

As Gariwo's Chair, I want to echo the welcome Svetlana Broz, its Founder and Director, has extended to you all.

This is the fourth such occasion to honour civil courage.

Today we celebrate the deeds of five men. Two are with us, Zoran Mandlbaum and Esad Kocan. I know you will enormously enjoy meeting each of them.

What is sad is that our **other** three are no longer alive. Two of them were murdered, murdered in the course of their duty carried out **far beyond** all reasonable demands. We warmly welcome their widows.

Last year we were honouring two remarkable women. I'm afraid there are none this year, but I have no doubt we shall be honouring many others in the future.

But our purpose is not just to look back to the past. Our whole aim is to highlight the vital importance of civil courage for the **future**. The spotlight of history should focus not just on the criminals, but also on the men and women who should be the role models for our society's future and above all for our youth.

That is why I am particularly glad to see the hundreds of young people here today, and I would like to speak above all to **them**.

Seventy years ago your great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers had catastrophe burst on them from outside. But **twenty** years ago it was the leaders of your grandfathers and your fathers who brought catastrophe on the whole region, with Bosnia the biggest victim.

You will **not** want to repeat their mistakes.

And **that** really is up to you.

No one - certainly no so-called International Community - **no one** can **impose** democracy on you from outside.

No one -no fairy godmother - no one can give you the **gift** of an equitable society from above.

No economic or humanitarian aid – no one can construct you an efficient economy.

And even you could not seize any of those by rioting in the streets.

A robust civil society has to be built up , stone by stone, brick by brick, from **within** and from **below**.

If you want an independent judiciary, a responsive government, a level playing-field for democratic elections, truthful media and to building up a fair society from ground zero, then you need thousands to stand up bravely to cheats and bullies in the playground, in school, at University, in the media, in business, in government, in the religious institutions, in the media.

Segmented , on purpose, by religion and ethnicity, by name and by accent, you have to link arms across any and all of those artificially reinforced primitive divides.

Some fifty years ago we lived in Jamaica and my daughter Tess was asked about a girl she'd invited for her 7th birthday:

„Is she black or white?“

„I don't know Mummy,“ Tess said. „I look at **her**, not her colour.“

Your society here has a long way to go to catch up.

And by now I fear only you young people can heal those primitive tribal divisions.

When you make friends, when you date, try to cross the bridge.

Try to forge close friendships **across** those ethnic divides.

Each of you will be eager to contribute the best of their culture,
and you will broaden your horizons
and experience each others' individuality more deeply.

If you were my grandchildren I would tell you bluntly:
In the end you really have only three choices.

Either you could become the victims, the tools, perhaps the profiteers of a
profoundly inequitable and corrupt system;
Or you could try to emigrate to some dynamic foreign country;
Or you can consciously and proudly dedicate and fit yourselves to build a free, fair
and democratic country of your own.

Which will it be?