

PUBLISHER
INSTITUT ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE ZLOČINA PROTIV
ČOVJEČNOSTI I MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA
SARAJEVO

*INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH OF CRIMES AGAINST
HUMANITY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW
SARAJEVO*

TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK
"AGRESIJA NA BOSNU I GENOCID NAD BOŠNJACIMA 1991.-1993.",
Sarajevo, NIPP "Ljiljan", 1994.

REVIEWS:

1. Professor Mustafa Imamović, Ph.D.
2. Professor Atif Purivatra, Ph.D.
3. Professor Jusuf Žiga, Ph.D.

Expert consultant: Muharem Kreso, M.S.

English translation by:
Mr. Haris Mešinović
Mrs. Kadir Hadžić
Mrs. Ferida Dučić
Editor: Samija Rizvanović
Graphic design: Ismar Mujezinović

THE AGGRESSION ON BOSNIA
AND
GENOCIDE AGAINST
BOSNIACS
1991-1993

By
Dr. SMAIL ČEKIĆ

Sarajevo, 1995.

Croat Democratic Community (in original: HDZ - "Hrvatska demokratska zajednica") of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as of the fascistic element of the Croatian Defense Council (in original: HVO - "Hrvatsko vijeće obrane"), information of governmental agencies and institutions of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reports of Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch, as well as excerpts from the press. The sources used are meticulously listed in the notes. The information which was available led to the research results which are presented in this book.

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIACS*

Crimes of genocide against Bosniaks in the lands of Southern Slavs are an part of their history. They have lasted for more than three centuries, originating both from the East and from the West, depending on the particular historical period.

* For preparation of this chapter the following documents and works were used:

V. Dedijer - A. Miletić, *The Genocide Against the Moslems, 1941-1945, Collection of Documents and Testimonies*, Sarajevo, 1990; M. Hadžijahić: *Particularity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sufferings of the Moslems*, Sarajevo, 1969.; R. Pajović, *Slaughter of the Moslems in Sanjak and a part of Eastern Bosnia in January and February 1943.*, *Collection of Papers "Neretva - Sutjeska"*; Ibid, *Counter Revolution in Montenegro, Chetnik and Federal Movement 1941-1945*, Cetinje 1977.; M. Imamović, *Survey of the History of Genocide Against the Moslems in Yugoslav countries*, *Glasnik Rijaseta islamske zajednice (Herald of the Moslem Community)* No. 6/91; Ibid, *Some Reflections on Genocide*, Published in: *Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992*, (below *Genocide*), *Pravna misao*, No. 5-8, Sarajevo, 1992; M. Memić, *Plav i Gusinje in the Past*, Belgrade 1989; Ibid., *Aggressive Pretensions of Montenegro Towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and Her Genocidal Activities Against the Moslems*, *Genocide*; A. Purivatra, *"Yugoslav Moslem Organization in the Political Life in Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians*, Sarajevo, 1977, Ibid.; *Economic Genocide Against the Moslems in the Form of Agricultural Reform in Yugoslavia (1918-1941)*, *Genocide*; S. Bandžović, *Emigration of the Moslems from Sanjak*, Sarajevo, 1991; H. Avdić, *Position of the Moslems in Sanjak*, Sarajevo, 1991; M. Filipović, *Regarding the Topic on Genocide*, *Genocide*; S. Čekić, *Chetnik Crimes in South-eastern Bosnia, 1941-1943*, *Special Edition of the Journal "Preporod"*, Sarajevo, 1991.; S. Halilović, *Regulation of the International Law and Genocide Against Bosnian Moslems*, *Genocide*; M. Imamović - K. Hrelja - A. Purivatra, *Economic Genocide Against Bosnian Moslems*, Sarajevo, 1993; N. Duraković, *Accursed Fate of the Moslems*, Sarajevo, 1993; F. Šeta, *Destruction and Devastation of Islamic and Other Sacral and Cultural Sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1919-1993*, (manuscript) Sarajevo, 1993. *Confiscated documents of the Serb Democratic Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as of the extremist wing of Croat Democratic Community for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the fascist wing of Croat Council of Defence* were also used. (sources are given in the Supplements).

All this is tied to the general attitude of Europe towards Islam as a complex civilization and towards Bosniaks as its members, but this issue is outside the scope of this study.

In principle, the causes of the Genocide over Bosniaks were ideological, but others lay beneath: first of all the contest for territories (as Nazis used to put it: "the struggle for *'Lebensraum'*"), as well as annihilation of the people in its own right.

Crimes of genocide against Bosniaks have their historical continuity ever since the second half of XVII century. Apart from genocidal actions of Venetian and Austrian catholic troops, they were chiefly result of the unremitting of Montenegrin and Serb policy from the start of XVIII century until the present. Namely, physical extermination and spiritual extinguishment perpetrated by Montenegrins and Serbs over Moslem Slavs was inspired by the Serb genocidal ideology founded on the myth of the Kosovo Battle; (Petar Petrović) Njegoš's "annihilation of converts to Islam", lies and political propaganda. This, basically, nazi fascist ideology was elaborated in and shaped by Njegoš's epic "Gorski vijenac" (Mountain Wreath), Garašanin's 1844 "Načertanije"; the policy of royal Serbia; Vuk Karadžić's "language nationalism"; documents from the 1917 "Corfu Declaration"; nationalist programs of Serb bourgeois circles, best expressed by the Serb Cultural Club in Belgrade and various Serb societies and associations, as well as the Serb Orthodox Church; in genocidal program document by notorious Chetnik ideologist Stevan Moljević of June 30, 1941; on genocidal program of Draža Mihajlović's Chetnik Movement from September 1941 and his Instruction dated December 20 of the same year about extermination of Bosniaks; on conclusions of the Chetnik conference held in Šahovići (early January 1943); on program documents of Serbian Academy of Science and Art; on historiography, philosophical and literary works of Vasa Čubrilović, Ivo Andrić, Dobrica Ćosić, Milorad Ekmečić, Veselin Đuretić, Vasilije Krestić, Mihajlo Marković etc.; by strategic plans of the high-

est military leadership of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and the administrative and political leaders of Serbia; by long-range plans of SSUP (acronym for Federal Ministry of Interior), especially under Petar Gračanin; in programs of a number of political parties, many theoreticians, statesmen, as well as by the dignitaries of the Serb Orthodox Church in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This ideology, in whose very heart lies pathological hatred of everything non-Serb and non-Orthodox, and of Bosniaks and Islam in particular, was constantly present in Serb historiography, literature, culture, politics, religion etc.

All plans for "Greater Serbia" and Chetnik program documents state that establishing and organizing of a homogenous Serbia (ethnically pure Serb state), comprising "all the areas where Serbs live" is "the first and fundamental duty" of all Serbs. The program of the Draža Mihajlović's Chetnik Movement from September 1941, among other things, stated that:

a) "Borders of the de facto Serb lands should be set with only Serb population left inside" and

b) "Particular attention should be paid to the speedy and radical cleansing of the cities and to their repopulation with fresh elements."

Draža Mihajlović's Instruction of December 20, 1941 clearly defined the aims of the Chetnik troops:

1) "Establish a Greater Yugoslavia and within it "Greater Serbia", ethnically pure within the borders comprising Serbia - Montenegro - Bosnia and Herzegovina - Srem, Banat and Bačka" (after they are gathered in a homogenous Serbia and within Yugoslavia, "which will be instilled with their spirit and bear their mark," Serbs, according to Garašanin and Moljević, must achieve hegemony in the Balkans. However, in order to acquire the Balkan hegemony, "(they) previously must have hegemony in Yugoslavia.");

2) "Cleanse the territory of the state from all minorities and non-national elements;"

3) "Create direct common borders between Serbia and

Montenegro, as well as between Serbia and Slovenia by cleansing Sanjak from Moslem and Bosnia from Moslem and Croat population;"

4) "Cleanse" Kosovo from Albanians;

5) "Populate the areas cleansed from minorities and non-national elements by Montenegrins (poor, nationally immaculate and honest families to be taken into consideration)" etc.

The sole creed and ideal of many Serbs in the last two hundred years has been to establish great, strong and "invincible Serbia" in the Balkans which will be inhabited by Serbs only ("All Serbs in one State," "Serbia will be great and strong or there will be no Serbia", "administrative, territorial and cultural unity of all Serbs" etc.).

Serb intellectual, political and military leadership, striving, in accordance with aspirations of Greater-Serbian policy, to establish "Greater Serbia", for nearly two centuries instilled their people in every way with false epic and mythic memory which blamed all their troubles, past and present, on "Turks", i. e. Bosniaks. That is why it transpired that, every twenty, thirty or forty years, they re-embarked on wholesale massacres of Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sanjak.

Serb intellectuals and politicians of nationalistic orientation initiated the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia for the benefit of an imaginary project of "Greater Serbia". Their academicians, political tyrants and demagogues of all sorts broke up Yugoslavia to establish "Greater Serbia".

All Chetnik program documents openly invoked extermination of Bosniaks: by physical and spiritual annihilation; by banishment to territories not to belong to the domain of so-called "Greater Serbia" (to Turkey and Albania) and by conversion to Christianity. This is why Bosniaks were victims of multiple campaigns of genocide by Serb genocidal policy in XIX and XX centuries.

Crimes against Bosniaks found inspiration also in Oustashas' genocidal policy of the so-called NDH (acronym for "Nezavisna Država Hrvatska" - the Independent State of

Croatia existing during WW II) and in the nationalist "Greater Croatia" program aimed at establishing "a joint Croatian State" within "its ethnic and historical borders."

The issue of the genocide and other crimes against Bosniaks in the territories inhabited by South Slavs, and especially suffering of Bosniak population at the hands of Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks, has not previously been systematically examined and studied in depth. The same applies to the crimes perpetrated against Bosniaks by Oustashas, in particular in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp. That is why the scale and sheer brutality of the genocide against Bosniaks remained unknown, both to Bosniaks and to the outside world. Therefore a chronology of their persecution and suffering follows.

The first great catastrophe for Moslems took place in the course and after so-called "Great" or "Vienna War" 1683-1699, when Osmanli Turks lost all possessions in Hungary, Slavonia, Lika, Krbava, Dalmatia and the Bay of Cattaro area. All Moslems who failed to withdraw on time to Bosnia and Herzegovina and other territories to the south of the Sava and the Danube were killed, expelled or forcefully converted to Catholicism, and their religious buildings demolished and razed to the ground. In those areas the memory of Moslems lives only in toponyms and surnames. In Kuči in 1688 Montenegrins massacred some 500 and expelled about 700 Muslims. Duke Eugen of Savoy, having defeated the Ottoman army at Senta, penetrated all the way to Sarajevo (around 1698) and took with him as slaves large numbers of people of Moslem, Orthodox and Jewish extraction.

At the start of XVIII century (in July 1711), in conformity with Russian Imperial policy and its interests in the Balkans, the so-called "annihilation of converts to Islam", i. e. physical extermination and spiritual extinguishment of all followers of Islam on the territory of "Old Montenegro" (in total for districts with the center at Cetinje). At the time Montenegrins, with the blessing and support of the Orthodox Church and

led by "Vladika" Danilo massacred, forcefully converted or expelled 800-1000 Bosniaks and demolished all their sacral and cultural buildings, among which six mosques. Still, at the time most Bosniaks managed to escape to neighbouring districts around Bar, Nikšić, the Skadar Lake and the Bojana River; and some to Podgorica (the Mustafić clan, which was extolled in the "Gorski vijenac", even nowadays lives above the town of Bar, in Tudemile village). After 1713 there were no Moslems left in Montenegro. The "annihilation of converts to Islam" was poeticized by "Vladika" and poet Petar Petrović Njegoš in the "Gorski vijenac", thereby laying ideologized epic foundations and establishing a model for all subsequent crimes against Bosniaks in Serbia, Sanjak, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Immediately after extermination of Bosniaks on the territory of "Old Montenegro", Bosniaks in the townships of Gacko, Grahovo, Nikšić, Spuž, Plav and Gusinje were attacked, and there were attempts to assail Podgorica as well. At that time 300 Bosniaks were massacred in Gusinje.

While the Ottoman Empire's deterioration set in, the Austrian catholic troops continued with genocidal actions. Thus, in an incursion into Belgrade in the end of XVIII century, Austrian Christian troops massacred the majority of Moslem and Jewish inhabitants.

Genocide against Moslems intensified since the beginning of the First Serbian Uprising (in 1804), when began their systematic persecution on the territories which were to undergo establishment and gradual expansion of two Balkan states, Serbia and Montenegro. By exterminating Moslems these two states aim to achieve ethnic purity of their territories. Thus a famous Serb historian and politician Stojan Novaković noted that since 1804 a "general process of weeding Turks from the population" had been under way. The term "Turks" meant Moslems, i. e. local population of Slavic ethnic origin.

After attaining the status of vassal autonomous principal-

ity within the Ottoman Empire (by the Sultan's Edict from 1830), mass atrocities over Moslem population were perpetrated in Serbia. In the period between 1830 and 1867, and most intensively from 1862 till 1867, all Moslems from Belgrade, Užice, Šabac, Sokol and other towns were massacred or expelled and their entire cultural heritage wiped out. The expelled Moslems settled, for the most part, in Bosnia, where Ottoman authorities erected two completely new settlements, named, after Sultan Abdul Azeez, Upper Azeezia (today Bosanski Šamac) and Lower Azeezia (Orašje).

In 1856 Montenegrins committed numerous atrocities against Moslems and Albanians (Catholics) in Kuči area. Great number of Bosniaks and Albanians, among them women and children, were murdered, expelled or forced to convert to Orthodox Christianity.

By the Border Agreement between the Ottoman authorities and Montenegro of 1859, concluded under the pressure from France and Russia, towns of Gornji Vasojevići, Grahovo and Njudol were surrendered to Montenegro. The consequence of this "concession" was the crime of genocide against Bosniaks in Vasojevići. Namely, 26 Moslem family clans with some 750 members were converted to Christianity by force. Bosniaks in Grahovo and Njudol townships were exterminated, and their mosques torn down. A massacre of Moslem inhabitants was committed in Kolašin as well.

After the wars of 1876-1878, previously autonomous principalities Serbia and Montenegro, by decision of European Powers at the Congress of Berlin, attained state sovereignty and were granted considerable territorial expansion. Massive crimes of genocide were perpetrated on the territories which went to Serbia (districts: Niš, Pirot, Toplica-Prokuplje and Vranje), inhabited by large Moslem population comprising, for the most part, ethnic Turks, Albanians, Gypsions, as well as Islamized Slavs. According to some estimates, at that time Serbian Army in three days put to death or expelled about 100.000 Moslems and destroyed numerous mosques and

other buildings with characteristics of Islamic architecture. Many crimes were committed against Bosniaks in Nikšić, the Zeta Plain, Spuž, Podgorica, Kolaši, Žabljak, Plav and Gusinje, as well as in Ulcinj, all townships with Moslem majority which went to Montenegro by the decision of the Congress of Berlin. All movable property and real estate belonging to Moslems was confiscated and they were subjected to heavy psychological and cultural pressures. This caused large migration, i. e. flight of population. The displaced inhabitants then, suffering their tragic fate, unable to secure even the barest existential minimum, moved from Nikšić, Kolašin, Spuž, Žabljak and the Zeta Plain, towards Sanjak, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Mostar), to Albania (Skadar and Drač), Kosovo (Magzit) and Anatolia. Thus, of 600 Moslem families expelled from Nikšić, 318 (52,8%) went to Bosnia, and 283 (47,2%) to Albania.

The quoted crimes against Moslems in Serbia and Montenegro (dating back to as early as 1711) were being committed at on instigation from, and with support of, Imperial Russia, later, in part, France, and subsequently an approval of European Powers was secured at the Berlin Congress, thereby conquest of territories by force and the genocide over Moslems were legalized.

With Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, mass emigration of Bosniaks from Bosnia to Sanjak, Kosovo, Macedonia and Turkey began. Until 1914 more than 100.000 Bosniaks emigrated (what caused the percentage of Bosniaks in the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina to plummet from 38,73% in 1879 to 32,25% in 1910).

During and after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) countless crimes (persecutions, mass killings and conversions to Christianity) were committed against Bosniaks in Sanjak, and especially in that part of it that went to Montenegro, but also against Bosniaks and (catholic) Albanians in Metohija. Within the frame of this overall genocidal policy in 1913 Montenegrins

killed about 800 and forcibly converted to Christianity 12,000 Bosniaks in townships of Plav and Gusinje. Further activities of this kind were averted by the intervention of the King Nikola I Petrović. In Metohija in 1912 Montenegrins carried out forced conversion of "Catholic and Moslem population to Orthodox religion".

The Bosniak situation in the territories of South Slavs deteriorated during and after the end of the World War I. Immediately after the entry of the Serb troops into Bosnia and Herzegovina, and despite warm welcome of Bosniak population, multiple murders and mass mistreatments of Bosniaks ensued, with night intrusions in their houses and plundering of money, livestock and other valuable possessions.

After Unification and establishment of the first joint Yugoslav State (on December 1, 1918), under the Serb royal dynasty Karadorđević, what represented the beginning of realization of the goals from Garašanin's "Načertanije", in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the crimes against Bosniaks resumed. In the first years of existence of the Kingdom of SCS numerous mass murders were recorded ("thousands of people killed"), people were thrown in the pits alive throughout Eastern Herzegovina, banditry and overt violence, robberies and thefts of Bosniak property, private as well as communal, meaning that belonging to religious institutions and (pious) foundations, as well as destruction of mosques and other sacral buildings. Only in Eastern Herzegovina during the twenties more than 3,000 non-prosecuted murders were recorded. About 270 villages were looted and burned. The treatment of Bosniak population was especially drastic in the districts of Rogatica, Sarajevo, Kladanj, Tuzla, Konjic and Trebinje, then around the towns of Ljubinje, Bileća, Gacko and Nevesinje.

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1919-1929 146 mosques in Bosnia and Herzegovina were torn down, as were numerous other sacral buildings, including many of various cultural purposes belonging to Islamic tradition and the world

heritage in general.

During the first years of existence of the State of Yugoslavia Bosniaks of Sanjak especially suffered. Most drastic were instances of massacres in Plav and Gusinje, as well as in the District of Bijelo Polje. In mid-February 1919 Serb and Montenegrin troops put to death 450 Bosniaks (women, children and elderly) in Plav and Gusinje, looting and burning their homes. Some 3,000 Bosniaks managed to flee to Albania (to Skadar).

In early November of 1924 in the villages of Šahovići (Tomaševo) and Pavino Polje (in the District of Bijelo Polje) Montenegrins massacred some 600-900 Bosniaks, among whom many women, children and elderly, some of whom were even collectively burned alive. On November 7 near Kolašin Boško Bošković, a former district head, was murdered on the account of a blood feud. For this the authorities had blamed some Bosniaks, which was later proven as unfounded in court. At his funeral the crowd was especially incited by state officials, the District Head of Bijelo Polje Nikodim Cemović, and the Chief for Bijelo Polje Lazar Bogičević. At the night of 9/10 November around 2,000 armed Montenegrins set out in an organized manner against the villages of Šahovići and Pavino Polje, where they massacred and drove away all Bosniak population they found, regardless of the age and sex. A number of Bosniaks from this area emigrated to Turkey (more than 100 families), and others (more than 150 families) moved to Gornji Rahić, Čelić i Maoču (near Brčko), where they permanently settled. Thus a "terrible and bloody drama", which was described with outstanding authenticity by Milovan Đilas in his book "Zemlja bez pravde" (The Land without Justice", London 1958), took place in Šahovići. Đilas was told about these tragic events by his father Nikola, a Reserve Major of the Gendarmerie, who had been one of the leaders of the murderous attack on Šahovići and Pavino Polje.

Difficult socio-political situation of Bosniaks in the King-

dom of Yugoslavia, especially after Bosniak landowners had been dispossessed in an unjust agrarian reform, and constant criminal practices against them, through various kinds of discrimination, destruction and extinguishing of all products of their culture and creative spirit, provoked another wave of emigration of Bosniaks to Turkey, which the authorities instigated and even planned. During the Thirties various plans were made and agreements brokered with Turkey about forced emigration (with some financial compensation) of the Moslem population, especially along the border with Albania. The Yugoslav-Turkish Agreement of July 11, 1938 on emigration of 40,000 Moslem rural families (with some 200,000 persons in total) to Turkey, without the right to return or to retain citizenship clearly confirmed this. In the period 1918-1941 32 32,000 Bosniaks emigrated from Sanjak to Turkey.

Particularly tragic situations for Bosniaks arose during the World War II 1941-1945 when on the genocidal platform the largest and cruelest campaigns of extermination and eradication of Bosniak population were carried out, mostly by Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks. Namely, the Chetniks of Draža Mihajlović, with the purpose of creating ethnically homogeneous "Greater Serbia", committed mass atrocities and extermination against Bosniak population. Greatest massacres over Bosniaks Chetniks perpetrated in Eastern Bosnia, Eastern Herzegovina and Western Sanjak, i. e. in the border counties towards Serbia and Montenegro, then in Bosanska Krajina (the counties of Petrovac, Ključ, Sanski Most etc.).

Genocidal crimes of Chetniks against Bosniaks were most numerous and drastic in Southeastern Bosnia and Sanjak (from August 1941 till the end of the war). This can be proved by a multitude of documents. On the basis of the sources of different provenance (Independent State of Croatia, Chetnik, Italian and others, as well as on the information of the Government Commissions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro for Establishing Facts about the Crimes of Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators) it is possible to de-

termine precise periods when these atrocities were most massive and drastic, as well as the methods and means of the genocide, number of victims, perpetrators etc.

Chetnik crimes in the Southeastern Bosnia were being committed continuously from August 1941 onwards. There are four shorter periods when these atrocities were most frequent and drastic:

- 1) December 1941-January 1942;
- 2) August 1942;
- 3) January-February 1943 and
- 4) October 1943.

In the period August 1941-January 1942, according to available sources, around 8,000 Bosniaks were killed in the Southeastern Bosnia. These killings were most numerous after the agreement between Italians and the Chetniks in early December 1941. Because of the famous partisan attack on Pljevlja and some other towns in Sanjak at the time, the Italians withdrew their garrisons from Southeastern Bosnia to Sanjak in order to defend these towns, and the authority in Southeastern Bosnia was handed over to the Chetniks. The majority of those 8,000 Bosniaks, with screams, desperate cries, wails, pleas and calls for help, which, especially at night, echoed through the streets of Foča, Goražde and Višegrad, were in December 1941 and January 1942 slaughtered on the five bridges between Foča and Višegrad and thrown into the Drina River. One of the survivors from the bridge in Goražde thus described the slaughter: "The Chetniks tied seventeen of us with wire and took to the Bridge over the Drina. There they cut our throats and threw us into the Drina. I was the seventh in the line. They laid me naked down on the bridge and a Chetnik knifed me once in the throat and four times in the body. Then they threw me from the bridge. The wire on my hand snapped and I hid under the bridge, while they killed and threw the others into the Drina and left. It happened some three hours after the evening prayer. I pulled myself under the bridge all the way to the last pier, where I

got onto the bank and went home along the Eastern Market, through the graveyard and over the fields. Mid-way I fell and remained lying, for I was wounded and weak. I fell in the snow several times before I reached home. There my brother took me. I went into hiding. Later the Chetniks Luka Vrečo of Bare village and Bogdan Knezović came to kill me, but they were thwarted."

Rodoljub Čolaković, a prominent partisan official, described in his Diary (in February 1942) the killing of Bosniaks on the Goražde Bridge as follows: "There to that bridge, the drunken men, at orders of their drunken commanders, would take Moslems and cut their throats with blunt knives and would often throw them only half-dead into the Drina, or they would hang them from the iron structure of the bridge. There they would be suspended for days, until a hand sent them plunging into the river. Every night screaming of victims rang in the ghastly silence of the small town, but no help were to arrive... And cries for help rose to the skies, muffled gasps were heard, warm, sticky blood sprayed the snow. The snow and the bridge railing were marked by scarlet traces of monstrous cruelty and infamy. Every drop of this innocently shed blood is a stain on the great banner of freedom, which Serb degenerates seek to disgrace."

A survivor's moving testimony about bestial tortures, molesting and tormenting of Bosniak population by Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks in the District of Višegrad: "As soon as they came to Koritnik, Vuko Medenica summoned Ramo Kurspahić and told him to gather all men and bring us to him. After Ramo did as he was told and gathered us, Medenica lined us up and ordered Mehmed Kurspahić to stand before the line, and after that he commanded two of those in the soldiers garb to tear the skin off his face. Those two set to the task, threw Mehmed to the ground and with blunt knives first cut the skin all around his face, and then started tearing it away, and together with the flesh, i. e. facial muscles, nose and ears, peeled it off and threw it back behind his head, so

that his chin reached the collar of his coat. All the time Mehmed writhed and screamed with pain and terror. We others, watching this horrible torturing of a human being, nearly died of fright. Then Medenica ordered Mehmed, with his facial skin dangling, to show how he prayed. And when Mehmed fell to the ground (i. e. to pray), one of those who had skinned his face lodged the knife into his back, which, after profuse bleeding, caused Mehmed's death."

On the Drina Bridge and on the banks, as well as on the Čehotina Bridge, Chetniks massacred Bosniaks from Foča and surrounding villages. The massacres were mainly carried out at night. Namely, Chetniks would gather their victims at night, tie twenty or more together and then take them to the above mentioned bridges and riverbanks, where they butchered and killed them. Nights were horrible. All night there would be shooting in the town and the surroundings. The bridges over the Drina and Čehotina were all bloody, and in the water below floated dead and mutilated men and women.

Between February and the end of 1942 in Southeastern Bosnia some 3,500 to 5,000 Bosniaks were killed. On the Drina Bridge in Foča, and around it, as well as in the vicinity of Ustikolina and the Jahorina Mountain, in the second half of August 1942 Chetnik murdered 2,000-3,500 Bosniaks from Foča and the surroundings, including refugees from other districts who had tried to escape from Chetniks from the right to the left bank of the Drina. On that occasion Chetnik troops of Draža Mihajlović committed massacres and unheard-of atrocities and brutalities against Bosniak population. Namely, Chetniks "broke into houses, looting, slaughtering men, women and children, raping girls and women whom they would subsequently kill, and nobody within rifle and knife range was spared, but everyone was put to death mercilessly."

From mid-February till late December 1942, the Chetniks of Draža Mihajlović terrorized and exterminated Bosniaks in the Sanjak area as well, especially in the District of Pljevlja.

The number of Bosniaks killed in the course of 1943

ranged between 5,200 and 11,700 (with victims being mainly women, children and elderly). Majority of these killings were committed in January-February of that year, that is in five days (i. e. on January 5 and 6, on the day before Orthodox Christmas, and on February 5, 6 and 7). This is one of the most massive single instances of genocide committed by the Chetniks of Draža Mihajlović during the World War II.

Above mentioned killings were perpetrated, for the most part, by Montenegrin Chetniks, especially from the Lim River area (about 9,000), who had been mobilized with the aim to oppose, on the Neretva River, partisan forces which were in retreat from Bosanska Krajina, Kordun and Banija towards Eastern Herzegovina and Montenegro. Awaiting the permission of the Italian Headquarters to march to the Neretva, those Chetniks, having established a front from the Lim, Čehotina and Tara rivers to the Drina, and advancing with all forces in a concentrated action, committed mass atrocities against Bosniak population in the districts of Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Priboj, Čajniče, Foča, as well as in parts of the Goražde and Višegrad Districts. On this occasion, and in accordance with the political program and goals of Draža Mihajlović's Chetnik Movement, Chetnik forces exterminated Bosniak population, regardless of sex and age, burned their homes and looted their property.

In October 1943 the Azbukovac Chetnik Brigade from Serbia, together with local Chetniks murdered 2,500-3,000 Bosniaks on the territory of Višegrad and Rogatica Districts. Having entered Višegrad, the Chetniks committed dreadful and unprecedented atrocities against Bosniaks. Available information made possible to accurately determine how Chetniks caught and brought Bosniaks to the Drina Bridge, cut their throats and from the bloodstained bridge threw them into the Drina. At the time "only screams and cries everywhere could be heard in the town" and "human blood clotted and it looked as if the bridge had been smeared with jam all over. Peaces of human flesh stuck to the bridge rails. It stank aw-

fully."

According to established facts, Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks from August 1941 till late 1943 killed 19,200-27,700 Bosniaks (mostly women and children) in Southeastern Bosnia and Sanjak. From currently available sources it is not possible to establish a more precise figure. Further research of these atrocities, especially with regard to number of victims, is necessary.

On the basis of available sources it was possible to determine with precision both the methods and the instruments of these crimes. Namely, Chetniks utilized most brutal instruments against Bosniak population which, as was clearly demonstrated, in some districts reached genocidal proportions.

Methods and instruments of the crimes against Bosniaks varied. Chetniks cut throats of their victims, stabbed them with knives or killed them with rifles, pickaxes, axes and other objects; they skinned people alive; crucified and nailed them to the trees; burned them in their houses; tore their throats out; roasted them on spits; cut ears and noses; removed eyes; impaled; drove horseshoe nails in their feet etc. Before death victims were tortured, tormented, mutilated and molested in various ways. Women, children and elderly were not spared either. Little kids, i. e. those under age of five were simply crushed. All younger women, and especially girls, Chetniks would rape in front of their children, brothers and parents, both individually and in groups and whole companies, and subsequently they drove sticks into their genitals, mutilated, butchered and tormented them in most barbarous ways and threw them half-dead into burning homes; they also burned them in furnaces, placed planks on the bellies of pregnant women and stomped them, cut breasts, arms, legs, genitals etc.

Chetniks used bayonets to remove children from their mothers' wombs; threw them alive into boiling water; into live fire; beheaded them, roasted their heads and sent them

to their leaders, as the sources state. These crimes were followed by looting everything that could be taken, as well as by burning houses and farm buildings, and frequently even entire villages.

Apart from the bloody crimes of murder, looting and burning of Bosniak homes, Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks, in some parts of the Foča region, also performed forced conversions of Bosniaks into Orthodoxy (religious genocide). Available sources offer the possibility to prove that in the first half of 1943 groups of Bosniaks in a number of villages converted to Orthodoxy and thus avoided certain death.

Crimes of Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks against Bosniaks set masses of Bosniak refugees in motion towards larger urban centres and cities outside Chetnik reach, where they were exposed to hunger, poverty, diseases and bombardment. According to available data, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were around 200,000-250,000 Bosniak refugees.

Brutal crimes (killings, looting, burning, expulsions etc.) were committed by the local Chetniks from Southeastern Bosnia, as well as Chetniks from Serbia, Sanjak and Montenegro.

Available material indicates that Italian occupation troops and headquarters in Southeastern Bosnia and Sanjak in various ways, directly and indirectly, assisted Chetniks in committing crimes against Bosniak population, and made it more difficult for Bosniaks to protect themselves from these crimes. It is of interest to note that on some occasions military and civilian authorities of the quisling "Independent State of Croatia", and in several cases even Germans, acted similarly.

It deserves mention that there were numerous instances of Serbs, most often neighbours and acquaintances, protecting Bosniaks and saving them from certain death.

On the basis of the available sources, it can obviously be established that Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks in Southeastern Bosnia and Sanjak put to death tens of thousands of Bosniaks; looted and burned thousands of homes; in certain areas thor-

oughly exterminated Bosniak population and totally eradicated their settlements; expelled hundreds of thousands from their homes etc. This region, and the Drina River in particular, was the largest Bosniak cemetery of World War II. Unfortunately, neither the Drina nor other places of mass execution of Bosniaks were not marked as such, nor were these innocent victims of the genocide, put to death only because of religious and ethnic differences from their executioners, in any way commemorated. Not a single school, in almost half a century, took its pupils to the Drina bridges - those sites of horrible massacres during the II World War. Even in that way those Bosniaks, exterminated in a genocidal campaign, were forgotten, which is a grave injustice to these martyrs.

According to the results of past research, Bosniaks as a people on the territory of Yugoslavia in World War II had most victims (after Jews), percentage-wise, because the war took 8,1% of their number (103,000 dead). Bosniaks mostly perished from the knives of Serb and Montenegrin Chetniks, mainly neighbours, as well as from the Oustashas (particularly in the Jasenovac concentration camp), but also at hands of German and Italian occupying powers.

In World War II Serbs also perpetrated massive atrocities against Albanians belonging to Islamic religion (although this matter has not yet been sufficiently investigated).

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did not offer Bosniaks so necessary national emancipation, nor cultural or any other form of recognition, although during the National Liberation Struggle, and especially in the documents adopted by ZAVNOBiH (war-time representative and legislative body within the Partisan Movement) they were considered and treated as an equal nation, which had significantly contributed to the anti-fascist struggle and to the liberation of the country. Many Bosniaks were eliminated even after the end of the war (by OZNA, UDBA etc.), many more were arrested, physically mistreated and prosecuted for political charges etc. Bosnia and Herzegovina, and indirectly Bosniaks,

were not represented by a torch in the State Emblem. Bosniaks were again denied the right to be a people and their attempts at national expressions were thwarted. Though third largest nation in Yugoslavia, Bosniaks were not even mentioned in the most important Party documents, such as 1958 Program of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, where it read that "the unity of Yugoslavia was possible only on the basis of free national development and full equality of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins, as well as minorities." Bosniaks were pressurized to "define themselves nationally", in order to decide whether they were Serbs, Croats, Macedonians or Montenegrins. Traditions, culture and overall socio-political role of Bosniaks was disparaged or ignored, while they were politically, culturally and socially neglected. All this caused, among other things, another wave of emigration of Bosniaks to Turkey, which especially intensified after 1950, when there were an exodus on an unprecedented scale. According to Turkish sources more than 190,000 Bosniaks emigrated to Turkey after World War II. Only in 1963 Bosniaks were recognized as a nation with the name "Muslims" and received equal constitutional and political rights.

Although Bosnians got the opportunity to be equal with other nations and to be considered as such, in practice they still had no possibility to establish their national institutions. Bosniak language tradition was again negated, they had no written national history, their culture and overall cultural heritage remained unresearched, Bosniak scholars and artists were easily labeled and politically disqualified etc. All this, along with a negative selection of cadres, caused that this people was not adequately represented in all significant segments of society, from the political representative bodies of the highest level through public services, military, police to culture and education. In recent years an intensive and systematic campaign was conducted against so-called "fundamentalist threat", i. e. alleged attempts of establishing an Islamic state in Bosnia and Herzegovina etc.

After Tito's demise (in 1980), the idea of hegemony of "Greater Serbia" reappeared in an emphatically aggressive form, with the pretext of preservation of Yugoslavia. Ever since Bosnia and Herzegovina increasingly became the proving ground for Serbia's expansion, which was an introduction to its great-power and nationalist ambitions that lead to the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and again resulted in mass atrocities against Bosniaks, with the ultimate goal of their complete physical and spiritual eradication and biological extermination.

In late 1991 Serbia and Montenegro, through JNA (Jugoslovenska narodna armija - "Yugoslav People's Army"), carried out the aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chetnik troops were also directly employed by the Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with great assistance from the military and political leadership of Serbia and Montenegro, as well as their nationalist and fascist formations, among which, notorious for their atrocities, were "Arkan's" and "Šešelji's Troops", "White Eagles", "Royalists", "Serb Guard" etc. They coordinated in committing numerous crimes against humanity and international law, i. e. against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as against its civilian population, and Bosniaks in particular.

Serbian and Montenegrin aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last months of 1992, and especially beginning from April 1993, was assisted by the Republic of Croatia with its regular troops and armed units of the Oustash elements in the Croat Defense Council with the goal of creating "a common Croat State" in "its ethnic and historical borders".

Bosnia and Herzegovina and its population could not have avoided this fate. The aggression had long been prepared by the Serb intellectual, political and military leadership. This leadership maintained itself for long by abusing the name of Yugoslavia, which, ever since 1918, allowed them complete supremacy over this geo-political region and the nations in-

habiting it. When this political formula was finally spent, the Yugoslav State entered a crisis, which required responsible reconstruction of the Joint State on the basis of actual, and not only declarative equality.

The crisis of the Yugoslav State, from its birth under the predominant influence of the ideal of "Greater Serbia" hegemony, coincided with the crisis of the world socialist system in the second half of the eighties. The entire situation brought into question decades old and well-established "Greater Serbia" hegemony. Its direct instruments and beneficiaries, from officers, diplomatic, police and party cadres and the machinery of the state, all the way to universities, radio, TV and other media, felt the threat for their monopolized positions. Therefore they proclaimed increased demands for real equality in the division of authority and social positions as endangering the Serb nation. These forces of "Greater Serbia" estimated that approaching confusion on the international scene would make it easier for them to realize, finally, the war goals defined back in XIX century ("All Serbs in one State"). While in previous attempts (Ranković, Čosić, Marjanović) they were content with the hegemonic positions in a joint state, the ideologists of "Greater Serbia" then turned to more radical concepts, such as the idea of a "homogenous" Serbia, i. e. conquest of new *Lebensraum*. This was strikingly expressed in the Memorandum of the Serb Academy of Science and Art of 1986, which represented a restoration of the (Chetnik) concept of "Greater Serbia" of Garašanin, Moljević and Mihajlović and presented a platform for transforming the joint Yugoslav State into "Greater Serbia", and by the political rise of the radical nationalist-fascist group around Slobodan Milošević in 1987, which came forth with slogans about all Serbs being threatened and the program to bring "all Serbs to live in one State", and resolutely moved to establish full hegemony over the basic centres of power in the Federal institutions, and primarily in the Presidency of SFRY, JNA and the Central Committee of the League of Communists. Ow-

ing to Milošević's policy of "antibureaucratic revolution" and mass rallies in Serbia, Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro, undesirable cadres were removed and the process of homogenization of Serbs speeded up, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they saw in Milošević and his Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) a guarantor for realization of Serb national interests and historical goals defined by the great-power program - "Memorandum" of the Serb Academy of Science and Art.

The ruling Yugo-Serb circles, instead of responsible approach to the restoration of the joint state, decided on expansion of their *Lebensraum* by the armed conquest of foreign territories and establishing of "Greater Serbia", even though such contraption never existed before. It existed only as a great-power ideal developed gradually in the autonomous principality and later Kingdom of Serbia, as well as in royal and communist Yugoslavia. Great-power hegemonistic project of "Greater Serbia" has had a long history reaching from the first half of XIX century to the present and it was always actualized in situations when overall Serb predominance on Southern Slav territories was threatened.

The conception of "Greater Serbia" always proceeded from the ideal that "all Serb lands", which, even before World War I, included territories all the way to Istra and Trieste, should gather around Serbia, that "all Serbs would live in one state", that the western border of Serbia was set on the Karlobag - Karlovac - Virovitica line; that "all is Serb where there is a single Serb grave" and that "wherever a Serb sets his foot - Serbia follows suit etc. Within the royal and communist Yugoslavia this was practically realized, because both these states were based on the Serb supremacy of political and every other sort. Thus all Serbs lived in one state, which was also governed by them, despite its multinational structure. The dissolution of the communist system brought the Serb supremacy into question, so a slogan was introduced alleging existence of a threat to Serbs, as well as their inability to live together with

others unless, of course, they could exploit those others and rule over them, and demanding that all Serbs live in one state. As it was just expounded, they lived in one state, but then making that state exclusively Serb became the issue.

Creators of "Greater Serbia" policy were ever since Ranković's attempt to seize the power oriented towards infiltration and taking control of the military intelligence and counter-intelligence, as well as of the political police, and subsequently of the command centres and key positions in the JNA, which was made possible by the predominance (in numbers and influence) of Serbs and Montenegrins among the military personnel.

Because of impossibility to achieve the absolute influence in the Presidency of SFRY and in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the politicians of "Greater-Serb" orientation at the Fourteenth Congress broke up LCY as an integrative factor of the Federation. Abolishing the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina and formal retaining of their votes in the Presidency of SFRY was an attempt to secure a possibility to outvote everybody else, which eventually resulted in a draw and paralysis of the Presidency of SFRY. By staging the "crisis" in the Presidency of SFRY and by transforming JNA General Staff into the General Staff of the Armed Forces of SFRY, with the authority to make independent decisions (in 1989), a covert *coup d'état* was executed in Yugoslavia. The incomplete Presidency unconstitutionally proceeded with performing all its duties, including the one of the Supreme Command and started the aggression against Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The conflict with Slovenia (regarding the authority to command the Territorial Defense units of that republic) was a demonstration of "Greater-Serb" policy in disguise. Further staying of Slovenia in the Federation proved an obstacle for realization of the plans of "Greater Serbia".

Under cover of fabricated conflicts between nations and feigned need to protect Serbs in Croatia, JNA (i. e. Serbia and

Montenegro) carried out an aggression against the Republic of Croatia. Several months of fighting and destruction of Vukovar and other cities ended with the conquest of a considerable part of the Republic of Croatia's territory.

After a series of "cease-fires" and a number of meetings between Tudman and Milošević, the Sarajevo Truce was signed in January 1992. In the meantime all efforts of democratic forces to prevent the dissolution of the Federation, by transforming it into a Confederation, by reforming the economic system of SFRY and by its incorporation into Europe, failed. In that context it was the turn of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The long-prepared military plan "RAM" was initiated.

The secret military plan "RAM", which leaked from the highest military circles in September 1991 basically envisaged establishing and taking control of the borders of "Greater Serbia" in which "all Serbs with their territories would live in one state" ("RAM" was supplemented with complementing plans "DRINA", "KUPA" etc. His execution also included Croatian aspirations on parts of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina) by the joint forces of JNA and armed Serb formations and groups from Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the direct assistance of the "Yugoslav" diplomacy and propaganda machinery.

Apart from the military leadership of SFRY, state and political authorities of Serbia and Montenegro, as well as many political parties and associations, most directly involved in the service of the "Greater Serbia" plans were the Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serb Orthodox Church, Serb writers, philosophers, historians from Serbia, Montenegro and BiH, as well as other ideologists of "Greater Serbia".

Preparing the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the leadership of SDS (original acronym for Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina), with the backing of Serbia and Montenegro, undertook a series of activities and passed

a number of regulations aimed at disrupting the legal system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupying the entire territory of the Republic and establishing a Serb state, as well as at creating conditions for its annexation to so-called Yugoslavia. Particularly prominent among these activities was passing of appropriate regulations and ordinances, such as:

- Regulations establishing so-called "Serb Autonomous Regions";

- Decision of the representatives of (the Club of) the Serb Democratic Party and Serb Reform Movement on the establishing of the so-called "Assembly of the Serb People" in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (October 24, 1991);

- Decision of the so-called "Assembly of the Serb People" about the status of officials and other employees in the state organs of the republic (October 24, 1991);

- Decision of the so-called "Assembly of the Serb People" about verification of proclaimed so-called "Serb Autonomous Regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina": "the Autonomous Region of Krajina"; "SAO (original acronym for "Serb Autonomous Region") of Herzegovina"; "SAO Romanija - Birče"; "SAO Semberija" and SAO Northern Bosnia" (November 21, 1991).

- Decision of the so-called "Assembly of the Serb People" about territories of municipalities, local communities and other population centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina which are considered parts of the Federal State of Yugoslavia (November 21, 1991);

- Decision of the so-called "Assembly of Serb People" to initiate establishing of the so-called "Republic of Serb People" (November 21, 1991).

- Decision of the so-called "Assembly of Serb People" on staying of the Serb people in the joint state of Yugoslavia.;

- Passing of Declaration of the so-called "Republic of Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (January 9, 1992) etc.

Above mentioned regulations directly threatened territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the ultimate aim to annex a large segment of the territory to another state,

which would change borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, these regulations also created Serb authorities and established different social and administrative order. Activities of these authorities served to undermine, completely or in part, the legitimacy of legal authorities in the context of constitutionally determined governmental structure. In this way, by threatening territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, SDS managed to accomplish its political ambition to create a new governmental structure on its territory. Passing of the so-called "Constitution" and proclaiming the so-called Republic of Serb People (March 27, 1992), concluded the activities on establishing of the parastate within territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constitutionally determined governmental and social structure.

The process of formal and factual establishment of the so-called Republic of Serb People was accompanied by simultaneous activities aimed at military protection of that "state", which is why the so-called Republic of Serb People in BiH passed a recommendation for JNA on preservation of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia (December 11, 1991). This was the invitation to JNA in case of "threats" to Serb people, to extend all necessary protection to preserve human lives and property.

At the same time, the leadership of the Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with tutoring from Milošević's headquarters and active and direct support from JNA, was organizing unconstitutional creation of parallel authorities and institutions and establishing Serb para-governmental institutions (five so-called "Serb Autonomous Regions" with more than fifty Serb Municipalities) as well as armed Serb units of Territorial Defense, Serb Ministry of Interior with the Serb police stations and Serb Centres of Security Services, thereby suspending legal acts and work of headquarters and legal authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After that SDS, in the conditions of occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by JNA, i. e. by Serbia and Montenegro, dis-

missed legally elected authorities in municipalities and appointed Serb ones.

Because of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, obstruction and fifth-column activities of SDS (a major partner in the winning coalition), the Presidency and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as all legal authorities of the Republic, were blocked and prevented from fulfilling their functions. Namely, they had practically no authority in the seceded parts of the Republic, nor did they control at least one-fourth of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even before the elections (1990), in many areas with predominantly Serb population (such as Drvar, Grahovo, Glamoč, Milići, Nevesinje, Trebinje, Bileća, Gacko) official authorities had been almost suspended, "local Serb leaders behaved like arrogant feudal lords who did not recognize the central Government and by means of intimidation, blackmail and pressures they already set out to establish their para-states". Due to such situations, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for instance, were forced to tolerate visits to JNA units and reviews of Serb armed formations on the territory of the Republic carried out by Kostić, Bulatović, Šešelj and others. Authorities of Serb para-states did not recognize the Government in Sarajevo, and instead they turned to the military and political leadership of Serbia for direct assistance, especially for allocation of materiel, including helicopters. However, the legal authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, even in the rest of the Republic could not perform any of its functions without approval of the Commander of the occupying forces of the 2. Military District.

The Serb Orthodox Church appeared as one of the basic instruments of pragmatic goals of the Serb political leadership. In late 1988 and early 1989 the relics of prince Lazar were carried to all the parts of Yugoslavia where Serbs lived, which ultimately represented a "return" to Orthodoxy. Countless requiems were sung over pits from which caveman teams were pulling out bones of "Serb" victims. Even though digni-

taries of the Serb Orthodox Church at the time did not hold political speeches, still they allowed militant Serb nationalists to politically colour these gatherings. That was a calculated move of the leaders of the Church and Serb authorities to radicalize Serb public opinion in order to prepare it for the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The indoctrination of Serb population, both in SFRY and abroad, was carried out in various ways and by varied means. The Counter-Intelligence Service of JNA was particularly active in this field. Starting points, basically, were "Načertanije", "Homogenous Serbia", Draža Mihajlović's Četnik documents, Memorandum of the Serb Academy of Science and Art, SDS documents etc. The ultimate expression of the "Greater Serbia" ideal was found in the notorious thesis that "all Serbs should live in one state."

During the occupation, as well as long before the aggression itself, Bosnia and Herzegovina was in the total media blockade. Namely, JNA troops, together with the Serb armed formations, seized and occupied transmitters of RTV Sarajevo on the Kozara, Plješevica, Majevica, Vlašić and Velež mountains, as well as those near Brecun and Travnik etc. This disrupted the operation of radio and TV networks, dissemination of information became possible mainly in the Sarajevo - Zenica Valley, and telephone communication were gradually disconnected and cut off.

In preparation for the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro also undertook economic destruction of the Republic, in order to block the basic resources indispensable for organizing defense and waging the defensive and liberation war. This was carried out through SDS of Bosnia and Herzegovina and from positions held by Serb cadres in the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an important role played by the JNA Counter-Intelligence Service.

Documents of HDZ (original acronym for the Croat Democratic Community) of Bosnia and Herzegovina which were

available to us demonstrated the real political goals of the fascist wing of this party - annexation of a part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Republic of Croatia. With the aim of fulfilling this long-term mission, HDZ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, immediately after its foundation and in conformity with the instructions and with all-out support of Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia and HDZ, undertook a series of organized activities. Just as an illustration, on a working meeting of the presidents of the so-called crisis committees of "Herzegovinian Regional Community" and "Travnik Regional Community", held on November 12, 1991 in Grude the following resolutions were adopted:

1) that "the Croat people in BiH must finally implement energetic, active policies which should lead to the realization of the age-old dream - the joint Croatian state".

To further the realization of this "historical" goal, above mentioned "regional communities" decided "to undertake formulation of legal and preparation of political acts (i. e. proclamation of the Croat state in BiH, conducting of the referendum on joining the Republic of Croatia in its ethnic and historical (now possible) borders".

2) Proceeding from the view that "in a part of the leadership of HDZ for Bosnia and Herzegovina there are still forces opposing these historical interests of the Croat people in BiH" and that these forces "support a non-existing sovereign BiH, which would condemn the Croat people to genocide and historical disappearance", presidents of the two regions "demand energetic action which our people expects and because of which it is one-hundred-percent for HDZ". Representatives of these municipalities estimated that "any further delay" would weaken their position, both with the Croat people and on the international scene. Therefore they decided that they must "show to Europe and the world which areas of BiH are Croat and where our future lies." In this connection, they passed a decision that the Croat people "would under no conditions accept any other solution except within the borders of free

Croatia".

To implement the adopted resolutions, the presidents of the above mentioned "regional communities" imperatively defined the following positions:

"a) Clearly define the party policy of HDZ in BiH, strengthen its cadre structure and choose the people who will be capable of fulfilling these tasks;

b) Initiate political and legal actions on both internal and international level;

c) Undertake even more extensive military preparations for conflict with all the forces that may try to impede this unavoidable process of creation of the free Croat state and

d) Be determined in advance to prevent every overt or covert activity within the leadership of HDZ for BiH which would oppose these decisions or hinder them in any way possible."

It is important to note that so-called "Herzegovinian and Travnik Regions" adopted similar resolutions in "earlier separate sessions" as well. It is even more interesting to emphasize that on the basis of the quoted resolutions of November 12, 1991 it was possible to determine incontestably that "the Croat people of these regions remains faithful to unanimous decisions and conclusions" adopted in conferences with the President of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudman, held on June 13 and 20, 1991 in Zagreb. Besides, it should be known that these two regional communities took similar positions on October 15, 1991 in Grude and then on October 22, 1991 in Busovača. All this proves the continuity of this political option within the extremist wing of HDZ.

With the aim to proclaim "the Croat state in Bosnia and Herzegovina," and its "joining with the Republic of Croatia", the fascist wing of HDZ BiH, supported by the Republic of Croatia, passed "a wide range of laws". Thus the Decision on establishing "Croat Community of Herzeg-Bosnia" - a quasi state within Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted on November 18, 1991. In this connection some activities were

undertaken, and on February 9, 1992 all municipal authorities of HDZ in BiH were sent a telex in which, instead of the referendum question on independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, chosen by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on January 25, 1992, reformulation of the referendum question was suggested which would be rephrased in such a way as to define in advance the independent Bosnia and Herzegovina as a community "made of national cantons, Croat, Moslem and Serb, whose territories will be determined after the referendum by a separate Constitutional Act". The instruction for political action on rephrasing the referendum question suggested insistence on "sovereignty of constitutive nations," with simultaneous strong recommendation to remove from it the formulation about equality of citizens.

In accordance with the Decision on establishing of the so-called "Croat Community of Herzeg-Bosnia" in Mostar, on May 15, 1992, the Presidency of the so-called "Croat Community of Herzeg-Bosnia", headed by Mate Boban, passed the Statutory Decision on "temporary establishment of executive authority and administration in the area of HZH-B (original acronym for "Hrvatska zajednica Herceg-Bosna" - the Croat Community of Herzeg-Bosnia)". "The duties of the executive authority on the territory of HZH-B", in conformity to Art. 1 of the Decision, would be performed by HVO (original acronym for the "Croat Defense Council") of the so-called "HZH-B". On the basis of Art. 7 of the Statutory Decision, the President of the Croat Defense Council, Boban, on June 10, 1992, issued Order No. 334 on establishing of the executive authorities in all municipalities on the territory of the so-called "Herzeg-Bosnia". ("This Order is effective immediately.").

On the basis of the quoted regulations, in June 1992 all municipality headquarters issued orders on establishing of HVO executive authorities in the municipalities. Such an order, for instance, was issued for the Municipality of Konjic on June 12, 1992 (No. 02-488/92) by Dinko Zebić, Commander. Ivica

Azinović, a junior HVO commander, was appointed in charge of the mission "of establishing of HVO executive authorities for the Municipality of Konjic" and he was "ordered to form a three-member body to carry out this task."

In the first half of 1992, in some parts of BiH units of fascist HVO suspended legal authorities of the Republic and usurped the power. In this connection, the "ORDER" of May 10, 1992, signed by HVO Vice-President Dario Kordić and Commander of the HVO Municipality Headquarters in Busovača Ivo Brnada is especially significant. This act abolished the legal authorities in Busovača, established a total blockade and, at gun point, imposed the will of the "extremist group" in the whole area.

Similar activities were undertaken by the members of HSP (original acronym for "Hrvatska stranka prava" - the "Croat Party of Rights") in Zenica, at the suggestion of Dobroslav Paraga "not to give weapons of the JNA garrison to anybody but to arm HOS (original acronym for "Hrvatske oslobodilačke snage" - the "Croat Liberation Forces", paramilitary force of HSP)" and that HSP "should take the lead and control of Zenica." In this connection one should view also the order to dismiss the commander of the Territorial Defense of Zenica, and to appoint Jadranko Jandrić, a war-time Colonel of HOS.

II

ARMING THE SERB POPULATION

The aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a crime against peace, has been planned systematically and for a long time. Numerous documents testify about premeditation of these crimes against humanity and the international law. A closer look demonstrates that JNA was, at direct orders of the General Staff of the Armed Forces SFRY and the Federal Secretariat of Defense, and with the aim of carrying out aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing arms to the Serbs in BiH, in a planned and organized manner. There is a great deal of evidence, including highly classified documents of military provenance in particular, on the role of JNA in arming, first, members and followers of the Serb Democratic Party of BiH, Municipal headquarters, Territorial Defense units, and combat units of Reserve and Active Police forces of the Serb para-state authorities, as well as other Serb "volunteer" groups, as a form of military preparations for the occupation and aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Information available in the current stage of research demonstrates that since 1991 JNA intensified activities on arming the Serb people in BiH, (which were) initiated a long time ago. In this connection, it is significant to note the fact that the top-level military leadership of SFRY, in closest links with the military, political and intellectual leadership of Serbia and with Slobodan Milošević himself, directed and provided guidance for arming the Serbs in BiH. The teams of high-ranking JNA officers, headed by the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of SFRY, updated war plans, prepared dispositions of forces and tasking, worked out strategies, mobilization plans for the Serb population, coordinated distribution and stationing of armament, ammunition, materiel, food etc., and undertook all measures to improve combat



A CHETNIK FROM THE SECOND POLITICAL LINE: Nenad Kecmanović a leader of Bosnian reformists, "jumped into" the politics: first, as a bait for the so-called non-national votes on democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina elections of 18 November 1990, and then as a controversial "piston" in the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the first days of aggression, and finally, from Belgrade he attacked anything what was Bosnian and Moslem including also himself from the time when he was even the Rector of the University of Sarajevo.



LUST FOR MEDIA: The criminal Karadžić regularly loved to "analyse in psychiatrist's manner" his own criminal decisions and consequences. We can see him on the photo in company with his escort, disreputable Chetnik Todorović