današnjim vremenima, moli Boga za snagu i blagoslov. Obećavamo da ćemo potaknuti naše vjernike da se u dolazećem mjesecu Velike Gospe s nama i s Vama ujedine u molitvi.

Sve ćemo učiniti kako se ova veza više ne bi pokidala. 1968. godine će biti održan Njemački katolički dan u Essenu. Iste godine će biskupija Meißen proslaviti hiljadugodišnjicu svog osnivanja. Nama i našim vjernicima bi pričinilo veliku radost kada bismo ovom prilikom mogli pozdraviti i poljske biskupe. Glede naših poziva želimo zajedno s Vama nastaviti sa susretima biskupa i započetim dijalogom u svim životnim sferama naših dvaju naroda. Sve korake, koji mogu poslužiti ovom cilju, pozdravit ćemo od srca. Zbog toga ćemo se s radošu odazvati Vašoj molbi da Vaš pozdrav prenesemo našoj protestantskoj braći u Njemačkoj. Povrh toga, u našim nastojanjima za međusobnim razumijevanjem smatramo da smo jedno sa svim ljudima dobre volje.

Prečasna braćo! Koncil nas je spojio na svetom mjestu kako bismo zajedno radili i zajedno se molili. Špilje svetog Petra skrivaju malu kapelu tschenstochauerske Bogorodice. Tamo smo pronašli i sliku svete Hedvige, koju Vaš narod posebno cijeni i koju Vi smatrate „najboljim simbolom izgradnje hrišćanskog mosta između Poljske i Njemačke“.

Želimo učiti od ove velike svetice kako da se odnosimo jedni prema drugima s poštovanjem i s ljubavlju. Na kraju Vašeg pisma stoje dragocjene riječi, koje našim narodim mogu da otvore novu stranicu budućnost: „Pružamo Vam naše ruke iz klupa koncila čije se zasjedanje bliži kraju, nudimo oprost i molimo za oprost.

„Pruženu ruku prihvatamo s bratskim poštovanjem. Neka nam Bog slobode molitvom zagovora („molitva za druge“, op.prev) „regina pacis“(„kraljica slobode“, op.prev.) da, da zloduh mržnje nikada više ne razdvoji naše ruke!

Rim, 5.decembra 1965. godine

Imena njemačkih potpisnika:
Kardinal Josef Frings, nadbiskup Kelna; Kardinal Julius Döpfner, nadbiskup Minhena und Freisinga; kardinal Lorenz Jaeger, nadbiskup Paderborna; Josef Schneider, nadbiskup Bamberga; Hermann Schäufele, nadbiskup Freiburga; Alfred Bengsch, nadbiskup, biskup Berlina; Joseph Schröffer, biskup Eichstätta; Franz Hengsbach, biskup Essena; Adolf Bolte biskup Fuldae; Hermann Volk, biskup Mainca; Rudolf Graber, biskup Regensburga; Isidor Marcus Emanuel, biskup Speyera; Carl Joseph Leiprecht, biskup Rottenburga; Josef Stangl, biskup Würzburga; Wilhelm Kempf, biskup Limburga; Matthias Wehr, biskup Triera; Josef Stimpfle, biskup Augsburga; Heinrich Maria Janssen, biskup Hildesheima; Helmut Hermann Wittler, biskup Osnabrücka; Johannes Pohlschneider, biskup Aachena; Otto Spülbeck, biskup Meißena; Joseph Höffner, biskup Münstera; Gerhard Schaffran, biskup i vikar Görlitza; Heinrich Pachowiak, pomoćni biskup u Hildesheimu Walter Kampe, pomoćni biskup Limburga, Johannes von Rudloff, pomoćni biskup Hamburga; Augustinus Frotz, pomoćni biskup Kelna; Eduard Schick, pomoćni biskup Fulde; Hugo Aufderbeck, pomoćni biskup Erfurta; Joseph Buchkremer, pomoćni biskup u Aachenu; Heinrich Tenhumberg, pomoćni biskup Münstera; u privremenoj mirovini Alfons Kempf, pomoćni biskup Würzburga; Julius Angerhausen, pomoćni biskup Essena; Karl Gnädinger, pomoćni biskup Freiburga; Joseph Zimmermann, pomoćni biskup Augsburga; Carl Schmidt, pomoćni biskup Triera; Friedrich Rintelen, pomoćni biskup Magdeburga; Josephus Hiltl, pomoćni biskup Regensburga; Wilhelm Cleven, pomoćni biskup u Kelnu; Bernardus Stein, pomoćni biskup Triera; Bernhard Schräder, pomoćni biskup u Schwerinu; K Josef Maria Reuss, pomoćni biskup Mainca.

50 YEARS FROM POLISH BISHOPS LETTER TO GERMAN BROTHERS

SEEN AS INSPIRATION FOR RESOLVING TODAY'S CONFLICTS

ROME, CAMPO SANTO TEUTONICO – 10/26/2015



His Excellency Piotr **Nowina-Konopka**, Polish Ambassador to the Holy See and Dr Mustafa **Cerić**, Grand Mufty of B&H

Prijateljsko pismo bosanskog reisu-l-uleme i vrhovnog muftije (1993-2012.) dr. Mustafe CERIĆA evropskim biskupima od 26. oktobra 2015. godine pročitano u Rimu povodom pedesete godišnjice slanja pastirskog pisma poljskih biskupa od 18. novembra 1965. godine njihovoj duhovnoj braći te odgovor njemačkih biskupa od 5. decembra 1965. godine.

Mi prihvatamo vas i želimo da vi prihvatite nas...
Europa je i vaš i naš dom,
u vašem i našem miru,
u vašoj i našoj sigurnosti,
u vašem i našem prijateljstvu.

Poštovani prijatelji,

Počašćen sam pozivom Nj. E. ambasadora Piotra Nowina-Konopka da aktivno sudjelujem u činu sjećanja na povijesno pastirsko pismo koje su poljski biskupi uputili njemačkim biskupima i na njihov odgovor poljskim biskupima prije pedeset godina.

Pastirsko pismo biskupa u svakom čovjeku dobre volje budi danas osjećaj mira i prijateljstva. Zaista, ovo pismo pobuđuje iskrenu želju za pomirenjem među braćom.

Rim je pravo mjesto za ovo povijesno sjećanje.

Ali ovo nije samo pravo mjesto. Ovo je i pravo vrijeme za poticaj svima u svijetu da uzmu pouku i prime poruku iz ovog pastirskog pisma: pouku da je bolje srce koji voli nego ono koje mrzi; i poruku da je bolja ruka koja piše lijepu riječ nego ona koja ubija.

Cijenjeni biskupi,

potaknut primjerom vaše bratske i pastirske ljubavi u Evropi, osjetio sam potrebu i slobodu da vama, evropskim biskupima, napišem pismo u ime moje vjere islama, moje kulture Bošnjaka i povijesnog iskustva moje zemlje Bosne. Ovo pismo je prijateljsko. Prvo ubistvo je bilo bratoubilačko. Kabil je ubio svog brata Habila. Isāa, a.s., su prihvatili i slijedili prijatelji, njegovi učenici, apostoli. Oni nisu bili njegova braća, već su bili njegovi prijatelji po ljubavi. Dakle, ljubav prijatelja može biti jača i od ljubavi braće po krvi.

Prve muslimane u Mekki progonila su njihova braća. Utočište i zaštitu pružio im je kršćanski kralj Abesinije Negus. On je bio i ostao povijesni simbol prijateljstva između muslimana i kršćana. U tome je, vjerovatno, primordijalna tajna kur'anske pouke i poruke muslimanima: - *Zasigurno ćeš shvatiti da su (vam) najbliži prijatelji oni koji vjeruju i koji kažu: 'Mi smo kršćani', zato što među njima ima svećenika i monaha. I zato što nisu oholi.* (Kur'an, 5:82).

Poštovani prijatelji,

ovaj kur'anski opis vaše pastoralne skromnosti obavezuje me da vas poštujem i prihvatim kao prijatelje. Svjestan sam da je bilo i da će biti nekih koji čitaju Kur'an sa namjerom da se potakne na neprijateljsvo. Ja vam pišem ovo pismo u ime većine muslimana koji čitaju Kur'an i nalaze u njemu razloge za prijateljstvo. Razumjet ćete, stoga, da za mene nema snažnije motivacije od ove kur'anske da vam ponudim prijateljstvo, kao i da primim vaše.

Također, razumjet ćete da je za mene privilegija da vam se, kao jedan od onih koji su preživjeli Genocid u zemlji Bosni, obraćam sa porukom prijateljstva i pozivom na etiku zajedništva. Prošlost, u kojoj je bilo grešaka, ne možemo promijeniti, ali možemo utjecati da nam budućnost bude bolja od prošlosti u duhu zajedništva na koje nas obavezuje Božja riječ od Adema, Nuha, Ibrahima, Musāa, Isāa i Muhmmeda, a.s.

Ako je u prošlosti i bilo moguće graditi i ograđivati zidovima ekskluzivne prostore poput krišćendoma i islamdoma, danas to više nije moguće. Ne samo u Evropi, već nigdje u svijetu ni jedna vjera, ni jedna kultura, ni jedna nacija ne može biti u izolaciji. Sve vjere, kulture i nacije u svijetu su *a priori* upućene jedna na drugu i zato je nužno da se međusobno upoznaju. Tu istinu Kur'an Časni posebno naglašava: - *O ljudi, Mi vas od jednog muškarca i jedne žene stvaramo i na narode i plemena vas dijelimo da biste se međusobno upoznali. Najbolji među vama je onaj sa najdosljednijim moralom. Bog sve zna.* (Kur'an, 49:13).

Cijenjeni biskupi,

dopustite mi da kažem da naša Evropa danas nije niti na margini od središta Jerusalema i Svete Zemlje, niti je Evropa centar svijeta. Evropa je danas u zajedništvu sa samom sobom i sa cijelim svijetom. Dakako, Evropa je u specifičnom zajedništvu sa islamskim svijetom prostorno, povijesno, kulturno i ekonomski. U stvari, evropska i islamska civilizacija su sudbinski spojene poput sijamskih blizanaca. Svaki pokušaj njihovog razdvajanja izaziva bol i patnju i kod jednog i kod drugog civilizacijskog kruga. Prema tome, svi postajemo svjesni da bi nasilno razdvajanje evropske i islamske civilizacije, kao sijamskih blizanaca, dovelo do instantne smrti obje ili samo jedne. Niko ne zna koje. Zbog toga, evropska i islamska civilizacija nemaju izbor već da se međusobno upoznaju i prihvate u duhu obostranog prijateljstva, utemeljnog na svijesti o pravu svakog čovjeka na život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i čast.

Stoga osjećam slobodu da vas pozovem da ne zatvaramo evropska vrata ispred onih koji traže utočište kod nas, niti da podižemo zidove protiv onih koji nam dolaze zato što su im uništili dom i domovinu. Evropa je preživjela sve što je živ čovjek mogao preživjeti: beskrajne podjele, dugotrajne ratove, nepodnošljive patnje, bespoštedne progone... Ali, Evropa se dizala iz pepela od Vestfalije (1648.) do Maastrihta (1992.) i pokazala cijelom svijetu da je sposobna za mir i suživot, da je spremna da usvoji etiku zajedništva.

Svakako, vaša pisma, poštovani biskupi, iz 1965. godine, su uveliko pridonijeli da Evropa bude ono što danas jeste - kontinent mira, suživota, socijalne pravde i blagostanja za sve ljude dobre volje. Zato je neobjašnjivo zašto se potkraj dvadesetog stoljeća na tlu ove i ovakve Evrope u mojoj zemlji Bosni dogodio Genocid mom narodu, koji baštini hiljadugodišnju tradiciju vrijednosti na kojima počiva današnja Evropa, a to su vrijednosti ljudske časti i dostojanstva, ljudskog prava i slobode, ljudskog mira i suživota te jedinstva u različitosti.

Ako je papa Franjo rekao da je Sarajevo Jerusalem Evrope, onda Evropa ima pravo da bude ponosna da ima Sarajevo, kao što je Sarajevo ponosno što pripada otvorenoj i slobodnoj Evropi, u kojoj se "nikad više" ne smije ponoviti ni Holokaust ni Genocid.

Poštovani evropski biskupi,

očito, svi smo u strahu. Vi u Evropi ste u strahu od širenja straha od islama. A mi muslimani u Evropi smo u strahu od onih koji šire strah od nas ovdje i sada. Ako iko, onda Evropa ima iskustvo o lažnim strahovima od drugog i drugačijeg. O tome upravo govore vaša pisma, koja ste napisali da biste oslobodili sebe i druge od lažnog straha od samih sebe i od drugih i drugačijih. Zato vaša pisma imaju povijesnu važnost ne samo za vas biskupe, već za sve Evropljane, koji vjeruju da su istina, pravda, mir i pomirenje vrijednosti prvoga reda. Stoga se nadam, cijenjeni biskupi, da ćete razumjeti ovo pismo, koje potpisuju ugledni muftije, imami i muslimanski intelektualci u Evropi, kao glas razuma i spoznaje da su nam Adem i Hava zajednički otac i majka. Nije moguće da svi sve znamo jedni o drugima, ali je moguće da jedni druge prihvatimo onakvim kakvi se sami jedni drugima predstavljamo bez predrasuda i bez straha.

Mi prhvatamo vas i želimo da vi prihvatite nas bez straha i bez predrasuda.

Nije samo znanje, potrebna je i volja da prihvatimo jedni druge u duhu općeg dobra za sve nas ovdje i sada u Evropi, koja nema potrebe da bude u strahu od bilo koga i bilo čega, najmanje od islama i muslimana, koji u svom imenu nose značenje *miroljubivog čovjeka*.

Prije kraja ovoga pisma donosim vam nekoliko citata iz Kur'ana Časnog, koji govore o našem duhovnom zajedništvu i koji nas oslobađaju straha jednih od drugih:
- I Mi rekosmo: - *O Ademe, živite, ti i žena tvoja, u Džennetu i jedite u njemu koliko god želite i odakle god hoćete, ali se ovom drvetu ne približujte pa da sami sebi nepravdu nanesete!* (2:35). Recite: - *Mi vjerujemo u Boga i u ono što se objavljuje nama, i u ono što je objavljeno Ibrahimu, i Ismailu, i Ishaku, i Jakubu, i unucima, i u ono što je dato Musau i Isau, i u ono što je dato vjerovjesnicima od Gospodara njihova; mi ne pravimo nikakve razlike među njima, i mi se samo Njemu pokoravamo.* (2:136). I kada meleci rekoše: - *O Merjema, tebe je Bog odabrao i čistom stvorio, i boljom od svih žena na svijetu učinio.* (3:42). A ona reče: - *Gospodaru moj, kako ću imati dijete kad me nijedan muškarac nije ni dodirnuo? - Eto tako. Bog stvara što hoće. Kada nešto odluči, On samo za to rekne: "Budi!"- I ono bude.* (3:47). A kada meleci rekoše: - *O Merjema, Bog ti javlja radosnu vijest, Njegovom Riječju: ime će mu biti Mesih, Isa, sin Merjemin, biće viđen i na ovom i na onom svijetu i jedan od Bogu bliskih;* (3:45).

Na kraju, poštovani biskupi, pozivam vas da mi se pridružite u ovoj molitvi, koju sam više puta izgovorio na kolektivnoj dženazi u Potočarima kod Srebrenice pred dušama žrtava Genocida:

Bože Milostivi, ako mi zaboravimo Tebe, nemoj Ti zaboraviti nas;
Ako pogriješimo, podari nam snagu Ademovog (a.s.) pokajanja;
Ako nas zamrači krivovjerje, osvijetli nam put Ibrahimovim (a.s.) pravovjerjem;
Ako nas zadesi nesreća, pouči nas Nuhovoj (a.s.) lađi spasa;
Ako nas uhvati strah od silnika, osposobi nas Musaovom (a.s.) pravdom;
Ako nam se ponudi mržnja, spasi nas Isaovom (a.s.) ljubavlju;
Ako budemo protjerani iz domova naših, osnaži nas Muhammedovom (a.s.) željom za povratkom domovima našim.

U nadi da ćemo se susretati uvijek u miru i razumijevanju, primite iskrene izraze mojeg osobnog poštovanja.



dr. Mustafa CERIĆ
Reisu-l-ulema Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini
(1993-2012)

Potpisnici prijateljskog pisma:

Akademik Muhamed Filipović, predsjednik Bošnjačke akademije nauka i umjetnosti BANU; Muamer Zukorlić, muftija Sandžački; dr. Mevludin Dudić, muftija, predsjednik Mešihata Islamske zajednice u Srbiji; Akademik Mehmed A. Akšamija, redovni profesor Univerziteta u Sarajevu; Rešad Plojović, muftija u Sandžaku; Prof. dr. Suad Kurtćehajić, Fakultet političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu; Seid Smajkić, muftija mostarski; Edhem Čamdžić, muftija banjalučki; dr. Aziz ef. Hasanović, muftija zagrebački; Prof. dr. Safvet Halilović, Islamski pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Zenici; Mr. Jakub ef. Salkica , glavni imam Medžlisa Islamske zajednice Zenica; Prof. dr. Sedad Dizdarević, Islamski pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Zenici; dr. Mensur Valjevac, Islamski pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Zenici; Mr. Džemal ef. Salkić, imam, šejh Nakšibendijske tekije Pehare-Zenica; Benjamin ef. Idriz, imam u Minhenu; dr. Nedžad Grabus, muftija ljubljanski.



"DEKLARACIJA EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA"
Reisu-l-uleme Bosne i Hercegovine
Komentar

Ovaj dokument se čekao već duže vremena. Ovaj jasan zov na buđenje muslimana je prijeko potreban. Ovo je podsjetnik da je islam vjera *adla* - pravde, *ihsana* - samilosti i ravnoteže, a prije svega vjera koja potiče na potragu i primjenu *ilma* ili znanja. Napokon, znanje je druga najčešća riječ u Kur'anu nakon riječi ***Bog***.

U dobu nakon 11. septembra u kojem živimo, islam se suočava s mnogim izazovima. Ipak, ova Deklaracija koju je osmislio jedan od vodećih evropskih intelektualaca jasno ukazuje da islam posjeduje otpornost, samilost i maštu da se nosi sa ovim izazovima. Deklaraciju je napisao vodeći vjerski učenjak koje je duboko razmišljao o ovim pitanjima, a treba se ponoviti ne samo muslimanima u Evropi nego i općenito muslimanima koji žive na Zapadu – naročito onim u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i ostatku muslimanskog svijeta. Njena poruka je izuzetno važna.

Imao sam priliku upoznati autora kad je posjetio London prije deset godina i još uvijek se sjećam rečenice koju je citirao. Rekao je da je dilema muslimana na Balkanu to što Azijcima izgledaju previše evropski a da Evropljanima izgledaju previše azijski. U tom smislu to je narod koji se nalazi u sredini. Za mene je to bila savršena metafora samog islama. Dakako da je Poslanik uvijek ponavljao da su muslimani ljudi sredine. Prema tome, čestitam autoru što je ponovo postavio islam u sredinu.

Iz ovog se razloga Deklaracija, koja je više *crie de coeur* (zov srca) nego akademska teza, treba čuti. Citirat ću zadnju rečenicu da bih istakao važnost ove poruke: "Krenuti ćemo različitim putevima u životu, ali bez obzira gdje išli, nosimo djelić jedni drugih". Upravo u ovom duhu svjetske zajednice koja živi u mukama globalizacije – gdje se društva redaju, preklapaju i ponekad sukobljavaju – Deklaracija zauzima tako važno mjesto. Pročitajte je, podijelite, raspravljajte o njoj, i djelujte u njeno ime.

Ambasador Akbar Ahmed
Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies
and Visiting Fellow The Brookings Institution,
Washington DC, USA,
Januara 2006.

Reis-ul-ulema dr. Mustafa ef. Cerić

UVOD U DEKLARCIJU EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

Tragični događaji od 11. septembra 2001. god. u Njujorku, 11. marta 2004. god. u Madridu te 7. jula 2005. god. u Londonu[*1] ne ostavljaju nikog ravnodušnim. Muslimani širom svijeta su posebno šokirani što se ti teroristički napadi dovode u vezu sa islamom. Niko razuman ne može prihvatiti ubijanje nevinih ljudi u njegovo/njezno ime. Zato su muslimani najoštrije osudili terorističke napade u Njujorku, Madridu i Londonu.

[*1] Naravno, svjesni smo i drugih napada: u Rijadu 1995, Dhahranu 1996, Nairobiju i Darsalamu 1998, Jemenu 2000, Baliju 2002 i Istanbulu 2003. god., ali napadi u Njujorku, Madridu i Londonu najviše opterećuju odnose na relaciji islam-Zapad.

Međutim, neki kažu da to nije dovoljno. Muslimani moraju učiniti više od toga da bi uvjerili evropsku javnost da je njihova vjera vrijedna poštovanja i da je njihov boravak u Evropi dobrodošao.

Ostavljajući po strani one u Evropi koji se teško liječe od islamofobije bez obzira da li je bilo neprimjerenog ponašanja nekih muslimana ili nije, muslimani moraju shvatiti da opći utisak koji danas vlada u Evropi o njihovoj vjeri nije primjeren. Evropski muslimani moraju ozbiljno uzeti pitanje nasilja koje neki, navodno, provode u ime islama ne zato što neki u Evropi mrze islam i ne vole muslimane, već zato što su nasilje, teror i mržnja u ime islama pogrešni. To je protivno islamskom moralnom učenju. To je protivno muslimanskim interesima u svijetu, posebno u Evropi.

Evropski muslimani moraju uraditi program za borbu protiv nasilja u svijetu. Oni moraju jasno i nedvosmisleno objaviti cijelome svijetu da je islam nenasilna vjera, i učiti svoju djecu da pravi put do uspjeha na ovome svijetu i spasa na

drugome svijetu nije u argumentu sile, već u sili miroljubivog argumenta.

Evropski muslimani moraju izaći s jasnom deklaracijom koju treba uputiti: Evropskoj uniji, muslimanima koji žive u Evropi i Muslimanskom svijetu.

Evropska unija

Deklaracija evropskih muslimana Evropskoj uniji treba da sadrži jasnu poruku da su evropski muslimani potpuno i nedvosmisleno predani načelu vladavine prava, principima tolerancije, poštivanju ljudskih prava i demokracije, te uvjerenju da svaki čovjek ima pravo na pet bitnih vrijednosti, a to su: vrijednost života, vjere, slobode, imetka i časti.

Iskazujući svoju predanosti evropskim vrijednostima, evropski muslimani imaju pravo izraziti i svoje zahtjeve prema Evropskoj uniji, a to su:

- institucionalizacija islama u Evropi;
- ekonomski razvoj muslimanske zajednice tako da može uživati punu duhovnu i kulturnu slobodu i nezavisnost;
- razvitak islamskih škola koje će biti osposobljene da odgajaju muslimane rođene u Evropi za izazove evropskog multikulturnog društva;
- političku slobodu koja će omogućiti evropskim muslimanima da imaju legitimne predstavnike u evropskim državnim parlamentima;
- ublažavanje evropske politike o migraciji koja je u zadnje vrijeme veoma restriktivna prema muslimanima;
- otvaranje mogućnosti da se prizna muslimansko pravo u pitanjima od personalnog značaja kao što je porodično pravo;
- i zaštita evropskih muslimana od islamofobije, etničkog čišćenja, Genocida i tome slično.

Muslimani koji žive u Evropi

Jednako je važna i Deklaracija evropskih muslimana koju treba uputiti muslimanima koji žive u Evropi radi jasnog i nedvosmislenog artikuliranja njihovog prava na islamski identitet i njihovih građanskih prava. Prije svega, muslimani koji žive u Evropi moraju shvatiti da se sloboda ne poklanja. Sloboda muslimana u Evropi mora se osvojiti. I muslimansko prisustvo u Evropi treba biti priznato unatoč ksenofobičnom otporu.

Naravno, sa slobodom ide i odgovornost. Prema tome, oni koji su spremni

preuzeti odgovornost zaslužuju slobodu. Unatoč činjenici da evropski muslimani ne uživaju punu slobodu od straha i siromaštva u Evropi, ipak je primjerenije da muslimani sada preuzmu svoju odgovornost nego da traže svoju slobodu, jer preuzimajući odgovornost u evropskom ekonomskom, političkom i kulturnom životu, muslimani koji žive u Evropi će zaslužiti pravo na slobodu. Na taj način, sloboda evropskih muslimana neće biti ničija milost, već zasluženo pravo na vrijednost koju se ne može negirati, niti oduzeti.

Najvažnija izjava koju treba da sadrži Deklaracija upućena muslimanima koji žive u Evropi jeste njihova obaveza da prezentiraju islam evropskoj javnosti kao univerzalni pogled na svijet (*Weltanschauung*), a ne kao plemensku, etničku ili nacionalnu kulturu. Muslimani ne mogu očekivati od Evropljana da razumiju univerzalnu poruku islama ako su konstantno suočeni sa etničkom i nacionalnom slikom islama. Ne samo da evropski muslimani mogu privući pažnju evropske javnosti univerzalizmom islama, već je Evropa dobro mjesto za same muslimane da otkriju snagu i ljepotu univerzalnosti islama.

Treba biti pošten i priznati da je Evropa mjesto gdje su mnogi muslimani otkrili islam na jedan potpuno različit način od onoga kojeg su ponijeli od kuće zato što se u Evropi susrećemo sa muslimanima iz drugih krajeva svijeta i tako počinju da cijene raznolikost islamskog iskustva. Muslimani koji žive u Evropi imaju ne samo pravo, već i dužnost da razvijaju svoju vlastitu evropsku kulturu islama kao dokaz o trećoj interakciji između Istoka i Zapada[*2] i kao potrebu za novom renesansom koja će povesti čovječanstvo boljem i sigurnijem svijetu.

[*2] Prva interakcija dogodila se u Bagdadu u osmom, a druga u Španiji u dvanaestom stoljeću. Sada se događa treća interakcija između Istoka i Zapada (islama i Evrope) opet preko Bagdada.

Muslimanski svijet (*Ummet*)

Iako je ideja o globalizaciji dosta nejasna, njezin je odraz, prisutan gotovo na svakom mjestu u svim oblastima života: političkom, ekonomskom, kulturnom i religijskom. Ideja o globalnoj svijesti ne bi trebala biti strana muslimanima. U svojoj biti, islam je univerzalna vjera i globalni fenomen. Bilo bi potpuno primjereno da su muslimani izašli sa programom globalizacije u smislu globalne slobode i sigurnosti, jer muslimani žive gotovo na svakom mjestu zemljine kugle pa, stoga, njihova sloboda i sigurnost imaju globalni značaj.

Međutim, muslimani ne samo da nisu ponudili originalnu ideju globalizacije, već, općenito govoreći, oni ne uspijevaju uticati na globalni svijet. Muslimani nemaju globalnu strategiju; nemaju globalni mozak i globalnu glavu; nemaju

globalni kalendar koji bi ih poštedio neugodne zabune oko datuma Bajrama. Nažalost, oni danas imaju *image* prijetnje svjetskom miru i sigurnosti.

Upravo zbog tog žiga islamskog terorizma od kojeg muslimani nedužno danas pate potrebno je izaći sa Deklaracijom evropskih muslimana i uputiti je Muslimanskom svijetu s namjerom da se naglasi potreba da se globalno loša slika promijeni u globalno dobru sliku o muslimanima, posebno u vezi s njihovom vjerom.

Centar islama treba preuzeti vodstvo u osiguravanju globalnog pravca u praktičnim stvarima univerzalne vjere islama; u globalnim pitanjima našeg vremena; te u globalnom dijalogu s našim susjedima.

Ali prije predstavljanja teksta Deklaracije potrebna su neka pojašnjenja da bismo razumjeli kako muslimani razumiju Evropu, šta misle o islamu u evropskom okruženju i kakav stav imaju prema pripadnosti Muslimanskom svijetu (*Ummetu*).

I

EVROPA

Evropa nije ni *daru-l-islam* (dom islama), ali nije niti *daru-l-harb* (dom rata). Evropa je *daru-l-sulh* - **dom dogovora** ili **ugovora**.

Evropa nije *dom islama*, jer muslimani ne sačinjavaju većinu evropskog stanovništva, pa zbog toga nije moguća primjena muslimanskog prava u potpunosti. Ali Evropa nije ni *dom rata*, jer se neki pogledi muslimanskog prava mogu u njoj primjenjivati.

Prema tome, Evropa je **dom dogovora**, jer je u njoj moguće živjeti u skladu sa islamom u kontekstu društvenog dogovora (*The Social Contract*) „kao principa koje bi slobodne i racionalne osobe zainteresirane za unapređenje svojih interesa, u polaznoj poziciji jednakosti, prihvatile kao definirajuće za temeljne uvjete svoga udruživanja“*[3]

*[3] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971, str. 11.

Nije teško dokazati da je ideja o ‘dogovoru’ legitimna. Postoje mnogi doktrinarni i povijesni dokumenti koji upućuju na koncept *sulha* (mir, pomirenje, dogovor) kao suprotnost konceptu *harba* (rat, borba, sukob). Osnovna misao islama je mir s Bogom, s Njegovim Vjerovjesnikom i s vladavinom prava. *Bog poziva u Dom mira...*[*4] *A sluge Milostivog su oni koji po Zemlji mirno hodaju, a kada ih bestidnici oslove, odgovaraju ’Mir vama‘.*[*5]

[*4] Kur’an, 10:25, prijevod/inerpretacija M.C.

[*5] Kur’an, 25:63

U duhu tih kur'anskih iskaza Vjerovjesnik Muhammed, a.s., je pravio dogovore (*sulh* ili *'ahd*) sa idolopoklonicima na Hudejbijji, sa Jevrejima i kršćanima u Medini, te sa susjednim kraljevima Abesinije, Perzije i Bizantije. Četvorica prvih halifa su vjerno slijedili primjer Vjerovjesnika, kao i svi drugi pravedni vladari u muslimanskoj povijesti. Tu povijesnu činjenicu o društvenom ugovoru, kojeg je inicirala dobra volja muslimana prema drugim narodima i vjerama, na vrlo dobar način je dokumentirao dr. Muhamed Hamidullah.*[6]

*[6] Muhammad Hamidullah, *Majmuah al-Wathaiq al-Siyasiyyah li al-Ahd al-Nabawi we al-Khilafah al-Rashidah*. Dar al-Irshad, Beirut, 1389-1969.

Kao što smo rekli, nije teško dokazati valjanost teorije 'dogovora', jer slobodno se može reći da je to bitan dio opće islamske doktrine i povijesti. No, poteškoća se javlja u nedostatku pravog koncepta **Društvenog ugovora** koji bi se mogao primijeniti u kontekstu Evropskog okruženja i koji bi osigurao dostojan status islama kao načina života i muslimana kao građanina u Evropi.

Prvo, Evropu treba da shvatimo kao **dom mira** ili **dogovora**, a ne kao **dom rata** ili **sukoba**.

Drugo, treba da znamo koja su to pitanja koja se mogu uključiti u okvir ugovora sa Evropom.

I, treće, treba da napravimo koncept organizacije ili institucije koja može predstavljati islam kao globalnu religiju i muslimane kao građane Evrope.

Treba razlikovati pojam *dogovora* od pojma *zavjet*. Naime, *dogovor* ljudi nije zakon prirode, već diktat razuma, dok je *zavjet* volja srca/vjere.

Prema tome, mi definiramo **muslimana** kao čovjeka koji je vjeran Bogu kao čin volje njegove vjere/srca, tj., musliman je čovjek *zavjeta Bogu* (*mithaq*); a **građanin** je čovjek koji ima dogovor o dužnosti državi kao čin diktata njegovog razuma, što je njegov *sulh* (*pristanak na mirovnu suradnju*). *Zavjetom* čovjek daje svoje srce Bogu i dobiva unutarnji mir; dogovorom čovjek daje svoj razum državi i dobiva društveni mir kao stanovnik mjesta ili grada. Građanin ima prava i privilegije slobodnog čovjeka; on je član države, rođena ili naturalizirana osoba koja duguje lojalnost državi, a od nje ima pravo na zaštitu svog života, svoje vjere i slobode, te svog imetka i svoje časti.

Evropa kao "**Dom dogovora**" otvara put za iskreni dijalog (*hiwar*) ne samo sa kršćanima kao takvim, već i sa evropskim (ili zapadnim) društvom u cjelini: *Na put Gospodra svoga mudro i lijepim savjetom pozivaj i s njima na najljepši način raspravljaj...!* *[7]

*[7] Kur'an, 16:125.

To kur'ansko načelo pretpostavlja da dijalog među vjerama i kulturama bude kontekstualan, jednakopravan i punoznačan. On mora bit naučan, objektivan i sadržajan. No, da bi se postigla ta razina diskursa s Evropom, mora se razumjeti njezina suvremena filozofija, kultura i politika. Treba znati da se evropska filozofija temelji na logici racionalizma i eksperimentalne znanosti, da se njezina kultura uglavnom izvodi iz tradicije kršćanstva, te da je njezina politika utemeljena na ideji o preživljavanju najvještijeg, najsnalažljivijeg ili najpodobnijeg - *the survival of the fittest*.

Dakako, razumijevanje ne znači i prihvatanje. Naprotiv, nerazumijevanje nekih stvari vodi prihvatanju onoga što bi trebalo odbaciti duhom *zavjeta*, kao i odbacivanju stvari koje treba prihvatiti silom *dogovora*.

Nadalje, neupućenost u zbiljnost evropskog društva u njegovim različitim dimenzijama, čini muslimane nesposobnim da razlikuju dobre od loših i korisne od štetnih evropskih proizvoda koji su im dostupni za upotrebu. Vjerujem da Evropa (ili Zapad općenito) posjeduje više znanja o muslimanima nego li volje da ih prihvati, dok muslimani imaju manje znanja o Evropi, nego li spremnosti da je prihvate. To je osnovna razlika između evropskog pristupa islamu i muslimanskog pristupa Evropi - evropski nedostatak volje da prihvati muslimane onakve kakvi jesu i muslimanski nedostatak znanja o Evropi onakva kakva jeste. Evropa je spremna da tolerira islam u svom domu, ali nije spremna prihvatiti muslimane u svom političkom, društvenom i kulturnom životu. Na drugoj strani, muslimani su spremni prihvatiti Evropu onakvu kakva jeste, ali ne čine dovoljno da uvećaju svoje znanje o evropskom političkom, društvenom i kulturnom okruženju što bi moglo promijeniti njihov položaj u evropskom društvu.

Ako prihvatimo "**Dom dogovora**" kao naš koncept za Evropu u smislu istinskog muslimana kao dobrog građanina Evrope, onda treba da označimo pitanja koja nas se tiču kako bi koncept bio praktičan. Treba da znamo koja su to pitanja koja prave tenzije između muslimanstva i statusa građanina Evrope. Jesu li ona politička ili ekonomska; kulturna ili religijska? Mislim da je ispravno reći da su pitanja sve to.

Politički, muslimani moraju znati što su njihova ljudska prava u smislu predstavljanja svoje zajednice. Moraju insistirati na uklanjanju predrasuda o islamu u evropskoj javnosti što su ih kreirali pristrani mediji i što ih podržavaju neki politički krugovi. Mislim na predrasude koje izazivaju anti-islamsko osjećanje što je posljedica političke netolerancije i rasističke mržnje.

Moramo poučiti Evropu da prihvati naše vrijednosti i da cijeni znoj muslimanskih radnika i intelektualaca u izgradnji napredne i slobodne Evrope. Nije samo

povijesno da Evropa duguje muslimanima za svoju slobodu i napredak, već i suvremeni muslimanski doprinos daje nam pravo da kažemo da nam Evropa mnogo duguje. Ekonomski, moramo zahtijevati jednaku priliku za ekonomski rast muslimanske zajednice u Evropi.

Naravno, ekonomska pitanja su veoma povezana sa pitanjem obrazovanja što mora biti naša najveća briga. U širem smislu, riječ 'edukacija' znači ukupnost utjecaja što priroda ili drugi ljudi mogu provoditi na našu inteligenciju ili našu volju. Edukacija uključuje ono što mi sami radimo i sve ono što drugi rade za nas. Ona uključuje čak i neposredne učinke na karakter i moć ljudi što ih proizvode stvari koje imaju sasvim drugu namjeru: zakon, oblici vladavine, industrijski proizvodi, pa čak i prirodne pojave, neovisno o ljudskoj volji, kao što su klima, tlo i lokacija.*[8]

*[8] *Vidi*: Emile Durkheim, ***Education and Sociology***, The Free Press, New York, 1956, str. 61.

Rečena definicija edukacije podsjeća nas na činjenicu da moramo znati: prvo, koje su to stvari koje treba da mi uradimo da bismo mogli provoditi utjecaj na inteligenciju i volju naše djece; drugo, moramo biti svjesni stvari koje drugi čine da utječu na karakter i moć naše djece; treće, moramo biti upućeni u zakone i oblike evropskih vlada koje neposredno oblikuju svijest naše djece; i četvrto, moramo prepoznati prirodne karakteristike Evrope tako da možemo cijeniti ekonomske i kulturne potrebe muslimanske zajednice u Evropi. Jer, prije nego tražimo od drugih da urade posao za nas, sami moramo uraditi svoj dio posla u odgoju i obrazovanju. Moramo napraviti sveobuhvatan odgojno-obrazovni program koji treba da bude utemeljen na fundamentalnim načelima naše vjere kao čin naše volje, kao i na fundamentalnim pravima i dužnostima kao građana u Evropi, kao čin našeg razuma. Upravo u pomirenju ta dva zahtjeva, ja vidim potrebu razvijanja koncepta *Daru-l-sulha* (dom društvenog dogovora) kojeg treba primijeniti u Evropi.

Što se tiče vjerskih pitanja, ona su umnogome ovisna o spomenutim pitanjima politike, ekonomije i kulture. Naša vjera je naš način života. Zato vjerska pitanja ne mogu biti izolirana od života. Izgradnja džamije u Evropi jest vjersko pitanje, ali se ne može riješiti bez političke volje evropskih vlada; ne može se održavati bez ekonomske moći muslimana; i ne može služiti svojoj svrsi bez odgovarajućih odgojno-obrazovnih institucija.

Muslimanska pitanja u Evropi ne treba svoditi isključivo na vjerska. Njih treba proširiti i na društvena pitanja. Našu vjeru treba tretirati kao prirodnu i legalnu stvar kao i svaku drugu vjeru u Evropi sukladno slobodi savjesti čovjeka.

Nažalost, islam još nije naturaliziran u Evropi. On još uvijek ima status stranca ili specijalni status po kojem se islam tolerira, ali ne prihvata kao jednakovrijedan predstavnik opće evropske duhovne baštine unatoč činjenici što je islam danas druga religija odmah do kršćanstva u mnogim evropskim zemljama.

Danas su evropski muslimani suočeni sa mnogim poteškoćama u očuvanju svog identiteta zbog nedostatka volje kod nekih evropskih vlada da reguliraju njihove vjerske potrebe i građanska prva. Od njih se očekuje da se integriraju u evropsko društvo i po cijenu da izgube svoj muslimanski identitet. Vrlo često iz evropskih medija stječe se dojam da musliman, da bi bio dobar građanin Evrope, treba da se odrekne svoga islamskog porijekla ili će se suočiti sa optužbom za sve što učini neki musliman bilo kada i bilo gdje u svijetu kao svojom vlastitom krivnjom.

Upravo zbog takvog dojma, muslimanska pitanja u Evropi nisu samo vjerska u smislu etičke ili moralne osobnosti muslimana pojedinca, već su ona u mnogim slučajevima previše politička do te mjere da muslimani stalno žive pod pritiskom straha i neizvjesnosti. Zbog toga, islam se mora depolitizirati u smislu univerzalne religije koja ima za cilj da svoje sljedbenike poučava dobrom ponašanju u globalnom društvu. To, naravno, ne znači da muslimani ne treba da budu dobro obaviješteni o politici globalnog društva. Naprotiv, muslimani treba da budu dobro upoznati sa globalnom politikom da bi bili sposobni da spasu svoju vjeru od loše politizacije.

Nakon svega što smo rekli, dolazimo do najvažnijeg pitanja islama u Evropi, tj. pitanja predstavljanja i institucije. Prvo treba znati da danas u Evropi živi otprilike trideset miliona muslimana. Oni predstavljaju tri različite skupine: 1) autohtonu; 2) useljeničku; i 3) rođenu. Pod autohtonom skupinom podrazumijevamo one muslimane koji imaju dugu povijesnu pozadinu u Evropi kao što su muslimani Bosne, Albanije, Kosova, Makedonije, Bugarske itd.; pod skupinom useljenika smatramo one muslimane koji su se uselili u Evropu bilo kao studenti ili kao radnici i stalno se nastanili uglavnom u Engleskoj, Njemačkoj i Francuskoj; i, na karaju, skupinu rođenih muslimana sačinjavaju djeca roditelja muslimana koji su se uselili u Evropu i rođeni Evropljani koji su prihvatili islam kao svoju vjeru. Svim ovim skupinama islam je zajednička stvar. One se, međutim, razlikuju po svom iskustvu i životnom očekivanju. Autohtoni muslimani nose na svojim leđima veliko povijesno breme i očekuju da budu podržani u očuvanju svoga vjerskog i kulturnog kontinuiteta u Evropi; muslimani useljenici čine napor da ustanove svoje prisustvo i očekuju da prevaziđu status stranca u Evropi; muslimani koji su rođeni u Evropi u stalnoj su borbi da sačuvaju svoj islamski identitet u

izazovnom evropskom političkom, ekonomskom i kulturnom okruženju i očekuju da im se ponudi neko rješenje kako se ne bi stidjeli što su muslimani, niti što su rođeni u Evropi.

Šta treba učiniti da zajednička vrijednost islama postane zajedničko uporište svih muslimana u Evropi. Smatram da je došlo vrijeme da se ozbiljno razmotri način institucionalizacije prisustva islama kao univerzalne religije i muslimana kao globalnih građana. Nadam se da je svima jasno da je volontersko predstavljanje islama u Evropi štetno kako za muslimanski dignitet tako i za evropski mir i sigurnost. Nije dovoljno da Evropa prizna prisustvo islama na svome tlu. Muslimani zaslužuju više od toga. Oni zaslužuju da njihovo prisustvo bude legalizirano u smislu uspostave političke i ekonomske klime u kojoj evropski muslimani mogu predstavljati sami sebe kroz institucije koje treba da imaju i državnu potporu i javno prihvatanje. Za muslimane je veoma uvredljivo insistiranje nekih evropskih medija na predstavljanju islama kroz sliku terorista.

II

ISLAM

Postoji mnogo razloga zašto je pitanje statusa islama u Evropi od najveće važnosti. Percepcija da je u svome samorazumijevanju Evropa kršćanski kontinent nije tačna. Historijska je činjenica da su tokom mnogih stoljeća u Evropi živjeli ne samo muslimani već i Jevreji. I jedni i drugi su dali značajan doprinos evropskom životu i kulturi. Međutim, prodor islama na Balkan i Iberijski poluotok ostavio je gorka sjećanja patnje i mržnje. Iako imaju različite historije, i muslimanske i jevrejske zajednice su bile podvrgnute diskriminaciji i nasilnim progonima sve do naših dana.

Nažalost, ni sami muslimani nisu uvijek bili kadri svoj slučaj prezentirati na način koji je i razumljiv i prihvatljiv za evropsku javnost.

Ponekad se islam predstavlja na tako sofisticiran i akademski kompliciran način da ga um običnih ljudi teško može shvatiti. A ponekad opet islam se predstavlja na tako brutalno pojednostavljen način da ne dotiče srca dobronamjernih ljudi.

Poteškoće sa jasnim poimanjem islama i pomanjkanjem orijentacije za muslimane koji žive u Evropi stvaraju nepotrebne nesporazume i nepovjerenje između islama i Evrope koji često dovode do gorkih osjećanja. Ipak, budućnost Evrope je u mnoštvu religija, uključujući i islam. Stoga, što prije shvatimo hitnu

potrebu za prevazilaženjem historije sukobljavanja bolje će biti i za Evropu i za islam.

U svom poimanju muslimani moraju dati adekvatno mjesto evropskoj historiji a Evropljani moraju shvatiti da islam ima svoju historiju u Evropi te uzeti u obzir činjenicu da mnoge evropske zemlje imaju značajnu muslimansku populaciju. Ovo je posebno hitno s obzirom da se postojeće predrasude protiv islama pothranjuju mješavinom političkih događaja, kulturnih razlika i aktivnog neznanja.

Uz to, trebamo znati da vjera nije samo apstraktna ideja ili jednostavno vjerovanje. Vjera je jedan od vrlo važnih konkretnih faktora koji oblikuju identitet živih ljudi, kako pojedinaca tako i grupa. Prema tome, naša je obaveza naći načina da iskoristimo potencijale vjera da motiviramo vjernike da se bore za mir, pravdu i toleranciju u svakodnevnim životnim situacijama.

Već duže vrijeme islam je u fokusu kako na Istoku*9 tako i na Zapadu*10. Na Istoku islam je središte atrakcije a na Zapadu islam je opasna pojava.

*9 Pod pojmom ***Istok*** ovdje se misli na područja gdje dominira vjera i kultura islama, posebno na Srednjem istoku gdje su većina islamskih zemalja.

*10 Pojam ***Zapad*** ovdje označava područja ili zemlje Evrope i Amerike.

Istok vjeruje da je islam rješenje a Zapad misli da je islam problem. Na Istoku ljudi tvrde da brane islam od neprijatelja, dok na Zapadu ljudi misle da islam prijeti njihovom načinu života. Dakle, islam je postao magična riječ na Istoku i velika zagonetka na Zapadu.

I, doista, jedan od najvećih izazova našega doba jeste: Kako shvatiti magičnu riječ sa Istoka i kako odgonetnuti zagonetku s kojom se suočava Zapad?

Nije prvi puta u povijesti da Zapad ne shvata mističnost Istoka, i obratno, da Istok ne razumije logiku Zapada. Na primjer, Aleksandar Veliki je mogao postati budući vladar Azije na Istoku pod uvjetom da je mogao odvezati Gordijev čvor strpljenjem, a ne sabljom. I kralj Granade u Španiji, Hasan bin Ismail, mogao je izgraditi još mnogo Alhambri u Evropi, pod uvjetom da je poštovao različitosti evropskog vjerskog i kulturnog života kao što su to stoljećima poštovali njegovi prethodnici.

Nadalje, Evropi je trebalo dugo vremena da prihvati filozofski duh velikog filozofa Ibni Rušda (Averroës), dok je knjiga *Duh zakona* od Monteskjea dugo čekala da bude ozbiljno studirana na Istoku.

Ti historijski primjeri jasno pokazuju činjenicu da su Istok i Zapad uvijek bili u procesu dijalektičke interakcije koja je često pomagala da se promijeni historijski put prema boljim uvjetima za čovječanstvo.

Prva historijska interakcija između Istoka i Zapada desila se u Bagdadu a druga u Andaluziji (Španiji). U Bagdadu je muslimanski halifa Me'mûn okupio umove Istoka i Zapada da prevedu ljudsku mudrost toga vremena. U Andaluziji su zapadni intelektualci dolazili na muslimanske univerzitete kako bi studirali humanističke znanosti što je rezultiralo evropskim humanizmom i renesansom. Vjerujem da smo sada na pragu treće historijske interakcije između Istoka i Zapada koja ponovo ima veze sa fenomenom Bagdada.

Naravno, nije uvijek bilo lahko Zapadu da razumije duh Istoka niti je Istoku bilo lahko da prihvati razum Zapada, ali, na kraju, Zapad nije imao izbora već da prihvati Ademovu (Adamovu), Nuhovu (Noevu), Ibrahimovu (Abrahamovu), Musaovu (Mojsijevu) Isaovu (Isusovu) i Muhammedovu (a.s.) vjeru koja je došla sa Istoka, niti je Istok mogao izbjeći put od sile do prava, od mitologije do znanosti, od ropstva do slobode, i od teorije do legitimnosti države, koji je došao sa Zapada.

Međutim, današnje dijalektičke tenzije između Istoka i Zapada su drugačije od historijskih primjera koje smo spomenuli. Zapad nije više ono što je nekad bio: nekomunističke zemlje Evrope i Amerike, kao što ni Istok nije više zona komunističkih zemalja Sovjetskog Saveza. Zapad sada vidi sebe kao ne-islamske zemlje Evrope i Amerike, a Istok se, na neki način, definira kao muslimanske zemlje Srednjeg Istoka ili ne-kršćanske zemlje ne-zapadnih vrijednosti. Najbolji primjer za to je Turska koja je nekršćanska i, zato, ne može postati članica Evropske unije.

Uz to, postoji shvatanje kod jednog broja intelektualaca na Zapadu da je islam danas ono što je jučer bio komunizam: velika prepreka, čak, stvarna prijetnja zapadnom načinu života i civilizacije. Neki ljudi na Zapadu vjeruju da je dijalog između Islama i Zapada gubljenje vremena pa je, stoga, jedini način odnosa Zapada sa islamom i muslimanima argument sile, a ne sila argumenta.

Na drugoj strani, postoje ljudi na Istoku koji vjeruju da je Zapad stari neprijatelj islama i zato muslimani treba da se bore protiv Zapada. Oni misle da ne može biti nikakvog dijaloga između islama i Zapada. Prema njihovoj logici postoji samo dijalektika suprotnosti između ta dva svijeta.

Naša poteškoća u suočavanju sa takvim mišljenjima sastoji se u činjenici da oni koji promiču ideju o vjerskom i kulturnom konfliktu uzimaju islam kao polaznu tačku za ideju o sukobu civilizacija. Oni, međutim, zaboravljaju da islam nije komunizam i da muslimanski svijet nije Sovjetski Savez.

Islam je način života koji je prilagodljiv zdravom razumu i ljudskom dostojanstvu kako na Zapadu tako i na Istoku. A muslimanski svijet je velika

raznolikost naroda i kultura koje ujedinjuje ideja o ljudskom bratstvu kako na Istoku tako i na Zapadu.

Ovo dosad kazano tjera nas da vjerujemo da je islam žrtva i Istoka i Zapada. Zašto?

Prvo, zato što je Istok isuviše slab da ostvari ideale slobode, demokratije i ljudskih prava, a Zapad je isuviše arogantan da prepozna ozbiljnost moralnih vrijednosti u islamu. I, drugo, islam je žrtva Istoka i Zapada zato što je Istok isuviše skučen da dopusti da univerzalna ideja islama nadvlada plemenski mentalitet, a Zapad je, opet, isuviše ksenofobičan da prihvati činjenicu da je islam tu u njegovom komšiluku.

Nažalost, ekstremna mišljenja nekih ljudi, kako na Istoku tako i na Zapadu, reduciraju islam prema svom izgledu i na taj način guše islam kao vjeru slobode izbora dobra (arapski *ihtijar* sloboda izbora dobra nasuprot slobode izbora zla) i muslimane kao ljude koji vole slobodu. Oni, međutim, zaboravljaju da islam nije moguće reducirati ni na jednu rasu, boju ili naciju. I, naravno, oni zaboravljaju da su muslimani, doista, dorasli da im Bog dadne slobodu, da zaslužuju istinsku demokratiju i da su njihova ljudska prava legitimna.

Ne, to nije istina. Islam nije nikad bio razlog za suspenziju slobode. Naprotiv, islam je poučio cijelo čovječanstvo da nema prisile u vjeri (*La ikrahe fi el-dini*), t.j., vjera ima smisla sama ako je čovjek prihvata u slobodi, jer laž nije moguće nametnuti a istini ne treba sila.

Još jednom, islam se upotrebljava ili zloupotrebljava kako na Istoku tako i na Zapadu. Zašto?

Prvo, zato što Istok tvrdi da brani islam, ali, u stvari, Istok upotrebljava ili zloupotrebljava islam da bi sakrio svoje slabosti. Tako dolazimo do gorke istine a to je da islam brani muslimane više nego što muslimani brane islam. Na drugoj strani, Zapad upotrebljava (ili zloupotrebljava) islam da bi pokazao zapadnoj publici da je neprijatelj pronađen te da cijeli svijet treba vjerovati zapadnim junacima koji tragaju za oružjem za masovno uništavanje.

I, drugo, islam se upotrebljava i zloupotrebljava na Istoku i na Zapadu i stoga da se pokaže da je islam, kao način života više od milijardu ljudi širom svijeta, prepreka na putu boljeg odnosa između Istoka i Zapada. Ljudi na Istoku koji vjeruju da ne može biti dijaloga sa Zapadom kažu da je Zapad đavo, pa stoga, oni koji žive sa đavolom osuđeni su na pakao. Kao dokaz za to oni se pozivaju na islam.

Slično, neki ljudi na Zapadu koji vjeruju da islam, kao ideja koja je došla sa Orijenta, nije prilagodljiva Okcidentu samo zato što je orijentalna ideja. Oni,

međutim, neće da znaju da je zahvaljujući ideji islama njihova vlastita kulturna baština spašena, kao što je i njihova vjera osnažena kur'anskom potvrdom validnosti Božijih knjiga kao što su Tevrat i Indžil. Tako, ljudi na Zapadu, koji se teško liječe od bolesti ksenofobije, upotrebljavaju islam da bi širili islamofobiju na Zapadu.

Zbog toga, više nego ikad ranije, danas postoji potreba da kažemo da je islam iznad Istoka i Zapada. Zašto?

Prvo, zato što je islam istodobno i vjera i religija; kultura i politika; narod i zemlja; Istok i Zapad. To dvostruko značenje islama je neodvojivo od njegovog punog značenja, jer islam je iskreno uvjerenje u srcu pojedinca i prepoznatljiva religija u kolektivnoj svijesti; islam je jedinstvena kultura u svijetu i realna globalna politika; islam je veliki broj ljudi u svijetu i prostrana zemlja u srcu planete Zemlje; islam je neizbrisivi pečat na Istoku i neupitno prisustvo na Zapadu.

Drugo, islam je iznad Istoka i Zapada zato što se u Kur'anu Časnom jasno kaže:

Nije prava vjera da svoje lice okrenete prema istoku i zapadu, već je prava vjera da vjerujete u Boga, u dan polaganja računa, u meleke, u knjigu i u Allahove vjerovjesnike.

Prava vjera je, također, da trošite svoj imetak za potrebe rodbine, siročadi, siromaha, putnika, onih koji traže pomoć i za oslobađanje robova.

Također, prava vjera je da redovno klanjate namaz, da dajete zekat, da ispoštujete obećanje koje ste dali, te da budete strpljivi u radosti i žalosti.

Ti ljudi su, kaže se u Kur'anu, na pravome putu do istine i oni su svjesni Božije prisutnosti.[*11]

[*11] Kur'an, II, 177.

I, treće, islam je iznad Istoka i Zapada jer Jevreji, kršćani i muslimani dijele vjeru u Jednoga Boga koji nas je sve stvorio iz jedne duše pa nas rasijao kao sjeme u bezbroj ljudskih bića; oni dijele istoga oca Adema (Adama) i majku Havu (Evu); oni dijele zrak koji udišu i izlazak Sunca koje vide svaki dan; oni dijele Ibrahimovu vjeru i Nuhovu lađu spasa; oni dijele ljubav prema djevici Merjemi i njezinom sinu Isau, a.s.; oni dijele kazivanja o Musau, a.s., i njegovom narodu na brdu Sinaj; oni dijele jasnu riječ Časnoga Kur'ana i primjerni život Muhammeda, a.s.; i oni nemaju izbora već da prihvate *Etiku zajedništva* kao pravi put prema boljoj budućnosti za sve.

Na temelju rečenog jasno je da će islam ostati iznad Istoka i Zapada. Istok će nastaviti da govoriti o idealima a Zapad će se suočavati sa stvarnošću svojih

odnosa sa islamom i muslimanima. Upravo u kontekstu ovih ideala i stvarnosti islama, evropski muslimani trebaju tražiti svoje mjesto u Evropi.

I dok je islam iznad Istoka i Zapada muslimani nisu. Oni nisu ni iznad a ni između Istoka i Zapada. Oni su sada u središtu i ovoga i toga. Svakako, evropski muslimani imaju pravo držati se čvrsto ideala Istoka, ali i obavezu da se suoče sa stvarnostima Zapada.

Jer ne samo da su stvarnosti Zapada nemilosrdne, već ni ideali Istoka više nisu isti. Ustvari, evropski muslimani su sada u poziciji da artikuliraju neke ideale Istoka koji će jednog dana možda postati stvarnost i Istoka i Zapada. To je, zaista, najveći izazov za današnje muslimane – da budu avangarda u promoviranju dobra i sputavanju zla. To je pravi put za Ummet da povrati ponos u vremenu beznađa.

A snaga moralnog učenja islama je tu – u njegovom širokom moralnom pogledu koji proističe iz ideje promoviranja dobra i sputavanja zla, što je ideja iz koje mogu biti izvedeni slijedeći moralni imperativi:

I
Čitaj i uči

Čitaj i uči u ime Tvog Gospodara...[12]

[12] Kur'an, 96:1.

Objava Kur'ana, dakle, ne počinje s imperativom vjere, već s imperativom nauke. Bog, dž.š., ne traži od Muhammeda, a.s., da vjeruje, već On, neka je Uzvišen, traži od njega da čita i uči kako bi znao što je ispravno vjerovanje. To je zato što se čovjek rađa s vjerom. Zato nema potrebe od čovjeka tražiti ono što je već u njegovoj duši. Ali postoji potreba da ga se podsjeti da treba čitati i učiti ono što je u njegovoj duši.

Prema tome, čovjek treba znanje sa vjerom kao i vjeru sa znanjem. I upravo tu i Istok i Zapad trebaju islam da ih poduči - Istok da traži znanje i Zapad da prihvati vjeru.

II
Vjeruj i radi

Onima koji vjeruju i dobro rade, Bog je obećao oprost...[13]

[13] Kur'an, 5:9.

Čovjek ne živi u čisto duhovnom svijetu bez materije, niti u čisto materijalnom svijetu bez duha. Tajna uspjeha je da čovjek spoji u sebi te dvije vrijednosti:

svoj duh i svoje tijelo. Drugim riječima, smisao čovjekovog života je u aktivnosti njegovog duha, a to je vjera, te u aktivnosti njegovog tijela, a to je rad i djelovanje.

Muslimani će povratiti svoj ponos ako nauče kako da naprave ravnotežu između ove dvije sile napretka: vjere srca i djela ruke.

U ovom trenutku postoji velika razlika između muslimanskog srca i muslimanske ruke; postoji veliki jaz između muslimanske vjere i muslimanskog djelovanja. Neće biti muslimanskog ponosa dok se ovaj jaz ne premosti na način da vjera srca i snaga uma rade zajedno.

III

Budi pobožan i poštuj roditelje

Bog je propisao da samo Njemu budete pobožni i da poštujete roditelje...[14]

[14] Kur'an, 17:23.

Ova snažna kura'nska veza između pobožnosti prema Bogu i poštovanja prema roditeljima predstavlja snažnu poruku i za Istok i za Zapad. Poruka Istoku je da ne popusti pred pritiskom da odustane od porodičnih vrijednosti, a poruka Zapadu je da zaustavi opasnu igru sa budućnošću čovječanstva.

Institucija porodične tradicije nema alternativu.

Pitanje porodičnih vrijednosti nije samo moralni zahtjev ljudskog društva već i egzistencijalni uvjet čovječanstva. Pokušaj da se ukine poznati (*ma'ruf*) zakon porodičnog života jednak je pokušaju dokidanja prirodnog zakona izlaska Sunca sa istoka.

IV

Budi vrijedan i bori se

Borite se na putu Božanske istine iskreno i hrabro ...[15]

[15] Kur'an, 22:78.

Uspjeh na ovome svijetu i spas na drugome svijetu ne dolaze sami od sebe. Uspjehu treba ići u susret. Za svoja se prava treba boriti sad i ovdje. Isto tako, i za spas na drugome svijetu treba se truditi; treba zaslužiti Božiju milost.

Razlika između Istoka i Zapada je u tome što Istok više vjeruje u Božiju milost nego u svoj vlastiti trud, dok Zapad više vjeruje u svoj trud nego u Božiju milost.

V
Gledaj šta će sutra biti

Neka čovjek gleda kako će se suočiti s onim što sutra dolazi...[16]

[16] Kur'an, 59:18.

Ovom kur'anskom ajetu je jasan dokaz da imamo pravo, zapravo obavezu da planiramo svoju budućnost i da vjerujemo da naša budućnost može biti bolja od naše prošlosti. Zaista je čudno kako su neki nadošli na ideju da je naša budućnost beznadežna te da je prema tome nada jedino u našoj prošlosti kao načinu života i cilju historije. Ova ideja nema osnove u islamu. Ne samo da Uzvišeni Bog podučava poslanika Muhammeda, a.s., riječima: "Sigurno će tvoja budućnost biti bolja od tvoje prošlosti"[17], već nam i zdrav razum govori da ne možemo mijenjati prošlost, ali da s Božijom pomoći možemo oblikovati budućnost.

[17] Kur'an, 93:4.

Prema tome, mi nismo odgovorni za muslimansku prošlost, već smo odgovorni za muslimansku budućnost: "Taj narod je bio i nestao. Njih čeka ono što su zaslužili a vas čeka ono što ste zaslužili"[18]. Prema tome, muslimani se ne trebaju plašiti razmišljanja o svojoj budućnosti isto kao što ne trebaju biti opsjednuti svojom prošlošću. Muslimani imaju budućnost jer vjeruju u Boga. A u Boga vjeruju jer su uvjereni da će istina i pravda pobijediti.

[18] Kur'an, 2:141.

III

UMMET (MUSLIMANSKI SVIJET)

Ummet je univerzalna zajednica muslimana uvezana sponom vjere u Jednog Boga i posljednjeg poslanstva Muhammeda Alejhisselama. Muslimani vjeruju da je Ummet legitimni nasljednik uzastopnih Božijih objava od Adema, Ibrahima, Nuha, Musaa, Isaa pa do Muhammeda Alejhisselama. Islam je inkluzivna religija zato što priznaje postojanje drugih religija. Prema tome, islamska je dužnost svakog muslimana, muškarca i žene, da promovira međusobno poštovanje među religijama. Dakle, po svojoj prirodi, islam je globalna religija.

Iako je pojam globalizacije poprilično nejasan, njegov utjecaj se osjeća gotovo u svim oblastima života: političkom, ekonomskom, kulturnom i vjerskom. Ideja globalne svijeti muslimanima ne bi trebala biti strana. U svojoj bîti, islam je univerzalna religija i globalni fenomen. Bilo bi sasvim primjereno da muslimani imaju plan globalizacije u smislu globalne slobode i sigurnosti, jer su muslimani raseljeni po cijelom svijetu, te su, stoga, i njihova sloboda i njihova sigurnost od globalnog značaja.

Međutim, ne samo da muslimani nisu uspjeli osmisliti orginalnu ideju globalizacije, već oni, općenito govoreći, ne znaju kako da žive u globalnom svijetu. Muslimani nemaju globalnu strategiju; nemaju ni globalni um, ni globalnu pamet; nemaju ujednačeni globalni kalendar koji bi ih poštedio neugodosti oko datuma Kurbanskog bajrama; oni imaju imidž opasnosti za slobodu i sigurnost u svijetu; oni nose stigmu globalnog terorizma.

Zbog ovakvog imidža i ovakve stigme od koje muslimani danas neopravdano pate, potrebno je da se uputi jedna Deklaracija evropskih muslimana Ummetu, tj., Muslimanskom svijetu, kojom se naglašava važnost potrebe za promjenom od lošeg globalnog imidža do dobrog globalnog imidža muslimana, naročito po pitanju njihove vjere.

Središte islama treba preuzeti globalno vodstvo u praktičnim pitanjima naše vjere; treba da preuzme odgovornost za globalna pitanja našeg vremena; treba da definira smjernice za globalni dijalog sa našim susjedstvom.

Kao musliman evropskog porijekla i kao Evropljanin islamske vjere, očekujem od drugih muslimana, gdje god da su, da pokažu svijetu da je islam i iskrena vjera i ispravna religija; da je ujedno privlačna kultura i mirna politika; da je ujedno dobar narod i bogata zemlja; da je islam i mudri čovjek na Istoku i racionalani čovjek na Zapadu.



DEKLARACIJA EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

o stavu evropskih muslimana u vezi sa napadom na Neujork u septembru 2001., masakrom u Madridu u martu 2004. i eksplozijama bombi u Londonu u julu 2005:

S obzirom da su 11. septembra 2001. hiljade muškaraca i žena koji su radili u Svjetskom trgovačkom centru u Neujorku ubijeni u terorističkom napadu, i da su 11. marta 2004. stotine ljudi koji su putovali vozom u Madridu bili izmasakrirani, te da su 7. jula mnogi nevini putnici bili žrtvama eksplozija bombi u Londonu; a s obzirom da su svi ovi akti nasilja protiv čovječanstva pripisani "islamskom terorizmu";

• uzimajući u obzir da nakon njujorškog napada, madridskog masakra i londonskih eksplozija evropski muslimani žive pod teškim teretom kolektivne odgovornosti za "islamski terorizam" kojeg stalno propagiraju neki političari i mediji;

• polazeći od toga da evropski muslimani vjeruju da ne postoji kolektivna krivica, već pojedinačna odgovornost;

• uzevši u obzir da evropski muslimani pate od islamofobije zbog neodgovornog medijskog pokrivanja muslimanskih pitanja u Evropi;

• budući da evropski muslimani vole slobodu drugima kao što je vole za sebe te da poštuju instituciju građanina i ljudska prava u multikulturnim društvima;

• s obzirom da evropski muslimani žele podizati svoju djecu u miru i sigurnosti zajedno sa drugim vjerskim zajednicama u Evropi na principu "etike zajedništva";

• uzimajući u obzir da islam uči muslimane da su Jevreji i kršćani narod Knjige te da stoga svi Jevreji, kršćani i muslimani trebaju naučiti kako da dijele svoje zajedničke korijene i svoje zajedničke nade za budućnost bez predrasuda kako bi izbjegli diskriminaciju, nizak nivo samopoštovanja, demoralizaciju, vjersku i rasnu mržnju, bespomoćnost, gubitak kontrole, društveno izbjegavanje, besperspektivnost i političku zapostavljenost;

• polazeći od toga da je Evropa zajednički kontinent mnogih vjera;

• uzevši u obzir da je Evropa ponosna na svoj put od ropstva do slobode, od mitologije do znanosti, od sile do prava i od teorije do legitimnosti države, kao i evropsku predanost osnovnim vrijednostima ljudskih prava i demokratije;

• budući da evropski muslimani žele biti dio evropskog života i napretka kao i društvenog, političkog, kulturnog i moralnog razvoja evropskih društava

- neka bude obznanjeno -

I

EVROPSKOJ UNIJI DA JE STAV EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

1. Evropa je **Dom mira i sigurnosti** utemeljen na principu društvenog dogovora;

2. Evropsko tlo je **Dom mira** jer je na njemu moguće živjeti u skladu sa svojom vjerom u kontekstu principa koje bi "slobodne i racionalne osobe zainteresirane za unapređenje svojih interesa, u polaznoj poziciji jednakosti, prihvatile kao definirajuće za temeljne uvjete svoga udruživanja" (John Rawls);

3. (Društveni) Dogovor je nalog čovjekovog razuma, dok je Zavjet (prema Bogu) volja čovjekovog srca/vjere. Musliman je čovjek predan Bogu u aktu volje svoga srca/vjere, a građanin je čovjek sa obavezom prema državi kao nalogom svoga razuma. Zavjetom čovjek predaje svoje srce Bogu i prima unutrašnju sigurnost. Ugovorom on daje um državi a zauzvrat dobija društvenu sigurnost kao stanovnik grada ili naselja. Građanin ima prava i privilegije slobodna čovjeka, član je države, autohtona ili naturalizirana osoba koja lojalnost duguje nekoj vlasti a zauzvrat ima pravo da ta vlast zaštiti njegov život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i dostojanstvo.

4. Evropski muslimani su u potpunosti i jasno predani slijedećim evropskim vrijednostima:

- vladavini prava;
- principima tolerancije;
- vrijednostima demokratije i ljudskih prava;
- uvjerenju da svako ljudsko biće ima pravo na pet temeljnih vrijednosti: život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i čast;

5. Dok nastoje živjeti pošten život u Evropi, evropski muslimani očekuju slijedeće:

- institucionalizaciju islama u Evropi;
- ekonomski razvoj muslimanske zajednice tako da može uživati punu duhovnu i kulturnu slobodu i neovisnost;
- razvoj islamskih škola koje će biti kadre odgajati muslimane rođene u Evropi za izazove evropskih multikulturnih društava;
- političku slobodu koja će omogućiti evropskim muslimanima da imaju legitimne predstavnike u parlamentima evropskih država;
- liberalizaciju evropske imigracione politike koja je u zadnje vrijeme veoma restriktivna prema muslimana;
- otvaranje mogućnosti da se prizna muslimansko pravo u pitanjima personalnog statusa kao što je porodično pravo;
- zaštitu evropskih muslimana od islamofobije, etničkog čišćenja, Genocida i sličnog;

6. Evropski muslimani su predani opsežnom zajedničkom programu vjerskog dijaloga koji će:

- izgraditi svijest o složenosti sekularnog konteksta u kojem religije danas postoje;
- promicati razumijevanje, poštivati razlike i istraživati zajednička polazišta;
- potvrditi vjerske identitete kao važne instrumente u rješavanju problema nesigurnosti i sukoba te u učenju poštivanja drugih i življenja u različitostima u konfliktnim situacijama;
- doprinijeti tekućem diskursu o ljudskim pravima;
- pomoći u razumijevanju drugosti druge osobe;
- pokazati složeni odnos između vjere, kulture, politike i ekonomije, i naglasiti faktore koji vode ka pozitivnom doprinosu religija zajedničkim naporima u potrazi za istinom, pravdom i mirom;
- identificirati vjerske principe, moralne i etičke vrijednosti i norme koje su uporedive i koje mogu poslužiti za izgradnju suživota; kao i one koje su posebne za svaku vjeru, te prepoznati moguće razlike, tenzije i nerazumijevanja između pojedinih moralnih i etičkih vrijednosti u različitim religijama;
- isticati pozitivna historijska iskustva i oživjeti sjećanja na iskustva dobrosusjedstva i suživota koja su također dio evropske historije;
- izgraditi zajedničku platformu za vjerski suživot u duhu dobre volje koju je moguće naći i u Knjigama Božijim i nadi za našu zajedničku budućnost.

II

MUSLIMANIMA KOJI ŽIVE U EVROPI DA JE STAV EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

1. Muslimani koji žive u Evropi trebaju shvatiti da se sloboda ne poklanja. Sloboda muslimana u Evropi mora se osvojiti a sveukupni status muslimana mora biti priznat uprkos ksenofobičnom otporu.

2. Muslimani u Evropi danas trebaju više brinuti o svojim odgovornostima nego o svojim slobodama jer preuzimajući odgovornost u evropskom ekonomskom, političkom i društvenom životu oni će zaslužiti svoje pravo na slobodu. Tada sloboda evropskih muslimana neće biti ničija milostinja, već zaslužena vrijednost koju nije moguće negirati, niti oduzeti.

3. Muslimani koji žive u Evropi treba da zapadnom slušateljstvu predstave islam kao univerzalni pogled na svijet (*Weltanschauung*), a ne kao plemensku, etničku ili nacionalnu kulturu. Muslimani ne mogu očekivati od Evropljana da poštuju univerzalnu poruku islama ako se stalno suočavaju sa etničkom ili nacionalnom slikom islama. Ne samo da evropski muslimani mogu impresionirati evropsku javnost univerzalizmom islama, već je i Evropa dobro mjesto za same muslimane da otkriju snagu i ljepotu univerzalnosti islama.

4. Upravo na Zapadu su mnogi muslimani otkrili islam na potpuno različit način u odnosu na islam kojeg su poznavali u svojim domovinama jer ovdje u Evropi susrećemo svoju braću iz drugih dijelova muslimanskog svijeta i tako počinju cijeniti raznolikost muslimanskog iskustva i kulture. Muslimani koji žive u Evropi imaju ne samo pravo već i obavezu da razviju svoju vlastitu evropsku kulturu islama kao dokaz trećeg susreta između Istoka i Zapada i kao potrebu za novom renesansom koja će čovječanstvo odvesti u bolju i sigurniju budućnost.

5. Mlada generacija muslimana koja živi u Evropi treba biti duhovno jaka i intelektualno odlučna da razbije muslimanske stereotipe o islamu prije nego zatraže od drugih da izmijene svoje stereotipe. Muslimanska omladina mora se okrenuti budućnosti i ne treba oklijevati da muslimane koji žive u Evropi povede u bolju budućnost.

6. Muslimani koji žive u Evropi trebaju se posvetiti provođenju slijedećih imperativa svoje vjere:

• **Čitaj i uči!**
Objava Kur'ana nije počela naredbom da vjerujemo već da stičemo znanje. Svemogući Bog nije tražio od Muhammeda, a. s., da vjeruje već mu je naredio da čita i uči šta i kako da vjeruje. To je tako zato što se čovjek rađa s vjerom. Prema tome nema potrebe tražiti od čovjeka da vjeruje ako je to već u njegovoj duši. Ali postoji potreba da se podsjeti čovjeka da treba čitati i učiti o onome što je u njegovoj duši. Čovjeku dakle treba znanje sa vjerom kao i vjera sa znanjem.

• **Vjeruj i marljivo radi!**
Čovjek ne živi ni u čisto duhovnom svijetu bez materije ni u čisto materijalnom svijetu bez duhovnog. Tajna uspjeha je da čovjek u sebi objedini ove dvije vrijednosti: svoj duh i svoje tijelo. Drugim riječima, cilj čovjekovog života je u aktivnosti njegovoga duha, a to je njegova vjera, te u aktivnosti njegova tijela, a to je njegov marljivi rad. Nema muslimanskog dostojanstva dok se ogromni jaz između vjere srca i snage uma ne premosti.

• **Budi pobožan i poštuj roditelje!**
Kuranski naglasak na vezi između obožavanja Boga i poštivanja roditelja nosi snažnu poruku i Istoku i Zapadu. Poruka Istoku je da ne popusti pod pritiskom da napusti porodične vrijednosti, a poruka Zapadu je da zaustavi opasnu igru sa budućnošću čovječanstva. Institucija porodice nema zamjene. Pitanje porodičnih vrijednosti nije samo moralni zahtjev ljudskog društva, već i egzistencijalni uvjet čovječanstva. Nastojanje da se naruši opći zakon porodičnog života jednak je pokušaju da se promijeni prirodni zakon o izlasku Sunca sa istoka. Niko ne uspijeva promijeniti prirodu izlaska Sunca, i niko neće moći promijeniti princip porodičnog života.

• **Budi pošten i bori se za svoja prava!**
Uspjeh na ovom i spas na budućem svijetu ne dolaze sami od sebe. Svako se mora boriti za svoj uspjeh. Mora se boriti za svoja prava ovdje i sada. Također, mora se raditi za spas na budućem svijetu. Božija se milost mora zaslužiti. Razlika između Istoka i Zapada je u tome što Istok više vjeruje u Božiju

milost nego u rad, dok se Zapad više oslanja na rad nego na Božiju milost.

• Misli i za sutra!
Postoji jasan dokaz u Časnom Kur'anu da imamo ne samo pravo već i obavezu da planiramo svoju budućnost i da vjerujemo da naša budućnost može biti bolja od naše prošlosti. Uistinu je čudno kako su neki došli na ideju da je muslimanska budućnost beznadežna te da je zato jedina nada u muslimanskoj prošlosti kao načinu života i cilju historije. Ta ideja nema osnove u islamu. Ne samo da nas Svemogući Bog uči da naša budućnost može biti bolja od naše prošlosti, već nam i zdrav razum govori da mi ne možemo promijeniti svoju prošlost ali da, uz Božiju pomoć, možemo oblikovati našu budućnost. Prema tome, mi nismo odgovorni za prošlu muslimansku historiju, već smo odgovorni za buduću muslimansku historiju. Muslimani se ne trebaju plašiti razmišljanja o svojoj budućnosti isto kao što ne trebaju biti opsjednuti svojom prošlošću. Muslimani imaju budućnost jer vjeruju u Boga. A u Boga vjeruju jer su uvjereni da će istina i pravda pobijediti.

III

MUSLIMANSKOM SVIJETU DA JE STAV EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

1. Muslimanski svijet je univerzalna zajednica muslimana koji su braća i sestre po zajedničkoj im vjeri u Jednoga Boga i u poslanstvo Muhammeda, mir neka je na njega.

2. Ideja o globalnoj svijesti ne bi trebala biti strana muslimanima. U suštini, islam je univerzalna vjera i globalni fenomen. Bilo bi potpuno primjereno da su muslimani izašli sa programom globalizacije u smislu globalne slobode i sigurnosti, jer muslimani žive gotovo na svakom mjestu zemljine kugle pa, stoga, njihova sloboda i sigurnost imaju globalan značaj.

3. Međutim, muslimani ne samo da nisu ponudili originalnu ideju globalizacije, već, općenito govoreći, oni ne uspijevaju da utiču na globalni svijet. Muslimani nemaju globalnu strategiju; nemaju globalni mozak ni globalnu glavu; nemaju globalni kalendar koji bi ih poštedio neugodne zabune oko datuma Bajrama.

Nažalost, oni danas imaju image prijetnje svjetskom miru i sigurnosti. Oni imaju žig globalnog terorizma!

4. Upravo zbog tog žiga o islamskom terorizmu od kojeg muslimani nedužno danas pate potrebno je izaći s Deklaracijom evropskih muslimana i uputiti je Muslimanskom svijetu s namjerom da se naglasi potreba da se globalno loša slika promijeni u globalno dobru sliku o muslimanima, posebno u vezi s njihovom vjerom.

5. Centar islama treba preuzeti vodstvo u osiguravanju globalnog pravca u praktičnim stvarima univerzalne vjere islama; u globalnim pitanjima našeg vremena, te u globalnom dijalogu sa našim komšijama.

6. Muslimani, ma gdje bili, trebaju dokazati cijelom svijetu da je islam i ozbiljna vjera i pravična religija; da je on i atraktivna kultura i miroljubiva politika; da su islam dobri ljudi i bogata zemlja; da je islam i mudri čovjek Istoka i racionalni čovjek Zapada.

7. Pogrešno je optuživati islam za odsustvo demokratije u muslimanskom svijetu. Grijeh je narušavati ljudska prava u ime islama. Zločin je protiv islama tolerirati visoku stopu nepismenosti u muslimanskom svijetu i mirno svjedočiti ogromni jaz između enormno bogatih i ekstremno siromašnih ljudi u muslimanskom svijetu.

8. Evropski muslimani imaju pravo i obavezu da postave ova i druga pitanja koja imaju uticaja na budućnost njihove djece u svojim pokušajima da odgovore na pitanja o tome ko su i šta im je činiti kao muslimanima u evropskom okruženju.

9. Evropski muslimani pozivaju globalnu muslimansku zajednicu da preuzme vodstvo u promoviranju mira i sigurnosti u svijetu.

10. Muslimanski svijet je legitimni Ummet, koji treba da je sposoban da nosi i pronosi zadatak moralnog dobra, racionalne ravnoteže, ekonomske pravde i globalne proaktivne Zajednice, koja je vrijedna povjerenja za partnerstvo i prijateljstvo uvijek i na svakom mjestu

* * *

Sve nas u životu vode različite staze,
ali bez obzira gdje išli sa sobom nosimo dio jedni drugih!

Prijatelji su način na koji Bog brine o nama!

* * *



"DEKLARACIJA EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA" AUTORA dr. MUSTAFE CERIĆA:
PRIKAZ I RASPRAVA U NJEMAČKOJ

Stefan Jakob Wimmer

Vanredni profesor Dr. Stefan Jakob Wimmer stručnjak je koji se bavi kulturološkim naukama na Univerzitetu Ludwig-Maximilian u Minhenu. Kustos je za hebrejsku i povjest drevnog Bliskog istoka u Narodnoj biblioteci pokrajine Bavarska u Njemačkoj. Doktorirao je na Hebrejskom univerzitetu u Jerusalemu, a predaje na Katoličkom teološkom fakultetu u Minhenu. Suosnivač je i potpredsjedavajući udruženja "Abrahamovi prijatelji" koje se bavi međureligijskim dijalogom, sa sjedištem u Minhenu, te potpredsjednik "Centra za Islam u Evropi" – Minhen (CIE-M)".

Rupert Neudeck poznati je humanitarni aktivista, kako u Bosni i Hercegovini tako i u Njemačkoj. Kao osnivač i direktor "Cap Anamur-a" i "Green Helmets Peace Corps-a", dviju organizacija čija se sjedišta nalaze u blizini Kelna u Njemačkoj, već nekoliko decenija inicira brojne humanitarne projekte širom svijeta, kao što je npr. činio za vrijeme tragičnog perioda agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu devedesetih godina. U Sarajevu je i jedna ulica nazvana "Ulica Cap Anamur" u znak priznanja ovoj organizaciji, a vrhovni poglavar Islamske zajednice u Bosni, reisu-l-ulema dr. Mustafa Cerić član je odbora povjerenika organizacije "Zelene kacige". Za vrijeme jednog od njegovih brojnih javnih nastupa, tokom 2006. na Univerzitetu u Minhenu, Rupert Neudeck je održao predavanje o svojim iskustvima iz brojnih zemalja muslimanskog svijeta. Pritom je posebno naglasio činjenicu da bosanski muslimani, iako su bili žrtve Genocida, i unatoč tome sve vrijeme pružaju ruku pomirenja, pritom odbacujući svaki oblik mržnje i odmazde.

Elaborirajući ključni korak koji je u tom pravcu načinio reisu-l-ulema Cerić, Neudeck je pažnju prisutnih posebno privukao pozivajući se na Cerićevu "Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana": "Mustafa Cerić govori riječnikom čvrsto okorjenjenom u evropskoj tradiciji… Bilo bi dobro kada bi Papa Benedict XVI razmislio o idejama i uputstvima koje vizueliziraju buduće ustrojstvo evropskog društva sa ovim čovjekom iz Sarajeva."*[1]

Kada je reisu-l-ulema u februaru 2006. na jednoj svečanosti u Zagrebu objavio ovu deklaraciju, rezimirao je razloge ovog svog poduhvata, rekavši: "Ovo je osobno – vjerovatno je pretjerano reći 'priznanje' – ali svakako je ovo osobni poziv evropskoj javnosti da ne učini grešku generalizacije i na taj način posije sjeme islamofobije, koje se, čini mi se, širi diljem Evrope i svijeta općenito, posebno nakon 11. septembra, 2001. Poruka je ovo i muslimanima koji žive u Evropi da ozbiljno shvate ova tri događaja koji bi mogli imati kobne posljedice glede njihovog opstanka i položaja u Evropi. Treća poruka je upućena muslimanskom svijetu uopće na koji apeliramo da nam pomogne da na Zapadu, posebno u Evropi, uspostavimo takvu vrstu dijaloga koji će biti jednako prihvatljiv za nas muslimane kao i za naše komšije u Evropi."*[2]

Ovoj deklaraciji kolumnista uglednog njemačkog sedmičnog lista "Die Zeit", Jörg Lau, posvetio je poseban prikaz zabilježivši kako se Deklaracija "tiče terorizma, evropskih vrijednosti, ljudskih prava, i odanosti koju evropski muslimani iskazuju prema načelima liberalne ustavne države…

Jednog dana, uvjeren je reis, trebalo bi uspostaviti jedinstveno predstavničko tijelo evropskih muslimana. Naravno, on je duboko svjestan da to u ovom trenutku nije realna mogućnost, s obzirom na preovladavajuće etničke, kultorološke i mezhebske podjele evropskih muslimana. Štaviše, njegova

*[1] Pisana verzija Neudecksovog predavanja (ne sasvim identična sa izgovorenim riječima) objavljen je u R. Neudeck, ***Leben und Sterben im Islam. Eine Herausforderung an die 'westliche Welt'***, u: Blätter Abrahams. Beiträge zum interreligiösen Dialog 5, 2006, str. 57-71.

*[2] Intervju za ***Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty***, 14.03.2006; http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1066751.html.

deklaracija bi se čak mogla pogrešno protumačiti i kao pretenzija na položaj evropskog velikog muftije…

U svojoj deklaraciji reis inicira novi oblik promišljanja muslimanske pripadnosti Evropi koji nadilazi klasične islamske koncepcije i predodžbe o sebi: Evropa, u skladu sa vizijom dr. Cerića, nije ni ekskluzivni '*Dom Islama*', iz razloga što u njemu na ravnopravnoj osnovi koegzistiraju različite religije, ali ni '*Dom rata*' koji islam tek treba da pokori. Evropu bi trebalo shvatiti kao '*Dom društvenog dogovora*'. U takvom domu, objašnjava reis Cerić, svako bi trebao da živi u skladu sa vlastitim uvjerenjima, dok bi, pritom, država bila ustrojena na jasnim principima, 'koje će ljudi kao slobodna i racionalna bića prihvatiti kao organizaciju koja djeluje u njihovom sopstvenom interesu', baš onako kako je to opisao američki filozof John Rawls. Mustafa Cerić uopće ne vidi kontradikciju između ugovora slobodnih i ravnopravnih pojedinaca koji čine politički poredak, i sporazuma između pojedinca i Boga."*[3]

Reisu-l-ulema se u septembru, 2006. u Berlinu susreo i sa njemačkom kancelarkom Angelom Merkel. Dodatnu pažnju javnosti Cerić je privukao kada mu je dodijeljena renomirana nagrada Theodor-Heuss-Prize u 2007., nakon nekolicine sličnih nagrada koje su mu dodijeljene u drugim evropskim zemljama.*[4] Nakon pomenute, dodjeljena mu je je još jedna slična nagrada, Priznanje Eugen-Biser u Minhenu 2008.*[5]

U period između dva potpuno odvojena događaja, došlo je do jedne neugode koju je potaknula kontroverzna Kristina Köhler, parlamentarka njemačkog Bundestaga iz redova vladajuće Kršćanske demokratske unije (CDU). Pozivajući se na tekst Mustafe Cerića pod naslovom "Izazovi jedinstvenog središnjeg muslimanskog autoriteta u Evropi", koji je objavljen 2007. u decembarskom izdanju političkog periodičnog časopisa "European View"*[6], Köhler je šest mjeseci kasnije reagirala optuživši Cerića da, "dovodi u pitanje vladavinu zakona i demokracije" i umjesto toga poziva na izgradnju "paralelnog svijeta zasnovanog na šerijatu" u Evropi, i uspostavu navodnog "Euro-kalifata".*[7] Köhler je svoju izjavu objavila na portalu "Welt Online", internetskom izdanju konzervativnog njemačkog dnevnog lista "Die Welt" (12.05.2008). Drugi mediji su ovakvu izjavu Köhlerove doživjeli sa neskrivenom dozom konsternacije, i to iz dva razloga*[8]: prvo, jer sam časopis "The European View" (*Evropski pogledi*) publicira "Centar za evropske studije u Briselu", a koji je izuzetno blizak Evropskoj narodnoj stranci - "European People's Party", predstavniku kršćanskih demokrata u Evropskom parlamentu. Osim toga, Cerićevi pogledi, onakvi kako su predstavljeni u njegovom izlaganju, ne samo da ne pružaju nikakve osnove za optužbe koje je na njegov račun uputila parlamentarka Köhler; već, naprotiv, jasno zagovaraju upravo suprotno od onog za što ga se optužuje. Reisu-l-ulema se i sam, nakon toga, pismeno obratio kancelarki Angeli Merkel, pritom joj izrazivši "svoju zabrinutost zbog tendenciozne interpretatacije

*3 *Die Zeit*, 20.11.2006.

*4 Nagrada ***Theodor-Heuss-Foundation***, nazvana po prvom predsjedniku Savezne Republike Njemačke (1949-1959), dodijeljena je Dr. Mustafi Ceriću zajedno sa Ritom Süssmuth, bivšom predsjednicom njemačkog Bundestaga, odjela za promicanje međureligijskog dijaloga između muslimana i kršćana.

*5 Katolička ***Eugen-Biser-zaklada*** (*The Catholic Eugen-Biser-Foundation*) dodijelila je nagradu trojici pokretača inicijative "Zajedničke riječi između vas i nas": Princu Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talalu iz Jordana, šeiku Al-Habib Ali Zain Al-Abidin Al-Jifriu iz UAE i reisu-l-ulemi Dr. Mustafi Ceriću u Bosni i Hercegovini, 22.11.2008.

*6 ***European View*** 2007/6, str. 41-48.

*7 **Kristina Köhler**, sada po imenu **Kristina Schröder**, imenovana je za članicu kabineta kancelarke Angele Merkel u 2009. i danas službuje kao federalna ministarka za obitelj, starije osobe, žene i pitanja mladih.

*8 ***Vidi:*** Detaljano stanje u tjedniku *Der Spiegel* ("Als der Obermufti einmal Scharia sagte:" Y. Musharbash), 2008/08/15.

jednog potpuno izoliranog dijela" njegovog članka, ponovo naglašavajući svoju jasnu i čvrstu opredijeljenost za demokratsko i pluralističko društvo: "U 21. stoljeću, evropsko islamsko pravo, u vidu društvenog ugovora kako sam sugerirao, može i mora biti u skladu sa vrijednostima države i društva, kako su ove kategorije definirane na najbolji način u njemačkom ustavu (*German Grundgesetz*), a danas također i u Lisabonskom ugovoru".*[9] Cerić je ponovo bio u prilici da apostrofira svoj stav u Minhenu, kada je održao predavanje u dvorcu Nymphenburg gdje je govorio na temu "Islam u Evropi: Novi pristupi dijalogu", a koje je održao u novembru 2008.*[10]

"Afera Köhler" na vrlo upečatljiv način odlično ilustrira *modus operandi* koji u zadnje vrijeme sve više koriste islamofobični krugovi, i to ne samo oni u Njemačkoj. Njihovo poimanje je da je islam, po samoj svojoj prirodi, suprotstavljen modernim evropskim vrijednostima, iz čega zaključuju da jedan islamski lider po automatizmu mora biti naklonjen apsolutizmu i supremaciji islama u namjeri njegove implementacije u srednjovjekovnom obliku, neupitna je postavka takve ideologije. Što god da muslimani izgovore, redovito se interpretira u duhu ovog islamofobičnog diskursa, pa čak i kad se radi o citatima izuzetim izvan konteksta kojim se kasnije svjesno pripisuje njihova suprotnost ili se namjerno zanemaruje stvarna poruka napisanog ili rečenog.

Stoga je zbog ovakvih suprotstavljenih koncepcija koje se dobrano osjete u Njemačkoj, utoliko još nužnije unapređivati osnovnu središnju misao sadržanu u Cerićevim pogledima i viziji "Deklaracije evropskih muslimana". Potaknut minhenskim izlaganjem gore pomenutog Ruperta Neudecka, koje je organizirano na inicijativu "Udruženja Abrahamovi prijatelji", akademske međureligijske organizacije, ovo je udruženje zatražilo od autora ovog skromnog podneska da priredi verziju Deklaracije na njemačkom jeziku. Zahvaljujući Bošnjacima, članovima Islamske zajednice Penzberga, gradića nedaleko od Minhena, postojeći prijevod Deklaracije baziran na engleskoj verziji prilagođen je slovu i duhu bosanskog jezika. Kao rezultat ovog poduhvata nastala je "*Die Deklaration europäischer Muslime*" objavljena u periodičnom časopisu Društva "Blätter Abrahams" - Beiträge zum interreligiösen Dialog 6, 2006, str. 7-15 ("Abrahamovi spisi. Doprinos međureligijskom dijalogu").

Nakon toga, Udruženje "Prijatelji Abrahama" uputilo je poziv reisu-l-ulemi da posjeti Minhen u zajedničkom aranžmanu Islamske zajednice Penzberg, Protestantske akademije u Minhenu, Katoličkog pokreta za mir - "Pax Christi" i Katedre za vjersko obrazovanje. Reis je ovo svoje predavanje održao u prepunom auditoriju "Maximum" na Univerzitetu Ludwig-Maximilian, a govorio je na temu "Islam u Evropi – Ka evropskom identitetu i integraciji" (23.11.2007).
U najavi ovog značajnog predavanja dr. Mustafa Cerić je predstavljen kao "vodeći islamski autoritet u Evropi''. U "*Deklaraciji evropskih muslimana* on zauzima stav da je islam kompatibilan sa vrijednostima demokratskog i ka budućnosti orijentiranog društva."

Cerić je svoj govor u Minhenu zaključio emocionalnim apelom da se prizna nemjerljiva relevantnost bosanskog iskustva Evrope kao cjeline: "Uvjeren sam da su Bosanci cijelom svijetu pokazali da zaslužuju poštovanje za njihovu međuvjersku suradnju i toleranciju. Sarajevo zbog toga predstavlja ne samo simbol grada vječne tolerancije, već također znak evropskog jedinstva u različitostima vjera i kultura… Zbog toga Bosna nije samo srce Balkana, već također duša Evrope. Duša Evrope, stoga, neće postići mir sve dok Bosna

*[9] Pismo Dr. Mustafe Cerića kancelarki Angeli Merkel od 21.05.2008.

*[10] *Nymphenburger Gespräche* ("Nymphenburg Talks") 21.11.2008; http://www.nymphenburger-gespraeche.de/archiv/pressespiegelarchiv/67-abpo20091html.

ne zauzme svoje mjesto u evropskoj porodici nacija. Ovu činjenicu Evropa bi morala shvatiti sada više nego bilo kada ranije."*[11]

Prof. dr. Stephan Leimgruber sa Katoličkog teološkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Minhenu, imam Benjamin Idriz iz Islamske zajednice u Penzbergu i moja malenkost, predložili su objavljivanje Deklaracije kao sastavnog dijela projekta ove publikacije, kao jedne cjeline, sa ciljem da njemačkom čitateljstvu predstavimo bosansko iskustvo islama kao modela buduće institucionalizacije islama i strutkture muslimanskog života u Njemačkoj i Evropi. Knjiga pod nazivom "Islam mit europäischem Gesicht. Perspektiven und Impulse" (*Islam sa evropskim obilježjima. Obzori i Poticaji*) ugledala je svjetlo dana 2010. u aranžmanu Katoličke izdavačke kuće.*[12]

Tekst Deklaracije čini srž naše publikacije. Taj tekst je zatim evaluiran s tri opsežna pojašnjenja, katoličkog, protestantskog i muslimanskog teologa – pri čemu je svaki od njih izrazio zadovoljstvo sadržajem i značajem ovog dokumenta i adresirao različita pitanja kao polazišnu tačku buduće diskusije. Prof. P. dr. Lothar Bily SDB, rektor Filozofsko-teološkog koledža "Benediktbeuern" u Bavarskoj, ukazuje na teškoću koja proizlazi iz činjenice da Deklaracija istovremeno aktuelizira sekularno "zapadno" društvo ali i tzv. islamski svijet, koji pokatkad ima široko rasprostranjene razlike kao preduvjete. Rev. dr. Rainer Oechslen, koji predvodi međureligijski dijalog i odnose sa islamom Evangelističke Luteranske crkve u Bavarskoj, pokrenuo je recimo pitanje kako i na koji način se tradicionalni model porodice, koji zagovara reisu-l-ulema, može dovesti u sklad sa široko rasprostranjenim alternativnim načinima života, uključujući i ljudska prava homoseksualaca, koji zaslužuju ravnopravan tretman i zaštitu – a ne animozitet – njihove religije. dr. Aziz Hasanović, zamjenik muftije u Hrvatskoj, hvata se u koštac sa multidimenzionalnim poticajima i podsjeća da "Deklaracija teži ka tome da uvede evropske norme kao vlastite standarde u okvir suvremenog naučavanja muslimana... Ovdje se radi o početku prije nego konačnom cilju koji je već postignut."*[13]

Predstavljanje Deklaracije i rasprava o njenom sadržaju dalje su utjelovljeni u predložcima koji obrazlažu povijesne korjene Islama u Evropi, opisuju povijesni i sadašnji trenutak islama u Austriji i Bosni, i razvijaju perspektive za institucionalizaciju islama u Njemačkoj. Zaključeno je da Deklaracija čiji je autor Mustafa Cerić doista pruža bogatu vrijednost etičke, socijalne i duhovne vodilje, i stimulans koji bi mogao postati značajan putokaz u procesu oblikovanja zajedničke budućnosti, kako muslimana tako i nemuslimana Evrope i na evropskoj sceni.

U zaključku, trojica urednika su svoja zapažanja saželi u slijedećem:
"Islam nije strano tijelo u Evropi. Ovaj zaključak, naravno, ne predstavlja neko spektakularno otkriće naše studije, niti provokativno postavlja neku novu tezu.

On jednostavno opisuje zajedničku evropsku realnost, kako danas tako i u prošlosti. Muslimani ne samo da su učestvovali u oblikovanju političke povijesti ovog kontinenta, već su također sudjelovali u višeobojenom koloritu evropske kulture i ideja humanizma. Muslimani imaju svoj udio u arhitekturi, umjetnosti, muzici, filozofiji i nauci Evrope.

Pažnja naše studije usredotočena je namjerno na onu vrstu muslimana koji jedva da su kao takvi uopće bili zamijećeni,

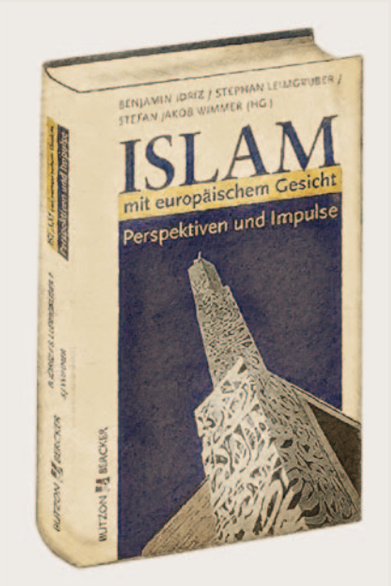
*[11] Govor je bio na engleskom jeziku, a pisani prijevod sa njemačkog.

*[12] B. Idriz, S. Leimgruber, S.J. Wimmer (ur.), ***Islam mit europäischem Gesicht,*** Butzon & Bercker Vlg., Kevelaer 2010.

*[13] Idriz/Leimgruber/Wimmer, ***Islam mit europäischem Gesicht***, str. 146.



Stephan LEIMGRUBER, Dr. Mustafa CERĆ, Benjamin IDRIZ i Stefan Jakob WIMMER:
Islam u Evropi - integracija i identitet, Minhen 2007



Benjamin IDRIZ, Stephan LEIMGRUBER i
Stefan Jakob WIMMER:
Islam sa evropskim obilježjima - Obzori i Poticaji

iako su se oni danas, kao i uvijek, u Evropi osjećali '*svoji na svome*'. To što su muslimani Balkana uvijek bili sastavnim dijelom islamske umme, nije ih uvjerilo da treba da žive izolirano, kao posebna zajednica, već su svoj islam živjeli okruženi pripadnicima drugih religija i etničkih grupa, s kojima su oblikovali zajedničke identitete. Upravo zbog toga što objedinjuju osmansko i austrijsko naslijeđe, što molitve obavljaju okrenuti prema Meki, a istovremeno pritom teže da svoj kozmopolitski identitet definiraju u pravcu Brisela.

Naprosto je očaravajuće, uprkos ogoromnom bolu i patnji, kako su bosanski muslimani uspjeli pronaći modus sučeljavanja sa njihovom žalošću. Kod njih nije bilo niti jednog jedinog poziva na osvetu, uzvraćanje istom mjerom do posljednje kapi krvi, niti pak beskrajnog lutanja u začaranom krugu perpetualne borbe, nasilja i terora, nalik onom koje dominira u drugim dijelovima svijeta, uključujući i islamski svijet, a koji pobuđuju beznađe i očaj. Ovo je, također, preovladavajuća, autentična slika manifestacije islamske realnosti u Evropi – činjenica koja još uvijek nije postala dio naše svijesti.

Duhovni poglavar bosanskih muslimana, reisu-l-ulema dr. Mustafa Cerić, koji je na ovu dužnost izabran 1993. i to u vrijeme opsade i granatiranja Sarajeva, odlučno je pozivao na pomirenje, oblikujući time pravac ka pomirenju naroda. Njegov pogled bio je okrenut ka budućnosti, a '*Deklaracija evropskih muslimana*' jasan je i impresivan dokaz koji to potvrđuje. Uporedo sa njegovim pragmatičnim i pozitivnim pristupom, Cerić sadržaj i tekst svoje deklaracije uopće ne posmatra dogmatskim ili pak konačnim dokumentom, već radije kao neku vrstu prijedloga ili nacrta čiji je primarni cilj stimuliranje smislene rasprave o njoj u nastojanju ostvarenja njenih partikularnih propozicija…

Mi u zapadnoj Evropi moramo više pažnje posvetiti autohtonim muslimanima Evrope, i zbog toga moramo posvetiti više pažnje Deklaraciji dr. Cerića. Time ćemo ne samo odgovoriti na legitimne zahtjeve muslimana u našem susjedstvu, već također poboljšati položaj svih građana Evrope. Posebno mi u Njemačkoj imamo šansu da se okrenemo ka potvrđenom iskustvu islama (u Bosni), na način kako je to gore predstavljeno. Kada to prilagodimo našim specifičnim okolnostima i potrebama, time ćemo dati značajan doprinos oblikovanju modernog, evropskog, lica islama."*[14]

*[14] Idriz/Leimgruber/Wimmer, *Islam mit europäischem Gesicht*, str. 221-225.



8. DECEMBAR 2014.

BEČKA KONFERENCIJA
U ORGANIZACIJI "INSTITUTA ZA GLOBALNU SIGURNOST"
PROMOCIJA SIGURNOSTI ZA SVE

NUKLEARNO ORUŽJE I MORALNI KOMPAS

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, bivši vrhovni muftija Bosne i Hercegovije, započeo je svoj govor biblijskom pričom o braći Kainu i Abelu, u kojoj je miroljubivog Abela ubio njegov brat Kain zbog pohlepe za moći... on je utvrdio da danas ta priča može biti razumljiva kao borba između humanosti i nuklearnog oružja te dodao da mi ne bismo smjeli dopustiti da Abela ili humanost, savlada i uništi Kain ili nuklearno oružje:

"Zbog ovog univerzalnog Božanskog moralnog zakona ja, Abel ovoga vremena, kažem Kainu, ovoga vremena, da su djela iskopavanja, rafiniranja i obogaćivanje uraniuma, proizvodnja nuklearnog oružja ili nuklearnog goriva, testiranje nuklearnog oružja, upotreba nuklearnog oružja, operacija nuklearnog oružja, nuklearnih centrala, akcidenti nukleranih centrala, reprocesuiranje upotrijebljenog nuklearnog goriva, slaganje i izlaganje nuklearnog otpada, te upotreba istrošenog uraniuma - da su to sve djela ljudski nečasna, legalno neodrživa i moralno neprihvatljiva".

Dr. Cerić je još rekao: "Ja sam ovdje da podsjetim moju braću muslimane da mi moramo biti ljudi vjere, koji su poslanici mira, koji su miroljubivi kao što nas naše ime na to poziva. Stoga, mi treba da udružimo snage sa drugim ljudima od vjere kako bismo odigrali životnu ulogu u pomaganju da se ostvari cilj, a to je da svijet bude slobodan od nuklearnog oružja".

8. APRIL 2016.

BEČKA KONFERENCIJA
U ORGANIZACIJI "DIPLOMATISCHE AKADEMIE WIEN"
INSTITUT ZA STRATEŠKE STUDIJE - KLUB TRI

LOKOMOTIVA ZA SURADNJU U CENTRALNOJ EVROPI I NA BALKANU

Prioriteti za suradnju - Kumulativni izazov ekstremizma:
Islamistička, anti-semitska, i politika desnog krila

Predsjedavajući: Werner ALMHOFER
Panelist: Reisu-l-ulema emeritus dr. **Mustafa CERIĆ**

Gospodine predsjedavajući,
Dame i gospodo,
Selam / Shalom / Dobar dan.
Hvala vam što ste mi dali priliku da govorim na ovoj konferenciji u Beču.

I

Ja sam musliman. I ponosim se time. Štaviše, ja sam musliman po profesiji muftijskog odijela. Da, tako je, gotovo davadeset godina obnašao sam dužnost reisu-l-uleme i vrhovnog muftije u Bosni i Hercegovini. Oslobođen sam dužnosti, ali ne i muftijske misije. Želim naglasiti da ja nisam imigrant. Bio sam emigrant u Americi. Osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća imao sam lijepo iskustvo u Čikagu. Doista, Čikago je je moj tip grada, *my kind of town*. Dvoje moje djece je rođeno u tom gradu. Ali nisam htio ostati u Čikagu. Vratio sam se ili "migrirao" sam u Evropu. Vratio sam se u zemlju mojih predaka, u moju domovinu Bosnu. Nikad nisam ni pomislio da bih mogao ostati bespomoćan, beskućan, bez zemlje i bez države dok nisam čuo političara u mom okruženju kako kaže: "Nemojte da mislite da nećete Bosnu i Hercegovinu odvesti u pakao, a muslimanski narod možda u nestanak"*[1]. Ova genocidna izjava me potakla da mislim da ljudi nisu rođeni bespomoćni, beskućni, bezzemljaši i bezdržavotvorni već ih takvim učine bezdušni, bezumni, bezosjećajni, bezsavjesni ljudi. Dakle, talas prognanika*[2] sa Istoka prema Evropi, koji je ovih dana bez presedana, nije uzrok za nečiju zabrinutost. To je zapravo posljedica nečijeg nemara da obrati pažnju na bezume ljude koji nemaju osjećaja za ljudska prava.

*[1] Radovan Karadžić govoreći na bosanskom parlamentu, u noći 14-15 oktobar 1991. godine o opasnosti za građane Bosne i Hercegovine, od kojih su većina Bošnjaci muslimanske vjere, ako se odluče za referendum o bosanskoj samostalnosti jer je komunistička Jugoslavija bila pred kolapsom nakon što se raspao komunistički blok na čelu sa Sovjetskim Savezom.

*[2] Prognanik nije isto što i *izbjeglica*, koji bježi. Prognanik je onaj kojeg neko progoni, kojeg neko tjera da napusti svoj dom, svoju domovinu. Sirijski prognanici bježe, ali ne zato što im je Evropa draža od Sirije, već zato što ih progone iz njihovog doma, iz njihove domove oni koji nemaju ni duši ni srce. Oni traže utočište od progonitelja. Oni su, dakle, *prognanici, expelees*, oni nisu *bjegunci, fugitives*.

II

Ja sam Bosanac. I ponosim se time isto tako. Moji preci su *Dobri Bošnjani*, Bošnjaci. Oni su usvojili vjeru islam u 15. stoljeću. Prije toga prakticirali su neku vrstu kršćanstva ili hrišćanstva. Imali su svoju nezavisnu *Crkvu bosansku*, koju su i rimokatolička i pravoslavna crkvena hijerarhija smatrali heretičkom. Nepotrebno je naglašavati da nijedna od tri ibrahimovske tradicije: judaizam, kršćanstvo i islam nisu nastale u Evropi. Sve su migrirale u Evropu. Evropa ih je usvojila u različitim periodima u historiji i pod različitim historijskim okolnostima, sa razlčitom toplinom ili hladnoćom. Naravno, Evropa je imala svoju domaću religiju ili religije, ali su one vremenom zamijenjene sa imigrantskim religijma sa Istoka. No, može li religija biti imigrant? Može li ideja biti uljez? Može li kultura biti stranac? Može li pjesma biti otrovan glas?

III

Itekako, od Sokrata do Isusa neobična ideja i nova vjera su proglašavani otrovnim kao otrovne zmije; Sokrat je popio otrov, kako bi oslobodio Atenjane od svojih neobičnih ideja; Isus je, prema kršćanskom vjerovanju*[3], bio izložen na raspeće kako bi svojom žrtvom oslobodio čovječanstvo od grijeha; od Copernicusa do Martin Luthera Kinga nove ideje i istinska uvjerenja platili su visoku cijenu zbog slobode mišljenja i ljudskih prava; od Marxa do Hitlera bauk kruži Evropom - bauk komunizma i fašizma, bauk radikalizma i ekstremizma, bauk šovinizma i nacionalizma, bauk fanatizma i mitomanije, bauk separatizma i terorizma; od Holokausta do Genocida Evropa se još uvijek muči da ustanovi šta je Zaratustra rekao starom svecu u šumi? Je li Bog mrtav*[4]? Evropa još nije sigurna da li je Bog živ. Ili izgleda kao da Bog nije ni mrtav ni živ. Evropa se nalazi između toga, između svoje izgubljene vjere u Boga i svoje potrage za ljudskom dušom, između svoje otvorene umjetnosti i zatvorene kulture, između svoje posljednje pjesme i svog prvog velikog praska (Big Bang). I ja se nalazim između dvoga, između straha i nade. Bojim se da se moja vjera proglasi kao novi bauk koji kruži Evropom - bauk islama sa ili bez imigranata sa Istoka. Međutim, nada u meni je jača od straha. Možda sam naivan, ali ne mogu odustati da mislim da će iz ovog straha, iz ove fobije, Evropa izaći jača u svojoj posvećenosti demokraciji i ljudskim pravima, vladavini prava i poštovanju ljudskog života, socijalnoj pravdi, miru i sigurnosti, posvećena načelu da svaka osoba ima pravo da bude ono što jest i da živi onako kako želi.

IV

Ja sam Evropljanin. I ponosim se time bez obzira na sve. Pripadam istom mjerom velikom muslimanskom filozofu Abu Hamidu Muhammadu al-Ghazaliju (u. 1111) i velikom evropskom filozofu René Descartes-u (u.1650). Ili, takoreći, obojica pripadaju meni, jer su vjerovali da um može naći izvjesnu istinu u matematici.

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*[3] Muslimani vjeruju da Isa sin Merjemin nije bio razapet, već da se to ljudima samo pričinilo: '*Nisu ga ni ubili ni razapeli, već im se pričinilo… već ga je Allah uzdigao Sebi…*' (Kur'an, 4:157-158).

*[4] Aluzija na aluziju u knjizi "Tako je govorio Zaratrustra" od Fridriha Ničea, koji na početku knjige pod naslovom "Zaratrustrin predgovor" kaže: "A šta to radi svetac u šumi?" pitaše Zaratustra. Svetac odgovori: "Pravim pjesme i pjevam ih, i praveći pjesme smijem se, plačem, i gunđam tako hvalim Boga. Pjevanjem, smijehom, plačem i gunđanjem hvalim Boga, koji je moj Bog… A kad ostade Zaratustra sam, ovako je govorio u svome srcu: "Da li je to mogućno! Ovaj stari svetac u svojoj šumi još ništa ne zna o tom, da je Bog mrtav!". Ova Ničeova fraza napravila je veliki zaokret u Evropi u vezi s vjerom u Bogu na način da se ima utisak da čovjek može da živi kao da Boga nema.

V

A sada mi dozvolite da s vama podijelim nešto o čemu možete poslije razmisliti. Kao što znate, danas je petak, dan u sedmici u kome je za mene Sveta molitva (*džuma-namaz*), kao što je to za katolike Sveta misa nedeljom i kao što je to za Jevreje Sveti šabat subotom. Organizator ove konferencije nije dužan da ima na umu raspored muslimanskih molitvi. Moja dužnost je bila da ga podsjetim da me ne raspoređuje da govorim u vrijeme moje molitve petkom. Siguran sam da se organizator ne bi protivio mom zahtijevu. Ali, ja nisam tražio ovu uslugu. Rizikovao sam da danas propustim moj kolektivni redovni namaz, molitvu petkom*[5]. Možda ćete pitati zašto sam pristao na ovu vrstu grižnje savjesti, jer moja savjest nije mirna ako nisam u miru s Bogom.

VI

Ali, koga briga moj mir s Bogom dok sam u miru s evropskim komšijama? To je ono što sam pomislio danas. Htio sam da vam pokažem koliko je za mene važno vaše mišljenje o meni kao muslimanu iz Bosne. Mislio sam da želite da me vidite na ovaj način. Zbog toga sam se pobojao da tražim uslugu da mi se osigura vrijeme za moju današnju molitvu u jednoj od mnogih džamija u Beču. Nemojte da vas to uznemirava. Niste vi ništa krivi zbog toga. Kriv sam ja. Kriv sam, ali sam i sam sebi sudija danas. Ne želim više slušati ničiji sud o meni, o mojoj vjeri, o mojoj kulturi, o mojoj etici i moralu. Toga sam se dovoljno naslušao, svakodnevno od svih koji znaju i koji ne znaju o čemu pričaju. Jednostavno se bojim bilo šta reći. Bojim se da ne promašim temu. Bojim se da budem optužen za samo-odbranu, za samo-pobunu, za samo-obmanu, za samo-sudbinu...

VII

Molim vas, dopustite mi da budem iskren i da kažem da zavidim svom jevrejskom prijatelju, rabinu, koji može da kaže Evropi kako se osjeća naspram anti-semitizma. Ja nemam tu privilegije da kažem kako se osjećam naspram anti-islamizma ili islamofobiji u Evropi i na Balkanu, iako toga u zadnje vrijeme ima više nego anti-semitizma ili bar jednako toliko. Umjesto toga moja domaća zadaća je da govorim o islamskom: *ekstremizmu, fanatizmu, fundamentalizmu, džihadizmu, halifizmu, isilizmu, daišizmu, suicidizmu, vehabizmu, selefizmu, terorizmu...* Možete mi vjerovati ako vam kažem da nemam ništa novo da pridodam vašim već pohranjenim informacijama o svim ovim pitanjima. Čini se da je cijeli kosmos pun dnevnih običnih, specijalnih i društvenih medijskih izvještaja o neizrecivim zločinima počinjenim u ime islama, iako niko tačno ne zna ko su njihovi počinioci. Ili svi znaju tačno ko su, ali se niko ne usuđuje da javno govori o njihovom stvarnom identitetu. To su oni koji terorišu savjest čovječanstva već mnogo godina i, čini se, da će to i dalje činiti mnogo godina. Bez obzira šta bih rekao u osudi i ogradi od nasilja u ime moje vjere, to nije dovoljno, jer to ne mogu zaustaviti. Prema tome, moja izjava je irelevantna. Međutim, dozvolite mi da se ipak izjasnim kao svjedočanstvo o pan-evropeizmu jednog muslimana iz Bosne. Dozvolite mi da kažem svoju riječ o nedavnim terorističkim napadima u Briselu.

*[5] Iskoristio sam status, *rukhsu*, musafira u Beču, kojem džuma-namaz nije obavezan, ali je bolje da sa klanja džuma-namaz u džamiji, tj. u džematu.

VIII

Zaista, teroristički napadi izvršeni 22. marta, 2016. godine u Briselu, glavnom gradu Evropske unije, na aerodromu i u metrou, šokirali su cijeli svijet. Najteže je porodicama i prijateljima nastradalih. Njima izražavam svoje duboko i iskreno saučešće. Mi u Bosni najbolje znamo kako se osjećaju. Samo oni koji su iskusili teror mogu istinski suosjećati sa žrtvama terorizma.

IX

Zbog straha da ne pogriješim, sustezao sam se od teških i osjetljivih pitanja u vezi sa fenomenom tzv. ISIL-a. Ili sam želio da izbjegnem mogućnost da me pogrešno shvate oni koji me prate ili oni koji gledaju dalje od mog rada. Ali, više ne mogu da šutim. Moram da postavim ovih nekoliko teških pitanja. Je li moguće da niko ne zna ko je ISIL? Odakle je? Ko ga je osmislio? Ko ga je vojno osposobio? Ko se krije iza ISIL-ove maske? Ko je odlučio da ubija sve redom na Istoku i na Zapadu? U ime i protiv islama? Ko se poigrava sa sudbinom čovječanstva?

X

Nije planeta Zemlja Mars. Niti su ISIL-ovci Marsovci. Oni su zemaljski zlodjelnici, koji šire strah među ljudima i narodima, koji izgone ljude iz njihovih domova da traže spas na poljima pod šatorima. Sedam miliona Sirijaca je prognano iz toplih domova da se pate na otvorenom u ovim hladnim zimskim danima i noćima. Je li moralo doći do invazije na Irak? Je li se morala dogoditi Sirija? Je li kriza u Jemenu samo početak ili kraj nečega? Zna li iko to što svi znaju? Ovo je velika zavjera protiv islama i muslimana na Istoku i na Zapadu!

XI

Nikad dosada nisam vjerovao u teorije zavjere. Ali, otkad su se desili napadi u Briselu, sve mi se promijenilo. Sve mi je, čini mi se, postalo jasno. Ovome zlu nema kraja zato što niko neće da se vrati na početak. Koji je strašan isto kao i kraj. A kraj može biti da se pusti da zlo pobijedi. Ili da se zlo porazi. Kako to misliš, pitate me? Pa tako da dobro konačno progovori jasno i glasno jednim glasom i ujedinjenom akcijom svih koji znaju odakle zlo dolazi. Zar ne vidite da je zlo glasnije i djelotvornije od dobra. To je ono što me najviše plaši. Da se pusti da zlo pobijedi. Kako to misliš, pitate? Pa, mislim da biste mogli biti u iskušenju da prihvatite ISIL-ovu priču o islamu i muslimanima kao što se to sada širi po cijelom svijetu. Možda ćete imati dojam da su oni, ISIL, ti koji se bore za čast Islama i slobodu muslimana. Sve dok se ne shvati i ne prihvati da priča o ISIL-u nije priča o islamu, nego anti-islamska kampanja, i da ova kampanja ISIL-a o ISIL-u ne oslobađa muslimane, nego ih porobljava, neće se moći stati ukraj nasilju koje ovih dana razara Istok i Zapad.

XII

Nisam opčaran evropskom istorijom. Niti joj išta dugujem, posebno nakon srpskog Genocida nad mojim narodom u Bosni. Ali, Evropa je moj dom. Svi Evropljani su moji sugrađani, moje komšije. Njihov mir i sugurnost su i moj mir i sigurnost. Njihov strah i patnja su i moj strah i patnja. Odgojen sam da volim svoju vjeru a da poštujem tuđu. Nikad nisam čuo ni od svoje majke i ni od svog oca da treba da mrzim drugog i drugačijeg od sebe. Nikad od svog hodže nisam čuo ružnu riječ o komšijama druge vjere, a posebno ne o onima koji dijele s nama slične poglede i zato ih mi, muslimani, poštujemo kao vlasnike knjige, *Ahl al-Kutāb*. Dakle, priča o islamu od ISIL-a nanosi težak bol na duši. Ne znamo kako da se od te priče branimo? Ne znamo kako da komšijama i prijateljima objasnimo da to što oni pričaju na svojim forumima je prije svega protiv nas muslimana i naše vjere islama. To je protiv naših islamskih vrijednosti; to je protiv vrijednosti Evrope: vrijednosti života, vrijednosti vjere, vrijednosti slobode, vrijednosti imovine i vrijednosti časti.

A sada, da se vratim na pitanje mog muslimanskg statusa u Evropi,
mog bosanskog slučaja na Balkanu i moju budućnost u mojoj državi Bosni.

XIII

Nadam se da je Evropa shvatila da je došao kraj ignorisanja potrebe da se islam institucionalizira u smislu da se javni vjerski i kulturni rad muslimana u Evropi reguliše adekvatnim zakonima i propisima. Muslimani u Evropi ne mogu više biti grupa izvan zakona (*outlaws*) zbog njihove vjere. Vrijeme je da se shvati da muslimani u Evropi nisu spodobe (*ghosts*) zbog njihove vjere, već da su domaćini (*hosts*) zbog njihovih patriotskih prava i obaveza. Došlo je vrijeme da se ozbiljno razmisli o osnivanju domaćeg evropskog muslimanskog univerziteta gdje bi druga i treća generacija mladih evropskih muslimana mogli biti osposobljeni da preuzmu odgovornost za svoju vjeru i kulturu u kontekstu ukupnog evropskog civilizacijskog koda. Dokle god mladi evropski muslimani budu ovisili, dok god budu ovisnici o vanjskim smjernicama za svoj vjerski odgoj i obrazovanje, mi ćemo biti u opasnosti od mogućih ekstremnih i radikalnih ideja. Evropski muslimani su odrasli i dovoljno su sazreli da nemaju potrebu za bilo kakvim paternalizmom, bilo vjerskim ili političkim, pod uvjetom da se ovdje u Evropi ne osjećaju kao zlodusi, već kao domaćini sa patriotskim pravima i dužnostima. Ovaj osjećaj domaćina umjesto zloduha je ostvariv putem odgoja i obrazovanja kao ključnog faktora za borbu protiv vjerskog i političkog radikalizma, ekstremizma i terorizma. Vjerujem da je Evropa u stanju da prevaziđe strah od iskrivljene slike islama. Ako se ja ne bojim kao musliman, zašto bi se bojali kršćani, Jevreji, budisti, ateisti, agnostici, itd. Zar ne vidite da ISIL zastrašuje i ubija muslimane prije bilo koga drugog?

XIV

Što se tiče mog slučaja na Balkanu, imam jednu žalbu. Znam da je bolje sanjati nego žaliti se. Naučio sam to od velikog sanjara, velikog Martin Luther Kinga, koji je znao da niko neće slušati njegovu žalbu. Stoga, nikada nije rekao: "Ja imam žalbu". On je govorio: "Ja imam san". Nažalost, moj san je izblijedio nakon mnogo lošijeg argumenta - presude Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) zato što je oslobodio srpskog političkog optuženika Vojislava Šešelja svih optužbi, kao i tački za zločine protiv čovječnosti: progona, deportacije, nehumanih djela, i šest ratnih zločina, ubistva, mučenje, okrutno postupanje, bezobzirno razaranje sela, uništavanje ili hotimično nanošenje štete ustanovama namijenjenim religiji ili obrazovanju, i pljačkanje javne ili privatne imovine. Umjesto toga, sudija Antonetti je osudio Tužilaštvo MKSJ za konfuziju i nesposobnost. U svoje opravdanje za oslobađajuću presudu, većinski dio Tribunala je čak predložio da su ratno-huškački govori Šešelja koji pozivaju na istrjebljenje Hrvata "napravljeni u kontekstu sukoba koji su trebali da povećaju moral vojnika, a ne kao poziv da se neko istrijebi". Zar nije za žrtve Genocida na Balkanu strašno čuti takvo opravdanje krivičnog nasilja od najvišeg svjetskog suda pravde? Žrtve su mislile da će im, ako ništa drugo, slijepi i gluhi posmatrači u Evropi priznati njihovu bol. "Na kraju, pamtiti ćemo ne riječi naših dušmana, već šutnju naših prijatelja", kako je Martin Luther King istinito sročio. U tom kontekstu i zbog mog duševnog mira, danas imam samo jednu poruku za Evropu. Molim vas, ne dozvolite sebi da dva put budete prevareni tako da ne vjerujete svojim očima, da prihvatite da vam oni govore laži, da se poigravaju sa vašim dušama i srcima, da dobivaju nagradu za svoj Genocidni zločin. I kao što narodna mudrost kaže: "Mudar čovjek neće dozvoliti da ga zmija dva puta ujede iz iste jame".

XV

Na kraju, moram da podijelim sa vama moj veliki strah, možda veći od svih mojih strahova. Nisam siguran da vam mogu sve reći, ali ako spomenem ime Mostar, možete pretpostaviti šta je u pitanju. Mostar je jedan od najljepših gradova u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ljudi svih vjera i nacija u Mostaru su najsimpatičniji. Nažalost, rat ga je učinio ružnim. Sam simbol grada, Stari most, po kome je grad Mostar dobio ime, je bio uništen. Ipak, obnovljen je i jednako je lijep kao i ranije. Međutim, rane na ljudskim dušama su ostale. One se također moraju liječiti i izliječiti. Ne podjelama već povezivanjem pokidanih veza, već mostom dobre ljudske volje koja uvijek postoji u duši ljudi koji su otvorenog uma. Moj strah je da bi se Neretvom mogao podijeliti Mostar, što bi bio početak kraja mog naroda u tom gradu i šire. Ali, ne samo u Mostaru. Ako se Mostar podijeli po etničkim i religijskim linijama, cijela se Bosna može tako podijeliti. A to bi bio kraj mog bošnjačkog naroda. To je bila prijetnja koju smo čuli od Radovana Karadžića na početku Genocida, koje se zaista dogodio unatoč obećanju "Nikad više". Nadam se da ovaj put nećemo biti nemarni. Nećemo dozvoliti izdaju Mostara i Bosne i Hercegovine u cjelini. Mislite što god hoćete, ali jedno je tačno: Bosna je velika mogućnost za multietničku i multikulturalnu Evropu. Bosanska država i bosansko društvo su minijatura države i društva Evropske unije. Politički izazovi u Bosni su isti kao i izazovi cijele Evrope, a to je jedinstvo države i društva u različitosti uz stalni napor na pomirenju. To nije lahko, ali nema drugog puta osim da to i svi zajedno uradimo, jer ni slabi ni agresivni neće naslijediti zemlju, već oni koji su kooperativni. Stoga, vjerujem da Bosna ne treba dalje čekati, nego što je prije moguće postati punopravni član evropske velike porodice. Na kraju krajeva, Bosna zaslužuje da živi u miru i sigurnosti, kao punopravna članica programa NATO-a za mir i sigurnost u jugoistočnoj Evropi i na Balkanu, području koje je turbulentno kao i uvijek, ali je zasad mirno kao što i mora biti.



UVOD
U DEKLARACIJU SVJETSKOG BOŠNJAČKOG KONGRESA

Nakon napada u Neujorku u septembru 2001, masakra u Madridu 2004, te eksplozije bombi u Londonu 2005. godine u Istočnoj džamiji u Londonu, dr. Mustafa Cerić je, kao reis-ul-ulema Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, objavio u julu 2005. godine ***Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana***.

Deklaraciju je usvojio i objavio Islamski evropski forum u Londonu te je u velikoj mjeri prihvaćena diljem Evrope. U intervjuu za Radio Slobodna Evropa, 14. oktobra 2006, dr. Cerić je *Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana* ovako opisao: "To je lični čin – možda je prejaka rieč 'ispovijest' – ali to je moj osobni poziv evropskoj javnosti da ne čini grešku generaliziranja svih muslimana te da ne širi islamofobiju koja se širi u Evropi i općenito na Zapadu, pogotovo nakon 11. septembra 2001. godine. Druga moja poruka je upućena muslimanima koji žive u Evropi da ozbiljno shvate ova tri događaja koja mogu imati teške posljedice za njihov boravak i položaj u Evropi. Treća poruka je upućena muslimanskom svijetu općenito sa molbom da pomogne nama na Zapadu, pogotovo u Evropi, da gradimo dijalog prihvatljiv kako za nas muslimane tako i za naše evropske susjede."

Osam godina nakon objavljivanja *Deklaracije evropskih muslimana*, sada kao predsjednik Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa, reisu-l-ulema Emeritus dr. Cerić je pokrenuo inicijativu za objavljivanje druge deklaracije, ovaj put ***Deklaracije o zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu.***

Svjetski bošnjački kongres je inauguriran u Sarajevu 29. decembra 2012. godine, kao globalni nacionalni glas bošnjačkog naroda nakon posljednjeg GENOCIDA u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ova Deklaracija predstavlja odgovor na nedavne događaje u Bostonu i Londonu, sa naglaskom na neprihvatljivu upotrebu i zloupotrebu imena "Allah" i "islam", pogotovo u slučaju londonskog ubistva. Ovoga puta, dr. Mustava Cerić, predsjednik Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa, poziva bošnjački narod da zauzme hrabar stav o svojoj vjeri i kulturi te da bude dobar primjer drugima: da osudi nasilje i promovira mir i toleranciju ma gdje bio i živio.

26. JUNI 2013.

DEKLARACIJA SVJETSKOG BOŠNJAČKOG KONGRESA O ZAJEDNIČKOJ SIGURNOSTI I GLOBALNOM GRAĐANSTVU

Reisu-l-ulema emeritus dr. **Mustafa CERIĆ**, predsjednik Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa

Svjetski bošnjački kongres objavljuje *Deklaraciju o zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu* izražavajući osjećanja bošnjačkog naroda u vezi sa smrtonosnim bombaškim napadom na Bostonski maraton, 15. aprila 2013. godine i užasni čin nasilja na ulicama Londona 22. maja 2013, pri čemu su korištene svete riječi „Allahu ekber" i zloupotrijebljeno sveto ime islama.

Budući da je u bombaškom napadu na Bostonski maraton ubijeno troje ljudi i više od stotinu je bilo ranjenih, dok je u Volniču (Woolwich) ubijen jedan britanski vojnik koji nije bio na dužnosti, te budući da su ti akti nasilja pripisani muslimanima, sa percepcijom da su počinioci nadahnuti islamskim učenjem da počine pokolj nad nedužnim ljudima na tako užasan način;

Budući da nakon bombaškog napada na Bostonski maraton i užasnog čina nasilja na ulicama Londona, sa krvlju na rukama ubice sa mesarskom satarom, muslimani žive pod teškim pritiskom kolektivne krivnje zbog „islamskog terorizma" koji se stalno prikazuje kao islamski po prirodi;

Pošto mi vjerujemo da je vrijeme da se muslimanski učenjaci i intelektualci svih teoloških škola i grupacija treba da okupe i objave jasnu izjavu o zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu protiv onih koji koriste Allahovo ime i islam na pogrešan način;

Budući da je bošnjački narod gotovo uništen preživio najstrašniji zločin protiv čovječnosti: Genocid, te bio izložen nasumičnom granatiranju, a njihove žene bile silovane i mučene, i budući da je doživio poniženja u koncentracijskim logorima, Bošnjaci smatraju da je njihovo ljudsko pravo i moralna obaveza da se jasno i glasno usprotive zloupotrebi svetog Allahovog imena i miroljubivog imena islama u brutalne profane svrhe što ugrožava budućnost njihove djece;

Pošto su velika većina muslimana diljem svijeta mirni ljudi koji vole živjeti u miru i suživotu sa svojim susjedima, osigurati pristojan život za svoju porodicu i doprinijeti blagostanju svoje zajednice;

Pošto je ljudski život Božiji dar te stoga svako ljudsko biće ima pravo na život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i čast:

Neka bude objavljen cijelom čovječanstvu izraz osjećanja Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa:

• Da su zajednička sigurnost i globalno građanstvo dvije suštinske vrijednosti ljudske slobode i jednakosti.

• Da vjera *al-īmān* znači: sigurnost, bezbjednost, kontinuitet, pouzdanost i povjerenje. Stoga, značenje vjere, *al-īmān*, nije samo vjera vjernika, već i sigurnost drugoga, koji živi u blizini sa vjernikom. Stoga, onaj koji je *al-mu'min* (vjernik), a to je stanje *al-īmān* (unutrašnje sigurnosti) i *al-amān* (javnog povjerenja), pravi je musliman koji voli mir, koji radi za mir, i koji donosi solidarnost i saradnju u društvu. Jer ni slabi ni agresivni neće naslijediti zemlju, već samo oni koji su spremni na saradnju, što znači mirni ljudi koji rade za sigurnost svih, tj., za zajedničku sigurnost.

• Da, kao što je to slučaj i sa riječju *al-īmān*, imamo tri ključna slova za *al-islām* da nas vode do pravog značenja islama i muslimana. Tako su *sīn*, *mīm* i *lām* tri arapska slova koja označavaju koncept mira u islamu kao ključnog pokretača cijelog svjetonazora muslimana. Riječ *islam* ne znači bilo kakvu pokornost, već prije svega mirnu i prihvatljivu pokornost, kao i mirnu i prihvatljivu praksu u ime Allaha Svemogućeg. U samoj ideji islama svjedoči se historijska istina da „nema prinude u vjeri." Ova Kur'anska objava iz sedmog stoljeća jedinstvena je ne samo po svojoj historijskoj inicijativi, već i kao dalekosežna Božanska uputa za čovječanstvo koje je do sada naučilo da prinudna pokornost ne samo u religiji, već i bilo kojoj ideologiji nikad nije, niti će uroditi plodom. Stoga je islam ustanovio princip da prinudna pokornost Bogu nije prihvatljiva samome Bogu zato što je samo mirno prihvatanje pokornosti valjana pokornost Bogu, jer *Bog sam jeste mir, al-Salām*, i time On prihvata samo mirno poštovanje i miran odnos među ljudima. Doista, mirna pokornost Bogu pretpostavlja mir u duši koji je rezultat unutarnje pouzdanosti vjere - vjere u Boga i u čovjeka. Ako islam znači mirnu pokornost Allahu Svemogućem, onda riječ *musliman* doslovno znači „miran čovjek", čovjek koji širi mir u svijetu. To je najbolje iskazao Muhammed a.s. svojom definicijom muslimana: *- Musliman, tj., miran čovjek, je onaj koji čini druge muslimane, tj., druge mirne ljude, sigurnim od njegove ruke i jezika!*

• Da treći temeljni stub islamske zgrade mira i sigurnosti jest ideja *al-ihsān*, koja označava ljepotu i lijepo, blagost i blagostanje, dobro i dobrotu, duševnost i dušebrižnost. A to znači da vjernik musliman, muškarac i žena, treba da uvijek održavaju svoj ljudski karakter lijepim u očima drugih, da uvijek čine dobro za druge, da uvijek budu dobar primjer drugima i da uvijek budu dobrodušni prema svojim bližnjima kako bi stekli titulu *Muhsina*, onoga koji čini dobro i ispravno drugima, ne samo da bi zadobio njihovu pohvalu, već i da bi Bog vidio to dobro što ga čine drugima, jer Bog njih vidi uvijek i na svakom mjestu. To je najviši stepen ljepote ljudske duše, to je najveća moralna vrijednost ljudskog stvorenja – i doista, to je najveći ideal koncepta Zajedničke sigurnosti i globalnog građanstva.

• Da ovo nije prvi put u historiji da se religija pogrešno tumači zbog predrasuda ljudi okovanih vlastitom mržnjom prema Drugome; nije ovo prvi put u historiji, također, da koncept vjere bude od strane vlastitih sljedbenika okrenut na pogrešan put; i nije prvi put u historiji da žrtve predrasuda moraju spoznati da to što ih se pogrešno doživljava neće nestati samo po sebi. Oni moraju ustati i glasno progovoriti o tome šta je njihov stvarni koncept života, vjere, kulture, mira i sigurnosti, kao neodvojivi dio cijelog čovječanstva. Ali ne samo govoriti, oni moraju djelovati na uvjerljiv način tako da svoj govor životnom praksom potvrde. Lični primjer je moćniji od hiljadu riječi ispraznog propovijedanja.

• Da se muslimani moraju suočiti sa činjenicom da među njima postoje neodgovorni ljudi koji svojim nedjelima ne čine uslugu islamu. Niko ne razumije i ne prihvata ono što neki nasilni pojedinci ili grupe čine pozivajući se na plemenito ime islama. Oni šire pogrešne predstave o islamu i muslimanima na takav način da će se buduće generacije teško od toga osloboditi. Jedna nepravda ne opravdava drugu. Muslimanima Allah Svemogući naređuje da promoviraju mir i budu pravedni i prema svojim neprijateljima kako bi promijenili njihova srca i dobili ih za svoje prijatelje: - Dobro i zlo nisu isto. Stoga, ti promoviraj dobro tako da ako postoji neprijateljstvo između tebe i njega, on bi mogao zbog tvoje dobrote postati tvoj pravi prijatelj. Važno je, također, da se radi na iskorjenjivanju uzroka i činilaca koji dovode do ekstremizma i nasilja. Unutrašnja neriješena pitanja, vanjska politika, rasizam, islamofobija su neka od pitnja kojima se mora posvetiti ozbiljna i svestrana pažnja. Zanemarivanje tih pitanja je neodgovorno i ne rješava problem s kojim se danas suočavamo.

• Da muslimanski učenjaci, posebno hatibi, diljem svijeta treba da promiču mir i toleranciju islama; treba da prestanu osuđivati jedni druge u ime islama. Muslimanski učenjaci, pogotovo oni koji govore sa džamijskih minbera i putem globalnih medija, snose veliku odgovornost za zajedničku sigurnost među narodima svijeta. Muslimanski učenjaci moraju imati osjećaj za mir i sigurnost muslimana svugdje u svijetu. Kletva upućena bratu iste vjere koji ima različita teološka mišljenja nije hrabrost već znak kukavičluka. Stvarna hrabrost muslimanskog učenjaka je da nauči svoga brata da živi u miru, sigurnosti, slobodi i dostojanstvu sa ostatkom miroljubivog čovječanstva.

Svjetski bošnjački kongres poziva sve muslimane u svijetu:

• Da budu uz građane zemalja koje su im dale utočište i zaštitu kada im je to najviše trebalo, te da zaštite sigurnost i bezbjednost tih građana odbacivanjem i aktivnim sprječavanjem, kada god je to moguće, sve akte terora;

• Da odgajaju svoju djecu i pomognu u obrazovanju budućih generacija muslimana različitih

nacija kako bi bili sastavni dio društava u kojima žive a koje nazivaju svojim domom, te da znaju da ciljevi ne opravdavaju nasilna sredstva i da su djela ubijanja i/ili ranjavanja nevinih civila u potpunoj suprotnosti sa temeljnim principima islama kao i sa temeljnom čovječnošću;

• Da pokažu svojim susjedima i zajednicama kako islam može biti snaga za poboljšanje socijalnih i ekonomskih uslova naših zajednica, time što će slijediti načela islama koja nam nalažu da nahranimo gladnog i zaštitimo svog susjeda, da živimo u miru i skladu sa ostatkom čovječanstva;

• Da dignu glas protiv mržnje i pridruže nam se u odbrani temeljnih principa ljudskosti, te da sa svojim susjedima i kolegama dijele istinu o tome da islam ne pripada ni Istoku ni Zapadu, već srcima onih koji žele živjeti u miru i sigurnosti sa drugima.

Predan zajedničkoj sigurnosti i globalnom građanstvu, Svjetski bošnjački kongres poziva bošnjački narod, ma gdje bio:

• Da promovira osnivačku povelju Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa u kojoj stoji da su Božiji darovi života, vjere, nacije, slobode, imovine i časti neotuđiva prava svakog čovjeka i svakog naroda;

• Da čuvaju Islamsku zajednicu u Bosni i Hercegovini kao jednu i jedinstvenu zajednicu muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini, Bošnjaka van domovine i drugih muslimana koji je prihvaćaju kao svoju, boreći se da očuvaju islamsku tradiciju Bošnjaka u skladu sa zahtjevima vremena i mjesta, tako što će uspostavljati i održavati kontakte i saradnju sa zajednicama, institucijama i organizacijama u aktivnostima koje promiču mir, pravdu i dobru volju među svim ljudima, sa krajnjim ciljem poticanja dobra i sprječavanja zla; te da se bore da žive po Kur'anskom imperativu: - Svi se za jedno Allahovo uže uzmite i nemojte se dijeliti i razilaziti.

• Da se posvete temeljnim načelima Svjetskog bošnjačkog kongresa koji pozivaju na duboku svijest i historijsku odgovornost današnje generacije Bošnjaka, koji su preživjeli Genocid, da učine sve što je u njihovoj moći da spriječe da njihovi potomci postanu žrtve novoga Genocida. Zbog svoje teške povijesti pune kušnje, Bošnjaci imaju jedinstvenu odgovornost da budu istinski nosioci moralnosti i pluralizma u svim zemljama u kojima žive i koje zovu svojom domovinom;

• Da se pridržavaju Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima, koja poziva da svako ima pravo na sva prava i slobode koje su u njoj sadržane, bez razlike bilo koje vrste, kao što je rasa, religija ili drugi status, a pogotovo da poštuju njen član 3, koji kaže da svako ima pravo na život, slobodu i sigurnost;

• Da se pridržavaju člana 18. Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima i člana 18. Međunarodnog pakta o građanskim i političkim pravima, koji kažu da svako ima pravo na slobodu mišljenja, savjesti i religije;

• Da nikada ne zaborave preambulu Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima, koja kaže da su nepoštivanje i prezir prema ljudskim pravima rezultirali barbarskim djelima koja su užasnula savjest čovječanstva;

• Te da globalno promoviraju *Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana*, u kojoj se iskazuje uvjerenje Bošnjaka da islam uči muslimane da su Jevreji i kršćani narodi Knjige te da stoga Jevreji, kršćani i muslimani treba da uče da dijele zajedničke moralne vrijednosti, kao i svoje zajedničke nade bez predrasuda, kako bi izbjegli diskriminaciju, nedostatak samopoštovanja, demoralizaciju, religijsku i rasnu mržnju, bespomoćnost, nedostatak kontrole, socijalnu isključenost, nedostatak prilika i slabu političku zastupljenost.

S obzirom na sve navedeno, **neka bude odlučeno** sa velikim osjećajem ponosa i povjerenja u miroljubivost islamske taradicije Bošnjaka,
Svjetski bošnjački kongres poziva sve Bošnjake svijeta:

• Da se snažno bore za svoje ciljeve kroz stalni odgoj i obrazovanje mladih, kao i svojih zajednica, čestitim moralnim vrijednostima, te da otvoreno i glasno odbace sve vrste i sva djela terora, kao temeljno neislamska, nemoralna i nehumana;

• Da snažno iskažu stalnu i proaktivnu odgovornost i dužnost da sistematski angažiraju svoje zajednice na svim nivoima lične i institucionalne saradnje, te da učvrste svoju vjeru i povjerenje svojih susjeda ma gdje živjeli u sve korisne aspekte društvenih aktivnosti;

• Da svaki dan čine sve što mogu kao integralni članovi svoje zajednice kojima se vjeruje, kao i državljani mnogih zemalja u svijetu, koji su pouzdani, kako bi pomogli jedni drugima da utru put ka zajedničkoj sigurnosti i trajnom miru sa pravdom za sve. Pridružite nam se u ovoj borbi da odbranimo i promoviramo pozitivne, konstruktivne i trajne islamske vrijednosti mira i pravde, istovremeno odbacujući terorizam jer je on uvijek pogrešan bez obzira na njegov korijen i cilj.

• Neka **Dobri Bošnjani** uvijek pamte da prava sreća nije samo biti voljen, već je prava sreća i voljeti drugoga, jer što više ljubavi dajemo drugome, sve više je imamo u sebi i za sebe.

REKLI SU... OSTALO JE ZAPISANO

BRATSTVO I POŠTOVANJE

Tokom posljednjih nekoliko decenija pratio sam rad dr. Mustafe Cerića i ono što je nastojao postići za narod Bosne u teškim kušnjama i nakon njih. Bio je centralna ličnost njihova otpora u odbrani dostojanstva i identiteta, istinske borbe bosanskog naroda suočenog sa Genocidom i napadima ekstremista među Srbima i Hrvatima tokom 1990-ih godina.

Tokom posljednih petnaest godina stalno smo bili u kontaktu i sarađivali. Mnogo sam naučio iz bosanskog iskustva, njegovih riječi i riječi ljudi koji ga okružuju, njegovih saradnika. Naime, Evropa danas treba čuti glas Sarajeva, glas bosanskog reisu-l-uleme, glas dr. Mustafe Cerića. Sada kada puni šezdesetu, kada ulazi u godine u kojima se ponekad moramo osvrnuti na prošlost i zapitati se šta smo to uradili sa svojim životom – želim mu reći da je postigao mnogo. Mnogo je nas koji ćemo slijediti njegov primjer, njegovu poruku i dati sve od sebe da budemo dobri muslimani, dobri Evropljani, dobri građani, tražiti mir, dostojanstvo i pravdu. Sjećat ćemo se da, u vrijeme kada su ga napadali, kada su napadali Bosnu, bosanski muslimani nisu pokleknuli; da se još uvijek drže dostojanstveno, da na zlo i nedostojno postupanje ne uzvraćaju zlom.

TARIQ RAMADAN
PROFESOR SAVREMENIH ISLAMSKOH STUDIJA NA OKSFORDSKOM UNIVERZITETU I PREDSJEDNIK EVROPSKE MUSLIMANSKE MREŽE

O jevrejsko-muslimanskim i međuvjerskim odnosima u naše vrijeme: U ČAST dr. MUSTAFE CERIĆA

Jedna od najistaknutijih ličnosti u tom pogledu, ne samo kao muslimanski vođa nego i kao religijski lider općenito, jeste dr. Mustafa Cerić, reisu-l-ulema i vrhovni muftija Bosne i Hercegovine. U teškim iskušenjima i užasima koje je doživjela njegova zemlja, on se pojavio kao glasnogovornik pobožnosti i dobrostivosti, sjedinjujući plemenita učenja islama, i stavši nasuprot onima koji svoju religiju zloupotrebljavaju kako bi sijali nepovjerenje i nasilje.

RABIN DAVID ROSEN
DIREKTOR ZA MEĐUVJERSKE ODNOSE AMERIČKOG JEVREJSKOG KOMITETA

HEROJ JEDNE VAŽNE TRADICIJE

Muftija je, 1993 godine, u intervju novinaru Robertu Fiski rekao: *Ubijaju nas zato što želimo živjeti skupa. Mi Bosanci branimo vaše principe – vaše principe u Evropi.*

Dr. Cerić je hanefijski muftija stare škole. On je živi primjer islamske spoznaje da se mi kroz vjernost tradiciji najistinitije vezujemo ne samo uz našu prošlost već i uz našu sadašnjost.

ABDAL HAKIM MURAD
DEKAN MUSLIMASNKOG KOLEDŽA U CAMBRIDGU

VOĐA KOJI SPAJA "DVA ČITANJA"

Među njegovim mnogim izvanrednim kvalitetima mislim da mi je najimpresivnije to što dr. Cerić spaja nešto što se naziva "dva čitanja" i vlada time. Pod tim podrazumijevam čitanje Objave i čitanje egzistencijalne stvarnosti ili zbilje ljudskog postojanja u ovom vremenu i prostoru.

ANAS AL-SHAIKH-ALI, CBE, FRSA
AKADEMSKI SAVJETNIK I REGIONALNI DIREKTOR ZA EVROPU
MEĐUNARODNOG INSTITUTA ZA ISLAMSKU MISAO

POVJERENJE I PRIHVATANJE – GRAĐA NAŠE ZAJEDNIČKE BUDUĆNOSTI

Dr. Cerića, s pravom, ne cijene samo kao jednu od najutjecajnijih muslimanskih ličnosti i glasova globalnog islama; konkretnije: identificiraju ga sa razvojem, zrelošću i rastom svijesti evropskog islama, dajući mu epitet ***svjetionika islama u Evropi.*** Ali njegovo ime je, također, neodvojivo od imena bosanskih muslimana i naših saznanja o njivoj novijoj historiji i neprilikama.

ABDOOL MAGID ABDOOL KARIM VAKIL
PREDSJEDNIK ISLAMSKE ZAJEDNICE LISABONA I PREDSJEDNIK
ABRAHAMSKOG FORUMA PORTUGALA

Prof. dr. Mustafa Cerić: LIDER KOJEG ĆEMO TREBATI U GODINAMA KOJE DOLAZE

Prof. dr. Mustafa Cerić je nadareni i svestrani učenjak i lider, s talentom kojem smo svjedočili u brojnim prilikama. Ja ću se usredotočiti na jednu epizodu: na našu saradnju na projektu dovođenja bosanskih studenata na Međunarodni islamski univerzitet u Maleziji (IIUM), čiji sam rektor bio od 1988. do 1999. godine.

Što se tiče Bosne, zahvaljujući inicijativi Prof. dr. Mustafe Cerića, Univerzitet je sa Islamskom zajednicom u Bosni i Hercegovini potpisao memorandum o razumijevanju kojim se predviđa mnogostrana saradnja ovih dviju institucija.

ABDULHAMID A. EBU SULEJMAN
PREDSJEDNIK MEĐUNARODNOG INSTITUTA ZA ISLAMSKU MISAO I
BIVŠI REKTOR MEĐUNARODNOG ISLAMSKOG UNIVERZITETA U MALEZIJI

GLAS EVROPSKOG ISLAMA

Iskazujemo čast jednom izuzetnom vjerskom lideru. U njemu se sabiru akademsko obrazovanje sa duhovnom mudrošću i moralnim vrijednostima. dr. Mustafa Cerić nije samo poglavar svoje vjerske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini; on je lice islama u Evropi. On je glas razuma na svjetskoj sceni dijaloga. On je glas jedne multikulturne, multivjerske Evrope. Stekao je poštovanje angažiranjem u brojnim institucijama i organizacijama, kao zagovornik za ljudska prava, vjerske slobode i demokratiju.

S dubokim korijenima u bolnoj historiji Balkana, ali historiji koja ipak obećava, on živi sa teološkom i egzistencijalnom dilemom o istini, pravdi i pomirenju. Ne kompromitirajući izvornu poruku svoje religije, on se snažno zalaže za modernu muslimansku demokratiju sa evropskim vrijednostima. Sekularnim religijskim autoritetima govori sa entuzijazmom i elokventno, ne bježeći od konfrontacije, kada je ona potrebna, ali uvijek uz suosjećanje za žrtve religijskog, etničkog i političkog ekstremizma. Kao i mnogi vjerski lideri, on se bori da nadvlada inherentnu dvoznačnost nacionalnog i internacionalnog lika. I, što je iskustvo mnogih vjerskih lidera, i on ima više kritičara kod kuće nego vani.

Uzdamo se da će se mudri, umjereni muslimanski glas našeg prijatelja i dalje čuti u međuvjerskom dijalogu u javnom prostoru Evrope i u debatama u svijetu – dao Bog – još mnogo godina.

BISKUP GUNNAR STALSETT
BIVŠI BISKUP OSLA I MODERATOR EVROPSKOG VIJEĆA VJERSKIH LIDERA

SEDAM GODINA MOJE BLISKE SARADNJE SA REISU-L-ULEMOM CERIĆEM

Za sve to vrijeme zajedničkog rada, ja nisam vidio nikoga tako predanog Bogu, islamu i muslimanima. Nikada nisam vidio nekog posvećenog svakom poduhvatu kojim se traga za dobrobiti islama ili muslimana, ili u tom slučaju dobrobiti svih ljudi. Nisam našao nikog tako povjerljivog i pouzdanog kao što je vrhovni muftija Cerić. Uvijek sam znao: ma kako zaposlen bio; na čemu god da je radio – on će, uvjerivši se da je to za veće dobro, naći vremena; a kada se angažira, on daje sve od sebe - znanje, volju, osjećanja, on pristupa cijelim svojm srcem.

PRINC GHAZI BIN MUHAMMEN BIN TALAL
GLAVNI SAVJETNIK ZA RELIGIJSKE I KULTURNE POSLOVE
JORDANSKOG KRALJA ABDULLAHA II

SLOVO O REISU-L-ULEMI dr. MUSTAFI CERIĆU

Prvi susret sa uvaženim reis-i-ulemom dr. Mustafom Cerićem kod mene je proizveo jak spoznajni šok. Taj Evropljanin musliman sebe i druge je gledao pogledom koji se razlikovao od pogleda jednog istočnjaka muslimana – kako ga ja vidim – spram sebe i drugih. Koliko god je bio vjernik i pridržavao se principa svoje vjere, toliko je bio ponosan na svoje evropsko porijeklo i čvrsto se držao civilizacijskih vrijednosti proizašlih iz tih korijena. Zbog toga je osjećao – ili je kod mene izazvao osjećaj – da se on, kada se odnosi između Istoka i Zapada poremete iz bilo kojeg razloga, nađe u krajnje neugodnoj i komplikovanoj situaciji, jer njega kao Evropljanina ne razumiju na Istoku, a kao muslimana ne prihvataju na Zapadu.

MUHAMMED ES-SEMMAK
GENERALNI SEKRETAR ISLAMSKOG DUHOVNOG VODSTVA U LIBANU;
GENERALNI SEKRETAR ISLAMSKO-KRŠĆANSKOG NACIONALNOG
VIJEĆA ZA DIJALOG; SEKRETAR ARAPSKOG TIMA ZA
ISLAMSKO-KRŠĆANSKI DIJALOG

IZRADNJA MOSTOVA: dr. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, REISU-L-ULEMA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Razborit i nadahnut lider, hrabri proročki glas, iskren i odan prijatelj: ti atributi dobro opisuju našeg vrsnog kolegu Mustafu Cerića. Tokom proteklih dvanaest godina, on i ja smo učestvovali na bezbrojnim međunaradnim međureligijskim skupovima širom svijeta, malim i velikim okupljanjima, srdačnim i napetima, onim uzvišenim i onim što su prizemljeni u svakodnevici. Uvijek se moglo računati da će dr. Cerić govoriti smisleno i zdravorazumski, da će unijeti ljudskost u suhoparnu diskusiju, da će se obratiti kao čovjek čovjeku i da će aktivno raditi na nalaženju čvrstih, pa, možda, i neočekivanih mostova koji premošćuju duboke podjele.

KATHERINE MARSHALL
GOSTUJUĆI PROFESOR NA UNIVERZITETU GEORGETOWN I
IZRŠNA DIREKTORICA PROJEKTA RAZVOJ DIJALOGA SVJETSKIH RELIGIJA

MUSTAFA CERIĆ: MUFTIJA UČENJAK, AKTIVIST REFORMATOR

Pod utjecajem bosanskohercegovačkog multireligijskog društva, Cerić zagovara demokratiju koja podrazumijeva snažnu politiku religijskog pluralizma i odbacuje pretpostavke o "sukobu civilazija":

Mi ne vjerujemo da postoji sukob civilizacija, ne vjerujemo da postoji sukob religija, mi vjerujemo da postoji sukob civilizacije i necivilizacije… Vjerujemo da postoji sukob religije i nereligije, sukob dobra i zla, zato što se to sve vrijeme događa. On osuđuje muslimane koji se protive multikulturom, multireligijskom i multinacionalnom životu i napominje da se u Kur'anu više puta ponavlja: *Da je Bog htio, On bi vas vas sljedbenicima jedne vjere učinio*, ali *On vas dijeli na plemena i narode da se međusobno upoznajete…*

JOHN L. ESPOSITO
DIREKTOR CENTRA PRINCA TALALA BIN VELIDA
ZA MUSLIMANSKO-KRŠĆANSKO RAZUMIJEVANJE,
GEORGETOWN UNIVERZITET, WASHINGTON DC

U SLUŽBI DOBRA ČOVJEČANSTVA: ESEJ U ČAST dr. MUSTAFE CERIĆA

Kao reisu-l-ulema Bosne i Hercegovine, dr. Mustafa Cerić je lider mnogo više nego što i titular "vrhovnog muftije" nagovještava. Prije svega, on je jedan od svega nekoliko lidera muslimanskog svijeta koji je stekao poštovanje i na Istoku i na Zapadu. O tome svjedoče nebrojene nagrade koje mu ugledne organizacije iz cijelog svijeta dodjeljuju za doprinos međureligijskom i međuvjerskom dijalogu. Zbog tog "izuzetnog doprinosa međuvjerskom razumjevanju" u Evropi, kao i samoinicijativnih misija u Aziji na promicanju suosjećajnijeg pristupa religiji, njegova vodeća uloga prelazi granice Bosne i Hercegovine.

ANWAR IBRAHIM
MALEZIJSKI PARLAMENTARAC I BIVŠI ZAMJENIK PREMIJERA MALEZIJE

EVROPA I ISLAMSKI SVIJET: ZAMRŠENI ODNOSI

U tom kontekstu dolazi istaknuta uloga koju je odigrao poštovani šejh dr. Mustafa Cerić, reisu-l-ulema Islamske zajednice u Bosni I Hercegovini, u predstavljanju prava svoga obespravljenog naroda i velikih patnji koje je preživljavao od strane agresora, u odbrani njegovog identiteta, vjere i golog opstanka, u širenju toleratnih islamskih vrijednosti, koje pozivaju ka dijalogu, dobročinstvu i uzvraćanju na najljepši način, u uspostavljanju mostova razumijevanja i saradnje sa pripadnicima nebeskih religija i raznih ljudskih kultura kako bi se nadišla razilaženja u prošlosti, te u uspostavljanju novog, pravednog sistema, koji će štititi prava ljudi i sprečavati nasilje i neprijateljstvo.

ABDULAZIZ IBN USMAN ET-TUVEJDŽIRI
GENERALNI DIREKTOR ISLAMSKE ORGANIZACIJE ZA OBRAZOVANJE, NAUKU I KULTURU – ISESCO I GENERALNI SEKRETAR FEDERACIJE UNIVERZITETA ISLAMSKOG SVIJETA

BUJANJE ISLAMSKOG ZNANJA U ZAPADNOJ EVROPI

Sve u svemu, Evropsko vijeće za fetve slijedi savjet Mustafe Cerića i nastoji pomoći muslimanima u Evropi da se intergriraju, a da ne skliznu u asimilaciju.

MURAD HOFMANN
BIVŠI NJEMAČKI AMBASADOR U ALŽIRU I MAROKU

NA RAZUMAN I MUDAR NAČIN BRANIO JE ČAST I DOSTOJANSTVO ISLAMSKE ZAJEDNICE, DRŽAVNI SUVERENITET BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE I NACIONALNU SAMOSVOJNOST BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKIH MUSLIMANA

Ono što se može kazati o cijenjenom gospodinu doktoru Mustafi-ef. Ceriću jeste da je on jedan od onih osoba koja slijedi ovu školu i cilj, i to upravo ovog Poslanika, kao i njegov metod. Tokom svih godina moga poznanstva i kontakta sa njim bio sam svjedok da je on neprestano na jedan razuman i mudar način branio čast i dostojanstvo Islamske zajednice, državni suverenitet Bosne i Hercegovine i nacionalnu samosvojnost bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana. Zagovarao je postavku da politika treba služiti vjeri i u tome je bio dosljedan. Neprestano se trudio biti što dalje od isključivosti u promicanju vjere i od podvajanja muslimana, a i druge je upozoravao da se drže što dalje od te opasne prakse.

AKBAR EYDI
DIREKTOR FONDACIJE MULLA SADRA U BIH

DOŽIVIO SAM GA KAO MORALNOG ČOVJEKA I PRODUHOVLJENOG RADNIKA ZA ISLAM

Dr. Cerić ima svoje stavove i uvjerenja do kojih je došao tokom studija arapskog jezika i islamskih znanosti, njegovo životno iskustvo pomoglo mu je da da doprinos kao član Osnivačke skupštine Rabite (Lige) islamskog svijeta i kao član Akademije islamskog prava pri Rabiti, a govorio je na brojnim kongresima i skupovima Rabite.

ABDULLAH IBN ABDULMUHSIN ET-TURKI
GENERALNI SEKRETAR LIGE ISLAMSKOG SVIJETA – RABITE

PIJUĆI PROLJETNU VODU SA VRELA BOSNE - BRITANSKA KONEKSIJA - I DIO

Reisu-l-ulema je impresivan i čovječan. Sjećam se kada smo mi – jedna međuvjerska grupa – sa strepnjom čekali na susret sa njim u njegovom glavnom uredu. Nisam uopće znala šta da očekujem, ali kada je ušao u prostoriju svečano odjeven, pretpostavila sam da će to biti formalan susret. Potpuno sam pogriješila. Počeo je tako što je insistirao da jedna članica grupe, parohinja Engleske crkve, sjedne pored njega. Potom je svakog od nas upitao za ime i odakle dolazimo, ali najviše je pitao o našoj vjeri. Uspio je sa svima ostvariti smislenu vezu, što ilustrira njegovo duboko i veliko znanje. Njegove svijetle oči sijale su toplinom i ljudskošću. To što je znao za kršćansku tradiciju kojoj ja pripadam, jednu manje poznatu granu nonkonformizma (Ujedinjene reformirane crkve) za mene je bilo najimpresivnije.

MARGARET MINOLETTI, Tim za brigu o odraslima, London

Nalazim da je reisu-l-ulema vrlo inspirativan, pragmatičan, optimističan, neko ko ima duboko razumijevanje savremenih pitanja koja se tiču muslimana i društva u cjelini.

DILOWAR HUSSAIN KHAN, izvršni direktor,
LONDONSKI MUSLIMANSKI CENTAR

MUSTAFA CERIĆ: REISU-L-ULEMA I OSOBA

Drži predavanje, hutbe, piše apele, upozorenja, daje intervjue printanim i elektronskim medijima, intenzivno i bez zadrške, razgovara sa intelektualcima, političarima, ambasadorima, predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice, humanitarnih organizacija, vojnih struktura. Svima objašnjava strukturu Islamske zajednice, značaj i njezinu ulogu. U svome salonu, ali i na svakom mjestu razgovara sa ratom unesrećenim, prognanim, usmjerava ih savjetuje, pomaže. Imao je vremena za sve, nikoga nije odbijao.

Njegova neposrednost i komunikativnost ponekad je nailazila na nerazumijevanje određenih struktura koje su ga optuživale da je previše involviran u sve tokove života u našem društvu, ali to je ipak pogrešan dojam. Njegova želja da pomogne kao i povjerenje ljudi koje je uživao naprosto su ga dovodila u centar svih zbivanja u našoj zemlji, ali nikad kao nekoga ko je stvarao problem već nekoga ko ih je pokušavao rješavati ili pomagati u njihovom rješavanju. Dr. Mustafa Cerić nije bio kukavica i nikada tokom svoga mandata nije se plašio suprotstaviti svakom zlu i nepravdi ma s koje strane dolazila. I u takvoj bespoštednoj borbi primio je mnogo niskih udaraca, ali je uvijek ostao uspravan i dostojanstven. Znao je, naravno, da u turbulentim vremenima mora učiniti najviše što je mogao unatoč greškama koje su saputnik svakog ko u životu mora donositi odluke.

MUHAREM HASANBEGOVIĆ
ŠEF KABINETA REISU-L-ULEME

PIJUĆI PROLJETNU VODU SA VRELA BOSNE - BRITANSKA KONEKSIJA - II DIO

Kao muftija, on ostavlja utisak vizionara sa jasnim idejama gdje bi volio da je njegova zemlja i vrlo odlučno radi na tome. Nadahnjujuće je to što on gaji velike nade za svoju zemlju i svoj narod, usprkos gorkih iskustava, gubitka i patnje – dovoljno je to da nas uvjeri da kao ljudi možemo napraviti promjene sve dok smo optimistični i sve dok vjerujemo da nešto možemo.

JAHANARA KHANOM, UPRAVITELJ USLUGAMA SEM-a

Upoznao sam se sa reisu-l-ulemom na seminaruu Londonskoj školi za ekonomiju, kada se Bosanski rat već razbutkao. Sala za seminar bila je prepuna studenata, više nije bilo mjesta ni za stajanje. *Britanci, ne, ne želim da iko od vas ide boriti se u Bosni; vaš džihad je da budete najbolji studenti i najbolji stručnjaci u području koje studirate ovdje, u svojoj zemlji.* Bio je to odgovor na pitanje jednog mladog entuzijaste. Poput mnogih, bio sam iznenađen tim riječima, ali su mi one umirile savjest. Imao sam čast susresti ga i u Bosni, u ljeto 2009, na putovanju jedne međuvjerske grupe: u njoj su bili predstavnici kršćana (različitih denominacija), bahaijske zajednice, predstavnici ateista i muslimana kojima sam pripadam. Svima prisutnima posvetio je posebnu pažnju i tako učinio da se osjećamo važnim, jednakim i da nam je ugodno, baš kao da nas poznaje godinama. On je intelektuani div, a ipak šaljivdžija i realističan: za mene, on nije samo vrhovni muftija Bosne I Hercegovine već muftija nad muftijama evropskih muslimana. Sjećam se i onog što sam posljednje od njega čuo, sjedeći pored njega u uredu: *Štiti interese drugih i oni će štititi tvoje.*

MOHAMMED MATIN, KONTROLOR KREDITA, LONDON

Reis je jedna topla osoba. U njegovom prisustvu ćete se odmah osjećati ugodno. Tome doprinosi i njegov humor. Njegovo znanje, i sekularno i religijsko, također je vrlo impresivno. Bolje reći – nadahnjujuće! Osjećate duboko poštovanje nakon susreta s njim i želite ga opet susreti.

MUJIBUL ISLAM, UČITELJ I SEKRETAR MUSLIMANSKOG VIJEĆA BRITANIJE, ODBOR ZA MLADE

Impresioniran sam koliko je povezan sa tradicijom, ali i sa zapadnom javnosti… Ima ogromnu ulogu u angažiranju sa vodećim međuvjerskim partnerima (kanterberijskim nadbiskupom itd.) na visokom nivou. Dovoljno je jak da se izbori za sebe i ideje u koje vjeruje – npr. kada smo raspravljali o pitanjima muslimana u Evropi…

DILAWAR HUSSAIN, voditelj Centra za politička istraživanja, Leicester

On je narodni muftija, čovjek koji osjeća puls naroda i koji je volio biti sa narodom. Realist je, pravi evropski muftija i evropski muslimanski vođa. On treba izaći iz bosanskih granica u središte Evrope, djelovati na nove naraštaje, zbunjene zbog svog neevropskog prtljaga. Nadam se da će iza sebe ostaviti još mnogo Cerića da šire svjetlo islama na evropskoj teritoriji.

MUSLEH FARADHI, DIREKTOR ŠKOLE I PREDSJEDNIK ISLAMKOG FORUMA EVROPE

Reisu-l-ulema se doima kao neko ko je iskren i pošten, osoba sa vizijom i razumijevanjem.

NAZMINA KHANOM, učiteljica

Ličnost harizmatična i pobožna. Neko kome je važan čovjek s kojim razgovara, jedan 'džentlmen' u engleskom značenju! Neko koga zanima i kršćansko dobro i način na koji vjere mogu skupa djelovati za dobro svih.

VELEČASNA CHRISITINA BERYL HALL, CRKVA ST. DUNSTAN'S, STEPNEY, ENGLESKA CRKVA

POGOVOR

U DOSTOJANSTVU ŽIVJETI EVROPSKU STVARNOST I ČUVATI MUSLIMANSKI IDENTITET

dr. sc. Ekrem TUCAKOVIĆ

Pretpostavlja se da je prvi susret islama sa jugoistočnom Evropom bio u 8. stoljeću, kada je muslimanska vojska opsjedala Carigrad, međutim historijski izvori svjedoče da je već u 9. stoljeću na području Mađarske živjelo muslimansko pleme Kalisija. Procjenjuje se da je sredinom 13. stoljeća bilo četrdeset do pedeset hiljada muslimana u Mađarskoj. Muslimanski historičar Ebu Hamid el-Andalusi el-Garnati, koji je u periodu 1150.-1153. godine boravio i bio kadija u ovoj zemlji, pisao je o mađarskim muslimanima, dok je jednu grupu tih muslimana u Damasku početkom 12. stoljeća susreo poznati muslimanski historičar Jakut el-Hamevi. Mađarski vladari su izdali više dokumenata kojima se zabranjuje prakticiranje islama, tako da početkom 14. stoljeća mađarski muslimani potpuno iščezavaju.

Katolički španski kraljevi, nakon skoro 8 stoljeća prisustva, osvojili su 1492. godine Granadu, posljednje muslimansko uporište na Pirinejskom poluostrvu. Muslimanima je ostanak na svojim ognjištima bio zajamčen sporazumom o predaji Granade. Međutim, 1609. godine kralj Filip III označio je muslimane krivcima za krizu u državi i naredio da, njih oko 300 000, napuste zemlju. Progon, koji je trajao do 1614. godine, prema opisu savremenog španskog književnika Juana Goytisoloa, odvijao se u krajnje "brutalnim uvjetima", uz pljačku njihove imovine, uz zvjerstva i ubistva, jer oni "koji nisu željeli otići, bili su ubijani". Goytisolo je u povodu 400. godišnjice progona španskih muslimana, sredinom marta 2009. godine, u članku u dnevniku El-Pais, ovaj progon opisao kao prvo etničko čišćenje u Evropi, kazavši da je to bio "evropski presedan etničkog čišćenja", optuživši "službenu i akademsku Španiju da se zatvorila u dvorac tišine".

Iskustvo muslimana Balkana

Za razliku od dva naprijed spomenuta tragična slučaja, muslimani Balkana, kao autohtoni evropski narodi, nakon gubitka političke, ekonomske i vojne moći, te u uvjetima dominacije nemuslimanskih država i ideologija, već drugo stoljeće žive svoju evropsku povijest, a da li će je preživjeti i u kojem obimu ostaje nepoznanica. Da li će im se sudbina mađarskih muslimana ili povijest Endelusa ponoviti u svoj destruktivnosti, ostaje stalno prisutno pitanje i zebnja? Može li se pojaviti novi kralj Filip III koji će za slabosti i probleme u državi i Evropi optužiti muslimane i narediti njihovu ekstradiciju ili prevjeravanje? Cinici bi rekli da je ovo preživjelih muslimana na Balkanu, ustvari, preživjelo zato što nije bilo dovoljno vremena i dovoljno dugo povoljnih okolnosti da nacionalne balkanske države potpuno neutraliziraju prisutstvo autohtonih muslimana na Balkanu, unatoč njihovoj viševjekovnoj duboko ukorijenjenoj kulturi i civlizaciji na ovom području, za razliku od ovovremenih migrantskih muslimanskih zajednica na evropskom kontinentu.

Povijest i sudbina tokom nešto više od jednog stoljeća egzistiranja Bošnjaka muslimana izvan muslimanskog državnog okvira, tj. nakon odlaska Osmanlija, na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Crne Gore ne daje mnogo razloga za preveliko zadovoljstvo, a posebno za opuštanje. Muslimanski životni geografski prostor se stalno smanjivao, muslimani su stradavali i biti obespravljivani, da bi, na koncu, posljedica agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992.-1995. godine, kada je u Genocidu ubijen veliki broj Bošnjaka muslimana a mnogo veći broj raseljen širom svijeta, bila svođenje muslimanskog životnog prostora u Bosni i Hercegovini na veoma uska područja, poput nekadašnjih rezervata za Indijance, geta za Jevreje u II svjetskom ratu ili uskih okruženih teritorija na što je danas sveden palestinski životni i državni prostor. Stoga ostaje stalna briga i strepnja da usljed nekih novih nepovoljnih geopolitičkih prilika ili poremećaja na evropskoj ili globalnoj političkoj i društvenoj sceni, muslimani Balkana postanu žrtve antimuslimanske, islamofobične i ekstremističke evroameričke desnice. Dakako, svemu ovome treba dodati neporecivu povijesnu činjenicu da nakon, manje-više, svakog rata ili nasilne revolucije i bune od 1804. godine i Prvog srpskog ustanka broj muslimana na Balkanu i njihov životni prostor

se rapidno smanjivao. Prema tome, ratna razdoblja su uvijek bila za muslimane periodi stradanja i progona, odnosno za posljedicu su imali gubitak stanovništva i teritorija. Čak ni vrijeme mira nekada nije bilo naklonjeno muslimanima, što se može ilustrirati progonom muslimana Turaka iz Bugarske početkom '80-tih godina 20. stoljeća, ili masovno ubijanje muslimana u Šahovićima 1924. godine od strane crnogorskih oružanih grupa.

Savremeni kontekst

Sadašnje okolnosti u kojima žive muslimani u Evropi također nose mnoge izazove i nepoznanice. Evropska politička scena je opterećena pritiskom velikog broja izbjeglica koje nastoje naći utočište u evropskim zemljama, kao posljedica brutalnih krvavih sukoba na Bliskom istoku. Takva klima pogoduje radikalnim desničarskim i nacionalističkim evropskim grupama i širenju antiislamske i antimuslimanske kampanje. Uslijed toga evropska društva postaju sve nesnošljivija prema migrantima s Bliskog istoka, odnosno muslimanima, a islamofobija postaje sve češći društveni i politički odgovor na muslimanske potrebe, pa i temeljna prava.*1

Upravo zbog sve jačeg i otvorenijeg iskazivanja opasne netrpeljivosti prema muslimanima, poseban značaj je, iz muslimanske perspektive, dobila vijest koju su globalni i lokalni mediji, kao svjetski događaj prvog reda, objavili o historijskom sastanku poglavara Rimokatoličke crkve pape Franje i patrijarha moskovskog i cijele Rusije Kirila, 12. februara 2016. godine u Havani, na Kubi.

Nije propušteno da se naglasi kako je sastanak u tajnosti veoma dugo pripreman, da je to bio prvi sastanak poglavara dvije crkve od velikog kršćanskog raskola 1054. godine, te da je glavna tema sastanka bila progon kršćana na Bliskom istoku. Crkveni poglavari su usvojili zajedničku izjavu u kojoj pozivaju „međunarodnu zajednicu na hitne akcije kako bi se spriječilo da kršćani budu protjerani s Bliskog istoka", izrazili su žaljenje „zbog rana nanijetih sukobima između kršćana u dalekoj ili bliskoj prošlosti", te u kontekstu jedinstva kršćana izrazili nadu da će njihov „susret pridonijeti obnovi tog jedinstva po volji Božjoj". U zajedničkoj najavi ovog susreta Vatikan i Moskovska patrijaršija su istakli uvjerenje da će ovaj susret „obilježit važnu etapu u odnosima između dviju Crkava".*2

Reakcija i asocijacija na ovaj događaj u nekim muslimanskim krugovima mogla bi se sažeti u konstataciji: dok poglavari kršćanskih crkava mukotrpno traže puteve za međusobno približavanje, jačanje razumijevanja, prevazilaženje historijskih nesporazuma i nadilaženje veoma krvavih historijskih etapa u međusobnim odnosima, tradicionalna muslimanska društva u ključnim središtima muslimanske civilizacije i duhovnosti: Irak, Sirija, Jemen, Libija - bolno pate od međusobnih sektaških sukoba, nasilja i razaranja. Dakako, važnu ulogu, možda i presudnu, u ovim sukobima, bilo da se radi o aktivnom učešću ili indirektnom kreiranju ambijenta i uzroka, imaju oni o kojima duhovnu skrb vode crkveni poglavari koji pozivaju na zaštitu kršćana i uklanjanje nasilja u tom području.

Naravno iz pozicije bošnjačkomuslimanskog iskustva, razumijevanje i saradnja kršćana i sve što vodi ka tome, s

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*1 Slovački premijer Robert Fico kazao je da Slovaci ne umiju da prirodno integrišu u svoje društvo muslimane tako da bi muslimanske izbjeglice živjele u svojim zatvorenim getima po svojim pravilima i da ih zato neće ni primati. "Niko nas neće natjerati da ovamo dovučemo muslimane. Nismo uopšte zainteresovani da nam ovdje nastane kompaktna muslimanska zajednica zato što to nosi sa sobom ogromne rizike. Ja kažem ne. Na to nas niko nikada neće natjerati", prenijeli su 11. 02. 2016. godine slovački mediji obraćanje premijera Fica u Kežmaroku u istočnoj Slovačkoj.
(http://beta.rs/vesti/politika-vesti-svet/24970-slovacku-niko-nece-naterati-da-prima-muslimane, 15. 02. 2016.)
Također, mađarski premijer Viktor Orban u intervjuu za njemački magazin Focus br. 43/2015., kazao je da „islam nikada nije pripadao Evropi, on je došao", te objasnio da su preko turskih „gastarbajtera" muslimani dio Njemačke i Evrope, ali da u „duhovnom smislu islam ne pripada Evropi. On je set pravila drugog svijeta". (Navedeno prema saopćenju za javnost reisu-l-uleme Huseina ef. Kavazovića od 21. 10. 2015..;
http://www.preporod.com/index.php/islamska-zajednica/rijaset/2855-reisu-l-ulema-o-izjavi-madarskog-premijera-orbana , 15. 02. 2016.).

*2 *Informativna katolička agencija* (IKA). http://www.ika.hr/index.php?prikaz=vijest&ID=177046, 14. 02. 2016.)

jedne strane, jeste za pozdraviti, kao i svaki drugi čin koji je koristan za ljudsko društvo, ali u tome moraju biti sadržani mehanizmi koji će eliminirati razloge za postojanje straha, bilo povijesne ili aktuelne, jer je nužna oslobođenost od straha zbog toga što nije bila rijetkost da su ovdašnji muslimani bivali brutalne žrtve samo zato što su muslimani. Posebnu uznemirenost i jak strah izazivaju izjave i akti evropske islamofobije, jer posljednjem Genocidu nad muslimanima Bošnjacima prethodila je njihova dehumanizacije, uz odricanje njihove evropske kulturološke i civilizacijske ukorijenjenosti.*[3]

Prijateljsko pismo:
"Mi prihvatamo vas i želimo da vi prihvatite nas"

Važno je imati na umu ovaj širi društveno-politički globalni i regionalni kontekst u kojem je došlo do pojave „Prijateljskog pisma" bosanskog reisu-l-uleme i vrhovnog muftije (1993. – 2012.) dr. Mustafe Cerića, također potpisano i od grupe istaknutih bošnjačko-muslimanskih intelektualaca i islamskih autoriteta, evropskim biskupima koje je 26. oktobra 2015. godine pročitao u Rimu dr. Mustafa Cerić povodom pedesete godišnjice slanja pastirskog pisma poljskih biskupa, 18. novembra 1965. godine, njihovoj duhovnoj braći te odgovora njemačkih biskupa 5. decembra 1965. godine. „Potaknut primjerom vaše bratske i pastirske ljubavi u Evropi, osjetio sam potrebu i slobodu da vama, europskim biskupima, napišem pismo u ime moje vjere islama, moje kulture Bošnjaka i povijesnog iskustva moje zemlje Bosne. Ovo pismo je prijateljsko", kaže se u pismu reisu-l-uleme dr. Mustafe Cerića.

Spomenuti društvenopolitički kontekst i sami povod daju pravu težinu ovom činu muslimanskih autoriteta, uglednih muftija, imama i muslimanskih bošnjačkih intelektualaca. Povod je, dakle, to što su poljski biskupi poslali pismo njemačkim biskupima u povodu 20. obljetnice završetka II svjetskog rata i pritom ih pozvali na dijalog, pomirenje i bratstvo, sa temeljnom porukom: „Praštamo i molimo oprost". Njemački biskupi odgovorili su kako s bratskim poštovanjem prihvataju ispruženu ruku, te izrazili želju da prijetnja mržnje nikada više ne razdvoji njihove ruke. Bila koincidencija ili ne, 20 godina nakon završetka krvave agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu vjerski i intelektualni autoriteti naroda koji je pretrpio teška stradanja pred očima cijeloga svijeta i uz nepojmljivu ravnodušnost međunarodnih kreatora političke i društvene moći, uputili su pismo predstavnicima najznačajnije crkvene instituciji s porukom:

> "Mi prihvatamo vas i želimo da vi prihvatite nas,
> Evropa je i vaš i naš dom,
> u vašem i našem miru,
> u vašoj i našoj sigurnosti,
> u vašem i našem prijateljstvu".

Smatram da ključna poruka u pismu muslimanskih autoriteta: "Mi prihvatamo vas i želimo da vi prihvatite nas bez straha i predrasuda", sadržava svu povijesnu i aktuelnu dramatiku muslimanskog pitanja u Evropi, jer upravo zbog neprihvatanja i predrasuda nastajale su bolne etape stradanja i progona. Istodobno, ova poruka nosi u sebi golemi izazov evropskim biskupima i crkvi, ali i političkim subjektima, jer ona predstavlja njihovu kušnju i test da li prihvataju ovaj poziv i pruženu ruku međusobnog prihvatanja u punini vlastitih identiteta i jednakopravnosti.

Isto tako, da bi se nešto i neko prihvatili potrebno je da se to upozna i spozna. Prema tome, fazi prihvatanja predstoji proces dijaloga i razgovora, iskrenog otvaranja i upoznavanja, međusobnog predstavljanja i dobrih namjera. Shodno tome,

*[3] Izjava Biljane Plavšić, bivše predsjednice Republike Srpske da su „muslimani genetski kvaran materijal prešao u islam..., iz generacije u generaciju se taj gen jednostavno kondenzuje..., postaje sve gori i gori" (Svet, 06. 09. 1993., Novi Sad), primjer je bezočne dehumanizacije muslimana Bošnjaka koju su pratili masovni zločini, etničko čišćenje i Genocid. Neke od islamofobičnih izjava mogu se vidjeti u *Prvom izvještaju o islamofobiji, diskriminaciji i netoleranciji na području Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini od 2004. do 2011. godine*, koji je objavio Rijaset IZ.
http://www.islamskazajednica.ba/images/stories/Za-download/Izvjestaj-o-islamofobiji_finalna_verzija_2004_2011.pdf.

ovaj poziv predstavnika manjinske, paćeničke i, često, stigmatizirane evropske vjerske zajednice i njenh intelektualnih autoriteta predstavlja istodobno poziv na dijalog, međusobno otvaranje i upoznavanje, te na koncu prihvatanje jedni drugih u njihovoj različitosti, a za zajedničko dobro i sreću. To je duboko ljudski i civilizacijski poriv i poziv, snažno utemeljen na najboljim savremenim tradicijama zaštite ljudskih prava i fundamentalnih sloboda, prožet univerzalnim kur'anskim i islamskim načelom: „O ljudi, Mi vas od jednog čovjeka i jedne žene stvaramo i na narode i plemena vas dijelimo da biste se upoznali. Najugledniji kod Allaha je onaj koji ga se najviše boji, Allah, uistinu, sve zna i nije Mu skriveno ništa." (El-Hudžurat, 13).

Također u „Pismu" se ukazuje na važnu činjenicu da samo znanje nije dovoljno za prhvatanje drugoga, „potrebna je i volja da prihvatimo jedni druge u duhu općeg dobra za sve nas ovdje i sada u Europi, koja nema potrebe da bude u strahu od bilo koga i bilo čega, najmanje od islama i muslimana, koji u svom imenu nose značenje miroljubivog čovjeka." Dobra volja je važna pretpostavka za uspjeh procesa prihvatanja drugoga, ali ne na način da se taj drugi odrekne vlastitog identiteta i postane kao mi da bi bio prihvaćen, nego, kako se navodi u ovom pismu, „da jedni druge prihvatimo onakvim kakvi se sami jedni drugima predstavljamo bez predrasuda i bez straha."

„Prijateljsko pismo" ukazuje na sadašnju deplasiranost povijesnih podjela na ekskluzivne religijske i kulturološke zone i geografske prostore i njihove pripadnosti zoni „krišćendoma" ili „islamdoma", jer u eri globalizacije takve podjele su neodržive, „ne samo u Europi, već nigdje u svijetu ni jedna vjera, ni jedna kultura, ni jedna nacija ne može biti u izolaciji. Sve vjere, kulture i nacije u svijetu su a priori upućene jedna na drugu i zato je nužno da se međusobno upoznaju."

Nadalje, važno je naglasiti da ovaj poziv za prihvatanjem s muslimanske strane ima punu povijesnu utemeljnost i kredibilitet, u njemu je sadržan moralni i humanistički kapital koji se akumulirao tokom duže od jednog stoljeće i zato se ne može okarakterizirati nečim iznenadnim i neuobičajenim, ili izvana potaknutim. Naime, kroz povijesne napore da se zaštite od stradanja druge etničke i vjerske grupe u veoma teškim ratnim okolnostima, muslimani i njihova Islamska zajednica testirali su i pokazali svoju praktičnu spremnost za prihvatanje drugih i drugačijih, unatoč tome što su drugi imali problem da njih prihvate takvim kakvi jesu. Tradiciju, vrijednu istinskog poštovanja, prihvatanja drugačijeg, individualne i institucionalne borbe protiv nasilja i zločina veoma dugo su gradili rukovodeći ljudi Islamske zajednice i ulema zajedno sa bošnjačkim intelektualcima i odgovornim ljudima u bošnjačkom narodu. Ilustracija te nesebičnosti i zadivljujuće hrabrosti, čestitosti i odlučnosti da se zaštite temeljna ljudska prava svakog čovjeka ponaosob, kao najuzvišenijeg Božijeg stvorenja i nosioca dara i svetosti života, a ne samo svojih istovjernika ili svoje etničke zajednice jesu muslimanske rezolucije kojima se osuđuje progon stanovništva na rasnoj, vjerskoj i etničkoj osnovi od strane fašističkih sila i njihovih marioneta. Istaknuti bošnjački predstavnici, unatoč izloženosti životnim opasnostima, u različitim gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine tokom II svjetskog rata javno, potpisujući i objavljujući rezolucije, oštro su osudili progon civilnog stanovništva i ubijanje Jevreja, Srba, Roma i svih drugih antifašista od strane Hitlerovog nacističkog režima i Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, kao i sistematsko ubijanje i progon Bošnjaka od strane četničkih jedinica i sljedbenika velikosrpske ideologije. Sarajevska rezolucija El-Hidaje, od 18. oktobra 1941. godine, čiji su idejni pokretači bili Mehmed ef. Handžić i Kasim ef. Dobrača, bila je začetak svim rezolucijama koje su uslijedile. Sarajevska rezolucija, uz osudu, snažno protestira protiv zlodjela koja su vršili okupatori i ustaše, te zahtijeva „da se zavede stvarna sigurnost života, časti i vjere za sve građane u zemlji bez ma kakvih razlika", te „da se ne poduzimaju nikakve akcije koje same po sebi izazivaju pobunu i krvoproliće u narodu", da se kazne svi zločinci,

incijatori i naredbodavci zločina i da se pod najstrožijom kaznom onemogući svaka vjerska netrpeljivost. Poslije Sarajevske rezolucije uslijedile su nove rezolucije u Prijedoru, Mostaru, Banjoj Luci, Bijeljini i Tuzli. Sve rezolucije, a posebno Sarajevsku, potpisali su najugledniji predstavnici vjerskog, kulturnog i javnog života Bošnjaka.

Ulema i bošnjački intelektualci oštro su se suprotstavili progonu Roma, te zahvaljujući tome sačuvani su brojni romski životi tokom II svjetskog rata. Borbu za spas romskih života, u vrijeme dominacije fašističkog terora, snažno ilustrira rezolucija koju su bošnjački intelektualci objavili u Zenici 26. maja 1942. godine. Ovu rezoluciju je potpisalo 27 uglednih zeničkih Bošnjaka. Tim povodom je Ulema medžlis u Sarajevu, preko Ureda reisu-l-uleme, uputio predstavku tadašnjoj vlasti, tražeći da se Romi zaštite od progona i upućivanja u koncentracione logore. U odgovoru na tu predstavku navedeno je: „Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova na traženje potpredsjednika vlade brzojavno je izdalo nalog logoru u Jasenovcu, da se Cigani puste. Inače svim redarstvima i župama izdat je ponovni nalog, da Muslimane Cigane puste na miru i da ih ne smiju upućivati u logore, a logori su dobili nalog, da ukoliko koji Ciganin bude upućen u logor, da ga ne primaju."

Bošnjačka ulema je i u drugim osjetljivim i kompleksnim društvenim i sigurnosnim okolnostima dizala glas protiv nasilja, pozivala na razum i nudila ruku saradnje i prihvatanja, iskazujući čvrstu opredijeljenost aktivnom partnerstvu sa drugima u odgovornosti za mir i blagostanje ljudi svih rasa, vjera i nacija. Primjera radi, nakon terorističkih napada od 11. septembra 2001. godine u SAD, 11. marta 2004. u Madridu, te 7. jula 2005. godine u Londonu, pored odlučne osude terorizma, a kako bi se međunarodnoj javnosti predstavili pogledi muslimana Bošnjaka, Rijaset Islamske zajednice je, na prijedlog tadašnjeg reisu-l-uleme dr. Mustafe ef. Cerića, usvojio *Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana*, u kojoj se iznose stavovi i poruke prema Evropskoj uniji, muslimanima koji žive u Evropi i muslimanskom svijetu. Dokument je preveden na engleski, arapski, turski, francuski i njemački jezik, a u njemu se, između ostalog, „budući da evropski muslimani žele biti dio evropskog života i napretka kao i društvenog, političkog, kulturnog i moralnog razvoja evropskih društava", obznanjuje Evropskoj uniji stav evropskih muslimana: „Evropski muslimani su u potpunosti i jasno predani slijedećim evropskim vrijednostima: vladavini prava, principima tolerancije, vrijednostima demokratije i ljudskih prava, uvjerenju da svako ljudsko biće ima pravo na pet temeljnih vrijednosti: život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i čast."[*4]

Ovi izdvojeni primjeri svjedoče nedvojbenu dosljednost i principijelnost bosanske uleme, Islamske zajednice i bošnjačkih predstavnika u borbi protiv nasilja i progona nevinih ljudi na osnovu njihove vjere, rase ili nacije, dok će pažljivi istraživači i analitičari u našoj povijesti i našim dokumentima naći mnogo sličnih primjera. Bez imalo sumnje, muslimani Bošnjaci nisu imali dilema oko prihvatanja drugih i nužnosti aktivne saradnje i zajedništva sa drugim narodima kako bi gradili svijet mira i stabilnosti, saradnje i međusobnog poštovanja. Tu opredijeljenost još više je jačalo njihovo negativno iskustvo stradanja i progona tokom 20. stoljeća koje je okončano Genocidom u Srebrenici 1995. godine. Iako je Bosna i Hercegovina „od Kulina bana do našijeh dana" veoma mnogo i intenzivno patila od nepravde, terora, nerazumijevanja i neprihvatanja, ipak iz Bosne i Hercegovine uvijek su dolazili glasovi koji su praštali, molili za oprost i štitili stranu i interes potlačenih i progonjenih.

Stoga u postojećim unutrašnjim i vanjskim nacionalnim i društvenim uslovljenostima, vremenu islamofobije i širenja predrasuda prema muslimanima, „Prijateljsko pismo" reisu-l-uleme evropskim biskupima, koje sadrži poziv za prihvatanje bez straha i predrasuda i nudi isto takvo prihvatanje,

*3 Deklaracija je nastala 2005. godine. Sadržaj Deklaracije vidjeti na linku:
http://www.islamskazajednica.ba/component/content/article?id=45:deklarcija-evropskih-muslimana.

ima veliki značaj i povijesnu vrijednost. Ono još jednom pokazuje da su muslimani Bošnjaci spremni i sposobni razvijati i usvajati etiku zajedništva i odgovornosti za mir i suživot u svijetu. Dakako, posebna vrijednost i odlika jeste što je „Prijateljsko pismo", ustvari, muslimanska inicijativa i akcija, a ne reakcija; nastojanje da se bude subjekt, a ne objekt društvenih procesa; traganje za rješenjem, a ne pristajanje na nametnuta rješenja. Usto, ovim pismom bošnjačka ulema nastavlja i održava kontinuitet hrabrog traganja za rješenjima teških i složenih pitanja koja se tiču ljudske slobode i prava svih ljudi. Također, na ovaj način bošnjačka ulema daje značajan doprinos ukupnoj evropskoj humanističkoj i slobodarskoj misli i tradiciji brige za drugog i drugačijeg, kao najvrijednijem segmentu u evropskom civilizacijskom naslijeđu. Ni ovovremeni nasljednici časne bošnjačke uleme ne čekaju da im većinska vjerska grupacija u Evropi ponudi prihvatanje i uslove pod kojima će to učiniti, nego oni idu u susret i nude javno i otvoreno većinskoj vjerskoj grupaciji svoje prihvatanje i saradnju za zajedničko dobro i to isto traže za sebe. Jer znaju da ni njihovi časni prethodnici nisu čekali niti tražili dopuštenje moćnih vladajućih struktura da u II svjetskom ratu stanu u zaštitu progonjenih ljudi zbog njihove vjere i nacije. Jednostavno slijedili su nalog svoje vjere, glas savjesti i osjećaj ljudske i islamske odgovornosti.

Imajući ovo u vidu, nadati se da će crkvene institucije i evropski dužnosnici prepoznati vrijednost sagovornika koji im se nudi u respektabilnim duhovnim i intelektualnim muslimanskim autoritetima iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Slovenije, Sandžaka/Srbije i njihovim organiziranim institucijama koje se mogu još aktivnije i sa još većim kapacitetima uključiti u sve evropske procese jačanja stabilnosti i jednakosti.

Unutrašnji razgovori i oprosti

Biskupsko pastirsko pismo i „Prijateljsko pismo" muslimanskih intelektualaca, predvođenih reisu-l-ulemom dr. Cerićem, može biti inspirativno i korisno kao smjernica za jedan novi, ili drugačiji, pristup u razvijanju komunikacije o teškim, spornim i kontraverznim pitanjima i događajima između različitih vjerskih grupaciji, pa čak i unutar jedne vjerske zajednice, na što se u „Prijateljskom pismu" aludira: „Ovo je i pravo vrijeme za poticaj svima u svijetu da uzmu pouku i prime poruku iz ovog pastirskog pisma: pouku da je bolje srce koji voli nego ono koje mrzi; i poruku da je bolja ruka koja piše lijepu riječ nego ona koja ubija."

Naime, pitanje oprosta i prihvatanja može se, u kontekstu poziva na oprost i prihvatanje o kojima je ovdje riječ, promatrati na nekoliko razina koje snaže svrhu ovakvog čina i pružaju širinu primjene. Na teološkoj i doktrinarnoj razini priznanje grijeha i traženje oprosta je put rasterećenja i pročišćenja, kao preduvjeta za čovjekovo uzdizanja i dostojanstven životni hod. *Priznaj, uvidi grijeh i svoj moralni pad, svoju zabludu i stranputicu, shvati šta si učinio, čovječe; zatraži oprost kako te teret grijeha ne bi sapleo, sputao tvoje korake, opteretio tvoj um i razum.* To je jasna kur'anska perspektiva i važna poruka čovjeku u njegovom odnosu prema Bogu, koja se onda prelijeva i na druge aspekte ovezemaljskog čovjekova života. To spada u nepromjenljive principe na kojima opstoji ovaj svijet, dok je priznanje grijeha i traženje oprosta imanentno ljudskoj prirodi. Prva ljudska bića, Adem i Hava, upravo vape za oprostom kao spasom od izgubljenosti: „Gospodaru naš"- rekoše oni – „sami smo sebi krivi, i ako nam Ti ne oprostiš i ne smiluješ nam se, sigurno ćemo biti izgubljeni." (El-A'raf: 23); „I Adem primi neke riječi od Gospodara

svoga, pa mu On oprosti; On, doista, prima pokajanje, On je milostiv." (El-Bekare: 37).

Štaviše, nalog pokajanja je trajan: „I svi se Allahu pokajte, o vjernici, da biste postigli ono što želite" (En-Nur: 31). „Allah zaista voli one koji se često kaju i voli one koji se mnogo čiste" (El-Bekare: 222). Allahov Poslanik, s.a.v.s., je rekao: „O ljudi, pokajte se Allahu, jer ja se, doista, Njemu pokajem stotinu puta dnevno". Iskreno i srčano pokajanje rasterećuje i oslobađa, shodno riječima Allahova Poslanika, a. s.: „Pokajnik od grijeha je kao onaj koji grijeha nema".

Na razini međuljudskih odnosa, koji su prožeti spomenutim nalozima vjere, priznanje grijeha i traženje oprosta doima se jednim od temeljnih princip u međuljudskom općenju: oprost među ljudima, opraštanje jedni drugima, kao što Bog oprašta iskrenim tragaocima za oprostom, onima koji uvide svoju grešku, distanciraju se od greške i više joj se ne vraćaju. Ako se ljudi ne oslobode tereta grijeha, ne mogu imati kvalitetne odnose između sebe i biti sretna i uspješna zajednica.

Na razini međumuslimanskih odnosa čini se posebno važnim i potrebnim poticati međumuslimanske ulemanske dijaloge na različitim razinama i u različitim oblicima, unutrašnje razgovore koji će voditi ka međusobnom praštanju grešaka i učinjenih nepravdi, razvijati potrebu i osjećaj traženja oprosta, prihvatati druge i tražiti da se bude prihvaćeno. U aktuelnom trenutku prioriteno bi bilo poticati i intenzivirati alimske i ulemanske komunikacijske kanale i sadržaje između sunijskih i šiijskih muslimanskih grupacije, koji će voditi ka kreiranju ambijenta i osjećaja potrebe za međusobnim praštanjem i traženjem oprosta, a radi sreće i napretka svih muslimana. Dakako, i ne samo između ovih dvaju grupacija, nego i unutar njih međusobno.

No, za hrabre i radikalne iskorake potrebna je hrabra i neovisna ulema, koja nije vezana za vladajuću državnu strukturu i nije politički upregnuta u vladajući sistem. Ulema koja nema slobodu i mogućnost autonomne procjene pojava i događaja, te djelovanja na temelju takvih spoznaja neće smjeti i moći, zato što je limitirana interesima vladajuće političke strukture, opraštati drugima i pokretati takve inicijative, osim ako to nije u interesu vladajućih političkih i državnih elita. Stoga je teško očekivati da u ovim okolnostima respektabilna i relevantna grupa sunijske uleme općenito, ili sunijska ulema jedne države, pošalje bratsko i prijateljsko pismo šiijskoj ulemi sa sloganom „Mi vama opraštamo i tražimo vaš oprost", ili, pak, obrnuto.

Kada je riječ o Islamskoj zajednici u Bosni i Hercegovini i bosanskom kontekstu, na internom planu smatram važnim razvijati međusobni dijalog između nosilaca različitih strujanja islamskog mišljenja, ali i različitih generacija alima. Isto tako, između alima i uleme koja je stjecala znanje o vjeri u Saudijskoj Arabiji, Egiptu, Turskoj, Iranu i drugim državama i inostranim islamskim znanstvenim centrima. U neposrednoj srdačnosti, bratskoj otvorenosti i prihvatanju otklanjat će se mnoge predrasude jednih o drugima i snažiti sposobnost i efekti alimskog poslanja i svrhe alimskog djelovanja. U takvoj klimi moguće je očekivati glasove i pozive: Mi vama praštamo i molimo za oprost; mi vas prihvatama bez straha i predrasuda, pa prihvatite i vi nas. U takvoj društvenoj klimi i sa takvom ulemanskom sviješću moguće je govoriti o zajedništvu i bratstvu u riječi i djelu.

ORĘDZIE BISKUPÓW POLSKICH DO BISKUPÓW NIEMIECKICH



Bischof Hengsbach mit dem Erzbischof von Breslau Bolesław Kominek (Initiator des polnisch-deutschen Briefwechsels von 1965,) Rom 1970

HIRTENBRIEF DER POLNISCHEN BISCHÖFE AN IHRE DEUTSCHEN AMTSBRÜDER VOM 18. NOVEMBER 1965 UND DIE ANTWORT DER DEUTSCHEN BISCHÖFE VOM 5. DEZEMBER 1965

Hochwürdige Konzilsbrüder!

Es sei uns gestattet, ehrwürdige Brüder, ehe das Konzil sich verabschiedet, unseren nächsten westlichen Nachbarn die freudige Botschaft mitzuteilen, daß im nächsten Jahr im Jahre des Herrn 1966 die Kirche Christi in Polen und mit ihr zusammen das gesamte polnische Volk das Millenium seiner Taufe und damit auch die Tausendjahrfeier seines nationalen und staatlichen Bestehens begehen wird.

Wir laden Sie hiermit in brüderlicher, aber auch zugleich in feierlichster Weise ein, an den Kirchenfeiern des polnischen Milleniums teilzunehmen; der Höhepunkt des polnischen Te deum laudamus soll Anfang Mai 1966 auf der Jasna Gära, bei der heiligen Mutter Gottes, der Königin Polens, stattfinden.

Die folgenden Ausführungen mögen als historischer und zugleich auch sehr aktueller Kommentar unseres Milleniums dienen und vielleicht auch mit Hilfe Gottes unsere beiden Völker im gegenseitigen Dialog einander noch näherbringen.

Es steht geschichtlich einwandfrei fest, daß im Jahr 966 der polnische Herzog Mieszko I. durch Einfluß seiner Gemahlin, der tschechischen Königstochter Dombrowka, zusammen mit seinem Hofstaat als erster polnischer Herzog das heilige Sakrament der Taufe empfing.

Von diesem Augenblick an wurde das christliche Missionswirken in Polen seit Generationen durch christliche Apostel schon vorher in unserem Land verkündet im ganzen polnischen Volksraum verbreitet.

Der Sohn und Nachfolger Mieszkos, Bolesław Chrobry (der Tapfere) setzte das Christianisierungswerk seines Vaters fort und erwirkte vom damaligen Papst Silvester II. die Errichtung einer eigenen polnischen Hierarchie mit der ersten Metropole in Gniezno (Gnesen) und drei Suffraganbistümern Kraków, Wrocław, Kołobrzeg (Krakau, Breslau, Kolberg). Bis 1821 blieb Gniezno weiterhin Metropole des Breslauer Bistums. Im Jahre 1000 begab sich der damalige Herrscher des Römischen Imperiums, der Kaiser Otto III., zusammen mit Bo-lesław Chrobry als Pilger zum Märtyrerschrein des heiligen Wojciech Adalbert, der einige Jahre vorher bei den baltischen Preußen den Märtyrertod erlitten hatte. Die beiden Herrscher, der römische und der zukünftige polnische König (er wurde kurz vor seinem Tode zum König gekrönt), gingen barfuß eine weite Strecke Weges zu den heiligen Gebeinen in Gniezno, die sie alsdann mit großer Andacht und innerer Ergriffenheit verehrten.

Das sind die geschichtlichen Anfänge des christlichen Polens und zugleich auch die Anfänge seiner nationalen und staatlichen Einheit. Auf diesen Fundamenten christlich, kirchlich, national und staatlich zugleich wurde sie durch alle Generationen weiter ausgebaut von Herrschern, Königen, Bischöfen und Priestern, 1000 Jahre hindurch. Die Symbiose Christentum, Kirche, Staat bestand in Polen seit Anfang und wurde eigentlich nie gesprengt. Sie erzeugte mit der Zeit die fast allgemeine polnische Denkart: Polnisch ist zugleich katholisch. Aus ihr heraus entstand auch der polnische Religionsstil, in dem seit Anfang an das Religiöse mit dem Nationalen eng verwoben und verwachsen ist, mit allen positiven, aber auch negativen Seiten dieses Problems.

Zu diesem religiösen Lebensstil gehört auch seit jeher als sein Hauptausdruck der polnische Marienkult. Die ältesten polnischen Kirchen sind der Mutter Gottes geweiht (u.a. die Gnesener Metropolitan Kathedrale); das älteste polnische Lied, sozusagen das Wiegenlied des polnischen Volkes, ist ein bis heute noch gesungenes Marienlied: „Bogurodzica dziewica, Bogiem Sławiona Maryja“ (Got-tesgebärerin Jungfrau Maria). Die Tradition bringt

sein Entstehen mit dem heiligen Wojciech zusammen, ähnlich wie die Legende es mit den polnischen weißen Adlern im Nest von Gniezno tut. Diese und ähnliche Traditionen und Volkslegenden, welche die Geschichtstatsachen wie Efeu umranken, haben das Gemeinsame von Volk und Christentum so eng miteinander verwoben, daß man sie einfach schadlos nicht auseinanderbringen kann. Von ihnen her wird alles spätere polnische Kulturgeschehen, die gesamte polnische nationale und kulturelle Entwicklung, bestrahlt, ja sogar zu einem Großteil geprägt.

Die allerneueste Geschichtsschreibung gibt diesen unseren Anfängen folgende politische und kulturelle Bedeutung: „In der Begegnung mit dem Imperium Ottos des Großen vor einem Jahrtausend hat sich Polens Eintritt in die lateinische Christenheit vollzogen, und durch die bewundernswert geschickte Politik Mieszkos I. und sodann Bolesław des Tapferen ist es zu einem gleichberechtigten Glied des universal konzipierten, auf Erfassung der gesamten nicht-byzantinischen Welt gerichteten Imperium Romanum Ottos III. geworden, womit Polen einen entscheidenden Beitrag zu der Gestaltung des östlichen Europa geleistet hat...“

Damit war die Grundlage gelegt und die Form und Voraussetzung geschaffen für die kommenden fruchtbaren deutsch polnischen Beziehungen und die Ausbreitung der abendländischen Kultur.

Leider sind die deutsch polnischen Beziehungen im späteren Verlauf der Geschichte nicht immer fruchtbar geblieben und haben sich sozusagen in den letzten Jahrhunderten in eine Art nachbarliche „Erbfeindschaft“ verwandelt. Darüber später.

Der Anschluß des neuen polnischen Königreiches an das Abendland, und zwar mit Hilfe des Papsttums, dem sich die polnischen Könige immer wieder zur Verfügung stellten, brachte im Mittelalter einen in jeder Hinsicht regen und äußerst reichen Austausch zwischen Polen und den abendländischen Völkern, insbesondere mit den süddeutschen Ländern, aber auch Burgund und Flandern, mit Italien und später mit Frankreich und Österreich und den italienischen Renaissancestaaten, wobei natürlicherweise Polen als jüngeres Staatsgebilde, als jüngster von den älteren Brüdern des christlichen Europas, anfangs mehr der nehmende als der gebende Teil war.

Es wurden zwischen Kalisz und Kraköw, der polnischen Königsstadt des Mittelalters, und zwischen Bamberg, Speyer, Mainz, Prag, Paris, Köln und Lyon und Clairvaux und Gent nicht nur Waren ausgetauscht. Es kamen aus dem Westen die Benediktiner, die Zisterzienser und später die Bettelorden und erhielten in Polen, im christlichen Neuland, sofort einen schwunghaften Auftrieb; dann kam im Mittelalter das deutsche Magdeburger Recht dazu, das bei polni-schen Stadtgründungen große Dienste leistete. Es strömten auch nach Polen deutsche Kaufleute, Architekten, Künstler und Siedler, von denen sehr viele im polnischen Volkstum aufgingen: Ihre deutschen Familiennamen ließ man ihnen. In der großen Krakauer Bürgerkirche St. Maria finden wir noch heute die Grabinschriften zahlreicher deutscher Familien aus dem Mittelalter, die mit der Zeit alle polnisch geworden sind, woraus Hitler und andere unseligen Ge-denkens den einfachen Schluß zogen, daß Kraków und ganz Polen nur eine deutsche Siedlung seien und demgemäß behandelt werden müssen. Das klassische Beispiel deutsch polnischer Zusammenarbeit in Kultur und Kunst im hohen Mittelalter ist wohl der weltberühmte Bildhauer Veit Stoß aus Nürnberg (Wit Stwosz), der fast sein ganzes Leben lang in Kraków wirkte; seine Werke dort sind alle vom Genius loci der polnischen Umgebung inspiriert: Er schuf in Kraköw eine eigene Künstlerschule, die noch Generationen hindurch nachwirkte und das polnische Land befruchtete.

Die Polen haben ihre Brüder aus dem christlichen Westen, die als Boten der wahren Kultur zu ihnen kamen, sehr geehrt und verschwiegen niemals ihre nichtpolnische Stammesherkunft. Wir haben der abendländischen auch der deutschen Kultur wahrhaftig sehr viel zu verdanken.

Es kamen auch aus dem Westen zu uns Apostel und Heilige, und sie gehören wohl zu dem Wertvollsten, was uns das Abendland geschenkt hat. Ihr segensreiches soziales Wirken spüren wir vielerorts noch heute. Zu den bekanntesten zählen

wir den heiligen Bruno von Querfurt, „Bischof der Heiden“ genannt, der den slawischen und litauischen Nordosten im Einvernehmen mit Bolesław Chrobry evangelisierte. Dann ganz besonders die heilige Hedwig (Jadwiga), Herzogin von Schlesien, aus Andechs gebürtig, Gemahlin des polni-schen Piastenfürsten Heinrich des Bärtigen (Brodaty) von Schlesien und Gründerin des Zisterzienserinnenklosters von Trzebnica (Trebnitz), wo sie ihre Grabstätte gefunden hat. Sie ist im 13. Iahrhundert die größte Wohltäterin des polnischen Volkes in den damaligen Westgebieten des Piastenpolens, in Schlesien, geworden. Es steht historisch ziemlich fest, daß sie, um dem polnischen einfachen Volk dienen zu können, sogar die polnische Sprache lernte. Nach ihrem Tode und ihrer baldigen Heiligsprechung strömten ohne Unterlaß Scharen des polnischen und deutschen Volkes zu ihrer Grabstätte in Trzebnica später Trebnitz genannt. Und sie tun es noch heute zu Tausenden und Abertausenden. Niemand macht unserer großen Landesheiligen den Vorwurf, daß sie deutschen Geblütes war; im Gegenteil, man sieht sie allgemein von einigen nationalistischen Fanatikern abgesehen als den besten Ausdruck eines christlichen Brückenbaues zwischen Polen und Deutschland an , wobei wir uns freuen, auch auf deutscher Seite recht oft dieselbe Meinung zu hö-ren. Brücken bauen zwischen Völkern können eben am besten nur heilige Menschen, nur solche, die eine lautere Meinung und reine Hände besitzen. Sie wollen dem Brudervolke nichts wegnehmen, weder Sprache noch Gebräuche, noch Land, noch materielle Güter; im Gegenteil: Sie bringen ihm höchst wertvolle Kulturgüter, und sie geben ihm gewöhnlich das Wertvollste, was sie besitzen: sich selbst, und werfen damit den Samen ihrer eigenen Persönlichkeit in den fruchtbaren Boden des neuen Missionsnachbarlandes; dieser trägt dann gemäß dem Heilandswort hundertfache Früchte, und zwar Generationen hindurch. So sehen wir in Polen die heilige Hewig von Schlesien, so sehen wir auch alle anderen Missionare und Märtyrer, die, aus den westlich gelegenen Ländern kommenden, in Polen wirkten mit dem schon erwähnten Märtyrerapostel Wojciech Adalbert aus Prag an der Spitze. Darin besteht auch wohl der allertiefste Unterschied zwischen echter christlicher Kulturmission und dem so-genannten, heute zu Recht verpönten Kolonialismus.

Nach dem Jahre 1200, als das polnische Land immer christlicher wurde in seinen Menschen und Institutionen, wuchsen ihm eigene polnische Heilige heran.

Schon im 12. Jahrhundert war es der Bischof Stanislaus Szczepanowski von Kraków, Bekenner und Märtyrer, vom König Bolesław dem Verwegenen am Altare erschlagen. (Der König selbst starb als heiligmäßiger Büßer in der Verbannung in einem Kloster in Oberösterreich.) Am Grabe des heiligen Stanislaus in der königlichen Domkirche von Kraków entstand das majestätische Lied zu seiner Ehre, heute überall in Polen lateinisch gesungen: „Gaude mater Polonia, prole foecunda nobili...“

Dann erschien am Firmament das heilige polnische Dreigestirn aus der Familie der Odrowaz (ein altes Geschlecht, das lange Jahrhunderte an der Oder in Oberschlesien seinen Sitz hatte). Der größte von ihnen ist der heilige Hyazinth polnisch Jacek genannt, ein Dominikanerapostel, der ganz Osteuropa von Mähren bis zum Baltikum, von Litauen bis Kiew mit Riesenschritten durchmaß. Sein Verwandter, der selige Czesław, ebenfalls Dominikaner, der die damalige Stadt Wrocław gegen die Mongolen verteidigte und im heutigen Wrociaw, in der neuerbauten Wojciech (Adalbert)Kirche begraben ist, wird von der frommen Bevölkerung als Patron der aus den Trümmem von 1945 wiedererstandenen Stadt verehrt. Und schließlich ruht in Kraköw die selige Bronisława, der Tradition nach Schwester des seligen Czesław, eine Norbertanerin aus Schlesien.

Die Sterne am Heiligenhimmel werden immer mehr: In Sącz die selige Kunigunde, in Gniezno Bogumil und die selige Jolanta, in Masowien Władysław, auf der Königsburg in Kraków die heiligmäßige Königin Jadwiga, eine neue polnische Hedwig, die auf ihre Heiligsprechung wartet. Später kamen neue Heilige und Märtyrer dazu: der heilige Stanislaus Kostka, Jesuitennovize in Rom, der heilige Johannes Kantius, Professor an der Jagiellonischen Universität in Kraków, der heilige Andreas Bobola, Märtyrer

in Ostpolen, 1938 heiliggesprochen, und andere Heilige bis zum Franziskanerpater Maximilian Kolbe, dem Märtyrer vom Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, der sein Leben für seine Mitbrüder freiwillig hingab. Gegenwärtig warten in Rom etwa 30 polnische Kandidaten auf ihre Heilig und Seligsprechung. Unser Volk ehrt seine Heiligen und betrachtet sie als die edelste Frucht, die ein christliches Land hervorbringen kann.

Die obengenannte polnische Universität in Kraków war die erste dieser Art neben Prag im ganzen osteuropäischen Raum. Gegründet schon im Jahre 1363 von König Kasimir dem Großen (Kazimierz Wielki), war sie Jahrhunderte hindurch Zentrum nicht nur politischer, sondern auch universaler europäischer Kulturstrahlung nach allen Richtungen, im besten Sinne des Wortes. Im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, als die schlesischen Piastenländer nicht mehr zum polnischen Königreich gehörten, studierten in Kraków und dozierten daselbst Tausende von Studenten und Professoren aus Wratislavia (Breslau), Raciborz (Ratibor), Gliwice (Gleiwitz), Glogow (Glogau), Nyse (Neisse), Opole (Oppeln) und vielen anderen Städten Schlesiens. Ihre Namen und die Namen ihrer Geburtsorte sind in diesem polnisch lateinischen Idiom in den alten Universitätsregistern ver-zeichnet. Auch Nicolaus Kopernik (Copernicus) wird da namentlich angeführt. Er studierte in Kraków Astronomie beim Professor Martin Bylica. Hunderte von Gelehrten von höchstem wissenschaftlichen Rang hat diese Universität hervorgebracht und der europäischen Kultur geschenkt: Mathematiker, Physiker, Mediziner, Rechtsgelehrte, Astronomen, Historiker und Kulturphilosophen. Unter ihnen befindet sich auch der berühmte Paulus Włodkowic, Rektor der Krakauer Universität, der auf dem Konzil in Konstanz frank und frei, mit höchster Gelehrtenautorität, eine für damalige Zeiten unerhörte religiöse und humane Toleranz lehrte und mit großem persönlichem Mut den Standpunkt vertrat: Die heidnischen Völker Osteuropas seien kein Freiwild, das man mit Feuer und Schwert bekehren soll und darf. Sie haben natürliche Menschenrechte genauso wie die Christen...

Włodkowic war sozusagen der klassische Ausdruck des polnischen toleranten und freiheitlichen Denkens. Seine Thesen waren gegen die deutschen Ordensritter, die sogenannten „Kreuzritter“, gerichtet, die damals im slawischen Norden und in den preußischen und baltischen Ländern die dortigen Ureinwohner eben mit Feuer und Schwert bekehrten und für das europäische Christentum und sein Symbol, das Kreuz, aber auch für die Kirche, in deren Namen sie auftraten, im Laufe der Jahrhunderte eine furchtbare und äußerst kompromittierende Belastung geworden sind. Noch heute, nach vielen Generationen und Jahrhunderten, ist die Bezeichnung „Krzyżak“ (Kreuzritter) Schimpfwort und Schreckgespenst für jeden Polen und wird leider nur allzuoft von alters her mit dem Deutschtum identifiziert. Aus dem Siedlungsgebiet der „Kreuzritter“ sind später jene Preußen hervorgegangen, die alles Deutsche in polnischen Landen in allgemeinen Verruf brachten. Sie sind in der geschicht-lichen Entwicklung repräsentiert durch folgende Namen: jener Albrecht von Preußen, Friedrich der sog. Große, Bismarck und schließlich Hitler als Endpunkt.

Friedrich II. wird seit jeher vom ganzen polnischen Volk als der Haupturheber der Teilung Polens angesehen, und zweifellos nicht ganz zu Unrecht. Hundertfünfzig Jahre lebte das polnische Millionenvolk aufgeteilt von den drei damaligen Großmächten: Preußen, Rußland und Österreich, bis es 1918 am Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges langsam aus seinem Grabe hervorkommen konnte; bis zum äußersten geschwächt, begann es damals wieder unter größten Schwierig-keiten eine neue eigenstaatliche Existenz...

Nach kurzer Unabhängigkeit von etwa 20 Jahren (1918 bis 1939) brach über das polnische Volk ohne seine Schuld das herein, was man euphemistisch einfach als Zweiten Weltkrieg bezeichnet, was aber für uns Polen als totale Vernichtung und Ausrottung gedacht war. Über unser armes Vaterland senkte sich eine furchtbare finstere Nacht, wie wir sie seit Generationen nicht erlebt hatten. Sie wird bei uns allgemein „deutsche Okkupationszeit“ genannt und ist unter diesem Namen in die polnische Geschichte eingegangen. Wir waren alle macht und wehrlos. Das Land war übersät

mit Konzentrationslagern, in denen die Schlote der Krematorien Tag und Nacht rauchten. Über sechs Millionen polnischer Staatsbürger, darunter der Großteil jüdischer Herkunft, haben diese Okkupationszeit mit ihrem Leben bezahlen müssen. Die führende polnische Intelligenzschicht wurde einfach weggefegt. Zweitausend polnische Priester und fünf Bischöfe (ein Viertel des damaligen Episkopates) wurden in Lagern umgebracht. Hunderte von Priestern und Zehntausende von Zivilpersonen wurden bei Ausbruch des Krieges an Ort und Stelle erschossen (778 Priester allein in der Diözese Kulm). Die Diözese Wloctawek allein verlor im Kriege 48 Prozent ihrer Priester, die Diözese Kulm 47 Prozent. Viele andere waren ausgesiedelt. Alle Mittel und höheren Schulen waren geschlossen. Die Priesterseminarien waren aufgehoben. Jede deutsche Uniform, nicht nur die SS, wurde für alle Polen nicht nur ein Schreckgespenst, sondern auch Gegenstand eines Deutschenhasses. Alle polnischen Familien hatten ihre Todesopfer zu beklagen. Wir wollen nicht alles aufzählen, um die noch nicht vernarbten Wunden nicht wieder aufzureißen. Wenn wir an diese polnische, furchtbare Nacht erinnern, dann nur deswegen, damit man uns heute einigermaßen versteht, uns selbst und unsere heutige Denkart... Wir versuchen zu vergessen. Wir hoffen, daß die Zeit der große göttliche Kairos die geistigen Wunden langsam heilen wird.

Nach alledem, was in der Vergangenheit geschehen ist leider erst in der allerneuesten Vergangenheit , ist es nicht zu verwundern, daß das ganze polnische Volk unter dem schweren Druck eines elementaren Sicherheitsbedürfnisses steht und seinen nächsten Nachbarn im Westen immer noch mit Mißtrauen betrachtet. Diese geistige Haltung ist sozusagen unser Generationsproblem, das, Gott gebe es, bei gutem Willen schwinden wird und schwinden muß. In den schweren politischen und geistigen Nöten des Volkes, in seiner jahrhundertelangen Zerrissenheit sind die katholische Kirche und die Heilige Jungfrau immer der Rettungsanker und das Symbol der nationalen Einheit des Volkes geblieben, zusammen mit der polnischen Familie. In allen Freiheitskämpfen während der Unterdrückungszeit gingen die Polen mit diesen Symbolen auf die Barrikaden, die weißen Adler auf der einen Seite die Muttergottes auf der anderen Seite der Freiheitsfahne. Die Devise war immer: „Für eure und unsere Freiheit."

Das ist etwa in ganz allgemeinen Abrissen gezeichnet die tausendjährige Entwicklung der polnischen Kulturgeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutsch polnischen Nachbarschaft. Die Belastung der beiderseitigen Verhältnisse ist immer noch groß und wird vermehrt durch das sogenannte „heiße Eisen" dieser Nachbarschaft. Die polnische Westgrenze an Oder und Neiße ist, wie wir wohl verstehen, für Deutschland eine äußerst bittere Frucht des letzten Massenvernichtungskrieges zusammen mit dem Leid der Millionen von Flüchtlingen und vertriebenen Deutschen (auf interalliierten Befehl der Siegermächte Potsdam 1945! geschehen). Ein großer Teil der Bevölkerung hatte diese Gebiete aus Furcht vor der russischen Front verlassen und war nach dem Westen geflüchtet. Für unser Vaterland, das aus dem Massenmorden nicht als Siegerstaat, sondern bis zum äußersten geschwächt hervorging, ist es eine Existenzfrage (keine Frage „größeren Lebensraumes"!); es sei denn, daß man ein über 30 Millionen Volk in den engen Korridor eines „Generalgouvernements" von 1939 bis 1945 hineinpressen wollte ohne Westgebiete; aber auch ohne Ostgebiete, aus denen seit 1945 Millionen von polnischen Menschen in die „Potsdamer Westgebiete" hinüberströmen mußten. Wo sollten sie auch damals hin, da ja das sogenannte Generalgouvernement zusammen mit der Hauptstadt Warschau in Schutt und Trümmern lag. Die Vernichtungswellen des letzten Krieges sind nicht nur einmal, wie in Deutschland, sondern seit 1914 mehrere Male über die polnischen Lande hinweggebraust, und zwar hin und zurück wie apokalyptische Reiter, und haben jedesmal Schutt und Trümmer, Armut, Krankheit, Seuchen und Tränen und Tod und wachsende Vergeltungs und Haßkomplexe hinterlassen.

Seid uns wegen dieser Aufzählung dessen, was im letzten Abschnitt unserer tausend Jahre geschehen ist, liebe deutsche Brüder, nicht gram! Es soll weniger eine Anklage als vielmehr

eine eigene Rechtfertigung sein! Wir wissen sehr wohl, wie ganz große Teile der deutschen Bevölkerung jahrelang unter übermenschlichem nationalsozialistischem Gewissensdruck standen, wir kennen die furchtbaren inneren Nöte, denen seinerzeit rechtschaffene und verantwortungsvolle deutsche Bischöfe ausgesetzt waren, um nur die Namen Kardinal von Faulhaber, von Galen, von Preysing zu erwähnen. Wir wissen um die Märtyrer der weißen Rose, die Widerstandskämpfer des 20. Juli, wir wissen, daß viele Laien und Priester ihr Leben opferten (Lichtenberg, Metzger, Klausener und viele andere). Tausende von Deutschen teilten als Christen und Kommunisten in den Konzentrationslagern das Los unserer polnischen Brüder...

Und trotz alledem, trotz dieser fast hoffnungslos mit Vergangenheit belasteten Lage, gerade aus dieser Lage heraus, hochwürdige Brüder, rufen wir Ihnen zu: Versuchen wir zu vergessen! Keine Polemik, kein weiterer kalter Krieg, aber der Anfang eines Dialogs, wie er heute vom Konzil und von Papst Paul Vl. überall angestrebt wird. Wenn echter guter Wille beiderseits besteht und das ist wohl nicht zu bezweifeln, dann muß ja ein ernster Dialog gelingen und mit der Zeit gute Früchte bringen trotz allem, trotz heißer Eisen. Es scheint uns gerade im ökumenischen Konzil ein Gebot der Stunde zu sein, daß wir diesen Dialog auf bischöflicher Hirtenebene beginnen, und zwar ohne Zögern, daß wir einander näher kennenlernen, unsere gegenseitigen Volksbräuche, den religiösen Kult und Lebensstil, in der Vergangenheit verwurzelt und gerade durch diese Kultur-vergangenheit bedingt.

Wir haben versucht, uns mit dem gesamten polnischen Gottesvolk auf die Tausendjahrfeier durch die sogenannte große Novene unter dem hohen Patronat der allerseligsten Jungfrau Maria vorzubereiten. Neun Jahre hindurch (1957 bis 1965) haben wir im Sinne des „per Mariam ad Jesum" die Kanzel in Polen, aber auch die gesamte Seelsorge auf wichtige moderne Seelsorgeprobleme und soziale Aufgaben eingesetzt: Jugendseelsorge, sozialer Aufbau in Gerechtigkeit und Liebe, soziale Gefahren, nationale Gewissenserforschung, Ehe und Familienleben, katechetische Aufgaben und ähnliche.

Das ganze gläubige Volk nahm auch geistig regsamsten Anteil am Ökumenischen Konzil durch Gebet, Opfer und Bußwerke. Während der Konzilssitzungen fanden jeweils in allen Pfarrgemeinden Bittandachten statt, und das heilige Bild der Muttergottes sowie die Beichtstühle und Kommunionbänke in Częstochowa waren wochenlang belagert von Pfarrdelegationen aus ganz Polen, die durch persönliches Opfer und Gebet helfen wollten.

Schließlich haben wir uns in diesem Jahr, dem letzten der großen Novene, alle der Mutter Gottes geweiht, Bischöfe, Priester, Ordensleute sowie alle Stände unseres gläubigen Volkes. Vor den ungeheuren Gefahren moralischer und sozialer Art, welche die Seele unseres Volkes, aber auch seine biologische Existenz bedrohen, kann uns nur die Hilfe und Gnade unseres Erlösers retten, die wir durch die Vermittlung seiner Mutter, der allerseligsten Jungfrau, herabflehen wollen. Voll kindlichen Vertrauens werfen wir uns in ihre Arme. Nur so können wir innerlich frei werden als dienende und zugleich freie Kinder ja sogar als „Sklaven Gottes", wie es der heilige Paulus nennt.

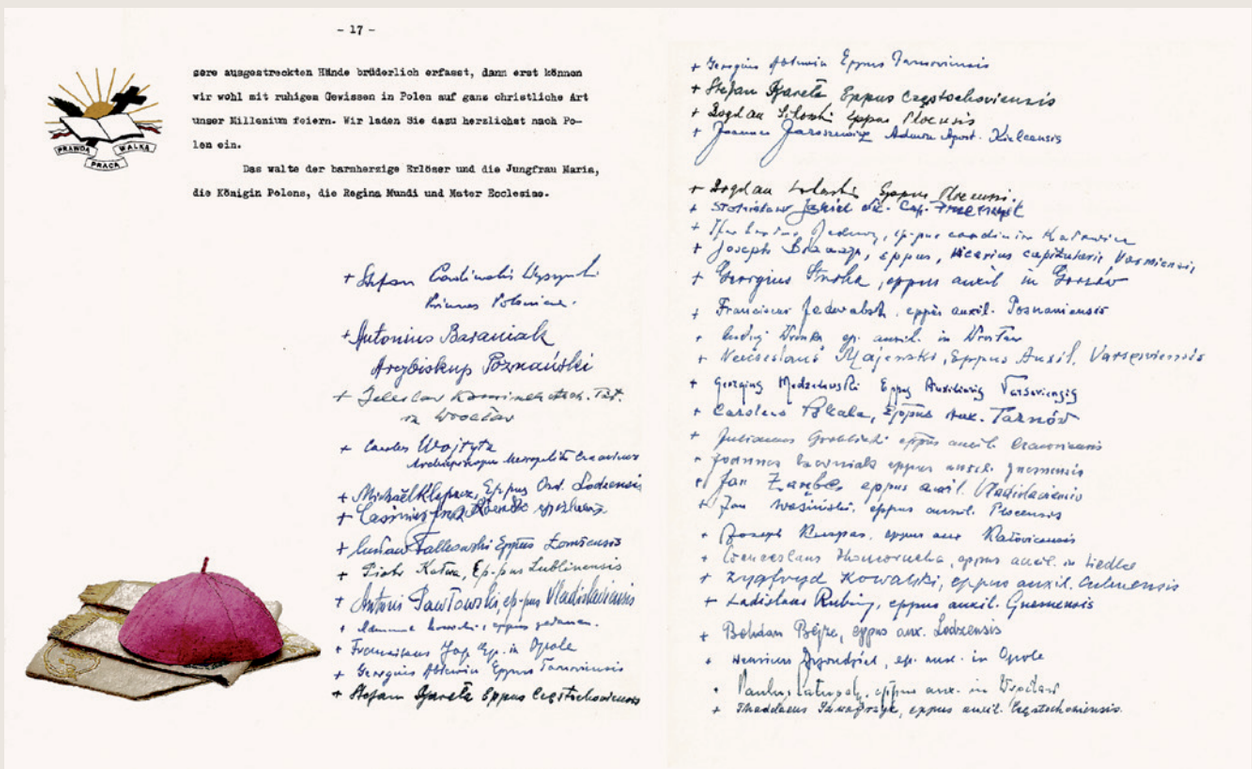
Wir bitten Sie, katholische Hirten des deutschen Volkes, versuchen Sie auf Ihre eigene Art und Weise, unser christliches Millenium mitzufeiern, sei es durch Gebet, sei es durch einen besonderen Gedenktag. Für jede Geste dieser Art werden wir Ihnen dankbar sein. Überbringen Sie auch, wir bitten Sie darum, unsere Grüße und unseren Dank den deutschen evangelischen Brüdern, die sich mit uns und mit Ihnen abmühen, Lösungen für unsere Schwierigkeiten zu finden.

In diesem allerchristlichsten und zugleich sehr menschlichen Geist strecken wir unsere Hände zu Ihnen hin in den Bänken des zu Ende gehenden Konzils, gewähren Vergebung und bitten um Vergebung. Und wenn Sie, deutsche Bischöfe und Konzilsväter, unsere ausgestreckten Hände brüderlich erfassen, dann erst können wir wohl mit ruhigem Gewissen in Polen auf ganz christliche Art unser Millennium feiern. Wir laden Sie dazu herzlichst nach Polen ein.

Das walte der barmherzige Erlöser und die Jungfrau Maria, die Königin Polens, die Regina Mundi und Mater Ecclesiae.

Rom, 18. November 1965

Die Unterzeichner des polnischen Briefes:
Stefan Cardinalis Wyszyliski, Primas Poloniae Antonius Baraniak, Archiepiscopus Posnaniensis Bolesiaw Kominek, Archiepp. Tit. in Wrociaw Carolus Wojtyla, Archiepiscopus Metropolita Cracoviensis Antono Pawlowski, Episcopus Vladislaviensis Casimirus Joseph Kowalski, Episcopus Culmensis Michael Klepacz, Episcopus Lodzensis, Ord. Czestaw Falkowski, Episcopus Lomzensis Petrus Kalwa, Episcopus Lublinensis Franciscus Jop, Episcopus in Opole Herbertus Bednorz, Episcopus Coadiutor Katovicensis Stefan Barela, Episcopus Czestochoviensis Bogdan Sikorski, Episcopus Plocensis Edmund Nowicki, Episcopus Gedanensis Joannes Jaroszewicz, Admin. Apost. Kielcensis Jerzy Ablewicz, Episcopus Tarnovlensis Joseph Drzazga, Episcopus Vic. co. p. Olsztyn Stanistaw Jakiel, Vic. Cap. Przemygl Andrzej Wronka, Episcopus Auxil. in Wroclaw Venceslaus Majewski, Episcopus Auxil. Varsaviensis Georgius Stroba, Episcopus Auxil. in Gorzöw Franciscus Jedwabski, Episcopus Auxil. in Pozriafi Julianus Groblicki, Episcopus Auxil. Cracoviensis Carolus Pgkala, Episcopus Auxil. in Tarnöw Zygfryd Kowalski, Episcopus Auxil. Culmensis Georgius Modzelewski, Episcopus Auxil. Varsaviensis Jan Wosifiski, Episcopus Auxil. Plocensis Bogdan Bejze, Episcopus Auxil. Lodzensis Thaddaeus Szyagrzyk, Episcopus Auxil. Czestochoviensis Venceslaus Skomorucha, Episcopus Auxil. in Siedlce Jan Zargba, Episcopus Auxil. Vladislaviensis Henricus Grzondziel, Episcopus Auxil. in Opole Joseph Kurpas, Episcopus Auxil. Katovicensis Ladislaus Rubin, Episcopus Auxil. Gnesnensis Paulus Latusek, Episcopus Auxil. in Wroclaw Joannes Czerniak, Episcopus Auxil. in Gnienzno



Weg der Versöhnung zwischen Deutschland und Polen. Eine entscheidende Rolle spielte der Briefwechsel der polnischen und deutschen Bischöfe vor 50 Jahren.


Franz Hengsbach – Polish Pastor, Bishop and Cardinal
FIDES

DIE ANTWORT DER DEUTSCHEN BISCHÖFE AN DIE POLNISCHEN BISCHÖFE VOM 5. DEZEMBER 1965

Hochwürdigste Mitbrüder im bischöflichen Amt!

Mit Bewegung und Freude haben wir Ihre Botschaft vom 18. November dieses Jahres und Ihre freundliche Einladung zur Tausendjahrfeier der Christianisierung des polnischen Volkes empfangen. Wir betrachten es als eine kostbare Frucht unserer gemeinsamen Konzilsarbeit, daß Sie dieses Wort an uns richten konnten. Dankbar greifen wir es auf und hoffen, den begonnenen Dialog in Polen und in Deutschland miteinander fortsetzen zu können. Mit Gottes Hilfe wird dieses Gespräch die Brüderlichkeit zwischen dem polnischen und dem deutschen Volk fördern und festigen.

Wir sind uns bewußt, wie schwer es für viele Christen in Europa war und noch ist, nach den Schrecken des Zweiten Weltkrieges die fundamentale Wahrheit unseres Glaubens mit ganzem Herzen festzuhalten, daß wir Kinder des himmlischen Vaters und Brüder in Christus sind. Diese christliche Brüderlichkeit fand im Jahre 1948 beim Kölner Domjubilämn durch den Besuch französischer und englischer Kardinäle und Bischöfe ihren ersehnten Ausdruck. So möge auch im kommenden Jahr das Millenium der Taufe Polens ein solches Zeichen werden.

Sie haben uns in Ihrem Schreiben, ehrwürdige Brüder, in Erinnerung gerufen, mit wie vielen Banden das polnische Volk seit Jahrhunderten an das christliche Europa gebunden ist und welche Rolle es in der Geschichte dieses christlichen Europa gespielt hat und so, so hoffen wir, auch weiterhin spielen wird. Sie hatten dabei die Großherzigkeit, aus all diesen Jahrhunderten zunächst und vor allem Beispiele zu erwähnen, die sowohl Ihrem wie auch unserem Volke zur Ehre gereichen, Beispiele gemeinsamer Arbeit, aufrichtiger Achtung, fruchtbaren Austausches und gegenseitiger Förderung, obwohl dies alles hätte zurücktreten können angesichts des Unrechts und des Leides, das das polnische Volk im Laufe der Geschichte zu tragen hatte. Es ist ein tröstlicher Hinweis auf die von uns erhoffte und mit allen Mitteln zu erstrebende Zukunft, wenn Sie uns daran erinnern, wie die polnische Kirche im Mittelalter über alle Grenzen hinweg mit deutschen Städten, Gemeinden und Orden in vielfältigem Austausch gestanden hat. Es berührt uns tief, daß wir in der Verehrung der heiligen Hedwig vereint sind, die deutschen Geblütes und doch wie Sie schreiben die größte Wohltäterin des polnischen Volkes im 13. Jahrhundert war. Diese hellen Seiten des polnisch deutschen Verhältnisses in der Geschichte verdanken wir ohne Zweifel unserem gemeinsamen christlichen Glauben. Wir sind daher überzeugt und mit Ihnen, ehrwürdige Brüder, darin einig: Wenn wir über alle Unterschiede hinweg Brüder Christi sein wollen, wenn wir Bischöfe, wie es bei diesem Konzil deutlich wurde, zuerst und vor allem das Kollegium der Hirten sein wollen, die dem einen Volke Gottes dienen, und wenn wir so auch unsere Teilkirchen führen, dann müssen die Schatten weichen, die leider noch immer über unseren beiden Völkern liegen.

Furchtbares ist von Deutschen und im Namen des deutschen Volkes dem polnischen Volke angetan worden. Wir wissen, daß wir Folgen des Krieges tragen müssen, die auch für unser Land schwer sind. Wir verstehen, daß die Zeit der deutschen Besatzung eine brennende Wunde hinterlassen hat, die auch bei gutem Willen nur schwer heilt. Um so mehr sind wir dankbar, daß Sie angesichts dieser Tatsache mit wahrhaft christlicher Großmut anerkennen, wie in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus auch ein großer Teil der deutschen Bevölkerung unter schwerem Gewissensdruck gestanden hat. Wir sind dankbar, daß Sie auch angesichts der Millionen polnischer Opfer jener Zeit sich

an die Deutschen erinnern, die dem Ungeist widerstanden und zum Teil ihr Leben hingegeben haben. Es ist uns ein Trost, daß viele unserer Priester und Gläubigen in jener Nacht des Hasses betend und opfernd für das entrechtete polnische Volk eingetreten sind und für diese christliche Liebe Gefängnis und Tod auf sich genommen haben. Wir sind dankbar, daß Sie neben dem unermeßlichen Leid des polnischen Volkes auch des harten Loses der Millionen vertriebener Deutscher und Flüchtlinge gedenken.

Eine Aufrechnung von Schuld und Unrecht darin sind wir einer Meinung kann uns freilich nicht weiterhelfen. Wir sind Kinder des gemeinsamen himmlischen Vaters. Alles menschliche Unrecht ist zunächst eine Schuld vor Gott, eine Verzeihung muß zunächst von ihm erbeten werden. An ihn richtet sich zuerst die Vaterunserbitte „Vergib uns unsere Schuld!“ Dann dürfen wir auch ehrlichen Herzens um Verzeihung bei unseren Nachbarn bitten. So bitten auch wir zu vergessen, ja wir bitten zu verzeihen. Vergessen ist eine menschliche Sache. Die Bitte um Verzeihung ist ein Anruf an jeden, dem Unrecht geschah, dieses Unrecht mit den barmherzigen Augen Gottes zu sehen und einen neuen Anfang zuzulassen.

Dieser Anfang ist besonders belastet durch die bitteren Folgen des von Deutschland begonnenen und verlorenen Krieges. Millionen von Polen mußten aus dem Osten in die ihnen zugewiesenen Gebiete übersiedeln. Wir wissen wohl, was darum für das heutige Polen diese Gebiete bedeuten. Aber auch Millionen Deutsche mußten ihre Heimat verlassen, in der ihre Väter und Vorfahren lebten. Diese waren nicht als Eroberer in das Land gezogen, sondern im Laufe der Jahrhunderte durch die einheimischen Fürsten gerufen worden. Deshalb müssen wir Ihnen in Liebe und Wahrhaftigkeit sagen: Wenn diese Deutschen von „Recht auf Heimat“ sprechen, so liegt darin von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen keine aggressive Absicht. Unsere Schlesier, Pommern und Ostpreußen wollen damit sagen, daß sie Rechtens in ihrer alten Heimat gewohnt haben und daß sie dieser Heimat verbunden bleiben. Dabei ist ihnen bewußt, daß dort jetzt eine junge Generation heranwächst, die das Land, das ihren Vätern zugewiesen wurde, ebenfalls als ihre Heimat betrachtet. Christliche Liebe versucht, sich jeweils in die Sorgen und Nöte des anderen hineinzuversetzen und so Spannungen und Grenzen zu überwinden. Sie will den Ungeist des Hasses, der Feindschaft und des Revanchismus ausmerzen. So wird sie dazu beitragen, daß alle unseligen Folgen des Krieges in einer nach allen Seiten befriedigenden und gerechten Lösung überwunden werden. Sie dürfen überzeugt sein, daß kein deutscher Bischof etwas anderes will und jemals etwas anderes fördern wird als das brüderliche Verhältnis beider Völker in voller Aufrichtigkeit und ehrlichem Dialog.

Zu solcher Brüderschaft des guten Willens kann uns die Erfahrung des Konzils Mut machen. Auch beim Konzil waren die Wege nicht immer überschaubar. Nicht immer leuchtete das Ziel klar und deutlich, und oft standen die Väter zögernd an Wegkreuzungen, aber dann wurde uns durch Gottes Gnade ein Weg gezeigt und manchmal eine überraschende Lösung geschenkt. So hoffen wir mit Ihnen, daß Gott auch unseren beiden Völkern in Zukunft Lösungen zeigen wird, wenn wir ihm Beweise unseres guten Willens geben. Als Zeichen unseres guten Willens, ehrwürdige Brüder, wollen wir, in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit für Ihre Einladung, als Pilger zu Ihrem Marienheiligtum nach Tschenstochau kommen und Anteil nehmen an Ihrer und Ihres ganzen Volkes Freude. Wir wollen mit Ihnen an den Heiligtümern beten, wo das polnische Volk sich oft und besonders in der heutigen Zeit Kraft und Segen von Gott erbittet. Wir versprechen, unsere Gläubigen aufzufordern, sich im kommenden Marienmonat mit unserem und Ihrem Gebet zu vereinen.

Wir wollen alles tun, daß diese Verbindung nicht mehr abreißt.

Im Jahr 1968 wird der Deutsche Katholikentag in Essen stattfinden. Im gleichen Jahr begeht das Bistum Meißen die Tausendjahrfeier seiner Gründung. Es wäre für uns und unsere Gläubigen eine große Freude, bei diesen Gelegenheiten polnische Bischöfe begrüßen zu dürfen. Bei unseren Einladungen haben wir mit Ihnen den Wunsch, daß die Begegnung der Bischöfe und der begonnene Dialog sich fortsetzen möge in allen Lebensbereichen unserer beiden Völker. Alle Schritte, die diesem Ziel dienen können, werden wir von Herzen begrüßen. Darum erfüllen wir auch mit Freude Ihre Bitte, Ihren besonderen Gruß unseren evangelischen Brüdern in Deutschland zu übermitteln. Darüber hinaus dürfen wir uns in unseren Bemühungen um gegenseitiges Verständnis einig wissen mit allen Menschen guten Willens.

Hochwürdigste Brüder! Das Konzil hat uns zusammengeführt an heiliger Stätte zu gemeinsamer Arbeit und gemeinsamem Gebet. Die Grotten von St. Peter bergen die kleine Kapelle der Tschenstochauer Madonna. Dort fanden wir auch das Bild der heiligen Hedwig, die Ihr Volk besonders verehrt und die Sie „als den besten Ausdruck eines christlichen Brückenbaues zwischen Polen und Deutschland“ ansehen.

Von dieser großen Heiligen wollen wir lernen, uns in Ehrfurcht und Liebe zu begegnen. Am Schluß Ihres Schreibens stehen die kostbaren Worte, die für unsere beiden Völker eine neue Zukunft eröffnen können: „Wir strecken unsere Hände zu Ihnen hin in den Bänken des zu Ende gehenden Konzils, gewähren Vergebung und bitten um Vergebung.“ Mit brüderlicher Ehrfurcht ergreifen wir die dargebotenen Hände. Der Gott des Friedens gewähre uns auf die Fürbitte der „regina pacis“, daß niemals wieder der Ungeist des Hasses unsere Hände trenne!

Rom, 5. Dezember 1965

Die Namen der deutschen Unterzeichner:
Jos. Card. Frings, Erzbischof von Köln Julius Card. Döpfner, Erzbischof von München und Freising Lorenz Card. Jaeger, Erzbischof von Paderborn Josef Schneider, Erzbischof von Bamberg Hermann Schäufele, Erzbischof von Freiburg Alfred Bengsch, Erzbischof, Bischof von Berlin Joseph Schröffer, Bischof von Eichstätt Franz Hengsbach, Bischof von Essen Adolf Bolte, Bischof von Fulda Hermann Volk, Bischof von Mainz Rudolf Graber, Bischof von Regensburg Isidor Marcus Emanuel, Bischof von Speyer Carl Jos. Leiprecht, Bischof von Rottenburg Josef Stangl, Bischof von Würzburg Wilhelm Kempf, Bischof von Limburg Matthias Wehr, Bischof von Trier Josef Stimpfle, Bischof von Augsburg Heinrich Maria Janssen, Bischof von Hildesheim Helmut Hermann Wittler, Bischof von Osnabrück Johannes Pohlschneider, Bischof von Aachen Otto Spülbeck, Bischof von Meißen > Joseph Höffner, Bischof von Münster Gerhard Schaffran, Bischof und Kapitelsvikar in Görlitz Heinrich Pachowiak, Weihbischof in Hildesheim Walter Kampe, Weihbischof in Limburg Johannes v. RudIoff, Weihbischof in Hamburg Augustinus Frotz, Weihbischof in Köln Eduard Schick, Weihbischof in Fulda Hugo Aufderbeck, Weihbischof in Erfurt Joseph Buchkremer, Weihbischof in Aachen Heinrich Tenhumberg, Weihbischof in Münster i.W. Alfons Kempf, Weihbischof in Würzburg Julius Angerhausen, Weihbischof in Essen Karl Gnädinger, Weihbischof in Freiburg Joseph Zimmermann, Weihbischof in Augsburg Carl Schmidt, Weihbischof in Trier FriedrichRintelen,Weihbischofin-Magdeburgr Josephus Hiltl, Weihbischof in Regensburg Wilhelm Cleven, Weihbischof in Köln Bernardus Stein, Weihbischof in Trier Bernhard Schräder, Weihbischof in Schwerin K Josef Maria Reuss, Weihbischof in Mainz.

Persönliches Schreiben des ehem. Großmuftis von Bosnien (1993-2012) Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ an die europäischen Bischöfe vom 26. Oktober 2015, verlesen in Rom anlässlich der 50-Jahr-Feier des Hirtenbriefes der polnischen Bischöfe an ihre deutschen Mitbrüder vom 18. November 1965 und der Antwort der deutschen Bischöfe vom 5. Dezember 1965.

Wir erkennen an und bitten anzuerkennen.
Europa ist Ihre und unsere Heimat
zu Ihrem und unserem Frieden
zu Ihrer und unserer Sicherheit
zu Ihrer und unserer Freundschaft

Geschätzte Freunde,

Die Einladung Seiner Exzellenz Botschafter Piotr Nowin-Konopak, aktiv zur Feier des historischen Hirtenbriefes beizutragen, den die polnischen Bischöfe vor fünfzig Jahren an die deutschen Bischöfe gerichtet haben sowie deren Antwort, ehrt mich.

Dieser Hirtenbrief der Bischöfe spricht in jedem Menschen den guten Willen zu Frieden und Freundschaft an. Ja, dieser Brief weckt ein aufrichtiges Verlangen nach Versöhnung zischen Brüdern

Rom ist der passende Ort für dieses historische Erinnern.

Es ist dies aber nicht nur der passende Ort. Es ist jetzt auch die passende Zeit für einen Aufruf an alle Menschen mit gutem Herzen überall auf der Welt, eine Lektion zu lernen und die Botschaft dieses Hirtenbriefes anzunehmen: Die Lektion besteht darin, dass ein Herz voller Liebe besser ist als ein Herz voller Hass; und die Botschaft besteht darin, das eine zum Guten heilende Hand besser ist als eine böse tötende Hand.

Geschätzte Eminenzen,

angeregt von diesem Zeichen Ihrer brüderlichen und pastoralen Liebe in Europa, fühle ich den Drang und die Freiheit, an Sie, die Bischöfe Europas, diesen Brief zu richten, im Namen meines islamischen Glaubens, meiner bosniakischen Kultur und der historischen Erfahrung meiner Heimat Bosnien. Dieser Brief ist ein Ausdruck von Freundschaft. Wie Sie wissen, war der erste Mord ein Brudermord. Kain tötete seinen Bruder Abel. Jesus, der Sohn Mariens – Friede sei auf ihm! – wurde von seinen Freunden angenommen, die ihm folgten, seine Jünger, die Apostel, (arab.) *Al-Hawariyyun*. Das waren nicht seine blutsverwandten Brüder. Sie waren Freunde, in Liebe verbunden. Die Liebe von Freunden kann also stärker noch sein, als die Liebe zwischen Geschwistern.

Die ersten Muslime in Mekka wurden von ihren Brüdern verfolgt. Um sich vor ihren eigenen Verwandten zu retten, fanden sie Zuflucht bei einem christlichen Freund, dem Negus, König von Abessinien. So wurde der König Negus zu einem historischen Symbol für Freundschaft zwischen Muslimen und Christen. Vielleicht liegt hierin die ursprüngliche Weisheit der Weisung des Korans an die Muslime: *Du wirst sicherlich finden, dass von allen Leuten jene, die sagen, 'Siehe, wir sind Christen', am nächsten kommen, Zuneigung jenen gegenüber zu verspüren, die (an diese göttliche Schrift) glauben: dies ist so, weil unter ihnen Priester und Mönche sind und weil diese nicht zum Hochmut geneigt sind.* (Koran, 5:82)

Geschätzte Freunde,

diese koranische Darstellung Ihrer pastoralen Bescheidenheit bedingt von mir, Sie als meine Freunde anzunehmen und zu achten. Ich bin mir bewusst, dass es solche gegeben hat und geben wird, die den Koran in der Absicht lesen, Feindschaft zu befördern. Ich schreibe zu Ihnen für die Mehrheit der Muslime, die beim Lesen des Korans die Ursachen zur Freundschaft finden. Sie werden also verstehen, dass es für mich keinen stärkeren Beweggrund geben kann, als den Koran, um Ihnen meine Freundschaft anzubieten und Ihre anzunehmen.

Sie werden auch verstehen, dass es ein Privileg für mich bedeutet, als jemand, der zu den Überlebenden des Genozids in Bosnien gehört, eine Botschaft der Freundschaft an Sie zu richten mit einem Aufruf zur gemeinsamen Ethik des Teilens. Was ist das Leben anderes als Teilen? Unsere Fehler der Vergangenheit können wir nicht ändern. Aber wir können daraufhin wirken, dass unsere Zukunft besser wird als unsere Vergangenheit, und zwar im Geiste des Teilens, wie es uns das ewige Wort Gottes lehrt, von Adam über Noah, Abraham, Mose und Jesus bis Muhammad – Friede sei auf ihnen allen.

Es war in der Vergangenheit möglich, Mauern zu errichten und exklusivistische Räume für Christentum und für ein „Islamtum" einzugrenzen, aber heute geht das nicht mehr. Nicht nur in Europa, sondern auf der ganzen Welt kann eine einzige Religion, eine einzige Kultur, eine einzige Nation heute nicht mehr in Isolation existieren. Alle Religionen, Kulturen und Nationen der Welt sind a priori aufeinander angewiesen und deshalb ist erforderlich, dass wir einander kennen. Der Koran hat diese Wahrheit so hervorgehoben: *O Menschen! Siehe, Wir haben euch alle aus einem Männlichen und einem Weiblichen erschaffen, und haben euch zu Nationen und Stämmen gemacht, auf dass ihr einander kennenlernen möget. Wahrlich, der Edelste von euch in der Sicht Gottes ist der, der sich Seiner am tiefsten bewusst ist. Siehe, Gott ist allwissend, allgewahr* (Koran, 49:13).

Geschätzte Eminenzen,

Darf ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass unser Europa heute nicht am Rand der Zentren Jerusalem und Heiliges Land liegt, noch liegt Europa im Zentrum der heutigen Welt. Europa gehört heute zu sich selbst wie auch zur gesamten Welt. Ja, Europa steht in einer besonderen Beziehung zur Islamischen Welt: geographisch, historisch, kulturell und wirtschaftlich. Die europäische und die islamische Zivilisation sind sogar vom Schicksal verschmolzen wie siamesische Zwillinge. Jeder Versuch, sie zu trennen, fügt jedem dieser beiden Kulturkreise Leid zu. Daher müssen wir uns bewusst machen, dass eine strikte chirurgische Trennung der europäischen und der islamischen Zivilisation, wie im Fall siamesischer Zwillinge, zum sofortigen Tod beider oder einer von beiden führen würde. Niemand kann sagen von welcher. Deshalb haben die europäische und die islamische Zivilisation gar keine andere Wahl als sich gegenseitig zu kennen und im Geiste wechselseitiger Freundschaft anzunehmen, im Bewusstsein der Rechte aller Männer und Frauen auf Leben, Glauben, Freiheit, Eigentum und Würde.

Somit möchte ich Sie dazu aufrufen, dass wir unsere europäischen Tore denen nicht verschließen, die Zuflucht bei uns suchen. Ich rufe dazu auf, dass wir keine Mauern gegen diejenigen errichten, die zu uns kommen, weil ihre Häuser und ihre Länder zerstört wurden. Europa hat alles durchgestanden, was Menschen überleben können: endlose Teilungen, lange währende Kriege, unerträgliches Leid, gnadenlose Verfolgungen… Aber Europa ist aus seiner Asche auferstanden, vom Westfälischen Frieden (1648) bis Maastricht (1992), und hat der Welt gezeigt, dass es zu Frieden und Koexistenz in der Lage ist, dass es sich zur Ethik des Teilens bekennt.

Ihre Eminenzen,

Ihre Briefe von 1965 haben ohne Zweifel dazu beigetragen, dass Europa zu dem werden konnte, was es heute ist – ein Kontinent des Friedens, der Koexistenz, von sozialer Gerechtigkeit und von Wohlstand für alle Menschen guten Willens. Demgegenüber bleibt unerklärlich, warum gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiet dieses Europas ein Völkermord gegen mein Volk in Bosnien zugelassen wurde, einem Land mit tausend Jahren großartiger menschlicher Werte, die dem Wesen des heutigen Europa entsprechen, den Werten menschlicher Güte und Würde, von Menschenrechten und Freiheiten, Frieden zwischen Menschen und Koexistenz und dem Wert der Einheit in Verschiedenheit.

Wenn Papst Franziskus festgestellt hat, dass Sarajewo das europäische Jerusalem ist, dann kann Europa stolz auf Sarajewo sein, ebenso wie Sarajewo stolz darauf ist, zu einem offenen und freien Europa zu gehören, wo der laute Aufschrei „Nie wieder!“ zu Holocaust und Völkermord fester Bestandteil des Bewusstseins von uns allen werden muss.

Geschätzte Bischöfe Europas,

es ist offenkundig, dass wir alle in Angst leben. Sie haben in Europa Angst vor der Ausbreitung eines furchteinflößenden Islam. Und wir Muslime in Europa haben Angst vor denen, die die Furcht vor uns hier und jetzt verbreiten. Mehr als irgendwo sonst gibt es in Europa Erfahrungen mit falschen Ängsten vor denen, die anders sind. Genau darum geht es in Ihren Briefen: um den Aufruf zur Befreiung von falschen Ängsten vor sich selbst und vor denen, die anders sind. Und deshalb sind Ihre Briefe von historischer Bedeutung nicht nur für Sie als Bischöfe, sondern für alle Europäer, die an Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Versöhnung als Werte allerersten Ranges glauben. Ich hoffe daher, dass Sie diesen Brief, der von prominenten Muftis, Imamen und muslimischen Intellektuellen in Europa unterzeichnet ist, als Stimme der Vernunft und der Einsicht verstehen, dass Adam und Eva unsere gemeinsamen Eltern sind. Wir können nicht alles übereinander wissen, aber wir können uns gegenseitig so annehmen, wie wir uns begegnen, ohne Vorurteile und Ängste.

Wir nehmen Sie an und wir bitten Sie, uns anzunehmen, ohne Vorurteile und Ängste.

Es genügt nicht, dass wir uns einander bewusst sind. Wir brauchen die Bereitschaft, uns gegenseitig anzunehmen zum Wohle von uns allen hier in Europa, das keinen

Grund zur Furcht vor irgendetwas oder irgendjemandem hat, am wenigsten vor Islam und Muslimen, deren Name die Bedeutung „die Friedfertigen“ in sich trägt.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich einige Zitate aus dem Koran anführen, die von unserer gemeinsamen spirituellen Grundlage sprechen und uns die Angst voreinander nehmen: Und Wir sagten: *O Adam, wohne du und deine Frau in diesem Garten, und esst freizügig davon, alle beide, was immer ihr möchtet; aber naht nicht diesem einen Baum, sonst werdet ihr Übertäter.* (2:35). Sagt: *Wir glauben an Gott und an das, was uns von droben erteilt worden ist, und das, was Abraham und Ismael und Isaak und Jakob und ihren Nachkommen erteilt worden ist, und das, was Moses und Jesus gewährt worden ist, und das, was allen (anderen) Propheten von ihrem Erhalter gewährt worden ist: Wir machen keinerlei Unterschied zwischen irgendeinem von ihnen. Und Ihm ergeben wir uns.* (2:136). Und siehe, die Engel sagten: *O Maria! Siehe, Gott hat dich erwählt und dich rein gemacht und dich erhoben über alle Frauen der Welt.* (3:42). [Jesus sagte] *Und (ich bin gekommen,) die Wahrheit dessen zu bestätigen, was immer von der Torah noch erhalten ist, und euch einige von den Dingen zu erlauben, die euch (vordem) verboten waren. Und ich bin zu euch gekommen mit einer Botschaft von eurem Erhalter; bleibt euch denn Gottes bewusst und gebt acht auf mich.* (3:50). Da sagte sie [Maria]: *O mein Erhalter! Wie kann ich einen Sohn haben, wo doch kein Mann mich je berührt hat?* Der Engel Gabriel] antwortete: *Also ist es: Gott erschafft, was Er will: wenn Er will, dass ein Ding ist, sagt er nur zu ihm: ‘Sei!‘ – und es ist.* (3:47). Siehe! Die Engel sagten: *O Maria! Siehe, Gott sendet dir die frohe Kunde durch ein Wort von Ihm (von einem Sohn), der bekannt werden soll als Christus Jesus, Sohn der Maria, von großer Ehre in dieser Welt und im kommenden Leben, und von jenen (sein wird), die Gott nahegerückt sind.* (3:45).

Schließlich möchte ich Sie bitten, in dieses Gebet mit mir einzustimmen, das ich oft bei Massenbestattungen in Potočari nahe Srebrenica für die Seelen der Opfer des Genozids gesprochen habe:

Lieber Gott, wenn wir Dich vergessen, vergiss Du uns nicht!

Wenn wir Fehler machen, gib uns die Stärke zur Reue wie Adam!
Wenn uns Unheil bedroht, lehre uns, die Arche der Rettung des Noah zu bauen!

Wenn wir von falschem Glauben verfinstert werden, erleuchte uns mit dem wahren

Glauben Abrahams!

Wenn uns Furcht vor Tyrannen umfängt, statte uns aus mit der Gerechtigkeit Moses!

Wenn uns Hass begegnet, rette uns mit der Liebe Jesu!

Wenn wir aus unserem Zuhause vertrieben wurden, stärke uns mit Muhammads Streben nach Rückkehr!

Lieber Gott, möge Friede auf allen Propheten Gottes sein, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Mose, Jesus und Muhammad!

Eminenzen, in der Hoffnung, dass wir uns stets in Frieden und Verständigung begegnen werden, empfangen Sie bitte den aufrichtigen Ausdruck meiner Liebe und Achtung.

Dr Mustafa Cerić,
Großmufti der Islamischen Gemeinschaft von Bosnien und Herzegowina (1992-2012)

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DEKLARATION EUROPÄISCHER MUSLIME

Eine Stellungnahme der europäischen Muslime zu den Anschlägen in New York im September 2001 dem Massaker in Madrid im März 2004 und den Bombenanschlägen in London im Juli 2005.

Im Hinblick darauf,

• dass am 11. September 2001 Tausende Männer und Frauen im World Trade Center in New York durch einen Terroranschlag getötet wurden, am 11. März 2004 Hunderte Menschen in einem Zug in Madrid und am 7. Juli 2005 in London zahlreiche unschuldige Passagiere Opfer von Bombenanschlägen wurden, und dass alle diese gegen die Menschheit gerichteten Gewaltakte als „islamischer Terrorismus“ bezeichnet werden,

• dass nach den Anschlägen in New York, dem Massaker in Madrid und den Bomben von London die europäischen Muslime unter der schweren Last kollektiver Anschuldigung wegen “islamischem Terrorismus” leiden, die beständig von manchen Politikern und Medien erhoben wird,

• dass die europäischen Muslime nicht an eine Kollektivschuld, sondern an individuelle Verantwortlichkeit glauben,

• dass die europäischen Muslime unter Islamophobie leiden, aufgrund unverantwortlicher Berichterstattung mancher Medien über muslimische Themen in Europa,

• dass die europäischen Muslime die Freiheit anderer ebenso lieben wie Freiheit für sich selbst und Bürger - und Menschenrechte in multikulturellen Gesellschaften schätzen,

• dass die europäischen Muslime ihre Kinder in Frieden und Sicherheit,

gemeinsam mit anderen Religionsgemeinschaften in Europa auf der Grundlage einer "Ethik des Teilens" erziehen möchten,

• dass nach den Lehren des Islam Juden und Christen Völker des Buches sind, und somit alle Juden, Christen und Muslime ihre gemeinsamen geistigen Wurzeln und ihre gemeinsamen Hoffnungen auf die Zukunft vorurteilslos auszutauschen lernen sollten, um Diskriminierung, Minderwertigkeit, Frustration, religiös und rassistisch bedingten Hass, Hilflosigkeit, Verlust von Kontrolle, soziale Ausgrenzung, Chancenungleichheit und politische Unterrepräsentation zu vermeiden,

• dass Europa gemeinsamer Kontinent vieler Religionen ist,

• dass Europa stolz ist auf seinen Weg von der Sklaverei zur Freiheit, vom Aberglauben zur Wissenschaft, von der Macht zum Recht und von der Theorie vom Staat zur Legitimität des Staates, ebenso wie auf Europas Verpflichtung auf die Grundwerte der Menschenrechte und der Demokratie,

• dass die europäischen Muslime Anteil haben wollen an Lebensweise und Wohlstand Europas ebenso wie an der sozialen, politischen, kulturellen und moralischen Entwicklung der europäischen Gesellschaften,

sei nun hiermit erklärt:

I

AN DIE EUROPÄISCHE UNION:

Die europäischen Muslime meinen, dass

1. Europa Haus des Friedens und der Sicherheit ist auf der Grundlage eines Gesellschaftsvertrages,

2. das Gebiet Europas ‚Haus des Gesellschaftsvertrages' ist, weil es möglich ist, gemäß dem Glauben des Einzelnen zu leben im Kontext der „Prinzipien, welche freie und vernünftige Menschen, die an der Förderung ihres eigenen Wohles interessiert sind, in einer Ausgangsposition von Gleichheit akzeptieren würden, als Definition der grundlegenden Bedingungen ihres Zusammenlebens" (John Rawls),

3. ein Vertrag von der Vernunft des Menschen vorgegeben wird, während ein Bund dem Herzenswunsch/Glauben des Menschen entspricht. Dementsprechend kennzeichnet den Muslim Verbundenheit mit Gott als Ausdruck des Willens

seines Herzens/Glaubens; und den Staatsbürger kennzeichnet Verpflichtung gegenüber dem Staat als Ausdruck der Vorgaben seiner Vernunft. Im Bund überträgt der Mensch sein Herz an Gott und erhält Selbstsicherheit; im Vertrag verpflichtet er seine Vernunft dem Staat und erhält soziale Sicherheit als Bewohner eines Landes. Ein Bürger hat Anspruch auf die Rechte und Privilegien freier Menschen, er ist Mitglied eines Staates, von Geburt oder Einbürgerung an, als jemand, der einer Regierung Loyalität schuldet und ihr gegenüber Anspruch auf den Schutz seines Lebens, seiner Religion, seiner Freiheit, seines Eigentums und seiner Würde hat,

4. die europäischen Muslime den folgenden, gemeinsamen europäischen Werten umfassend und vorbehaltlos verpflichtet sind:

- der Rechtsstaatlichkeit,
- den Prinzipien der Toleranz,
- den Werten von Demokratie und Menschenrechten,
- der Überzeugung, dass jedem einzelnen Menschen das Recht auf fünf grundlegende Werte zukommt: Leben, Glauben, Freiheit, Eigentum und Würde.

5. während sie sich um ein würdevolles Leben in Europa bemühen, die europäischen Muslime folgende Erwartungen hegen:

- Institutionalisierung des Islam in Europa,
- wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der muslimischen Gemeinschaft, sodass ihr volle geistige und kulturelle Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit zukommt,
- Aufbau islamischer Schulen, die in der Lage sind, in Europa geborene Muslime mit Blick auf die Herausforderungen multikultureller Gesellschaften zu erziehen,
- politische Freiheit, die es Muslimen ermöglichen wird, ihre legitimen Vertreter in die europäischen Volksvertretungen zu entsenden,
- Erleichterung der europäischen Einwanderungspolitik, die in letzter Zeit zunehmend restriktiv gegenüber Muslimen geworden ist,
- Wege zu finden, wie muslimisches Recht für Personenstandsangelegenheiten, wie z.B. Familienrecht, anerkannt werden kann,
- Schutz der europäischen Muslime vor Islamophobie, ethnischen Säuberungen, Völkermord und dergleichen.

6. die europäischen Muslime einem umfassenden, gemeinsamen Programm für religiösen Dialog verpflichtet sind, welches:

- ein Bewusstsein schaffen soll für die Vielschichtigkeit des säkularen Umfelds, in dem Religionen heute bestehen,
- Verständnis fördern, Unterschiede achten und Gemeinsamkeiten erkennen soll,
- religiöse Identität als wichtiges Mittel anerkennen soll, um in Situationen von Konflikt und Unsicherheit zu bestehen, und um Verschiedenartigkeiten zu respektieren und damit leben zu lernen,
- zur andauernden Menschenrechtsdebatte beitragen soll,
- Verständnis für das „Anderssein“ der „Anderen“ schaffen soll,
- die komplexen Beziehungen zwischen Religion, Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft aufzeigen und die positiven Beiträge der Religionen im gemeinsamen Bemühen um Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit und Frieden herausstellen soll,
- religiöse Prinzipien, moralische und ethische Werte und Normen benennen soll, die gemeinsam für das Zusammenleben abstimmbar sind, und solche, die jeder Religion eigen sind; und mögliche Unterschiede, Spannungen und Missverständnisse zwischen einzelnen moralischen und ethischen Werten in verschiedenen Religionen erkennen soll,
- die positiven historischen Erfahrungen herausstellen und Erinnerungen an gute Nachbarschaft und an Zusammenleben beschwören soll, die ebenso Teil der Geschichte Europas sind,
- eine gemeinsame Plattform für religiöse Koexistenz begründen soll, im Geiste des guten Willens, der in den beiden Büchern Gottes zu finden ist, und in der Hoffnung auf eine gelingende gemein¬same Zukunft.

II

AN DIE IN EUROPA LEBENDEN MUSLIME:

Die europäischen Muslime meinen, dass

1. die in Europa lebenden Muslime erkennen sollten, dass Freiheit kein Geschenk ist. Muslimische Freiheit in Europa muss verdient werden. Und der grundsätzliche Status der Muslime muss trotz fremdenfeindlicher Widerstände anerkannt werden.

2. die in Europa lebenden Muslime jetzt mehr um ihre Verantwortung bemüht sein sollten, als um ihre Freiheit, denn indem sie ihre Verantwortung im wirtschaftlichen, politischen und kulturellen europäischen Leben wahrnehmen, werden sich die in Europa lebenden Muslime ihr Recht auf Freiheit verdienen. Somit wird die Freiheit der europäischen Muslime nicht auf jemandes Gnade beruhen, sondern ein Besitzwert sein, der nicht vorenthalten noch entzogen werden kann.

3. die in Europa lebenden Muslime der westlichen Öffentlichkeit den Islam als universelle Weltanschauung präsentieren sollten, und nicht als eine gruppenbezogene, ethnische oder nationale Kultur. Die Muslime können nicht von den Europäern erwarten, dass sie die universelle Botschaft des Islam wertschätzen, wenn sie beständig mit einer ethnischen oder nationalen Färbung des Islam konfrontiert werden. Die europäischen Muslime können die europäische Öffentlichkeit mit dem Universalismus des Islam beeindrucken, und darüber hinaus ist Europa ein geeigneter Ort für die Muslime, um selbst die Macht und die Schönheit der Universalität des Islam zu entdecken.

4. es der Westen ist, wo viele Muslime den Islam in einer von ihrer Heimat ganz verschiedenen Ausprägung entdecken, weil sie hier Mitmuslimen aus anderen Teilen der muslimischen Welt begegnen, und so die Mannigfaltigkeit islamischen Lebens und islamischer Kultur zu schätzen beginnen. Die in Europa lebenden Muslime haben das Recht, nein: die Pflicht, ihre eigene europäische Kultur des Islam zu entwickeln, als Manifestation einer dritten Kraft zwischen Ost und West und im Bedürfnis nach einer neuen Renaissance, die die Menschheit in eine bessere und sicherere Welt führt.

5. die junge Generation von in Europa lebenden Muslimen spirituell stark und intellektuell mutig sein sollte, um die eigenen Klischees von Muslimen über Islam zu brechen, bevor sie von anderen verlangt, ihre Klischees zu überwinden. Die muslimische Jugend muss die Initiative für die Zukunft ergreifen, nicht darauf warten, dass die Älteren ihre Aufgabe übernehmen. Die muslimische Jugend sollte sich nicht scheuen, die Führung für eine bessere Zukunft der in Europa lebenden Muslime zu übernehmen.

6. die in Europa lebenden Muslime sich zu den folgenden Verpflichtungen ihres Glaubens bekennen sollten:

- **Lies und lerne!**
Die Offenbarung des Koran begann nicht mit der Verpflichtung zum Glauben, sondern mit der Verpflichtung zum Wissen. Gott der Allmächtige forderte Muhammad (Friede über ihn!) nicht auf, zu glauben, sondern Er forderte ihn auf, das Was und Wie des Glaubens zu lesen und zu lernen. Dies ist so, weil der Mensch mit Glauben zur Welt kommt. Der Glaube, der ja schon in seiner Seele angelegt ist, muss daher nicht vom Menschen eingefordert werden. Aber der Mensch muss daran erinnert werden, dass er lesen und lernen soll, was in seiner Seele ist. Der Mensch braucht also Wissen mit Glauben ebenso wie Glauben mit Wissen.

- **Glaube und arbeite!**
Der Mensch lebt weder in einer rein geistigen Welt ohne Materie, noch in einer rein materiellen Welt ohne Geist. Das Geheimnis des Erfolgs besteht darin, dass der Mensch in sich selbst diese zwei Werte vereint: seinen Geist und seinen Körper. Mit anderen Worten, der Zweck des menschlichen Lebens liegt im Wirken seines Geistes - das ist sein Glaube, und im Wirken seines Körpers - das ist Arbeit. Es kann keine muslimische Würde geben, solange die große Kluft zwischen dem Glauben des Herzens und der Kraft des Verstandes nicht überwunden ist.

- **Sei fromm und achte deine Eltern!**
Der Wert, den der Koran auf den Zusammenhang zwischen der Verehrung Gottes und der Achtung der Eltern legt, beinhaltet eine starke Botschaft für den Osten wie für den Westen. Die Botschaft für den Osten besteht

darin, dem Druck nach Zurückdrängung der Familienwerte nicht nachzugeben; und die Botschaft für den Westen besteht darin, von dem gefährlichen Spiel mit der Zukunft der Menschheit abzulassen. Zur Institution der Familientradition gibt es keine Alternative. Der Versuch, das Grundgesetz vom Familienleben zu brechen, kommt dem Versuch gleich, das Grundgesetz der Natur vom Sonnenaufgang im Osten zu brechen. Niemand ist in der Lage, die Natur des Sonnenaufgangs zu ändern; und niemand wird in der Lage sein, das Gesetz des Familien¬lebens zu brechen, solange die Sonne durch den Willen des Allmächtigen Gottes aufgeht.

• Sei aufrichtig und kämpfe für deine Rechte!

Der Erfolg hier und die Erlösung im Jenseits kommen nicht von allein. Man sollte hinter seinem/ihrem Erfolg hersein. Man sollte für seine/ihre Rechte kämpfen hier und jetzt. Ebenso sollte man an der Erlösung im Jenseits arbeiten; man sollte sich Gottes Gnade verdienen. Der Unterschied zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen besteht darin, dass der Osten mehr an Gottes Gnade glaubt als an harte Arbeit, und der Westen sich mehr auf harte Arbeit verlässt als auf die Gnade Gottes.

• Denk an morgen!

Es gibt einen klaren Beweis im Heiligen Koran, dass wir das Recht, nein: die Pflicht, haben, für unsere Zukunft zu planen und daran zu glauben, dass unsere Zukunft besser sein kann, als unsere Vergangenheit. Es ist wirklich merkwürdig, wie einige auf den Gedanken kommen können, dass die muslimische Zukunft hoffnungslos wäre und somit die Hoffnung allein auf der muslimischen Vergangenheit läge als Lebensweise und als Ziel der Geschichte. Dieser Gedanke hat keine Grundlage im Islam. Gott der Allmächtige lehrt uns, dass unsere Zukunft besser sein kann, als unsere Vergangenheit, und der gesunde Menschenverstand sagt uns, dass wir unsere Vergangenheit nicht ändern können, aber wir können, mit Gottes Hilfe, unsere Zukunft gestalten. Wir sind also nicht verantwortlich für die vergangene muslimische Geschichte, aber wir sind verantwortlich für die zukünftige muslimische Geschichte. Die Muslime sollten nicht Angst davor haben, an ihre Zukunft zu denken, so wie sie sich auch nicht von ihrer Vergangenheit vereinnahmen lassen sollten. Die Muslime haben Zukunft, weil sie Vertrauen in Gott haben. Und sie haben Gottvertrauen, weil sie glauben, dass Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit obsiegen werden.

III

AN DIE MUSLIMISCHE WELT:

Die europäischen Muslime meinen, dass

1. die muslimische Welt eine universale Gemeinschaft der Muslime bildet, die Geschwister sind durch ihren gemeinsamen Glauben an Einen Gott und an das Prophetentum Muhammads, Friede über ihn.

2. die Vorstellung von einem globalen Bewusstsein den Muslimen nicht fremd sein sollte. Seinem Wesen nach ist der Islam ein universaler Glaube und eine globale Erscheinung. Es wäre vollkommen angemessen, wenn die Muslime mit einer Agenda der Globalisierung im Sinne globaler Freiheit und Sicherheit auftreten würden, weil Muslime fast überall auf dem Globus verstreut sind und somit ihre Freiheit und Sicherheit von globaler Bedeutung sind.

3. die Muslime nicht nur keine authentische Vorstellung von Globalisierung vorgebracht haben, sondern sie, allgemein gesprochen, derzeit keine globale Welt leben. Muslime haben keine globale Strategie; sie haben keinen globalen Geist und Kopf; sie haben keinen globalen Kalender, der sie vor der schmachvollen Verwirrung um das Datum von Eid al-Adha bewahrt. Bedauerlicherweise haben sie ein Image der Bedrohung für Freiheit und Sicherheit der Welt; sie tragen das Stigma von globalem Terrorismus.

4. wegen des Stigmas von islamischem Terrorismus, unter dem die Muslime heute zu Unrecht leiden, eine Deklaration Europäischer Muslime an die muslimische Welt ausge¬arbeitet werden sollte, um die Bedeutung des Wandels von einem schlechten globalen Image zu einem guten globalen Image der Muslime zu betonen, insbesondere in Angelegenheiten ihres Glaubens.

5. die Mitte des Islam in erster Linie umfassende Führung in den praktischen Dingen unseres Glaubens bieten sollte, in globalen Angelegenheiten unserer Zeit; und im globalen Dialog mit unseren Nachbarn.

6. die Muslime, wo immer sie sind, der ganzen Welt beweisen sollten, dass Islam sowohl aufrichtiger Glaube wie rechtmäßige Religion ist; dass er sowohl attraktive

Kultur wie friedliche Politik ist; dass er sowohl gute Menschen wie reich entwickeltes Land ist; und dass Islam sowohl der weise Mann des Ostens wie der rationale Mann des Westens ist.

7. es falsch ist, den Islam wegen des Mangels an Demokratie in der muslimischen Welt anzuklagen; es ist Sünde, Menschenrechte im Namen des Islam zu verletzen; es ist ein Verbrechen gegen den Islam, eine hohe Analphabetenrate in der muslimischen Welt zu tolerieren, und eine riesige Kluft zwischen enorm reichen und extrem armen Menschen in der muslimischen Welt hinzunehmen.

8. die europäischen Muslime das Recht und die Pflicht haben, diese und andere Themen, die die Zukunft ihrer Kinder betreffen, anzusprechen, während sie sich orientieren, wer sie sind und wie sie sich verhalten sollten als Muslime in einer europäischen Umgebung.

9. die europäischen Muslime die globale muslimische Gemeinschaft aufrufen, die Führung in der Förderung von Frieden und Sicherheit in der Welt zu übernehmen.

10. die muslimische Welt eine rechtmäßige Ummah darstellt, die die Pflichten einer moralisch guten, rational ausgewogenen, wirtschaftlich gerechten und global förderlichen Gemeinschaft zu erfüllen vermag, die sich überall als glaubwürdig für Partnerschaft und Freundschaft erweist.

* * *

Wir schlagen alle verschiedene Wege in unserem Leben ein,
aber wohin immer wir gehen,
wir tragen immer etwas von allen überall bei uns!

Freunde sind Gottes Weg für uns zu sorgen!

* * *

DIE DEKLARATION EUROPÄISCHER MUSLIME
ANALYSEN - AUSZÜGEN

Verfasserin Christina Langer-Keric, Wien, April 2012
(Diplomarbeitangestrebter - akademischer Grad Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Medialer Kontext

Die "Deklaration der europäischen Muslime" erschien in "Islam mit europäischem Gesicht. Impulse und Perspektiven", herausgegeben von Benjamin Idriz, Stephan Leimgruber und Stefan Jakob Wimmer.

Das Werk erschien im Jahr 2010 im Verlag Butzon & Bercker in Kevelaer, Deutschland. Das ist ein christlicher Verlag, der Teil einer Firma ist, die aus den Unternehmensbereichen Buch, Kunst, Karten, Logistik und Bronzegießerei besteht und sich eine wichtige Position in Produktion und Verkauf von christlichen Produkten im deutschsprachigen Raum gesichert hat.*1 Das Familienunternehmen wurde im Jahr 1870 gegründet und ist "[...] fest im christlichen Boden verwurzelt [...]"*2 und zwar so tief, dass das Verlagshaus im Jahr 1900 von Papst Leo XIII zum "Verleger des Heiligen Apostolischen Stuhls" ernannt wurde.*3...

[...] Der Verlag scheint also die Grundwerte der Toleranz und nicht nur Religionsfreiheit, sondern der Akzeptanz aller Religionen zu leben.

Welche Meinungen über Cerić gibt es in Bosnien?

[...] "Der Großmufti ist das geistige Oberhaupt der etwa zwei Millionen Muslime in Bosnien – und in deren Augen ein Held: Während der Belagerung Sarajevos zwischen Februar 1992 und April 1995 wurde Mustafa Cerić zum Symbol des bosnischen Widerstands gegen den serbischen Vernichtungswillen."*4 ... Die einen lieben ihn, die anderen kritisieren ihn, und den Dritten ist er egal, da sie mit Religion nach all den Kriegswirren des Bosnienkrieges der 90er Jahre nichts mehr zu tun haben wollen, oder einfach keine praktizierenden MuslimInnen sind.

[...] Der Großmufti gehört zu jenen auf islamischer Seite, die den Kampf der Kulturen entschärfen wollen, ohne sich dabei auf Wohlfühlrhetorik zu verlassen"*5, sagt Jörg Lau von der Zeit Online und bezieht sich dabei auf den offenen Brief mit dem Titel "A Common Word Between Us And You"*6, den muslimische Gelehrte als Reaktion auf die Regensburger Rede Papst Benedikts am 12. September 2006 an der Universität Regensburg*7 verfassten.

[...] Ein weiteres Statement ist der 2007 an Cerić (und Rita Süssmuth) verliehene Theodor-Heuss-Preis. Auf der Homepage der "Theodor Heuss Stiftung zur Förderung der politischen Bildung und Kultur in Deutschland und Europa" ist nämlich Folgendes zu lesen: "Der Theodor Heuss Preis und die ihm ebenbürtigen Theodor Heuss Medaillen werden seit 1965 in regelmäßigen Abständen für Beispiele und Vorbilder demokratischen Verhaltens und freiheitlicher Gestaltung des Zusammenlebens verliehen. Mit der alljährlichen Verleihung des Theodor Heuss Preises hat die Stiftung von Anfang an versucht, durch die Würdigung von bürgerschaftlicher Initiative und Zivilcourage auch wichtige politische und gesellschaftliche Entwicklungen frühzeitig ins öffentliche Bewusstsein zu tragen."*8

"Der Obermufti vertritt einen sehr selbstbewussten europäischen Islam, der sich nicht verstecken will und Forderungen stellt."*9, meint Yassin Musharbash vom Spiegel

*1 Vgl. Butzon & Bercker GmbH 2009-2012, http://www.butzon-bercker.de/de/B-B-Unternehmen.html, Zugriff 28.06.2011.

*2 Ebda, http://www.butzon-bercker.de/de/Wir-ueber-uns.html, Zugriff 28.06.2011.

*3 Vgl. Ebda, http://www.butzon-bercker.de/de/Chronik.html, Zugriff 28.06.2011.

*4 Lau, J. (2006), Der islamische Reformator. [http://www.zeit.de/2006/49/Mustafa-l-Ceric/seite-1. Zugriff 06.06.2011], Zeit Online. [http://www.zeit.de/index. Zugriff 06.06.2001]

*5 Ebda

*6 Nachzulesen unter: http://www.acommonword.com/index.php?lang=en, Zugriff 14.06.2011

*7 Nachzulesen unter: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060912_university-regensburg_ge.html, Zugriff 24.03.2012

*8 Theodor-Heuss-Stiftung zur Förderung der politischen Bildung und Kultur in Deutschland und Europa (2012), „Über den Theodor Heuss Preis", [http://www.theodor-heuss-l- stiftung.de/presse/pressematerialien.html. Zugriff 27.03.2012.], [http://www.theodor-heuss-l- stiftung.de. Zugriff 27.03.2012.]

Online. Und Jean-Arnault Dérens, Journalist der Zeitung "Le Monde Diplomatique" nennt ihn "...machtbewusst(e) und strategisch denkend(e) [...]"*10

Kurz zusammengefasst meint die "Deutsche Welle": "Allgemein gilt der 54-jährige Geistliche als gemäßigter, ökumenisch offener Religionsführer, der sich für einen toleranten bosnischen Islam europäischer Prägung einsetzt."*11 Es ist hier also bemerkbar, dass die Meinung von Cerić in den westlichen Ländern Europas eine durchwegs Gute ist. Er wird als ebenbürtiger, ernstzunehmender und vor allem nichtradikaler Gesprächspartner wahrgenommen, und als die Autorität anerkannt, die er in Bosnien darstellt.

Reaktionen auf die "Deklaration Europäischer Muslime"

In der Zeitung "Die Zeit" erschien ein Artikel zum Thema der Deklaration, der folgende Passagen enthielt: "Zu Beginn des Jahres hat der Großmufti Cerić eine Erklärung der Europäischen Muslime herausgegeben. Darin geht es um Terrorismus, europäische Werte, die Menschenrechte und die Loyalität, die die europäischen Muslime dem freiheitlichen Verfassungsstaat schulden. Cerić sagt, er habe die Erklärung geschrieben, weil nach den Anschlägen von New York, Madrid und London endlich eine klare Verurteilung dieser Taten nötig war – 'ohne das übliche relativierende Aber, dem dann in muslimischen Publikationen meist eine Liste der Sünden des Westens folgt'. Der Massenmord an den bosnischen Muslimen in Srebrenica sei vom amerikanischen Senat schließlich auch ohne Wenn und Aber als Völkermord verurteilt worden: 'Genauso entschieden müssen wir Muslime die Verbrechen verurteilen, die irrigerweise im Namen des Islams verübt werden.' Er wolle klarmachen, erklärt Cerić, dass die Terroristen nicht bloß "die Christen" oder "die Ungläubigen" angreifen. Wer Freiheit und Demokratie attackiert, der greift auch mich als europäischen Musliman.'"*12

Und später: "Unter den europäischen Muslimen, für die der Großmufti sprechen möchte, ist diese politische Philosophie keineswegs Konsens. Umso wichtiger ist es, wenn Stimmen wie die seine gehört werden. Wenn der Papst nach Regensburg, Ankara und Istanbul Partner für einen neuen Dialog zwischen Christen und Muslimen sucht, führt an Sarajevo kein Weg vorbei."*13

Aber genauso gibt es indirekte Reaktionen, also Menschen, die die Inhalte der "Deklaration europäischer Muslime" von Mustafa Cerić auf etwas andere Art und Weise formuliert, aber im Sinn gleichbleibend wiedergeben. Einer ist der emeritierte Bischof Dr. Josef Homeyer aus Hildesheim in Deutschland, der im Jahr 2007, also nach Erscheinen der Deklaration, an der Akademie der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart einen Vortrag mit dem Thema "Leitideen des 'bosnischen Islam' als Perspektiven für einen 'europäischen Islam'?"*14 gehalten hat. Homeyer beginnt seinen Vortrag mit den Worten: "Der 'Bosnische Islam' hat in den letzten 50 Jahren bewiesen, dass er in einem säkularen Staat (über) leben kann."*15 Was er dann als mögliche Gründe für dieses gute Funktionieren aufzählt und sich dabei auch auf Prof. Dr. Fikret Karčić, einen international tätigen und anerkannten Juristen, der sich unter anderem auf islamisches Recht spezialisiert hat*16, beruft, gibt indirekt Cerić im Nachhinein die Legitimation zum Schreiben der Deklaration, da er genau diesem Land abstammt und ein Vertreter jener gut funktionierenden religiösen Praxis ist. Es werden auch Argumente genannt, die der Autor des zweiten von mir analysierten Textes, Hasanović, später wissentlich oder unwissentlich in seinem Text verarbeitet, so zum Beispiel die positive Erwähnung "[...] einer qualifizierten theol. intellektuellen Elite, insbesondere in der musl. theologischen

*9 Musharbash, Y. (2008), „Islam in Europa. Als der Obermufti einmal Scharia sagte".
[http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,553231,00.html. Zugriff 14.06.2011.], Spiegel Online, [http://www.spiegel.de. Zugriff 14.06.2011.]

*10 Dérens, J.-A. (2008), „Der Einfluss des Islam", Le Monde diplomatique Nr. 8682 [http://www.monde -diplomatique.de/pm/2008/09/12.mondeText.artikel,a0042.idx,9. Zugriff 14.06.2011.],
Le Monde Diplomatique,[http://www.monde-diplomatique.de/. Zugriff 14.06.2011.]

*11 Pargan, B. (2006), „Oberhaupt der Muslime fordert Großmufti für Europa".
[http://www.dw- l-world.de/dw/article/0,,1898016,00.html. Zugriff 25.03.2012.],
Deutsche Welle [http://www.dw-world.de/]

*12 Lau 2006.

*13 Ebda.

*14 Homeyer, J. (2007), Leitideen des „bosnischen Islam" als Perspektive für einen „europäischen Islam"?, "Bosnischer Islam für Europa", Akademie der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart & Vereinigung islamischer Gemeinden der Bosniaken in Deutschland (VIGB), Hohenheim.

*15 Ebda.

*16 Vgl. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 2012.

*17 Homeyer 2007: 1.

*18 Idriz, Leimgruber, Wimmer 2010: 152.

*19 Homeyer 2007: 2.

Fakultät, die notwendige Erneuerungen unter Wahrung der substantiellen Tradition argumentativ zu begründen und zu vermitteln mag."*[17] Hasanović schreibt: "Ein Faktor, der den Prozess der Integration und Internationalisierung verlangsamt, besteht in der Tatsache, dass die leitenden Kräfte Laien sind. Ich schätze Ihre Arbeit und Gott möge sie dafür belohnen. Aber die Auffassung unserer Religionsgemeinschaften in Europa geht dahin, dass der Leiter eine theologisch ausgebildete Person sein soll."*[18]

Unter dem Punkt "Wie kann ein europäischer Islam aussehen?"*[19] werden dann viele Forderungen Cerićs aufgegriffen und so in ihrem Gehalt von diesem katholischen Geistlichen bestätigt. So nennt Homeyer als Forderungen an die als möglichen zukünftigen Vertreter aller MuslimInnen Europas, als dieser Vortrag eines emeritierten katholischen Bischofs, kann es kaum geben.Muslime die Anerkennung rechtstaatlicher und demokratischer Prinzipien, den Respekt der europäischen Geschichte und Kultur, aber auch die "[...] Mitgestaltung der Ziviloder Bürgergesellschaft [...]"*[20] zur Vermeidung von Parallelgesellschaften.*[21] Genauso aber formuliert er Forderungen an Europa und gibt in ein paar Absätzen wieder, was auch Cerić verlangte: nämlich die Anerkennung des Islam in seiner prinzipiellen Existenz. Die Tatsache, dass der Islam schon sehr lange ein Teil Europas ist, welcher Geschichte und Kultur entscheidend mitgeprägt hat. Gleichzeitig aber auch die forcierte Integration und Aufforderung zur Partizipation für all jene, die als Muslime neu in ein christlich geprägtes Land Europas kommen.*[22] Ich glaube eine bessere Referenz für Cerić.

Cerićs Denken

Wie schon zuvor erwähnt, ist Cerićs großes Anliegen - einer Aussage nach - ein Miteinander aller Religionen und Menschen in Europa zu schaffen. Um das zu erreichen, scheut er auch keine Kritik an den Muslimen selbst: "Ich wünschte, die Muslime [Anm.: in Europa] hätten nicht durch die Kopftücher auf sich aufmerksam gemacht, sondern durch exzellente Leistungen im Sport, in der Wissenschaft, in der Technik. Manche Musliminnen tragen das Kopftuch aus religiösen Gründen. Für viele ist es aber vor allem eine Trotzhandlung: Wenn ich anders nicht bemerkt und respektiert werde, dann eben durch die Kleidung, die mein Anderssein markiert. Wenn wir weiter einen Kulturkampf um die Kopftücher führen, verstärken wir das nur." Und etwas später: "Wir müssen den Muslimen die Angst vor dem Identitätsverlust nehmen, die sie mit diesem Begriff verbinden. Früher hatte ich selber große Bedenken gegen Assimilation. Heute finde ich die Integration der Muslime in die europäischen Gesellschaften so wichtig, dass ich sage: Wir müssen sie selbst um den Preis der Assimilation vorantreiben. Wir Muslime müssen aufhören, den Islam als eine nahöstliche Stammeskultur zu präsentieren, und stattdessen die universale Botschaft des Islams herausstellen. Statt die Unterschiede zu betonen – die gar nicht so groß sind –, müssen Christen, Juden und Muslime lernen, mit ihren Ähnlichkeiten zu leben."*[23]

In einem Interview der Wiener Zeitung zu den Mohammed--Karikaturen, beschreibt Cerić sein Hauptanliegen so: "Der Orient steht im Allgemeinen für Weisheit, der Westen für Rationalität. Der weise und der rationale Mann müssen jetzt zueinander finden. Beide Seiten müssen das richtige Gefühl füreinander entwickeln. Wer die Formel findet, die das wechselseitige Vertrauen wiederherstellt, dem gebührt meiner Ansicht nach der Nobelpreis."*[24]

Schluss

Ich habe nun also den Hintergrund von Cerić, seinem Text und dem Buch "ISLAM mit europäischem Gesicht – Perspektiven und Impulse", in dem der Text erschienen ist, beleuchtet, den Text oberflächlich in seiner Erscheinungsform und den verwendeten Darstellungsprinzipien beschrieben, ihn in Diskursstränge unterteilt, diese aufgelistet, und eine Analyse seiner sprachlichen und parasprachlichen Mittel angefertigt.

...Das Buch wurde also geschrieben und herausgegeben von einer Gruppe weltoffener Männer unterschiedlicher

*[20] Ebda.

*[21] Vgl. Ebda.

*[22] Vgl. Ebda.

*[23] Lau 2006.

*[24] Schmölzer, M. (2006), „Keine Bilder, sondern Hass". [http://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/politik/welt/288701_Keine-Bilder-sondern-l- Hass.html, Zugriff 26.03.2012.],

Religionszugehörigkeit, die das Anliegen hatten, zur Verständigung der Religionen und zum besseren Zusammenleben beizutragen. Der Autor des von mir analysierten Textes ist Mustafa Cerić, der sich nicht nur in Bosnien einen Namen als offener, toleranter und liberaler Muslim gemacht hat, und der von der Geschichte seines Heimatlandes geprägt ist. Es ist zu beobachten und festzustellen, dass dies eine eindeutige Wirkung auf den Text hatte, und bei der Verfassung des Textes eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

Dass der liberale Hintergrund aller beteiligten Personen und des Verlags die getätigten Aussagen in Cerićs Deklaration noch unterstreicht, kann als Ergebnis der Kontextanalyse gewertet werden.

Die analysierten Darstellungsprinzipien, die ich der Einleitung der Deklaration entnommen habe, zeugen von Cerićs sprachlicher Gewandtheit und Raffinesse. Gerade in der Einleitung verwendet er sehr emotionale Worte, die viele Assoziationen auslösen. Diese ersten Zeilen erscheinen mir zum Teil schon fast populistisch, dieser Trend wird im restlichen Text aber nicht fortgesetzt. So klassifiziere ich sie als starke einleitende Worte, bei denen der Autor jene Emotionalität noch mitschwingen lässt, die er später gezielt versucht wegzulassen, um die Deklaration objektiv zu halten. Auch der Aufbau des Textes, der gut durchdacht und gut zu verstehen ist, bestätigt den bisher gewonnenen positiven Eindruck über die Deklaration und der Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Motiv der Autoren und dem Ergebnis.

Der letzte, der von mir vorgenommenen wichtigen Analysepunkte ist die Mikroanalyse. In ihr findet sich eine Darstellung der Diskursstränge und eine Analyse derselben. Unterteilt wird die Analyse in Textebene, Satzebene, Wortebene und parasprachliche Ebene.

Die Textebene wurde von mir mit Hauptaugenmerk auf die Argumentation beleuchtet. Hier hat sich gezeigt, dass Cerić gut argumentiert, aber seine Argumente sehr gerne mit Gefühlsstimulationen "polstert". Das wäre in bestimmten Fällen negativ, so zum Beispiel, wenn PolitikerInnen fehlende Argumente mit dem Ansprechen der Grundwünsche/ängste der Menschen überdecken. Hier aber kann ich sagen, dass diese Gefühlsstimulationen keinen populistischen Charakter haben, bzw. keine negative Auswirkung auf den Gehalt und die Aussage des Textes. ("Populismus. Er dient allg. als Bezeichnung für eine negativ bewertete Politik, die sich der Gier nach Zustimmung von seiten (sic!) des Volkes demagogischer Parolen bedient, dem Volke nach dem Munde redet, an Instinkte appelliert und einfache Lösungen propagiert, sowie verantwortungsethische Gesichtspunkte weitestgehend außer acht läßt [sic!]."[*25]) Er untermauert damit seine Argumente, und es stellt sich die Frage, warum das dem Gehalt seiner Aussagen abträglich sein sollte. Im Bereich der Satzebene habe ich mich der Satzlänge, dem Satzgefüge, den Arten von Sätzen und den rhetorischen Figuren gewidmet. Die Satzlänge ist kurz und das Satzgefüge immer ähnlich und zwar hauptsächlich aus langen Nebensätzen bestehend, was der Aufbau des Textes bedingt. Was die Satzarten betrifft, so ist Cerić nicht sehr einfallsreich und verwendet fast nur Deklarativsätze; auch rhetorische Figuren werden kaum benutzt. Auf der Satzebene hat die Deklaration also nichts Spektakuläres zu bieten, und doch ist genau dieser Punkt sehr aussagekräftig und zwar dann, wenn man sich ansieht, wie das gegenteilige Konzept aussehen könnte: ewig lange, verschlungene, unübersichtliche Sätze, die viele Fragen stellen oder mit Ausrufezeichen noch mehr Aufmerksamkeit erheischen wollen. Ein literarischer Aufbau des Textes in diesem Stil, der vielleicht noch mit rhetorischen Figuren gespickt wäre, könnte möglicherweise von den dem Autor wichtigen Aussagen ablenken. So bleibt Cerić sehr sachlich und darauf bedacht, seine Argumente kurz und prägnant darzulegen. Ausrufe hält er nicht für notwendig; im Populismus ist ja gerade das sehr beliebt. Analyse der Wortebene und Satzebene sind sehr

[*25] Nohlen, D. Schultze, R.-O. (Hg.), (2005), Lexikon der Politikwissenschaft. Band 2, N-Z. 3. Auflage, Verlag C.H.Beck oHG, München.

kurz gehalten, da ich, wie schon im theoretischen Teil dargelegt, keine Zählung der Wortarten vorgenommen habe. Es werden weder Abkürzungen noch Fachsprache oder Dialekt verwendet, was den Text gut lesbar und verständlich für jedermann/frau macht. Auch die Interpunktion ist unauffällig.

Nach eingehender Analyse von Cerićs "Deklaration der europäischen Muslime" hat sich meine anfängliche Hypothese bestätigt, dass die Intention von Mustafa Cerić und die tatsächlichen Aussagen übereinstimmen. Ich gehe daher davon aus, dass ich mit meinen Annahmen richtig gelegen bin.

Abschließende Worte

Abschließend kann ich sagen, dass Cerić seinem Ziel eine Deklaration zu schreiben, welche die Wogen zwischen MuslimInnen und ChristInnen glätten sollte, gerecht geworden ist. Er hat sich mit dem Thema intensiv beschäftigt und versucht, beide Seiten, also die der Muslime und die der Nicht-Muslime, gleichermaßen in den Prozess des Wandels einzubauen und nimmt sie in die Pflicht. Er versucht, vorurteilsfrei zu schreiben. Dies scheint ihm auch geglückt zu sein. Er hat daher auch die Grundlage geschaffen, an alle zu appellieren, gleich welcher Partei, und vermieden, dass einseitige Kritik geübt wird. Hinzu fügt er eine Anleitung zum besseren Zusammenleben. Diese wird aufgrund mangelnden Interesses von problemlösungstechnisch einfallslosen PolitikerInnen und MitbürgerInnen ignoriert. Dies, obwohl sie eine Hand zum Anhalten bieten würde und einen Weg vorgäbe, der alles besser machen könnte.

Wo ich aber einen Mangel im Text sehe, ist, dass Cerić eigentlich von einer tendenziell negativen Position der Muslime in Europa ausgeht und darüber ganz vergisst, dass es auch genug wirklich gut integrierte Muslime gibt, die ihre Religion leben und sich nicht verstecken müssen. Von ihnen ist nur kaum etwas zu hören, und doch muss nur der Blick auf einen Großteil muslimischer BosnierInnen in Österreich geworfen werden. Natürlich kommt ihnen zu Gute, dass sie Teil der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie waren und deshalb eine möglicherweise größere Akzeptanz in der Bevölkerung genießen, bzw. 'europäischer' sind als MuslimInnen anderer Herkunft, und es scheint, als würde sich in ihrem Verhalten ein wesentlich geringerer Kulturunterschied bemerkbar machen. Trotzdem können sie ihren Glauben ohne Probleme ausleben. So gehen sie in Moscheen, feiern ihre Feste und leben gleichzeitig ihr österreichisches Leben und dies wird von den meisten ÖsterreicherInnen akzeptiert. Genau diese Positivbeispiele fehlen in Cerićs Text, der so vermittelt, wir stünden ganz am Anfang des Prozesses gegenseitiger Akzeptanz. Natürlich ist nicht zu leugnen, dass in Europa große Spannungen und Probleme zwischen Menschen herrschen. Die Religion selbst ist dabei oft nur ein Aufhänger, um der Ungleichheit einen Namen zu geben, die sich doch meistens nicht wirklich in Problemen zwischen den Religionen, sondern in kulturellen und sozialen Problemen äußert. In jedem besseren Rhetorikkurs wird gelehrt, vor jeder Kritik oder Problembearbeitung positive Dinge zu nennen, da die folgende Kritik so besser aufgenommen werden kann. Dieser Tatsache verwehrt sich Cerić leider, ich vertrete die Meinung, dass sein Text noch mehr an Positivität gewonnen hätte, wenn er auch diesen Punkt beachtet hätte.

Abschließend möchte ich Cerić aber meine Hochachtung dafür aussprechen, sich an ein Problem dieser Art herangewagt zu haben. Dies obwohl er scheinbar keinen persönlichen Nutzen daraus zieht. Ich denke Europa bräuchte mehr solcher Leute. Leute, die tiefes persönliches Interesse an einem funktionierenden Zusammenleben haben. Das Werk kann als Anleitung und Inspiration für ein gelungenes Zusammenleben dienen.*

* http://othes.univie.ac.at/19874/1/2012-04-10_0207597.pdf

Przyjacielski list muzułmanów napisany przez Wielkiego Muftiego Bośni (1993-2012) dr Mustafę CERIĆIA do biskupów Europy, odczytany w Rzymie 26 października 2015 roku z okazji 50-lecia Orędzia Biskupów Polskich z 18 listopada 1965 roku do ich Niemieckich Braci w Chrystusowym Urzędzie Pasterskim i odpowiedzi Niemieckich Biskupów z 5 grudnia 1965 roku.



Akceptujemy i prosimy o akceptację.
Europa jest Waszą i naszą ojczyzną,
w Waszym i naszym pokoju,
w Waszym i naszym bezpieczeństwie,
w Waszej i naszej przyjaźni.



Drodzy Przyjaciele,

Jestem zaszczycony zaproszeniem od Jego Ekscelencji Ambasadora Piotra Nowiny-Konopki by aktywnie uczestniczyć w upamiętnieniu historycznego listu pasterskiego, który pięćdziesiąt lat temu biskupi polscy skierowali do biskupów niemieckich otrzymując od nich odpowiedź.

Ten pasterski list biskupów wywołuje w każdym człowieku dobrą wolę czynienia pokoju i przyjaźni. W rzeczy samej list ten budzi szczere pragnienie pojednania pomiędzy braćmi.

Rzym jest właściwym miejscem dla tej historycznej pamięci.

Nie jest to tylko właściwe miejsce. Także czas jest odpowiedni dla zachęty skierowanej ku wszystkim w świecie ludziom dobrego serca by przyjęli lekcję i zaakceptowali przesłanie tego pasterskiego listu: lekcja mówi o tym, że serce miłości jest lepsze od serca nienawiści; a przesłanie mówi o tym, że dobra dłoń uzdrawiającego życie jest lepsza od złej dłoni odbierającego życie.

Drogie Eminencje,

zainspirowany przykładem waszej braterskiej i pasterskiej miłości w Europie, poczułem potrzebę i przyzwolenie by napisać do Was, Europejskich Biskupów, ten list w imieniu mojej islamskiej wiary, mojej bośniackiej kultury i historycznego doświadczenia mojej ojczyzny Bośni. Ten list jest wyrazem przyjaźni. Jak wiecie, pierwsze zabójstwo było bratobójstwem. Kain zabił swojego brata Abla. Jezus, syn Marii, niech pokój będzie z Nim, został przyjęty przez swoich przyjaciół, którzy poszli za Nim i stali się Jego uczniami, apostołami, *Al-Hawariyyun*. Oni nie byli Jego krewnymi. Oni byli Jego braćmi w miłości. Dlatego miłość przyjaciół może być nawet silniejsza od miłości braci tej samej krwi.

Pierwsi muzułmanie w Mekce byli prześladowani przez swoich braci. By ocalić siebie przed własnymi braćmi, znaleźli schronienie u chrześcijańskiego przyjaciela, króla Abisynii, Negusa. Dzięki temu król Negus stał się historycznym symbolem przyjaźni między muzułmanami i chrześcijanami. Być może w tym zawiera się pierwotna mądrość koranicznej nauki skierowanej do muzułmanów: *I z pewnością się przekonasz, że najbliżsi, przez swoją przyjaźń, tym, którzy uwierzyli, są ci, którzy mówią: „My jesteśmy chrześcijanami!" Tak jest, albowiem są wśród nich księża i mnisi i oni nie wbijają się w pychę* (Koran, 5:82)[*1].

Drodzy Przyjaciele

ten koraniczny opis Waszej pasterskiej skromności skłania mnie do akceptacji i szacunku dla Was jako moich przyjaciół. Jestem świadom, że był i będzie ktoś, kto czyta Koran z intencją wzmocnienia wrogości. Piszę do Was w imieniu większości muzułmanów, którzy czytają Koran i znajdują w nim powody dla przyjaźni. Dlatego zrozumiecie, że dla mnie nie ma silniejszej motywacji niż Koran by ofiarować Wam moją przyjaźń i przyjąć Waszą.

Zrozumiecie także, iż jest to mój przywilej, jako jednego z ocalonych z ludobójstwa w Bośni, skierować do Was przesłanie przyjaźni i zaprosić Was do wspólnego dzielenia się cnotą zasad moralnych. Czym jest życie, jeśli nie dzieleniem się? Nie możemy naprawić naszych błędów z przeszłości. Możemy jednak wpłynąć na to, by nasza przyszłość była lepsza od naszej przeszłości w duchu dzielenia zasad moralnych zgodnie z tym, jak naucza nas wieczne Słowo Boże od Adama poprzez Noego, Abrahama, Mojżesza, Jezusa po Mahometa, niech pokój będzie z nimi wszystkimi.

[*1] Wszystkie cytaty z Koranu są w przekładzie Józefa Bieleckiego, Warszawa 1986.

Jeśli możliwe było w przeszłości budowanie murów i ogradzanie wydzielonych przestrzeni, takich jak królestwa chrześcijańskie i islamskie, dzisiaj takich możliwości już nie ma. Nie tylko w Europie, ale wszędzie w świecie żadna religia, żadna kultura, żaden naród nie mogą istnieć w izolacji. Wszystkie religie, kultury i narody świata są a priori od siebie współzależne i dlatego koniecznym jest byśmy znali siebie nawzajem. Ta prawda została podkreślona w Koranie w następujący sposób: *O ludzie! Oto stworzyliśmy was z mężczyzny i kobiety i uczyniliśmy was ludami i plemionami, abyście się wzajemnie znali. Zaprawdę, najbardziej szlachetny spośród was, w obliczu Boga, to najbardziej bogobojny wśród was! Zaprawdę, Bóg jest wszechwiedzący, dobrze świadomy!* (Koran, 49:13).

Drogie Eminencje,

pozwólcie mi powiedzieć Wam, że dzisiaj nasza Europa nie znajduje się ani na peryferiach Jerozolimy i Ziemi Świętej, ani też nie jest centrum świata. Dzisiejsza Europa jest razem ze sobą i z całym światem. I prawdą jest, że Europa znajduje się w szczególnej relacji ze światem islamskim: geograficznie, historycznie, kulturowo i ekonomicznie. W rzeczywistości cywilizacje europejska i islamska złączone są przeznaczeniem jak bracia syjamscy. Każda próba ich rozdzielenia przynosi ból i cierpienie w obu tych kręgach cywilizacyjnych. Dlatego wszyscy zdajemy sobie sprawę, że ostra chirurgiczna separacja europejskiej i islamskiej cywilizacji, tak, jak w przypadku braci syjamskich, prowadzić będzie do natychmiastowej śmierci ich obu, bądź tylko jednej z nich. Nikt nie wie, której z nich. Dlatego właśnie cywilizacje chrześcijańska i islamska nie mają wyboru, jak tylko znać i akceptować siebie nawzajem w duchu wzajemnej przyjaźni, opartej na świadomości prawa wszystkich mężczyzn i kobiet do życia, religii, wolności, własności i godności.

Dlatego pozwalam sobie wezwać Was do tego, abyśmy nie zamykali naszych europejskich drzwi przed tymi, którzy szukają u nas schronienia. Wzywam do tego, abyśmy nie budowali murów przed tymi, którzy przychodzą do nas, ponieważ ich domy i ojczyzny zostały zburzone. Europa przetrwała wszystko, co żywa istota ludzka może przetrwać: niekończące się podziały, długotrwałe wojny, cierpienie nie do zniesienia, bezlitosne prześladowanie… Lecz Europa powstała z prochów od Westfalii (1648) po Maastricht (1992) i pokazała całemu światu, ze stać ją na pokój i współistnienie, że jest gotowa przyjąć moralne zasady dzielenia się.

Wasze Eminencje,

bez wątpienia Wasze listy z 1965 roku w wielkiej mierze przyczyniły się do tego, że Europa stała się taką, jaką jest dzisiaj – kontynentem pokoju, współistnienia, sprawiedliwości społecznej i dobrobytu dla wszystkich ludzi dobrej woli. Dlatego nie sposób wyjaśnić dlaczego w końcu dwudziestego wieku na terytorium Europy pozwolono na dokonanie ludobójstwa na moim narodzie w Bośni, krainie od tysiąca lat pielęgnującej najcenniejsze ludzkie wartości, stanowiące esencję dzisiejszej Europy, wartości ludzkiego dobra i godności, prawa człowieka i wolności, ludzkiego pokoju i współistnienia oraz wartość jedności w różnorodności.

Skoro papież Franciszek powiedział, że Sarajewo jest Jerozolimą Europy, to Europa ma prawo być dumna ze swojego Sarajewa, tak samo, jak Sarajewo jest dumne z przynależności do otwartej i wolnej Europy, gdzie wołanie „Nigdy więcej!" po Holokauście i Ludobójstwie musiało odcisnąć się trwałym piętnem w umysłach wszystkich z nas.

Drodzy Biskupi Europy,

trudno zaprzeczyć, że wszystkim nam towarzyszy lęk. Wy w Europie lękacie się rozprzestrzeniającego się strachu przed islamem. A my, muzułmanie w Europie lękamy się tych, którzy rozprzestrzeniają strach przed nami tu i teraz. Któż jak nie Europa doświadczyła fałszywych lęków przed tymi, którzy są inni. To jest dokładnie to, o czym mówią Wasze listy: wezwanie do uwolnienia się od fałszywych lęków przed samymi sobą i przed innymi, którzy są różni od Was. To z tego powodu Wasze listy mają historyczne znaczenie nie tylko dla Was, biskupów, ale dla wszystkich Europejczyków wierzących, że prawda, sprawiedliwość, pokój i pojednanie są najważniejszymi wartościami. Tak więc mam nadzieję, że zrozumiecie ten list, podpisany przez szanowanych muftich, imamów i muzułmańskich intelektualistów w Europie, będący głosem rozsądku i wiedzy o tym, że Adam i Ewa są naszymi wspólnymi ojcem i matką. Nie jest możliwe abyśmy wiedzieli wszystko o sobie nawzajem, ale jest możliwe abyśmy akceptowali siebie wzajemnie w sposób pozbawiony uprzedzeń i lęku.

Akceptujemy Was i prosimy o akceptację pozbawioną uprzedzeń i lęku.

Posiadanie wiedzy o sobie nawzajem nie wystarcza. Konieczne jest abyśmy mieli wolę akceptowania siebie nawzajem w duchu wspólnego dobra dla wszystkich nas

tu i teraz w Europie, która nie ma powodu bać się kogokolwiek i czegokolwiek, a najbardziej ze wszystkiego islamu i muzułmanów, którzy w swoich imionach niosą znaczenie *Człowieka Pokoju.*

W tym miejscu, moi drodzy przyjaciele, chciałbym przywołać kilka cytatów z Świętego Koranu mówiących nam o naszym wspólnym duchowym fundamencie, a w związku z tym uwalniających nas od wzajemnego lęku:

I powiedzieliśmy: *O Adamie! Zamieszkajcie, ty i twoja małżonka, w Ogrodzie i jedzcie jego owoce dowolnie, skąd chcecie: lecz nie zbliżajcie się do tego drzewa, bo znajdziecie się między niesprawiedliwymi!* (2:35). Powiedzcie: *My wierzymy w Boga i w to, co nam zostało zesłane, i w to, co zostało zesłane Abrahamowi, Isma'ilowi i Izaakowi, Jakubowi i pokoleniom; i w to, co zostało dane prorokom od ich Pana. My nie robimy żadnej różnicy między nimi i poddajemy się Jemu całkowicie.* (2:136). I oto powiedzieli aniołowie: *O Mario! Zaprawdę, Bóg wybrał ciebie i uczynił cię czystą, i wybrał ciebie ponad kobietami światów.* (3:42). [Jezus powiedział:] *Ja przychodzę potwierdzić prawdziwość tego, co było przede mną w Torze, i aby uczynić dla was dozwolonym część tego, co wam było zakazane. Przyszedłem do was ze znakiem pochodzącym od waszego Pana.* (3:47). Ona [Maria] powiedziała: *O Panie mój! Jakże będę miała syna, skoro nie dotknął mnie żaden mężczyzna?* Powiedział [Gabriel]: *Tak będzie! Bóg stwarza to, co chce! Kiedy On decyduje o istnieniu jakiejś rzeczy, to tylko mówi: "Bądź!"* (3:45).

Kończąc, chciałbym abyście połączyli się ze mną w modlitwie, którą wielokrotnie odmawiałem na zbiorowym pogrzebie w Potočari niedaleko Srebrenicy za dusze ofiar Ludobójstwa:

Dobry Boże, jeśli zapomnimy o Tobie, nie zapomnij o nas!

Jeśli popełnimy błąd, daj nam siłę skruchy Adama!

Jeśli zamroczy nas fałszywa wiara, oświeć nas prawdziwą wiarą Ibrahima! Jeśli spotka nas nieszczęście, naucz nas jak zbudować Arkę Noego ku zbawieniu!

Jeśli zniewoli nas strach przed tyranami, wzmocnij nas sprawiedliwością Mojżesza! Jeśli zawładnie nami nienawiść, ocal nas miłością Jezusa!

Jeśli zostaniemy wygnani ze swoich domów, wzmocnij nas pragnieniem Mahometa powrotu do naszych domów!

Dobry Boże, niech pokój będzie z wszystkimi Prorokami Boga, Adamem, Noem, Abrahamem, Mojżeszem, Jezusem i Mahometem!

Wasze Eminencje, w nadziei, że zawsze będziemy się spotykali w pokoju i zrozumieniu, proszę abyście przyjęli moje szczere wyrazy miłości i szacunku.

Dr Mustafa Cerić,
Wielki Mufti Bośni i Hercegowiny (1992-2012)

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DÉCLARATION DES MUSULMANS D'EUROPE

relative à la position des Musulmans d'Europe par rapport aux attaques de New York du mois de septembre 2001, du massacre de Madrid du mois de mars 2004 et des explosions de bombes à Londres au mois de juillet 2005

Considérant que le 11 septembre 2001 des milliers d'hommes et de femmes qui travaillaient au centre du commerce mondial de New York ont été tués lors d'une attaque terroriste et que le 11 mars 2004 des centaines de personnes qui voyageaient en train à Madrid ont été massacrées et que le 7 juillet de nombreux voyageurs innocents ont été les victimes d'explosions de bombes à Londres, prenant en considération que tous ces actes de violences contre l'humanité ont été attribués au "terrorisme islamique":

• Considérant le fait qu'après les attaques de New York, le massacre de Madrid et les explosions de Londres, les Musulmans d'Europe vivent sous le lourd poids de la responsabilité collective du "terrorisme islamique", discours que propage en permanence certains hommes politiques et certains médias.

• Considérant que les Musulmans d'Europe croient qu'il n'existe pas de "responsabilité collective", mais des responsabilités individuelles.

• Considérant que les Musulmans d'Europe souffrent de l'islamophobie née d'irresponsables interprétations médiatisées relatives aux questions des musulmans en Europe et ce de la part de certains médias étrangers.

• Considérant que les Musulmans d'Europe souhaitent la liberté aux autres comme il la souhaite pour eux-même, tout comme ils respectent l'institution citoyenne et les droits de l'homme dans une société multiculturelle.

• Considérant que les Musulmans d'Europe souhaitent élever leurs enfants dans la paix et la sécurité ensemble avec les autres communautés religieuses en Europe ce sur le principe de "l'étique du partage".

• Considérant que l'islam enseigne aux musulmans que les peuples juifs et chrétiens sont des peuples du "Livre" et qu'à partir de là tous les juifs, les chrétiens et les musulmans doivent apprendre comment partager leurs racines communes et leurs espoirs communs pour un futur sans préjugés afin d'éviter les discriminations, un faible niveau de respect mutuel, la démoralisation, les haines religieuses et raciales. Eviter un futur sans entre aides mutuelles, avec des pertes de contrôle, des éloignements communautaires et des préjugés politiques. Partant de cela, l'Europe offre un continent commun à nombre de croyances.

• Considérant que l'Europe est fière du chemin parcouru, depuis l'esclavage à la liberté, de la mythologie à la connaissance, de la violence au Droit et de la Théorie de l'Etat à la légitimité de l'Etat, ainsi que de son implication dans les valeurs basées sur les Droits de l'Homme et de la Démocratie.

• Considérant que les Musulmans d'Europe souhaitent faire partie de la vie de l'Europe, de ses avancées sociales, politiques, culturelles ainsi que du développement moral des sociétés européennes:

Nous déclarons

I

A L'UNION EUROPÉENNE, LA POSITION DES MUSULMANS D'EUROPE EST:

1. L'Europe est la demeure de la paix, de la sécurité fondée sur le principe du Contrat Social (consensus).

2. Le territoire européen est la demeure du Contrat Social dans laquelle il est possible d'y vivre en accord avec sa foi dans un contexte "de ces principes acceptés qui pourraient permettre aux personnes libres et rationnelles, qui souhaitent promouvoir leurs propres intérêts à partir d'une position initiale d'égalité définissant les bases de leur association" (John Rawls).

3. Le dialogue social est à la charge de l'intellect de l'homme, tandis que la croyance relève de la volonté de l'homme et est en rapport avec son cœur et sa foi. Le citoyen est un homme qui a des obligations vis à vis de l'Etat. Ceci est en rapport avec son intellect.

En croyant l'homme donne son cœur à dieu et reçoit une sécurité intérieure. Avec le dialogue, le consensus l'homme donne sa conscience à l'Etat et reçoit en

retour la sécurité collective en tant qu'habitant d'une ville ou d'une agglomération. Le citoyen a les droits et les privilèges d'un homme libre, faisant partie d'un Etat. Ce sont les droits d'un autochtone ou d'une personne naturalisée qui doit sa loyauté à une autorité (Etat) et reçoit en retour le droit à ce que cet Etat protège sa vie, sa foi, sa liberté, ses biens et sa dignité.

4. Les Musulmans d'Europe sont clairement et entièrement ouverts aux valeurs européennes suivantes:

- L'Etat de Droit.
- Les principes de tolérance.
- Les valeurs de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme.
- La croyance dans le fait que chaque personne a le droit à cinq valeurs fondamentales: La vie, la foi, la liberté, les biens et la dignité.

5. S'ils sont disposés à vivre une vie honnête en Europe, les Musulmans d'Europe attendent en retour les choses suivantes:

- L'institutionnalisation de l'Islam en Europe.
- Le développement économique de la communauté musulmane afin qu'elle puisse profiter d'une pleine liberté spirituelle, culturelle ainsi que de son indépendance.
- Le développement des écoles islamiques qui seront le cadre de l'éducation des musulmans nés en Europe afin d'inspirer la société multiculturelle européenne.
- La liberté politique qui permettra aux Musulmans d'Europe d'avoir des représentants légitimes aux seins des parlements des Etats Européens.
- La libéralisation de la politique d'immigration européenne qui a été ces derniers temps très restrictive vis à vis des musulmans.
- La possibilité de la reconnaissance de la loi islamique dans le cadre des questions relatives au statut des personnes comme par exemple les questions d'ordre familial.
- La protection des musulmans de l'Islamophobie, du nettoyage ethnique, du génocide et de la violence.

6. Les Musulmans d'Europe sont ouverts à un programme de dialogue œcuménique commun qui permettra:

- La construction d'un monde en accord avec un contexte séculaire à partir duquel les religions existent aujourd'hui.
- La promotion de la compréhension, le respect des différences et la recherche de voies communes.
- La confirmation des identités religieuses comme étant des instruments importants dans les règlements de problèmes d'insécurité et de conflit, ainsi que de permettre d'apprendre le respect des autres, la vie dans la différence dans les situations de crises.
- zur andauernden Menschenrechtsdebatte beitragen soll,
- La contribution à la tenue courante d'un discours relatif aux Droits de l'homme.
- De créer une compréhension de "l'altérité" et de "l'autre" entre les gens.
- De montrer un discours consensuel entre les différentes croyances, cultures, politiques et économies, d'accentuer les facteurs qui conduisent à un développement positif des religions dans le cadre de la quête commune de la vérité, de la justice et de la paix.
- D'identifier les principes de la foi, les valeurs morales les valeurs éthiques et les normes qui sont communes et qui peuvent être définies pour rendre possible la vie ensemble ; et celles qui sont propres à chaque foi; et d'admettre la possibilité de différences, de tensions et d'incompréhensions entre les valeurs morales et ethniques particulières dans des religions différentes.
- D'acquérir une expérience historique positive et bénéficier des souvenirs d'une expérience de bon voisinage et de coexistence qui sont aussi un part de l'histoire européenne.
- De construire une plate-forme œcuménique commune dans l'esprit de bonne volonté qu'il est possible de trouver dans les livres de dieu et dans l'espoir de notre avenir commun.

II

LES MUSULMANS D'EUROPE DÉCLARENT AUX MUSULMANS VIVANTE EN EUROPE:

1. Les musulmans qui vivent en Europe doivent comprendre que la liberté ne s'offre pas. La liberté des musulmans qui vivent en Europe doit se gagner et le statut global des musulmans doit être reconnu malgré la résistance xénophobe.

2. Les musulmans en Europe doivent aujourd'hui s'occuper d'avantage de leurs responsabilités que de leurs libertés, car en prenant leurs responsabilités les musulmans qui vivent en Europe auront mérité leur droit à la liberté. C'est alors que la liberté des musulmans d'Europe ne sera pas le résultat de la bonté de qui que ce soit , mais une valeur méritée que personne ne pourra nier ni prendre.

3. Les musulmans qui vivent en Europe doivent présenter l'islam comme un regard universel sur le monde (Weltanschauung) et non pas seulement de manière une culture clanique, ethnique ou nationale. Les musulmans ne peuvent pas attendre des européens qu'ils respectent le message universel de l'Islam s'ils se basent sur une image permanente d'un Islam ethnique ou national. Non seulement les Musulmans d'Europe peuvent impressionner l'opinion publique européenne par le message universel de l'Islam mais l'Europe est également un bon endroit pour les musulmans eux-même car ils peuvent "y découvrir la force et la beauté de l'Islam universel".

4. En fait en occident de nombreux musulmans ont découvert l'Islam de nombreuses manières différentes par rapport à l'Islam qu'ils connaissaient dans leurs pays d'origine car là-bas ils y rencontrent leurs frères musulmans venus "d'autres parties du monde musulman et de cette manière commencent à respecter les différences de l'expérience et de la culture musulmane. Les musulmans qui vivent en Europe n'ont pas seulement le droit mais le devoir de développer leur propre culture d'Islam comme une preuve de la troisième rencontre entre l'orient et l'occident et comme la nécessité d'une renaissance qui conduira l'Humanité vers un avenir meilleur et plus sûr".

5. La jeune génération de musulmans qui vit en Europe doit être spirituellement forte et intellectuellement décidée afin de briser les propres stéréotypes des musulmans sur l'Islam avant de demander aux autres de changer leurs préjugés sur l'Islam. La jeunesse musulmane doit prendre en charge son propre avenir en n'attendant pas que leurs aînésle fassent à leur place. La jeunesse musulmane ne doit pas hésiter à prendre en charge la construction d'un meilleur avenir pour les musulmans qui vivent en Europe.

6. Les musulmans qui vivent en Europe doivent se soumettre aux impératifs suivants de leur foi:

• **Lisez et apprenez!**
La révélation du Coran n'a pas débuté avec l'ordre de croire mais avec celui d'acquérir de la connaissance. Dieu tout puissant n'a pas demandé à Mahomet de croire mais lui a ordonné de lire et d'apprendre quoi et comment croire. C'est comme cela parce que l'humanité se construit avec la foi. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire d'exiger de l'humanité qu'elle croie puisque c'est déjà inscrit dans son âme. Mais il existe la nécessité pour l'humanité de se souvenir qu'il faut qu'il lise et qu'il apprenne ce qui réside déjà dans son âme. L'humanité a besoin de la connaissance avec la foi et de la foi avec la connaissance

• **Croyez et travaillez studieusement!**
L'homme ne vit pas dans un monde purement spirituel sans aspects matériels ni dans un monde purement matériel sans aspects spirituels. Le secret du succès est que l'homme doit en lui réunir ces deux valeurs : Son âme (sa spiritualité) et son corps. Autrement dit l'objectif de la vie d'un homme réside dans l'activité de son esprit et cela c'est sa foi ainsi que dans l'activité de son corps et cela c'est son travail studieux (appliqué). Il n'y a pas de dignité musulmane tant que l'on ne construit pas un pont entre la foi du cœur et les forces de l'esprit.

• **Soyez pieux et respectez vos parents!**
L'accent mis par le coran sur la relation entre la foi en dieu et le respect de ses parents porte un message important en Orient et en Occident. Le message à l'Orient est de ne pas céder sous la pression et abandonner les valeurs familiales tandis que le message à l'Occident est de cesser ce jeu dangereux

avec l'avenir de l'humanité. L'institution familiale n'a pas de remplaçant. La question des valeurs familiales n'est pas seulement une question morale de la société mais aussi une condition existentielle de l'humanité. Tenter de détruire la loi générale régissant la vie de famille c'est comme tenter d'éliminer la loi naturelle qui fait que le soleil se lève à l'Est. Personne ne tente de changer le fait que le soleil se lève à l'Est et personne ne pourra la manière naturelle qu'a le soleil de se lever et personne ne pourra contrevenir à la loi de la vie de famille tant que le soleil, par la volonté de dieu tout puissant, se lève.

• Soyez francs et battez-vous pour vos droits!

La réussite et le salut dans le monde à venir ne viennent pas d'eux même. Chacun doit se battre pour sa réussite. Il faut se battre pour ses droits ici et maintenant. Il faut aussi se battre pour le salut dans le monde à venir. La bonté divine doit se mériter. La différence entre l'Orient et l'Occident réside dans le fait que l'Orient croit davantage en la bonté divine que dans le travail tandis que l'Occident s'appuie d'avantage sur le travail que sur la bonté divine.

• Pensez à demain!

Il existe une preuve claire dans le saint Coran que nous avons non seulement le droit, mais aussi le devoir de planifier notre avenir et de croire que notre avenir peut être meilleur que notre passé. En vérité, il est curieux de voir que certains sont arrivés à l'idée que l'avenir musulman est sans espoir et qu'ils placent leur seul espoir dans le passé musulman, comme mode de vie et objectif historique. Cette idée n'a pas de fondements dans l'islam. Non pas seulement parce que notre dieu tout puissant nous enseigne que notre avenir peut être meilleur que notre passé, mais le bon sens nous dit aussi que si nous ne pouvons pas changer notre passé, avec l'aide de dieu nous pouvons construire notre futur. Par rapport à cela, nous ne sommes pas responsables de l'histoire passée de l'Islam. Les musulmans ne doivent pas avoir peur de réfléchir à leur avenir tout comme ils ne doivent pas être gênés par leur passé. Les musulmans ont un avenir car ils croient en dieu. Et ils croient en dieu car ils sont convaincus que la vérité et la justice vaincront.

III

LES MUSULMANS D'EUROPE DÉCLARENT AUX MUSULMANS DU MONDE:

1. Le monde musulman est la communauté universelle des musulmans dont tous sont frères et sœur unis par la même foi en un dieu unique et en son envoyé Mahomet, que la paix soit avec lui (*bénédiction rituelle du nom du prophète, en arabe dans le texte*).

2. L'idée d'une conscience globale ne doit pas être le parti des musulmans. En fait l'islam est une croyance universelle et un phénomène global. Ce serait absolument singulier (exemplaire) de voir les musulmans proposer un programme de globalisation dans l'esprit de la liberté et sécurité globale car les musulmans vivent pratiquement dans tous les endroits du globe. C'est pour cette raison que leur liberté et leur sécurité ont déjà une signification globale.

3. Non seulement les musulmans ne sont pas parvenus à conceptualiser l'idée originale de "globalisation", mais d'une façon générale, ils ne parviennent plus à vivre dans le "monde global". Les musulmans n'ont pas de vue ni de stratégie globales, ils n'ont pas un cerveau global, ni une tête globale. Ils n'ont pas de calendrier global qui leur éviterait des malentendus aux moments du jeûne (Aïd el Adha *en arabe dans le texte*). Malheureusement, ils ont maintenant une image de menace pour la sécurité et la paix mondiale. Ils ont l'estampille du terrorisme global.

4. C'est à cause des "cicatrices du terrorisme islamique" que les musulmans souffrent injustement aujourd'hui et il est nécessaire de travailler à la diffusion de la "**Déclaration des Musulmans d'Europe**" aux musulmans du monde entier afin de mettre en lumière la nécessité de passer d'une mauvaise à une bonne image globale de l'islam.

5. Le centre de l'islam doit prendre la direction pour assurer le droit global dans un cadre relatif aux choses pratiques de la foi universelle islamique, tout comme en ce qui concerne des questions globales de notre temps tout comme dans le dialogue global avec nos voisins.

6. Les musulmans, où qu'ils soient, doivent montrer au monde entier que l'Islam est une croyance sérieuse et une véritable religion, que c'est aussi une culture intéressante et une politique pacifiste, que dans l'islam il y a aussi bien des gens biens que des pays riches et que l'Islam fait la synthèse du "age oriental" et de l' "occidental rationnel".

7. C'est une erreur d'accuser l'Islam pour l'absence de démocratie dans le monde musulman. C'est un péché de détruire les droits de l'homme au nom de l'Islam. C'est un crime contre l'islam de tolérer un haut niveau d'illettrisme dans le monde musulman et d'assister calmement au fossé qui se creuse entre les gens énormément riches et ceux qui sont extrêmement pauvres dans le monde musulman.

8. Les Musulmans d'Europe ont le droit et le devoir de soulever ce débat, mais aussi les autres qui ont une influence sur le futur de leurs enfants alors qu'ils tentent de savoir qui ils sont et ce qu'ils doivent faire en tant que musulmans dans un environnement européen.

9. Les Musulmans d'Europe invitent la communauté musulmane globale à prendre la direction de la promotion de la sécurité et de la paix dans le monde.

10. Le monde musulman est un peuple légitime (*Oumma, descendants de Mahomet*) qui doit être capable de remplir ses devoirs, de créer des conditions moralement bonnes, rationnellement équilibrées, économiquement justifiées, ainsi que de composer des communautés globalement actives en lesquelles on peut avoir confiance en tant qu'allié et ami partout et toujours.

* * *

Nous prenons tous dans la vie des chemins différents,
et où que nous allons nous y emportons
un peu les uns des autres!

Les amis sont la façon dont Dieu prend soin de nous!

* * *



reviews - excerpts

izvodi iz recenzija

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24 October 2016

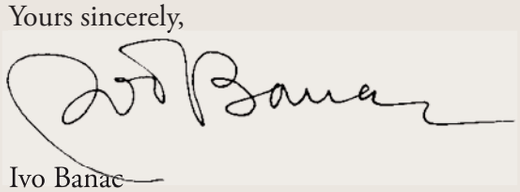
Mehmed A. Akšamija, ed., Letter (Sarajevo: Vesatija 2016)

Academician Akšamija has edited an impressive collection on the public activities of Dr. Mustafa Cerić, the former Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically connected with attempts to inspire dialogue between Muslims and Christians, Muslims and Jews, various Muslim believers, and among all human beings who yearn for peace and spiritual understanding.

The inspiration for the collection was found in the famous 1965 letter of Polish Catholic bishops to their German counterparts offering forgiveness for the crimes that the Germans committed against the Poles and asking for forgiveness for the crimes of Poles against Germans. The German bishops reciprocated with a letter in kind. Though annoying to the Gomułka leadership in Poland, these letters set the standard that Dr. Cerić emulated in his 2015 letter to the European Catholic bishops, in which he offered the acceptance of Christians and begged for the acceptance of Muslims throughout Europe. The letter built on the years of effort by Dr. Cerić in promoting intercommunal understanding and Muslim-Christian contacts, highlighted by his 2006 Declaration of European Muslims. These efforts were duplicated in various small and big ways in Dr. Cerić's public lectures, meetings, and initiatives throughout the world. As can be expected, he encountered a very broad array of notables – from popes and kings, to political leaders, diplomats, men of the cloth, academics, cultural figures, and industrialists. It is important to note that Academician Akšamija records all reactions to Dr. Cerić's efforts, even when they are critical.

Dr. Cerić enjoyed his share of controversies, as exemplified by the attacks of Kristina Köhler (CDU), but it is to his credit that he was convincingly defended by his European admirers, who value his positive, non-dogmatic, and open approach to bridge-building. The European answer to coexistence with Muslims on European soil is one of the most important questions of our time. This collection reveals the record of a notable Bosnian Muslim on behalf of coexistence. For that reason alone it should command attention.

Yours sincerely,



Ivo Banac
Bradford Durfee Emeritus Professor of History

24 listopad 2016.

Mehmed Akšanija, ur., Pismo (Sarajevo: Vesatija, 2016.)

Akademik Akšamija je uradio impresivnu kolekciju javnih aktivnosti Dr. Mustafe Cerića, bivšeg vrhovnog muftije Bosne i Hercegovine, naročito povezanih s pokušajima poticanja dijaloga između muslimana i kršćana, muslimana i Jevreja, različitih muslimanskih vjernika te među svim ljudim koji žude za mirom i duhovnim razumijevanje.

Inspiraciju za kreiranje kolekcije našao je u poznatom pismu iz 1965. godine poljskih katoličkih biskupa njihovim njemačkim kolegama, nudeći im oprost za njihove zločine koje su počinili Nijemci protiv Poljaka, te i moleći za oprost za zločine koje su Poljaci počinili protiv Nijemaca. Njemači biskupi su uzvratili pismom na sličan način. Unatoč uznemirenosti Gomułkovog rukovodstva u Poljskoj, ova pisma su postavila standard, kojeg je dr. Cerić iskoristio u svom pismu od 2015. godine europskim katoličkim biskupima, u kojem je ponudio prihvaćanje kršćana i molio za prihvaćanje muslimana u cijeloj Europi. Pismo je bazirano na višegodišnjem naporu Dr. Cerića na promociji međusobnog razumijevanja i muslimansko-kršćanskih kontakata, naglašenih njegovom Deklaracijom europskih muslimana iz 2006. godine. Ovi napori su udvostručeni na više malih i velikih načina u javnim predavanjima, susretima i inicijativama Dr. Cerića u svijetu. Kao što se moglo i očekivati, on se susretao s jako širokim nizom uglednika - od papa i kraljeva do političkih lidera, diplomata, svećenika, akademika, kulturnih ličnosti i privrednika. Važno je primjetiti da je akademik Akšamija zabilježio sve reakcije na Dr. Cerićeve napore, čak i kada su oni kritični.

Dr. Cerić je uživao u svom dijelu kontraverzi, kao što su pokazane napadima Kristine Köhler (CDU), ali u njegovu korist uvjerljivo su ga branili njegovi europski poštovatelji, koji vrednuju njegov pozitivni, nedogmatski i otvoreni pristup u građenju mostova. Europski odgovor suživota s muslimanima na europskom tlu je jedno od najvažnijih pitanja našega doba. Ova kolekcija objavljuje zapis o jednom istaknutom Bosanskom muslimanu u ime suživota. Ako ni zbog čega drugog, onda samo zbog toga ona treba da privuće pažnju.

Iskreno Vaš,

Ivo Banac
Profesor emeritus na Univerzitetu Yale

29 November 2016

A Word of Appraisal by

This book is an occasion of the unique 'Noble Letter' from an honest and sincere faithful Bosnian/European Muslim who has taken the courage to carry out the divine trust (*Al-Amānah*) responsibly, wisely and firmly in his steps on behalf of his people with a call for peaceful coexistence, cooperation and tolerance among nations. He is our dear friend. He is Mustafa Cerić, Chief of the 'Ulama, and Grand Mufti of Bosnia & Herzegovina (1993–2012).

The author of this book, Academician Mehmed Akšamija, has rightly said in his introduction: *Although, at first glance, it may seem that this book is about a person, it is not. This book is primarily about the possibility of communication with the world from a Bosnian perspective. And this is not about any communication, but rather the communication of religious dialogue in a time, we may say, of the greatest challenges for Islam and Muslims not only in Bosnia, but also across Europe and the rest of the world.*

This book, which is entitled simply "The Letter", is not only valuable for its important messages in favour of a substantive religious and cultural dialogue, but also unique in its colourful artistic touch by the great Bosnian graphic designer at the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo, Mehmed Akšamija. I am sure this book will make a difference in furthering decent communication between Islam and the West, especially Europe, where both the Grand Mufti Emeritus of Bosnia and the great Bosnian graphic designer are trying to find and define a method of communication between the culture and faith of Islam and all cultures and faiths of Europe.

Yours sincerely,
Professor Ibrāhīm Chabbūh, PhD, Tunisian historian and academician

29 novembar 2016.

Riječ podrške

Povod za ovu knjigu je unikatno "Časno Pismo", kojeg je napisao iskreni, predani i vjerni bosanski/evropski musliman, koji se okuražio da nosi od Boga mu povjerenu dužnost (Emanet) odgovorno, savjesno na čvrstim nogama u ime svog naroda pozivom na miroljubivu koegzistenciju, suživot i toleranciju među narodima. On je naš dragi prijatelj. On je Dr. Mustafa Cerić, reisu-l-ulema i vrhovni muftija Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini (1993-2012).

Aotor ove knjige akademik Mehmed Akšamija je u svom uvodu pravo rekao: *Premda na prvi pogled može izgledati da je ova dokumentarna studija posvećena osobi, ona je prije svega posvećena mogućnostima komunikacije sa svijetom iz bosanske perspektive. I to ne bilo kojoj, već komunikaciji religijskog dijaloga u vrijeme, može se slobodno reći, najvećih izazova za islam i muslimane ne samo u Bosni, već i u Evropi i svijetu.*

Ova knjiga, koja je naslovljena jednostavnom rječju "Pismo" nije vrijedna samo po tome što sadrži važne poruke za jedan istinski religijski i kulturni dijalog, već je ova knjiga unikatna i po tome što je krasi raskošni umjetnički dodir velikog bosanskog grafičkog dizanjera sa Akademije Likovnih Umjetnosti u Sarajevu Mehmeda A. Akšamije. Siguran sam da će ova knjiga napraviti razliku u promicanju jedne poštene komunijakacije između islama i Zapada, posbeno u Evropi, gdje obojica, vrhovni muftija emeritus od Bosne i veliki bosanski grafički dizajner nastoje da nađu i definiraju način komunikacije između kulture i vjere islama i svih kultura i vjera u Evropi.

Iskreno Vaš,
Profesor Dr. Ibrahim Chabbouh, tuniški historičar i akademik

14 January 2017

Mehmed A. Akšamija, ed., Letter (Sarajevo: Vesatija 2016)

I have now reviewed your entire manuscript, page by page.

There are some remarkable things in it: several statements that you have offered, especially the message for Muslims in Europe, and also in the particular Bosnian context. I also appreciated some of the prayer texts that were composed. The images are stunning. I am not familiar with the technology that takes photographs and turns them into illustrations with elements of painting. I would actually like to learn more about it.

This is a very rich and inspiring collection and a tribute to one who has spent many years labouring in the vineyard of wisdom and peacemaking. I believe that this fact is known across the world, as well as in Bosnia, and therefore needs no additional emphasis.

I assume that it is expected of me to present my opinion, my thoughts. If this is the intention of the author, I think you were imagining a kind of word like that of David Rosen or something equivalent, perhaps not from my position as a Rabbi but from my position as director of an interfaith community. If your intention was one or the other, I am of course more than happy to provide such a short quote. Be that as it may, I am happy to honour and to support you in this way.

But I think you may have been asking me for more than just applause and appreciation for such a project, which might be justified by my editorial experience or, perhaps, project-oriented input to the volume itself. Here I think things become somewhat more complicated. Perhaps the problem is that the book does a number of things, and as a consequence the bottom line is that the book delivers a message, but that message ends up being the messenger...

I must admit, I have never seen a volume that is so mixed in terms of its media and method, while being so united in terms of its subject matter.

This raises, then, the question of what the book is about, what its goals are, and who is its intended audience.

It could be, and one may be perfectly happy with this reply, that the book is simply a tribute to the author in various ways. This is fine in and of itself...

There are several ways of achieving this end that are worth considering...

In sum, obviously it's a challenge, and I wish you well in working out the best way forward...

I am happy if my overview can contribute to this book's being able to realize its desired goals in their entirety.

Shalom,
Dr. Alon Goshen-Gottstein
Director, The Elijah Interfaith Institute

14 januar 2017.

Mehmed Akšanija, ur., Pismo (Sarajevo: Vesatija, 2016.)

Pregledao sam cijeli Vaš rukopis, stranicu po stranicu.

Prisutno je nekoliko izvanrednih stvari u njemu, više iskaza koje nudite, posebno poruke za muslimane u Evropi, kao i poruke u partikularnom bosanskom kontekstu. Posebno cijenim određene napisane tekstove koji imaju karakter molitvi. Predodžbe su veličanstvene. Nisam vješt tehnologijama, pogotovo onoj koja uzima fotografije i pretvara ih u ilustratacije sa slikarskim elementima. U stvari, volio bih saznati više o tome.

Ovo je veoma bogata i inspirativna kolekcija i iskaz poštovanja prema nekome ko je proveo mnogo godina radeći u vinogradu mudrosti i mirotvorstva. Mislim da je to poznata činjenica u cijelom svijetu kao i u Bosni pa, stoga, nema potrebe to dodatno naglašavati.

Pretostavljam da se od mene očekuje da kažem moj dojam, moje mišljenje. Ako je to namjera autora, mislim da vi imate na umu vrstu iskaza kao što je imate od Davida Rosena ili nešto slično tome, možda ne iz moje pozicije Rabina, već iz moje pozicije direktora međuvjerske zajednice. Ako je vaša namjera bilo koja od ove dvije, ja sam više nego sretan da vam izrazim poštovanje i podržim vas na ovaj način.

No, ja mislim da vi tražite od mene više od aplauza i poštovanja za jedan ovakav projekat, koji se može opravdati mojim uređivačkim iskustvom ili, eventualnom, usmjeravajućom intervencijom za ovaj projekt. Ovdje stvari postaju nešto kompliciranije. Možda je problem što knjiga ima mnoštvo stvari, a kao posljedica toga krajnja linija je da knjiga odašilje poruku, a ta poruka, u konačnici biva poručitelj...

Moram priznati, ja nisam nikad vidio ovako pripremljenu i oblikovanu knjigu, pomiješanu u smislu medija i metoda, a opet je tako ujednačena u smislu obrade teme. Ovo, dakle, pokreće pitanje o tome o čemu knjiga govori, koji su joj ciljevi i ko su njeni zamišljeni čitatelji…

Može biti, a neko bi mogao biti i sasvim zadovoljan s odgovorom, kako je ova knjiga jednostavno izraz poštovanja... Što je uredu samo po sebi... Ima više načina kako se može postići taj cilj, načina koje vrijedi razmotriti...

Ukratko, vidljivo je da je to izazov. Želim da nađete najbolji način da to ostvarite...

Drago mi je ako moj pregled može pridonijeti da ova knjiga ostvari željene ciljeve u cijelosti.

Šalom,
Dr. Alon Goshen-Gottstein
Direktor Međuvjerskog instituta Elijah

A SMALL GRAND MUFTI FROM A SMALL COUNTRY CARRYING A BIG BURDEN IN THE HEART OF EUROPE

It is impressive to see all these documents gathered in the volume called *The Letter*: a powerful testimony to Dr. Cerić's passionate commitment to, and intense engagement in, interfaith dialogue and peace-building during the last two to three decades. The talks he has given at international conferences, the letters he has addressed to prominent persons, the commentaries on, and appreciations of, his work and influence, all the documents marked by his name and meticulously archived in this book by Prof. Mehmed Akšamija present to its reader a detailed atlas of particularly important meeting points for representatives of different religions and cultures in today's globalized world. The long and demanding itinerary of the Bosnian Grand Mufti, who has been following his mission of forging peace and friendship on the world scene, is precisely mapped out.

But who is that person whom, by reading this documentary material, we recognize as a religious leader in the first place, having a particularly loud voice and attracting worldwide attention? What makes his presence in international interfaith forums so markedly strong in spite of the fact that the person in question, as he humbly admits, is "a small Grand Mufti from a small country"? What kind of identity does this person actually emblematize in his public appearances? Could it be that he represents a number of public figures at the same time?

Let us now quickly look through the pile of 'letters' signed by Dr. Cerić to see how he *expressis verbis* assumes diverse representational roles. Here are the most telling examples:

> I want this letter to be heard here in Rome, as I am speaking *on behalf of* my religion, my faith, my Bosnian culture, and my long history of one thousand years of coexistence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. You probably know better than I do how we Bosniaks have behaved throughout history, since the time of the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Tito's empire, and then we became what we are now and here. So I just want you to listen to this voice that represents all of this. (*The Friendly Letter to the European Bishops*)
>
> I write to you *on behalf of* the majority of Muslims who read the Qur'an, and they find there reasons for friendship. (*The Friendly Letter to the European Bishops*)
>
> Indeed, it is a great pleasure for me to express, to the University of Tübingen, sincere appreciation *on behalf of* the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as Muslim communities in Germany and all European Muslims who are committed to peace and security in Europe… (*Speech given at the opening of Germany's first Centre for Islamic Theology*)
>
> It is a great delight for me to speak to Your Holiness *on behalf of* the Muslim delegation with an open heart of love for God and love of neighbour, as the Common Word between us and you urges, for the sake of peace and justice in the world. (*Catholic-Muslim Forum, His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI, audience granted to Senior Vatican and Islamic scholars*)

Now, using these and some less explicit lines from *The Letter*, we will try to unravel and sort out different components of a rather complex representational matrix operating in the background of Dr. Cerić's speeches and writings. He successfully acted in the position of reisu-l-ulema, the highest

MALI VRHOVNI MUFTIJA IZ MALE ZEMLJE, A S VELIKIM BREMENOM U SRCU EUROPE

Dojmljivo je vidjeti sve ove brojne dokumente sakupljene u knjizi nazvanoj *Pismo*: moćno svjedočanstvo o strasnoj posvećenosti i snažnom angažmanu Dr. Cerića dijalogu religija i gradnji mira tokom posljednja dva do tri desetljeća. Govori koje je održao na međunarodnim konferencijama, pisma koja je uputio uglednim osobama i institucijama, komentari i vrednovanja njegovog vlastitog djela i utjecaja koje je ono posvuda imalo, svi ovi dokumenti koji nose pečat njegovog imena, a koje je profesor Mehmed Akšamija s velikom marljivošću arhivirao, nude svojim čitateljima detaljan atlas posebno važnih mjesta susreta predstavnika različitih religija i kultura u današnjem globaliziranom svijetu. Precizno je mapirano dugo i zahtjevno putešestvije bosanskog vrhovnog muftije koji je slijedio svoju misiju gradnje mira i prijateljstva na svjetskoj sceni.

No ko je ta osoba koju, čitajući ovaj dokumentarni materijal, ponajprije prepoznajemo kao vjerskog lidera koji ima izuzetno snažan glas i privlači pozornost širom svijeta? Šta je to što njegovo prisustvo u međunarodnim međureligijskim forumima čini tako upečatljivim i djelatnim, usprkos činjenici da je riječ o osobi koja za sebe skromno primjećuje da je „mali Veliki Muftija iz male zemlje"? Kakvu to vrstu identiteta ova osoba ustvari oličava u svojim javnim nastupima? Može li biti da ona predstavlja nekoliko važnih javnih figura u isti mah?

Prođimo sada nabrzo kroz gomilu ovih „pisama" koje nose potpis Dr. Cerića da bi vidjeli kako to on *expressis verbis* preuzima različite predstavljačke funkcije. Evo najrječitijih primjera:

> Želim da se ovo moje pismo čuje ovdje u Rimu, budući da govorim u *ime* svoje religije, svoje vjere, svoje bosanske kulture, a također i veoma duge, hiljadugodišnje historije suživota u Bosni i Hercegovini. Vjerovatno bolje od mene znate kako smo se mi Bošnjani ponašali kroz historiju, još od vremena Rimskog carstva, Osmanskog carstva, te Austro-Ugarskog i Titovog carstva, da bi postali to što smo danas i ovdje. Stoga bih htio da upravo poslušate glas koji sve ovo predstavlja. (*Prijateljsko pismo europskim biskupima*)
>
> Pišem vam u ime većine muslimana koji čitaju Kur'an i tamo nalaze razloge za prijateljstvo. (*Prijateljsko pismo europskim biskupima*)
>
> Uistinu mi je veliko zadovoljstvo da predstavnicima Univerziteta u Tübingenu uputim izraze iskrenog poštovanja i zahvalnosti u ime Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine kao i muslimanskih zajednica u Njemačkoj i svih europskih muslimana opredijeljenih za mir i sigurnost u Europi… (*Govor prilikom otvaranja prvog njemačkog centra za islamsku teologiju*)
>
> Velika mi je radost obratiti se Vašoj Svetosti u ime muslimanske delegacije, otvorenog srca za ljubav prema Bogu i ljubav prema susjedu, kako to već nalaže Zajednička Riječ između nas, u ime mira i pravde u svijetu. (*Katoličko - muslimanski forum, svečani prijem uglednih vatikanskih i islamskih učenjaka kod Njegove Svetosti Pape Benedikt XVI)*

Koristeći ove i neke manje izričite retke iz *Pisma* pokušat ćemo sada da razmrsimo i razvrstamo različite komponente prilično složenih predstavljačkih matrica koje su na djelu u pozadini govora i napisa Dr. Cerića. Od 1993. do 2012. godine, u najtežim vremenima za svoju zemlju, on je uspješno djelovao na položaju

representative of the Islamic community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from 1993 to 2012, during the most turbulent times for his country. The power of his voice in international arenas has even grown in recent years, during which he has been acting as Grand Mufti Emeritus. It is more than evident that the primary source of his influence and legitimacy continues to be the Bosnian Islamic community. Dr. Cerić has been speaking publicly on behalf of the Muslims of his country and thus struggling for their own good.

However, implied here is that this 'small country' is European and the Muslims on whose behalf he has been a great ambassador are European people. So the main character of the book is a Grand Mufti of a European people. And these people have followed the laws of their religion for centuries. But who actually are these people about whose *destiny* the religious leader has many concerns and worries? It is important to answer this question in order to understand in what capacity Dr. Cerić makes his voice heard worldwide. The identity of those represented by him is far from being self-evident. There is more than one community or people involved here. The references he makes to them are often implicit and therefore ambiguous.

To speak publicly and send 'open letters' in the capacity of the Grand Mufti of the Islamic community of Bosnia and Herzegovina clearly reveals who represents whom. But this is only one level, and perhaps the most basic, of the representational scheme involved. It is also true that Dr. Cerić speaks on behalf of Bosnian Muslims, which implies not only the community of those practising Islam, but a whole people in the sense of an 'ethnic group' or 'nation'. This people has its ethnic or national name, 'Bosniaks' /Bošnjaci/, and it is under this recently resuscitated name that Bosnian Muslims are recognized as a 'constitutive people' in the current constitution. They had that status already in the socialist Yugoslavia, while the official recognition of their nationality was gained in the 70s under the name 'Muslims'. This time the name of the nationality had to be written with a capital letter in order to make it distinctive from the homonymous religious affiliation Hence, Bosniaks were recognized as 'Muslims' in the time when the majority of them were not practising Islam due to the militant atheism of the regime. But certainly it was not a completely arbitrary decision of the ideology in power. The national self-awareness – 'We, the Muslim people' – was already strong and widespread.

No matter how paradoxical this may sound for some contemporary scholars in religious studies, it is true that to be Muslim in Bosnia is to have Muslim nationality. This fact has a profound and rather complicated historical basis. The most basic truth is that, through centuries and across generations, a large group of people has been shaped by a *common destiny* because of their religious affiliation. This holds even for the most recent past, when it seemed that the modern process of secularization had reached its peak. It is at that time that the Muslim nation found itself under threat of extermination because of its *religious identity*. Ironically enough, this threat was raised at a moment when the majority of Muslims were not practising their fathers' religion, except in the form of a distinctive folk culture. Therefore, it is not surprising to find out that, in the aftermath of the Bosnian war, the Bosniak people experienced a vigorous 'return of religion', bringing them the fruits of a full-fledged national awareness. Once again in the history of this people, it is the struggle for collective survival that has brought *ethnicization* of their religious communal body. The collective destiny of Bosnian Muslims is again forged and determined by their affiliation to Islam. Thus, Otto Bauer seems to be right in defining 'nation' as a 'community of destiny' (*Schiksalsgemeinschaft*). Under the shadow of genocide in Srebrenica, and challenged by the double identity of their war enemies (Christians and separatists), the small nation has reaffirmed the two major axes of its own identity: Bosniaks/Muslims have become more Bosnian and more religious than ever before.

Dr. Cerić speaks on behalf of Bosnian Muslims, which actually implies not only Islamic believers but

reisu-l-uleme, vrhovnog poglavara Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovina. Moć njegovog oglašavanja u međunarodnim arenama je čak u novijem razdoblju porasla, od kada javno djeluje kao reisu-l-ulema emeritus. Posve je jasno da je glavni izvor njegovog utjecaja i legitimnosti i dalje Islamska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine. Dr. Cerić javno govori u ime muslimana svoje zemlje i tako se bori za njihovo vlastito dobro.

Međutim, pritom se podrazumijeva da je spomenuta „mala zemlja" europska i da su muslimani u čije ime je on veliki ambasador europski narod. Prema tome, glavni lik ove knjige je vrhovni muftija jednog europskog naroda. A ovaj narod je slijedio zakone svoje religije stoljećima unazad. Ali kakav je to narod o čijoj se *sudbini* ovaj vjerski lider tako mnogo brine i razmišlja? Važno je odgovoriti na ovo pitanje da bi se razumjelo u kojem se svojstvu Dr. Cerić oglašava širom svijeta. Identitet onih koje on predstavlja daleko je od toga da je samorazumljiv. Nije tek jedna zajednica ili jedan narod ovdje involviran. Kada Dr. Cerić referira na njih, to je često implicitno pa stoga i dvosmisleno.

Javno govoriti i slati „otvorena pisma" u svojstvu vrhovnog muftije Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine jasno pokazuje ko koga ovdje predstavlja. No to je samo jedna i možda najtemeljnija razina predstavljačke sheme koja je ovdje na djelu. Ne manje istinito je da Dr. Cerić govori u ime bosanskih Muslimana, što implicira ne samo zajednicu onih koji prakticiraju islam, nego i čitav jedan narod u smislu „etničke grupe" ili „nacije". Ovaj narod ima svoje etničko ili nacionalno ime, Bošnjaci, a upravo su pod tim nedavno ponovo oživljenim imenom bosanski muslimani priznati kao „konstitutivni narod" u postojećem ustavu. Takav status su već imali u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, dok je zvanično priznanje njihove nacionalnosti zadobiveno 70-tih pod imenom „Muslimani". U ovom slučaju ime nacionalnosti se trebalo pisati velikim slovom da bi se razlikovalo od homonimne vjerske pripadnosti. Tako su Bošnjaci bili priznati kao „Muslimani" u doba kada većina njih nije prakticirala islam zahvaljujući militantnom ateizmu tadašnjeg režima. Ali to zasigurno nije bila posve proizvoljna odluka ideologije na vlasti. Nacionalna samosvijest – „Mi, muslimanski narod" – već je bila snažna i široko prisutna.

Koliko god to moglo paradoksalno zvučati za neke učenjake religijskih studija, istina je da biti musliman u Bosni znači imati muslimansku nacionalnost. Ova činjenica ima svoje duboke i prilično složene povijesne temelje. Ono što je temeljna istina jeste da je kroz stoljeća i generacije velika grupa ljudi bila oblikovana *zajedničkom sudbinom* zbog svoje vjerske pripadnosti. To važi čak i za najnoviju povijest, kada se činilo da je moderni proces sekularizacije dosegao svoj vrhunac. Upravo u to vrijeme se nacija muslimana našla pod prijetnjom istrebljenja zbog svoga vjerskog identiteta. Ironijom sudbine, ova prijetnja se nad njih nadvila u momentu kada većina Muslimana nije prakticirala vjeru svojih očeva, izuzev u obliku prepoznatljive običajne kulture. Prema tome, nije iznenađujuće zaključiti da je neposredno nakon rata u Bosni, narod Bošnjaka iskusio snažan val „povratka religije", a što im je donijelo plodove posve razvijene nacionalne svijesti. Kao što je to već bio slučaj u povijesti ovog naroda, upravo je borba za kolektivno preživljavanje dovela do *etnicizacije* bića njihove vjerske zajednice. Kolektivna sudbina bosanskih muslimana je ponovo iskovana i određena njihovom pripadnošću islamu. Tako se čini da je Otto Bauer bio u pravu kada je definirao „naciju" kao „zajednicu sudbine" (*Schiksalgemeinschaft*). U sjeni genocida u Srebrenici, a izazvana dvostrukim identitetom svojih ratnih neprijatelja (kršćana i separatista), mala nacija je ponovo potvrdila dvije glavne ose svog vlastitog identiteta: Bošnjaci/Muslimani su postali više Bosanci i više okrenuti vjeri nego ikada prije.

Dr. Cerić govori u ime bosanskih muslimana, što u stvari podrazumijeva ne samo vjernike islama nego i čitavu naciju Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nema sumnje da je posve opravdano da to čini, jer se radi o zajednici ljudi koji su svoju kolektivnu sudbinu vezali uz islam.

the whole Muslim nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. No doubt he is fully justified in doing that, as it is a community of people who have linked their collective destiny to Islam.

However, some may object to the supposed identification of ethnicity and religious identity by saying that, even if it is true that in recent times these two sides of the given collective identity have been indistinguishable, not only in the communal life of Bosniaks but in that of Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs as well, this was not the case in the distant past. Let us recall that, since the collapse of Tito's communist regime and the widespread revival of so-called 'national consciousness', the question of the ethnic origins of Bosnian nations has become one of the most obsessive themes on the agenda of local politicians and intellectuals. The previously generally accepted view that all three Bosnian peoples have South Slav origins has been seriously undermined from different directions. For some Bosniak scholars, it has been very important to prove a *distinctive ethnic* existence of their collective long before the Ottomans invaded this part of the world and brought their religion, so that their roots can be more solidly anchored in reality and not reducible to an exclusively 'spiritual sphere'. Otherwise, these scholars believe, the boundaries with the 'Significant Others', viz. Bosnian Croats and Serbs, would seem quite fragile and questionable.

The only problem with this sort of 'boundary-making activity', as Frederik Barth would term it, is that this 'proto-ethnicity', belonging to a 'proto-history', even if somehow reached and reconstructed, appears rather vague and is certainly still not effective for the ordinary people. Taking into account only what has been truly effective or operative in the recent past for the general ethnic consciousness (cf. H.-G. Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte*), one may contend that the Islamic *culture*, which found its fertile ground in Bosnia and Herzegovina as early as the 15th century, has in the meantime assumed typical ethnic traits, or, which amounts to the same, that an 'imagined proto-ethnic' group has acquired those key cultural qualities that we today recognize as completely permeated by an authentic Islamic tradition.

In the light of what has been said, let us now reread a few lines from the beginning of the address Dr. Mustafa Cerić gave on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the epoch-making exchange of pastoral letters between Polish bishops and German bishops.

> I'm really honoured by the invitation of the Polish Ambassador to the Holy See, His Excellency Piotr Nowina-Konopka. (…) I have learnt something new today. I want to reflect and say, I belong to a Slavic people. We are Slavs, but there are some disputes whether we are really Slavs, or Illyrians. I am proud to be of Slavic origin if that is so, if only for the Polish people. Because a Polish man explained to us how the cosmos works. And the sun. We, the Slavic people, gave to the world the most influential Pope in the history of the Pontificate, I believe. The Polish people, on our Slavic behalf, had this letter written to the Germans.

It might be surprising, even for his countrymen and fellow believers, when the Grand Mufti declaratively states: 'We, the Slavic people.' Dr. Cerić publicly acknowledges that he 'belongs to a Slavic people.' Hence, he speaks on behalf of Bosnian Muslims, who are Slavs. Or, rather, he is inclined to consider himself and his people Slavs. But he is not too sure about it: "There are some disputes whether we are really Slavs, or Illyrians". Nonetheless, the Grand Mufti is proud "to be of Slavic origin", immediately adding: "if that is so"!

So here we have the most questionable and highly ambiguous representative function among all those that Dr. Cerić has assumed for himself. His own and his people's proto-ethnic identity is not unconditionally stable and assured. And still, he is proud of it – if only for the sake of friendship with the Polish people. Why was it so important for a religious leader from Bosnia to speak "on our

Međutim, neki bi mogli prigovoriti ovom pretpostavljenom poistovjećivanju etniciteta i religijskog identiteta kazavši da čak i ako je istina da su u novijem dobu ove dvije strane danog kolektivnog identiteta bile nerazlučivo povezane, i to ne samo u društvenom životu Bošnjaka nego i bosanskih Hrvata i bosanskih Srba, to tako nije bilo u prijašnjem vremenu. Podsjetimo se da je nakon propasti Titovog komunističkog režima i masovnog oživljavanja tzv. „nacionalne svijesti", pitanje etničkog porijekla bosanskih nacija postalo jedna od opsesivnih tema kojom su se bavili lokalni političari i intelektualci. Nekada široko prihvaćeno gledište da sva tri bosanska naroda imaju južnoslovensko porijeklo je bilo ozbiljno potkopano iz različitih pravaca. Za neke bošnjačke učenjake bilo je veoma važno dokazati *distinktivno etničko* postojanje svoga kolektiva daleko prije su Otomani osvojili ovaj dio svijeta, da bi tako njihovi korijeni bili čvršće položeni u stvarnost i da ne bi bili svedivi na isključivo „duhovnu sferu". Inače, kako vjeruju ovi učenjaci, granice prema „značajnim Drugima", tj. prema bosanskim Hrvatima i Srbima, izgledale bi posve krhke i upitne.

Jedini problem s ovom vrstom „aktivnosti stvaranja granica", kako bi to glasilo u vokabularu Frederik Bartha, jeste to da ovaj „pra-etnicitet", koji pripada „pra-povijesti", čak i kada je nekako dosegnut i rekonstruiran, izgleda prilično maglovito i zasigurno još ostaje nedovoljno djelatnim za većinu običnih ljudi. Uzmemo li u obzir samo ono što je istinski učinkovito ili djelatno u novijoj prošlosti za ukupnu etničku svijest (cf. H.-G. Gadamerov pojam *Wirkungsgeschichte*), može se ustvrditi da je islamska *kultura*, koja je našla svoje plodno tlo u Bosni i Hercegovini već u 15. stoljeću, u međuvremenu zadobila tipično etničke crte ili, što dolazi na isto, da je „zamišljena pra-etnička grupa" poprimila one ključne kulturne odlike za koje mi danas uviđamo da su posve prožete autentičnom islamskom tradicijom.

U svjetlu onoga što smo rekli pročitajmo sada ponovo nekoliko redaka s početka obraćanja Dr. Mustafe Cerića povodom pedesete obljetnice epohalno važne razmjene pastoralnih pisama između poljskih i njemačkih biskupa.

> Doista sam počašćen pozivom poljskog ambasadora, Njegove ekselencije Piotra Nowina-Konopka, da posjetim Svetu Stolicu. (...) Danas sam naučio nešto novo. Razmislio bih, pa rekao: pripadam slavenskom narodu. Mi smo Slaveni, ali ima nekih rasprava da li smo mi doista Slaveni ili Iliri. Ponosan sam što sam slavenskog porijekla, ako je to tako, pa makar zbog poljskog naroda. Jer upravo nam je Poljak objasnio kako svemir funkcionira. I sunce. Mi, slavenski narod, dali smo svijetu, kako vjerujem, najutjecajnijeg papu u povijesti pontifikata. Poljski narod, u ime nas Slavena, napisao je i to pismo Nijemcima.

Moglo bi biti iznenađujuće, čak i za njegove sunarodnike i braću vjernike, kada vrhovni muftija deklarativno izjavljuje: „Mi, slavenski narod ". Dr. Cerić javno priznaje da „pripada jednom slavenskom narodu". Prema tome, on govori u ime bosanskih Muslimana koji su Slaveni. Ili, radije, on je sklon da sebe i svoj narod smatra Slavenima. No nije posve siguran u to: „Ima nekih rasprava da li smo mi doista Slaveni ili Iliri". Pa ipak, vrhovni muftija je ponosan "što je slavenskog porijekla", pritom dodajući: "ako je to tako"!

Tako ovdje imamo ponajviše upitnu i sasvim ambigvitetnu predstavljačku funkciju među svim onima koje je Dr. Cerić na sebe preuzeo. Njegov vlastiti i njegovog naroda pra-etnički identitet nije bezuvjetno postojan i osiguran. Pa ipak, on je na njega ponosan, ako ni zbog čega drugog onda zbog prijateljstva s poljskim narodom. Zašto je bilo tako važno vjerskom lideru iz Bosne da govori „u slavensko ime" na jednoj tački putanje koju je ispisivala njegova izuzetna međunarodna karijera? Takvo deklarativno izjašnjavanje koje se moglo čuti u njemačkoj katoličkoj instituciji u Rimu je imalo nevjerovatne učinke: „Mi, slavenski narod" dali smo Nicolausa Copernicusa svijetu, ili Tadeusza Mazowieckog, specijalnog izvjestitelja UN-a za ljudska prava, kojem su žrtve genocida u Srebrenici odale priznanje, ili, što je najvažnije,

Slavic behalf" at one moment in his exceptional international career trajectory? Such a declarative identification made in the German Catholic institution in Rome had amazing effects: "We, the Slavic people" gave Nicolaus Copernicus to the world, or Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights, awarded by the victims of the Genocide in Srebrenica, or, most importantly, Pope Saint John Paul II, "the most influential Pope in the history of the Pontificate". In the same way, the Islamic leader finds the people he represents actually represented in the famous pastoral letter signed by the Polish bishops, which should make his own willingness towards a global interfaith reconciliation even more genuine and justified.

Assuming Slavic identity on behalf of the Bosniaks gives the Muslim leader a powerful argument in the local Bosnian arena of interfaith dialogue and postwar reconciliation. It is an argument that can make the major cause of irreconcilable divisions and mortal enmities ridiculous. Let us recall what Karl Popper said to Giancarlo Bosetti in one of his last interviews in 1993. The famous philosopher received a number of questions concerning the ongoing war in Bosnia. To the question 'Why has this happened?' Popper responded by pointing out that the nationalism which had thrown the country into chaos and civil war had no solid ground:

> Communism has been replaced by this ridiculous nationalism. I say ridiculous, because it sets against each other peoples who are virtually all Slav. The Serbs are Slavs, the Croats are Slavs. And the Bosnians are also Slavs, converted to Islam.

If the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are all Slavs, if they have the same 'proto-ethnic' roots, then they have fulfilled, if not the most important, then one of the most important conditions for making a nation-state. It is to be expected, according to Popper, that they have what John Stuart Mill called "a sentiment of nationality". If the majority of citizens have this sentiment, then Bosnia and Herzegovina has a firm foundation on which to build its national statehood. As Mill concludes:

> Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any force, there is a prima facie case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government, and a government to themselves apart.

Now we are able to distinguish another of Dr. Cerić's responsibilities in his speaking in the name of 'others.' The people he represents are not exclusively Bosniaks, but inclusively all Bosnians. He makes himself heard "in the voice of a Muslim and a Bosnian".

However, even when Dr. Cerić speaks exclusively in the name of Bosnian Muslims at the most important interfaith forums of today's world, this brings into play another representational obligation, which is actually beyond his personal (i.e. moral) preferences. Whatever the Grand Mufti finds himself obliged to say about this or that local Islamic community, he is bound by the laws of his religion to speak in the name of the *Ummah* (supranational world community of believers). To see how successful and justified he is in doing that, let us quote Anwar Ibrahim, renowned Malaysian politician:

> As the reisu-l-ulema of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Cerić is a leader in more ways than even the title 'Grand Mufti' can suggest. First and foremost, he is *one of the few leaders of the Muslim world* who commands respect from both the East and the West. The countless awards heaped on him by renowned organizations throughout the world for his contribution to interreligious and interfaith dialogue bear testimony to this. His leadership goes well beyond the boundaries of Bosnia-Herzegovina…

There is still another segment or instance involved in Dr. Cerić's acting 'on behalf of.' It is at work where

papu svetog Ivana Pavla II, „najutjecajnijeg papu u povijesti pontifikata". Na isti način, ovaj islamski lider nalazi da je narod kojeg zastupa ustvari predstavljen u čuvenom pastoralnom pismu poljskih biskupa, što treba njegovu vlastitu opredjeljenost ka globalnom međuvjerskom pomirenju da učini još iskrenijom i opravdanijom.

Preuzimanjem slavenskog identiteta u ime Bošnjaka daje muslimanskom lideru moćan argument u lokalnoj bosanskoj areni međuvjerskog dijaloga i poslijeratnog pomirenja. Riječ je o argumentu koji može učiniti besmislenim i smiješnim glavni razlog nepomirljivih podjela i smrtnih neprijateljstava. Podsjetimo se na ono što je 1993. godine Karl Popper rekao Giancarlo Bosettiju u jednom od svojih posljednjih intervjua. Čuveni filozof je trebao odgovoriti i na nekoliko pitanja koja su se ticala rata u Bosni koji je bio u toku. Na pitanje: „Zašto se to dogodilo?", Popper je odgovorio ukazujući da nacionalizam koji je uveo zemlju u haos i građanski rat nema nikakav čvrst temelj:

> Komunizam je bio zamijenjen ovim smiješnim nacionalizmom. Kažem smiješnim, jer je okrenuo jedne protiv drugih ljude koji su virtualno svi Slaveni. Srbi su Slaveni, Hrvati su Slaveni. Bošnjaci su također Slaveni, prešli na islam.

Ako su građani Bosne i Hercegovine svi Slaveni, ako imaju iste „pra-slavenske" korijene, onda su oni ispunili, ako ne najvažniji, onda jedan od najvažnijih uvjeta za gradnju nacije-države. Za očekivati je, prema Popperovom mišljenju, da oni onda imaju ono što je John Stuart Mill nazvao „nacionalnim osjećajem". Ako većina građana ima ovaj osjećaj, onda Bosna i Hercegovina ima čvrst temelj za gradnju svoje nacionalne državnosti. Kao što to Mill zaključuje:

> Tamo gdje je nacionalni osjećaj makar donekle prisutan, postoji *prima facie* mogućnost da će doći do ujedinjenja svih članova nacionalne skupine pod jednu vlast i to vlast koja samo njima pripada.

Sada smo u mogućnosti da izdvojimo još jednu od odgovornosti Dr. Cerića u njegovim nastupima u ime „drugih". Ljudi koje on predstavlja nisu isključivo Bošnjaci nego su tu uključeni svi Bosanci. On se obraća tako da njegovi slušatelji čuju „glas i muslimana i Bosanca".

Međutim, čak i kada Dr. Cerić govori isključivo u ime bosanskih muslimana u najznačajnijim međureligijskim forumima današnjeg svijeta, na djelu se pojavljuje još jedna predstavljačka obaveza koja je ustvari s onu stranu njegovih osobnih (tj. moralnih) sklonosti. Štagod da vrhovni muftija nađe za shodno da kaže o ovoj ili onoj lokalnoj islamskoj zajednici, on je zakonima svoje religije obavezan da govori u ime svemuslimanske zajednice (*umma*). Da bi vidjeli koliko je uspješan i vjerodostojan on u tome bio, citirat ćemo Anwar Ibrahima, uglednog malezijskog političara:

> Kao reisu-l-ulema Bosne i Hercegovine, Dr. Mustafa Cerić je lider na više način nego što to titula „vrhovnog muftije" može sugerirati. Prije svega, on je jedan od *svega nekoliko lidera u muslimanskom svijetu* koji izazivaju poštovanje i na Istoku i na Zapadu. O tome svjedoče brojne nagrade kojima su ga obasule ugledne organizacije iz čitavog svijeta za njegov doprinos međureligijskom i međuvjerskom dijalogu. Njegovo vodstvo daleko nadmašuje granice Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ima još jedan segment ili instanca involvirana u Cerićevom djelovanju „u ime". Prepoznajemo je na djelu onda kada biva pozvan kao *učenjak* ili *ekspert* za međuvjerski dijalog. Bosanski vrhovni muftija je stekao svoje obrazovanje na prestižnim univerzitetima na Istoku i Zapadu. Sedamdesetih godina je studirao i diplomirao na Univerzitetu al-Azhar u Kairu. Osamdesetih je studirao na Univerzitetu Chicago i tamo je stekao doktorat iz filozofije (teoloških nauka). Doista je impresivan spisak međunarodnih konferencija na koje je bio pozvan. Prema tome, bosanski vrhovni muftija s titulom doktora filozofije posjeduje zavidnu stručnost i znanje kako u čitanju svetog Kur'ana tako i Descartesa ili Nietzschea.

he is invited as a *scholar* or *expert* in interfaith dialogue. The Bosnian Grand Mufi received his education at prestigious universities in the East and the West. In the seventies he studied and graduated at the University of al-Azhar, in Cairo. In the eighties he studied at the University of Chicago and there earned his doctoral degree in philosophy. Truly impressive is the list of international conferences to which he has been invited. Therefore, the Bosnian Grand Mufti bearing the title of doctor of philosophy has proven competence and knowledge in reading both the holy Qur'an and Descartes or Nietzsche.

The Bosnian Mufti, awarded a doctor's degree in philosophy by Chicago University, honours both Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazali and René Descartes as his spiritual parents. He expresses his admiration for both "the great Muslim philosopher" and "the great European philosopher" at the moment when he declares himself, as a proud Muslim, to be a proud European. Here we find another representative function: Dr. Cerić speaks in the name of 'proud Europeans'. The "spiritual leader for millions of European Muslims", as he was described in a press release issued by the University of Wisconsin in May 2006, strongly believes that "the European and Islamic civilizations are fused by a destiny like Siamese twins". The most convincing foundation for this belief he certainly finds in the common destiny, i.e. collective identity, of his own Bosnian people, in their rich and hybrid culture, and, of course, in his own personal and intellectual identity.

Let us now listen to Dr. Abdool Karim Vakil's pregnant characterization of that Bosnian-Muslim--European identity on behalf of which Dr. Cerić has been acting.

> Dr. Cerić is not only, and justly, regarded as one of the most influential Muslim figures and voices of global Islam, but more specifically identified with the development, maturity and growing consciousness of European Islam, having been described as a *guiding light for Islam in Europe*. But his name is also indissociable from that of Bosnian Muslims and our consciousness of their recent history and plight.

The last sentence quoted introduces us to the last in the series of representative functions that we find to be the most important and effective. Dr. Cerić frequently speaks as a "survivor of Genocide".

> As a Genocide survivor from Bosnia, I have witnessed the worst war since World War II. The cry of "Never again" failed in Bosnia. Once again, an intolerable affront to the human conscience occurred: Genocide. I have lived it. And I have survived it in order to testify that law does not exist in books; it exists in the human heart, and in the heart exists the soul, and in the soul exists trust, and trust is in God, the Loving, the Merciful, the Caring, the Good.

It is this mission, which can even be termed his life's mission, of representing the victims of Genocide that has led Dr. Cerić to close collaboration with representatives of the Jewish religion and people. After the most recent genocide on European soil, the name of Holocaust (or the names of Holocaust like Shoah or Auschwitz) has become inseparably associated with that of Srebrenica (or Omarska or Keraterm…). Once again, a tragic fate has brought the two people together. (Recall that after 1492, when Jews were expelled from Spain, many of them found refuge in Bosnia.)

In his book *The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy*, Gil Anidjar notes that, though 'the enemy' has never become "a basic concept, barely even a significant operative term", the history of Europe has nevertheless been marked by two exemplary figures of the enemy: Arab ('external enemy') and Jew ('internal enemy'). He reminds us that, among the different terms used in Western languages to refer to Muslims, besides Arabs, there are Saracens, Agarenes, Turks, Mohammedans, etc. In recent times, both the 'internal enemy' of Europe, Jews, and 'inner-external enemy' (Bosnian Muslims) have faced a cruel and horrible destiny. On the occasion of the commemoration of the International Holocaust

Bosanski muftija okićen američkom doktorskom titulom uvažava i slavi Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazalija i René Descartesa kao svoje duhovne očeve. On izražava svoje divljenje kako za „velikog muslimanskog filozofa" tako i za „velikog europskog filozofa" i to čini u momentu kada se, kao ponosni musliman, javno izjašnjava da je ponosni Europljanin. Ovdje pronalazimo narednu predstavljačku funkciju: Dr. Cerić govori u ime „ponosnih Europljana". „Duhovni vođa milijuna europskih muslimana", kako su ga opisali u novinskom saopćenju Univerziteta Wisconsin u maju 2006. godine, duboko vjeruje da „su europska i islamska civilizacija sudbinom stopljene kao sijamski blizanci". Najuvjerljiviju osnovu takvog uvjerenja on zasigurno nalazi u zajedničkoj sudbini, tj. kolektivnom identitetu, svog vlastitog bosanskog naroda, u njegovoj bogatoj i hibridnoj kulturi, a dakako i u svom vlastitom osobnom i intelektualnom identitetu.

Poslušajmo sada Dr. Abdool Karim Vakilovu jezgrovitu karakterizaciju tog bosansko-muslimanskog--europskog identiteta u čije ime Dr. Cerić već dugo djeluje.

> Dr. Cerić se ne smatra samo, i s pravom, jednim od najutjecajnijih muslimanskih figura i glasova globalnog islama, nego je, pogledamo li izbliza, poistovjećen s razvitkom, zrelošću i narastajućom sviješću europskog islama, bivajući opisan kao *lučonoša islama u Europi*. Ali je njegovo ime također nerazlučivo povezano s imenom bosanskih muslimana i našom sviješću o njihovoj novijoj povijesti i nesreći.

Posljednja navedena rečenica nas dovodi do posljednje u seriji predstavljajućih funkcija za koju držimo da je najvažnija i najdjelotvornija. Dr. Cerić često govori kao „jedan od onih koji su preživjeli genocid".

> Kao Bosanac koji je preživio genocid svjedočio sam onom najgorem nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. U Bosni nije uspio poklič: „Nikada ponovo!" Opet se desila nedopustiva povreda ljudske savjesti: genocid. Iskusio sam to. A preživio sam to da bih svjedočio da zakon ne postoji u knjigama; on postoji u ljudskom srcu, a u srcu postoji duša, u duši postoji vjera, a vjera je u Boga, Odanog, Milostivog, Blagog, Pravednog.

Upravo je ova misija, koja bi se mogla označiti njegovom životnom misijom, da predstavlja žrtve genocida, odvela Dr. Cerića k bliskoj suradnji s predstavnicima jevrejske religije i naroda. Nakon najnovijeg genocida na europskom tlu, ime Holokaust (ili imena Holokausta poput Šoa ili Auschwitz) je postalo nerazlučivo povezano s imenom Srebrenice (ili Omarske ili Kereterma…). Ponovo je tragična sudbina zbližila dva naroda (prisjetit ćemo se da su nakon 1492. godine, kada su bili prognani iz Španjolske, mnogi Jevreji svoje pribježište našli u Bosni).

U svojoj knjizi *Jevrejin, Arapin: Povijest neprijatelja*, Gil Anidjar primjećuje da, iako „neprijatelj" nije nikada postao „bazični pojam, čak jedva neki značajan operativni termin", povijest Europe je ipak bila obilježena dvjema egzemplarnim figurama neprijatelja: Arapinom („vanjskim neprijateljem") i Jevrejinom („unutarnjim neprijateljem"). Ovaj autor nas podsjeća da među različitim nazivima koji se upotrebljavaju u zapadnjačkim jezicima da bi se govorilo o Muslimanima, pored Arapi, tu su još i Saraceni, Ismailićani, Turci, Muhamedanci itd. U novijem dobu, i „unutrašnji neprijatelj" Europe, Jevreji, i „unutrašnji-vanjski neprijatelj" (bosanski muslimani) iskusili su okrutnu i strašnu sudbinu. Prilikom svečanog obilježavanja Međunarodnog dana sjećanja na žrtve Holokausta i sedamdesete obljetnice oslobođenja Auschwitza, vrhovni muftija je govorio o zajedničkoj sudbini dva naroda:

> Dvadeseto stoljeće će prije svega biti zapamćeno po teškim zločinima protiv čovječnosti u Europi – holokaustu protiv Jevreja i genocidu protiv Bošnjaka.

Remembrance Day and the 70th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz, the Grand Mufti referred to the common destiny of the two peoples:

> The 20th century, above all, will be remembered for grave crimes against humanity in Europe- – Holocaust against Jews, and Genocide against Bosniaks.

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Certainly, we have not exhausted all the resources and modes of Dr. Cerić's exceptionally influential public word in the world arenas of interreligious dialogue. But what is sure is that he commands an astonishingly rich and powerful representational matrix giving him advantages over the majority of those who have been rightly called 'the world's religious leaders'. A "small Grand Mufti" from a "small country" has been able to trigger a huge battery of representational functions: 'we, the Bosnian Muslims', 'we, the Bosniak people', 'we, the Bosnians', 'we, the World Muslims', 'we, the scholars in interreligious studies and conflict resolution', 'we, the Slavs', 'we, the survivors of the Genocide' and finally 'we, the European people'.

If we now turn towards the archived documents, we may wonder whether the fact that they are marked and authenticated by so many identity patterns, often at the same time, may have changed or in a peculiar way reaffirmed their ordinary character. The very title of the book proves that its editor wanted to bring to light and emphasize this rather specific character of the documents. They are *letters*, even if not all of them are literally reducible to 'open letters' and 'declarations'. In his Introduction, Professor Akšamija remarks that the reason why he gave this title to the book is precisely a 'letter' from another title, which is *Letter to the Bishops of Europe*, sent by Dr. Cerić. His letter echoes the famous pastoral letter sent by the Polish bishops to their German peers in 1965. The echo of that pastoral letter, doubled by the returning echo of the German bishops' letter in reply, is still strong and appealing. Letter by letter… A long sequence of letters. The whole book is made up of letters.

As the title of Professor Mato Zovkić's introduction suggests, the letters of the Polish and German bishops are still a great inspiration for those seeking reconciliation and peace in Europe. The Bosnian Grand Mufti is certainly one of them. Therefore, by prefacing the book, the pastoral letters should give us a clue how to read the rest of the letters. What makes the pastoral letters so exemplary and instructive is their irresistible declarative force in the first place. Sentences like "We forgive and ask for forgiveness" or "The extended hand we accept with fraternal respect" are still fascinating and relevant today.

Dr. Cerić's letters have such an extraordinary declarative force. It is pretty evident that almost all of his letters are essentially declarations. Rather, it is the other way around: we can call these documents 'letters' because of their declarative character. Furthermore, these declarations are not simply provided or decorated with the plural and hybrid identities represented by Dr. Cerić. To believe this is to misunderstand the crucial thing here involved. It is these represented identities that make Dr. Cerić's public letters *declarative* in the most pronounced sense that J. L. Austin and J. Derrida gave to the word. Declaratively represented, these identities have actually been reconstituted, or are even in the process of being properly created for the first time, as is the case with the identity of 'European Muslims'. It is there that the declarations signed by the Bosnian Grand Mufti demonstrate their most remarkable capacity of producing new social realities.

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Zasigurno nismo iscrpili sve resurse i moduse Cerićeve izuzetno utjecajne javne riječi u svjetskim arenama međureligijskog dijaloga. No ono što je nesumnjivo jeste to da on raspolaže sa začudno bogatom i moćnom matricom predstavljanja, što mu pruža niz prednosti u odnosu na većinu onih koji se s pravom nazivaju „svjetski religijski lideri". „Mali muftija nad muftijama" koji dolazi iz „male zemlje" je u stanju da pokrene golemu bateriju predstavljačkih funkcija: „mi, bosanski muslimani", „mi, bošnjački narod", „mi, Bosanci", „mi, muslimani svijeta", „mi, učenjaci međureligijskih i mirovnih studija", „mi, Slaveni", „mi, preživjele žrtve genocida" i napokon „mi, narod Europe".

Osvrnemo li se sada na arhivirane dokumente, možemo se zapitati nije li to što su oni svi obilježeni i ovjereni s tako mnogo različitih obrazaca identiteta, često u isto vrijeme, možda promijenilo ili na naročit način ponovo utvrdilo njihov uobičajeni karakter. Sam naslov knjige pokazuje da je njen priređivač htio da iznese na vidjelo i naglasi ovaj posve specifičan karakter sabranih dokumenata. Naime, svi su oni *pisma*, iako nisu svi doslovce svedivi na „otvorena pisma" i „deklaracije". U svome uvodu, profesor Akšamija bilježi da je glavni razlog zašto je dao ovakav naslov knjizi upravo „pismo" iz drugog naslova, a to je *Pismo biskupima Europe* koje je poslao Dr. Cerić. Njegovo pismo je svojevrstan odjek čuvenog pastoralnog pisma kojeg su poljski biskupi poslali svojim njemačkim kolegama 1965. godine. Odjek tog pastoralnog pisma, udvostručen povratnim odjekom pisanog odgovora njemačkih biskupa, još je snažan i nadahnjujući. Pismo na pismo... Dugi niz pisama. Čitava knjiga je sačinjena od pisama.

Kao što to naslov uvoda kojeg je napisao profesor Mato Zovkić sugerira, pisma poljskih i njemačkih biskupa su još i danas velika inspiracija za sve one koji se zalažu za mir i pomirenje u Europi. Bosanski vrhovni muftija je zasigurno jedan od njih. Prema tome, stavljena na početak knjige, pastoralna pisma nam trebaju pružiti ključ kako da čitamo preostala pisma. Ono što čini ta pastoralna pisma tako egzemplarnim i instruktivnim jeste ponajprije njihova neodoljiva deklarativna snaga. Rečenice poput: „Mi vama opraštamo i tražimo vaš oprost", ili pak: „Pruženu ruku prihvatamo s bratskim poštovanjem", ostaju i dalje očaravajuće i važne.

Pisma Dr. Cerića upravo imaju takvu izuzetnu deklarativnu moć. Prilično je jasno da su gotovo sva njegova pisma po svojoj suštini deklaracije. Ili, da kažemo to obratnim redom: ove dokumente možemo nazvati „pismima" zbog njihove deklarativne snage. Nadalje, ove deklaracije nisu naprosto snabdjevene ili ukrašene pluralnim i hibridnim identitetima kakve zastupa Dr. Cerić. Povjerujemo li u to, krivo ćemo razumjeti ono što je ovdje najvažnije. Upravo su ovi predstavljeni identiteti ono što javna pisma Dr. Cerića čini *deklarativnim* u najizraženijem smislu kojeg J. L. Austine i J. Derrida pridaju ovoj riječi. Deklarativno predstavljeni, ovi identiteti su u stvari rekonstituirani ili su tek po prvi put stvoreni na pravi način, kao što je to slučaj s identitetom „europskih muslimana". Upravo na tom polju deklaracije koje potpisuje bosanski vrhovni muftija pokazuju posve upečatljivu sposobnost proizvodnje novih društvenih stvarnosti.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF RECONCILIATION OF DR. DR. MUSTAFA CERIĆ

The roots of peace run as deep as the roots of war; the seed of forgiveness was planted at the exact moment when the seed of the original sin sprouted. *Letters* draws inspiration from the first roots of peace, the book itself being a stunning and magnanimous fruit ripened on the indestructible tree of forgiveness.

The story begins with a different letter: a letter of reconciliation that the bishops of Poland sent to the bishops of the former Western Germany, on 18th November 1965. The actual realization of this idea began at the initiative of Pope John XIII on January 1959, after two years of preparation of the Second Vatican Council that began their work on 11th October 1962. The letter was signed by the first signatory, Cardinal Stefan Wiszynski, along with 33 Polish bishops seated at the Vatican. With this letter, the cardinals informed their „closest western neighbours" that they will, together with their people, celebrate a thousand years of Christianity in Poland at the the national sanctuary Jasna Gora, when their ruler Mieško accepted Christianity with his court in 966.

By its peace-making nature, the Letter of reconciliation of the Polish cardinals represents a truly extraordinarily and significant event, on the verge of being unbelievable. The objective social, political and ideological circumstances were completely unfavourable and furthermore by character a priori excluded such an initiative. A mere 20 years had passed since the conclusion of World War II, and the memories of the destruction of war and millions of human casualties as a result of the onslaught of the Nazi German Army in Poland during the occupation from 1939 to 1945 were present still in the consciousness of the nation and in the recollections of every Polish family. At the time, Germany was still divided into Eastern and Western Germany. The two parts were directly opposed in their social, economic, political and ideological systems; namely, immediately after the capitulation of the Third Reich in 1945, Eastern Germany (the German Democratic Republic, with the acronym DDR) was incorporated into the block of socialist states under the umbrella of the USSR, while Western Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany – DFR), found itself in the capitalist environment under the control of the USA, Britain and France. In those circumstances, the animosity of the Polish towards the Germans, originating from the occupation of Poland by Germany in 1939-1945, was additionally systematically spurred by ideological contrasts of the two great blocks that Poland and Germany were associated with.

The signatories of the Letter of reconciliation were more than aware that their initiative would be met with direct condemnation of the greater part of the Polish public, as well as fierce resistance by the state government and the central ideological powers. Such expectations were realistic and understandable: realistic, because at the time any initiative without the directive of the government was practically impossible; understandable, because the Polish people were victims of the German aggression and occupation. To be the first to seek reconciliation and forgiveness went against the dignity and feeling of justice of any nation, and was received as such by many citizens of Poland.

The Letter of reconciliation war written, regardless. In it, the Polish cardinals first offer their hand of reconciliation offering the Germans forgiveness for the injustice that they committed against the Polish people, and especially for the severe crimes committed in the period 1939-1945 and even seeking forgiveness from the Germans to forgive the Polish for all the injustices that they committed throughout the long history of their relations. The German cardinals, together with the Polish cardinals and Catholic bishops from the whole world, replied to this letter of recommendation on 5th December

FILOZOFIJA POMIRENJA Dr. MUSTAFE CERIĆA

Korijeni mira duboki su koliko i korijeni rata; sjeme praštanja posijano je onog trenutka kada je proklijalo sjeme prvog grijeha. Inspiracija knjige *Pismo* crpi svoje sokove iz prvih korijena mira, a sama knjiga jeste jedan divan i osebujan plod sazrio na neuništivom stablu praštanja.

Priča je započela jednim drugim pismom: Pismom pomirenja koje su biskupi Poljske poslali biskupima tadašnje Zapadne Njemačke, 18. novembra 1965. godine. Inicijativu je pokrenuo Papa Ivan XXIII, januara 1959. godine, a nakon dvogodišnjih priprema, na Drugom Vatikanskom Koncilu koji je počeo s radom 11. oktobra 1962. godine, pristupilo se konkretnoj realizaciji ove ideje. Pismo su, uz prvog potpisnika, kardinala Stefana Wiszynskog, potpisala još 33 biskupa Poljaka, sa sjedištem u Vatikanu. Ovim pismom, kardinali najprije izvještavaju svoje "najbliže zapadne susjede" da će, zajedno sa svojim narodom, proslaviti hiljadu godina kršćanstva u Poljskoj, u nacionalnom svetilištu Jasna Gora, kada je njihov vladar Mieško sa svojim dvorjanima primio kršćanstvo 966. godine.

Po svojoj mirotvoračkoj energiji, Pismo pomirenja poljskih kardinala, predstavlja uistinu izuzetno značajan događaj, na granici nevjerovatnog. Objektivne društvene političke i ideološke okolnosti ne samo što mu nisu išle na ruku, nego su po svom karakteru *a priori* isključivale svaku slilčnu inicijativu. Od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata bilo je prošlo jedva 20 godina, a sjećanja na ratna razaranja i milione ljudskih žrtava koje je nacistička njemačka armija počinila u Poljskoj tokom okupacije od 1939. do 1945. godine, bila su još svježa u svijesti nacije, kao i u sjećanjima svake poljske porodice. U to vrijeme Njemačka je još bila podijeljena na Istočnu i Zapadnu Njemačku, a njena dva dijela našla su se u direktno suprotstavljenim društveno ekonomskim, političkim i ideološkim sistemima; naime, odmah poslije kapitulacije Trećeg Reicha 1945. godine, Istočna Njemačka (Demokratska Republika Njemačka, skraćeno DDR), bila je uključena u blok socijalističkih država pod kišobranom SSSR, dok se Zapadna Njemačka (Federalna Republika Njemačka - DFR), našla u kapitalističkom okruženju pod kontrolom SAD, Britanije i Francuske. U tim uslovima, neprijateljstvo Poljaka prema Nijemcima, nastalo na iskustvima okupacije Poljske od strane Njemačke tokom 1939-45. godine, bilo je dodatno sistematski podsticano i ideološkim suprotnostima dva velika bloka kojima su pripadale Poljska i Njemačka.

Potpisnicima Pisma pomirenja bilo je više nego jasno da će njihova inicijativa naići na direktnu osudu većeg dijela javnosti Poljske, i žestok otpor državne vlasti i centara ideološke moći. Takva očekivanja bila su i realna i razumljiva: realna, jer je u to vrijeme svaka inicijativa započeta bez direktive vlasti bila praktično nemoguća; razumljiva, jer je poljski narod bio žrtva agresije i okupacije. Tražiti prvi pomirenje i oproštaj od agresora i okupatora kosilo bi se sa dostojantvom i osjećajem pravde svakog naroda, pa se tako doživjelo i od strane mnogih građana Poljske.

Pismo pomirenja ipak je napisano. U njemu poljski kardinali prvi pružaju ruku pomirenja dajući oprost Nijemcima za nepravde koje su nanijeli poljskom narodu , posebno pak za teške zločine počinjene u periodu 1939-45. godine i čak, tražeći od Nijemaca da oproste Poljacima sve nepravde koje su oni počinili tokom duge istorije njihovih odnosa. Njemački kardinali, zajedno sa poljskim kardinalima i katoličkim biskupima iz cijelog svijeta, odgovorili su na ovo Pismo pomirenja 5. decembra 1965. godine, prihvatajući ponuđeno pomirenje i tražeći, sa svoje strane, oprost za svo zlo koje su Nijemci nanijeli Poljacima.

1965, accepting the offered reconciliation and seeking, on their part, forgiveness for all the injustice that the Germans committed towards the Polish.

Great nobleness is necessary to seek forgiveness for a committed injustice. To first forgive the one who caused injustice before the other seeks it – one needs to have the soul of an angel and be at the true mercy of God! Polish bishops have with their Letter of reconciliation proved that they possess such a soul and that they are truly enlightened by God's mercy. The marking of five decades of this extraordinary act of generosity has accordingly acquired great moral strength, especially in the contemporary world in which a violent government has become the main instrument of resolving issues in international relations, while racial, ethnic and religious hatred of the „Other" have become key markers of collective identification, systematically supported with the notoriously ominous thesis of the inevitability of the „*Clash of Civilizations*".

Here begins the story of another letter – the *Letter* that bears witness to the entirety of the spiritual greatness of several decades of work of Dr. Mustafa Cerić on reconciliation that has evolved into a unique philosophy of peace. Several important elements mark his philosophy of peace, separating it from practically all previous and present approaches to the reconciliation of religions and contributions to the understanding of different cultures. The first and critical element comes down to an intuitive, though nonetheless paradoxical rejection of Dr. Cerić to the approach to the reconciliation of religions whereby it should come from the perspective of strict dogma. To him, the issue is not the position of the religion (specifically – Islam) on the transcendental source of the universe and everything existing. However, this does not deter him in interpreting social life and human relations through the prism of immanent principles decided by the stakeholders – therefore people, as individuals and as institutions. Upon this singular postulate Dr. Mustafa Cerić formulates his heightened activism, introducing at the foremost unconditional honesty and benevolence as factors stronger than all fixed social laws and calcified stereotypes of cultural and religious xenophobia. In a certain sense, Dr. Cerić treats society as an organism with an extremely high level of autoregulation. Convinced that the vitality and flexibility of a society is not subject to rigid moulds of administrative regulations, he constitutes his philosophy of peace on the presumption of *anomie* – the absence of fixed laws that would, accordingly, limit the space of free action of people and would limit the possibility of significant social change. Insodoing, Dr. Cerić provided his approach with the crucial argument for maximum autonomy of action that should produce individual originality and not individual uniformity. His approach to the reconciliation of religions is theoretically based on the metaphysics of morals, but his action in practice is based on the active promotion of the *moral of facts*.

Lead by his authentically honest kindness, Dr. Cerić does not hesitate to transfuse all injustices to his detriment and to suppress every impulse of affirmation of his own position even when he holds all the facts and arguments, simply to be able to come a step closer to reconciliation and forgiveness. In his declarations and performances dedicated to reconciliation, Dr. Cerić uses not one word for conditioning his position and does not obligate his interlocutors – his speech is at all times directed towards emphasized convergence, and as such is located on the opposite side of exclusion and the disjunctive narrative strategy of one Kierkegaard and his model of „either/or", and is significantly closer to the Hegelian dialectical principle of the unity of opposites. Equally, the philosophy of reconciliation of Dr. Cerić does not accept even the slightest allusion of any sanctioning of the interlocutor, representatives of concepts that are in direct opposition to his position or are even openly negating it. The intensity of such a reconciliatory philosophy is unique in the contemporary theory and practice of resolving social conflict, so much so that according to the basic principles it resembles the Sufi generosity of Jalaluddin Rumi Mewlana. However, one must bear in mind that for the realization of his position, Dr. Cerić was exposed to incomparably greater challenges and pressures, considering that he is active

Velika je plemenitost potrebna da bi se zatražio oprost za nanijetu nepravdu. Prvi oprostiti onome ko mu je nanijeo nepravdu prije nego što on to zatraži – za to je potrebna anđeoska duša i istinska Božja milost! Poljski biskupi su svojim Pismom pomirenja dokazali da posjeduju takvu dušu i da ih je uistinu prosvijetlila Božja milost. Obilježavanje pet decenija tog izuzetnog akta velikodušnosti time je dobilo ogromnu moralnu snagu, posebno u savremenom svijetu u kom je državno nasilje postalo glavni instrument rješavanja problema u međunarodnim odnosima, dok su rasna, etnička i vjerska mržnja "Drugog", postali ključni markeri kolektivne identifikacije, sistematski podsticane u interesu notorno zlokobne teze o neizbježnosti "sukoba civilizacija" (*The Clash of Civilizations*).

Na ovom mjestu počinje priča o ovom drugom pismu – *Pismu* koje svjedoči svu duhovnu veličinu višedecenijskog angažovanja Dr. Mustafe Cerića na pomirenju, koje je prerastalo u jedinstvenu filozofiju mira. Nekoliko bitnih elemenata markiraju njegovu filozofiju mira, izdvajajući je praktično od svih dotadašnjih i dosadašnjih pristupa pomirenju religija i priloga razumijevanju kultura. Prvi i presudni elemenat svodi se na koliko intuitivno, toliko i naizgled paradoksalno odbijanje Dr. Cerića da pomirenju religija pristupi iz perspektive striktne dogmatike. Za njega nije sporno stanovište religije (konkretno – islama), o transcendetnom izvoru univerzuma i svega postojećeg, ali mu to ni najmanje ne smeta da društveni život i ljudske odnose tumači kroz prizmu imanentnih principa o kojima odlučuju sami akteri - dakle ljudi, i kao pojedinci i kao institucije. Na ovom originalnom postulatu, Dr. Mustafa Cerić formuliše svoj naglašeni aktivizam, uvodeći u prvi plan bezuslovnu iskrenost i benevolentnost kao faktore koji djeluju snažnije od svih fiksiranih društvenih zakona i kalcificiranih stereotipa kulturne i religijske ksenofobije. U izvjesnom smislu, Dr. Cerić tretira društvo kao područje sa izuzetno visokim stepenom autoregulacije. Uvjeren da vitalnost i fleksibilnost društva ne podliježu krutim kalupima administrativnih propisa, on konstituiše svoju filozofiju mira na pretpostavci *anomije* – otsustva fiksiranih zakona koji bi, samim tim, ograničavali prostor slobodnog djelovanja ljudi i limitirali mogućnosti značajnih društvenih promjena. Time je Dr. Cerić obezbijedio svom pristupu presudni argument za maksimalnu autonomiju djelovanja koja treba da producira individualnu originalnost a ne individualnu uniformnost. Njegov pristup pomirenju religija teorijski je zasnovan na metafizici morala, ali je njegovo djelovanje u praksi utemeljeno na aktivnom promovisanju *morala činjenica*.

Vođen svojom autentično iskrenom dobrohotnošću, Dr. Cerić se ne libi da prešuti sve nepravde na svoju štetu, i da zatomi svaki impuls afirmisanja sopstvene pozicije i kada su sve činjenice i argumenti na njegovoj strani, samo ako time čini korak bliže pomirenju i opraštanju. U svim svojim proglasima, nastupima i deklaracijama posvećenim pomirenju Dr. Cerić ni jednom rječju ne uslovljava svoju poziciju i ničim ne obavezuje sugovornike - njegov govor je uvijek naglašeno konvergentno usmjeren, pa je kao takav lociran na suprotnoj strani od isključivosti i disjunktivne narativne strategije jednog Kierkegaarda i njegovog modela "ili/ili", te je znatno bliži integrativnoj sintezi hegelovskog principa "i-i". Jednako tako, filozofija pomirenja Dr. Cerića ne prihvata ni najblažu aluziju nekakvih sankcija sagovornika, zastupnika koncepcija koje se direktno razilaze sa njegovim stavovima ili ih čak i otvoreno dezavuiraju. Intenzitet takve pomiriteljske filozofije jedinstven je u savremenoj teoriji i praksi rješavanja društvenih konflikata, tako da po ovim svojim osnovnim odrednicama priziva u sjećanje sufističku širokogrudost Dželaludina Rumija Mewlane. Ipak, treba imati u vidu činjenicu da je u realizaciji svoje pozicije Dr. Cerić bio izložen neuporedivo većim iskušenjima i pritiscima, s obzirom da djeluje u nesrazmjerno većoj sredini od one u kojoj je djelovao Mewlana, i da, za razliku od Mewlane, Dr. Cerić najveći dio svojih aktivnosti realizira izvan svog etničkog i kulturnog kruga.

in a disproportionately larger environment than the one in which Mewlana acted, and that, unlike Mewlana, Dr. Cerić conducts most of his activities outside his ethnic and cultural circle.

Therefore, when the ambassador of Poland, H. E. Piotr Nowina-Konopka suggested to the former Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina Dr. Mustafa Cerić, to address the Polish and German bishops at the Vatican with an appropriate letter, on the occasion of the marking of the 50th anniversary of the Letter of reconciliation of the Polish bishops, his own distinct concept of religious mediator having already been formed in its fundamental position, this event defined and integrated all of its components into a monolith and consequential philosophy of reconciliation.

Such a philosophy was precisely what he needed, in order to approach this challenge in such a sovereign and impressive manner. Namely, the objective position of Dr. Cerić was considerably more unfavourable, complex and difficult than the one with which the Polish bishops were faced when they wrote their letter in 1965. Firstly, the boundaries of reconciliation between the Polish and German bishops related to the unique intra-religious (specifically, intra-catholic) spiritual space. The distance created with the Nazi occupation of Poland, maintained with the tension of ideological opposites of dominant ideologies in these two states, were in fact one wound in one body, an incision into the spiritual togetherness of a thousand years; it was necessary, figuratively speaking, to set and connect the broken bone in order for it to heal properly again. Besides, Polish and German Catholics were connected by virtually the same cultural traditions; the differences between them were differences in quality, but only in the degree and manifestations of one and the same common cultural matrix. Ultimately, the Polish and German bishops had the wholehearted support of the institution of the Vatican - the common spiritual centre and indisputable authority of the Catholic world, where the strong political and diplomatic support of the Western powers stood vigorously on their side.

Dr. Mustafa Cerić had in front of him a completely different, literally Herculean task. Instead of the reconciliation of one and the same religious tradition, the reconciliation that was needed was of two traditionally extremely different religions. The distance between Christianity (of Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant provenance) on the one hand and Islam on the other, is not a mere difference of two value-neutral positions, but a tension of active confrontation of two of the most virulent, vital and most competitive spiritual and civilizational traditions in the present history of the world. The change in ideological paradigm that arose in the world political scene, not only did not reduce their existing latent antagonism but it further intensified through a series of military interventions in the chronic impassioned focus that affected a wider area. The strengthening of the extreme right-wing movements around the world, especially in Europe, upset the balance and changed the constellation of political forces, on the one hand by strengthening integration processes and homogenization both within Christianity and within Islam, and on the other, strongly juxtaposing them and pushing them to the brink of open and universal conflict!

Dr. Cerić realized the importance of the fateful project of reconciliation of Christianity and Islam, in the historical moment in which heavy clouds are appearing on the horizon, announcing a cataclysm, while the social network fanatic troops are frantically calling for *Armageddon*. In a time when millions of people are assembling within their own camp, Dr. Cerić has realized that true reconciliation can only be based on the readiness, especially at one's own expense, to overcome the fact of who is guilty and who is innocent, for the reconciliation to be realized through the immanent and autonomous *truth* of human and moral values. He realized that truth is much more than facts – more than any fact in the world, in fact.

It is difficult to list all the concessions that Dr. Cerić has benevolently made and without any kind of hesitation in the name of the great *truth* in accordance with his philosophy of reconciliation, without conditioning or sanctioning! Although he speaks on behalf of Bosniaks, the ancient, indigenous

I tako, kada je ambasador Poljske Nj.E. Piotr Nowina-Konopka predložio bivšem reis-ul-ulemi Dr. Mustafi Cerići, da se, odgovarajućim *pismom* obrati poljskim i njemačkim biskupima u Vatikanu, u povodu obilježavanja 50-te godišnjice Pisma pomirenja poljskih biskupa, njegova sopstvena osebujna koncepcija religijskog medijatora već je bila formirana u osnovnim potezima, ali je ovaj događaj definisao i integrisao sve njene komponente u monolitnu i konsekventnu filozofiju pomirenja.

A takva filozofija mu je bila i te kako potrebna, da bi izazov sa kojim se suočio, krunisao na tako suveren i impresivan način. Naime, objektivna pozicija Dr. Cerića bila je znatno nepovoljnija, složenija i teža čak i od one sa kojom su se suočili poljski biskupi kada su napisali svoje Pismo pomirenja 1965. godine. Kao prvo, granice pomirenja poljskih i njemačkih biskupa odnosile su se na jedinstven intra-religijski (konkretno, intra-katolički) duhovni prostor. Distanca koja je stvorena nacističkom okupacijom Poljske i koja se održavala tenzičnim ideološkim suprotnostima dominantnih ideologija u ove dvije države, bila je u stvari rana na istom tijelu, zasjek u duhovno zajedništvo dugo hiljadu godina; trebako je, tako reći, namjestiti i spojiti slomljenu kost da bi ponovo srasla. Osim toga, poljske i njemačke katolike povezivala je praktično ista kulturna tradicija; razlike koje su među njima postojale nisu bile razlike u kvalitetu nego samo u stepenu i manifestacijama jedne i iste zajedničke kulturne matrice. Konačno, poljski i njemački biskupi imali su svesrdnu institucionalnu podršku Vatikana - zajedničkog duhovnog središta i neprikosnovenog autoriteta svih katolika svijeta, pri čemu je i moćna politička i diplomatska podrška zapadnih sila stajala energično na njihovoj strani.

Pred Dr. Mustafom Cerićem ispriječio se sasvim drugačiji, doslovno herkulovski zadatak da, umjesto na pomirenju jedne iste religijske tradicije, radi na pomirenju dvije tradicionalno više nego različite religije. Distanca kršćanstva (i katoličke, i ortodoksne, i protestantske provenijencije), s jedne strane, i islama s druge strane, nije puka razlika dvije vrijednosno neutralne pozicije, nego je to tenzija aktivne konfrontiranosti dvije najvirulentnije, najvitalnije i najkompetitivnije duhovne i civilizacijske tradicije u dosadašnjoj istoriji svijeta. Promjena u ideološkim paradigmama koja je u međuvremenu nastupila na svjetskoj političkoj sceni, ne samo što nije ublažila njihov postojeći latentni antagonizam nego ga je zaoštrila i kroz seriju vojnih intervencija raspalila u hronično žarište koje zahvata sve šire područje. Jačanje ekstremno desničarskih pokreta širom svijeta, posebno u Evropi, poremetilo je ravnotežu i promijenilo konstelaciju političkih snaga, s jedne strane jačajući integrativne procese i homogenizaciju kako unutar kršćanstva, tako i unutar islama, a s druge, snažno ih suprotstavljajući i gurajući na sami rub otvorenog i sveopšteg konflikta!

Dr. Cerić je shvatio sudbonosnu važnost projekta pomirenja kršćanstva i islama, u istorijskom trenutku u kom se na horizontu navlače tamasti oblaci najavljujući kataklizmu, dok kroz socijalne mreže čete mahnitih fanatika zazivaju *Armagedon*. U vrijeme u kom se milioni ljudi prestrojavaju svako u svoj tabor, Dr. Cerić je shvatio da je istinsko pomirenje samo ono koje je utemeljeno na spremnosti da se, posebno na sopstvenu štetu, potpuno prenebregnu činjenice o tome ko je kriv, ko je prav, i da se pomirenje može realizovati samo kao imanetna i autonomna *istina* humanističkih i moralnih vrijednosti. Shvatio je da je istina nešto više od fakata – više i od svih fakata svijeta.

Teško je nabrojati sve ustupke koje Dr. Cerić benevolentno i bez zrna rezerve, čini u ime te velike *istine* a u skladu sa svojom filozofijom pomirenja bez uslovljavanja i bez sankcionisanja! Iako govori u ime Bošnjaka, drevnog, autohtonog naroda Evrope koji živi na prostorima Balkana od pamtivijeka i čije postojanje konstatiraju najraniji pisani izvori, u svojim poveljama pomirenja Dr. Cerić ne polemiše sa onima koji Bošnjake ne smatraju narodom, poriču njihovu državotvornost, negiraju bosanski jezik, nacionalnu

people of Europe who have lived in the Balkans since time immemorial and whose existence was asserted in the earliest written sources, in his charters on reconciliation Dr. Cerić does not argue with those who do not believe Bosniaks to be a nation, denying them their statehood, denying the Bosnian language, the national culture and who wish to reduce the identity of Bosniaks to mere religious affiliation. Exceptionally familiar with the history of Bosnia and his own people - the Bosniaks - Dr. Cerić does not utter a word with arrogance, does not indicate the historical truth that Bosniaks in the last 150 years have been exposed to a strong process of denationalization, and that with equal right he may speak about the Orthodox Bosniaks and Catholic Bosniaks, in the same way in which he can speak about the Bosniak Muslims – otherwise it would contradict his philosophy of reconciliation as an unconditional act that does not include obligations of the one who offers reconciliation, nor does it anticipate any type of sanction if the offered reconciliation is rejected.

In regard to the time when Islam was accepted by Bosniaks in good faith, Dr. Cerić does not dispute the inaccurate although widespread data that Islam arrived in Bosnia only in 1463, with the Ottoman empire, because this misconception can affect his knowledge of the truth that Islam arrived in the Balkans and on the border of the Drina River at the end of the ninth century, as unequivocally confirmed by the research professor Džavid Haverić in his capital study *History of the Muslim Discovery of the World.*

The point of his philosophy of reconciliation remains intact at all times, even when the persistent oxymoron is repeated that in the former Yugoslavia, including in Bosnia (or anywhere, as a matter of fact), there was some kind of communist state(?). It is scandalous that today eminent professors of political science are parroting ideological nonsense about "the fall of the communist state", ignoring the fact that, in accordance with the undeniable original context of political science, the terms 'state' and 'communism' absolutely exclude each other because communism is a state without a state and the state is a state without communism.

The moral capital with which Dr. Cerić lead his campaign of reconciliation further is tremendous: like all Bosnians, and Dr. Mustafa Cerić belongs to a people whose roots date back to European soil in the deeper past and from the Slavic and Germanic peoples. Written sources confirm that the Bosniaks were the backbone of the ancient people who reside in the Balkans long before the arrival of Indo-European people and further more before the arrival of the Slavs in Europe, that is, to the Balkans. At the same time, as a Muslim, a follower of the Islamic faith, Dr. Cerić can refer to exactly the same domicile status of Islam, Christianity and Judaism and their equally European character. In contrast to the ideological thesis on *two external enemies*, the history of Europe is marked with a narrative of the alternating *three external enemies*. The perspective from which the story of the *two external enemies* is constructed, was created on the unjustified recognition of Christianity with the status of the representative of the indigenous European religion, as opposed to Judaism and Islam, which are treated as non-European religious and cultural matrices!? In fact, Europe is neither a Christian nor a Muslim nor a Jewish cultural continent, because all three of these religions in their origins are non-European, whereas, by their presence in the history of Europe and their impact on the formation of European cultural identity, all three are equally European. Neither of them has absolute precedence over the other two, (particularly not exclusive precedence) or more so not with a nature of monopoly!?), the status of 'European religion', because of their historical appearance, Europe is a typical example of an inclusive multicultural and multi-religious space - an amalgam formed by the interaction of the three religions and their respective cultural and civilizational heritage, with all three being equally and undeniably external in relation to Europe. This is unambiguously documented by facts: in the chronological and institutional sense, transformed into an organized state, military power, philosophy, science, art, literature, economic life, administrative organization, architecture with all the elements of

kulturu, a identitet Bošnjaka reduciraju na puku vjersku pripadnost. Izuzetan poznavalac istorije Bosne i sopstvenog naroda – Bošnjaka - Dr. Cerić ni jednom rječju ne zauzima gard, ne ukazuje na istorijsku istinu da su Bošnjaci u poslednjih 150 godina bili izloženi snažnim procesima denacionalizacije, te da se s jednakim pravom može govoriti o Bošnjacima pravoslavcima i Bošnjacima katolicima, na isti način na koji se može govoriti i o Bošnjacima muslimanima - jer bi to bilo suprotno njegovoj filozofiji pomirenja kao bezuslovnog čina koji ne podrazumijeva nikave obaveze onoga kome se pomirenje nudi, niti predviđa bilo kakve sankcije ako se ponuđeno pomirenje odbije.

U odnosu na vrijeme dobrovoljno prihvaćenog islama od strane Bošnjaka, Dr. Cerić ne spori sa netačnim a rasprostranjenim podatkom da islam stiže u Bosnu tek 1463. godine, sa osmanlijskom carevinom, jer ta zabluda ne može uticati na njegovo znanje istine da je islam stigao na Bakan i na granice Drine već krajem 9. stoljeća, što su nedvosmisleno potvrdila istraživanja profesora Džavida Haverića u njegovoj kapitalnoj studiji *History of the Muslim Discovery of the World.*

Poenta njegova filozofija pomirenja ostaje nedirnuta u svim situacijama, čak i kada se uporno ponavlja oksimorion da je u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, pa tako i u Bosni (ili bilo gdje, kad smo već kod toga), postajala nekakva komunistička država? Skandalozno je da i danas eminentni profesori političkih nauka ponavljaju kao papagaji ideološku besmislicu o "padu komunističke države",,ignorišući činjenicu da se, u skladu sa nepobitnim izvornim kontekstom političke nauke, pojmovi 'država' i 'komunizam' apsolutno isključuju jer je komunizam stanje bez države a država je stanje bez komunizma".

Moralni kapital sa kojim Dr. Cerić vodi svoju kampanju pomirenja je ogroman: kao i svi Bošnjaci, i Dr. Mustafa Cerić pripada narodu čiji korijeni na tlu Evrope sežu u dublju prošlost i od slovenskih i od germanskih naroda. Pisani izvori potvrđuju da su Bošnjaci okosnica drevnog naroda koji boravi na području Balkana znatno prije dolaska indoevropskih naroda i još mnogo prije dolaska Slovena u Evropu, odnosno, na Balkan. Ujedno, kao musliman, sljedbennik islamske religije, Dr. Cerić se može pozvati na potpuno jednak status domicilnosti islama, kršćanstva i jevrejstva i njihov jednako evropski karakter. Nasuprot ideološke teze o *dva spoljna neprijatelja*, istorija Evrope je markirana narativom u kom se smjenjuju *tri eksterna neprijatelja*. Perspektiva iz koje je konstruisana priča o *dva eksterna neprijatelja*, nastala je na neopravdanom priznanju kršćanstvu statusa reprezenta autohtone evropske religije, nasuprot jevrejstva i islama, koji se tretiraju kao van-evropske religijske i kulturne matrice!? Naime, Evropa nije ni kršćanski ni islamski ni jevrejski kulturni kontinent jer su sve tri ove religije po svom porijeklu van-evropske, dok su, po svom prisustvu u istoriji Evrope i uticaju na formiranje evropskog kulturnog identiteta, sve tri jednako evropske. Ni jedna od njih nema apsolutno nikakav primat u odnosu na druge dvije, posebno ne na ekluzivni (uz to još i monopolski!?), status 'evropske religije', jer je po svom povijesnom nastanku, Evropa tipičan primjer inkluzivnog multikulturnog i multireligijskog prostora - amalgam nastao interakcijom ove tri religije i njihovim respektivnim kulturnim i civilizacijskim naslijeđem, pri čemu su sve tri jednako i nepobitno eksterne u odnosu na Evropu. Ovo nedvosmisleno dokumentiraju činjenice: i u hronološkom i u institucionalnom smislu, pretočenom u organizirane države, vojnu moć, filozofiju, nauku, umjetnost, književnost, ekonomski život, administrativnu organiziranost, arhitekturu sa svim elementima urbane infrastrukture, svakodnevni život... već duže od trinaest stoljeća, islam predstavlja komponentu prvog reda u cjelini kulturnog identiteta moderne Evrope.

Za ilustraciju, dovoljno je podsjetiti da je 966. godine, kada je poljski vladar Mieško primio kršćanstvo, već punih 255 godinu postojala prva evropska islamska država El Endelus (osnovana 711. godine), i da je u to vrijeme to bila najrazvijenija, najbogatija, najveća i vjerovatno najmoćnija država Evrope, koja je

urban infrastructure, daily life ... for more than 13 centuries Islam is a component of the first order in the whole cultural identity of modern Europe.

For the sake of illustration, it is sufficient to remind ourselves that in 966, when the Polish ruler Mieško accepted Christianity, the first European Islamic state Al Andalusia (founded in 711) had already existed for a full 255 years, and at the time was the most developed, wealthiest, largest and possibly the most powerful state of Europe, that remained a European state until 1492; almost eight hundred years (781 – to be precise). At the same time, all of Scandinavia, present day Hungary, Russia, Ukraine and the territories of Central Europe accepted Christianity even later, at the very end of 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

All of the aforementioned only confirms that Dr. Cerić does not act from a position of inferiority on behalf of those who offer reconciliation for the injustices committed, while he himself did not suffer from them. Although his address carries the tone of a humble conciliator, his humbleness is a result of authentic spirituality, not some kind of cultural inferiority or the hypothetic of Islam on the basis of which he acts. Dr. Mustafa Cerić does not speak from a one-sided position of a sinner-penitent; not one of the three great religions have the argument to play the exclusive role of the victim, nor the role of the perpetrator. All three have committed injustices and all three have suffered as a result. The history of their troubles is tremendous and each could submit for inspection to the other two a very thick volume under the title *Historia calamitatum*.

In this context, European Muslims, as the European Jews, have throughout history on European soil often been the victims of continuous religious persecution – from the banishment of all Muslims and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, to the complete extermination of their descendants *Moriscose and Maranose* in 1612 to displacement, persecution and massacres of the indigenous European Muslims during the Balkan wars in 1911-1912. With a different intensity and duration, this deep incision of Europe into its own body was performed with the blade of religious and nationalist exclusion, was prolonged and later culminated in the crime of the Holocaust over the Jews and extended during the Serbian aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995 in persecution (cynically labelled „ethnic cleansing"), mass murders and genocide of Bosniak Muslims in Srebrenica. Unfortunately under the influence of religious and national hatred, this masochistic auto-mutilation of one part of Europe – has continued to this day.

In these circumstances, Dr. Cerić wrote a „Friendly letter to the European bishops" and the „Declaration of European Muslims", prompted by a feeling of great threat menacing the world – the threat to peace, principles of understanding and the mutual respect between nations, cultures and religions, aware that the true key to removing these threats and the return of the rule of humanist principles of life worthy of man transformed in a paradigm - *conditio humana* – is actually the reconciliation of European Christians and European Muslims; in other words: the reconciliation of Europe with itself! Not waiting for the other to extend the hand of reconciliation, to seek or offer forgiveness in the spirit of the principle of love as the fundamental value that should guide believers in all religions, Dr. Cerić did this, on behalf of the European Muslims. Openly, without even the slightest allusion to the great hypothec of injustice and misunderstanding, confidently and with the genuine contrition of a believer, he offered reconciliation using words without arrogance and without condescension, as it is fitting in such circumstances to offer reconciliation: „We accept you and ask you to accept us. Europe is your and our home." In a Europe such as this, the freedom of the Christians and the freedom of the Muslims is their inviolable right that cannot be given, taken, seized, withheld or gifted but only – unconditionally recognized. Muslim Europeans have the same right to freedom

kao evropska država opstala sve do 1492., dakle gotovo punih osam stotina godina (781 - da budemo precizni). Ujedno, cijela Skandinavija, današnja Mađarska, Rusija, Ukrajina, prostori centralne Evrope primaju kršćanstvo još kasnije, na samom kraju 10. i početkom 11. stoljeća.

Sve ovo potvrđuije da Dr. Cerić ne nastupa sa inferiorne pozicije u ime nekoga ko nudi pomirenje za nepravde koje je počinio, dok on sam nije pretrpio nikakve nepravde. Iako se obraća tonom skrušenog pomiritelja, njegova skrušenost je rezultat autentične duhovnosti, a ne nekakve kulturološke inferiornosti ili hipoteke islama u čije ime se djeluje. Dr. Mustafa Cerić ne govori sa jednostrane pozicije grešnika-pokajnika; ni jedna od ove tri velike religije nema argumente ni za ulogu ekskluzivne žrtve, ni za ulogu ekskluzivnog grešnika. Sve tri su činile nepravdu i prema sve tri je nepravda činjena. Povijest njihovih nedaća je velika i svaka bi od njih mogla podnijeti na uvid drugima dvjema po jednu veoma debelu knjigu pod naslovom *Historia calamitatum*.

U ovom kontekstu, Evropljani muslimani, kao i Evropljani jevreji su tokom istorije upravo na tlu Evrope često bili žrtve kontinuiranih vjerskih progona - od protjerivanja svih muslimana i jevreja sa Iberijskog poluostrva 1492., preko totalnog istrebljenja njihovih potomaka *Moriscosa i Maranosa* 1612. godine, do raseljavanja, progona i masakriranja autohtonih Evropljana muslimana tokom Balkanskih ratova 1911-12. U različitom intenzitetu i trajanju taj duboki zasjek Evrope u sopstveno meso, nanijet oštricom vjerske i nacionalističke isključivosti, produžio je i kasnije da bi kulminirao u zločinu holokausta nad jevrejima a zatim produžio tokom srpske agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992-95. godine u progonima (cinično nazvanim "etničko čišćenje"), masovnim ubistvima i genocidu Bošnjaka muslimana u Srebrenici; na žalost pod uticajem vjerske i nacionalne mržnje, ova mazohistička auto-mutilacija jednog dijela Evrope nad samom sobom - nije prestala ni danas.

U ovim okolnostima, Dr. Cerić je napisao "Prijateljsko pismo evropskim biskupima" i "Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana", ponukan osjećajem velike prijetnje koja se nadvila nad svijetom - prijetnje miru, principima razumijevanja i uzajamnog poštovanja naroda, kultura i religija, svjestan da je pravi ključ za otklanjanje te prijetnje i ponovnu vladavinu humanističkih principa života dostojnog ljudi pretočenog u paradigmi - *conditio humana* – zapravo pomirenje Evropljana kršćana i Evropljana muslimana, drugim riječima: pomirenje Evrope same sa sobom! Ne čekajući ko će prvi pružiti ruku pomirenja ni zatražiti ili ponuditi oproštaj, u duhu principa ljubavi kao temeljne vrijednosti koja treba voditi vjernike svih religija, učinio je to Dr. Cerić, u ime Evropljana muslimana. Otvoreno, bez i najmanje aluzije na ogromnu hipoteku nepravdi i nesporazuma, suvereno i sa autentičnom skrušenošću vjernika, ponudio je pomirenje riječima bez oholosti i bez snishodljivosti, onako kako jedino i dolikuje da se u sličnim okolnostima ponudi pomirenje: "Mi vas prihvatamo i molimo vas da vi prihvatite nas. Evropa je vaš i naš dom". U takvoj Evropi, sloboda kršćana i sloboda muslimana je njihovo neprikosnoveno pravo, koje jedni drugima ne mogu ni dati, ni oduzeti, ni uskratiti, ni pokloniti nego samo – bezuslovno priznati! Muslimani Evropljani imaju isto pravo na slobodu i iste odgovornosti kao i Evropljani kršćani, jevreji i ateisti. To je poruka filozofije pomirenja Dr. Mustafe Cerića.

Sačuvana je legenda o dolasku Aleksandra Makedonskog i njegove armije na granice Kine. Ovjenčan slavom pobjednika nad moćnom Persijom, vojskovođe neporaženog u svim dotadašnjim bitkama, Aleksandar je poslao izaslanike kineskom caru sa ultimatumom da u roku od deset dana plati ogromnu količinu zlata ukoliko želi da Aleksandrova armija poštedi njegovo carstvo i samog cara. Kada je rok ultimatuma istekao, desetog dana u Aleksandrov logor najprije je došla delegacija kineskog cara i predala mu traženi otkup. Malo zatim, počela se tresti zemlja: sa okolnih visova nastupala je desetostruko

and the same responsibilities as European Christians, Jews and atheists. This is the message of the philosophy or reconciliation of Dr. Mustafa Cerić.

The legend of the arrival of Alexander the Great of Macedonia and his army to the borders of China has been preserved. Branded the iconic conqueror of the mighty Persia, the military leader undefeated in all previous battles, Alexander sent emissaries to the Chinese Emperor with an ultimatum to within ten days pay an enormous amount of gold if Alexander's army is to spare the empire and the Emperor. When the ultimatum deadline came, on the tenth day first came the delegation of the Chinese Emperor to Alexander's camp and submitted the requested ransom. Shortly after, the earth started to shake: from the surrounding heights came the ten times more numerous Chinese Army with more than 300,000 warriors, accompanied by war devices that no one in Alexander's army had ever encountered. The Chinese Emperor himself arrived and invited Alexander to his camp. His message was clear:

"Above all, we value peace. This is why I have paid the requested amount, as peace has no price. What I have given you is of much lesser value than the lives of these many people. I have arrived with my army to demonstrate that we did not pay out of fear or because we believe that we could not face you, but to preserve peace. "

Dr. Mustafa Cerić, with all of his work of which the most prominent part (but still, only a part) is presented in the unusual book entitled *Letters*, has demonstrated precisely this type of Chinese wisdom. He, much like the Chinese Emperor, did everything in his power to preserve the peace and avoid even verbal confrontation, although in his arsenal he had enough material to repeatedly highlight his moral strength and the historic argumentation of his own position. Although in the spirit of modesty and contrition he described himself as „... a small Grand Mufti from a small country that carries a great burden in the heart of Europe", to everyone that reads these *Letters* it will be quite clear that this is *the great Grand Mufti, from the famous country of Bosnia, who is distributing the noble message of peace from the heart of Europe*.

Extraordinary in every aspect, the book *Letters* represents the charter of reconciliation of European Muslims directed towards European Christian that is essentially intended for all citizens of Europe. As a political, as a cultural and as a civilizational document, *Letters* formulates a new comprehensive philosophy of reconciliation – reconciliation without preconditions, obligations or sanctions. In his perennial humanistic messages and the universal affirmation of equal rights of all spiritual traditions and cultural models of the world, the philosophy of reconciliation of Dr. Mustafa Cerić is withuot precedent in history until now and as such deserves the greatest attention of the whole world, the religious and secular, peace-loving public.

The Aesthetics of the *Letters*

The aura of the philosophy of reconciliation of Dr. Mustafa Cerić has cast its light on his aesthetic realization that has through a series of lucid artistic interventions of the academician Mehmed Akšamija crowned this epochal message of Dr. Cerić with an excellent bibliophile achievement.

The epitomization of the timeless connotations of the *Letters* is distinctly recognizable from the first look at the book. The book cover, or rather the title page is realized in accordance with the concept of an a-temporal world, with a tendency for the unchangeable, eternal, to be located here and now, to add to the visible a quality of the conceptual and to translate the conceptual into the visual. The idea itself is controversial, but aesthetically very fruitful: this almost childish immediacy in which through the original visual *melange* effectively integrates the symbols of the three great religious and cultural traditions, provoking a feeling of direct adrenaline stimulation. And when you start reading

brojnija kineska armija sa više od 300.000 ratnika, uz pratnju ratnih sprava kakve niko u Aleksandrovoj vojsci nije vidio u životu. Pojavio se lično i kineski car i pozvao Aleksandra u svoj logor. Njegova poruka je bila jasna:

"Mi iznad svega cijenimo mir. Zato sam platio tražni iznos, jer mir nema cijene. To što sam ti dao mnogo je manje nego što vrijede životi ovoliko ljudi. Armiju sam doveo da ti pokažemo da nismo platili iz straha ili zato što ne bismo mogli da ti se odupremo, nego da bismo očuvali mir."

Dr. Mustafa Cerić je cijelom svojom aktivnošću od koje je glavni dio (ali ipak, samo dio) predstavljen u ovoj neobičnoj knjizi naslovljenoj *Pismo*, demonstrirao upravo tu vrstu kineske mudrosti. I on je, kao kineski car, učinio sve da održi mir i izbjegne čak i verbalnu konfrontaciju, iako je u svom arsenalu imao dovoljno materijala da višestruko naglasi moralnu snagu i povijesnu argumentiranost sopstvene pozicije. Iako je, u duhu skromnosti i skrušenosti, sebe opisao kao "...malog Reis-ul-ulemu, iz male zemlje koji nosi veliki teret u srcu Evrope", svakome ko pročita ovo *Pismo* biće jasno da je riječ o jednom *velikom Reis-ul-ulemi, iz slavne zemlje Bosne, koji* širi *plemenitu poruku mira iz samog srca Evrope.*

Izuzetna u svakom pogledu, knjiga *Pismo* predstavlja povelju pomirenja Evropljana muslimana upućenu Evropljanima kršćanima koja je u biti namijenena svim građanima Evrope. I kao politički, i kao kulturološki, i kao civilizacijski dokument, *Pismo* formuliše jednu novu sveobuhvatnu filozofiju pomirenja – pomirenja bez ikakvi prethodnih uslova, bez obaveza i bez sankcija. Po svojim perenijalnim humanističkim porukama i univerzalnoj afirmaciji jednakih prava svih duhovnih tradicija i kulturnih modela svijeta, filozofija pomirenja Dr. Mustafe Cerića je bez presedana u dosadašnjoj povijesti i kao takva zaslužuje najveću pažnju čitave svjetske, kako vjerničke tako i sekularne, miroljubive javnosti.

Estetika *Pisma*

Aura filozofije pomirenja Dr. Mustafe Cerića ozarila je i njegovu estetsku realizaciju, koja je kroz seriju lucidnih likovnih intervencija akademika Mehmeda Akšamije, ove epohalne poruke Dr. Cerića krunisala jednim vrhunskim bibliofilskim ostvarenjem.

Epitomizacija vanremenskih konotacija *Pisma* upečatljivo se prepoznaje od prvog pogleda na knjigu. Korica, odnosno, naslovna strana realizirana je u skladu sa koncepcijom atemporalnog svijeta, sa tendencijom da se ono neprolazno, vječno, locira ovdje i odmah, da vidljivome doda kvalitet pojmovnog a pojmovno da pretoči u vizuelno. Sama ideja je kontroverzna, ali estetski veoma plodonosna: ta gotovo dječija neposredovanost u kojoj su kroz originalan vizuelni *melange* efektno integrisani simboli triju velikih religijskih i kulturnih tradicija, izaziva osjećaj direktne stimulacije adrenalina. A kada počnete paralelno čitati i listati *Pismo*, taj osjećaj ne jenjava nego produžuje jednakom snagom: iz stranice u stranicu, tekst je odlično ukomponiran sa elementima tradicionalne islamske kaligrafije, dekorativne islamske minijature, ali i sa fotografijama likova, kaširanih preko najraznovrsnijih tehnika, od *sfumatto* replika crteža smeđom kredom, do hiperrealističkog detalja *baudrillarovskog* simulakruma. Sugestija da su djeca do pete godine rođeni slikari (Pablo Picasso), i onaj melanholični zov za djetetom u nama koje ne smijemo izgubiti ni u starosti ako želimo očuvati svoju vezu sa svijetom (Jorge Luis Borges), dodatno pojačavaju ovaj efekat izvan-vremenosti. Ni u jednoj jedinoj sekvenci nam Mahmed Akšamija ne dozvoljava da ovim likovnim ostvarenjima odredimo vrijeme: ni sopstveno, ni ono na koje asociraju njegove estetske intarzije!

and browsing *Letters*, this feeling does not deflate but continues with equal strength: from page to page, the text is well incorporated with the elements of traditional Islamic calligraphy, decorative Islamic miniatures, as well as the photographs of characters, cached through the most various techniques, from *sfumatto* replicas of drawings with brown chalk, to hyperrealist details of the *baudrillarovski* simulacrum. The suggestion that children are born artists until the age of five (Pablo Picasso), and that melancholic cry for the child inside of us that we must not lose in our old age if we wish to preserve our connection to the world (Jorge Luis Borges), additionally intensify this effect of timelessness. Mehmed Akšamija does not allow in a single sequence for his art to prescribe time: not his own, nor the ones that associate his aesthetic marquetry!

A book that, paradoxically, does not indicate the time that it was borne with its style, content, technique of realization, must be eclectic. This eclecticism is namely in a clearly heightened conceptual function, which at times strongly alludes to the artistic research of a-temporality of contemporary authors such as Richard Aldrich, Kerstin Brätsch, Rashid Johnson, Julie Mehretu, Dianna Molzan, Oscar Murillo. The effect of a-temporality or timelessness is manifested through the artistry as free a-historic expression where nothing could exist which would not serve as an indicator of contemporary expressional forms, because all of the artistic forms coexist simultaneously. This fruitful mixing of past styles and genres, can even be rightfully qualified as the *brand* of Mehmed Akšamija, as a technique that allows the artist to reanimate styles and recreate them, to make them come alive in his own aesthetic vision, through each work of art or in a moment of inspiration to lead us with his artistic language to his archetypal forms.

In its aesthetic dimension, the *Letters* is a product of the highest rank, perfectly in compliance with the message that the text presents verbally; the complementarity of the verbal and visual results in a quality of experience in which the conceptual and aesthetic interlock, amalgamate and create the effect of direct integration of that which cannot be perceived with the senses, and that which is sheer sensuousness. When one thoroughly immerses oneself in this unity, one believes that the *Letters* are flying high in the blue sky completely beyond time, carrying his a-temporal message, unreachable, but visible and salvific nonetheless.

Academician Ferid Muhić

Djelo koje, paradoksalno, ni stilom, ni sadržajem, ni tehnikom realizacije, ne indicira vrijeme u kom je nastalo, nužno je moralo biti eklektićko. Ta eklektika je, naime u jasno naglašenoj koncepcijskoj funkciji, koja povremeno snažno aludira na slikarska istraživanja atemporalnosti savremenih autora kakvi su Richard Aldrich, Kerstin Brätsch, Rashid Johnson, Julie Mehretu, Dianna Molzan, Oscar Murillo. Efekt a-temporalnosti, ili izvan-vremenosti, manifestuje se kroz likovnost kao slobodnu a-historijsku ekspresivnost, u kojoj ne postoji ništa što bi moglo poslužiti kao indikator savremenih izražajnih formi, jer ovdje sve likovne forme koegzistiraju simultano. Ovo plodonosno miješanje minulih stilova i žanrova, čak se s pravom može kvalificirati kao *brand* Mehmeda Akšamije, kao tehnika koja umjetniku omogućava da reanimira stilove i da ih rekreira, da ih oživi u sopstvenoj estetskoj verziji, kroz svako pojedino ostvaranje ili da nas, u trenutku inspiracije, povede likovnim jezikom do njegovih arhetipskih formi.

U svojoj estetskoj dimenziji, ovo *Pismo* je proizvod najvišeg ranga, savršeno usklađeno sa porukom koju njegov tekst prenosi verbalno; komplementarnost verbalnog i vizuelnog rezultira u kvalitetu doživljaja u kom se pojmovno i estetsko pretapaju, amalgamiraju i stvaraju efekt neposredne integrisanosti onoga što se ne percepira čulima, i onoga što je sušta čulnost. Kada se pomno unese u ovo jedinstvo, čovjeku se učini da vidi kako visoko na plavom sunčanom nebu lebdi ovo *Pismo* sasvim izvan vremena i prenosi njegovu isto tako atemporalnu poruku, nedohvatnu, a ipak svima vidljivu i spasonosnu.

Akademik Ferid Muhić


EXP: DR. MUSTAFA CERIĆ, GRAND MUFTI OF


BOSNIA

وأخيرا، لا بد لي أن أشارككم خوفي الكبير، وربما أكبر من كل مخاوفي الأخرى. لست متأكدا بأني أستطيع أن أقول لكم كل شيء، لكن عندما أذكر لكم اسم موستار، يمكنكم تخمين بم يتعلق الأمر. إن موستار واحدة من أجمل مدن البوسنة والهرسك. والناس من جميع الأديان والأجناس في موستار الأكثر لطفا. للأسف، جعلت الحرب هذه المدينة قبيحة، ورمز المدينة نفسه، الجسر القديم، والذي سميت المدينة موستار باسمه كان مدمرا. ومع ذلك، أعيد بناؤه وهو الآن جميل كما كان من قبل، لكن الجروح في نفوس الناس بقيت، ويجب معالجتها وشفاؤها. لا بالانقسامات بل بوصل الروابط المتقطعة، وبجسر من حسن النية الانسانية الموجودة دائما في نفوس الناس ذوي العقول المنفتحة. إن خوفي من احتمال تقسيم مدينة موستار بنهر نيريتفا، لأن هذا يمثل بداية النهاية لشعبي في تلك المدينة وخارجها، وليس فقط في موستار. إذا تم تقسيم موستار على أسس عرقية ودينية، سيكون من الممكن تقسيم البوسنة كلها على نفس الشاكلة. وسيكون ذلك نهاية لشعبي البوشناقي. هذا هو التهديد الذي سمعناه من رادوفان كاراجيتش في بداية الإبادة الجماعية التي ارتكبت فعلا بالرغم من الوعود بأن حدوثها "لن يتكرر". آمل أننا لن نكون غافلين هذه المرة. وأننا لن نسمح بخيانة موستار والبوسنة والهرسك كلها. لكم أن تظنوا ما تشاؤون، لكن شيئا واحدا صحيح: إن البوسنة تمثل فرصة كبيرة لأوروبا المتعددة الأعراق والثقافات. إن الدولة البوسنية والمجتمع البوسني يمثلان نموذجا مصغرا ومجتمعا مصغرا للاتحاد الأروبي. وإن التحديات السياسية في البوسنة هي نفس التحديات في أوروبا كلها، وهي وحدة الدولة والمجتمع في التنوع مع الجهد المتواصل لتحقيق المصالحة. هذا ليس بسهل، ولكن لا يوجد طريق آخر وعلينا جميعا أن نبني ذلك الطريق سويا، لأن هذه الأرض لن يرثها الضعفاء ولا العدوانيون، بل سيرثها القادرين على التعاون فيما بينهم. لذلك، أعتبر أنه لا ينبغي للبوسنة أن تنتظر أكثر، بل ينبغي أن تصبح عضوا متساويا ضمن العائلة الأوروبية الكبيرة. وبعد كل شيء، تستحق البوسنة أن تعيش في سلام وأمن، عضوا كامل العضوية في حلف الناتو من أجل السلام والأمن في جنوب شرق أوروبا والبلقان، في المنطقة التي كانت على الدوام مضطربة وما زالت مضطربة، لكنها في الوقت الحاضر هادئة كما يجب أن تبقى في المستقبل.

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أما بالنسبة لحالتي في البلقان، فلدي شكوى واحدة. أنا أعلم أنه أفضل لأحدنا أن يحلم أن يشتكي. لقد تعلمت هذا من الحالم العظيم، مارتن لوثر كينغ، الذي أدرك أن أحدا لن يستمع إلى شكواه ولذلك لم يقل أبدا: "لدي شكوى"، بل كان يكرر"لدي حلم". وللأسف، فقد تلاشى حلمي بعد حجة أسوأ بكثير من الحكم الصادر عن المحكمة الجنائية الدولية ليوغوسلافيا السابقة (ICTY) بتبرئة المتهم السياسي الصربي فويسلاف شيشل من جميع التهم الموجهة إليه، ومن بينها التهم بارتكاب جرائم ضد الإنسانية: التشريد والترحيل، وأعمال غير إنسانية، وستة تهم بارتكاب جرائم الحرب: القتل والتعذيب، والمعاملة السيئة، والتدمير الوحشي للقرى، وتدمير أو الإضرار المتعمد للمنشآت الدينية أو التعليمية، ونهب الممتلكات العامة والخاصة. وبدلا من ذلك، أدان القاضي أنتونيتي الادعاء بالارتباك وعدم الكفاءة. وفي تبريرهم لحكم التبرئة رأى الجزء الأكبر من قضاة المحكمة في خطابات شيشيل الحربية التحريضية التي كان يدعوا فيها إلى إبادة الكروات أنها جائت "في سياق الصراع لكي ترفع الروح المعنوية عند الجنود، وليست على أنها دعوة للإبادة". أليس مروعا لضحايا الإبادة الجماعية في البلقان عندما يسمعون مثل هذا التبرير للعنف الإجرامي من أعلى محكمة عدل في العالم؟ كان الضحايا يعتقدون أن المراقبين العمي والصم في أوروبا سيعترفون على الأقل بآلامهم. وقد كان مارتن لوثر كينغ محقا عندما قال: "في النهاية، لن نتذكر كلمات أعدائنا بل سنتذكر صمت أصدقائنا". وفي هذا السياق ولأجل راحتي النفسية، لدي اليوم رسالة واحدة فقط أوجهها إلى أوروبا: من فضلكم لا تسمحوا لأنفسكم بأن تُخدعوا مرتين؛ بحيث لا تصدقون ما تراه أعينكم، وأن تقبلوا بأنهم يَكذبونكم. لا تسمحوا لأنفسكم بأن يتلاعبوا بأنفسكم وقلوبكم وأن يحصلوا على الجائزة لارتكابهم جرائم الإبادة الجماعية. وكما تقول الحكمة الشعبية: "إن الفطن لا يلدغ جحر مرتين".

12

إنا لست مفتونا بالتاريخ الأوروبي، ولست مدينا له بشيء، خصوصا بعد جريمة الإبادة الجماعية التي ارتكبها الصرب بحق شعبي في البوسنة. لكن أوروبا هي بيتي. وجميع الأوروبيين هم مواطني وجيراني. سلامهم وأمنهم من سلامي وأمني. وخوفهم ومعاناتهم من خوفي ومعاناتي. لقد تربّيت على حب ديني واحترام الآخرين. لم أسمع ابدا من أمي ولا من أبي أن عليّ أن أكره الآخر الذي يختلف عني. ولم أسمع أبدا من إمام مسجدي كلمة سيئة واحدة عن جيران دين آخر، وخصوصا عن أولئك الذين لهم وجهات نظر متشابهة. ولذلك نحن المسلمون نحترمهم لأنهم أهل كتاب. فالكلام عن الإسلام من جانب داعش (ISIL) يسبب لي ألما شديدا في النفس. نحن لا نعرف كيف ندافع عن تلك القصة؟ نحن لا نعرف كيف نبين للجيران والأصدقاء أن الذي يتحدثون عنه في منتدياتهم هو في المقام الأول ضدنا نحن المسلمين وضد ديننا الإسلامي. إن ذلك ضد قيمنا الإسلامية. إن ذلك ضد القيم الأروبية: قيمة الحياة، وقيمة الدين، وقيمة الحرية، وقيمة المال، وقيمة العِرض.

والآن، لِأَعُدْ إلى مسألة وضعي مسلما في أوروبا، ومسألة البوسنة في البلقان، وإلى مستقبلي في بلدي البوسنة.

13

آمل أن أوروبا قد أدركت أن عهد تجاهل الحاجة إلى مَأسسة الإسلام قد مضى، بمعنى أن العمل الديني والثقافي العام للمسلمين في أوروبا ينبغي أن ينظم بالتشريعات واللوائح المناسبة. فلم يعد ممكنا للمسلمين في أوروبا أن يكونوا مجموعة خارجة عن القانون بسبب دينهم. لقد حان الوقت ليدرك الجميع أن المسلمين في أوروبا ليسوا مشوهين بسبب دينهم، بل هم أهل البيت بسبب الحقوق والواجبات الوطنية. لقد حان الوقت للتفكير بجدية في إنشاء جامعة مسلمة أوروبية محلية يتعلم فيها أبناء الجيل الثاني والثالث من الشباب المسلم في أوروبا لتحمل المسؤولية عن دينهم وثقافتهم في سياق الرمز الحضاري الأوروبي الجامع. وما دام الشباب المسلمون الأوروبيون يعتمدون على التوجيه الخارجي في التعليم الديني والتربية فسنكون في خطر من الأفكار المتطرفة والراديكالية المحتملة. لقد بلغ المسلمون الأوروبيون الرشد ونضجوا بما فيه الكفاية، ولا حاجة لهم لأي وصاية دينية أو سياسية، شريطة أن لا تعتبرهم أوروبا مشوهين، بل أن تقبلهم اصحاب البيت بالحقوق والواجبات الوطنية. ويمكن تحقيق هذا الشعور برب البيت بدلا من الشعور بالتشوه من خلال التعليم والتربية وهو يمثل عاملا أساسيا في الحرب ضد التطرف الديني والسياسي وضد الراديكالية والإرهاب. وأنا على يقين بأن أوروبا قادرة على التغلب على الخوف من الصورة المشوهة للإسلام. فإذا كنت أنا المسلم لا أخاف فلماذا ينبغي أن يخاف المسيحيون واليهود والبوذيون والملحدون واللاأدريون، وهلم جرا. ألا ترون أن داعش (ISIL) يرهب المسلمين ويقتلهم قبل إرهاب أو قتل أي شخص آخر؟

8

إن الهجمات الإرهابية التي وقعت في 22 من مارس 2016 في بروكسل، عاصمة الاتحاد الأوروبي، في المطار والمترو صدمت العالم بأسره حقا. وإن أسر الضحايا وأصدقاءهم يقاسون أشد الألم، وإنني أعرب لهم عن خالص التعازي. نحن في البوسنة نعرف شعورهم جيدا. فقط أولئك الذين عانوا من الإرهاب يمكنهم أن يتعاطفوا بصدق مع ضحايا الإرهاب.

9

وخشية من الوقوع في خطأ، كنت أتفادى الأسئلة الصعبة والحساسة حول ظاهرة ما يسمى بداعش (ISIL). أو كنت أريد تجنب احتمال أن يخطئ فهمي اولئك الذين يتابعونني أو الذين ينظرون ما هو أبعد من عملي، لكنني لم أعد قادرا على الصمت. لا بد أن أطرح هذه الأسئلة الصعبة. هل من الممكن أن أحدا لا يعرف من تكون داعش (ISIL)؟ من أين أتت؟ من صممها؟ من دربها وجهزها عسكريا؟ من يختبئ وراء قناع داعش (ISIL)؟ من قرر أن يقتل الكل في الشرق والغرب؟ نيابة عن الإسلام وضد الإسلام؟ من يتلاعب بمصير الإنسانية؟

10

إن الأرض ليست كوكب المريخ. وإن الداعشيين لم يأتوا من المريخ. إنهم أشرارالأرض، الذين ينشرون الرعب بين الناس والأمم، ويُخرجون الناس من منازلهم ليبحثوا عن المأوى في الحقول تحت الخيام. لقد طُرد سبعة ملايين سوري من منازلهم الدافئة ليعانوا في العراء في أيام الشتاء البارد ولياليه. هل كان من الضروري أن يحدث غزو العراق؟ وهل كان من الضروري أن تحدث سوريا؟ وهل أزمة اليمن بداية أم نهاية لشيء ما؟ هل يعرف أحد كل ما يعرفه الجميع؟ إنها مؤامرة كبرى ضد الإسلام والمسلمين في الشرق والغرب!

11

لم أكن من قبل أبدا أومن بنظرية المؤامرة. ولكن منذ هجمات بروكسل، تغير كل شيء عندي، وأظن أن كل شيء أصبح واضحا لي. هذا الشر لا نهاية له، لأن أحدا لا يريد العودة إلى البداية، التي لا تقل بشاعة عن النهاية. والنهاية ستكون إما بترك الشر ينتصر، أو بهزيمة الشر. تسألونني ماذا تقصد؟ أقصد أن يتكلم الخير بوضوح وبصوت عال وبصوت واحد وبالعمل الموحد من جميع الذين يعرفون من أين يأتي الشر. ألا ترون أن الشر أعلى صوتا وأكثر فعالية من الخير. هذا ما يخيفني أكثر من غيره. السماح بانتصار الشر. ماذا تعني، تسألونني؟ حسنا، أظن أنكم قد تميلون لقبول قصة داعش (ISIL) عن الإسلام والمسلمين كما تنتشر الآن في جميع أنحاء العالم. قد يكون لديكم انطباع بأن داعش (ISIL) هم الذين يقاتلون من أجل شرف الإسلام وحرية المسلمين. وما دام الناس لا يدركون أن قصة داعش (ISIL) ليست قصة الإسلام، بل إنها حملة معادية للإسلام، وأن ما يفعله داعش (ISIL) لا يحرر المسلمين بل يستعبدهم، فلن يكون بالإمكان الوقوف في وجه الإرهاب الذي يدمر في هذه الأيام الشرق والغرب.

المقدس. وليس من واجب منظم هذا المؤتمر أن يكون بباله جدول زمني لصلوات المسلمين، بل كان من واجبي أن أذكّر المنظم ألا يطلب مني أن ألقي هذه الكلمة في وقت صلاة الجمعة. أنا واثق من أن المنظم لم يكن ليعترض على طلبي. ولكن أنا لم أطلب هذه الخدمة. أنا جازفت وستفوتني صلاة الجمعة.[5] قد تسألون لماذا قبلت هذا النوع من تأنيب الضمير، لأن ضميري لا يمكن أن يكون مطمئنا ما دمت أعصي الله.

6

ولكن، من ذا الذي يهمه سلامي مع الله، إذا كنت في سلام مع الجيران الأروبيين؟ هذا ما خطر ببالي اليوم. أردت أن أظهر لكم كم هو مهم بالنسبة لي رأيكم فيّ أنا المسلم من البوسنة. ظننت أنكم تريدون أن ترونني بهذه الطريقة. ولهذا السبب خفت أن أطلب منكم الخدمة لكي توفروا لي فسحة لأصلي اليوم في أحد مساجد فيينا العديدة. لا تدعوا هذا يزعجكم. ولا يجوز لومكم بسبب ذلك. فالذنب ذنبي، أنا المذنب، وأنا اليوم أحاكم نفسي بنفسي. لا أريد أن أسمع حكما من أي شخص عني، عن ديني، عن ثقافتي، عن أخلاقي وعن أدبي. لقد استمعت إلى ذلك بما فيه الكفاية كل يوم ومن كل الذين يعرفون والذين لا يعرفون عما يتحدثون. ببساطة أنا أخشى من أن أقول أي شيء. أخشى من أن أخطئ الهدف. أخشى أن أُتهم بالدفاع عن نفسي، أو بالتمرد على نفسي، أو بخداع نفسي، أو بالدفاع عن مصيري...

7

من فضلكم، اسمحوا لي أن أكون صادقا فأقول إنني أغبط صديقي اليهودي، الحاخام، الذي يمكن أن يحدث أوروبا عن شعوره تجاه معاداة السامية. أنا لا أتمتع بذاك الامتياز بأن أصرح بشعوري تجاه معاداة الإسلام أو الإسلاموفوبيا في أوروبا والبلقان، رغم أنها حاضرة في الآونة الأخيرة أكثر من معاداة السامية، أو على الأقل بنفس القدر. بدلا من ذلك، يجب علي أن أتكلم عن التطرف الإسلامي والتعصب الإسلامي والأصولية الإسلامية، والجهادية الإسلامية، وعن الخلافة الإسلامية وعن الداعشية وعن الانتحاريين المسلمين وعن الوهابية وعن السلفية وعن الإرهاب... يمكنكم أن تصدقوني عندما أقول لكم أنه لا يوجد لدي شيء جديد أضيفه إلى معلوماتكم المحزنة عن كل هذه القضايا. يبدو أن الكون كله مليء بتقارير إعلامية عادية، وبتقارير إعلامية واجتماعية خاصة عن الجرائم التي لا توصف والتي تم ارتكابها باسم الإسلام، رغم أن أحدا لا يعرف على وجه اليقين من هم مرتكبوها. أو الجميع يعرف بالضبط من هم، ولكن لا أحد يجرؤ أن يتحدث علنا عن هويتهم الحقيقية. إنهم هم الذين يرهبون ضمير البشرية لسنوات عديدة، ويبدو أنهم سيواصلون القيام بذلك لسنوات عديدة. بغض النظر عما أقوله لإدانة العنف باسم ديني، وأنه لا صلة لي من قريب أو بعيد به، فإنه لا يكفي، لأني غير قادر على منعه، لذا فكل إدانة مني لا قيمة لها، ومع ذلك، اسمحوا لي أن أبدي موقفي ليكون شهادة أحد مسلمي البوسنة الذي يتطلع إلى المواطنة الأروبية عن الهجمات الإرهابية الأخيرة في بروكسل.

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[5] استفدت من الرخصة التي تسمح للمسافر ألا يصلي الجمعة، ولكن من الأفضل لكل مسافر أن يصلي صلاة الجمعة في المسجد، أي، في الجماعة إذا أمكن.

3

في الواقع، من عهد سقراط إلى يسوع كانت الأفكار غير العادية والأديان جديدة تصنف على أنها سامة كالثعابين السامة؛ فسقراط شرب السم، لكي يحرر الأثينيين من أفكاره غير العادية. ويسوع – وفق الاعتقاد المسيحي،[3] صُلِبَ لكي ينقذ البشرية بتضحيته من الخطيئة. ومن كوبرنيكوس إلى مارتن لوثر كينغ، دفع حاملو الأفكار الجديدة والاعتقادات الصادقة ثمنا باهظا لأجل حرية الفكر وحقوق الإنسان. ومن ماركس إلى هتلر يلف أوروبا شبح الشيوعية والفاشية، شبح التطرف والغلو، شبح الشوفينية والتعصب القومي، شبح التعصب والخرافة، شبح الانفصال والإرهاب. ولا تزال أوروبا منذ المحرقة إلى الإبادة الجماعية تكافح لمعرفة ماذا قال زرادشت للقديس المسن في الغابة؟ هل الإله ميت؟[4] أوروبا لم تعد واثقة فيما إذا كان الإله حيا. أو يبدو أن الإله ليس ميتا ولا حيا. موقف أوروبا بين هذين الأمرين، بين إيمانها المفقود في الله وبحثها عن النفس البشرية، بين فنها المفتوح وثقافتها المنغلقة، بين أغنيتها الأخيرة وانفجارها الأول الكبير (بيغ بانغ). وأنا أعيش بين أمرين، بين الخوف والأمل. أخشى من أن يوصف ديني بالشبح الجديد الذي يخيم على أوروبا – شبح الإسلام مع المهاجرين من الشرق أو بدونهم. ورغم ذلك فإن الأمل في نفسي أقوى من الخوف. ربما أنا ساذج، ولكن لا يمكنني أن أتخلى عن الاعتقاد بأن أوروبا ستخرج من هذا الخوف ومن هذه الفوبيا، أشد قوة في التزامها بالديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان وسيادة القانون واحترام حياة الإنسان والعدالة الاجتماعية والسلام والأمن، وأنها وستلتزم بالمبدأ الذي يعطي الحق لكل إنسان بأن يختار هويته وأن يعيش بالطريقة التي يريد.

4

أنا أوروبي، وأفتخر بذلك، رغم كل شيء. وأنا أنتمي بنفس الدرجة إلى الفيلسوف الإسلامي الكبير أبو حامد محمد الغزال (ت 1111) كما أنتمي إلى الفيلسوف الأوروبي العظيم رينيه ديكارت (ت 1650) أو، إذا جاز التعبير، كلاهما ينتميان إليّ، لأنهما اعتقدا بأن العقل يمكن أن يعثر على الحقيقة في الرياضيات.

5

والآن اسمحوا لي أن أطلعكم على شيء يمكنكم أن تفكروا فيه لاحقا. فكما تعلمون، اليوم هو يوم الجمعة، وهو يوم من أيام الأسبوع الذي تقع فيه بالنسبة لي الصلاة المقدسة (صلاة الجمعة)، مثل القداس الإلهي للكاثوليك الذي يقع في يوم الأحد، وكما هو بالنسبة لليهود يوم السبت

[3] يعتقد المسلمون أن المسيح ابن مريم لم يصلب ، بل شبّه ذلك للناس فقط: "وما قتلوه وما صلبوه ولكن شبّه لهم ... بل رفعه الله إليه ..." (القرآن، 4: 157 -158).

[4] الإشارة إلى التلميح في كتاب "هكذا تكلم زرادشت" لفريدره نيتشه الذي يقول في بداية الكتاب بعنوان "مقدمة زرادشت": "وماذا يفعل القديس في الغابة" سأل زرادشت. وأجاب القديس، "أصنع الأغاني وأغنيها، وبصناعة الأغاني أنا أضحك، وأبكي، وأتذمر وبذلك أحمد الإله. بالغناء والضحك، والبكاء والتذمر أثني على الإله الذي هو إلهي ... وعندما بقي زرادشت وحده، هكذا كان يتكلم في قلبه: "هل ذلك ممكن! هذا القديس المسن في الغابة لا يعلم شيئا عن ذلك بأن الإله ميت!". أحدثت عبارة نيتشه هذه تحولا كبيرا في أوروبا فيما يتعلق بالإيمان بالإله حيث أنها تركت انطباعا بأن الإنسان يمكن أن يعيش وكأن الإله غير موجود.

السيد الرئيس،

السيدات والسادة،

سلام / شالوم / مرحبا،

أشكركم على إتاحة الفرصة لأتحدث إليكم في هذا المؤتمر في فيينا

1

أنا مسلم، وأنا فخور بذلك، وعلاوة على ذلك، أنا مسلم رسمي في لباس المفتي. نعم، هذا صحيح، لقد أمضيت قرابة عشرين عاما رئيسا للعلماء ومفتيا عامّا في البوسنة والهرسك. لقد أُعْفِيتُ من منصب المفتي، لكني لم أَعْفُ من رسالة المفتي. أريد أن أؤكد أنني لست مهاجرا. كنت مهاجرا في أمريكا، حيث عشت تجربة جميلة في شيكاغو في ثمانينيات القرن الماضي. في الواقع، تمثل مدينة شيكاغو النوع المفضل من المدن عندي. اثنان من أولادي ولدا في تلك المدينة. لكنني لم أكن أرغب البقاء في شيكاغو، فعدت أو "هاجرت" إلى أوروبا. عدت إلى أرض أجدادي، إلى وطني البوسنة. ما كان ليخطر ببالي أنني سأصبح أصبح عاجزا، بلا بيت، ولا أرض، ولا بدون وطن، حتى سمعت سياسيا من بيئتي يقول: "لا شك أنكم ستقودون البوسنة والهرسك إلى الجحيم والشعب المسلم ربما إلى الفناء ...".[1] لقد دفعني هذا التصريح الإبادي إلى التفكير بأن الناس لم يولدوا بلا حول ولا قوة، ولا مأوى، ولا أرض، ولا وطن، ولكن الذي يجعلهم كذلك هم أناس بلا قلب، وبلا عقل وبلا شعور وبلا ضمير. وهكذا، فإن موجة من المهجّرين[2] غير المسبوقة من الشرق إلى أوروبا، ليست مدعاة لقلق أحد. إنها في الواقع نتيجة تهاون البعض في مراقبة المعتوهين الذين لا يشعرون بحقوق الإنسان.

2

أنا بوسني، وأفتخر بذلك. أجدادي هم البوسنيون الطيبون، البوشانق، الذين اعتنقوا الإسلام في القرن الخامس عشر. وكانوا قبل ذلك يمارسون شكلا من أشكال النصرانية. كانوا أتباع الكنيسة البوسنية المستقلة، وكانت كنيستهم تعتبر من قبل الكنيستين الكاثوليكية والأرثوذكسية كنيسة هرطقة. وغني عن القول إن أيا من الأديان الإبراهيمية الثلاثة: اليهودية والمسيحية والإسلام لم تنشأ في أوروبا، بل كلها هاجرت إلى أوروبا، فاعتنقتها أوروبا في أوقات مختلفة من التاريخ وتحت ظروف تاريخية مختلفة وبحرارة أو برودة مختلفة. وبطبيعة الحال، كان لأوروبا دينها المحلي أو أديانها المحلية، فاستبدلتها في نهاية المطاف بالأديان المهاجرة من الشرق. ولكن، هل يمكن للدين أن يكون مهاجرا؟ هل يمكن للفكرة أن تكون دخيلا؟ هل يمكن للثقافة أن تكون أجنبية؟ هل يمكن للأغنية أن تكون صوتا مسموما؟

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[1] من كلام رادوفان كراجيتش في البرلمان البوسني، في ليلة 14-15 أكتوبر 1991. مهددا مواطني البوسنة والهرسك ماذا سيحدث لهم، ومعظمهم من البوشانق المسلمين، إذا اختاروا اجراء الاستفتاء على استقلال البوسنة عن يوغوسلافيا الشيوعية التي كانت تواجه التفكك بعد انحلال الكتلة الشيوعية وعلى رأسها الاتحاد السوفيتي.

[2] المهجرون ليسوا لاجئين، بل هم مطاردون مهجّرون، شخص ما يجعلك تترك منزلك ووطنك. اللاجئ السوري يهرب، ولكن ليس لأنه يفضل أوروبا عن سوريا، بل لأنه يتعرض للاضطهاد في وطنه، والذين يطاردونهم أناس بلا روح ولا قلب. إنهم يطلبون الأمان فرارا من مطارديهم. فهم، بالتالي، مهجّرون، expellees، وليسوا هاربين fugitives.

مؤتمر فيينا

بتنظيم كل من:

الأكاديمية الديبلوماسية في فيينا

معهد الدراسات الاستراتيجية

النادي الثالث

العنوان:

قاطرة التعاون في أوروبا الوسطى والبلقان

الجمعة، 8 من أبريل 2016

الجلسة الثانية:

أولويات التعاون – تحديات التطرف المتراكمة:

الإسلاميون، معاداة السامية، سياسات التيارات اليمينية

تقديم:

فضيلة الشيخ د. مصطفى تسيريتش

المفتي العام السابق في البوسنة والهرسك

ورئيس مركز الوسطية للحوار بسراييفو

***

لكل منا طريقه الذي يختاره لنفسه في هذه الحياة،
ولكن لا ضير أن يأخذ كل منا شيئا من الآخر أينما كان!

***



4 إن التهم التي يعاني منها المسلمون ظُلما، تحتم على إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين الموجه إلى العالم الإسلامي أن ينجح في التركيز على ضرورة تغيير الصورة العالمية السيئة للمسلمين إلى صورة عالمية جيدة، خصوصا فيما يتعلق بأمور عقيدتهم

5 لا بد لمركز الإسلام من أن يأخذ الدور الرائد في تقديم توجه عالمي في الأمور العملية في ديننا العالمي؛ وفي قضايا عصرنا العالمية؛ وفي الحوار العالمي مع جيراننا.

6 يجب على المسلمين أينما كانوا أن يثبتوا للعالم كلّه أن الإسلام عقيدة صادقة وشريعة عادلة، وأنه ثقافة جذّابة وسياسة سلمية؛ وأنّه شعب طيب وأرض غنية؛ وأن الإسلام يمثل الرجل الحكيم في الشرق والرجل العقلاني في الغرب.

7 من الخطأ إدانة الإسلام لقلة الديمقراطية في العالم الإسلامي؛ وإنه لذنب أن تنتهك حقوق الإنسان باسم الإسلام؛ وإنها لجريمة ضدّ الإسلام التسامح مع نسبة الأميّة العالية في العالم الإسلامي وأن نرى هذه الهوة الضخمة في العالم الإسلامي بين الغنى الفاحش والفقر المدقع.

8 يحق للمسلمين الأوروبيين بل ويجب عليهم أن يطرحوا هذه المسائل وغيرها والتي تؤثر على مستقبل أبنائهم الذين يبحثون عن هويتهم وعما يجب عليهم فعله كمسلمين في بيئة أوروبية.

9 إن المسلمين الأوروبيين يطالبون الأمة الإسلامية أن تأخذ دورها الريادي في تحقيق السلام والأمن في العالم.

10 إن العالم الإسلامي أمة شرعية ينبغي لها أن تكون قادرة على تحقيق واجبها كأمة خيرة أخلاقيا ومتوازنة عقليا وعادلة اقتصاديا وفاعلة عالميا، وجديرة بالثقة والتعاون والصداقة في كل مكان.

- **كن مدركا لِغَدِك!**

يقدم القرآن الكريمة برهانا واضحا بأنّه يحق لنا، بل ويجب علينا أن نخطط لمستقبلنا وأن نؤمن بأنّ مستقبلنا يمكن أن يكون أفضل من ماضينا. ومن الغريب جدا كيف توصل البعض إلى فكرة أن المستقبل الإسلامي ميؤوس منه وأن الأمل موجود فقط في الماضي الإسلامي كطريقة حياة وهدف تاريخي. هذه الفكرة ليس لها أساس في الإسلام. فقد علّمنا الله سبحانه وتعالى أنه {وَلَلآخِرَةُ خَيْرٌ لَّكَ مِنَ الأُولَى}، لكن المنطق العامّ يخبرنا بأنّنا لا نستطيع تغيير ماضينا، لكن يمكننا بعون الله صياغة مستقبلنا. لذا، فنحن غير مسؤولين عما مضى من تاريخ المسلمين. ويجب أن لا يخشى المسلمون من التفكير في مستقبلهم بنفس القدر الذي لا ينبغي لهم فيه أن يكونوا أسرى لماضيهم. فالمسلمون لديهم مستقبل لأنهم يؤمنون بالله، ولديهم إيمان بالله لأنهم يعتقدون بأنّ الحقيقة والعدالة ستسودان.

ثالثا
إلى الأمة الإسلامية بأنّ إحساس المسلمين الأوروبيين هو:

1 الأمة الإسلامية هي مجتمع إسلامي عالمي يوحده الإيمان بالله الواحد وبالرسالة الخاتمة التي بعث بها محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

2 لا ينبغي لفكرة الوعي العولمي أن تكون شيئا غريبا على المسلمين. فالإسلام في جوهره دين شامل وظاهرة عالمية. ومن الملائم جدا أن يقدم المسلمون جدول أعمال للعولمة في الحرية والأمن العالميين لأنهم منتشرون في كل بقعة من الكرة الأرضية ولذا فإن حريتهم وأمنهم شأن عالمي.

3 لم يكن المسلمون وحدهم الذين أخفقوا بتقديم تصور أصيل للعولمة، لكنّهم، وبشكل عام، يفشلون الآن بالعيش في ظروف العالم المشترك. المسلمون ليس لديهم إستراتيجية عالمية؛ وليس لديهم عقل ورأس عالمي؛ وليس لديهم تقويم عالمي موحد ينقذهم من حرج الخلاف حول تحديد موعد عيد الأضحى. ولسوء الحظ، ينظر إليهم على أنهم يهددون حرية العالم وأمنه؛ لأنهم موصومون بالإرهاب العالمي.

- **اقرأ وتعلّم!**

لم يبدأ الوحي بأولوية الإيمان، بل بأولوية المعرفة. فالله عز وجل لم يسأل محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يؤمن، بل طلب منه أن يقرأ ويتعلّم بما يؤمن وكيف يؤمن، هذا لأن الإنسان يولد على الفطرة، فلا توجد حاجة أن يطلب منه الإيمان لأنه مغروس في روحه. لكن هناك حاجة لتذكير الرجل بأنّه يجب أن يقرأ ويتعلّم الإيمان الموجود في روحه. لذا فالإنسان يحتاج لمعرفة مع الإيمان إضافة إلى إيمان مع المعرفة.

- **آمن واعمل بجدّ!**

الإنسان لا يعيش في عالم من الروحانية الخالصة البعيدة عن المادة، ولا في عالم مادي صِرْفٍ بدون روح. إنّ سرّ النجاح يكمن في جمع الإنسان لهذين الجانبين في نفسه، أي الروح والجسد، وبعبارة أخرى، إن غرض حياة الإنسان في نشاط روحه وذلك هو الإيمان، وفي نشاط جسمه وذلك هو العمل الشاقّ. ولن يستعيد المسلمون كرامتهم إلا إذا تم ردم الهوة الكبيرة الحاجزة بين إيمان القلب وقدرة العقل.

- **كن تقيا وأحسن إلى والديك!**

هذا تأكيد قرآني على العلاقة بين عبادة الله وبر الآباء، ورسالة قوية لكلٍّ من الشرق والغرب. فالرسالة إلى الشرق ألا يستسلم للضغوط التي تطالبه بالتخلّي عن القيم العائليّة؛ والرسالة إلى الغرب أن يتوقف عن التلاعب الخطير بمستقبل الإنسانية. إذ لا يوجد بديل لمؤسسة الأسرة. وقضية القيم العائليّة ليست مجرد مطلب أخلاقي للمجتمع الإنساني، بل هي شرط أساسي لبقاء البشرية. وإن محاولة كسر القانون العام للحياة العائلية تعادل محاولة كسر القانون العام لطبيعة شروق الشمس من الشرق. وكما أن أحدا من المخلوقات لن يقدر على كسر قانون شروق الشمس من الشرق، فإن أحدا لن يستطيع كسر قانون الحياة الأسرية ما دامت الشمس تشرق من المشرق بإذن الله العلي القدير.

- **كن شريفا وناضل من أجل حقوقك**

إن النجاح في الدنيا والنجاة في الآخرة لا يحدثان تلقائيا، بل يجب على المرء أن يسعى إلى تحقيق النجاح، ويجب على المرء في هذه الحياة الدنيا أن يكافح من أجل حقوقه، كما يجب عليه أن يعمل من أجل الفلاح في الآخرة؛ أي يجب عليه أن يستحقّ رحمة الله. إنّ الاختلاف بين الشرق والغرب يتمثل في أن الشرق يعوّل على رحمة الله أكثر من تعويله على العمل الشاقّ، بينما يعتمد الغرب على العمل الشاقّ أكثر من اعتماده على رحمة الله.

2 يجب أن يكون المسلمون الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أكثر اهتماما بمسؤولياتهم من حرياتهم لأنهم بأدائهم لمسؤولياتهم في الحياة الأوروبية الثقافية والسياسية والاقتصادية، المسلمون سوف يكسبون حقّهم بالحرية. لذلك، فإن حرية المسلمين الأوروبيين لن تكون صدقة من أحد، بل قيمة مكتسبة لا يمكن لأحد أن ينكرها أو يسلبهم إياها.

3 يجب على المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أن يقدموا الإسلام إلى الجمهور الغربي الجمهور الغربي على أنه رؤية شاملة لحياة الانسان (Waltanschuung)، وليس ثقافة قوميّة أو عرقية أو عشائرية. ولا يمكن للمسلمين أن يتوقعوا من الأوربيين تقديرهم لرسالة الإسلام العالمية إذا كانوا يقدمونه لهم ملونا بلون عرقي أو قومي. وكما أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يمكنهم أن يستأثروا بإعجاب الجمهور الأوروبي من خلال عرض عالمية الإسلام، فإن أوروبا تعتبر مكانا جيدا لكي يكتشف المسلمون أنفسُهم قوّة عالميّة الإسلام وجماله.

4 يجب على المسلمين أن يكونوا صادقين فيعترفوا بأنّ الكثيرين منهم اكتشفوا الإسلام في أوروبا على نحو مختلف كليا من وطنهم الاصلي، لأنهم هنا في اوروبا يقابلون إخوانهم المسلمين من أجزاء أخرى من العالم الإسلامي، يبدؤون باحترام التنويع في التجربة والثقافة الإسلامية. المسلمون الذين يعيشون في أوروبا يمتلكون الحقّ، بل الواجبَ لتطوير ثقافتهم الأوروبية الخاصة للإسلام كبرهان التفاعل الثالث بين الشرق والغرب وكحاجة لعصر نهضة جديد يقود الإنسانية نحو عالم أفضل وأكثر أمانا.

5 يجب على الشباب المسلم الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أن يكون قويا روحيا وجريئا فكريا فيكسر الآراء النمطية عند المسلمين أنفسهم قبل أن يطلب من الآخرين تغيير أفكارهم النمطية. يجب على الشباب المسلم أن يأخذ بزمام القيادة في السير نحو مستقبله، وأن لا ينتظر من الشيوخ أن يحلّوا له مشاكله. وينبغي للشباب المسلم ألا يخجل من أخذ مركز الصدارة في قيادة المسلمين الذي يعيشون في أوروبا نحو مستقبل أفضل.

6 يجب على المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أن يلزموا أنفسهم بأولويات دينهم التالية:

- حماية المسلمين الأوروبيين من كراهية الإسلام والتطهير العرقي والإبادة الجماعية وما شابهه.

6 المسلمون الأوروبيون ملتزمون ببرنامج مشترك شامل للحوار الديني الذي سيؤدي إلى:

- بناء الوعي لتعقيدات السياق العلماني الذي تعيش ضمنه الأديان اليوم.
- الترويج لفهم الاختلافات واحترامها واستكشاف الأرضية المشتركة.
- تأكيد الهوية الدينية كأداة مهمة للتعامل مع عدم الأمان والتصادم، ولتعلّم الاحترام والعيش مع الاختلاف في حالات النزاع.
- الإسهام في العملية المتنامية حول حقوق الإنسان.
- خلق الفهم للغير والمغاير.
- إظهار العلاقة المعقّدة بين الدين والثقافة والسياسة والاقتصاد، وإبراز العوامل التي تقود نحو إسهامات الأديان الإيجابية في الجهود المشتركة لإحقاق الحق والعدالة والسلام.
- تحديد المبادئ الدينية والقيم الأخلاقية والمعايير، القابلة للمقارنة والتي يمكن التفاوض حولها من أجل حياة مشتركة؛ وتلك التي تخص كل دين من الأديان؛ والتعرف على الاختلافات والتوتّرات ومظاهر سوء الفهم المحتملة بين القيم الأخلاقية في الأديان المختلفة.
- إبراز التجارب التاريخية الإيجابية وإحياء الذكريات عن حسن الجوار والعيش المشتركة كجزء من تاريخ أوروبا.
- تأسيس قاعدة مشتركة للتعايش الديني في روح من النوايا الحسنة الموجودة في الكتب السماوية وفي الأمل بمستقبلنا المشترك.

ثانيا

إلى المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا بأنّ إحساس المسلمين الأوروبيين هو:

1 يجب أن يدرك المسلمون الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أنّ الحرية ليست هدية تُمنح. بل على المسلمين في أوروبا أن يسعوا لكسب حريتهم، ويجب أن يتم الاعتراف بالوضع العامّ للمسلمين بالرغم من معارضة المتخوفين من الأجانب.

المهتمون بمصالحهم الذاتية في موقع أولي من المساواة كتعريف للشروط الأساسية في مجتمعهم". (جون راولس)؛

3 العقد من فعل العقل بينما الميثاق إرادة القلب أو الإيمان. لذلك، فالمسلم رجل مخلص لله بإرادة قلبه / إيمانه؛ والمواطن رجل ملتزم بواجبات تجاه الدولة كفعل ناتج عن عقله. وبالميثاق يعطي الرجل قلبه إلى الله فيحصل مقابل ذلك على الطمأنينة الداخلية؛ وبالعقد يعطي عقله للدولة فيحصل مقابل ذلك على الأمن الاجتماعي كساكن مدينة أو بلدة. إن المواطن يتمتع بحقوق وامتيازات الرجل الحرّ، وهو فرد من مواطني الدولة، وهو مواطن أصلي أو متجنّس يدين بالولاء للحكومة وله الحق بأن تقدم له تلك الحكومة الحماية لحياته ودينه وحريته وممتلكاته وكرامته؛

4 المسلمون الأوروبيون ملتزمون بشكل تام وصريح بالقيم الأوروبية المشتركة الآتية:

- سيادة القانون؛
- مبادئ التسامح؛
- قيم الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان؛
- الاعتقاد بأن كلّ إنسان يمتلك الحقّ بالقيم الضرورية الخمس: النفس والدين والعقل والمال والعرض؛

5 المسلمون الأوروبيون وهم يسعون للحصول على حياة محترمة في أوروبا، فإنهم يتوقعون الآتي:

- الوضع المؤسسي للإسلام في أوروبا،
- النمو الاقتصادي للجالية الإسلامية، مما يحقق لها الحرية والاستقلال التامّين في المجالين الروحي والثقافي؛
- تطوير المدارس الإسلامية القادرة على تعليم المسلمين المولودين في أوروبا لمواجهة التحديات الجديدة في المجتمعات المتعدّدة الثقافات؛
- الحرية السياسية التي ستمكّن المسلمين الأوروبيين من أن يكون لديهم ممثلوهم الشرعيون في برلمانات الدول الأوروبية؛
- التخفيف من سياسة الهجرة الأوروبية التى تميل مؤخرا إلى التضييق الشديد على المسلمين؛
- فتح الطريق أمام الاعتراف بالأحكام الشرعية في أمور الأحوال الشخصية مثل أحكام الأسرة؛

آدم ونفس الأمّ حواء؛ انطلاقا من قوله تعالى: {يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالاً كَثِيرًا وَنِسَاء وَاتَّقُواْ اللّهَ الَّذِي تَسَاءلُونَ بِهِ وَالأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ اللّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا} (النساء، 1). ومشتركون في الهواء الذي يتنفّسون وإشراق الشمس الذي يرون كلّ يوم؛ ومشتركون في إيمان بابراهيم عليه السلام وسفينة النجاة التي بناها نوح عليه السلام؛ ومشتركون في حبّهم لمريم العذراء واحترامهم لابنها المسيح عيسى عليه السلام؛ ومشتركون في القصص الحقيقية عن موسى عليه السلام وقومه الموجّهين إلهيا عبر صحراء سيناء؛ ومشتركون في الكلام المبين للقرآن الكريم والحياة النموذجية للنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وأنهم ليس لهم خيار سوى قبول أخلاق المشاركة كطريق صحيح نحو مستقبل أفضل للجميع.

وحيث أن الإسلام يعلّم المسلمين بأن اليهود والنصارى أهل الكتاب ولذا يجب على جميع اليهود، والنصارى، والمسلمين أن يتعلّموا كيف يتقاسمون جذورهم الروحية المشتركة وآمالهم المستقبلية المشتركة بدون تحيّز لكي يتفادوا التمييز، ونقص احترام الذات وانهيار المعنويات، والكراهية الدينية والعرقية، والعجز، ونقص السيطرة، والانعزال الاجتماعي وقلة الفرص، والتبعية السياسية،

وحيث أن أوروبا قارة مشتركة للعديد من الأديان؛

وحيث أن أوروبا فخورة بطريقها من العبودية إلى الحرية، ومن الأساطير إلى العلم، ومن التسلط بالقوة إلى الحقّ والقانون، ومن نظرية الدولة إلى شرعية الدولة، بالإضافة إلى التزام أوروبا بالقيم الأساسية لحقوق الإنسان والديمقراطية؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يريدون أن يكونوا جزء من الحياة والازدهار الأوروبي بالإضافة إلى المساهمة في تطوير المجتمعات الأوروبية أخلاقيا وثقافيا وسياسيا واجتماعيا:

فإن المسلمون الاوروبيّين يعلنون:

أولا
إلى الاتحاد الأوربي بأنّ إحساس المسلمين الأوروبيين هو:

1 إنّ أوروبا دار السلام والأمن المبنية على مبدأ العقد الاجتماعي (The Social Contract)؛

2 تمثل أرض أوروبا بيت العقد الاجتماعي لأنه من الممكن للفرد فيها أن يعيش ملتزما بدينه وذلك ضمن سياق "المبادئ التي يتبناها الأفراد الأحرار والعاقلون

إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين

إظهارا لإحساس المسلمين الأوروبيين بشأن هجمات نيويورك وواشنطن
في سبتمبر/أيلول 2001، ومذبحة مدريد في مارس/آذار 2004،
وتفجيرات لندن في يوليو/تموز 2005

حيث أن الهجمات الإرهابية على مركز التجارة العالمي في نيويورك في الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001 قتلت الآلاف من الرجال والنساء وهم يمارسون عملهم، بينما وقع المئات من المسافرين ضحايا لتفجيرات القطارات في مدريد في الحادي عشر من مارس/آذار 2004، وراح العشرات من المسافرين الأبرياء ضحايا تفجيرات لندن في السابع من يوليو/تموز 2005، وبينما توصف كل أعمال العنف هذه الموجهة ضدّ الإنسانية بالـ "الإرهاب الإسلامي"؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين بعد هجمات نيويورك وواشنطن، ومذبحتي مدريد ولندن يعيشون تحت وطأة الإدانة الجماعية لما يسمى بالـ "الإرهاب الإسلامي" والتي أخذت حدتها تتزايد من قبَل بعض السياسيين وأجهزة الإعلام؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يعتقدون جازمين بأنه لا توجد إدانة جماعية، بل مسؤولية فردية؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يعانون من مظاهر "كراهية الإسلام" بسبب التغطية غير المسؤولة من بعض أجهزة الإعلام لقضايا المسلمين في أوروبا؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يحبّون الحرية للآخرين كما يحبّونها لأنفسهم ويقدّرون المواطنة وحقوق الإنسان في المجتمعات المتعدّدة الثقافات؛

وحيث أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يودّون أن يربّوا أطفالهم بسلام وأمن مع باقي الطوائف الدينية الأخرى في أوروبا، على أساس المسلّمة التي تقول بأن اليهود والنصارى والمسلمين يشتركون في الاعتقاد بالإله الواحد الذي خلقنا كلّنا من نفس واحدة ثمّ نثرنا كالبذور أناسِيَّ لا نقدر على حصرها؛ وأنهم مشتركون في نفس الأبّ

عالمية. ومن الملائم جدا أن يقدم المسلمون جدول أعمال للعولمة في الحرية والأمن عالمي لأنهم منتشرون في كل مكان على الكرة الأرضية ولذا فإن حريتهم وأمنهم شأن عالمي.

لم يخفق المسلمون بتقديم تصور أصيل للعولمة و حسب، لكنّهم، وبشكل عام، يفشلون الآن بالعيش في ظروف العولمة. للاسف، فالمسلمون اليوم ليس لديهم إستراتيجية عالمية؛ وليس لديهم عقل ورأس عالمي؛ وليس لديهم تقويم عالمي موحد ينقذهم من حرج الخلاف حول تحديد موعد عيد الأضحى. ولسوء الحظ، ينظر إليهم على أنهم يهددون حرية العالم وأمنه؛ لأنهم موصومون بالإرهاب العالمي.

إن التهم التي يعاني منها المسلمون ظُلما، تحتم على إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين الموجه إلى العالم الإسلامي أن ينجح في التركيز على ضرورة تغيير الصورة العالمية السيئة للمسلمين إلى صورة عالمية جيدة، خصوصا ما يتعلق بأمور عقيدتهم.
ولا بد لمركز الإسلام من أن يأخذ الدور الرائد في تقديم توجه عالمي في الأمور العملية في ديننا العالمي؛ وفي قضايا عصرنا العالمية؛ وفي الحوار العالمي مع جيراننا.

وإنني كمسلم أوربي الأصل، وكأوروبي إسلامي الاعتقاد، أتوقع من إخواني المسلمين أينما كانوا أن يثبتوا للعالم كلّه أن الإسلام عقيدة صادقة وشريعة عادلة، وأنه ثقافة جذّابة وسياسة سلمية؛ وأنّه شعب طيب وأرض غنية؛ وأن الإسلام يمثل الرجل الحكيم في الشرق والرجل العقلاني في الغرب.

لمستقبلنا وأن نؤمن بأنّ مستقبلنا يمكن أن يكون أفضل من ماضينا .ومن الغريب جدا كيف توصل البعض إلى فكرة أن المستقبل الإسلامي ميؤوس منه وأن الأمل موجود فقط في الماضي الإسلامي كطريقة حياة وهدف تاريخي. هذه الفكرة ليس لها أساس في الإسلام. فقد علّم الله سبحانه وتعالى نبيه محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم {وَلَلآخِرَةُ خَيْرٌ لَّكَ مِنَ الأُولَى}، لكن المنطق العامّ يخبرنا بأنّنا لا نستطيع تغيير ماضينا، لكن يمكننا بعون الله صياغة مستقبلنا.

لذا، فنحن لسنا مسؤولين عما مضى من تاريخ المسلمين، لكنّنا مسؤولون عن التاريخ الإسلامي المستقبلي. {تِلْكَ أُمَّةٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَلَكُم مَّا كَسَبْتُمْ وَلاَ تُسْأَلُونَ عَمَّا كَانُواْ يَعْمَلُونَ} (البقرة، 141). لذا، يجب أن لا يخشى المسلمون من التفكير في مستقبلهم بنفس القدر الذي لا ينبغي لهم فيه أن يكونوا أسرى لماضيهم. فالمسلمون لديهم مستقبل لأنهم يؤمنون بالله، ولديهم إيمان بالله لأنهم يعتقدون بأنّ الحقيقة والعدالة ستسودان.

الجزء الثالث
الأمّـة الإسلامية
(العالم الإسلامي)

الأمة الإسلامية هي مجتمع إسلامي عالمي يوحده الإيمان بالله الواحد وبالرسالة الخاتمة التي جاء بها محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم. يعتقد المسلمون بأنّ الأمة وريث شرعي للرسالات المتعاقبة من آدم عليه السلام إلى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم مرورا بنوح وإبراهيم وموسى وعيسى وغيرهم من النبيين عليهم السلام. فالإسلام دين شامل لأنه يعترف بوجود الشرائع الأخرى، وهو يلزم أتباعه، ذكورا وإناثا، بالترويج للاحترام المتبادل بين أتباع الشرائع السماوية، لذا، فالإسلام بطبيعته دين عالمي.

وبالرغم من أن شيئا من الغموض يكتنف مفهوم العولمة، إلا أن تأثيرها محسوس تقريبا في كافة ميادين الحياة: الدينية والثقافية والاقتصادية والسياسية. وينبغي لفكرة الوعي العالمي ألا تكون غريبة على المسلمين. فالإسلام في جوهره دين عالمي وظاهرة

وفي الوقت الحاضر يوجد تناقض كبير بين القلب الإسلامي والجوارح الإسلامية؛ كما توجد فجوة كبيرة بين الإيمان الإسلامي والعمل الإسلامي، ولن تكون هنالك كرامة إسلامية ما لم تُردم هذه الفجوة بتضافر إيمان القلب وجهد العقل.

كن تقيا وأحسن إلى والديك

{وَقَضَى رَبُّكَ أَلاَّ تَعْبُدُواْ إِلاَّ إِيَّاهُ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا ...} (الإسراء، 23).

هذا تأكيد قرآني على العلاقة بين عبادة الله وبر الآباء و رسالة قوية لكلٍّ من الشرق والغرب.
فالرسالة إلى الشرق ألا يستسلم للضغوط التي تطالبه بالتخلّي عن القيم العائليّة؛ والرسالة إلى الغرب أن يتوقف عن التلاعب الخطير بمستقبل الإنسانية. إذ لا يوجد بديل لمؤسسة الأسرة. وقضية القيم العائليّة ليست مجرد مطلب أخلاقي للمجتمع الإنساني، بل هي أيضا شرط أساسي لبقاء البشرية. إن محاولة كسر القانون العام للحياة العائلية تعادل محاولة كسر القانون العام لطبيعة شروق الشمس من الشرق.

كن شريفا وناضل من أجل حقوقك

{وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ ...} (الحج، 78).

إن النجاح في الدنيا والنجاة في الآخرة لا يحدثان تلقائيا، بل يجب على المرء أن يسعى إلى تحقيق النجاح، ويجب على المرء في هذه الحياة الدنيا أن يكافح من أجل حقوقه، كما يجب عليه أن يعمل من أجل النجاة في الآخرة؛ أي يجب عليه أن يستحقّ رحمة الله. إنّ الاختلاف بين الشرق والغرب يتمثل في أن الشرق يعوّل أكثر على رحمة الله من اعتماده على العمل الشاقّ، بينما يعتمد الغرب على العمل الشاقّ أكثر من اعتماده على رحمة الله.

كن مدركا لغدك

{يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللهَ وَلْتَنظُرْ نَفْسٌ مَّا قَدَّمَتْ لِغَدٍ وَاتَّقُوا اللهَ إِنَّ اللهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ} (الحشر، 18).

تقدم هذه الآية الكريمة برهانا واضحا بأنّه يحق لنا، بل ويجب علينا أن نخطط

وذاك. وبالطبع، يمتلك المسلمون الأوروبيون الحقّ بالتمسك بِمُثل الشرق، ولكنّهم ملزمون بمواجهة واقع الغرب أيضا.

وليست حقائق الغرب هي فقط القاسية، بل إن مُثُل الشرق لم تعد كما كانت عليه في السابق. وفي الحقيقة، إن المسلمين الأوروبيين قادرون الآن على أن يجعلوا من بعض مثُل الشرق واقعا في كلٍّ من الشرق والغرب، وهذا في الحقيقة يعتبر المهمّة الأكثر صعوبة لمسلمي اليوم، أن يكونوا الطليعة في الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر، وهو أيضا الطريق الصحيح للأمة لكي تستعيد كرامتها في زمان اليأس، وهنا تكمن قوّة التعليم الأخلاقي للإسلام في نظرته الأخلاقية الواسعة التي تجيء من فكرة الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر، الفكرة التي منها قد تشتقّ الأولويات الأخلاقية التالية:

اقرأ وتعلّم!

{اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ} (العلق، 1).

وهذا يعني أن الوحي لم يبدأ بأولوية الإيمان، بل بأولوية المعرفة. فالله عز وجل لم يسأل محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يؤمن، بل طلب منه أن يقرأ ويتعلّم بما يؤمن وكيف يؤمن، هذا لأن الإنسان يولد على الفطرة، فلا توجد حاجة أن يطلب منه الإيمان لأنه مغروس في روحه. لكن هناك حاجة لتذكير الرجل بأنّه يجب أن يقرأ ويتعلّم الإيمان الموجود في روحه. لذا فالإنسان يحتاج لمعرفة مع الإيمان إضافة إلى إيمان مع المعرفة وهنا يحتاج كل من الشرق والغرب للإسلام ليعلمهم، الشرق لمزاولة المعرفة والغرب لتقدير الإيمان.

آمن واعمل بجدّ

{وَعَدَ اللهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ وَعَمِلُواْ الصَّالِحَاتِ لَهُم مَّغْفِرَةٌ وَأَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ} (التوبة، 9).

الإنسان لا يعيش في عالم من الروحانية الخاصة البعيدة عن المادة، ولا في عالم مادي صِرْفٍ بدون روح. إنّ سرّ النجاح يكمن في جمع الإنسان لهذين الجانبين في نفسه، أي الروح والجسد، وبعبارة أخرى، إن غرض حياة الإنسان في نشاط روحه وذلك الإيمان، وفي نشاط جسمه وذلك العمل الشاقّ. ولن يستعيد المسلمون كرامتهم إلا إذا تعلموا كيف يقيمون التوازن بين قوتي التقدم هاتين: إيمان القلب وعمل الجوارح.

وفي الحقيقة نحن بحاجة ماسة لكي نقِرّ بأن الإسلام فوق الشرق والغرب، وذلك للأسباب الآتية: **أولا**: لأن الإسلام إيمان ودين؛ ثقافة وسياسة؛ بشر وأرض؛ شرق وغرب. إن هذا المعنى المزدوج متلازم مع المعنى الكامل للإسلام لأن الإسلام إيمان عميق في قلب الفرد ودين سهل التمييز في الضمير الجماعي؛ الإسلام ثقافة فريدة للعالم وسياسة واقعية للكرة الأرضية؛ الإسلام عدد ضخم من الناس منتشرين في شتى أرجاء العالم وأرض واسعة الامتداد في قلب الكوكب؛ الإسلام نموذج في الشرق لا يمكن محوه، وحضور في الغرب لا مفر منه.

ثانيا: الإسلام فوق الشرق والغرب استنادا إلى قوله تعالى: {لَّيْسَ الْبِرَّ أَن تُوَلُّواْ وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ وَلَـكِنَّ الْبِرَّ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَالْمَلآئِكَةِ وَالْكِتَابِ وَالنَّبِيِّينَ وَآتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَابْنَ السَّبِيلِ وَالسَّآئِلِينَ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلاَةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَالْمُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إِذَا عَاهَدُواْ وَالصَّابِرِينَ فِي الْبَأْسَاء والضَّرَّاء وَحِينَ الْبَأْسِ أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ} (البقرة، 177).

وثالثا: الإسلام فوق الشرق والغرب لأن اليهود والنصارى والمسلمين يشتركون في الاعتقاد بالإله الواحد الذي خلقنا كلّنا من نفس واحدة ثمّ نثرنا كالبذور أناسِيَّ لا نقدر على حصرها؛ إنهم مشتركون في نفس الأبّ آدم ونفس الأمّ حواء؛ ومشتركون بالهواء الذي يتنفّسون وإشراق الشمس الذي يرون كلّ يوم؛ ومشتركون في إيمان إبراهيم عليه السلام وسفينة النجاة التي بناها نوح عليه السلام؛ ومشتركون في حبّهم لمريم العذراء واحترامهم لابنها المسيح عيسى عليه السلام؛ ومشتركون في القصص الحقيقية عن موسى عليه السلام وقومه الموجّهون إلهيا عبر صحراء سيناء؛ ومشتركون في الكلام المبين للقرآن الكريم والحياة النموذجية للنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وهم ليس لهم خيار سوى قبول أخلاق المشاركة كطريق صحيح نحو مستقبل أفضل للجميع. وبناء على ما قد قيل، فإنه من الواضح أن الإسلام سيبقى دائما فوق الشرق والغرب. وسيواصل الشرق دعوته للمثل العليا وسيواجه الغرب واقع علاقته بالإسلام والمسلمين. ويجب على المسلمين الأوروبيين أن يجدوا مكانهم للبقاء في أوروبا ضمن سياق مُثُل الإسلام العليا وواقعيته.

وبينما يتخذ الإسلام موقعه فوق الشرق والغرب، فالمسلمون ليسوا كذلك، أي أنهم ليسوا فوق الشرق والغرب ولا حتى بين الشرق والغرب. هم الآن في وسط كلّ هذا

وأن المسلمين مؤهّلون لتمتع بما وهبهم الله من الحرية والديمقراطية الشريفة وحقوق الإنسان المشروعة. ويجب ألا يُعَامَلَ المسلمون كأطفال قاصرين وعاجزين عن تحمّل مسؤولية الحرية وتحدي الديمقراطية وشرعية حقوق الإنسان.

فالإسلام لم يكن أبدا سببا لإلغاء الحرية أو الحجر عليها. بل على العكس تماما، فالإسلام علّم البشرية أنه **لا إكراه في الدين**، بل الحرية كلها، لأن الكذب لا يمكن فرضه والحقيقة لا تحتاج للقوة. لذا فالسؤال الآن: من الذي يفرض الكذب ومن يحتاج القوة من أجل الحقيقة؟ من الواضح أن الذين يعتقدون بأن القوة تصنع الحقّ هم الذين يميلون إلى فرض الكذب، والذين يعتقدون بأنّهم يمتلكون الحقّ يميلون إلى فرض حقيقتهم فقط.

وأكرر فأقول إن الإسلام يُستَغَلُّ ويساء استخدامه من الشرق والغرب على حد سواء، فلماذا؟ **أولا**: لأن الشرق يدعي الدفاع عن الإسلام، لكن الشرق في الحقيقة، يستغل أو (يسيء استخدام) الإسلام لتغطية عيوبه الخاصة، وهكذا، فالحقيقة المرّة أنّ الإسلام يُستعمَل للدفاع عن المسلمين بدلا من أن يكون المسلمون مثالا يحتذى في الدفاع عن الإسلام. أما الغرب، فهو أيضا يستغل الإسلام (أو يسيء استخدامه) ليظهر للرأي العام الغربي أنّ العدو قد وجد وأنّ العالم يجب أن يثق بالأبطال الغربيين الذين يبحثون عن أسلحة الدمار الشامل.

وثانيا: إن الشرق والغرب يَستغلان الإسلام ويسيئان استخدامه لكي يبيّنا بأنّ الإسلام، الذي يمثل منهاج حياة لأكثر من مليار مسلم، هو العقبة الكأداء التي تقف في الطّريق نحو علاقة أفضل بين الشرق والغرب. إنّ أولئك الشرقيين الذين يعتقدون بضرورة عدم التحاور مع الغرب يقولون بأن الغرب شيطان، ولذا فالذين يعيشون في الغرب محكوم عليهم بالذهاب إلى الجحيم ولإثبات ذلك فإنهم يستغلون، بل يسيئون استعمال اسم الإسلام.

وبنفس الطريقة، يعتقد بعض الناس في الغرب أنّ الإسلام فكرة جاءت من المشرق، ولذا فهي فكرة غير مقبولة لدى الغرب لمجرد أنها فكرة شرقية. إنهم، على أية حال، لا يريدون معرفة أن هذا الإسلام هو الذي حفظ لهم تراثهم الثقافي الإغريقي وأن الإسلام هو الذي حفظ لهم دينهم بتصديقه للرسالات والكتب السماوية مثل التوراة والإنجيل، لذا، فالناس في الغرب الذين صعب عليهم أن يعالجوا أنفسهم من مرض الخوف من الغير قد استغلوا بل أساؤوا استخدام الإسلام ليروجوا لكراهية الإسلام في الغرب.

للغرب ما كانت تمثله الشيوعية بالأمس: عقبة ضخمة وتهديدا حقيقيا لنمط الحياة والحضارة الأوروبية. وفي الغرب يعتقد البعض أن الحوار بين الإسلام والغرب مضيعة للوقت، ولذا فإن الأسلوب الوحيد لتعامل الغرب مع الإسلام هو منطق القوة لا قوة المنطق.

وفي المقابل، نجد في الشرق من يعتقد أن الغرب عدو تاريخي للإسلام ولذا يجب على المسلمين أن يحاربوا الغرب، إنهم يظنون أنه لا مكان البتة للحوار بين الإسلام والغرب وأنه لا يوجد بين هذين العالمَيْن حسب منطقهم سوى لغة التضاد.

إن الصعوبة التي نواجهها أمام وجهات النظر المذكورة آنفا تكمن في حقيقة أنّ أولئك الذين يروّجون لفكرة الصراع الديني والثقافي يتخذون من الإسلام نقطة البداية لفكرتهم حول صراع الحضارات، ولكنهم ينسون، على أية حال، أن الإسلام ليس أيديولوجية شيوعية وأن العالم الإسلامي ليس مثل الاتحاد السوفيتي السابق.

إنّ الإسلام طريقة حياة تتوافق مع طريق العقل العام وحشمة الإنسان سواء في الغرب أو في الشرق. كما أن العالم الإسلامي يمثل تنوعا عظيما من الأمم والثقافات التي توحدها فكرة المودة الإنسانية في الشرق والغرب على حدٍّ سواء. وبالاستناد إلى ما قيل فإن المرء ربما يميل إلى الاعتقاد بأن الإسلام مستهدف في الشرق كما هو مستهدف في الغرب، فلماذا؟

أولا: لأن الشرق قد بلغ به الضعف حدا يجعله غير قادر على الالتزام بالمُثُل الإسلامية كالحرية والديمقراطية وحقوق إنسان؛ أما الغرب فقد بلغت به الغطرسة مبلغا يمنعه من الاعتراف بالصدق الإسلامي في المبادئ الأخلاقية. **ثانيا**: لأن الشرق ضيّق الأفق بحيث لا يسمح لروح الإسلام العالمية أن تتغلب على العقلية العشائرية؛ بينما الغرب تمنعه كراهيته الشديدة من الآخر من الاعتراف بحقيقة أنّ الإسلام جار له لا ينوي الرحيل.

ولسوء الحظ، فإن الرؤية المتطرّفة عند بعض الناس في الشرق والغرب، تختزل الإسلام إلى شيء يشبههم، فهم بذلك يخنقون الإسلام على أنه إيمان و**حرية اختيارٍ** للخير ضد حرية الاختيار للشر، ويخنقون المسلمين على أنهم أناس محبون للحرية. إنهم، على أية حال، ينسون أن الإسلام ليس حجرا على جنس معيّن أو لون أو جنسية

ومن جهة أخرى فقد مضى المئات من السنين قبل أن تقبل أوروبا الفكر الفلسفي للفيلسوف الكبير ابن رشد، بينما انتظر كتاب "روح القانون" لمونتسكي[2] طويلا قبل أن تتم دراسته في الشرق بصورة جدية. إن هذه الأمثلة التاريخية توضح جليا أن الشرق والغرب كانا دائما في عملية تفاعل جدالي غالبا ما ساعدهما في تحويل المسار التاريخي نحو ظروف أفضل للبشرية.

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*[2] Montesquieu, De l'Ésprit des Lois.

لقد حدث التفاعل التاريخي الأول بين الشرق والغرب في بغداد وحدث التفاعل الثاني في الأندلس. ففي بغداد، جمع الخليفة المأمون عقول الشرق والغرب ليقوموا بترجمة الحكمة الإنسانية في ذلك الوقت. وفي الأندلس، كان المثقّفون الغربيون يزورون الجامعات الإسلامية لدراسة العلوم الإنسانية فكانت النتيجة نشوء عصر الإنسانية الأوروبية (Humanism) وعصر النهضة (Renaissance) . نحن الآن نقف على عتبات التفاعل التاريخي الثالث بين الشرق والغرب الذي يجب أن يشتغل بما يمكن تسميته ظاهرة بغداد الاخيرة.

ومن الطبيعي أنه لم يكن دائما من السهل على الغرب أن يفهم روحانية الشرق، كما أنه لم يكن من اليسير على الشرق أن يتقبل منطقية الغرب، ولكن في النهاية لم يكن أمام الغرب من بد إلا أن يقبل بدين آدم ونوح وإبراهيم وموسى وعيسى ومحمد عليهم الصلاة والسلام، ذلك الدين الذي وصل إلى أوروبا من الشرق، كما أنه لم يكن بإمكان الشرق أن يتهرب من المشي في الطريق الذي أتاه من الغرب لينتقل به منطق القوة إلى منطق القانون، ومن الاساطير المرويّة إلى العلوم التجريبيّة، ومن مبدإ العبودية إلى مبدإ الحرية ومن فكرة الدولة كالنظرية البحتة إلى الدولة كالكيان الشرعي و التشريعي. ولكن من الملاحظ أن التوترات الجدلية القائمة حاليا بين الشرق والغرب تختلف عن تلك الأمثلة التاريخية التي أوردناها، فالغرب لم يعد ذلك الغرب الذي عَهِدنا: دولا أوروبية وأمريكية لا شيوعية، كما أن الشرق لم يعد منطقة البلاد الشيوعية التي تدور في فلك الاتحاد السوفيتي. إن الغرب اليوم يرى نفسه دولا أوروبية وأمريكية لا إسلامية، والشرق يقدَّم في أحد وجوهه على أنه دول إسلامية في الشرق الأوسط أو دول غير مسيحية ذات قيم مخالفة للقيم الغربية. وأفضل الأمثلة على ذلك تركيا التي تعرَّف على أنها دولة غير مسيحية ولذا فهي لم تزل خارج الاتحاد الأوروبي.

وإلى جانب هذا، يرى الكثيرون من المفكرين الغربيين أن الإسلام اليوم يمثل بالنسبة

مما يجعل فهمه صعبا عند العامة. وأحيانا أخرى كان يقدّم بأسلوب مبسّط للغاية بحيث لا يستطيع الوصول إلى قلوب الصادقين.

إن صعوبة الفهم الواضح للإسلام وفقدان التوجه السليم عند المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا يخلقان سوءَ فَهم غيرَ ضروري وفقدان الثقة المتبادلة بين الإسلام وأوروبا، مما يؤدي غالبا إلى شعور أليم.

على الرغم من هذا، فإن مستقبل أوروبا سيكون في تعدد الأديان من بينها الإسلام. لذا، كلّما أسرعنا في إدراك الحاجة المستعجلة للتغلّب على تاريخ العداوة فسيكون الحال أحسن لكل من الإسلام وأوروبا.

يجب على المسلمين أن يعطوا مكانا كافيا في فكرهم للتاريخ الأوروبي، كما يجب على الأوربيين أن يدركوا بأنّ للإسلام تاريخا في أوروبا ويأخذوا في الحسبان حقيقة أنّ المسلمين يمثلون نسبة من السكان لا يُستهان بها في العديد من البلاد الأوروبية. هذا هو الأمر الأشد إلحاحا، كمظاهر الإجحاف الموجود حاليا ضدّ الإسلام والتي تتغذى بشكل مستمر من قبل مزيج الأحداث السياسية ولاختلافات الثقافية والتجاهل المتعمّد.

بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يجب علينا أن نعلم بأنّ الدين ليس فكرة مجرّدة أو اعتقادا بسيطا. الدين أحد العوامل الأساسية المهمة جدا التي تشكّل هويّة الناس أفرادا ومجموعات. لذا، من واجبنا أن نجد الطريق لتسخير إمكانية الأديان لتحفيز المؤمنين على الكفاح من أجل السلام والعدالة والتسامح في شتى جوانب الحياة اليومية.

منذ عقود والإسلام يشغل المكانة المركزية في الشرق والغرب على حد سواء. فالإسلام في الشرق يمثل مركز الإثارة والجابية، بينما يُعتَبر في الغرب مركز الاهتمام والدراسة. فالشرق يعتقد أن الإسلام هو الحل، بينما يرى الغرب المشكلة في الإسلام نفسه. وفي الشرق يزعم الناس أنهم يدافعون عن الإسلام ضد أعدائه، بينما يظن بعض الناس في الغرب أن الإسلام خطر يهدد أسلوب حياتهم. إذن فقد أصبح الإسلام في الشرق كلمةً إعجازية، وفي الغرب معضلة صعبة.

وفي الحقيقة فإن أحد أكبر التحديات في عصرنا هذا هو: كيف التوصل إلى فهم هذه الكلمة الإعجازية القادمة من الشرق، وإلى حل لتلك المعضلة التي يواجهها الغرب؟

إنها ليست المرة الأولى التي يعجز فيها الغرب عن فهم روحانية الشرق، كما أنها ليست المرة الأولى التي يفشل فيها الشرق في فهم منطق الغرب. فمثلا كان بإمكان الاسكندر المقدوني أن يصبح ملكا على الشرق كله لو أنه أبدى مِنَ الصبر ما يعينه على حل العقدة الغوردية (Gordian Knot) بدلا من أن يقطعها بسيفه. وكان باستطاعة حسن بن إسماعيل ملك غرناطة أن يبني الكثير من قصور الحمراء في أوروبا لو أنه احترم الاختلاف فى نمط العيش الأوروبي الديني والثقافي كما فعل أسلافه على مدى قرون عديدة.

المولودين في أوروبا و المعتنقين الجدد يعيشون حالة جهد للمحافظة على هويتهم الإسلامية في وجه التحديات البيئية الأوروبية في مجال السياسة والاقتصاد والثقافة.

ما الذي يمكن أن يتم القيام به حتى تصبح قيم الإسلام العامة أرضاً مشتركة لكل المسلمين في أوروبا؟ انه يتوجب علينا في هذا الوقت بالذات أن ندرس بصورة جدية طريقة جعل كل من وجود الإسلام كدين عالمي والمسلمين كمواطنين دوليين أمراً مؤسسياً أملاً أن يكون واضحاً لكل إنسان أن التمثيل الطوعي للإسلام والمسلمين في أوروبا يعدُّ أمراً مُضَلِّلاً باعتباره شيئاً ضد كرامة المسلم والسلام في أوروبا، الحقيقة لا يكفي أن تعترف أوروبا بوجود الإسلام على أراضيها لأن المسلمين يستحقون أكثر من مجرد الاعتراف، بل يريدون أن يكون الاعتراف بهم قانونياً بحيث يسمح ذلك بإيجاد المناخ السياسي والاقتصادي الذي يُمَكِّنُ المسلمين من أن يمثلوا أنفسهم عبر المؤسسات التي ينبغي أن تحظى بالدعم الحكومي والقبول الشعبي، إذ إن وسائل الإعلام تجرح مشاعرنا من خلال إصرارها على عرض الإسلام في أوروبا بصورة الإرهاب وربطه بالمسلمين.

الجزء الثاني
الإسلام

يوجد أسباب كثيرة تجعل من منزلة الإسلام في أوروبا قضية بالغة الأهمية. إن رؤية أوروبا نفسها على أنها قارة مسيحية ليست رؤية صحيحة، لا حقيقيا ولا تاريخيا. فالتاريخ يشهد أن المسلمين واليهود يعيشون في أوروبا منذ قرون عديدة، ولقد قدم كلاهما مساهمات هامّة في الحياة والثقافة الأوروبية. على أية حال، فإن دخول الإسلام إلى دول البلقان وشبه الجزيرة الأيبيرية(اندلوسيا) ترك ذكريات مرّة من المعاناة والكراهية. وبالرغم من أن المسلمين واليهود في أوروبا عاشوا تاريخا مختلفا، إلا أنهم كانوا مشتركين في التعرض للتمييز والاضطهاد العنيف الذي ما يزال مستمرا إلى يومنا هذا.

ولسوء الحظ، فإن المسلمين أنفسهَم كانوا دائما عاجزين عن عرض قضيتهم بالأسلوب الذي يفهمه ويتقبله الجمهور الأوروبي. فأحيانا، كان الإسلام يُقدَّم بأسلوب معقّد أكاديميا

التراث الروحي الأوروبي العام على الرغم من أن الإسلام يحتل اليوم المرتبة الثانية بعد النصرانية في العديد من البلدان الأوربية.

وبسبب هذا الانطباع نجد أن حالة وأوضاع شؤون المسلمين في أوروبا ليست دينية فحسب لا سيما الجانب المتعلق بأخلاق الشخصية الإسلامية، بل إنه في العديد من الحالات نجد أمورهم سياسية بصفة غالبة، الأمر الذي يجعلهم يعيشون بصورة دائمة تحت هاجس الخوف وعدم الاطمئنان، ولذا لابد أن يبعد الإسلام عن التأثير السياسي حتى يكون ديناً عالميا هدفه الأساسي هو تعليم اتباعه ممارسة السلوك الحسن في المجتمع الدولي وهذا لا يعني بطبيعة الحال وجوب ألا يُلِمَّ المسلمون بسياسة ذلك المجتمع الدولي، بل العكس من ذلك ينبغي أن يتسلح المسلمون بمعرفة السياسة الدولية حتى يتمكنوا من إنقاذ دينهم من التسييس السيئ.

واستنادا لما ذكرناه آنفا نكون قد وضعنا أصابعنا على أهم قضية للإسلام في أوروبا وهي تحديداً قضية التمثيل والمؤسسات، إذ ينبغي أن يكون معلوماً في بادئ الأمر أن هناك حوالي ثلاثين مليون مسلم يعيشون اليوم في أوروبا يمثلون ثلاث مجموعات هي تحديداً:

- مجموعة المسلمين الأصليين.
- مجموعة المهاجرين.
- مجموعة المولودين و المعتنقين المسلمين الجدد في أوروبا.

نعني بالمجموعة الأولى المسلمين الذين لهم خلفية تاريخية طويلة في أوروبا مثل مسلمي البوسنة وألبانيا وكوسوفا ومقدونيا وبلغاريا. ونعني بمجموعة المهاجرين المسلمين الذين هاجروا إلى أوروبا بوصفهم طلاباً أو عمالاً أو موظفين ثم استقروا بصورة دائمة ويتركز هؤلاء في كل من بريطانيا وألمانيا وفرنسا. ونعني بمجموعة المولودين و المعتنقين المسلمين الجدد في أوروبا جيل الشباب الذين ولدوا في أوروبا من أبوين مهاجرَيْنو والذين اعتنقوا الاسلام. تشترك هذه المجموعات الثلاث في شيء واحد هو الانتماء إلى الإسلام لكنها تختلف من حيث تجاربها الإنسانية وتوقعاتها في الحياة، فالمجموعة الأصلية تحمل على كاهلها عبئا ثقيلاً من التاريخ وتتوقع أن تحظى بالدعم في نضالها من أجل استمرارها الديني والثقافي في أوروبا. أما مجموعة المهاجرين فإنها تبذل كل الجهود الممكنة من أجل أن تجد لنفسها موطأ قدم في أوروبا وتتوقع أن تتغلب على وضع الغربة الذي تعيشه في أوروبا. وأخيراً مجموعة المسلمين

أوروبا وذلك حتى يتسنى لنا أن نتفهم الاحتياجات الثقافية والاقتصادية للجماعة الإسلامية الأوروبية. ولذا ، وقبل أن نطلب من الآخرين القيام بالمطلوب منهم تجاهنا، يجب علينا أن نقوم بأنفسنا بالقيام بما هو مطلوب منا في مجال التعليم و التربية. علينا أن نعمل على إعداد برنامج تعليمي وتربوي واضح وشامل نراعي فيه ضرورة ارتكازه على المبادئ الجوهرية لروح ديننا باعتبار ذلك عملاً من إرادتنا بجانب ارتكازه على واجباتنا وحقوقنا الأساسية كمواطنين أوروبيين، وفي إطار التوافق التام بين هذين المطلبين أرى الحاجة لتطوير مفهوم **دار الصلح** والذي ينبغي أن يطبق في أوروبا.

وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا الدينية، فإنها تعتمد بدرجة كبيرة على القضايا المذكورة أعلاه والمرتبطة بالسياسة والاقتصاد والثقافة، ولأن ديننا هو منهج حياتنا فإن القضايا الدينية لا يمكن عزلها عن حياتنا، فبناء أي مسجد في أوربا يعد قضية دينية لكنه لا يتم حلها دون الإرادة السياسية للحكومات الأوروبية، وكذلك لا تتم المحافظة عليه دون المقدرة الاقتصادية للجماعة الإسلامية كما أن المسجد لا يؤدي وظيفته دون توافر التسهيلات التعليمية و التربويّة.

هذا ويواجه المسلمون الأوربيون اليوم صعوبات كبيرة في سبيل المحافظة على هويتهم نظرا لعدم توفر الإرادة لدى بعض الحكومات الأوروبية لتنظيم احتياجاتهم الدينية وحقوقهم الاجتماعية حيث يتوقع الناس من المسلمين أن ينسجموا تماماً مع شرائح المجتمع وأحياناً كثيرة للمدى الذي يفقدون معه هويتهم الإسلامية، وبصفة عامة يتكون لديَّ انطباع عام عن الإعلام الغربي مفاده أن المسلم لن يكون مواطناً أوروبياً صالحاً إلا إذا تنكر لأصله الإسلامي، وإذا لم يفعل ذلك فسوف يواجه الاتهام بأي شيء يحدث في العالم الإسلامي وكأن تلك الجريمة اقترفها بنفسه.

ينبغي ألاّ نحصر شؤون المسلمين في القضايا الدينية فقط، بل يجب أن توسع لتشمل القضايا الاجتماعية، كذلك يجب أن يُعامَلَ دينُنا بوصفه شيئا طبيعياً وقانونياً ووفق مبدأ حرية الضمير والاعتقاد، لكن مما يؤسف له أن أوروبا حتى الآن لم تمنح الإسلام وضعه الطبيعي كباقي الأديان، بل على العكس تماماً لا يزال للإسلام وضع الغريب أو وضعٌ خاصٌ يتم التسامح فيه معه، فهو لا يُقْبَلُ كممثل مساوٍ للأديان الأخرى ضمن

والمواطنة الأوروبية؟ وهل هذه القضايا ذات صفة سياسية أم اقتصادية أم ثقافية أم دينية؟

أنه القول الصحيح أن يقال إن القضايا تتسم بكل الصفات المذكورة أعلاه، فعلى الجانب السياسي يجب أن يعرف المسلمون في أوروبا حقوقهم الإنسانية لا سيما فيما يتعلق بتمثيلهم أمام الآخر، ينبغي أن يصرّ المسلمون على إزالة كل جوانب الكراهية في وسائل الإعلام المتحيزة ضد الإسلام والتي دعمتها بقوة المؤسسة السياسية الأوروبية وأعني بهذا الأمر الشعور المناهض للإسلام والذي نجم عن عدم التسامح السياسي والكراهية العنصرية.

إن علي أوروبا أن يتقبل القيم الإسلامية التي تدعو إلي التسامح بين الأديان و أن تعترف بقيمة العَرَقِ الذي سال من جباه العمال والمفكرين المسلمين في سبيل بناء أوروبا الحرة الغنية، حيث إن أوروبا ليست مدينةً تاريخيا فحسب للمسلمين فيما يتعلق بحريتها وازدهارها، بل إن مساهمة المسلمين المعاصرة في تطوير وتقدم أوروبا هي التي تعطينا الحق في أن نقول إن أوروبا مدينةٌ لنا فعلاً بالكثير جداً، وعلى الجانب الاقتصادي يجدر بنا أن نطالب بتساوي الفرص وذلك لتحقيق قدر معقول من النمو الاقتصادي للجماعة الأوروبية الإسلامية، ومن هنا فمن الطبيعي أن ترتبط القضايا الاقتصادية ارتباطاً عضوياً قوياً بقضية التعليم و التربية التي يجب أن تكون محور اهتمامنا الأول، حيث "تدل كلمة التعليم و التربية على جملة التأثيرات التي تتمكن الطبيعة أو الأشخاص الآخرون من ممارستها سواء على عقولنا أو على إرادتنا وتشمل حتى التأثيرات غير المباشرة على شخصيات وعقول الرجال والتي نجمت عن أشياء لها هدف مختلف تماماً، سواء بسبب القانون أو بنوع الحكومات أو بالفنون الصناعية، وحتى بفعل الظواهر الطبيعية مثل المناخ والتربة والمنطقة والتي ليس للإرادة البشرية سلطان عليها."

يذكرنا تعريف التعليم هذا بأربع حقائق يتحتم علينا معرفتها وهي **أولاً**: ما الأشياء التي يجب أن نفعلها حتى نتمكن من التأثير على عقول أطفالنا؟ **وثانيًا**: يجب أن نكون مدركين للأشياء التي يفعلها الآخرون من أجل التأثير على شخصيات وعقول أبنائنا، **وثالثاً**: يجب أن نكون ملمين بقوانين وأنماط الحكومات الأوروبية التي تسهم بصورة غير مباشرة في تشكيل عقول أطفالنا، **ورابعًا**: ينبغي أن ندرك الظواهر الطبيعية في

فالمواطن له حقوق وامتيازات الرجل الحر، وهو عضو في الدولة سواء كان مواطنا بالميلاد أو بالتجنس، وهو مدين للدولة بالإخلاص وله عليها حق توفير الحماية له.

إن أوروبا بوصفها **دار العقد** تفتح الطريق أمام **الحوار** الصادق ليس مع النصارى فحسب بل مع المجتمع الأوروبي (أو الغربي) بأسره، ولتأكيد ذلك الأمر يقول جل وعلا: {ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُمْ بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ} [النحل: 125].

هذا المبدأ القرآني يقرر بأن الحوار بين الأديان والثقافات يجب أن يكون مؤطرا وعادلاً وعلمياً وهادفاً وشاملاً وذا معنى، ومن أجل تحقيق هذا المستوى في التخاطب مع المجتمع الأوروبي يتحتم علينا أن نفهم فلسفة أوروبا وثقافتها وسياسيتها المعاصرة. ففلسفة أوروبا ترتكز على منطق العقل والعلوم التجريبيّة، وثقافتها مأخوذة من التجربة النصرانية في معظمها، وسياستها تستند إلى فكر البقاء للأصلح. هذا الفهم المطلوب لاوروبا ليس القبول لكل ما هو اوروبي، بل العكس هو الصحيح، إذ يؤدي عدم الفهم إلى قبول الأشياء التي يجب رفضها. وفضلاً عن ذلك فإن الجهل بحقيقة مختلف أبعاد المجتمع الأوروبي يجعلنا غير قادرين على التمييز بين الصالح والطالح والمفيد والضار من المنتجات الأوروبية المتاحة لنا للإستهلاك. في الحقيقة فأن درجة معرفة أوروبا (والغرب عموما) بالمسلمين أكبر من مستوى إرادتها في قبولهم، بينما يقل مستوى معرفة المسلمين بأوروبا عن مستوى استعدادهم لقبولهم لها، وهذا هو التباين الأساسي بين النظرة الأوروبية للإسلام والنظرة الإسلامية لأوروبا أوبعبارة أخرى، عدم توفر الإرادة الأوروبية لقبول المسلمين على حالهم الراهنة، بجانب عدم توفر المعرفة للمسلمين عن أوروبا كما هي عليه الآن. يلاحظ المرء أن أوروبا مستعدة للتسامح مع الإسلام في دارها لكنها غير مستعدة حتى الآن لقبول المسلمين في حياتها السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية، ومن ناحية أخرى يقبل المسلمون أوروبا على شكلها الحالي لكنهم لا يقومون بما هو كاف لزيادة مستوى معرفتهم بالبيئة السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية في أوروبا التي يمكن أن تغير وضعهم في المجتمع الأوروبي.

وإذا قبلنا مفهوم **دار العقد** لأوروبا كما يراها المسلم الحقيقي بوصفه مواطناً أوروبياً صالحاً، فإنه يستوجب علينا أن نعرف ما هي القضايا التي تهمنا لجعل المفهوم عملياً. ينبغي أن نعرف القضايا التي توجد نوعاً من الشد والجذب بين الإنتماء الإسلامي

إنه ليس من الصعب البرهنة على أن فكرة العقد الاجتماعي أو غيره، أمر له أصوله الشرعية في الإسلام. فلدينا الكثير من الأدلة الاعتقادية والتاريخية الإسلامية التي تشير إلى **مبدأ العهد والحلف والاتفاق** والذي يقف بمواجهة **مبدأ الحرب والصدام وإراقة الدماء**. إن كلمة الإسلام بحد ذاتها تحمل في طياتها معاني السلام مع الله ورسوله ومع سيادة القانون، هذا لأن الله سبحانه وتعالى يقول في محكم التنزيل: {والله يدعو إلى دار السلام ...} (10 : 25) ؛ ويقول عز وجل أيضا: {وعباد الرحمن الذين يمشون على الأرض هونا وإذا خاطبهم الجاهلون قالوا سلاما} (25 : 63).

وانطلاقا من روح هذه الآيات القرآنية، أبرم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم **صلح** الحديبية مع المشركين، ومع اليهود والنصارى في المدينة المنورة ومناطق أخرى من شبه الجزيرة العربية، وكذلك مع حكام البلاد المجاورة مثل الحبشة وفارس وبيزنطة. إن هذه الحقيقة التاريخية عن دار العقد والعهد والاتفاق والتعايش، والتي قدمها المسلمون تعبيرا منهم عن حسن النوايا تجاه الأديان والشعوب الأخرى، قد أحسن تسجيلها وتوثيقها محمد حميد الله في كتابه القيّم: "مجموعة الوثائق السياسية للعهد النبوي والخلافة الراشدة" (دار الإرشاد، بيروت، 1389 هـ/ 1969 م).

وكما ذكرنا، فإنه ليس من الصعب البرهنة على صحة نظرية العهد، لأنه يمكننا وبكل ثقة أن نؤكد بأن هذا يعتبر جزءا جوهريا في التعاليم الإسلامية الشاملة وفي التاريخ الإسلامي. ولكن العقبة التي نواجهها تتمثل في قصرنا إلى التصور الحقيقي **للعقد الاجتماعي** الذي يمكن تطبيقه ضمن سياق البيئة الأوروبية، والذي سيضمن المكانة الشريفة للإسلام بصفته أسلوب حياة في أوروبا، وللمسلمين باعتبارهم مواطنين أوروبيين. **أولا**، يجب علينا أن ندرك بأن أوروبا **دار سلام** لا **دار حرب**. **ثانيا**، يجب علينا أن نعرف القضايا التي ينبغي إدراجها في إطار **العقد الاجتماعي**. **ثالثا**، يجب علينا أن ننشئ منظمة أو مؤسسة يمكنها أن تقدم الإسلام على أنه دين عالمي والمسلمين على أنهم **مواطنون** أوروبيون صالحون.

إن معني العقد (Contract) الذي يصيغه الناس هو شيء يمليه منطق العقل، بينما الميثاق (Covenant) تجسيد لقوّة الايمان، ولذا نُعَرِّفُ **المسلمَ** بأنه إنسان عاهد الله عليه باعتبار ذلك عملا تجسده قوّة الإيمان **(الميثاق)**، بينما نعرّف **المواطن** أنه رجل عليه واجب تجاه الدولة باعتبار ذلك عملا يمليه عليه عقله **(الصلح)**، ومن خلال الميثاق يتجه قلب الإنسان لربّه ويحصل له الإطمئنان الداخلي ومن خلال الصلح يعطي الدولة عقله ويتلقى بذلك الأمن الاجتماعي، شأنه في ذلك شأن أي واحد من سكان أية مدينة،

على أية حال، لم يكن المسلمون وحدهم الذين أخفقوا بتقديم تصور أصيل للعولمة، لكنّهم، وبشكل عام، يفشلون الآن بالعيش في ظروف العالم العالمي. المسلمون ليس لديهم إستراتيجية عالمية؛ وليس لديهم عقل عالمي ولا رأس عالمي؛ وليس لديهم تقويم عالمي موحد ينقذهم من حرج الخلاف حول تحديد موعد عيد الأضحى. ولسوء الحظ، ينظر إليهم على أنهم يهددون حرية العالم وأمنه؛ لأنهم مَوصومون بالإرهاب العالمي.
إن تهمة الإرهاب التي تلصق ظلما بالمسلمين تحتم على إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين الموجه إلى العالم الإسلامي أن ينجح في التركيز على ضرورة تغيير الصورة العالمية السيئة للمسلمين إلى صورة عالمية جيدة، خصوصا في ما يتعلق بأمور عقديته. ولا بد لنا أن نقول بأنّ مركز الإسلام يجب أن يأخذ الدور الرائد في تقديم توجه عالمي في الأمور العملية في ديننا العالمي؛ وفي قضايا عصرنا العالمية؛ وفي الحوار العالمي مع جيراننا. ولكن قبل تقديم نصّ الإعلان للمسلمين الأوروبيّين، لابد من بعض التفسيرات لكي نتمكّن من معرفة معني أوروبا للمسلمين الأوروبيّين، وإحساسهم بالإسلام في البيئة الأوروبية، وموقفهم من الانتماء إلى الأمة الإسلامية.

الجزء الأول
أوروبـا

قبل كل شيء يجب القول أنّ أوروبا ليست **دار إسلام**، ولا **دار حرب**، بل هي **دار الصلح** أي **دار العقد الاجتماعي** (The Social Contract).

إن أوروبا ليست **دار الإسلام** لأن المسلمين فيها ليسوا أغلبية، وعليه فلا يمكن تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية الكامل فيها، وهي أيضا ليست **بدار الحرب**، لأنه من الممكن فيها تطبيق بعض جوانب الشريعة الإسلامية. وبناء على هذا فإن أوروبا هي **دار العقد أوالعهد**، وذلك لإمكانية العيش في الإسلام ضمن إطار العقد الاجتماعي "على أساس المبادئ التي يقبل بموجبها الأفراد الأحرار العاقلون - وهم يرغبون بتحقيق مصالحهم الذاتية - نقطة الانطلاق المتمثلة بالمساواة، على أنها تحديد للنقاط الأساسية لتضامنهم"[1].

*1 Jhon Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971; Oxford: Oxford Uviversity Press, 1972, p. 11.

وبالطبع، فإن الحرية تتطلب المسؤولية، لذا فإن المستعدين لتحمّل المسؤولية هم الذين يستحقون الحرية. على الرغم من حقيقة أنّ المسلمين الأوروبيين لا يتمتّعون بالحرية التامّة من الخوف والفاقة في أوروبا، إلا أنه من الملائم لهم الآن أن يتحمّلوا مسؤولياتهم من أن يتحدثوا عن حرياتهم، لأنهم بتحملهم لمسؤولياتهم في الحياة الأوروبية الثقافية والسياسية والاقتصادية، فسيكسبون حقّهم بالحرية، فبذالك حرية المسلمين الأوروبيين لن تكون هبةً من أحد، بل ستكون قيمة لهم لا يمكن لأحد إنكارها ولا سلبها منهم.

إنّ البيان الأكثر أهمية الذي يجب أن يتضمنه الإعلان الموجه إلى المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا هو التزامهم بتقديم الإسلام إلى الجمهور الغربي على أنه الرُأية الكاملة لحياة الانسان (Waltanschuung)، وليس ثقافة قوميّة أو عرقية أو عشائرية معيّنة. لأنّه لا يمكن للمسلمين أن يتوقعوا من الأوربيين تقديرهم لرسالة الإسلام العالمية إذا كانوا يقدمونه لهم ملونا بلون عرقي أو قومي. وكما أن المسلمين الأوروبيين يمكنهم أن يستأثروا بإعجاب الجمهور الأوروبي من خلال عرض عالمية الإسلام، فإن أوروبا تعتبر مكانا جيدا لكي يكتشف المسلمون أنفسهم قوّة عالميّة الإسلام وجماله. يجب على المسلمين أن يكونوا صادقين ويعترفوا بأنّ الكثيرين منهم اكتشفوا الإسلام في أوروبا على نحو مختلف كليا من وطنهم الاصلي، لأنهم هنا في اوروبا يقابلون إخوانهم المسلمين من أجزاء أخرى من العالم الإسلامي، يبدؤون باحترام التنويع في التجربة والثقافة الإسلامية. المسلمون الذين يعيشون في أوروبا يمتلكون الحقّ، بل الواجبَ لتطوير ثقافتهم الأوروبية الخاصة للإسلام كبرهان التفاعل الثالث بين الشرق والغرب وكحاجة لعصر نهضة جديد يقود الإنسانية نحو عالم أفضل وأكثر أمانا.

العالم الإسلامي

بالرغم من أن شيئا من الغموض يحيط بفكرة العولمة، إلا أن تأثيرها محسوس تقريبا في كافة ميادين الحياة: الدينية والثقافية والاقتصادية والسياسية. وينبغي لفكرة الوعي العولمي ألا تكون غريبة على المسلمين. فالإسلام في جوهره دين عالمي وظاهرة عالمية. ومن الملائم جدا أن يقدم المسلمون جدول أعمال للعولمة في الحرية والأمن لأنهم منتشرون في كل مكان على الكرة الأرضية ولذا فإن حريتهم وأمنهم شأن عالمي.

الاتحاد الأوربي

يجب أن يتضمن إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين إلى الاتحاد الأوربي رسالة واضحة بأنّ المسلمين الأوروبيين ملتزمون بالكامل وبشكل صريح بحكم القانون العادل، وبمبادئ التسامح وبقيم الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان، وبالاعتقاد بأن كلّ إنسان له الحقّ بأن تُصان حقوقه الضروريّة الخمسة وهي: النفس والدين والعقل والمال والعِرض.

وبعد أن قدّم المسلمون الأوروبيون تعهداتهم إلى الاتحاد الأوربي، فإن لهم الحقّ في التعبير عن توقّعاتهم في هذا الإعلان مثل الاعتراف الرسمي بالإسلام والمؤسسات الإسلامية في أوروبا؛ التنمية الاقتصادية للجالية الإسلامية التي توفر لها الحرية والاستقلال الروحي والثقافي التامّين؛ تطوير المدارس الإسلامية القادرة على تعليم المسلمين المولودين في أوروبا بشكل يجعلهم مؤهلين للتعامل مع تحديات المجتمع الأوروبي الجديدة؛ الحرية السياسية التي ستمكّن المسلمين الأوروبيين من أن يصبح لديهم ممثلوهم الشرعيون في برلمانات الدول الأوروبية؛ التخفيف من سياسة الهجرة الأوروبية التي تميل مؤخرا نحو التضييق الشديد على المسلمين؛ فتح الطريق أمام الأحكام الشرعية بحيث يتم الاعتراف بها في الأحوال الشخصية مثل أحكام الأسرة؛ وحماية المسلمين الأوروبيين من الكراهية الموجهة ضدهم ومن جرائم التطهير العرقي والإبادة الجماعية التي ترتكب ضدهم وما شابه ذلك.

المسلمون الذين يعيشون في أوروبا

إن توجيه الخطاب في إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين إلى المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أمر مهم جدا سواء بالنسبة لتحديد هويتهم الإسلامية بشكل واضح وصريح أو لتحديد مواطنتهم الأوروبية. وقبل كل شيء يجب على المسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا أن يدركوا بأنّ الحرية ليست هدية يقدمها الآخرون. بل إن الحرية الإسلامية في أوروبا يجب أن تُكتسب، ويجب أن يتم الاعتراف بالوضع العامّ للمسلمين رغم معارضة الكارهين للمسلمين.

إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين

فضيلة الدكتور مصطفى تسيريتش
رئيس العلماء والمفتي العام في دولة البوسنة والهرسك

المقدمة

إن الأحداث المأساوية التي وقعت في الحادي عشر من سبتمبر/أيلو 2001 في نيويورك، والحادي عشر من مارس/آذار 2004 في مدريد، والسابع من يوليو/تموز 2005 في لندن لم تترك أحدا غير مُبال. ولقد أصيب مسلمو العالم، خصوصا، بالصدمة من أنّ مرتكبي هذه الهجمات ادّعوا أنهم فعلوها باسم الإسلام. فلا يمكن لشخص عاقل قبول أن يُنفِّذ مثلُ هذا العنف باسمه ضدّ الأبرياء. لذا، فقد ندد المسلمون في مختلف أرجاء المعمورة وبأشد عبارات التنديد الهجوم الإرهابي في نيويورك، والمذبحة في مدريد، والإنفجار في لندن .لكن بعض الناس يقولون بأن ذلك غير كاف. بل يجب على المسلمين أن يعملوا أكثر لإقناع الرأي العام الأوروبي بأن دينهم يستحقّ الاحترام وبأنّ وجودهم في أوروبا أمرٌ مرحّبٌ به.

وبغض النظر عن أولئك الناس في أوروبا الذين يصعب تعافيهم من كراهية الإسلام سواء كان هناك سلوك عنيف لبعض المجموعات المسلمة أو لم يكن، فيجب على المسلمين أن يدركوا بأنّ الشعور العامّ حول دينهم في أوروبا في الوقت الحاضر ليس ملائما. ويجب على المسلمين الأوروبيين أن يأخذوا قضية العنف باسم الإسلام بجديّة كبيرة، ليست لأن بعض الناس يكرهون الإسلام والمسلمين، بل لأن أعمال العنف والإرهاب والكراهية باسم الإسلام أمر خاطئ ومخالف للاعتقادات الإسلامية. إن مثل تلك الأعمال يضر بمصالح المسلمين في العالم كله، وخصوصا في أوروبا.

يجب على المسلمين الأوروبيين أن يطوّروا برنامجا لمحاربة العنف. يجب عليهم أن يعلنوا بشكل تام وصريح إلى العالم أجمع عن الطبيعة السلمية لدينهم وأن يعلّموا أبناءهم أن الطريق الصحيح إلى النجاح في الدنيا والفلاح في الآخرة ليس حجّة القوة، بل قوة الحجّة السليمة. يجب على المسلمين الأوروبيين أن يتقدموا إلى الاتحاد الأوربي والمسلمين الذين يعيشون في أوروبا وإلى العالم الإسلامي كله بإعلان صريح وواضح.

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الشيخ يعقوب سالكيتسا، كبير الأئمة في مجلس المشيخة الإسلامية في زينيتسا في البوسنة والهرسك

أ. د. سداد ديزداريفيتش، أستاذ الثقافة والحضارة الإسلامية في كلية التربية الإسلامية بجامعة زينيتسا في البوسنة والهرسك

د. منصور فاليفاتس، معيد أول في قسم التفسير في كلية التربية الإسلامية بجامعة زينيتسا في البوسنة والهرسك

الإمام الشيخ جمال سالكيتش، زينيتسا، شيخ التكية النقشبندية في بيهاري زينيتسا في البوسنة والهرسك

{وَقُلْنَا يَا آَدَمُ اسْكُنْ أَنْتَ وَزَوْجُكَ الْجَنَّةَ وَكُلا مِنْهَا رَغَدًا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمَا وَلا تَقْرَبَا هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ فَتَكُونَا مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ} (البقرة، 35). {قُولُوا آَمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالأَسْبَاطِ وَمَا أُوتِيَ مُوسَى وَعِيسَى وَمَا أُوتِيَ النَّبِيُّونَ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ لا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ} (البقرة، 136). {وَإِذْ قَالَتِ الْمَلائِكَةُ يَا مَرْيَمُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَاكِ وَطَهَّرَكِ وَاصْطَفَاكِ عَلَى نِسَاءِ الْعَالَمِينَ} لآل عمران، 42). {قَالَتْ رَبِّ أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي وَلَدٌ وَلَمْ يَمْسَسْنِي بَشَرٌ قَالَ كَذَلِكِ اللَّهُ يَخْلُقُ مَا يَشَاءُ إِذَا قَضَى أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ} (آل عمران، 47). {إِذْ قَالَتِ الْمَلائِكَةُ يَا مَرْيَمُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُبَشِّرُكِ بِكَلِمَةٍ مِنْهُ اسْمُهُ الْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ وَجِيهًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآَخِرَةِ وَمِنَ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ} (آل عمران، 45).

وختاما، أيها الأساقفة المحترمون، أدعوكم لمشاركتي هذا الدعاء، الذي تلوته أكثر من مرة ونحن نصلي الجنازات الجماعية في مقبرة بوتوتشاري في سربرينيتسا على أرواح ضحايا الإبادة الجماعية:

يا رب يا رحيم، إذا نسيناك، فلا تنسانا؛

وإذا عصيناك، فأعطنا عزيمة آدم عليه السلام على التوبة؛

وإذا أعمانا الشرك، فأنِر طريقنا بإيمان إبراهيم عليه السلام؛

وإذا أصابتنا مصيبة، فعلّمنا النجاة في سفينة نوح عليه السلام؛

وإذا أصابنا الخوف من الظالم، فاغمرنا بعدالة موسى عليه السلام؛

وإذا عُرضت علينا البغضاء، فنجنا بمحبة عيسى عليه السلام؛

وإذا أخرجنا من ديارنا، فقوّنا بإرادة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم بالعودة إلى ديارنا.

وعلى أمل أن نلتقي دائما في سلام وتفاهم، تقبلوا مني خالص عبارات التقدير.

د. مصطفى تسيريتش، رئيس العلماء والمفتي العام في البوسنة والهرسك
(2012 1993)

الأكاديمي محمد أكشاميا، أكاديمية الفنون التشكيلية، سراييفو

معمر زوكورليتش، مفتي السنجق

الأكاديمي محمد فيليبوفيتش، رئيس الأكاديمية البوشناقية للعلوم والفنون

المفتي د. مولودين دوديتش، رئيس المشيخة الإسلامية في صربيا

رشاد بلويوفيتش، مفتي في السنجق

التي لا حصر لها، والحروب الطويلة الأمد، والآلام التي لا تحتمل، والاضطهاد الذي لا هوادة فيه... ولكن أوروبا كانت دائما تنهض من تحت الرماد، من ويستفاليا [Westphalia] (1648) إلى ماستريخت [Maastricht] (1992) وأظهرت للعالم أجمع بأنها أهل للسلام والتعايش، وأهل لكي تتبنى أخلاق العيش المشترك.

من المؤكد، أيها الأساقفة المحترمون، أن رسائلكم من عام 1965 قد ساهمت كثيرا في أن تصبح أوروبا على ما هي عليه اليوم قارة السلام والتعايش والعدالة الاجتماعية والازدهار لجميع الناس المحبين للخير. لذا من غير الواضح لماذا شهدت الأرض الأوروبية في أواخر القرن العشرين ارتكاب جريمة الإبادة الجماعية في بلدي البوسنة، ضد شعبي الذي يرعى منذ أكثر من ألف عام القيم التي تقوم عليها أوروبا اليوم، وهي: الشرف والكرامة الإنسانية، وحق الإنسان وحريته، والسلام والتعايش الإنساني، وكذلك قيمة الوحدة مع التنوع.

إذا كان البابا فرانيو قد قال إن سراييفو هي أورشليم أوروبا، فلأوروبا الحق أن تفتخر بوجود سراييفو فيها، كما تفتخر سراييفو بأنها تتبع لأوروبا المنفتحة والحرة، والتي "لا ينبغي أبدا" أن يتكرر فيها حدوث المحرقة أو الإبادة الجماعية.

أيها الأساقفة الأوروبيون المحترمون،

من الواضح أننا كلنا نعيش في خوف. أنتم في أوروبا تخافون من انتشار الخوف من الإسلام. ونحن المسلمون في أوروبا نخاف من أولئك الذي ينشرون الخوف منا هنا والآن. ولا أظن أحدا مثل أوربا جرب الخوف من الغير ومن المختلف. وهذا ما تتحدث عنه رسائلكم التي كتبتموها لتحرروا أنفسكم والآخرين من الخوف الكاذب من أنفسكم ومن الغير والمختلف. لذا فإن رسائلكم تتمتع بأهمية تاريخية، ليس بالنسبة لكم أنتم الأساقفة فقط، بل لجميع الأوربيين، الذين يؤمنون بأن الحقيقة والعدل والسلام والتصالح هي قيم من المرتبة الأولى. عليه فإنني آمُل، أيها الأساقفة المحترمون، أنكم ستفهمون هذه الرسالة التي يوقع عليها مفتون وأئمة ومفكرون مسلمون في أوروبا، على أنها صوت العقل والوعي بأننا مشتركون في أبوينا آدم وحواء. إنه من غير الممكن أن يعرف كل منا كل شيء عن الآخر، ولكن من الممكن أن يقبل كل منا الآخر تماما كما يقدم أحدنا نفسه للآخر، بدون أحكام مسبقة وبدون خوف.

إننا نقبل بكم، ونريد أن تقبلوا بنا، بدون خوف وبدون أحكام مسبقة.

إن العلم بالشيء لا يكفي، بل نحتاج للإرادة، كي يقبل أحدنا الآخر في روح من الخير العام لنا جميعا هنا والآن في أوروبا، التي لا داعي لها أن تخاف أحدا أو شيئا، وخاصة الإسلام والمسلمين، لأنهم يحملون في اسمهم معنى الإنسان المحب للسلام.

وقبل ختام هذه الرسالة، أقدم إليكم بعض الآيات القرآنية الكريمة التي تتحدث عن عيشنا الروحي المشترك وعن تحررنا من أن يخاف أحدنا الآخر:

أيها الأصدقاء الموقّرون،

إن هذا الوصف القرآني لتواضعكم الرعوي يلزمني باحترامكم وقبولكم أصدقاء. وإنني أدرك أنه هناك من يقرأ القرآن بنية التحريض على العدوان. وأنا أكتب إليكم هذه الرسالة باسم غالبية المسلمين الذين يقرؤون القرآن ويجدون فيه أسباب الصداقة. عليه، لعلكم ستدركون أنه لا دافع عندي أقوى من هذا الدافع القرآني لأعرض عليكم صداقتي وأقبل صداقتكم.

وستدركون أيضا بأنني، أنا أحد الذين عايشوا الإبادة الجماعية في البوسنة، أشعر بالتفضيل أن أتوجه إليكم برسالة الصداقة والدعوة إلى أخلاق العيش المشترك. إننا لا نقدر على تغيير الماضي الذي لا يخلو من الأخطاء، ولكننا نستطيع التأثير في مستقبلنا لنجعله أفضل من ماضينا، في روح العيش المشترك التي ألزمتنا بها كلمة الله ابتداء من آدم، ونوح، وإبراهيم، ومرورا بموسى وعيسى وانتهاء بمحمد عليهم السلام.

وإذا كان ممكنا في الماضي بناء الجدران لتحويط الأراضي الخاصة، كدار النصرانية ودار الإسلام، فإن هذا اليوم غير ممكن. ولا يمكن لأي دين أو ثقافة أو شعب، أن يكون منعزلا، سواء في أوروبا أو في العالم كله. إن جميع الأديان والثقافات والشعوب في العالم محتوم عليهم أن يختلطوا فيما بينهم، لذا لابد لهم أن يتعارفوا فيما بينهم. وهذا ما يؤكده القرآن الكريم بشكل خاص: {يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَى وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ} (الحجرات، 13).

أيها الأساقفة الموقّرون،

اسمحوا لي أن أقول، إن قارتنا الأوروبية اليوم، ليست على الهامش قياسا إلى القدس والأرض المقدسة، وليست مركز العالم. إن أروبا اليوم في عيش مشترك مع ذاتها ومع العالم بأسره. وإن أوروبا في عيش مشترك خاص مع العالم الإسلامي، مكانيا، وتاريخيا، وثقافيا، واقتصاديا. وفي الحقيقة، فإن الحضارتين الأوربية والإسلامية مترابطتين مصيريا كالتوأمين السياميين. وإن أي محاولة لفصلهما تسبب الكثير من الآلام والمعاناة عند هاتين الدائرتين الحضاريتين. عليه، فإننا كلنا ندرك أن فصل هاتين الحضارتين بالقوة، كالتوأمين السيامين، سيجلب الموت السريع لكلتيهما أو لإحداهما. ولا أحد يعرف أيهما. لذا لا خيار أمام الحضارتين الأوروبية والإسلامية إلا أن تتعارفا فيما بينهما وتقبل إحداهما بالأخرى، في روح الصداقة المتبادلة القائمة على اليقين بأنّ كل إنسان لديه الحق بالحياة والمعتقد والحرية والمال والعرض.

لذا، أسمح لنفسي أن أدعوكم إلى أن لا نغلق أبواب أوروبا أمام أولئك الذين يطلبون الملجأ عندنا، وأن لا نقيم الجدران في وجه القادمين إلينا بعد أن أتاهم من دمر بيوتهم وأوطانهم. إن أوربا عاشت كل المحن التي يمكن لإنسان حي أن يعيشها: الانقسامات

رسالة صداقة موجهة من د. مصطفى تسيريتش، رئيس العلماء والمفتي العام في البوسنة والهرسك (1993 2012) إلى أساقفة أوروبا بتاريخ 26 أكتوبر 2015، والتي قرئت في روما بمناسبة الذكرى السنوية الخمسين للرسالة الرعوية التي أرسلها أساقفة بولندا في 18 نوفمبر 1965 إلى إخوتهم في الدين وجواب الأساقفة الألمان عليها في 5 ديسمبر 1965.

"نحن نقبل بكم، ونريد أن تقبلوا أنتم بنا"

"أوربا بيتكم وبيتنا، السلام فيها لكم ولنا، والأمان فيها لكم ولنا، والصداقة فيها لكم ولنا"

أيها الأصدقاء الموقرون،

لقد تشرفت بالدعوة التي وجهها إلي سعادة السفير بيوتر كوفينا كونوبكا (Piotr Nowina-Konopka) للمشاركة في إحياء ذكرى الرسالة الرعوية التاريخية التي أرسلها الأساقفة البولنديون إلى الأساقفة الألمان وردّهم عليها قبل خمسين عاما.

إن رسائل الأساقفة الرعوية توقظ اليوم عند أصحاب النوايا الحسنة مشاعر السلام والصداقة. وحقا إن تلك الرسالة توقظ الرغبة الصادقة في المصالحة بين الإخوة.

وروما هي خير مكان لإحياء هذه الذكرى التاريخية.

وليس المكان هو المكان الأفضل وحسب، بل إنه الزمان الأمثل لتشجيع الجميع في العالم كي يأخذوا العبرة ويقبلوا فحوى تلك الرسالة الرعوية: العبرة بأن القلب المحب خير من القلب المبغض، والفحوى بأن اليد التي تخط الكلم الطيب خير من اليد التي تقتل.

أيها الأساقفة الموقرون،

إن أخوتكم ومحبتكم الرعوية في أوروبا، جعلتني أحس بالحاجة والحرية أن أكتب إليكم، أساقفة أوروبا، رسالة باسم ديني، دين الإسلام، وثقافتي البوشناقية والتجربة التاريخية لبلدي البوسنة. إنها رسالة صداقة. إن أول جريمة قتل كانت قتل الأخ لأخيه، إذ قتل قابيل أخاه هابيل. وقد آمن بعيسى عليه السلام واتبعه أصدقاؤه وتلامذته. إنهم لم يكونوا إخوته، بل كانوا أصدقاءه في المحبة. لذا يمكن لمحبة الصديق أن تكون أقوى من محبة الأخ الشقيق.

وقد تعرض المسلمون الأوائل في مكة المكرمة للمطاردة من إخوانهم، فوجدوا الملجأ والحماية عند النجاشي ملك الحبشة النصراني، الذي كان وما يزال رمزا للصداقة بين المسلمين والنصارى. وهذا ما تؤكده الآية القرآنية {... وَلَتَجِدَنَّ أَقْرَبَهُمْ مَوَدَّةً لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّا نَصَارَى ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسِّيسِينَ وَرُهْبَانًا وَأَنَّهُمْ لا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ} (المائدة، 82).

كان ذلك واحدا في سلسلة التصريحات في مؤتمر دولي، حيث صرح د. تسيريتش بعد أن أصبح رئيس العلماء الفخري بدعم السلم والتعايش والتصالح في البلقان وأوروبا. لكن إدراج بيان فيينا في هذا الكتاب جاء بسبب احتوائه على جرعة قوية من الاحتجاج ضد الإسلاموفوبيا التي تنتشر في أوروبا في الآونة الأخيرة. إن رئيس العلماء الفخري د. تسيريتش بقي وفيا لمبادئ الحوار بين الثقافات، ولكنه في الوقت ذاته لم يتخل عن وفائه لتراثه الإسلامي وثقافته البوسنية. يمكننا القول تلك هي الرسالة الرئيسة لهذه الدراسة الوثائقية الواضحة المغزى أحبب ما هو لك واحترم ما هو لغيرك.

لقد عملت على هذا الكتاب باحترام خاص لأنني أشعر أن هذه الرسائل الداعية للحوار بين الأديان والثقافات، التي قيلت باسم المسلمين البشانقة على لسان مرجعهم الديني، ذات قيمة دائمة للأجيال القادمة من أبناء البشانقة. وقد تم إدراج تفاعلات شخصيات بارزة محلية وعالمية مع هذه القيم التي تم عرضها وتوثيقها هنا. ربما لا يكون هذا واضحا للجميع اليوم، لكنني أتصور أنه سيكون أكثر وضوحا للذين سيأتون بعدنا، بأن أسلافهم كانوا في زمانهم واعين وذوي حس عال بالمسؤولية لما يحقق الخير لهم، وبأن رسائلهم آنذاك لقيت تفهما واحتراما من الكثير من المسؤولين في العالم. لذا ينبغي أن يكون واضحا للجميع أن هذا الكتاب ليس قصة تتحدث عن شخص، بل تتحدث عن فكرة شخص اجتهد في الاستفادة من كل فرصة من أجل إيصال صوت العقل البوسني، صوت الحكمة البوسنية، صوت العزة البوسنية، صوت الثبات البوسني...

لقد أردت بهذه الطريقة وبهذه الصيغة أن أشهد على تلك الفكرة بالصور والنصوص الوثائقية التي جمعتها على مر السنين من مصادر شتى. والحق يقال، فإن هذا لا يمثل كل المواد التي تم جمعها وتوثيقها، بل هو جزء متواضع تم انتقاؤه وسرده لهذه المناسبة في نفس الصيغة التي عثر عليه بها. وإذا وجد القارئ بعض الأخطاء في النص أو إذا أحس بعض المصممين المختصين "بالإساءة لهم" بسبب بعض التصرف عند إعداد الكتاب، فإنني أقدم اعتذاري سلفا، وأنوه بأني قد اجتهدت في أن أنقل بصدق كل المضامين في شكلها الأصلي مع مراعاة ضرورة الإعداد الشكلي للكتاب.

*1 عبارة "الوسيط الثقافي" غير محددة بدقة، لكنها تستعمل عادة لوصف الشخص الذي يُسهل على شخص آخر أو مجموعة أخرى عبور الحدود من ثقافة إلى أخرى. يزويسكي (في يزويسكي وستونيك 2001) يعرف نقل الثقافة بأنه "العمل على التجسير والربط والوساطة بين مجموعات أو أشخاص ذوي خلفيات ثقافية مختلفة بهدف التقليل من الصراع أو إنتاج التغيير).

عشر من سبتمبر 2001 في نيويورك، والحادي عشر من مارس في مدريد 2004، والسابع من يوليو 2005 في لندن، يمثل التعبير الأقوى للصوت البوسني في إدانة الإرهاب. ونظرا لأهمية الرسائل الصريحة والواضحة الواردة في تلك الوثيقة الفريدة، وللصدى الذي حظيت به في أوروبا، قررت إدراج "إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين" كاملا باللغات البوسنية والإنكليزية والألمانية والفرنسية والعربية، لكي يبقى وثيقة دائمة للموقف البوسني، وبصورة أدق، لموقف الزعيم الديني البوسني في زمن المحن الشديدة، وللخيار الصريح بأن تعلم أوروبا والعالم بأن المسلمين الأوربيين حريصين على السلام والتعايش مع جيرانهم.

لذا، فإن البشانقة، إيمانا منهم بأن الشر يزداد قوة بانسحاب الخير، لم يكن بإمكانهم أن يبقوا غير مبالين بالهجوم بالقنابل على المتسابقين في ماراثون بوسطن في 15 من مارس 2013، ولا بقتل الجندي الأعزل في وولويتش بإنكلترا في 22 من مايو 2013، حيث وقف د. تسيريتش سويا مع السيد حارث هروميتش في مقدمة المنددين والمُدينين للإرهاب من خلال "إعلان المؤتمر البوشناقي العالمي حول الأمن المشترك والمواطنة العالمية"، فكان ذلك استمرارا لإعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين. وعلى عكس البيان الأول الذي يعبر عن الإحساس الديني عند المسلمين، فإن الإعلان الثاني جاء معبرا عن إحساس البشانقة القومي وردّهم الأوربي مع الإدانة الصريحة للإرهاب.

إن "إعلان الأمن المشترك والمواطنة العالمية" يمثل رسالة واضحة للعالم بأن البشانقة جزء من الحل من أجل السلام والأمن في العالم، وهم بذلك يشاركون العالم مصير العالمي. وهكذا تكتمل صورة الخيار الديني والقومي عند البشانقة، بأنهم يريدون أن يكونوا جزءا من العالم الحر والديمقراطي. إن رسالتهم واضحة: "إن دينهم وثقافتهم لا يمثلان عقبة على طريق الحرية والديمقراطية، بل على العكس، إن دينهم وثقافتهم عاملان محفزان لهم لكي يناضلوا من أجل السلام والأمن المشترك في العالم، مواطنين متساويين فيه. لذا فإن البشانقة يدينون كل أشكال العنف، وخاصة العنف باسم الدين، لأن "العنف باسم الدين إنما هو عنف ضد الدين!".

كما أن للإعلان الثاني مكانته المهمة في إطار "رسالة المطارنة البولنديين إلى المطارنة الألمان"، التي تُظهر وعيا عاليا بالمسؤولية عن السلم والأمن في أوروبا والعالم. إن رسالة رئيس العلماء والمفتى العام البوسني إلى المطارنة الأوربيين تمثل أيضا تعبيرا عن روح الوحدة الأوربية في اختلاف الديانات والثقافات.

الرسالة واضحة: "البشانقة شعب أوروبي، لذا من المهم أن يُسمع صوتهم في مكافحة كل الشرور وأشكال الظلم في أوروبا والعالم!".

ومن بين الأحداث الأخرى، ما حدث في أكاديمية فيينا الدبلوماسية معهد الدراسات الاستراتيجية النادي ثلاثة (Diplomatische Akademie Wien - Institute for Strategic Studies - Club of 3).

الإشكالات في البوسنة كانت دائما أكثر من الحلول، أما بالنسبة لرئيس العلماء د. تسيريتش، فإن الإشكالات كانت أكثر وأضخم، لأن رئيس العلماء عند البشانقة في ظروف الحرب لم يكن لديه سِفر يدله أو كتاب يسترشد به، وبعد تفكك المجتمع والدولة اليوغوسلافية، عادت الأمور في المشيخة الإسلامية في البوسنة والهرسك إلى نقطة البداية، وواجه رئيس العلماء د. تسيريتش الكثير من الأمور المجهولة والتحديات ، التي كان أشدها، التواصل مع العالم. إن هذه الدراسة الوثائقية تستعرض في الحقيقة نجاح رئيس العلماء والمفتى العام البوسني، في ظروف الحرب وما بعدها، وكأنه "وسيط الثقافة"[1*]، في أن ينقل للعالم صوت الإيمان والثقافة عند الإنسان البوشناقي المسلم بروح الحوار الديني المناسب والبناء؛ الصوت الذي استمع إليه وبنفس الاهتمام، ملك المملكة العربية السعودية، ورئيس الصين؛ الصوت الذي سُمع في دافوس (Davos) في "المنتدى الاقتصادي العالمي" وفي مكة المكرمة في "المجمع الفقهي الإسلامي لرابطة العالم الإسلامي". إن صوت رئيس العلماء البوسني قد أصبح بالفعل معروفا على حد سواء في الفاتيكان والرياض والقاهرة وعمّان ومسقط وبيروت وأنقرة وطهران وإسلام أباد وأبوظبي والرباط وتونس ودمشق والخرطوم ودارفور، وفي موسكو وواشنطن ونيويورك وسدني، وكذلك في جوهانسبرغ وأبوجا وكوالالمبور وجاكرتا وسنغافورة وسيول ومانيلا وطوكيو... إن هذا الكتاب يعالج جزءا من قصة صوت رئيس العلماء والمفتى العام الذي سُمع بعيدا في الشرق وفي الغرب... إنها شهادتي الوثائقية الخاصة عن بعض نشاطات الزعيم الديني للبشانقة المسلمين.

ومن أواخر ما شهدته من أشكال التواصل التحاوري لرئيس العلماء د. تسيريتش مع النصارى، وبالتحديد مع الكاثوليك في أوروبا، "رسالته إلى المطارنة الأوروبيين" التي كانت دافعا لكي يحمل هذا الكتاب اسم "الرسالة"، والتي ننشرها باللغات البوسنية والإنكليزية والألمانية والعربية والبولندية. كان رئيس العلماء د. تسيريتش (1992 2012) قد استجاب لدعوة السفير البولندي بيوتر نوينا كنوبكا (Piotr Nowina-Konopka) ليحضر في الفاتيكان الاحتفال بالذكرى السنوية الخمسين على نشر "رسالة المطارنة البولنديين إلى المطارنة الألمان والرسالة الجوابية من المطارنة الألمان إلى المطارنة البولنديين" (1965) تحت شعار: "نحن نعفو ونطلب العفو".

وإحساسا منه بأهمية اللحظة، عمد د. تسيريتش كما عودنا إلى كتابة "رسالة صداقة إلى المطارنة الأوربيين" وقع عليها المفتون في السنجق وليوبليانا وزاغرب وبانيالوكا وموستار مع عدد من الأكاديميين والأساتذة والأئمة البشانقة البارزين. وقد جاءت تلك الرسالة استمرارا لحوار طويل ومثمر بين الأديان لرئيس العلماء د. تسيريتش في العالم، ولاسيما في أوروبا، لذا قررت أن أقدم في هذا الكتاب بعضا من التفاصيل غير المعروفة من تلك النشاطات، وخاصة نشاطات رئيس العلماء في الجامعات الأمريكية والأوروبية المرموقة، مثل ييل ومديسون ويسكونسين وميونخ وفيينا وتوبنغن وكمبرج ...

بَيد أن "إعلان المسلمين الأوروبيين" الذي نُشر انعكاسا شخصيا على هجمات الحادي

كلمة عن "كلمة الرسالة"

الأكاديمي محمد عاكشاميا
الأكاديمية البوشناقية للعلوم والفنون

لا توجد يد تدفع عن المرء ما قدره الله عليه
ولا توجد كلمة تقال في الخاتمة فتدفع الضرر أو تجلب المنفعة

في الظلام يريد الذهب المزيف أن يكون ذهبا حقيقيا
أما الذهب الحقيقي فينتظر النهار ليظهر بكامل بريقه

جلال الدين الرومي، مثنوي، بيت 3342/624

بالرغم من أن هذه الدراسة الوثائقية قد تبدو عند النظرة الأولى مخصصةً لشخص بيعنه، إلا أنها في الأساس مخصصة لقدرات التواصل مع العالم من منظور بوسني. وليس المقصود هنا أي تواصل، بل التواصل التحاوري الديني في عصر يمكن وصفه بأنه عصر أعظم التحديات بالنسبة للإسلام والمسلمين، ليس فقط في البوسنة، بل وفي أوروبا والعالم. إن البوسنة، التي يصفها البعض ببلاد الهراطقة، كانت منذ القدم في مركز الاهتمام الديني. فمنذ عهد كولين بان (Kulin ban)، وحتى يومنا هذا، كانت بيزنطة الأرثوذكسية وروما الكاثوليكية تتنافسان على "الروح الدينية البوسنية". ومع قدوم الإسلام في القرن 15 الميلادي، أصبحت البوسنة واحة دينية فريدة، حيث يلتقي فيها الشرق والغرب ويفترقان في الوقت ذاته، وحيث تعلم فيها المسلمون والأرثوذكس والكاثوليك ولاحقا اليهود أيضا، التعايش والتسامح فيما بينهم، في تشابهاتهم وتبايناتهم الإبراهيمية أو الأبرهامية.

إن مؤسسة رئيس العلماء في البوسنة أصبحت منذ عام 1882 رمزا للتراث الإسلامي الرسمي عند البشانقة. وقد تقلد منصب رئيس العلماء على مدى أكثر من مائة عام، شخصيات امتلكوا المعرفة والحكمة في مكانهم وزمانهم. وفي أواخر القرن الماضي وبداية القرن الحادي والعشرين، وعلى مدى عقدين من الزمان، تقلد هذا المنصب عند البشانقة الدكتور مصطفى تسيريتش. لقد تعرفت عليه في أواخر الثمانينات من القرن الماضي في زاغرب، جمهورية كرواتيا، بعد عودته من شيكاغو، الولايات الامريكية، حاملا درجة الدكتوراه في الفلسفة، ليكون الأول في هذا المجال في المشيخة الإسلامية بيوغوسلافيا السابقة. ومنذ ذلك الوقت وحتى اليوم عملت على الكثير من المشاريع للمشيخة الإسلامية بناء على مبادرة من رئيس العلماء و المفتى العام د. تسيريتش، سواء أثناء الحرب أو بعدها. كنت أتابع عمل رئيس العلماء ونشاطاته المحلية الدولية، وشاركت في بعض إشكالاته وحلوله التي أقدم هنا شهادتي الجزئية عنها. معروف أن

رسالة

RISĀLAH



مركز الوسطية للحوار

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