THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Case No. IT-03-67-T

IN TRIAL CHAMBER III

Before: **Judge Jean-Claude Antonetti, presiding**
Judge Frederik Harhoff
Judge Flavia Lattanzi

Registrar: **Mr. Hans Holthuis**

Date filed: **22 January 2008**

THE PROSECUTOR

v.

VOJISLAV ŠEŠELJ

PUBLIC

PROSECUTION'S NOTICE OF FILING OF THE REVISED TRANSLATIONS OF EXPERT REPORT OF YVES TOMIĆ AND C.V.

The Office of the Prosecutor:
Ms. Christine Dahl

The Accused:
Vojislav Šešelj

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

THE PROSECUTOR

v.

VOJISLAV ŠEŠELJ

Case No. IT-03-67-PT

PROSECUTION'S NOTICE OF FILING OF THE REVISED TRANSLATIONS OF EXPERT REPORT OF YVES TOMIĆ AND C.V.

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1. The Prosecution herewith files the CLSS revised translations of the Report of Yves Tomić in English and B/C/S. This filing relates to the original Expert Report of Yves Tomić in the French language filed on 14 January 2008 (appearing at Registry Pages D26641-D26617).
2. Also, Mr. Tomić has provided an updated C.V., attached hereto.

Word Count: 55

Christine Dahl
Senior Trial Attorney

Dated This 22nd Day of January 2008
The Hague, The Netherlands

The Ideology of a Greater Serbia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Expert Report

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International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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Introduction

The Serbian medieval state originated in the region of Rascia (Raška). As it developed, it spread towards the south (Kosovo, Macedonia), until it reached its apex during the reign of Tsar Dušan (1308-1355), who enlarged Serbia by adding to it the regions of Macedonia, Albania, Epirus, and Thessaly. As a result of the advance of the Ottomans from the south of the Balkan Peninsula towards the north in the second half of the fourteenth century, the Serbian state ceased to exist and the Serbian population of the more southerly regions (Macedonia, Kosovo, Metohija) moved towards the north along the Morava-Vardar (Skopje-Belgrade) axis and towards the northwest (along a line that connects Skopje, Kosovo, Sjenica, and Sarajevo). The Ottoman conquests changed the ethnic structure of the conquered regions. As the Catholic Croats and Hungarians withdrew to the north, the Ottomans, anxious not to leave unpopulated these border regions important for the defence of the empire, replaced them with Orthodox Christian and Muslim settlers. Thus in the sixteenth century the Orthodox population increased significantly in northern Bosnia (the region of Bosanska Krajina), but also in Slavonia. This population was charged with the defence of the northern frontier of the Ottoman Empire. The consequence of all these population movements was a growing dispersal of the Serbs in what would become in the twentieth century the territory of Yugoslavia.[1] A Serbian territorial complex was thus constituted in the east, connecting Serbia itself, situated in the valleys of the Morava and Vardar, with Vojvodina, which consisted of the provinces of Banat, Bačka, and Srem, in the Pannonian plain.[2] This complex extended westwards to the Dinaric regions: the *sandžak* of Novi Pazar, corresponding to the territory of what used to be Rascia, the cradle of the medieval Serbian kingdom of the NEMANJIĆ dynasty, Montenegro, and Herzegovina. Another territorial complex emerged in the west, consisting of northern Dalmatia, the Lika, Kordun, and Banija regions, western Slavonia (area

[1] Desimir TOŠIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni problemi* /Serbian National Problems/ (Paris: Oslobodjenje, 1952), p. 27.
[2] Part of Hungarian territory until the beginning of the twentieth century.

along the Military Frontier of the Habsburg Empire,[3] see Map 1 in Annex), and western Bosnia (Bosanska Krajina). These two territorial complexes, enclosed within the borders of different states, were separated by mixed or intermediate territories where Serbs lived alongside other population groups: the Croats in the north (the Military Frontier and northern Bosnia) and the Slav converts to Islam in Bosnia.

It is in this fragmentation of the territories populated by Serbs that we find the source of the Serbian national question.[4] In fact, at the time when national states were being constituted in the nineteenth century, it was hard to create a unified national political territory because the Serbs were mixed with other populations. What should be the frontiers of such a territory? Should they encompass national minorities? The dispersal of the Serbian people is therefore a significant fact in the history of the Serbs: it gave rise to the elaboration of a national ideology and of a programme of state creation in which the ideas of unity (*jedinstvo*) and unification (*ujedinjenje*) became dominant in the work of some ideologues.

The different perceptions of Greater Serbia by the Serbian political and cultural elites of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be discussed and the political stands of Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, will be placed in this context.

The notion of a Greater Serbia (*Velika Srbija*) was used in Austrian governing circles in the early nineteenth century to designate the Serbian national movement, seen until the beginning of the twentieth century as a threat to the stability of the southern territories of the

[3] The Military Frontier was created in the sixteenth century by the Austrian Empire. These border regions of the Ottoman Empire, which were devastated and depopulated by successive wars, were repopulated mostly by Orthodox Wallachian peasants who were later to call themselves Serbs. In exchange for their participation in the defence of the Empire, these peasant-soldiers were granted a number of privileges particularly by the Wallachian Statute of 1630 /Statuta Valachorum/: religious freedom, right to work the land, etc. The Military Boundary was a region specific to the Austrian Empire. It was dissolved in 1881 following the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 by the Austro-Hungarian army. Jean NOUZILLE, *Histoire de frontières: l'Autriche et l'Empire ottoman* /A History of Boundaries: Austria and the Ottoman Empire/ (Paris: Berg International, 1991), p. 263.

[4] By national question we mean the creation of a nation state and the relations among the various national groups which form part of that state.

Habsburg Empire.[5] If the concept initially had pejorative connotations, Serbian nationalists appropriated it for their own use during the second half of the nineteenth century: several journals would be called *Greater Serbia*. During World War I the Serbian government would call upon two foreign experts to write books entitled *A Greater Serbia*, in which Serbian interests were promoted.[6]

The first part of this report focuses on how the Greater Serbian project emerged in the nineteenth century and how the Serbian national ideology evolved from Serbism to Yugoslavism. In the second part the development of the Serbian national ideology from Yugoslavism to Serbism during the lifetime of the first Yugoslav state (1918-1941) is analysed. The Greater-Serbia ideology of the Ravna Gora Movement (also known as the Chetnik movement) and its practices of ethnic cleansing will also be examined. The re-emergence of the Greater-Serbia ideology in communist Yugoslavia during the 1980s and the role played by the intellectuals who saw themselves as the heirs of the Chetnik movement of World War II will be reviewed. Finally, the establishment of the Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*, SRS) headed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, who adopted Greater Serbia as his main political goal, will be described.

[5] Mihailo STANIŠIĆ, *Projekti "Velika Srbija"* /"Greater Serbia" Projects/ (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 2000), pp. 13-20.

[6] *Ibid.* The books were written by the Frenchman Ernest DENIS and the Russian V. N. JASTREBOV. Ernest DENIS, a professor at the Sorbonne, wrote in fact a history of Serbia in which the Yugoslav idea and the Serbian idea were placed on the same footing. The dominant idea at the time was that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were part of one and the same nation. There were two maps in the book: a map of the Serbian and Croatian lands and a map of Serbia in 1913. The project of the unification of the South Slavs was presented as an initiative that should be implemented under the authority of Belgrade (p. 313). The new state, described as the "new kingdom of Serbia", was to include Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the triune kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, in addition to Serbia. This State was to stretch to Slovenia and was also to include the south of Hungary (Vojvodina). Although the Yugoslav project was described as an "expansion of Serbia" (p. 305), the ideology of a Greater Serbia was not one of the subjects of the book.

1. Serbian national ideology in the nineteenth century: between Serbism and Yugoslavism

The principality of Serbia came into being in the wake of two uprisings in the early nineteenth century: the first took place from 1804 to 1813, and the second in 1815. Following the second uprising, Serbia was verbally granted a semi-autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire. Its status was further confirmed by the Akkerman Convention of 1826, and by decrees issued by the Sultan, which made Serbia an autonomous principality, vassal to the Ottoman Empire in 1830. Serbia would not become fully independent until 1878.

In the course of the 1830s and 1840s, perceptions of the Serbian state and nation were defined by the intellectuals and political leaders of the age. The cultural perception of the Serbian nation expressed by Vuk KARADŽIĆ, reformer of the Serbian language, and the vision of a Serbian state developed by the political leader Ilija GARAŠANIN, who formulated the first Serbian national programme in 1844, will be discussed below.

1.1. The work of Vuk STEFANOVIĆ KARADŽIĆ (1787-1864)

Through his work as an ethnographer and linguist Vuk KARADŽIĆ played an important role in the nineteenth century in defining the Serb identity.[7] Moreover, his work marks a break in the perception the Serbs could have of themselves. Indeed, Vuk KARADŽIĆ presented a secular vision of the Serbian nation, one that was not founded on religious

[7] Born in Tršić, in western Serbia, in a family that had originally come from Herzegovina, KARADŽIĆ completed his education in Belgrade during the first Serbian uprising and became an official in the nascent Serbian state. Following the collapse of the uprising in 1813, he left Serbia for Vienna. In the Austrian capital he became acquainted with the Slovene linguist Irenej KOPITAR, who encouraged him to pursue his literary and linguistic work. In 1814 and 1815, Vuk KARADŽIĆ edited two collections of folk poetry, in which he presented the national tradition of his people as found among illiterate Serbian peasants. His work charmed German authors such as J. W. GOETHE and Jacob GRIMM, who were interested in the riches of folk poetry. The poetry was edited in a form of the Serbian language that KARADŽIĆ himself had codified in a grammar he had published in 1814. Vuk KARADŽIĆ simplified the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet by suppressing unnecessary letters and by introducing new ones, notably "j", imported from the Latin alphabet. In doing this he made possible a certain rapprochement between the Orthodox and Catholic worlds. In 1818, KARADŽIĆ published a dictionary in which he showcased his reform of the literary language. In fact Vuk KARADŽIĆ had drawn inspiration from the writings of Dositej OBRADOVIĆ (1740-1811), an Orthodox monk who had embraced the values of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. He had undertaken to reform the Serbian literary language (Serbian-Slavonic, *slavenoserbski*), which had been used chiefly by ecclesiastics, in favour of popular speech.

affiliation. For this reason, he came into conflict with the Serbian Orthodox Church, which held that Serbs can be nothing but Orthodox. In spite of this important point of divergence, KARADŽIĆ's notions were taken up by numerous Serbian intellectuals in the nineteenth century.

He was active at the height of Romanticism, a movement that idealised the past and old traditions. There was a growing interest in history, especially of the Middle Ages, when folk ballads and folk epics had been composed. Language was of central importance to the Romantic Movement, and this is equally true of the Serbian cultural renaissance. According to J. G. HERDER, all the characteristics of a people, as well as its spirit, are inscribed in its language. In his research, Vuk KARADŽIĆ covered the fields of linguistics and history as much as ethnography. Without any doubt, the results of his work made possible the strengthening of the Serbs' national consciousness.

Thanks to his reform, which made ordinary speech the basis of the new literary language, literature and science became accessible to ordinary people, who had long been denied access to it. The reform did not become accepted automatically, however, and several decades would pass until its final triumph. In March 1850, some Serbian intellectuals, including Vuk KARADŽIĆ, agreed with a group of Croatian writers and linguists (Ivan MAŽURANIĆ, Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ, and others) that the Serbs and Croats should share the same literary language, with one and the same orthography. KARADŽIĆ's spelling reform would not be adopted in Serbia until 1868, four years after his death. Throughout the century, the Serbian Orthodox Church had been fiercely opposed to language reform. Stefan STRATIMIROVIĆ, metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci and leader of the Serbs in the Austrian Empire, was an especially vocal opponent of the reform.

In his work entitled "Serbs All and Everywhere" (*Srbi svi i svuda*), written in 1836 and published in 1849, Vuk KARADŽIĆ delimited the territories inhabited by Serbs:

> We know for certain that the Serbs live in what is now Serbia (between the Drina and the Timok, and between the Danube and the Stara Planina mountain), in Metohija (from Kosovo, through the Stara Planina, with the towns of Prizren – Dušan's capital, the Serbian patriarchate of Peć, and the monastery of Dečani), in Bosnia, in Herzegovina, in Zeta, in Montenegro, in Banat, in Bačka, in Srem, on the right bank of the Danube upstream from Osijek to Sentandreja, in Slavonia, in Croatia (as well as in Turkey and the Austrian Krajina), in Dalmatia, and along the entire Dalmatian coast, roughly speaking from Trieste to the Bojana.[8]

Vuk KARADŽIĆ developed the notion of a multi-confessional Serbian nation united by one and the same language. According to him, and in agreement with Herderian ideology, language is the only valid criterion that can determine national affiliation, independently of religious factors. Thus he included in the Serbian nation all the speakers of the dialect, used at the time in Serbia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Vojvodina, Bosnia, and certain parts of Dalmatia, including Dubrovnik. He did not take into account the designation of "Illyrian", which had come to be used in Croatia in the 1830s and 1840s. According to him, the Croats are speakers of the čakavian dialect, while speakers of the kajkavian dialect are considered to be Slovenes.[9] He estimated that there were five million Serbs: three million of the Orthodox faith, and two million Muslims and Catholics together. In fact, Vuk KARADŽIĆ's ideas had been largely shaped by the current state of scholarship on the South Slavs and their dialects. KOPITAR's ideas on the ethnic distribution of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had influenced the writings of Vuk KARADŽIĆ.[10] KOPITAR himself had been inspired by the research of the Czech linguist Joseph DOBROWSKY.[11]

Vuk KARADŽIĆ's definition of the Serbian nation is void of any Panserbism or Greater-Serbia political ideology. Indeed, his text does not deal with the problems of the

[8] The /French/ translation taken from Mirko GRMEK, Marc GJIDARA and Neven ŠIMAC, eds., *Le nettoyage ethnique: documents historiques sur une idéologie serbe* /Ethnic Cleansing: Historical Documents Relating to a Serbian Ideology/ (Paris: Fayard, 1993), p. 42.

[9] There are three different words for "what" in the Serbo-Croatian dialects: "*što*" is the most common, "*ča*" is used mostly on the Dalmatian coast, and "*kaj*" in the region around Zagreb.

[10] Milorad EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918* /The Creation of Yugoslavia, 1790-1918/, vol. 1 (Beograd, Prosveta, 1989), p. 423.

[11] DOBROWSKY considered all the areas where the štokavian dialect was spoken as Serbian. He thought that western variants of the language, which used the Latin script for writing, were half Serbian, while the variant written in the Cyrillic script was the authentic Serbian form. The theories of DOBROWSKY and KOPITAR were accepted until 1849, but were later questioned. See EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*, vol. 1, p. 423. Pavel ŠAFARIK took over the same concept of the Serbian nation in 1826, in his *History of the Slavic Literature and Language*. In his opinion, the Serbian nation could be divided into Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Serbs, whom he called Slavo-Serbs, drawing on DOBROWSKY (*ibid*., p. 440).

political organisation of society and of the state; as a matter of fact, his notions have a cultural, rather than political, dimension.[12] In his study of Serbian and Croatian national ideologies in the nineteenth century, Wolf Dietrich BEHSCHNITT describes the national ideas of Vuk KARADŽIĆ as a "linguistic and cultural ideology of a Greater Serbia".[13] It is true that his ideas imply a reduction in the extent of the territory where the Croatian nation would be constituted in the nineteenth century. But it is of crucial importance to explain that these ideas were formulated at a time when local and regional affiliations were still predominant among the Croats and when a Bosnian Muslim identity was hard to identify. The Croatian territories were divided between Austria and Hungary. Dalmatia, which had been under Venetian domination until 1797, came under the jurisdiction of Vienna in 1814, along with the provinces inhabited by Slovenes (Carniola, Carynthia, Styria), while inland Croatia and Slavonia were under Hungarian administration. The fragmentation of the Croatian territories was intensified by the existence of the Military Frontier (*Vojna krajina*), created by Austria in the sixteenth century and inhabited by a Serbian population which had originally come from the Ottoman Empire [see Map 1 in Annex].[14] While the Illyrian movement of the 1830s and 1840s was not able to reach beyond the geographical limits of Croatia, it did contribute to a reinforcement of ties between the different provinces thought of as Croatian. Written at a time when national identities were still being forged, Vuk KARADŽIĆ's text is not unduly shocking when read from the perspective of the age that saw its publication. What would become a problem is the persistence of this kind of concept of national identity in the twentieth century, by which time the national identities of the Croats and Bosnian Muslims

[12] Ljubomir TADIĆ, *O velikosrpskom hegemonizmu* /On Greater Serbian Hegemony / (Belgrade: Stručna knjiga and Politika, 1992), pp. 126-127.
[13] Wolf Dietrich BEHSCHNITT, *Nationalismus bei Serben und Kroaten 1830-1914: Analyse und Typologie der nationalen Ideologie* /Serbian and Croatian Nationalism 1830-1914: Analysis and Typology of National Ideology/ (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1980), p. 71. On this book see the review by Milorad EKMEČIĆ in *Istorijski glasnik* /Historical Herald/ (1980: 1-2), pp. 151-160.
[14] Yves TOMIĆ, "Le movement national croate au XIXe siècle: entre yougoslavisme (*jugoslovenstvo*) et croatisme (*hrvatstvo*)" /"The Croatian National Movement in the 19th Century: Between Yugoslavism and Croatism"/, *Revue des études slaves*, 68: 4 (1996), pp. 463-475.

had already become established.[15] To accuse Vuk KARADŽIĆ of having wanted to deny the existence of the Croats and Bosnian Muslims is to falsify the historical perspective and to fail to take into account the historical parameters of the nineteenth century. Impelled by a desire to blacken the picture at any price, one forgets that the ideas of Vuk KARADŽIĆ were modern for his age and that they stemmed from European rationalism. Vuk KARADŽIĆ's idea that the Serbs and Croats were part of one and the same nation facilitated the emergence of a Yugoslavist tendency in Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century. At the root of Yugoslav unitarism we find the Herderian notions of a nation defined by language. That said, history has shown that his concept of the Serbian nation, based primarily on his work as a philologist, was erroneous, since language proved unable to provide the principal criterion in the definition of a nation. Religion is one of the key elements of national distinctions, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of the actual degree of religiousness. Linguistic nationalism, whether as defined by Vuk KARADŽIĆ or in its Illyrian form, offered a tolerant perspective. But the linguistic factor would not be enough to unite the South Slav populations. Starting from the end of the nineteenth century, and especially in the course of the twentieth, linguistic nationalism would be replaced by ethnic nationalism.

[15] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's claim that Catholics who speak štokavian are Serbs is based on the categories inherited from Vuk KARADŽIĆ and other 19th-century intellectuals.
"Before the revival of the Illyrian Movement not a single Croat spoke the Serbian, štokavian, language. However, it was spoken by Serbian Catholics, the forerunners of the Illyrian Movement who refused to call that language Serbian for political reasons although they also considered it inappropriate to call it Croatian. Therefore they resorted to unbelievable mimicry and spoke of themselves as members of an extinct Balkan people - the Illyrians." Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Emigrantski opus Profesora Laze M. Kostića* /Professor Lazo M. KOSTIĆ's Work in Exile/, Part One (Beograd: ZIPS, 1999), p. 13.
The Illyrian Movement developed in Croatia during the 1830's and 1840's. It demanded autonomy for Croatia and Slavonia and their unification with Dalmatia. It was opposed to the Hungarian domination of Croatia-Slavonia.
See also Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Ideologija srpskog nacionalizma: naučno i publicističko delo prof. dr. Laze M. Kostića* /The Ideology of Serbian Nationalism: the Scholarly and Political Writings of Professor Lazo M. Kostić/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 2002).

1.2. The formulation of a national programme: the *Načertanije* of Ilija GARAŠANIN (1812-1874)

The composition of this national programme was sparked off by contacts between the political leaders of the principality of Serbia and Polish political émigrés who had fled from their country after the failure of the 1830 revolution. Prince Adam CZARTORISKY, Russian minister of foreign affairs during the Napoleonic turmoil, founded in Paris a diplomatic bureau which was based on a network of agents spreading as far as the Balkans, the aim of which was to oppose the interests of Russia and Austria.[16] In January 1843, he addressed to Serbia his "Advice on Conduct to be Followed" /original title: "Conseils sur la conduite à suivre"/, in which he counselled the leaders to extend the rights and territory of their principality by pursuing a conciliatory policy vis-à-vis the Porte. He suggested that the Serbian principality should gather around itself the other Slav countries and peoples living in the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, but warned it to be very wary of Russia and Austria. In 1843 and 1844, CZARTORISKY'S agent in Belgrade, the Czech František A. ZACH, drafted a "plan for the Slavic policies of Serbia", in which he advised Serbia's governing circles to follow a "Panslavic policy".[17] In drafting his *Načertanije*, GARAŠANIN based himself to a great extent on these two texts, especially on František ZACH's "Plan", but without the Yugoslav dimension.[18]

The *Plan* or *Outline Draft Plan* (*Načertanije*) was the work of Ilija GARAŠANIN (1812-1874), minister of the interior. GARAŠANIN held the post from 1843 to 1852 and was one of the pillars of the Constitutionalist government. He was in charge not only of the police

[16] Polish agents were in close touch with the Constitutionalists, whom they supported when they came to power in the principality of Serbia, especially with the help of French diplomacy. Radoš LJUŠIĆ, "Ilija Garašanin o srpskoj državnosti" /Ilija GARAŠANIN on Serbian Statehood/ in *Ilija Garašanin (1812-1874)* (Beograd, SANU, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, 1991), p. 64.
[17] In Serbo-Croatian, František ZACH's name often appears as "Franjo ZAH".
[18] In many ways, the *Načertanije* is a copy of František ZACH's "Plan". Nevertheless, Ilija GARAŠANIN deleted some parts of it, especially those that dealt with the relationship between Serbia and Croatia and the alliance with the Czechs, as well as those which discussed the harmonising of domestic and foreign policies.

but of the army, the economy, health, and transportation. He held high political offices in Serbia for close to three decades.[19] After the fall of the Constitutionalist regime in 1858, Prince Mihailo OBRENOVIĆ would call upon him to lead the government and be in charge of foreign policy (1861-1867). A believer in order, he was opposed to liberal ideas and democratic institutions. In 1844 he formulated a national programme which had as its aim the liberation and unification of the Serbian people. It is very important to insist that this was a confidential document. It was known only to a restricted number of Serbian leaders. Austria-Hungary did not become aware of it until the 1880s, and Serbian public opinion only learned of its existence in 1906. Ilija GARAŠANIN believed that Serbia should have a plan for its future. According to him, the country was too small to ensure its survival: it had to extend its borders by encompassing the Serbs who lived outside the principality. GARAŠANIN based his assessment on the fact that the Ottoman Empire was in decline and that it would be succeeded either by Austria and Russia or by Balkan Christian states. In addition to the principality itself, a future Serbian state would comprise Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and the northern parts of Albania. It would be based on the glorious past of the Serbian empire of the fourteenth century. Ilija GARAŠANIN invoked historical rights: the Serbs ask for nothing more than the continuity of the medieval Serbian state destroyed by the Ottomans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The way he saw it, the unification of the Serbs would be brought about in stages: it would begin with the Serbs who lived in the Ottoman Empire, and proceed by including those in southern Hungary. GARAŠANIN did not exclude the possibility of a union, in a future Yugoslav state, with other South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire and with the Bulgarians. Nevertheless, the Yugoslav dimension of his programme was vague; it was not its most prominent aspect. Priority was given to the creation of an

[19] During GARAŠANIN's long career as a statesman, there were two periods when he was not in charge of Serbian affairs: from 1853 to 1856 and again from 1859 to 1861.

independent Serbian state.[20] What were the means he had in mind for achieving the planned goals? While war is not excluded, and Ilija GARAŠANIN refers to it in talking about the necessity to be informed about "the existence of a warlike spirit" in the regions on which he had cast his eye, "how well armed are the people there, what is the state of their morale and how important is their regular army", war was not explicitly defined as an instrument of the expansionist policy of the Serbian principality.[21] Emphasis was placed on acquiring information from among the South Slavs in the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. To this end, a network of intelligence agents was established in the territories populated by Serbs under the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian jurisdictions:[22]

> In order to be able to decide what can be done and how to proceed in this enterprise, the government must know at any moment what the situation is like among the peoples in the different provinces that surround Serbia. This is the main condition that will make it possible to choose the means wisely. With this aim in view, the first thing we have to do is send out perceptive men, free of prejudices and loyal to the government, to examine the situation among these populations and in these lands. On their return, these men should submit in writing an accurate report on the situation. We must be especially well informed about the situation in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern Albania. At the same time, we must also know exactly how things stand in Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. Needless to say, this includes the populations of Srem, Banat, and Bačka as well.[23]

The logic of the text is not one of confrontation with neighbouring Slav populations. On the contrary, Ilija GARAŠANIN insisted on the need to develop points of contact with them. He wrote that the Orthodox and Catholic peoples should agree on their national policies so that the goals defined by the *Načertanije* can be realised. With this end in view, he envisaged the principle of complete freedom of religion. The aim, therefore, was to gain the friendship or trust of the South Slavs in the Ottoman Empire and Austria by the publication and distribution of works published in Belgrade but intended for the Catholic Slavs and Muslim Bosnians. The

[20] LJUŠIĆ, p. 153.
[21] In the "Plan" of the Czech Franjo ZAH, which inspired the *Načertanije*, war had been explicitly singled out as the principal means of resolving the South Slav question. This aspect was elaborated in Section VII of his "Plan", but GARAŠANIN did not take it over. It would be interesting to know why this section was suppressed. It seems that no archival document exists that would allow us to answer this question. For Franjo ZAH's text, see LJUŠIĆ, pp. 130-150.
[22] David MACKENZIE, *Ilija GARAŠANIN: Balkan BISMARCK* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 62-91.
[23] Quoted from the translation appearing in *Le nettoyage ethnique : documents sur une idéologie serbe* /Ethnic Cleansing: documents on a Serbian ideology/, pp.67-68

same approach was in fact extended to Bulgaria and the Bulgarians.[24] The aim was to counter Russian influence on the Bulgarians and to supplant Russia in its role as the protector of Orthodox Bulgarians. Although the *Načertanije* did indeed envisage the territorial expansion of the principality of Serbia, centred on its political institutions and its princely dynasty, not once did it propose the expulsion of populations that would have been thought of as undesirable. While we can interpret it as a narrowly Serbian national programme, it still does not exclude cooperation with other South Slavs. Furthermore, it is a mistake to gauge how Yugoslav a particular national programme is solely on the basis of what it says about cooperation between Serbs and Croats. As a matter of fact, on several occasions Serbia considered the possibility of common state projects with the Bulgarians.

The first practical application of the *Načertanije* was the establishment of a network of agents in the Ottoman Empire and on the territory of Austria. Dozens of agents, most of them tradesmen, were recruited in the Ottoman provinces (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosovo).[25] Contacts were established with the ruler of Montenegro, Bishop Petar II PETROVIĆ – NJEGOŠ, to whom financial aid was granted. Catholic Albanians from the clan of Mirditë were approached and won over to the idea of a common struggle for liberation.[26] Relations were likewise established with prominent figures in the Illyrian movement (Ljudevit GAJ, Bogoslav ŠULEK, etc.) in Croatia.

When the neighbouring Austrian Empire was in the throes of the revolution of 1848, the principality of Serbia had an opportunity to confront its political and territorial ambitions

[24] A relatively lengthy section of the *Načertanije* deals with the Bulgarians and Bulgaria.
[25] Each agent covered two or three districts (*nahije*). He would appoint one man to be in charge of a district, and these men would proceed to recruit their own agents. No agents knew who the other agents were. Both Orthodox and Catholic agents were used. Michael PETROVICH, *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804-1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 233-234. See also Vaso VOJVODIĆ, *U duhu Garašaninovih ideja: Srbija i neoslobodjeno srpstvo 1868-1876* /In the Spirit of GARAŠANIN's Ideas: Serbia and Unliberated Serbism 1868-1876/ (Beograd: Prosveta, 1994), p. 402.
[26] Starting from 1846, contact was established with the clan's chieftain Bib DODA, with the Croat Matija BAN and members of the Albanian Catholic clergy acting as intermediaries. Intelligence agents were recruited among Catholic Albanians, chief among them Karlo KRASNI(QI). For more information on the contacts between Serbian leaders and Albanian Catholic dignitaries see Petrit IMAMI, *Srbi i Albanci kroz vekove* /Serbs and Albanians through the Centuries/ (Belgrade: KVS, 2000), pp. 117-134.

with reality. The southern parts of Hungary (the region of Vojvodina), where the Serbian population rose against the rule of Budapest, was not among Serbia's priorities, oriented as it was primarily towards Bosnia, Herzegovina, and northern Albania. Its network of intelligence agents was much less developed there, compared with the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the authorities in Belgrade extended their support to the Serbian insurrectionists in southern Hungary, who were demanding the creation of an autonomous Serbian territory within the Habsburg monarchy. At the insistence of the Ottoman Empire, however, Serbia subsequently adopted a neutral position and withdrew its volunteers from Vojvodina. The revolutionary events of 1848 led Ilija GARAŠANIN to develop more ambitious ideas and to start thinking about the creation of an empire of the South Slavs, resting largely on the Serbs and the Croats.[27] Once the revolution was crushed in 1849, he went back to more modest notions and concentrated above all on the idea of the unification of Serbs. During the 1860s, when he was minister of foreign affairs and prime minister under the reign of Mihailo OBRENOVIĆ (1860-1868), GARAŠANIN held to the course charted in the *Načertanije*, according to which a future Serbian state would include the principality of Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, northern Albania, and Montenegro. Nevertheless, his position as regards Montenegro was less clear-cut, for he had doubts about the willingness of its leaders to join Serbia. Whereas in the 1840s he had always seen Serbia as a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, in the 1860s it was no longer an option to think of an enlarged Serbian state as part of an Empire whose disappearance was by then explicitly wished for. Accordingly, propaganda was now replaced by insurrectionist struggle or national liberation war, which at first took the form of the arming of "revolutionary movements" in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. At the initiative of Prince Mihailo OBRENOVIĆ, a system of alliances was put in place with Greece (1861), Montenegro (1866), and Romania (1868), with a view to freeing the Christian populations

[27] Dragan SIMEUNOVIĆ, *Iz riznice otadžbinskih ideja* /From the Treasure of Patriotic Ideas/ (Belgrade: Vojska and Verzal Press, 2000), pp. 28-29.

from the Ottoman yoke once and for all. The idealistic vision of Prince Mihailo OBRENOVIĆ went beyond the expectations of Ilija GARAŠANIN, for the Serbian ruler was hoping for the creation of a large South Slav state that would include the Serbs and Croats from the Habsburg Empire, as well as the Bulgarians and Macedonians from the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, his vision exceeded the material capacity of Serbia to carry out such an enterprise. In 1861, Ilija GARAŠANIN spoke of the creation of a "confederation of Serbs, Bulgarians, and Albanians", but he knew that European diplomatic circles had little inclination to support a project of this kind. In parallel with accords between states, in 1867 Serbia reached an agreement with Bulgarian nationalists on the creation of a Serbo-Bulgarian union.[28] In March that same year, Ilija GARAŠANIN, minister of foreign affairs, developed a "Programme for a Yugoslav Policy", which he addressed to Josip Juraj STROSSMAYER, the leader of the Yugoslav movement in Croatia and Slavonia. The aim of this programme was the unification of the Slav tribes in a federal state, the two centres of which would be Belgrade and Zagreb. The state would be based on nationality, not religion, since, in Ilija GARAŠANIN's view, the Serbs and the Croats shared the same Yugoslav nationality.[29] Therefore the *Načertanije* cannot be isolated and limited to the year 1844, when it first appeared. It is important to take into consideration the national or foreign policy of the principality of Serbia, especially under the influence of Ilija GARAŠANIN, between the years 1840 and 1860. A study of the foreign policy of the principality of Serbia reveals the presence of two tendencies or ideological options: a narrowly Serbian option and a Yugoslav (or, more broadly, Balkan) option. The question is, how exactly were these two approaches connected?

[28] The agreement of 26 January 1867, known as the "Programme for Serbo-Bulgarian (Bulgaro-Serbian) political relations or their entente cordiale", consisted of twelve articles and envisaged the creation of a joint state under the name of Bulgaro-Serbia or Serbo-Bulgaria. Prince Mihailo OBRENOVIĆ was proclaimed "supreme head of the Serbo-Bulgarians and commander-in-chief of their armies" (Article 3). The text of the agreement is reproduced in George DEVAS, *La nouvelle Serbie: origines et bases sociales et politiques, renaissance de l'État et son développement historique, dynastie nationale et revendications libératrices* /The New Serbia: Origins and Social and Political Bases, Emergence and Historical Development of the State, National Dynasty and Claims for Freedom/ (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1918), p. 205. At a second meeting held in Bucharest in April 1867, it was decided that the future state should be called the *Yugoslav Empire*.

[29] LJUŠIĆ, p. 112.

Although it is undeniable that the Serbian national policy was guided first and foremost by the interests of the Serbian people, it is also true that the unification of the Serbian people was seen as taking place in two distinct contexts: one Serbian and the other Yugoslav, the latter variable (relying on either the Croats or the Bulgarians). Nevertheless, within the framework of the Yugoslav option the role of initiator and decision-maker was reserved for Serbia (and its dynasty), at the time the principal military power among the Christian peoples of the Balkans. It is therefore simplistic to wish to see Ilija GARAŠANIN as no more than an exponent of the ideology of a Greater Serbia: in fact, when we trace his development we discover that his path was much more complex, that it oscillated between a narrowly Serbian perspective and the Yugoslav (or Balkan) one. Besides, the policy of liberating the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire was not constant in the nineteenth century. In fact, between 1867 and 1903 Serbia gave up its plans for the unification of Serbs in one and the same state, and fell under the influence of Austria-Hungary. From 1867, following a meeting with Count ANDRASSY, Hungarian prime minister and minister of defence, Prince Mihailo set out on a new political course by relieving Ilija GARAŠANIN, who was head of the Serbian government and in charge of the country's diplomacy, of his functions. The treaties concluded with the Balkan states lost their validity and relations with the Croats were broken off. Under the new prince, Milan OBRENOVIĆ, Serbia abandoned its national ideals.

1.3. Characteristic features of the Serbian national ideology at the close of the nineteenth century

It is hard to define a national ideology, because those who speak of the nation have a wide variety of political and social positions. Nevertheless, different discourses do have a number of points in common. A consensus eventually emerges on how to define the nation, its cultural traits, the institutions specific to it, and the goals it sets itself in view of its particular

situation. A national ideology makes it possible to define in detail how a national group sees itself and to determine its principal features. In this body of ideological notions, the delimitation of the nation's territory and the definition of its name occupy pride of place.

The Serbian nation-state developed in the course of the nineteenth century. Like the modernisation of Serbian society, that of the nation-state was slow and gradual. At first the Serbian national idea was to be found principally among the urban intellectuals, who were not very many. The intellectual centre of the Serbs was not located in the principality of Serbia but in Vojvodina, in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire. In 1839, 59.7 per cent of all the intellectuals who lived in the principality of Serbia came from southern Hungary.[30] The Serbian historian Milorad EKMEČIĆ notes that the development of the national movement in political terms was tied more to the government of the principality, whereas the "cultural renaissance" took place mostly in Vojvodina.[31] The most difficult thing was to persuade the peasant masses to embrace this body of ideological notions. The national ideology was propagated by the political parties, the newspapers, the army, during the various conflicts in which Serbia clashed with the Ottoman Empire, but also through cultural institutions (readers' clubs, singing societies, and the like). Among such institutions, the *Matica Srpska*, founded in 1826 in Cisleithania,[32] played an important role in the dissemination of national ideals and of Serbian literature in general. Because the rate of illiteracy was high, oral culture was also a significant factor in the dissemination of the national ideology. The Orthodox Church played a less important part in the national movement than it had done in the past. The concept of the nation developed by the Serbian Orthodox Church, namely a nation defined by the Orthodox faith, conflicted with the concept proposed by Vuk KARADŽIĆ and taken up by numerous intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century.

[30] Milorad EKMEČIĆ, *Srbija izmedju srednje Evrope i Evrope* /Serbia between Central Europe and Europe/ (Belgrade: Politika, 1992), p. 75.
[31] EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*, vol. 1, p. 441.
[32] The territories of the Austrian Empire were divided by the river Leitha into two: Cisleithania in Austria and Transleithania in Hungary.

Schools too were an excellent channel for the dissemination of national ideas. True, the educational system did not include the entire population, but primary- and secondary-school textbooks are an important source of information about the way in which the Serbs represented themselves to themselves, the way they saw their past and their territories.[33] Geography textbooks occupy a central place among these works, to the extent that they offer a definition of Serbian nationality and a delimitation of national territories. Vladimir KARIĆ's geography textbooks were very influential, and subsequent authors of school textbooks found in his works an enormously important source of inspiration. According to Vladimir KARIĆ, the frontiers of the Serbian territories follow the Danube to the east, the basins of the rivers Timok, Morava and Vardar as far as the town of Strumica to the south, then along the basin of the river Crna all the way to Lake Prespa, and up north to Lake Ohrid, before following the course of the Crni Drim to the Adriatic Sea. On the coast, the frontier goes up to Trieste, extends to the east towards the eastern borders of Carniola and Styria and the river Drava, and reaches the towns of Pecs and Mohács. Thereafter the frontier of the Serbian lands crosses the Banat of Romania (Timişoara, Vršac, Bela Crkva), before returning to the Danube. KARIĆ's Serbia extends throughout the territory of the future Yugoslavia, with the exception of Slovenia; it also includes parts of northern Albania and northern Greece, of southern Hungary and of western Romania [see Map 2 in Annex]. Among the Serbian lands, KARIĆ distinguishes between independent ones, such as the kingdom of Serbia and the principality of Montenegro, those under Austro-Hungarian rule, such as Istria, the kingdom of Dalmatia, the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, and finally those under the authority of the Ottoman Empire: Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia (Kosovo), and Macedonia. He notes that Slavs used

[33] Charles JELAVICH, *South Slav Nationalism: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), 359 pp. On the development of the educational system in Serbia in the nineteenth century, see Ljubinka TRGOVČEVIĆ, "Obrazovanje kao činilac modernizacije Srbije u XIX veku: analitička skica" /Education as a factor in the modernisation of Serbia in the nineteenth century: an analytical sketch/, in *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima XX. veka* /Serbia in Twentieth-Century Modernising Processes/ (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 1994), pp. 217-232.

to be known as Serbs, before they changed this designation and adopted distinct names. According to KARIĆ, the Serbs used to speak three main dialects: the štokavian, the čakavian, and the kajkavian. The first he identified as purely Serbian. It follows from these premises that the Croats and the Muslim Slavs are Serbs. The Serbian nation is therefore divided into three religious denominations: Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim. These claims rest on concepts developed by Vuk KARADŽIĆ. The same thesis is found in grammar and history textbooks, as well as in readers. All school textbooks championed the Serbian national cause, that is to say, the liberation and unification of the Serbian people. The Serbian nation was not defined on the basis of religion, even though the majority of its members were of the Orthodox faith, since Catholic Croats and Muslim Slavs in Bosnia also belonged to it. The principal criterion was that of language (basically the use of štokavian).

Throughout the process of national liberation and the formation of the modern Serbian state, the chief point of reference was the extent of the state under the NEMANJIĆ dynasty, especially in its golden age under Tsar Dušan. Unity and concord have pride of place in the different discourses on the nation, in the political arena as well as in literature. Unity became an end in itself: the important thing was not to repeat the mistakes of Serbian feudal lords, who did not know how to form groups efficient enough to withstand the Ottoman invaders.[34] In various literary productions of a patriotic nature, the troubles of the Serbian nation were portrayed as caused by discord among its rulers or leaders, by their lust for power, or by foreigners (Ottomans and others). Furthermore, liberty cannot be attained except by arms, by insurrectionary and revolutionary means. Liberty cannot be won without sacrifices. The construction of the modern Serbian state is founded on three principal traditions: the cult of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, the cult of the uprisings of 1804-1813 and 1815, and later the cult of the wars of 1912-1918.

[34] Vladimir JOVIČIĆ, *Srpsko rodoljubivo pesništvo* /Serbian Patriotic Poetry/ (Belgrade: Nolit, 1976), pp. 134-135.

The main goal set by the national ideology was the unification of all the Serbs in one and the same state. The goal was no different from those set by other national movements of the time, notably in Germany and Italy. In the nineteenth century, demands of this kind did not provoke strong reactions; they were thought of as just, especially by liberals and radicals. In the second half of the nineteenth century, John Stuart MILL wrote:

> It is, in general, a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of government should coincide in the main with those of nationality … 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.[35]

The Serbian national ideology belongs to the ethnic type of nationalism, where the goal of the national movement is to group together all its co-nationals living outside the borders of the national state, as well as the territories populated by them.[36] As a result, the national movement formulates irredentist demands and a pan-national ideology. Nevertheless, the French concept of nation is not entirely absent either. The definition of the ethnic or national group is relatively capacious, in that it includes the Croats and the Muslim Slavs. Such an understanding of the nation will facilitate the creation of Yugoslavia, but not its stability.[37] This comprehensive definition of the Serbian nation would be abandoned after World War I, between 1918 and 1941. Nevertheless, as shown by the historical events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ethnic concept would become dominant.

On the eve of World War I, Serbia was not a fully integrated national community. It had been enlarged when it obtained the region of Niš in 1878 and when it reconquered Old Serbia (*Stara Srbija* – the region of Kosovo) and Macedonia in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. The representation of Serbian ethnic territories was not clear to all the citizens. The

[35] John Stuart MILL, *Considerations on Representative Government* (London, 1872). The text quoted here is taken from Anthony D. SMITH, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), p. 9.
[36] This is based on the typology developed by Anthony D. SMITH in *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).
[37] This concept of the nation will fit perfectly with the unitarist national ideology developed by the South Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, according to which the Serbs and Croats were part of one and the same nation. After 1918, this kind of ideology no longer had the same power of attraction and tended to exacerbate centrifugal tendencies in the Yugoslav state.

national ideology had not spread to the entire peasantry, which constituted more than 80 per cent of the population.[38] Nevertheless, after 1900 the national movement and its ideology changed from an elitist form to a more popular one, even though the conditions that characterise such a phase were not all present in Serbian society: in 1900, 79 per cent of the population was still illiterate and the introduction of universal suffrage was very recent (1903).[39]

After 1903, Serbia freed itself from the control which Austria-Hungary had exercised over it since 1881.[40] Petar I KARADJORDJEVIĆ's accession to the Serbian throne in 1904, after the assassination of King Aleksandar OBRENOVIĆ and his wife in 1903, marked a turning point in Serbian national policy which led to the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, culminating in the reconquest of Kosovo and the Vardar Macedonia, and also to the denunciation of the Austro-Hungarian 1908 annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a territory which the Serbian political authorities and public opinion saw as being Serbian. While Serbia's policy was mainly guided by the aim of unifying the Serbs within one single state, the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 led to a redefinition of Serbian national objectives since the government headed by Nikola PAŠIĆ was in favour of a Yugoslav state (rather than a Greater Serbia) that would bring together the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes.

[38] EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*, vol. 2, p. 475.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 476.
[40] In 1881, Serbia signed a commercial agreement with Austria-Hungary which had a secret convention attached to it in which the Serbian authorities pledged not to support the Slav population in the south of the Habsburg Empire nor to sign treaties with other governments without prior notification of the authorities in Vienna.

2. The Serbian national ideology in the first Yugoslavia (1918-1941): from Yugoslavism to the ideology of a Greater Serbia

2.1. The position of the Serbs in the first Yugoslavia

In 1918, Serbia, once (before 1912-1913) nationally homogeneous, lost its political specificity and became part of the new state of Yugoslavia.[41] Between 1918 and 1939, Serbism found itself supplanted by the Yugoslav national ideology, which rested on the premise that the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes were three tribes forming one and the same nation (this ideology is also referred to as unitarism). The principal political forces representing the Serbian population were favourable to the creation of a Yugoslav state. The Radical Party of Nikola PAŠIĆ and the Democratic Party of Ljubomir DAVIDOVIĆ and Svetozar PRIBIĆEVIĆ were the chief defenders of unitarism. In spite of this, Yugoslavism did not have profound roots in Serbia, where it was promoted by a small number of intellectuals. Between 1918 and 1939, the idea of the ethnic unity of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was upheld by other social groups and forces, in the first place the bureaucracy, the army, and the monarchy.[42]

The Serbs secured a comfortable position in the new state by dominating the government, the administrative system, the diplomacy, and the army.[43] On the other hand, the Serbian people were dispersed and polycentric; the borders of the areas populated by it had not been formally drawn and established as internal borders. In any case, between 1918 and 1939 the Serbian political and social forces did not raise the question of Serbian integration. Their political ascendancy in the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was founded on

[41] During the nineteenth century Serbia expanded in several stages on a north-south axis. The Muslim population, both Slav and Albanian, moved out of the newly conquered territories in great numbers. Consequently, the principality of Serbia, later the Kingdom of Serbia, had few national minorities before the Balkan Wars which in turn led to another enlargement of Serbia and to the integration of national minorities (the Albanians in particular).
[42] TOŠIĆ, p. 102.
[43] Branko PETRANOVIĆ, *Jugoslovensko iskustvo srpske nacionalne integracije* /The Yugoslav Experience of Serbian National Integration/ (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1993), p. 31.

a Yugoslav, not Serbian, national ideology. If the Serbian question had been opened at the time, the result would have been a deterioration in the relations among the nations, especially between the Serbs and the Croats. In addition, this would have provoked a stronger expression of other nationalisms (Slovene, Montenegrin). What was happening, in fact, was a kind of "national demobilisation" of the Serbs, to borrow an expression coined by Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ (1869-1958), an intellectual of that period. The historian Branko PETRANOVIĆ explains that the Serbian people were "worn out" at the time by the series of conflicts that had followed one another between 1912 and 1918: they were exhausted and weakened demographically (roughly a third of the Serbs perished, or 1,200,000 people out of a population of 4,000,000).

In structuring and organising the state, the elites of the time were guided by unitarist and centralist Yugoslav concepts. In 1922, the country was divided into thirty-three administrative units, so that the historical borders of the different components of the country, including Serbia, were erased. This ideology was not able to take root because national consciousness in the different components was too powerful to disappear so rapidly. Faced with opposition by the Croats, who favoured a federal or confederate constitutional order, King Aleksandar proclaimed a dictatorship on 6 January 1929, and further strengthened his pro-Yugoslav orientation by trying to establish a Yugoslav nation by coercion. He banned political parties and national symbols other than Yugoslav ones. He divided the country into nine administrative units (known as banovinas), and in so doing once again took no account of the borders of historical provinces [see Map 4 in Annex]. In fact, the comprehensive Yugoslavism of King Aleksandar weakened the Yugoslav idea and encouraged, *inter alia*, the Croatian and Macedonian separatist forces. From 1931 onward, the regime relied on a political organisation meant to bring together all the political forces from before 1929 under the umbrella of a comprehensive Yugoslavism: the Yugoslav Radical Peasant Democracy

(*JRSD – Jugoslovenska radikalna seljačka demokratija*), and after 1933 the Yugoslav National Party (*Jugoslovenska nacionalna stranka*). It would never wield much influence and would gradually disappear after the death of King Aleksandar in 1934. In 1935, Milan STOJADINOVIĆ, the new prime minister, founded the Yugoslav Radical Union (*Jugoslovenska radikalna zajednica*), which included elements of the Serbian Radical Party, the Slovene People's Party, and the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation. The party advocated national unitarism and was opposed to Croatian demands. Its policies drew inspiration from the European fascist movements, with their desire to unite capital with labour. Between 1935 and 1939, STOJADINOVIĆ's government oriented its foreign policy towards HITLER's Germany and MUSSOLINI's Italy.

2.2. The Serbian Cultural Club

From the 1920s to the end of the 1930s, the political authorities used Yugoslavism to legitimise their power. Not for a moment did they refer to an ideology of a Greater Serbia. In Serbia, such policies were opposed mostly by intellectuals, often members of political parties.[44] In the 1920s they advocated a middle way between centralism and federalism.[45] At the same time, most Serbian intellectuals supported, often passionately, the idea of the national unity of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Nevertheless, starting from 1937 part of the Serbian intellectual elite got together in order to defend the Serbian interests in Yugoslavia, and in Bosnia and Croatia in particular.[46] The Serbian Cultural Club (*Srpski kulturni klub, SKK*) was founded in January 1937 as a forum for the discussion of issues related to Serbian

[44] (Stojan PROTIĆ, Miša TRIFUNOVIĆ, Jaša PRODANOVIĆ, Ljubomir STOJANOVIĆ, Milan GROL, Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, and others.)
[45] Milosav JANIĆIJEVIĆ, *Stvaralačka inteligencija medjuratne Jugoslavije* /The Creative Intelligentsia in Yugoslavia Between the Two World Wars/ (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1984), p.125.
[46] Kosta NIKOLIĆ, "Dragiša Vasić: skica za portret nacionalnog revolucionara" /Dragiša VASIĆ: Outline Portrait of a National Revolutionary/, *Istorija 20. veka* (1997: 1), p. 99.

national culture – understood in its larger sense, as both spiritual and material culture.[47] At its founding assembly in Belgrade, on 4 February 1937, the club had seventy members, of whom twenty-two taught at the University of Belgrade and other institutions of higher education in the country. Former government ministers, retired army officers, industrialists, bankers, lawyers, and members of other professions, were also among the founding members of the organisation. At the founding assembly, the historian Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ was elected president, with Nikola STOJANOVIĆ, a lawyer, and Dragiša VASIĆ, a writer and lawyer, as vice-presidents, and Vasa /Vaso/ ČUBRILOVIĆ, a lecturer at the University of Belgrade, as secretary. The Serbian Cultural Club was set up by intellectuals who believed that the Yugoslav authorities were not able to protect Serbian national interests, especially in the south (Macedonia and Kosovo) and northwest (Bosnia and Croatia) of the country. It planned to extend its influence to the "border regions" (*granične oblasti*) where the Serbs were "threatened by foreign influences".[48] While the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had been seen as a solution to the Serbian national question, these intellectuals noted that the Serbian nation was still not integrated – nationally, culturally, and economically. The SKK set up subcommittees, especially in nationally mixed areas: Vojvodina, southern Serbia (Macedonia, Kosovo), Bosnia and Herzegovina. The subcommittees of the SKK were anxious to strengthen the Serbian national consciousness in the regions where the Serbs were mixed with other nationalities and to affirm the Serbian character of Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Macedonia. In 1939, the SKK started a journal called *Srpski glas* /Serbian Voice/, for the purpose of disseminating its ideas: its slogan was "Strong Serbdom for a Strong Yugoslavia", anticipating the Chetnik

[47] The statutes of the Club were approved by the Ministry of the Interior of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on 15 January 1937. The purpose of the association was "to cultivate Serbian culture outside political life and the political parties".

[48] Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, "Srpski kulturni klub izmedju kulture i politike: prilog istoriji" /The Serbian Cultural Club between culture and politics: a contribution to history/, *Književnost* (1993: 9-10), p. 863.

programme of World War II: "A Greater Serbia in a Greater Yugoslavia".[49] The writer Dragiša VASIĆ was the journal's editor-in-chief. The Club also organised public talks on issues related to the position of the Serbs within Yugoslavia, but also on educational and economic matters, and on the international situation.[50] Even though many of its members had been educated abroad, the SKK rejected foreign influences on Serbian culture. (Modernist movements such as Dadaism, surrealism, cubism, and futurism were rejected; in the humanities and social sciences, foreign models such as Marxism were denounced.) The SKK preached a return to the traditions and norms of Serbian pre-war society, and promoted a culture based on the values embraced by Saint Sava, founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church.[51]

In the context of a search for a federalist solution to the Croatian national question in 1939, the activities of the Serbian Cultural Club took on a largely political dimension. All its activities were now oriented towards the solution of the Serbian national question within Yugoslavia. The SKK was clearly seen as the defender of Serbian interests in Yugoslavia. When the Croatian opposition and the Yugoslav government were discussing an agreement on

[49] The first issue of *Srpski glas* came out on 16 November 1939. The journal would appear every Thursday until 13 June 1940, when it was banned by the Yugoslav government.

[50] Here are some of the lectures given in 1937 and 1938: Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, "The need for private initiative in matters of national culture" (7 February 1937); Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ, "The problem of internal colonisation in southern Serbia" (7 February 1937); Dragiša VASIĆ, "The notions of the fatherland and of social justice" (28 February 1937); Vladimir ĆOROVIĆ, "Coordination of the activities of our cultural and educational associations" (15 April 1937); Josif MIHAJLOVIĆ, "The situation in Macedonia" (10 May 1937); Slobodan DRAŠKOVIĆ, "On Serbian culture" (26 May 1937); Radmilo VUČIĆ, "Popular songs and modern social life" (31 May 1937); Djoka PERIN, "The nationalisation of Vojvodina and southern Serbia" (17 June 1937); Nikola STOJANOVIĆ, "On Serbism and Yugoslavism" (14 November 1937); Ljubomir POKORNI, "The spiritual ties between the army and the people in modern war" (22 November 1937); Nikola DJONOVIĆ, "The situation in Montenegro" (29 November 1937); Mihajlo KONSTANTINOVIĆ, "Constitutional provisions relating to education" (13 December 1937); Djoko PERIN, "On the nationalisation of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (24 January 1938); Mehmed BEGOVIĆ, "On the Muslim problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (7 February 1938); Slobodan DRAŠKOVIĆ, "Young people and national culture" (14 February 1938), Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ, "The problem of religion in Yugoslavia" (21 March 1938); Orestije KRSTIĆ, "The battle for land in southern Serbia" (4 April 1938); Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, "Confederation and federation" (18 April 1938); Jovan DJORDJEVIĆ, "Nation, culture, and the State" (2 May 1938); Milan PETROVIĆ, "The situation in Vojvodina" (6 May 1938); and others. See Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 867.

[51] Rastko, son of Stefan NEMANJA - founder of the NEMANJIĆ dynasty, dedicated himself to a religious life and became a monk known by the name Sava. It is thanks to him that the Serbian Orthodox Church became autocephalous in 1219. He was the first archbishop. He helped give the Orthodox Church a national character and anchored Serbia in the world of Eastern Christianity. The values of Saint Sava are consistent with Serbian national spirituality, with the State and with the Orthodox Church.

the creation of a Croatian territorial unit within the state, the Serbian Cultural Club (Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, Dragiša VASIĆ, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, and others) reacted strongly and warned the government of the risks that it was taking. Its leaders contested the borders and prerogatives of the new Croatian entity which was emerging [see Map 4 in Annex]. On 30 January 1939, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, a lawyer from Banja Luka, gave a lecture on the *banovina* of Vrbas, in which he explained that the Croatian question must not be resolved by opening the Serbian question. But, in his opinion, the Serbian question *would* be opened if the territories populated by Serbs (Bosanska Krajina, Banija, Kordun, Lika, and northern Dalmatia) had to become part of the Croatian entity.[52] The day after the agreement of 26 August 1939 was signed, the Serbian Cultural Club reacted strongly, contesting the borders of the newly created *banovina* of Croatia.[53] It believed that the political representatives of the Serbs had not been consulted. It refused to let the *banovina* of Croatia have districts with a majority Serbian population, since it suspected this to be the first step towards the creation of a Greater Croatia:

> Our point of view is straightforward. We want an agreement, but only if it is founded on certain principles, which may be ethnic, historical, or geographic and economic. But they should apply to the entire territory where the Serbs and the Croats live. We shall never be willing to see districts with a Serbian majority inside the borders of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Slavonia relinquished to the *banovina* of Croatia. In demanding that the would-be agreement be revised, we want the Serbs living within the borders of old Croatia and Slavonia to be given the full right freely to express their wishes with regard to whether their districts will remain in Croatia or whether they would become attached to the Serbian entity.[54]

Reacting to the agreement, the Serbian Cultural Club demanded the creation of a Serbian administrative and political unit.

> I have a piece of advice to give to the Serbs, which, being a Serb myself, I believe I am entitled to. We, the Serbs, must understand that we have a dual task to accomplish. First, we must protect Serbdom. In drawing the outlines of a Croatian ethnic unit, the outlines of a Serbian

[52] According to Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, these territories constituted a compact unit of 1,200,000 inhabitants and a "living wall" separating the Croats in the north from the Croats in central Bosnia and western Herzegovina. D. TODOROVIĆ, *Dr Stevan MOLJEVIĆ: rečju, perom, delom i životom za Ujedinjeno Srpstvo* /Dr Stevan MOLJEVIĆ: Words, Writings, Works and a Life Dedicated to a Unified Serbia/ (Belgrade: Kalekom, 2000), p. 96.

[53] The *banovina* of Croatia included the Sava and Drava *banovinas*, the districts of Dubrovnik (in the Zeta *banovina*), Derventa and Gradačac (in the Vrbas *banovina*), Travnik, Fojnica and Brčko (in the Drina *banovina*), Šid and Ilok (in the Danube *banovina*).

[54] "Sporazum ili nesporazum" /Agreement or disagreement/, *Srpski glas*, 1 February 1940, no. 12.

> ethnic unit must inevitably be drawn as well. It would be stupid to claim that in this state only the Croats have a national consciousness/, and that they are the only ones to have a history, while the Serbs would presumably have neither a national consciousness, nor a history but would represent a kind of amorphous mass to be shaped at will. The moment the Croatian question was opened, the Serbian question was opened too, and the Serbs must defend what is theirs by uniting their forces.[55]

The committees of the SKK in the towns of Vukovar, Vinkovci and Dalj, in the west of the region of Srem, demanded that their territories be severed from the new *banovina* of Croatia, in which the Serbs accounted for one-fifth of the population, and attached to the future Serbian entity. The SKK relaunched the project of the national integration of all Serbs within the same state structure.[56] Although the Yugoslav ideology in its comprehensive form was severely criticised and denounced, the SKK remained attached to the idea of a Yugoslav state. According to Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, the enforced unification of the Serbs and the Croats had been counterproductive, and the combination of unitarism and centralism had poisoned their relations. The leaders of the SKK demanded that some regions with a Serbian population be detached from the Croatian *banovina* and that Bosnia and Herzegovina be attached to the Serbian entity.[57] A project for the establishment of a Serbian territorial unit was elaborated by the Yugoslav government in 1940. It envisaged the unification of the Vrbas, Drina, Danube, Morava, Zeta and Vardar *banovinas* in a singly entity called the "Serbian land" (*Srpska zemlja*), with Skopje, present-day capital of Macedonia, at its centre. Some towns situated in the Croatian entity were meant to become part of it (Brčko, Travnik,

[55] Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, *Srpski književni glasnik* /Serbian Literary Herald/ 1 January 1940.

[56] In the 1 January 1940 issue of the literary journal *Srpski književni glasnik*, Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ wrote: "In drawing the outlines of a Croatian ethnic unit, the outlines of a Serbian ethnic unit must inevitably be drawn as well. It would be absurd to claim that in this state only the Croats have a national conscience, and that they are the only ones to have a history, while the Serbs would presumably have neither a national conscience nor a history but would represent a kind of amorphous mass to be shaped at will. The moment the Croatian question was opened, the Serbian question was opened too, and the Serbs must defend what is theirs by uniting their forces".

[57] The national ideas of the members of the Serbian Cultural Club are to be found in their official publication, *Srpski glas*, which was first published in 1939. On this journal, see Miodrag JOVIČIĆ, *Jako srpstvo – jaka Jugoslavija: izbor članaka iz Srpskog glasa, organa Srpskog kulturnog kluba* /Strong Serbdom for a Strong Yugoslavia: a Selection of Articles from *Srpski glas*, the Official Publication of the Serbian Cultural Club/ (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1991).

Fojnica). However, the reorganisation of the kingdom of Yugoslavia on a federalist and ethnic basis was cut short when World War II broke out.

The members of the SKK also pondered the solution to the problem of national minorities, which brought into question the foundations of the future Serbian entity. According to the 1921 population census, national minorities accounted for 17 per cent of the population. They were especially numerous in Vojvodina (60 per cent of the population) and in southern Serbia (Kosovo, with 40 per cent of the population). As some parts of these regions were densely populated by national minorities, the SKK held that they would have to be nationalised or, in other words, that the Serbian element there would have to be strengthened. In most reflections on this problem, the proposed solution was the displacement of national minorities, since the policy of the colonisation of Kosovo which was being implemented by the Yugoslav authorities had failed to change the population structure of southern Serbia. The Albanian minority was especially targeted; some of the areas which it inhabited cut through areas populated by Serbs. According to 1921 figures, Kosovo Albanians accounted for 66 per cent of the population of the region, as opposed to 25 per cent for the Serbs. In a lecture given to the SKK on 7 March 1937, Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ proposed the enforced displacement of Kosovo Albanians on a large scale. The Albanians were perceived as a political and national threat, since they were a compact population which broke the continuity of the areas populated by the Serbs:

> It is impossible to push back the Albanians merely by gradual colonisation. For a thousand years they have been the only people that was able not only to resist the core of our state in Raška and Zeta but even to harm us, by pushing our ethnic borders towards the north and the east. As our own ethnic borders have shifted, over the past thousand years, to Subotica in the north and to the Kupa in the northwest, the Albanians have driven us out of the region of Skadar, Bodin's ancient capital and capital of Metohija and Kosovo. The only way that we can push them back is by using the brute force of an organised state, within which we have always dominanted them. (…)[58]

Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ specified which districts would have to be evacuated and described the process of repopulating these areas with settlers from Montenegro, Herzegovina, Lika, and

[58] See French translation in Mirko GRMEK, Marc GJIDARA, and Neven ŠIMAC, eds., p. 167.

Krajina. Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ's proposals were not isolated. They were very close to those made by Djoko PERIN in June 1937. PERIN had in fact suggested that part of the Kosovo Albanians should be transferred to Albania and the majority of the remainder displaced to other Yugoslav regions, so that the Serbs could become the majority population in this region.[59]

Vojvodina, the wealthiest region in the country, and one on which Belgrade, the capital, was dependent, likewise preoccupied the members of the SKK, because the Serbs were not a majority there (474,000 inhabitants, representing 32 per cent of the population in 1936) and the Hungarian minority, contiguous with Hungary, was itself substantial (392,000 inhabitants, representing 26.5 per cent of the population in 1936), as was the German minority (338,000 or 23 per cent).[60] In order to strengthen the Serbian presence in Vojvodina, the SKK suggested enforced population exchanges rather than a colonisation of the province, which would be hard to implement. In fact, in order for the Serbs to become a majority there, it would have been necessary to settle more than 523,000 Serbian colonists in the region, and more than a million if they were to account for 60 per cent of the population. According to the SKK, the Hungarian, German and Bunjevac populations could be settled in Slavonia, which 200,000 Serbs would leave in order to move to Vojvodina.[61] These reflections on national minorities show that the SKK was not concerned only to fix the borders of a (federal) Serbian unit within Yugoslavia, but also to ensure the homogeneity of the population by giving the Serbs more demographic clout through enforced displacements of non-Serbian minority populations or by means of population exchanges. Whether Kosovo or Vojvodina was at

[59] Djoko PERIN, "Nacionalizovanje Vojvodine i Južne Srbije" /The Nationalisation of Vojvodina and Southern Serbia/, 16 p.
[60] According to data provided by Djoko PERIN in his lecture on "The Nationalisation of Vojvodina and Southern Serbia".
[61] The Bunjevci are Catholics, and a national minority, who live between the Danube and Tisza rivers. They originally came to this region in the seventeenth century from Dalmatia and Herzegovina, fleeing Ottoman incursions. There are a number of conflicting theories on whether the Bunjevci belong to the Serb or Croat nation. On the Bunjevci, see Bojan TODOSIJEVIĆ, "Why Bunjevci did not Become a Nation: A Case Study", *East Central Europe*, vol. 29, no. 1-2, pp. 59-72.

issue, the principal reference point used in support of the proposed solution to the question of national minorities were the population exchanges between Turkey and Greece in 1921-1922. The debates that took place in the Serbian Cultural Club in the late 1930s marked a turning point in the development of the ideology of a Greater Serbia, in so far as enforced population transfers clearly became the means for the creation of the most homogeneous possible state entity. In the nineteenth century, the Serbian leaders had not thought in these terms.

The Serbian Cultural Club therefore played an important role in the strengthening of the Serbian national consciousness, within Yugoslavia in the late 1930s. The idea that Serbia was wherever Serbs were to be found dominated the SKK's publications and discussions. Its members insisted on the Serbian character of Vojvodina, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Baranja, western Srem, as well as Macedonia.[62] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ believes that this movement defended the Greater Serbia ideology, that it "knew what it wanted but it did not know how to achieve it in the most efficient way".[63]

[62] DIMIĆ, p. 865.
[63] ŠEŠELJ, *Ideologija srpskog nacionalizma*, p. 991.

3. The Chetnik movement during World War II

3.1. General context

Although the war did not break out in Yugoslavia until 1941, the position of the country was becoming increasingly precarious from 1938-1939. In March 1938, Yugoslavia found itself with a redoubtable new neighbour, Germany, which had annexed Austria. To its south, the situation was no better: in April 1939, Mussolini's Italy had occupied Albania. In the aftermath of the defeat of France in May-June 1940, Yugoslavia's chances of preserving its neutral orientation became even smaller. The first German units entered Romania in August 1940. Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary joined the Tripartite Pact.[64] The war finally reached the Balkans when Italian troops attacked Greece in October 1940. In 1940 and 1941, pressure by Nazi Germany and Italy continued to grow. The revisionist states, Bulgaria and Hungary, were asking for a revision of the peace agreements signed at the end of World War I. An unstable internal situation was exacerbated by the deterioration of Yugoslavia's international position. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia became an easy prey. Prince Pavle, who knew that the Yugoslav army was incapable of withstanding German troops and that the country had no real external support, was forced to yield to German pressure: on 25 March 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact. Capitulation to Germany provoked resistance in the ranks of the army. In the night of 26 to 27 March 1941, General Dušan SIMOVIĆ (1882-1962) masterminded a plot against Prince Pavle. The participants in the coup proclaimed Petar II KARADJORDJEVIĆ (1923-1970) of age, and on 28 March he became King of Yugoslavia. Although the participants were mostly Serbs, the coup affected the entire country. A government of national unity composed of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was set up, with General SIMOVIĆ at its head. SIMOVIĆ tried to convince the Germans that

[64] The Tripartite Pact concluded on 27 September 1940 united Germany, Italy and Japan.

the coup had been provoked by the internal situation in the country rather than Yugoslavia's accession to the Tripartite Pact. Nevertheless, war between Germany and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had become inevitable: HITLER wanted the situation in Southeast Europe clarified before his great offensive against the USSR. On 6 April 1941, the country was attacked by German and Italian troops. Although it had been declared an open city, Belgrade was savagely bombed by the German air force. The country was falling apart like a house of cards: on 10 April 1941, an independent Croatian state was proclaimed in Zagreb, and Slovene political representatives were suggesting to the Third Reich that Slovenia should be severed from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. On 14 and 15 April, the king and members of the government fled the country for Greece, and thence to London. The act of capitulation was signed in Belgrade on 17 April. In ten days or so, 375,000 Yugoslav soldiers and officers were made prisoners of war. The country created in 1918 ended in a staggering military defeat with the war of April 1941.

Yugoslavia was carved up: Germany swallowed up the north of Slovenia and exerted its military and political influence over the northern half of the country. Italy annexed the south of Slovenia, half of Dalmatia, and Montenegro; it integrated Kosovo and western Macedonia into Albania, which was under its control. Hungary appropriated parts of the Slovene and Croatian territories, as well as the region of Bačka in Vojvodina. Bulgaria incorporated into its territory three-quarters of Macedonia and some districts in southern Serbia (Pirot, Vranje). The Independent State of Croatia encompassed Croatia in its historical borders, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as western Srem, including the town of Zemun on Belgrade's doorstep [see Map 5 in Annex]. Now reduced more or less to its borders of before 1912, Serbia first found itself under military rule and was then given a collaborationist government headed by General Milan NEDIĆ (1877-1946). The region of Banat was

dependent on the Serbian military command and was under the control of the local German population (some 120,000 *Volksdeutsche* for a total population of 640,000).

Following the capitulation of Yugoslavia, Serbia was placed under military administration. On 1 May 1941, a collaborationist government was set up, known as the Commission of Administrators. At its head was Milan AĆIMOVIĆ, former minister of the interior in Milan STOJADINOVIĆ's last government. The Commission of Administrators was divided and the Germans saw it as an inefficient instrument. Also, on 29 August 1941 the military commander of Serbia, General Heinrich DANCKELMANN, decided to entrust the government to General Milan NEDIĆ, counting on his more imposing personal authority. NEDIĆ was in favour of returning Serbia to its rural traditions and rejected Yugoslavia. He wished to work towards the national integration of the Serbs with the help of Germany. His collaborationist regime directed its propaganda against the communists, considered to be alien elements, and against the Allies, in the first place "plutocratic Great Britain". Milan NEDIĆ did not have much power, and by the end of 1943 his authority had become an empty shell. Nevertheless, he would keep his position until the end of German domination, in October 1944.

The new political order created in 1941 in the Yugoslav area was detrimental to the Serbs. At the beginning of the war they were its principal victims, especially in the Independent State of Croatia, created in April 1941 by the Ustasha movement, headed by Ante PAVELIĆ (1889-1959). The Independent State of Croatia had swallowed up Bosnia and Herzegovina, and extended all the way to Belgrade's doorstep in the east. According to German estimates, the total population of the state was around 6,285,000 out of which 3,300,000 were Croats (i.e. 52.5 per cent), 1,925,000 were Serbs (i.e. 30.6 per cent) and 700,000 were Muslims (i.e. 11.1 per cent) whom the Ustasha regime considered to be Croats

[see Map 6 in Annex].[65] In order to resolve the Serbian question in Croatia, the Ustashi decided to exterminate one-third of the Serbian population, expel another third to Serbia, and convert the rest to Catholicism. The first massacres of Serbs took place at the end of April 1941 in the area around Bjelovar. They continued relentlessly in Krajina, Herzegovina, and western Bosnia. There were large numbers of victims, especially in western Bosnia, along the historical border with Croatia.[66] Concentration camps were set up for the Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies arrested by the Croatian police; a great number of people perished there. Towards the end of July 1941, there were nearly 140,000 Serbian refugees in Serbia.[67] The Germans, anxious to pacify the region and ensure the safety of the principal axes of communication, demanded that the authorities in Zagreb put a stop to the expulsion of the Serbs from Croatia and find a "constructive solution" to the Serbian question. Faced with such meddling by the Germans, the Ustashi came up with a thesis according to which the Serbs were "Croats of the Orthodox faith": they were supposed to be Croats whom the Ottomans had forced to convert to the Orthodox religion. In 1941-1942, when the conversion campaign was under way, some 240,000 Serbs were converted to Roman Catholicism. In view of the practical impossibility of exterminating and converting all the Serbs, a Croatian Orthodox Church was founded in February 1942. These measures were aimed at weakening Serbian support for the partisan movement in Croatia.

This policy of terror against the Serbs explains why they were so clearly in the majority in the ranks of the communist partisans in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina until at least 1943.[68] It is because of these events that the Serbs ended up being over-represented in

[65] The figures are from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and date from May 1941. They are cited in Fikreta JELIĆ-BUTIĆ, *Ustaše i Nezavisna država Hrvatska, 1941-1945* /The Ustashi and the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945/ (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977), p. 106.
[66] Serbian and Croatian historians disagree on the number of World War II victims in Yugoslavia.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 170.
[68] Out of 6,500 communist partisans in Croatia at the end of 1941, 5,400 (83.08%) were Serbs, 800 (12.31%) were Croats, and the balance was made up of other national groups. At the end of 1942, out of 25,000 partisans, 16,600 (66.4%) were Serbs and 8,270 (33.08%) were Croats. It was only at the end of 1943 that the Croats exceeded the Serbs in the ranks of the communist partisans: 29,300 (i.e. 48.8%) and 28,800 (i.e. 48%)

the communist apparatus and the security forces in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1945.[69] It is for the same reason that the Serbs were given the status of constitutive nation in the Socialist Republic of Croatia after 1945.

3.2. The origins of the Chetnik movement

The word Chetnik (*četnik*) derives from the word *četa*, meaning an armed band or detachment. A Chetnik is therefore a member of an armed guerrilla band. Chetnik detachments were irregular army forces which consisted of volunteers and could be used by the regular army as support units whose task was to carry out diversionary actions or to engage in intelligence work behind the frontlines. Guerrilla warfare had been practiced in most liberation struggles of the Serbian populations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Chetnik phenomenon thus refers primarily to a particular mode of armed or military action. It was an object of study as early as the nineteenth century.[70] At the beginning of the twentieth century, detachments of Chetnik fighters were set up as a result of private initiative and sent out to Macedonia, a territory coveted equally by Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. The Serbian government would eventually take control of these detachments. At that time, the Serbian Chetniks faced the Bulgarian *komitadjis* and the Greek *andartes*. These Chetnik forces were mobilised during the Balkan Wars and World War I. In February 1917, Chetnik detachments distinguished themselves by liberating part of the territory occupied by Bulgaria in the region of Toplica. Chetnik detachments also took part in the liberation of

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respectively out of a total of 60,000 combatants. At the end of 1944 the ratio was even more in favour of the Croats: 73,327 (60.4%) Croats against 34,753 (28.6%) Serbs out of a total of 121,351 combatants. These figures are taken from: Čedomir VIŠNJIĆ, *Partizansko ljetovanje : Hrvatska i Srbi 1945-1950* /Partisan Summer: Croatia and the Serbs 1945-1950/ *(*Zagreb: SKD Prosvjeta, 2003), p. 26.

[69] At the beginning of 1950, the Communist Party of Croatia had 99,468 members and 34,532 applicants for membership. Out of this number 92,895 were Croatian members and candidates (i.e. 69.32% while 79% of the population was Croatian) compared to 35,284 Serbs (i.e. 26.33% while 14.8% of the population was Serb). *Ibid*., p. 115.

[70] Matija BAN, *Pravilo o četničkoj vojni* /The Rules of Chetnik Warfare/ (Belgrade, 1848), and Ljubomir IVANOVIĆ, *Četovanje ili četničko ratovanje* /*Četovanje* or Chetnik Warfare/ (1868).

Serbia in 1918, but before the end of the war the army ordered that such units be disbanded. A number of Chetnik combatants joined the regular army.[71]

Several Chetnik organisations were founded between the two world wars. In 1921, Chetnik veterans founded The Chetnik Association for the Liberty and Honour of the Fatherland. Its purpose was to preserve the memory of Chetnik fighters, to ensure the spread of the movement's patriotic ideas, and to take care of the widows and orphans of fighters killed in combat, as well as of disabled war veterans. This first organisation was under the influence of the Democratic Party. In response, the Radical Party of Nikola PAŠIĆ, the dominant party in the government, helped set up two new organisations in 1924: The Association of Serbian Chetniks for the King and the Fatherland, and the *Petar MRKONJIĆ* Association of Serbian Chetniks. These two organisations were merged in July 1925, to be known as the *Petar MRKONJIĆ* Association of Serbian Chetniks for the King and the Fatherland. Between 1925 and 1928 the new organisation was led by Puniša RAČIĆ. Elected deputy to the National Assembly in 1927, he would fire at Croatian deputies in the National Assembly on 20 June 1928, killing two of them, including Stjepan RADIĆ, chief representative of the Croatian opposition. The association was dissolved in 1929, after dictatorship was introduced in Yugoslavia. During the dictatorship only the first association continued to exist. Headed by Kosta PEĆANAC, a Chetnik leader who had distinguished himself in World War I, The Chetnik Association for the Liberty and Honour of the Fatherland was split by Ilija TRIFUNOVIĆ-BIRČANIN, leader of the patriotic organisation National Defence (*Narodna odbrana*). BIRČANIN then founded an organisation that would remain marginal, The Association of Chetnik Veterans. In 1938, the principal Chetnik organisation had around 500,000 members, organised into more than a thousand sections throughout the country. Between the two world wars, the teaching of military theory in

[71] Jozo TOMASEVICH, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: The Chetniks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 118.

military academies paid very little attention to guerrilla warfare.[72] In spite of this, the military authorities would set up a Chetnik Command (*Četnička komanda*) in April 1940, to oversee six battalions attached to different commands of the Yugoslav army (Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Skopje, Karlovac, Niš, and Mostar). The Chetnik command in Novi Sad would be transferred to Kraljevo, only to withdraw to Sarajevo during the German invasion in April 1941. Divided between the two world wars, the Chetniks would remain divided during World War II. While some of their leaders (Ilija TRIFUNOVIĆ- BIRČANIN, Dobroslav JEVDJEVIĆ) were to join the movement headed by Draža MIHAILOVIĆ, others (especially Kosta PEĆANAC) would play the game of collaboration with the occupying German forces from the very beginning. In spite of some cases of individual adherence to the Ravna Gora Movement, there was no direct link between the Chetnik organisations of the inter-war period and the movement launched by Colonel Draža MIHAILOVIĆ.

3.3. The Ravna Gora Movement

3.3.1 The structure of the movement

The Chetnik movement of Ravna Gora was started by officers of the Yugoslav army who had refused to give themselves up to the Germans after Yugoslavia signed its capitulation in April 1941. The movement was organised around the central figure of Colonel Draža MIHAILOVIĆ (1893-1946). Commander of the Second Army in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war of April 1941, he withdrew with his men to the region of Ravna Gora in western Serbia, between the towns of Valjevo and Čačak.[73] Having chosen to resist the forces of the Axis, during the summer of 1941 Draža MIHAILOVIĆ established the nucleus of a future general staff, known as the Command of Chetnik Detachments of the

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[73] On 11 May 1941, MIHAILOVIĆ and his men arrived at Ravna Gora, having reached the slopes of Mt Suvobor, halfway between the towns of Čačak and Valjevo.

Yugoslav Army. Not long afterwards, the units were renamed, to be known henceforth as "military-Chetnik detachments" (*vojno-četnički odredi*). In November 1941, the Yugoslav government in exile appointed Draža MIHAILOVIĆ commander of the patriotic forces that had remained in Yugoslavia. On this occasion the Chetnik forces were again renamed, to be known now as the "Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland" (*Jugoslovenska vojska u Otadžbini*, JVUO), in order to stress their continuity with the pre-war Yugoslav army and state. In the official documents of the Ravna Gora Movement the term Chetnik was not used to designate its soldiers, but it was extensively used by the population.[74] In January 1942, Draža MIHAILOVIĆ was appointed Minister of the Army, Navy, and Air Force by the Yugoslav government in exile. Although essentially of a military nature, the Ravna Gora Movement acquired a political wing in August 1941, by creating a Central National Committee of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*Centralni nacionalni komitet Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, CNK), the purpose of which was to rally those leaders of political parties who had remained in the country, representatives of patriotic organisations, and prominent intellectuals.[75] Between 1941 and 1943, only its Executive Committee functioned normally, as the other members had been prevented from joining the movement by the vicissitudes of war. Consisting of Dragiša VASIĆ, Mladen ŽUJOVIĆ, and Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, the committee dealt with political matters and with propaganda, under precarious wartime conditions.[76] In the autumn of 1943,

[74] Kosta NIKOLIĆ, *Istorija ravnogorskog pokreta* /A History of the Ravna Gora Movement/, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Srpska reč, 1999), p. 74.

[75] The CNK was founded at the initiative of Dragiša VASIĆ and Mladen ŽUJOVIĆ.

[76] Dragiša VASIĆ was born in Gornji Milanovac, Serbia, on 2 September 1885. He had taken part in the Balkan wars and in World War I. Member of the Republican Party from 1918, he worked as a lawyer and defended communists. Author of short stories and novels that belonged to the modernist stream in Serbian literature, Dragiša VASIĆ gradually changed his stance from a leftist to a nationalist one towards the end of the 1930s. Having edited the *Progres* newspapers in the early 1920s, Dragiša VASIĆ became editor of *Srpski glas*, mouthpiece of the Serbian Cultural Club in 1939.

Mladen ŽUJOVIĆ spent World War I in the ranks of the Serbian army. He then went to Paris and he studied law. In 1928 he wrote a thesis on constitutional power in Serbian constitutions. A lawyer and a fellow-member of the Republican Party, he worked in the same office as Dragiša VASIĆ. He became politically active on joining the Serbian Cultural Club.

Stevan MOLJEVIĆ was born on 6 January 1888. As a high-school student he joined the revolutionary youth movement opposed to Austro-Hungarian domination. In 1910 he took part in the attempted assassination of the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Marijan VAREŠANIN. In 1913, having completed his studies in Zagreb,

the Central National Committee was complete and able fully to carry out its political functions. Considering the Chetnik movement as first and foremost a military one, Draža MIHAILOVIĆ strictly prohibited the officers from meddling in politics. Political work was left solely to the Central National Committee, which was entrusted with the elaboration of the movement's political programme. In order to disseminate its ideas, the Chetnik movement started its first journal, called *Sloboda ili smrt* (Freedom or Death), in 1941.[77] Once the high command of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland had moved to Montenegro [see Map 8 in Annex], the CNK launched another journal, in order to make sure that its instructions and directives reached the movement's units, but in the first place for the purpose of disseminating its political ideas and its propaganda. The first issue of the journal, entitled *Ravna Gora*, appeared on 1 February 1943. Dragiša VASIĆ was appointed its editor and would be in charge of the first eight issues, before he fell out with Stevan MOLJEVIĆ. Although it had not tried to create a large-scale political movement before 1944, the Ravna Gora Movement did create a youth organisation, on 6 September 1942. The Yugoslav Ravna Gora Youth (*Jugoslovenska ravnogorska omladina*, JURAO) was an organisation of young people aged from eight to twenty, and its cadres all came from the youth organisation of the Serbian Cultural Club (SKK). Indeed, the JURAO adopted as its own the slogan of the Serbian Cultural Club, "Strong Serbdom for a Strong Yugoslavia". In January 1944, the Command of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland also founded a women's organisation, known as the Yugoslav Organisation of Ravna Gora Women (*Jugoslovenska organizacija ravnogorki*, JUORA).

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he moved to Banja Luka. In 1913 he was one of the 156 people accused by the Austro-Hungarian authorities of treason and Greater-Serbian activities. After the war he became a lawyer and continued with his nationalist political activities, aimed at defending the Serbs from the influence of the Catholic Croats and the Muslim Slavs. Active in the cultural life of Banja Luka, he also contributed to the magazine *Razvitak* /Development/, launched in January 1935, as a political columnist. In November 1936, he helped relaunch the newspaper *Otadžbina* /Fatherland/, which had been published in Banja Luka in 1907 and 1908, and later in Sarajevo, from 1911 to 1914. As editor, he used its pages to defend Serbian interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina against the political influence of the Muslims – under the umbrella of the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (JMO) - and the Croats.

[77] No more than four issues appeared in 1941, because the resistance uprising was defeated by the Germans in November 1941.

On the military plane, during the winter of 1941 and 1942 the Chetnik forces were transformed, with much difficulty, from a guerrilla force to a regular military force. During the summer of 1941, Draža MIHAILOVIĆ had worked to place under his authority all the armed groups that had appeared in Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Croatia. In spite of repeated attempts to structure the Ravna Gora Movement, the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland (JVUO) would remain very dispersed, although it did have a high command. Its various detachments in fact enjoyed a great deal of autonomy and did not always heed the directives of the central command. Local detachments of the JVUO were hard to mobilise or motivate outside the regions from which they had come. Likewise, the authority of the detachments' commanders was at times only relative, and their orders were not always obeyed.[78] In the spring of 1942, the forces of the JVUO were organised on a territorial basis: the detachments were linked to villages, communes or districts. Each administrative district had a battalion consisting of two or three detachments. Brigades were composed of three to five battalions, while army corps comprised two to five brigades.[79]

Draža MIHAILOVIĆ was opposed to overhasty armed struggle against the Germans. He wished to protect the Serbian population as much as possible from unnecessary losses and preferred to wait for a more opportune time to launch an uprising against the occupying forces. The Yugoslav government in exile recognised Draža MIHAILOVIĆ as the leader of the armed resistance. As such, he was promoted to the position of Minister of Defence in January 1942. Although he was described by the western press, English and American, as the

[78] A report on the political and military situation in eastern Bosnia and the condition of Chetnik units there, submitted to Draža MIHAILOVIĆ by Major Radoslav DJURIĆ on 26 March 1942, illustrates this aspect of things very well. It is here quoted from *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, Tom XIV, Knj. 1, *Dokumenti četničkog pokreta Draže MIHAILOVIĆA 1941-1942* /Collected Documents and Information on the National Liberation War of Peoples of Yugoslavia, vol. 14, Book 1: Documents of the Chetnik Movement of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ, 1941-1942/ (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1981), pp. 173-182:
On the disorganisation and lack of discipline among the Chetnik units in Bosnia see the report submitted on 7 June 1942 to Major Petar BACOVIĆ by Captain Milorad MOMČILOVIĆ and dealing with events in eastern Bosnia from June 1941 to June 1942, in *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 14, Book 1, pp. 318-333.

[79] NIKOLIĆ, *Istorija ravnogorskog pokreta*, vol. 1, p. 216.

leader of the first guerrilla movement in occupied Europe, Draža MIHAILOVIĆ initiated no significant combat operations against the occupying forces. On the contrary, having made the communist partisans his principal enemies, he would end up collaborating with the Italians and the Germans, especially in 1943.

3.3.2 The ideology and programme of the movement

The Ravna Gora Movement emerged in 1941 with the aim of resisting the German occupier. First and foremost a military movement, it also had political objectives. Draža MIHAJLOVIĆ's Chetniks wished to break free from the legacy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which had erased the borders of Serbia.[80] Their goal was to found a Serbian national state based on the principles of democracy and social justice. Such a state would bring together all the Serbs in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The ideologues of the Ravna Gora Movement developed their political programme in reaction to the negative experience of the first Yugoslavia (1918-1941), but also to the policy of extermination carried out against the Serbs by the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatske*), headed by Ante PAVELIĆ. In the opinion of the ideologues of the Ravna Gora Movement, from 1918 to 1941 the Serbian political and cultural elites had endorsed so strongly an ideology according to which the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were part of one and the same nation that as a result they had lost from view the Serbian national interests.[81] Therefore they should now go back to the Serbian "spiritual, political, and national traditions".[82] And yet it will be wrong to think that the Ravna Gora Movement's practice of ethnic cleansing emerged solely from the events of World War II. In fact, there is ideological continuity between the programme of the

[80] Milan VESOVIĆ and Kosta NIKOLIĆ, *Ujedinjene srpske zemlje: ravnogorski nacionalni program* /Unified Serbian Lands: the National Programme of the Ravna Gora Movement/ (Belgrade: Vreme knjige, 1996), pp. 35-37.
[81] "Za naše ujedinjenje i naše jedinstvo" /Towards our unification and our unity/, *Ujedinjeno srpstvo* /United Serbdom/, no. 1, 2 April 1944.
[82] "Na svom putu" /On our own path/, *Ravna Gora*, no. 3, 1 March 1943.

Chetnik movement and the Serbian Cultural Club (SKK). Beginning in the late 1930s, the intellectuals gathered in this organisation advocated the creation of a Serbian state entity, as nationally homogeneous as possible, within the Yugoslav state. In the lectures organised by the SKK between 1937 and 1939, forced population displacements and exchanges were proposed as a way to resolve the Serbian national question, especially in Kosovo and in Vojvodina, where the Serbian population was in a minority. Numerous intellectuals from the SKK joined the Ravna Gora Movement during the war. Dragiša VASIĆ and Stevan MOLJEVIĆ were among them.

One of the first political projects relating to the new Serbian state was developed in the spring of 1941 by Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, who was to become, in August 1941, a member of the Executive Board of the Central National Committee, the political wing of the Chetnik movement.[83] The document, entitled "Homogeneous Serbia", was presented in June 1941 in Nikšić, Montenegro, where Stevan MOLJEVIĆ had sought refuge in April 1941.[84] It was not at first an official document of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ's Chetnik movement, but the movement's political positions would largely reflect its contents. In his text, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ set down as a goal the creation of a Greater Serbia within a Greater Yugoslavia transformed into a federal state composed of three units (Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene). The task was to unify the Serbian people's ethnic territories within the same state [see Map 7 in Annex]. In order for this goal to be achieved, MOLJEVIĆ envisaged the expulsion of non-Serbs from territories intended to become part of the Serbian entity, as well as population exchanges, especially between the Serbs and the Croats.

> For this reason, the first and most important task facing the Serbs is the following:
>
> to establish and to organise a homogeneous Serbia, which has to include the entire ethnic area populated by the Serbs, and to ensure that this territory disposes of the necessary lines of

[83] Appointed to the Central National Committee in August 1941, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ would meet Draža MIHAILOVIĆ for the first time only on 21 May 1942. See TODOROVIĆ, pp. 130-131. It was not, therefore, until May 1942 that he actually joined the Ravna Gora Movement.

[84] Stevan MOLJEVIĆ had the opportunity to discuss his text with Vasilije POPOVIĆ and Vasa ČUBRILOVIĆ, professors of history at the University of Belgrade.

> communication, strategic points, and economically important regions in such a way as to ensure for it a free cultural, political, and economic life and future development for all time.
>
> These lines of communication and strategic points, indispensable for the security, life and preservation of Serbia, must serve Serbia and the Serbian people even if the Serbs are not in a majority there, if we are to avoid the repetition of the grave sufferings that its neighbours would inflict on it as soon as the opportunity presents itself.
>
> Population displacements and exchanges, especially between the Croats in the Serbian territories and the Serbs in the Croatian territories, are the only way to draw borders between them and improve relations between them, thereby making it absolutely impossible to repeat the horrible crimes committed in the last war, and especially in the present war, in all the territories where the Serbs and the Croats are mixed and where the Croats and the Muslims have planned to exterminate the Serbs.[85]

In Stevan MOLJEVIĆ's opinion, the Serbian political authorities had made a grave mistake in 1918 by failing to draw the borders of Serbia within the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.[86] This mistake had to be rectified now by bringing together all the territories populated by the Serbs and giving them access to the Adriatic Sea. A Greater Serbia would therefore include Serbia and Southern Serbia (Macedonia and Kosovo) in the east and southeast, to which would be added the Bulgarian towns of Vidin and Kjustendil; in its south would be Montenegro, Herzegovina, and northern Albania; in the west Bosnia, northern Dalmatia, the Serbian parts of Lika, Kordun, and Banija, and part of Slavonia. The Dalmatian coast from Šibenik to Montenegro would belong to the Serbian territory.

Greater Yugoslavia would be constituted on a federal basis: it would in fact consist of a Greater Serbia, a rump Croatia, and a Greater Slovenia. Drawing his inspiration most probably from Ilija GARAŠANIN's *Načertanije,* Stevan MOLJEVIĆ was also in favour of a rapprochement with Bulgaria. In his view, since the Serbs had been the only ones to offer serious resistance to the Ottomans and the Germans, they had thereby acquired the right to be the Balkan leaders. In order to realise their historical mission, "the Serbs must enjoy hegemony in the Balkans, and in order to enjoy hegemony in the Balkans they must be in a position of hegemony in Yugoslavia".[87]

[85] "Homogena Srbija" /Homogeneous Serbia/, 30 June 1941, cited from VESOVIĆ and NIKOLIĆ, p. 190.
[86] This is a view shared by other ideologues of the Ravna Gora Movement, most of all Dragiša VASIĆ.
[87] "Homogena Srbija", 30 June 1941, cited from VESOVIĆ and NIKOLIĆ, p. 193.

The first programmatic document of the Chetnik movement was actually drafted in the summer of 1941 by the Chetnik committee of Belgrade and was known as "Dr Miloš SEKULIĆ's report".[88] With respect to the creation of a strong and homogeneous Serbian state unit, its positions were the same as those of Stevan MOLJEVIĆ. Where it differed was in its explicit call for ethnic cleansing, first in the towns and then in the villages:

> Point number II
>
> Prepare to carry out of the following actions when a turning point has been reached:
>
> a: punish all those who have served the enemy as criminals and who have deliberately worked towards the extermination of the Serbian people;
>
> b: draw the *de facto* borders of the Serbian lands and make sure that only the Serbian population remains there;
>
> c: have in mind a speedy and radical cleansing of the towns and their strengthening by new Serbian elements;
>
> d: develop a plan for the cleansing or displacement of the rural population, with a view to achieving the homogeneity of the Serbian community in the state;
>
> e: approach the Muslim question in the Serbian entity as an especially difficult one, and resolve it as far as possible during this phase; and
>
> f: decide in advance which units should carry out points b, c, d, and e of the programme.
>
> Point number III
>
> 1) Our ideal is a homogeneous Serbian state unit capable of surviving politically and economically. As such it will serve … (illegible) large-scale political combinations; and
>
> 2) select experts to prepare documentation on this goal for the peace conference. [. . .][89]

This document on the situation in the country, was handed to the Yugoslav government in exile in London by Miloš SEKULIĆ. Momčilo NINČIĆ, minister of foreign affairs in the Yugoslav government, supposedly told Konstantin FOTIĆ, Yugoslavia's ambassador to the United States, that to restore Yugoslavia would not be desirable; instead it would be

[88] Vojislav VUJANAC, Dragoslav STRANJAKOVIĆ, and Mladen ŽUJOVIĆ probably took part in the drafting of the document. The similitude of their views can be attributed to their membership in the Serbian Cultural Club. See STANIŠIĆ, *Projekti "Velika Srbija"*, p. 47. In July-August 1941, a committee was set up in Belgrade to support the activities of the Ravna Gora Movement. Its members included a certain number of officers of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, among them Boško and Žarko TODOROVIĆ.

[89] Text quoted from Jovan MARJANOVIĆ, "Prilozi istoriji sukoba narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta i četnika Draže MIHAILOVIĆ u Srbiji 1941. godine" /Contribution to the history of the conflict between the national liberation movement and the Chetniks of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ in Serbia in 1941/, in *Istorija XX. veka: zbornik radova*, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Kultura, 1959), pp. 179-180.

preferable to "create a Greater Serbia extending all the way to Ogulin", the western borders of which would follow the "Karlovac – Ogulin – Našice line".[90]

Elements of the programme of the Belgrade Chetnik committee are found in a document issued by the High Command of the Chetnik movement in September 1941. The document envisages "the punishment of all those who served the enemy as criminals and who deliberately worked towards the extermination of the Serbian people", the drawing of the "*de facto* borders of the Serbian lands, making sure that only the Serbian population remains there" (an ethnically pure Serbia), "the radical cleansing of the towns and their replenishment by new Serbian elements", "the development of a plan for the cleansing or displacement of the rural population, with a view to homogenising the Serbian state community", and "to deal with the Muslim question, an especially difficult one, in the Serbian entity with a view to resolving it during this phase".[91]

In a directive by Draža MIHAILOVIĆ, issued on 20 December 1941 and addressed to Major Djordje LASIĆ, commander of the Chetnik detachments of the Yugoslav army in Montenegro, and to Captain Pavle I. DJURIŠIĆ, commander of the Chetnik detachments of the Yugoslav army in the region of the Lim (a river in Montenegro), the objectives of the military units were specified once again:

> The objectives of our detachments are the following:
>
> 1/ To fight for the liberty of our entire people under the sceptre of His Highness King Petar II.
>
> 2/ To create a Greater Yugoslavia and, as part of it, an ethnically pure Greater Serbia within the borders of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srem, Banat, and Bačka.
>
> 3/ To fight for the integration within our state of all the non-liberated Slovene territories under Italian and German domination (Trieste, Gorizia, Istria, Carinthia), as well as of Bulgaria and northern Albania, including Skadar.
>
> 4/ To cleanse the territory of the state of all national minorities and non-national elements.

[90] Quoted in STANIŠIĆ, *Projekti "Velika Srbija"*, p. 49.
[91] The document is cited in Vladimir DEDIJER and Antun MILETIĆ, *Genocid nad Muslimanima, 1941-1945: zbornik dokumenata i svjedočenja* /Genocide against the Muslims, 1941-1945: Collected Documents and Evidence/ (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990), pp. 18-19.

> 5/ To create a direct shared frontier between Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Serbia and Slovenia, by cleansing the Muslim population of Sandžak and the Muslim and Croatian populations of Bosnia.
>
> 6/ To punish all the Ustashi and Muslims who have mercilessly destroyed our people in those tragic days.
>
> 7/ To punish all those responsible for the catastrophe of April 1941.[92]
>
> 8/ To settle Montenegrins (strictly honest, nationally acceptable and poor families) in the areas cleansed of national minorities and non-national elements. [. . .][93]

Similar goals were set out in the programme of the Dinara Division (*Dinarska divizija*), commanded by Momčilo DJUJIĆ, in March 1942.[94] This Chetnik division had been created in January 1942 for the purpose of gathering under the same command different Chetnik combat units in the regions of the Knin Krajina, western Bosnia, and Lika.[95] This was part of the efforts to establish "a purely national political order in all the lands inhabited by the Serbs and those to which the Serbs have aspirations".[96] The task of the division was to diffuse and implement the Serbian idea in the regions of Lika, northern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bosnia:

> 1. The role of the Division:
>
> In order to help realise the fundamental Serbian idea and the creation of a Serbian national state, a Chetnik division known as the Dinara Division will be established to help the implementation of the idea in the region of the plain of Kosovo. The division will consist of elements with an especially strong national consciousness. Originating from the plain that was once the graveyard of Serbian glory and Serbian heroism, the division must be an expression of the military power of the resurrected Serbs and, with an iron fist, establish a pure national order in all the lands inhabited by the Serbs, as well as those to which they aspire. The role of this division is therefore entirely political for at the moment, as long as the war is still being waged, it must provide shelter to all Serbian national elements, disseminate and implement the Serbian idea in parts of Lika, northern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bosnia, and, at an opportune moment, use overwhelming power to establish a purely national order with King Petar at its head. [. . .]

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[92] The "disaster of April 1941" refers to the defeat of the Yugoslav forces by the Axis forces (Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc.). They were forced to capitulate after only three weeks of fighting.

[93] The document is cited in DEDIJER and MILETIĆ, p. 26.

[94] The document was drafted between 8 and 12 March 1942 in Mostar. Its authors were officers of the JAUO: Major Borivoje S. RADULOVIĆ, Captain (1st Class) Radovan S. IVANIŠEVIĆ, and Captain (2nd Class) Mile RAKOČEVIĆ. See Branko PETRANOVIĆ, *Revolucija i kontrarevolucija u Jugoslaviji, 1941-1945* /Revolution and Counter-revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945/, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Rad, 1983), p. 93. The Chetnik Dinara Division consisted of five regiments and two units. Each regiment was composed of two battalions.

[95] Fikreta JELIĆ-BUTIĆ, *Četnici u Hrvatskoj, 1941-1945* /The Chetniks in Croatia, 1941-1945/ (Zagreb: Globus, 1986), pp. 79-85. In December 1941 and January 1942, these units became part of the Ravna Gora Movement under the command of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ.

[96] Djuro STANISAVLJEVIĆ, "Pojava i razvitak četničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj 1941-1942. godine" /The emergence and development of the Chetnik movement in Croatia, 1941-1942/, in *Istorija XX. veka: zbornik radova*, vol. 4 (Belgrade, 1962), pp. 96-97.

> It is precisely because of what is at stake with regard to this division that it is necessary clearly to display its national character, since its role is specifically Serbian. First of all, it must be composed solely of Serbs, "soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers alike". Two identical names – Kosovo in southern Serbia and Kosovo in northern Dalmatia – as well as the historical connections between the two names show that the Serbs, having lost their state at Kosovo, must establish their national idea in Kosovo, in such a way as to make it possible to put into practice the Serbian idea of the creation of a Greater Serbia, which would include Serbia, Vojvodina, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia all the way to Šibenik, and Lika. As soon as such a Serbian entity has been created, it will be possible to discuss possible federal states or state alliances or, more generally, a Balkan confederation. Thus conceived, the Serbian entity should be inhabited by an exclusively Orthodox population.[97]

Originally from Banja Luka (in the region of Bosanska Krajina), Stevan MOLJEVIĆ insisted that Draža MIHAILOVIĆ address the question of the unification of the Serbian regions in the west. He believed that Belgrade politicians had not shown enough interest in and understanding of these matters.[98] In 1943, the political advisers of the Ravna Gora movement split on the issue of British aid to the Chetnik movement. Dragiša VASIĆ thought that the British were undermining the Serbian people, whereas Stevan MOLJEVIĆ believed that the movement should rely on the English and the Americans.[99] Early in June 1943, when the high command of the Chetnik movement moved back to Serbia, Dragiša VASIĆ left the Central National Committee (until January 1944). Since Mladen ŽUJOVIĆ had taken over command of the armed detachments in western Bosnia following the death of Ilija TRIFUNOVIĆ-BIRČANIN, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ became in fact Draža MIHAILOVIĆ's principal political adviser and editor-in-chief of the journal *Ravna Gora*.

The Ravna Gora Movement saw the Germans and the communist partisans as its principal enemies. The main reason for its hostility to the communists was the solution proposed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for the national question. The latter in fact

[97] *Ibid*., pp. 96-97.
[98] TODOROVIĆ, pp. 135-136.
[99] Differences of opinion between Dragiša VASIĆ and Draža MIHAILOVIĆ first appeared in the spring of 1943, after the defeats on the Neretva and the Drina. Dragiša VASIĆ was critical, among other things, of the merciless fighting against the partisans in Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Sandžak. On several occasions, in letters written to Draža MIHAILOVIĆ he wrote in detail and critically about the weaknesses of the Chetnik movement. He denounced the soldiers' habit of wasting ammunition at weddings and other festivities, their propensity for bloodthirsty acts, such as slitting their enemies' throats instead of shooting them, and the like. See N. NIKOLIĆ, "Dragiša VASIĆ: skica za portret nacionalnog revolucionara", p. 103; Nikola MILOVANOVIĆ, *Dragiša VASIĆ: Od gradjanskog buntovnika do kontrarevolucionara* /Dragiša VASIĆ: From Bourgeois Rebel to Counter-revolutionary/ (Belgrade: Nova knjiga, 1986), p. 35.

rejected the possibility of a unification of Serbian territories within the same state. According to the Chetniks, the communist partisans were planning to divide the Serbs into four "separate provinces": Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The Chetniks and the Yugoslav communists had very different visions of the Serbian nation: the latter recognised the existence of separate Macedonian and Montenegrin nations, whereas the former denied it. The Chetniks accused the communist partisans of wanting to cut up or break up the unity of the Serbian people while at the same time planning the creation of a Croatian federal unit, which would include Dalmatia and extend all the way to the Bay of Kotor.[100] Živko TOPALOVIĆ (1887-1972), president of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia (a political organisation with little influence), who joined the Ravna Gora Movement in 1943, presented the Chetnik ideology as anti-Croatian, anti-Muslim, and anticommunist:

> [. . .] In other areas (the author means Bosnia and Herzegovina), the Chetnik movement, which had, however, emerged in defence against Croatian Ustashism, knew no other ideology but Serbism. It confused the fact of belonging to a state and a nation with religious affiliation. A Serb, that is to say a member of the Orthodox Church, thinks that every Catholic is a Croat and every Muslim a Turk. As enemies, they had to be uprooted or driven out of the Serbian state. This Serbism is opposed to Yugoslavism.[101]

Having lost some of its political initiative to the communist partisans, the Ravna Gora Movement convened a congress in the village of Ba from 25 to 28 January 1944. The intention was to adopt a programme on how to organise the new Yugoslavia. The gathering was organised in response to the Second Session of the communist-dominated Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), held in 1943, at which the foundations were laid for a future Yugoslav state as a federal state composed of six republics. More than three hundred delegates from all over the country took part in the congress, which was also an occasion to allow certain pre-war political parties (the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, the Democratic Party, and others) back into the political game, contrary to the wishes of the principal ideologues of the Chetnik movement (Stevan MOLJEVIĆ and Dragiša

[100] *Ujedinjeno srpstvo* (1944: 2).
[101] Živko TOPALOVIĆ, *Kako su komunisti dograbili vlast u Jugoslaviji* /How the Communists Seized Power in Yugoslavia/ (Kragujevac: Pogledi, 2001), p. 204.

VASIĆ), who had an aversion to the Yugoslav political class of the interwar period and would have preferred to see a broadening of the movement rather than the creation of a new political organisation. With a view to improving the image of the movement and strengthening its democratic character, the representatives of certain political parties decided to come together, for the duration of the war, in a coalition known as the Yugoslav National Democratic Community (*Jugoslovenska demokratska narodna zajednica*) and to associate themselves with the Ravna Gora movement. In its resolution, the congress envisaged the restoration of the Yugoslav state and its expansion to territories populated by the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Its territory would be no less than the Yugoslav delegation's claim at the peace conference at the end of World War I [see Map 3 in Annex].[102] The new Yugoslavia was to be a parliamentary monarchy with King Petar II KARADJORDJEVIĆ at its head. The state would be organised on a federal basis and consist of three units: Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. The Serbian federal unit would include the entire Serbian people. The same principle would apply to Croatia and Slovenia. The congress decided to annul all territorial changes effected before and during the war: the *Banovina* of Croatia, the dismantling of Yugoslavia by the occupying forces, the creation of the Independent State of Croatia. The Yugoslav orientation of the congress was in harmony with the positions of the Yugoslav government in exile, which had spoken out in favour of the creation of a federal state with three units (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia). But if the ideologues of the Ravna Gora Movement accepted the orientation at all, it was only on condition that Serbs should play a dominant role in the new state.[103] Moreover, this new Yugoslavia would be a "pure State with no national minorities".[104]

[102] At the time the Yugoslav delegation requested that the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes be extended to the regions of Skadar (Albania), Timisoara (Romania), Kjustendil and Vidin (Bulgaria), Szeged and Pécs (Hungary), Istria, Rijeka (Italy) and Carinthia (Austria).
[103] Kosta NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[104] Following the decisions of the Congess of Ba as recorded in *Pomoravlje* in the spring of 1944. Newspaper articles published in Milan B. MATIĆ, *Ravnogorska ideja u štampi i propagandi četnickog pokreta u Srbiji*

3.3.3 The practice of ethnic cleansing

In 1944, the Ravna Gora Movement announced that there would be no collective reprisals, only individual ones, against the perpetrators of crimes against the Serbian population. In reality, Chetnik detachments had indulged in operations of reprisal and revenge against the Croats and Muslims between 1941 and 1944. Throughout the conflict, the Command of the Chetnik movement continued to issue contradictory statements regarding measures of revenge. Nevertheless, explicit appeals for vengeance had been formulated by the leadership of the movement or by its ideologues in the press and in pamphlets. Furthermore, directives of this kind had been issued at the local level, especially in eastern Bosnia and northern Dalmatia. Revenge was associated with the policy of restructuring the Yugoslav state.[105] It also allowed for the cleansing of non-Serbian elements from the territories under Chetnik control. In MOLJEVIĆ's opinion, a policy of fait accompli had to be implemented. The mapped out territory had to be taken over, starting from the towns of Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Sunja, Karlovac, Knin, Šibenik, Mostar, and Metković, and non-Serbian elements were to be cleansed, killing those responsible for the massacres of the Serbs, driving out the Croats to Croatia and the Muslims to Turkey or Albania.[106] In a memorandum written on 26 February 1942 at Užice and entitled "The current situation in some Serbian regions and their role in the creation of a homogeneous Serbia", Stevan MOLJEVIĆ declared that the mixing of the Serbian population with the Croats and Muslims in Krajina, Bosnia, and Herzegovina should no longer be tolerated. Although they claimed to be fighting against fascism, the Chetnik armed forces used the same methods as their avowed enemies. While it must be noted

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1941-1944 /The Ideology of the Ravna Gora Movement as Presented in the Press and Propaganda of the Chetnik Movement in Serbia (1941-1944)/ (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1995), pp. 198-204.

[105] Mihailo STANIŠIĆ, *Slom, genocid, odmazda* /Defeat, Genocide, Revenge/ (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1999), p. 378.

[106] These intentions were expressed in a letter to Dragiša VASIĆ (AVII, Ca, 32/2, k. 12). Extracts from the letter quoted in STANIŠIĆ, *Slom, genocid, odmazda*, p. 53. The document was published in DEDIJER and MILETIĆ, pp. 33-34, and in *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 14, Book 1, pp. 101-103.

that the massacres perpetrated by the Chetniks were on a smaller scale than those carried out by the armed forces of the Independent State of Croatia, we must ask what exactly was their nature. Were they solely operations of reprisal or were the Chetniks' punitive expeditions motivated by their national programme? It must be said that the Chetnik detachments did not attack only Croatian and Muslim soldiers who fought for the Independent State of Croatia but civilian populations as well, including women and children. It should likewise be noted that the civilian victims of the operations of reprisal (elderly people, women, and children) were decidedly more numerous than military victims (see examples cited below, pp. 55 and 56). The armed forces of the Ravna Gora movement indulged in a policy of terror against the Croats, whom they accused of having betrayed Yugoslavia, being responsible for the defeat of April 1941, and supporting the policy of extermination of the Serbs implemented by the Independent State of Croatia, especially in the areas where the Serbs and Croats were mixed and where the Ustashi had perpetrated massacres against the Serbs. The Muslims of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Sandžak, thought of as non-national elements and often referred to as Turks, were also the targets of the Chetniks' policy of terror, and so were the communist partisans, who had become the principal foes of the Chetnik movement. The ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims undertaken by Chetnik armed forces is a good illustration of the way that the political and military objectives set by the Ravna Gora movement were applied in practice. The first atrocities against the Muslims of Bosnia were committed as early as the summer of 1941. The first large-scale massacre took place in the district of Ljubinja (the Čavkarica pit), and further massacres followed in Kulen Vakuf (5 and 6 September 1941) and Koraj (26 and 27 November 1941). Between 5 December 1941 and 20 January 1942, a period during which the municipality of Foča was controlled by forces loyal to the Yugoslav government in exile, numerous massacres were perpetrated (in Foča itself, in Goražde, Vlasenica, and Srebrenica) in reprisal for the massacres of Serbs by the Ustasha militia,

composed of Muslims, among others. Several thousand Muslims were killed in this way. The operations of the JVUO took the form of punitive expeditions in which plunder and rape accompanied mass crimes. Knives were used to inflict serious injuries to the faces of Muslims (faces with ears or noses cut off or with eyes gouged out) and many people were killed by having their throats slit with a knife. These cruel practices were not limited to the Chetnik movement, since all the participants in the conflict in the territory of Yugoslavia had indulged in terror, but they were part of the Chetniks' combat techniques. However, cruelty of this kind is not a specialty of this part of Europe or of the world: for example, during the two world wars the eastern front was a place where the opposing sides (the Germans and the Russians) engaged in mutual animalisation and dehumanisation. Following a lull after the communist partisans set up a staff in the region of Foča, further massacres were carried out there on 19 August 1942: around two thousand people were killed and several thousands were forced to flee. The most significant massacres took place in the region of Sandžak and in south-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina in January and February 1943. On 10 January 1943, writing about the operations carried out in January 1943, the commander of the Chetnik detachments in the Lim and Sandžak areas, Pavle I. DJURIŠIĆ, reported to the chief of staff (Draža MIHAILOVIĆ):

> The action on the right bank of the Lim, in the district of Bijelo Polje, is over. It was carried out exactly as planned. Here are the results of the fighting:
>
> The following Muslim villages have been completely destroyed (in the Pljevlje, Sjenica, Peć, and Kolašin sections): Voljevac, Gubovača, Radijelja, Ušanovići, Presečenik, Baturiće, Donji Vlah (Pljevlje section), Mirovići, Šolja, Radojeva glava, Medise, Pobretiće, Donja Kostenica, Stublo, Vrh, Zminjac, Šipovce, Negobratina, the village of Osman Beg, Dupljaci, Jasen, Kostiće, Kaševar, Ivanje, Godijevo, Žilići, Gornja Crnča, Gornji Radulići, Vrba, Crhalja, Kradenik, Sipanje, Ličine (Sjenica-Peć section).
>
> A total of 33 villages.
>
> Casualties: around 400 Muslim fighters.
>
> Around 1,000 women and children.
>
> Our casualties:
>
> 14 dead and

> 26 wounded, of whom
>
> 3 women.
>
> The casualty figure is not due to negligent conduct of the operations by our officers but, in all likelihood, to the fact that our soldiers did not protect themselves well enough in their heroic attacks on the Muslims, who had shut themselves up in their homes.
>
> All the villages listed above were burnt, even though I had issued orders not to do so. The burning of the villages was in reaction to losses among our fighters.[107]

On 13 February 1943, Pavle I. DJURIŠIĆ sent the chief of staff a further report, in which he specified:

> The action against the Muslims in the districts of Pljevlje, Čajniče, and Foča has been completed.
>
> The operations were carried out in conformity with the orders and commands. The timing of the attack was as planned. All the commanders and units carried out their tasks in a satisfactory manner.
>
> From the beginning to the end, the enemy offered little resistance. The only serious resistance was encountered on the hill of Trebeski. It lasted four hours, but was quickly countered.
>
> On the night of the 7th (of February) our units reached the Drina and by then the fighting was practically over. We then proceeded to the mopping up of the liberated territory. All the Muslim villages in these three districts were burnt to the ground, so that not a single house remained intact.
>
> All property has been destroyed, apart from livestock, corn, and hay. The gathering and stockpiling of fodder and food has been ordered in certain places, so that we can set up warehouses for reserve food for the units which have remained on the terrain in order to purge it and to search the wooded areas, as well as strengthen the organisation on the liberated territory.
>
> During the operation the Muslim population was completely destroyed, irrespective of sex and age.
>
> Casualties: we had 22 dead, two of whom were killed by accident, and 32 wounded.
>
> Among the Muslims: 1,200 fighters and 8,000 women, elderly people, and children.
>
> At the outset of the operation, the Muslims took flight towards Metaljka, Čajniče, and the river Drina. Part of the population took shelter in Metaljka. There are an estimated two thousand refugees in Čajniče, some of whom were able to get away before our units had blocked off possible escape routes in this sector. The rest of the population was completely destroyed.[108]

The number of victims in the operations against the Muslims in January and February 1943 has been estimated at ten thousand.[109] The number of victims in Montenegro from 1942 to

[107] The document was published in DEDIJER and MILETIĆ, pp. 299-302.
[108] The document was published in DEDIJER and MILETIĆ, pp. 329-333.
[109] TOMASEVICH, p. 258. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ would cite the figure of ten thousand dead in speaking of the total number of victims of the Ravna Gora Movement. This figure, however, refers only to the operations of January and February 1943.

mid-1943 is estimated at around three thousand, or at seven thousand for all the war years (1941-1945). In Croatia massacres were numerous in northern Dalmatia (in the Knin Krajina), in the region of Lika, Gorski Kotar, and Kordun. In these areas the Chetnik forces were commanded by the priest Momčilo DJUJIĆ (1907-1999), head of the Chetnik Dinara Division (*Dinarska četnička divizija*) from January 1942. From the autumn of 1942 to the spring of 1943, Chetnik forces attacked numerous Croatian villages and massacred their inhabitants by slitting their throats. During the *Dinara* operation in October 1942, a detachment commanded by Momčilo DJUJIĆ burned down a number of villages (Gata, Tugari, Ostrvice, and others), and killed all their inhabitants. At the end of the war, Momčilo DJUJIĆ was held responsible for the deaths of around 1,800 people (including women and children).[110] In 1947 the Yugoslav State Commission declared him a war criminal for war crimes committed during World War II. Having fled Croatia by way of Slovenia and then Italy, he settled in the United States in 1949. In 1957, he set up an organisation perpetuating the traditions of the Chetnik movement of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ (Movement of Serbian Chetniks Ravne Gore). The Yugoslav authorities filed extradition requests on several occasions with the American judicial authorities but to no avail.[111] In June 1989, Momčilo DJUJIĆ proclaimed Vojislav ŠEŠELJ a Chetnik Voivode (military leader). There is therefore a direct connection between the Chetnik movement of World War II and the political movement founded by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ in 1990.

[110] For this reason Momčilo DJUJIĆ would end up on the list of war criminals drawn up by the Yugoslav authorities after 1945. See Jovo POPOVIĆ, Marko LOLIĆ, and Branko LATAS, *Pop izdaje* /The Priest of Betrayal/ (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1988), pp. 169-170. In December 1944, Momčilo DJUJIĆ found refuge in Slovenia, whence he moved to Italy in May 1945. As the Yugoslav authorities had asked for his extradition, he went underground for several years before he moved to the United States and took over the leadership of the Ravna Gora Movement of Serbian Chetniks.

[111] The final request was filed in May 1991 by the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration. In May 1999, the Croatian Minister of Justice, Zvonimir ŠEPAROVIĆ, also requested the extradition of the former military Chetnik chief for the alleged killing of at least 1,500 persons in the regions of Knin, Vrlika, Sinj, Šibenik and Otočac. (*Voice of America*, http://www.voa.gov/miscl/croatia/dj53199.html, consulted on 7 February 2005).

4. The emergence of the Serbian national movement in the 1980s and the ideology of a Greater Serbia

With the military victory of the communist partisans and their takeover of power, the status and influence of the Serbian political elites were reduced, to the advantage of a balance among the different republics of the Yugoslav socialist federation. In 1945-1946, the communists proclaimed that they had resolved the national question by having given power to the working class and made all the nations and national minorities equal. Nevertheless, political crises and public protests began to occur from the late 1960s: the Croatian crisis between 1967 and 1971, and Albanian protests in 1968 and 1981.[112]

4.1. The confederating of Yugoslavia and the dissatisfaction of the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

During the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, there emerged in the Serbian political and cultural elite a feeling of dissatisfaction with the Yugoslav state, which was accused of having marginalised Serbia. However, criticism of the situation and future of Yugoslavia was also voiced in the other republics. Following a period of political and economic centralism, the Yugoslav federation was reformed between 1967 and 1974. A new constitution was adopted at the conclusion of this process. Adopted in February 1974 and incorporating amendments drafted in earlier years (1968 and 1971), the new constitution strengthened the tendency towards the confederating of the country by giving greater prerogatives to the republics and autonomous provinces, at the expense of the federal centre. As a result, the position of the republic of Serbia became more complex, since the two autonomous provinces

[112] In Croatia the years 1967 – 1971 saw the rise of a national movement which aimed at strengthening the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The main leaders of the Croatian League of Communists, Mika TRIPALO and Savka DABČEVIĆ-KUČAR, were disavowed by Tito in December 1971 for not having denounced the nationalist claims voiced by the Croatian intellectuals of the Matica Hrvatska Group. At the end of November 1968, Albanian demonstrators took to the streets of Priština demanding that the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo be granted the status of republic. These demonstrations were severely repressed as were those in the spring of 1981 which featured the same nationalist claims.

that were part of it were now defined as separate federal units. In the constitutions of 1946 and 1963, the power and institutions of the provinces were determined by the republic of Serbia itself. In the constitution of 1974, they were by and large determined by the federal government. The provinces became equal with the republics, and their relations with the Serbian centre were weakened and became problematic. The constitutional reforms had been elaborated between 1968 and 1972 by the "liberal" Serbian leadership headed by Marko NIKEZIĆ (1921-1990) and Latinka PEROVIĆ (1933-), who was in favour of curtailing the economic functions of the central government and strengthening the autonomy of the republics. In 1972, the "liberal" leadership was removed from power at Tito's initiative, to the benefit of conservative forces; they proceeded to carry out numerous purges, which affected enterprises and institutions.

In 1975, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, concerned at the internal contradictions in Serbia, opened the question of the relations among the three constituent entities of the republic.[113] A working group was set up in June 1976 in order to study this thorny issue. The working group presented its findings to the Serbian Presidency in March 1977: the authors of the report concluded that the power structures of the republic of Serbia were not operative throughout the territory of the republic. They warned the authorities against the creation of three different legal systems and against the tendency of each of the constituent parts of Serbia to isolate itself from the others. They also examined the issue of the realisation of the Serbian people's historical right to a national state within the Yugoslav federation.[114] The contents of the document aroused the disapproval of the leaders of the autonomous provinces supported by the federal structures. At the time, the balance of forces

[113] Dragoslav MARKOVIĆ, *Život i politika: 1967-1978* /Life and Politics: 1967-1978/, vol. 2 (Beograd: Rad, 1987).
[114] The text of the report was published in Žarko PAPIĆ, *Vreme zastoja* /The Era of Stagnation/ (Beograd: Ekonomika, 1990), pp. 135-165.

was not conducive to a revision of the constitution, and because of this opposition the question was held in abeyance until the beginning of the 1980s.

The Serbian leaders, anxious to ensure the cohesion of their republic, made use of the events in Kosovo in the spring of 1981 in order to push the question of Serbian unity to the fore once again.[115] In 1985, the differences between the political leaderships of Serbia proper and the autonomous provinces led the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to admit that there were internal conflicts in Serbia.[116] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia acknowledged that the right of the Serbian people to have a state of its own, like the other nations in the federation, had not been fully implemented due to the non-realisation of the constitutional principle according to which the provinces belonged to Serbia, but it warned the leadership in Belgrade that it should respect the sovereign rights of workers, as well as of the nations and nationalities in the autonomous provinces, and not to try to solve the question of unity by centralist methods. It took ten years or so for the LCY /League of Communists of Yugoslavia/ to become fully aware of the gravity of disintegrative phenomena in Serbia.

4.2. Opening the Serbian national question

In the early 1980s Yugoslavia was plunged into a profound economic and social crisis, the escalation of which the authorities found themselves unable to stop. At the same time, Kosovo Serbs and Belgrade churchmen and intellectuals all contributed to the opening of the Serbian national question within communist Yugoslavia. The Albanian riots in the spring of

[115] *Dokumenti SK Srbije: Četrnaesta sednica CK SK Srbije: uzroci i posledice kontrarevolucionarne akcije na Kosovu* /Documents of the League of Communists of Serbia: Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia: Causes and Effects of Counter-revolutionary Action in Kosovo/ (Beograd: Komunist, 1981), pp. 72-73.

[116] On the role of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in settling the question of Serbia's unity, see: "Šta kažu važeća partijska dokumenta o odnosima u SR Srbiji" /"What Current Party Documents Say on Relations within the Socialist Republic of Serbia"/, *Borba*, 8 July 1988, p. 5.

1981 were the starting point of this gradual process. Making use of the Party's weaknesses, churchmen (Atanasije JEVTIĆ, Irinej BULOVIĆ, Amfilohije RADOVIĆ) became active in the defence of the Serbian national cause in Kosovo, considered to be the Serbian people's "biological and spiritual essence" and the principal site of its collective memory. They issued appeals and wrote articles in journals published by the Serbian Orthodox Church (*Pravoslavlje* /Orthodoxy/, *Glas Crkve* /The Voice of the Church/), in which they denounced the "crimes" perpetrated by Albanian "separatists and nationalists".[117] Beginning in 1982, Kosovo Serbs decided to act against the Albanisation of the region. They gradually formed a protest movement led by Kosta BULATOVIĆ, Boško BUDIMIROVIĆ, Miroslav ŠOLEVIĆ, and others. The movement played a crucial role in the awakening of the Serbian national feeling during the 1980s. In the autumn of 1985, the movement distributed a petition in which it denounced Albanian separatism, deeming it responsible for the exodus of the local Serbian population. The signing of the petition echoed the demands of the Serbian movement in Kosovo whose ranks, as of this point in time, started swelling. These activists increased their pressure on the political leadership of the republic of Serbia, the federation, and the LCY.

While Belgrade intellectuals had spent the first half of the 1980s actively engaged in the defence of human rights and freedom of expression, from 1985 the Serbian nation was to become the principal subject in their public and political appearances. The Writers' Union mobilised itself around the cause of the Kosovo Serbs, and prominent members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts (Pavle IVIĆ, Antonije ISAKOVIĆ, Mihailo MARKOVIĆ, Radovan SAMARDŽIĆ, Kosta MIHAILOVIĆ, and others) drew up a *Memorandum* in which they carried out a detailed study of the situation in Yugoslav society and the position of Serbia within it. This document, often erroneously described as an underground and conspiratorial product, was in fact formulated in the course of the everyday, lawful activities of the principal

[117] Radmila RADIĆ, "Crkva i 'srpsko pitanje'" /"The Church and the 'Serbian Question'"/, in Nebojša POPOV, *Srpska strana rata: trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju* /The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis/ (Beograd: Republika, 1996), pp. 267-304.

scholarly Serbian institution.[118] When its drafting had already reached an advanced stage, the document was leaked to and published in the Belgrade daily *Večernje novosti* /Evening News/ on 24 September 1986. Its publication was a political shock both for the public and for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The unfinished product of a number of authors, the *Memorandum*, a critical appraisal of the situation in the Yugoslav federation, was not a coherent document.

Contradictory in its contents, the *Memorandum* opened with an account of the economic and political crisis in pro-Yugoslav and universalist terms, with the authors deploring the dominance of the nationalist phenomenon over that of class, but it ended by defining the specific interests of the Serbian nation. In this last section, emphasis was placed on Serbia's economic lag, its complex constitutional situation, due to the existence of autonomous provinces, and the position of the Serbs in Kosovo. The authors believed that Serbia was economically exploited by the wealthiest republics, Slovenia and Croatia. In their view, these republics had a revanchist policy towards Serbia, in reaction to Serbia's dominant role in the first Yugoslav state (1918-1941). They believed that in 1981 the Albanian nationalists in Kosovo had declared "total war" against the Serbs, victims of a "physical, political, legal, and cultural genocide". They concluded that the Serbs in Croatia had never been under so much threat since the time of the independent Ustasha state (1941-1945). The academicians' goal was to redress the balance and place the Serbian people once again on an equal footing with the other nations of which Yugoslavia was composed.

[118] Kosta MIHAILOVIĆ, Vasilije KRESTIĆ, *"Memorandum SANU": odgovori na kritike* (Beograd: SANU, 1995), p. 14. This work was published in English by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts under the title "Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Answers to Criticisms". The French translation entitled "Le mémorandum de l'Académie serbe des Sciences et des Arts : réponse aux critiques" was published in 1996 by *L'Age d'homme* (Paris, Lausanne).

4.3. The ideological transformation of the League of Communists of Serbia

A strong national movement in Serbia could not have emerged in the second half of the 1980s without the backing of the League of Communists of Serbia. As a matter of fact, the conversion to nationalism of one faction of this party favoured the expression of the Greater Serbia ideology which had previously been denounced. In 1986 the Serbian leaders were determined to find a solution to the constitutional crisis that was weakening the republic. For years they had tried to negotiate changes with their counterparts in the autonomous provinces. They were slowly moving towards the formulation of a compromise. Faced with growing nationalism, they had to show that their own demands for a unified republic of Serbia were not part of a nationalist strategy.[119] Political leaders in the other republics observed the activities of their Serbian counterparts with suspicion. Many of them thought in fact that the president of Serbia, Ivan STAMBOLIĆ, was himself a nationalist. In 1986 the Party found itself confronted more and more overtly with the protest movement of the Kosovo Serbs, which enjoyed growing support among the intellectuals in the capital. In late September and early October the Party was shaken by the publication of extracts from the *Memorandum* of the Academy of Sciences and Arts. Its top leadership reacted strongly, condemning the nationalist contents of the *Memorandum*. Following the publication of the document, the communist elite of Serbia became increasingly divided. The division was not necessarily into dogmatic (or conservative) and reformist, even if the conservatives were more inclined to support the nationalist tendency. The reformist wing of the Party was likewise split on these issues.

In 1987 the League of Communists was divided into two groups, one led by Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, proclaiming its attachment to Titoism, denouncing Serbian nationalism, but

[119] Ivan STAMBOLIĆ, *Put u bespuće: odgovori Ivana STAMBOLIĆA na pitanja Slobodana INIĆA* /The Dead End: Ivan STAMBOLIĆ Responds to Slobodan INIĆ's Questions/, (Beograd : Radio B92, 1995).

inexorably appropriating the demands of the Kosovo Serbs, and the other headed by Ivan STAMBOLIĆ, desirous of unifying Serbia while at the same time respecting the autonomy of the provinces and the federal structures of Yugoslavia. The former held the Party presidency, while the latter had his base in the Belgrade Committee of the LC /League of Communists/. The rift between the two factions deepened, until it became unbridgeable in September 1987.[120] The Kosovo issue led the Party to endorse the Serbian national cause. In just a few months, the president of the LC of Serbia, Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, strengthened his power. He made his own the discontent of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, who had organised themselves on a national basis and outside the Party structures. At a time when the Party's legitimacy was increasingly being questioned, due to the profound economic and social crisis, MILOŠEVIĆ succeded in restoring its legitimacy and leadership.[121]

The so-called populist "anti-bureaucratic revolution" took place in 1988-1989 in the form of large-scale rallies in Vojvodina, central Serbia and Kosovo in support of the Kosovo Serbs and the new policy of centralising Serbia.[122] Following large-scale public gatherings in Novi Sad on 5 and 6 October 1988, the political leadership of the province of Vojvodina, which had wished to preserve the province's autonomy, was forced to resign. After an initial failure on 7 and 8 October 1988, similar actions in Titograd on 10 and 11 January 1989 caused the downfall of the Montenegrin authorities. In October 1988 the communist organisation in Kosovo removed from power Kaqusha JASHARI and Azem VLLASI, thought to be too indulgent toward Albanian nationalism, which led to protest rallies by the

[120] Their differences centred on the ways and means used to implement party policy. Tension grew over the appointment of executives to the top positions in the LC of Serbia and to the strategic posts to be used to consolidate power and to control the state apparatus and the media.

[121] Most astonishingly, he carried out this transformation of communism into nationalism with the support of the army (the leadership of which was staunchly communist and pro-Yugoslav) and of the highest echelons of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Between September and December 1987, he pushed aside his principal critics in the Party, among them the President of Serbia, Ivan STAMBOLIĆ, who had in fact significantly contributed to MILOŠEVIĆ's political ascent.

[122] Yves TOMIC, "Milosevic et la mutation de la Ligue des communistes de Serbie : du communisme au nationalisme populiste (1986-1989)" /MILOŠEVIĆ and the Transformation of the League of Communists of Serbia: From Communism to Populist Nationalism/ (*L'Autre Europe*, no. 34-35, March 1997).

Albanians. The goal of popular mobilisation was control by the Serbs of the province of Kosovo, which was slipping from their grasp and whose population was by now almost 90 per cent Albanian. Amendments to the Constitution of Serbia by which the autonomy of the provinces was reduced were officially adopted on 28 March 1989. Following further demonstrations by Albanians, a state of emergency was proclaimed in Kosovo. In the course of 1989, conflicts within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were intensified, especially between the leaderships of the republics of Serbia and Slovenia. The crisis deepened when Serbia broke off economic relations with Slovenia, after the Slovene authorities banned a rally by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana.

Whereas during the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s the Serbian communist leaders, anxious to unify the Socialist Republic of Serbia, invoked the need to rationalise state functions in order to mitigate the economic and social crisis, in the second half of the 1980s their primary aim was to unify the Serbian people in their own republic. In the space of a few years, the demands of the nationalistic political elites shifted from “the unification of the Socialist Republic of Serbia” to “the unification of the Serbian people”. Following the logic of the unification principle, unification could not be limited to Serbia itself but had to include, in the relatively near future, the territories inhabited by the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. As of 1989, as a matter of fact, Serbian nationalists began to focus on the position of the Serbs in Croatia. The leadership in Belgrade gave no opposition. On 9 July 1989, some 80,000 Serbs from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia gathered in the vicinity of Knin to celebrate the sixth centenary of the Battle of Kosovo. The League of Communists of Serbia increasingly appropriated the contents of the *Memorandum* of the Academy of Sciences and Arts which denounced the subordinate position of Serbia and the Serbs in communist Yugoslavia. Nationalist ideology was used as a means to restore the legitimacy of the Party and strengthen its power. While communist parties in the other

socialist countries of central and eastern Europe were not able to stop the erosion of their power, the Party in Serbia managed to energise its forces and consolidate its positions on the eve of the introduction of political pluralism and the institutions of representative democracy in 1990. The national movement in Serbia can be read as a reaction to the peripheral position of the republic within the Yugoslav federation and to the marginalisation and stagnation of its economy. Serbia experienced a conflict between modern forms of development and the preservation of archaic social structures. The Serbian leaders aimed to redefine the constitutional status of Serbia, as well as its relations with the other republics, by means of a centralisation of federal powers. The opening of the Serbian national question was facilitated by the economic and social crisis and by the weakness of the Yugoslav state, the cohesiveness of which was undermined by its economic and political fragmentation.

4.4. The political ideas of Vojislav ŠEŠELJ

At the age of sixteen-and-a-half Vojislav ŠEŠELJ became a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as a representative of the pupils of his secondary school.[123] At the University of Sarajevo he would hold important positions in the Students' Union. He read law at university and distinguished himself by completing his studies in two years and eight months instead of four years. In 1976 he continued his studies at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, where he obtained a master's degree in June 1978 and defended his doctoral thesis a year later, at the age of twenty-five.[124] Having failed to obtain a position as assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was hired instead by the Faculty of Political Science. From December 1979 to November 1980 he did his military service in Belgrade, but during this time he lost the teaching position he had held. He held Muslim

[123] Nada BOJIĆ, *Ko ste vi, Vojislave ŠEŠELJU?* / Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, Who Are You?/ (Belgrade: Dereta, 1992), p. 40.
[124] The title of his thesis is: "The Political Essence of Militarism and Fascism". BOJIĆ, p. 75.

professors (Atif PURIVATRA, Hasan SUŠIĆ, Omer IBRAHIMAGIĆ) responsible for his stagnating career and described them as "pan-Islamists" and "nationalists".[125] It is during this period that Vojislav ŠEŠELJ came to formulate his first political ideas clearly.[126] In September 1981 he rejoined the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, where he was asked to teach courses on international relations.

At the beginning of the 1980s Vojislav ŠEŠELJ started participating in intellectual debates. He drew attention to himself by coming out in support of Nenad KECMANOVIĆ, who had been taken to task by the political authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his critical writings in the Belgrade weekly *NIN*.[127] ŠEŠELJ also attacked Branko MILJUŠ, secretary of the League of Communists of Sarajevo, for having allegedly plagiarised other people's work in his master's thesis (*magistarski rad*).[128] Likewise, in the journal *Književna reč* /Literary Word/ he criticised Muslim university professors (Atif PURIVATRA, Hasan SUŠIĆ, and Muhamed FILIPOVIĆ) for having harmed his professional career.[129] He reproached them with having taken part in an international conference in Madrid which had focused on Muammar GADDAFI's *Green Book*. In their contributions, these intellectuals had supposedly expressed "pan-Islamist" views.[130] Because of the positions he adopted Vojislav

[125] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika* /Campaign against a Heretic/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991), p 12.
[126] He published a number of articles in various journals and magazines (*Književna reč*, *NIN*, *Duga, Ideje)* denouncing the arguments of the "reactionary pan-Islamists" of a group of Muslim intellectuals from Bosnia and Herzegovina which was linked to the politician Hamdija POZDERAC, President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ gave a historical account of the controversy and polemic in his book *Hajka na jeretika*, pp. 37-42.
[127] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Osvajanje slobode* /The Conquest of Freedom/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991), p. 110. In 1981 Nenad KECMANOVIĆ published several articles in the Belgrade weekly magazine *NIN* which were criticised by the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina for going against the ideological orientation of the League of Communists. ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika*, p. 18.
[128] ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika*, pp. 43-48. Branko MILJUŠ was a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Political Science and, like Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, taught international relations. His post, nevertheless, was frozen because of the political functions he had in the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. According to Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, Branko MILJUŠ was one of the main leaders of the political campaign against Nenad KECMANOVIĆ, also a university professor. ŠEŠELJ, *Osvajanje slobode*, p. 138.
[129] ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika*, p. 164.
[130] *Ibid*., *Hajka na jeretika*, pp. 7-12.

ŠEŠELJ was expelled from the League of Communists on 4 December 1981.[131] He was then relieved of his teaching duties at the Faculty of Political Science and in the spring of 1982 he was appointed researcher at the Institute for Social Research (*Institut za društvena istraživanja*), an institution affiliated with the Faculty.[132] A number of Belgrade intellectuals, mostly writers and researchers in the social sciences, came to his defence by writing letters of protest to the government of the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo.[133] Around this time Vojislav ŠEŠELJ became very critical of the way that the national question was dealt with in Yugoslavia: he spoke out in favour of the use of force against Kosovo Albanians and denounced the passivity of the Serbian political leadership in handling the Kosovo crisis. In his view, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not a nation but a religious group. He expressed his fear of seeing Bosnia and Herzegovina turn into a republic dominated by Muslims.

> "Recently, Vojo argued for changing the Constitution of the SFRY which, according to him, gave too much power to the provinces. He believed that the powers of the Federation should be reinforced by a new Constitution. He cited as an example the fact that the political leadership of Serbia, of which he was critical because of its passive attitude toward Kosovo, could not take more radical steps to resolve the situation in Kosovo precisely because the provinces had too much power. He was of the opinion that Serbia had been wronged by the establishment of autonomous provinces within its borders only, and not in Croatia where, by analogy, autonomous provinces for Lika and Kordun, where the Serbs were dominant, should have been established. He pointed out that the Serbs there had fewer opportunities to express their national feelings and symbols than the Serbs in Serbia. I had the impression that he blamed comrade Tito for the establishment of the autonomous provinces. He also believed that the Montenegrin nation was deliberately promoted and that the Montenegrins were in fact Serbs who had accepted the Yugoslav identity more willingly than the other peoples of Yugoslavia. He also believed that the Muslims were not a nation but an Islamic religious group. Vojo feared that Bosnia and Herzegovina could become a pure Muslim republic and that some public figures had this as their final programme and aim which, in his view, could lead to an exodus of Serbs from Bosnia. Accordingly, he also believed that the Serbian intellectuals in Sarajevo were not on an equal footing with the Muslims, an argument he would support with numerous facts."[134]

[131] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, "Zašto sam isključen iz Saveza komunista?" /"Why was I excluded from the League of Communists?"/ (*Književna reč*, 25 December 1981), published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika* /Campaign against a Heretic/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991), pp. 27-36.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] The documents were published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Disidentski spomenar* /A Dissident's Book of Keepsakes/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991), pp. 28-30.

[134] According to evidence given by ŠEŠELJ's colleagues from the Sarajevo Faculty of Political Science, published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Veleizdajnički proces* /On Trial for High Treason/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991), p. 22.

In 1982-1983 in conversations with his Sarajevo acquaintances, ŠEŠELJ talked about a possible territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three parts: Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim.[135]

Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was first arrested (for twenty-seven hours) in February 1984, then in April 1984 (for three days). This latter arrest took place in Belgrade, in an apartment where a lecture had been organised by the Free University, an institution that gathered critical intellectuals, including the dissident Milovan DJILAS.[136] On 15 May 1984 ŠEŠELJ was arrested once again, and on 9 July that same year he was condemned to eight years in prison for counter-revolutionary activities against the established social order. He was accused of being responsible for the contents of a manuscript entitled *Answers to an Interview: What Is to Be Done?* (*Odgovori na anketu-intervju: Šta da se radi?*), which the state security service (secret police) had found in his home. In the document he advocated the reorganisation of the Yugoslav federation into four republics (Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia), as well as a revision of the border between Serbia and Croatia:[137]

> [. . .] It is necessary to suppress the autonomous provinces, or at least to place them strictly under Serbian sovereignty, seeing that the majority of the population of Vojvodina is Serbian and that a large part of the Albanian ethnic group in Kosovo has shown itself willing and determined to lead a separatist policy, so that it would be inconsistent and damaging from the perspective both of the interests of Yugoslavia in general and of reasons of state which are of decisive importance in such cases, to grant this group further political advantages. The Yugoslav federation would thus consist of four genuinely equal republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia. A redrawing of the borders between Serbia and Croatia is necessary. In view of the partially mixed nature of the territories inhabited by the Serbian and Croatian populations in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, and Slavonia, the borders would be drawn in accordance with the principle that as many citizens of Serbian nationality should remain within the borders of Croatia as there are citizens of Croatian nationality in Serbia, based on the most recent population census figures. In this way the Serbo-Croatian national question would be resolved once and for all, on the basis of the principles of humanism and democracy; concord between the nations and the community would be strengthened, while one of the principal reasons for discord in the past would be removed.[138]

[135] See evidence given by ŠEŠELJ's colleagues from the Faculty of Political Science, published in ŠEŠELJ, *Veleizdajnički proces*.
[136] ŠEŠELJ,*Veleizdanjički proces*, p. 42.
[137] The text was in fact a response to a survey carried out among prominent figures from the Yugoslav cultural scene by the journalists Dušan BOGAVAC and Slobodan KLJAKIĆ for publication in *Komunist* /Communist/, the journal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The authors had not interviewed Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, but he wanted to give his response to the questions they asked. The text was published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Demokratija i dogma* /Democracy and Dogma/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991), pp. 117-137.
[138] ŠEŠELJ, *Demokratija i Dogma*, p. 130.

Thanks to the engagement of Yugoslav intellectuals, who gave his case international prominence, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ would serve no more than a year and ten months of his prison sentence.[139]

In the early 1980s Vojislav ŠEŠELJ became ideologically closer to nationalist intellectuals such as the writer Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ (1946-), who had also lived in Herzegovina, whom ŠEŠELJ met in January 1982, and Dobrica ĆOSIĆ (1921-), a former member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia who had become a dissident in the late 1960s.[140] These two writers were ŠEŠELJ's best friends at the time.[141] But if they agreed in their defence of the Serbian national cause, the two novelists had different political views: Dobrica ĆOSIĆ remained loyal to his participation in the movement of communist partisans during World War II, while Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ was in fact working on the rehabilitation of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ's Chetnik movement. Although a great admirer of Dobrica ĆOSIĆ at the ideological level, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ would find Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ much more congenial. Indeed, DRAŠKOVIĆ would become the godfather of ŠEŠELJ's eldest son. Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ, a former journalist with Tanjug, the Yugoslav press agency, who had been expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, turned into a defender of the Serbian national cause in the early 1980s. Most notably, he protested to the Croatian authorities against the "cultural genocide" allegedly carried out against the Serbian people in Croatia, and demanded the restoration of the "cultural and spiritual autonomy" that it had enjoyed before

[139] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Pravo na istinu* /Right to the Truth/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991). This work is a collection of all letters of protest, petitions and communications addressed by Yugoslav and foreign intellectuals to the Yugoslav authorities regarding the sentencing in 1984 of Vojislav Šešelj to eight years in prison.

[140] Born in 1946 in Vojvodina in a Serbian family which was originally from Herzegovina, Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ graduated from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade (1968). He worked as a journalist in the Yugoslav press agency TANJUG from 1969 to 1978 and then for the newspaper *Rad*. He wrote several novels in the first half of the 1980s and, in the 1990s, became the main opponent to the regime of Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ. He is currently Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro (official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro: http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Officials/draskovic_e.html, consulted on 7 February 2005, and BETA news of 24 June 1999 translated into French by the Balkans Courrier: http://www.balkans.eu.org/article3103.html, consulted on 7 February 2005).

[141] ŠEŠELJ, *Veleizdajnički proces*, pp. 15-17.

1941. He was of the opinion that the Serbs were a culturally and spiritually endangered minority in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, that they were threatened with liquidation in Kosovo, and that in Montenegro they were not allowed to use their ethnic name freely.[142] Together with other writers, he denounced the political trials of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and particularly underlined the exodus of 200,000 Serbs from the republic.[143] In 1986, the writers Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ and Milovan DANOJLIĆ travelled to North America with the historian Veselin DJURETIĆ to give a series of lectures.[144]

After 1986, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ joined the powerful national movement whose aim was to strengthen the position of Serbia within the Yugoslav Federation. Thus, for example, he took part in demonstrations organised by Serbian activists in Kosovo; he was one of the demonstrators who travelled to Novi Sad on 8 July 1988 to protest against the leaders of the province of Vojvodina, accused of failing to support the Kosovo Serbs.[145] After the authorities in the republic of Serbia embarked on a constitutional reform in 1988, he took part in debates on the constitutional changes organised by the Writers' Union (22 February 1988), the Serbian Philosophical Society (22 March 1988), and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (17 and 18 March 1988). He proposed a restructuring of the Yugoslav federation which would consist of no more than three federal units instead of eight (six republics and two autonomous provinces) based on the existence of no more than three Yugoslav nations: the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes. In ŠEŠELJ's view, the Macedonian and Muslim nations

[142] This letter addressed to the political authorities of the republic of Croatia was published by the press of the Serbian political emigration, including *Četničke novine* /Chetnik Newspaper/, no. 279 of May 1986, p. 3, and *Srbija: glas srpskih boraca* /Serbia: The Voice of Serbian Fighters/, no. 263, March 1986, pp. 3-4.
[143] In a letter of 9 January 1986, addressed to the Yugoslav Presidency, the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, and the press by Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ, Vojislav LUBARDA, Gojko DJOGO, and Rajko NOGO. The letter was published in *Srbija: glas srpskih boraca*, no. 264, April 1986, p. 2.
[144] Attacked by *Vjesnik*, the official Zagreb daily, Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ would respond to its editors in September 1986. His response would be published in *Četničke novine* in November 1986. Veselin DJURETIĆ is the author of a book on the Allies and the Chetniks in World War II, in which he rehabilitates the Ravna Gora movement.
[145] In its September 1988 issue, *Srbija: glas srpskih boraca*, the mouthpiece of the Movement of Serbian Chetniks Ravne Gore, published ŠEŠELJ's open letter addressed to Boško KRUNIĆ, leader of the autonomous province of Vojvodina.

had been "invented".[146] In addition to Serbia, the Serbian federal unit would thus include Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and other areas, and could be organised on the basis of regional autonomy for these historical provinces.[147] He spoke out in favour of the suppression of the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.[148] In so doing Vojislav ŠEŠELJ placed himself within the conceptual framework of the first Yugoslavia (1918-1941) which recognised no more than three constituent nations and in line with the solutions proposed by Serbian nationalists in the days of the first Yugoslavia, namely: a Yugoslav federation consisting of three units, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene. He also believed at the time that "a new colonisation of Kosovo and Metohija" was necessary in order to deal with the crisis and tensions in this autonomous Yugoslav province. The large concentration of Albanians in one territory, a strategically important fact according to him, was a threat and he therefore advocated that most of the Albanian national minority be displaced throughout Yugoslavia.[149] In 1988 he outlined a revision of the Yugoslav constitution of 1974 and the constitution of the republic of Serbia.[150] In 1989 he saw the downfall of the autonomist leaders of Vojvodina, the subordination of the political leadership of Kosovo to the leaders in Belgrade, and the change of leadership in the republic of Montenegro as the first stage in the unification of the Serbian people.

> "The Serbs must regain their political power and influence and position themselves in accordance with their political power. I believe that the first stage has been completed in Vojvodina, Kosovo and Metohija and Montenegro. In Montenegro, claims for incorporation into Serbia have been publicized. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Serbian regions of present-day Croatia have been harassed. There have been huge demonstrations there. A month ago, in Banja Luka, Drvar, in some town of Herzegovina, in Knin, in Srb in Lika, in Pakrac, the Serbian people have been stirring, rising and publicly expressing their demands. This suggests that the natural unification of the Serbian people as a whole in political, cultural and economic terms will be achieved."[151]

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[146] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Pledoaje za demokratski ustav* /Plea for a Democratic Constitution/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991), p. 26. His position evolved in comparison to that in *Answers to an Inquiry-Iinterview: What's to Be Done?* (*Odgovori na anketu-intervju*: *Šta da se radi*?) in which he refers to a federation of four republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia.
[147] ŠEŠELJ, *Pledoaje za demokratski ustav*, pp. 32-33.
[148] *Ibid*., p. 40.
[149] ŠEŠELJ, *Osvajanje slobode*, p. 184.
[150] The texts were published in ŠEŠELJ, *Pledoaje za demokratski ustav*.
[151] Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the Serbian emigration press and published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Horvatove ustaške fantazmagorije i druge političke rasprave* /HORVAT's Ustashi Fantasies and Other Political Debates/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1992), pp. 96-97.

In the second half of the 1980s Vojislav ŠEŠELJ drew closer to the Serbian political emigration of the Chetnik persuasion, especially the movement led by Momčilo DJUJIĆ, former leader of the Chetnik Dinara Division. Known as the Movement of Serbian Chetniks of Ravna Gora/ in the Free World (*Pokret srpskih četnika Ravne Gore u slobodnom svetu*), this movement of former Chetnik fighters had as its goal the liberation of Serbs from communist dictatorship and the unification of "Serbian lands".[152] In 1989, having been given a passport at the end of a three-year ban, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ travelled to the United States, Canada, and Australia, where he spent three months meeting the representatives of different Serbian émigré organisations. He gave lectures, expounding his national programme:[153]

> We Serbs in Yugoslavia must define our national goals, our national programme, and the borders of our state, while allowing our supposed northern brothers, the Croats, complete freedom to decide whether they want to live in such a state or not. The Serbian people is not *a priori* opposed to the existence of Yugoslavia. I am deeply convinced that the Serbian people is in favour of the existence of Yugoslavia but it does not want Yugoslavia at any price. It only wants a Yugoslavia whose frontiers would respect the borders of Serbian statehood guaranteed by the Treaty of London. Therefore, should a federal Yugoslavia remain in existence, the Serbian federal unit should comprise within its borders not only the current territory of Serbia and the current provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija, but Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, Lika, Banija, Kordun, eastern Slavonia, and Baranja. These borders are not guaranteed by the Treaty of London but were drawn by Ante PAVELIĆ during World War II. He drew them with Serbian graves, Serbian mass burials, Serbian suffering, camps, massacre sites, and pits. And I think that the Serbian people must on no account allow a single Serbian mass grave to remain outside the borders of the Serbian state.[154]

In his lectures, ŠEŠELJ demanded sanctions against the Croatian people, guilty of having given majority support to the regime of Ante PAVELIĆ during World War II. He considered Croatia to be an arbitrarily created state, having obtained, in 1945, territories that had never

[152] See the editorial in the July 1986 issue of *Srbija: glas srpskih boraca*, under the headline "Our Position and Our Message" (Naš stav i naša poruka):

> "The Ravna Gora Chetnik Movement was created by the Serbian people and shed its blood to help its foundation. The goals of the movement have been and remain the liberty, unification, and prosperity of Serbdom. [. . .]
> We are not a party, a group, or a clique in the service of individuals. We are the living, fighting force of the Serbian people, ready to sacrifice ourselves for the liberty of Serbdom and the unity of all the Serbian lands."

[153] The texts of his lectures were published in ŠEŠELJ, *Horvatove ustaške fantazmagorije i druge političke rasprave*. Some of them were also published by the Chetnik press in the United States.

[154] "Program Dr. Vojislava ŠEŠELJA: iz predavanja kod Gračanice u Americi" /Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's programme: Gračanica Lecture delivered in the United States/, *Četničke novine*, no. 298, July 1989, p. 4.

been part of it before, such as the town of Dubrovnik. On the subject of Kosovo, he was even more vindictive:

> As for Kosovo and Metohija, the Serbian people has fought for this region on several occasions in the course of its history. If necessary, the Serbian people will go to war again for Kosovo and Metohija. And rivers of blood will flow so that Kosovo and Metohija can remain a Serbian territory, if this is what they force us to do. We are not uttering any threats, but we promise to do this if we are forced to. I believe that one of the principles of the Serbian programme must be to insist on a new colonisation of Kosovo and Metohija. In what way?
>
> [. . .] Meanwhile the capital of Yugoslavia and Serbia, all the organs of state, its organisations and institutions, could be moved to Kosovo and Metohija. This would imply the transfer of hundreds of thousands of state employees and the members of their families. Following this, all the military and police academies could be moved to Kosovo and Metohija, and all the military institutions that are not directly linked to the command of military districts. In this way we would have a large number of state employees and officials settling in Kosovo. Those who would not wish to move would simply be laid off from work and would have to fend for themselves. Officials who have enjoyed privileges for decades after the war must contribute to the solution of our key problem.[155]

Before he returned to Serbia ŠEŠELJ appealed for the unity of the Serbian emigration, with a view to creating a "Serbian democratic movement". In his view, the common platform could be as follows:

> 1 – The final destruction of the personality cult centred on Josip BROZ Tito, a criminal and tyrant who inflicted on us our biggest national defeats, as well as an end to communist dictatorship and to the arbitrary power of the anti-Serbian coalition over our fatherland.
>
> 2 – The redrawing of the borders of the Serbian state in accordance with historical and ethnic criteria on which its frontiers were based when set down in the text of the Treaty of London in 1915.
>
> 3 – The establishment of a democratic regime, with a multi-party political system and a free-market economy.[156]

On 28 June 1989, Momčilo DJUJIĆ, who had just proclaimed Vojislav ŠEŠELJ military leader (*vojvoda*) of the Chetnik movement, issued a statement in which he spoke out in favour of the unification of Serbian lands:

> The resurrection and revival of the Serbian state in the Balkans are nigh; all Serbdom will be united, and so will all the Serbian lands on which our churches, our homes, and our graves rests. To achieve this goal, we need to strengthen our Serbian national and spiritual unity with the blessing of the Church of Saint Sava, with faith in God and Saint Sava, ready to sacrifice all in this fight from which we shall emerge victorious and free, expecting the help of no one but Almighty God.
>
> For centuries now, the Croats have been our greatest enemies and they remain so. They have exterminated more of us than the Turks did in five hundred years. There can be no negotiation

[155] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[156] *Srbija: glas srpskih boraca*, no. 303, July 1989, p. 2.

> with them, nor any discussion. **We shall take possession of the borders of our Serbian lands and no force can prevent us** (emphasis added by Y. T.).[157]

Vojislav ŠEŠELJ based his project of a Greater Serbia on both historical and ethnic rights. He frequently referred to international law in order to justify the territorial borders of the future Serbian state, especially towards Macedonia and Croatia. As regards the latter republic, he based his arguments on the Treaty of London, signed on 26 April 1915 by the countries of the Entente and Italy with a view to getting Italy to enter the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.[158] The Treaty, which the four participating states (Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy) secretly negotiated without consulting the Serbian government, was designed to satisfy the territorial claims of Italy in Dalmatia in exchange for its participation in the war on the side of the Entente.[159] Consequently, the Treaty did not deal directly with the issue of ceding territory to Serbia to create a Greater Serbia, as Vojislav ŠEŠELJ claims.[160]

> "The boundaries of the Serbian state guaranteed by the 1915 Treaty of London are the only acceptable boundaries of the Serbian federal unit. This means that Serbia shall encompass Serbia proper, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Metohija, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, eastern Slavonia and Baranja."[161]

Although Article 5 of the Treaty of London clearly stated that all those territories which were not returned to Italy would, on the whole, be handed over to "Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro", this did not mean that the participating diplomacies did not have an understanding on the Treaty's territorial repercussions. Accordingly, Dalmatia was to be partitioned and apportioned to several states, and not to Serbia alone.[162] Nevertheless the

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[157] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[158] René ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 575.

[159] Milan MARJANOVIĆ, *Londonski ugovor iz godine 1915. : prilog povijesti borbe za Jadran 1914.-1917*. /The 1915 Treaty of London: A Contribution to the History of the Struggle for the Adriatic, 1914-1917/ (Zagreb: Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1960), pp. 232-233.

[160] The sections of the Treaty that deal with the South Slavic lands are available on the Internet on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro: http://www.mfa.gov.yu/History/londonski_ugovor_s.html.

[161] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Politika kao izazov savesti* /Politics as a Challenge to Conscience/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1993), p. 9.

[162] The Italian government wanted to obtain the whole of Dalmatia. The Treaty of London presupposed the existence of three States: Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro. Milan MARJANOVIĆ, *Borba za Jadran 1914-1946:*

British, French, Russian and Italian diplomats envisaged that part of the Dalmatian coast between the promontory of Planka ("Ploča" in Serbian), situated to the north of Split, and Montenegro be given to Serbia, which would then stretch also to Bosnia and Herzegovina.[163] However, wanting to establish a certain balance between the powers in the region, during the negotiations of the Treaty of London (March – April 1915) it was not envisaged to have this enlarged Serbia include Croatia and Slavonia.[164] While it defines the dividing line along the Dalmatian Coast, the Treaty of London does not define any inland boundaries, let alone along the Karlobag - Ogulin - Karlovac - Virovitica line [see Map 9 in Annex]. Moreover, the locality of Karlobag, which lies to the north of Zadar (Zara in Italian) on the Dalmatian coast, was not to go to Serbia but to Croatia.[165] During the summer of 1915, the Entente Powers

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iredenta i imperijalizam /The Struggle for the Adriatic 1914-1946: Irredentism and Imperialism/ (Split: Redakcija listova JRM, 1953), p. 27.

[163] *Documents diplomatiques secrets russes, 1914-1917 : d'après les archives du ministère des affaires étrangères à Petrograd* /Secret Russian Diplomatic Documents, 1914-1917: From the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Saint Petersburg, (Paris: Payot, 1928), pp. 229-230.

[164] René ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference*, p. 31.

[165] MARJANOVIĆ, *Borba za Jadran 1914-1946: iredenta i imperijalizam*, p. 26.

Article 5 of the Treaty of London states:

"Italy shall also be given the province of Dalmatia within its present borders, including Lisarica and Tribanj in the north, and in the south up to a line starting on the shore of the promontory of Planka and extending to the east following the peaks which create divides in such a way as to leave in the Italian territory all the valleys and watercourses descending towards Sibenik, such as Cikola, Krka and Butisnjica and their tributaries. In addition, Italy shall be given the isles situated in the north and in the west of Dalmatia, starting from the isles of Premuda, Silba, Olib, Skrda, Maun, Pag and Vir in the north up to Mljet in the south, including the isles of Sv. Andrija, Bisevo, Vis, Hvar, Torkul, Korcula, Kaciol and Lastovo, along with nearby reefs and islets, as well as Palagruz, but excluding the isles of Veliki Drvenik and Mali Drvenik, Ciovo, Solta and Brac.

The following shall be neutralised:

1. The entire coast from the promontory of Planka in the north to the southern coast of the peninsula of Peljesac in the south, so as to encompass the whole peninsula;

2. A part of the coast starting in the north at a point at a distance of 10 kilometres south of Cavtat and extending in the direction of the south all the way to the river Vojusa, encompassing the Bay and Port of Kotor, the ports of Bar, Ulcinj, Sv. Ivan Medovanski, Durres, without encroaching upon the rights of Montenegro based on the declarations of the Great Powers which they exchanged in April and May 1909; these rights shall apply only to the present territory of Montenegro and shall not be applicable to the lands and ports yet to be accorded to it; consequently, no part of the coast in possession of Montenegro at present shall be neutralised; the restrictions relating to the port of Bar consented to by Montenegro in 1909 shall remain in force;

3. Finally, all the islands which have not been granted to Italy.

Note:

The four allied Great Powers shall grant the following territories to Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro: The entire coast in the upper Adriatic from Volosko on the border of Istria to the northern coast of Dalmatia, comprising the present Hungarian coast and the Croatian littoral, including the port of Rijeka and the small ports of Novi and Karlobag, as well as the isles of Krk, Prvic, Grgur, Goli and Rab. In the southern Adriatic, in the area in which Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the entire coast from the

(France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy) wanted Bulgaria and Romania to enter the war against Austria-Hungary and Germany and promised them territory (the eastern part of Macedonia and the Banat region respectively) which belonged to Serbia or was supposed to become part of the future Yugoslavia claimed at the time by the Serbian government of Nikola PAŠIĆ. In exchange for territorial concessions, the Entente Powers pledged, in a note of 4 August 1915, to compensate Serbia on the Adriatic coast, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by means of a common boundary with Greece but there is no mention of Croatia.[166] If an offer of a Greater Serbia was made to the Serbian government, it was made in July 1915 by Edward Grey, Great Britain's Foreign Secretary, alone, and furthermore as part of a request sent to the Russian government.[167] During July and August 1915, while negotiating with Bulgaria and Romania to engage in the war against the Axis powers, the territories proposed as compensation to the Kingdom of Serbia varied in their geometry and never became part of any kind of diplomatic treaty whatsoever. Moreover, because of the oppostion of the Italian diplomacy which was of the opinion that the question of the unification of Croatia and the south of Hungary (the

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promontory of Planka to the River Drim, including the important ports of Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj and St. Ivan Medovanski, as well as the isles of Veliki Drvenik, Mali Drvenik, Ciovo, Solta, Brac, Jakljan and Kolocep. The port of Durres shall be left to the independent Muslim State of Albania."

Source: http://www.mfa.gov.yu/History/london_treaty_e.html (consulted on 17 October 2005). English text posted on the internet site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro was taken from MARJANOVIĆ, *Londonski ugovor iz godine 1915.: prilog povijesti borbe za Jadran 1914.-1917.*, pp. 445-449.

[166] Dragoslav JANKOVIĆ, *Srbija i jugoslovensko pitanje 1914-1915. godine* /Serbia and the Yugoslav Question, 1914-1915/, (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju), 1973, p. 127.

[167] Djordje Dj. STANKOVIĆ, *Nikola Pašić, saveznici i stvaranje Jugoslavije* /Nikola PAŠIĆ, the Allies and the Creation of Yugoslavia/, (Beograd: Nolit, 1984), p. 128. As noted by the hisotrian Djordje STANKOVIĆ of the University of Belgrade, this was the first time that the term "Greater Serbia" was mentioned.

Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's reading of the Treaty of London of April 1915 is shared by a number of Serbian historians (EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*, vol. 2, p. 747). In a paragraph entitled "The Treaty of London" in the 20th-century history textbook for high-school students in Serbia the authors claim that:

> "In the second year of the conflict, Serbian unification through the creation of a Greater Serbia under the Treaty of London of 26 April 1915 appeared possible, in the form of an agreement between Italy and the Entente Powers on territorial concessions to Italy (Istria and the greater part of Dalmatia) so that Italy would enter the war. The Allies also offered Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slavonia, Srem, Bačka, southern Dalmatia and northern Albania to Serbia. (…)"

Kosta NIKOLIĆ, Nikola ŽUTIĆ, Momčilo PAVLOVIĆ, Zorica ŠPADIJER, *Istorija 3/4* /History 3/4/, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2002), p. 132.

These assertions were hotly debated in the Belgrade weekly *Vreme* and contested by Dubravka STOJANOVIĆ, professor of history at the University of Belgrade ("On Methodology, Honesty and Scandals", *Vreme*, no. 628, 16 January 2003, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=331016).

territories of Vojvodina) to Serbia should be left open, the Croatian territories were not to part of a possible Greater Serbia.[168] This was, among other things, the reason why the Head of the Serbian Government Nikola PAŠIĆ rejected the proposals of the Entente since they did not lead to the unification of Southern Slavs within a Yugoslav State.[169]

[168] Milan Marjanović, *Borba za Jadran 1914-1946: iredenta i imperijalizam /*The Struggle for the Adriatic, 1941-1946: irredentism and imperialism/, Split, Redakcija listova JRM, 1953, pp. 27-29

[169] There was no mention of Croatia or of Slovenian territory in the proposals the Entente Powers presented to the Serbian Government. Moreover, the neutralisation of the Adriatic coast, which was supposed to go to Serbia, was unacceptable to the Serbian Head of Government. *Ibid.* pp. 127-128. STANKOVIĆ, p. 128.
Djordje Dj. Stanković, *Nikola Pašić, saveznici i stvaranje Jugoslavije*, (Nikola Pašić, the Allies and the Creation of Yugoslavia), Beograd, Nolit, 1984, p. 128/

5. The Serbian Radical Party (SRS): the Greater Serbia party

5.1. From small Chetnik groups to Serbian Radical Party

The nationalist intellectuals who had come forward in defence of the cause of the Kosovo Serbs in the second half of the 1980s regrouped early in 1990 and founded their first political organisation, the Serbian Freedom Movement (*Srpski slobodarski pokret*), with Vojislav ŠEŠELJ as its president.[170] This marginal political group was notable for its attachment to the idea of the integration of all Serbs from the territory of Yugoslavia in one and the same state should Slovenia or Croatia secede from Yugoslavia:

> The Movement is in favour of the restoration of the political, economic, cultural, and spiritual unity of the Serbian people, of complete mutual understanding and solidarity between religious Serbs and atheist Serbs, of brotherly concord between Orthodox Serbs, Muslim Serbs, Catholic Serbs, and Protestant Serbs.
>
> All that has divided us in the past decades and centuries must be left behind and given over to historical scholarship to study and analyse dispassionately, in a manner free from ideological prejudice. The revival of our traditional popular values, of our cultural heritage, of our love of freedom and our democratic achievements marks a break with the entire dogmatic legacy, with all the aspects of totalitarian ideologies and with the political monopoly of the communists.
>
> We believe that the Serbian people is not opposed to the existence of Yugoslavia in principle, but it can accept it as a future shared state only if its existence poses no threat to any of the achievements of the liberation wars waged by Serbia and Montenegro in the last two centuries. We must reject all the elements of the Yugoslav legal system that have been produced by communist revolutionary violence and by the explicitly anti-Serbian policies implemented in recent decades, the fatal consequences of which are most visible in the administrative divisions allocated by the state.
>
> In view of this, we are especially strongly opposed to the artificial territorial division of the Serbian lands, and we insist first and foremost on the principle according to which no political party has the right to take away from the Serbian people the territories that were part of Serbia before the creation of Yugoslavia, nor does the Yugoslav regime have this right.
>
> Should the Slovenes or Croats decide to withdraw from Yugoslavia, we would support the democratic integration of all the historical provinces in which the Serbian people is in a majority. In order to achieve the complete national reconciliation of all Serbs, it is necessary to get rid of all the political, legal, and ideological consequences of the artificially provoked civil war and to make it possible to study the events of our recent history freely and in a more scholarly way.

[170] The founding committee consisted of the following members: Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, lawyer; Djordje NIKOLIĆ, biologist; Vojislav LUBARDA, writer; Tripo ZIROJEVIĆ, physician; Aleksandar ČOTRIĆ, student; Radivoje PANIĆ, student; Vojin VULETIĆ, technician; Milija ŠĆEPANOVIĆ, retired army officer; Mladen MARKOV, writer; Miodrag GLIŠIĆ, economist; Todor BOŠKOVIĆ, worker; Bogoljub PEJČIĆ, publicist; Jovan RADULOVIĆ, writer; Rajko PETROV NOGO, writer; Slobodan RAKITIĆ, writer; Ljubica MILETIĆ, writer; Dušan VUKAJLOVIĆ, writer; Alek VUKADINOVIĆ, writer; Milorad VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ, writer.

> We are convinced that special attention must be paid to the creation of favourable conditions for the return of all Serbian émigrés to the Fatherland, and to the strengthening of political, economic and cultural ties between the Fatherland and the diaspora.
>
> Belgrade, 6 January 1990.[171]

The 540-member organisation did not last long under this name. On 14 March 1990 it joined some of the members of the Serbian National Renewal (*Srpska narodna obnova*, SNO), founded in January 1990 and headed by Mirko JOVIĆ, to form a new organisation known as the Serbian Renewal Movement (*Srpski pokret obnove*, SPO).[172] The writer Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ was elected president of the SPO, with Vojin VULETIĆ as secretary. The leadership of the movement consisted of thirty-one members, sixteen from the SNO and 15 from the SSP. On this occasion the SPO stated:

> The Serbian Renewal Movement remembers with reverence the three million Serbs who died and were massacred in the wars of 1912 to 1918 and 1941 to 1945 so that Yugoslavia could be created and subsequently renewed. Since it respects the Yugoslav ideals . . . of our people, the Serbian Renewal Movement neither wishes nor will provoke the disintegration of Yugoslavia.
>
> At the same time, the SPO does not contest the right of the Slovene and Croatian peoples to establish independent states of their own and to secede from Yugoslavia or to enter into a confederate relationship with Yugoslavia.
>
> Nevertheless, we must warn that in either of these two cases the Serbian Renewal Movement will respond in the same way: an independent or confederate Croatia or Slovenia will not be able to satisfy their separatist aspirations until they have paid their debts to Yugoslavia (and war damages to the Serbian people in the case of Croatia). Above all, no piece of land drenched in Serbian blood and marked with Serbian churches and graves can be detached or confederated. No one can separate from Yugoslavia the territories which on the day when Yugoslavia was created in 1918 were part of the Kingdom of Serbia, or from the territories where Serbs were in a majority before the genocide carried out by the Croatian Ustashi.[173]

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[171] *Četničke novine*, no. 302, March 1990, p. 3.

[172] The SNO likewise aimed at the creation of a Greater Serbia, which would include not only Serbia itself but Bosnia, Slavonia, Herzegovina, Lika, Kordun, Banija, and the Knin Krajina. The party is in favour of the redrawing of the western borders of Serbia, which should be determined on the basis of the ethnic map as it was on 6 April 1941, when the forces of the Axis invaded Yugoslavia. All the territories that used to have a predominantly Serbian population before 1941 must become part of Serbia, for no Croatian state must profit from the genocide against the Serbs from 1941 to 1945. The SNO proposed that Serbia should be divided into several administrative regions: the Sava and Danube region, with Novi Sad as its centre; the Vrbas region, with Banja Luka as its centre; the Drina region, with Sarajevo as its centre; the Zeta region, with Cetinje as its centre; the Vardar region, with Skopje as its centre; and the Morava region, with Kruševac as its centre. See the draft programme published in *Četničke novine*, no. 302, March 1990, pp. 1, 2, and 5.
The membership figures for the Serbian Freedom Movement were cited by V. ŠEŠELJ in an interview given to the *ON* magazine in April 1990 and published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Razaranje srpskog nacionalnog bića* /The Destruction of the Serbian National Being/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1992), p. 53.

[173] *Velika Srbija* /A Greater Serbia/, July 1990, no. 1, p. 18.

The SPO showed the same desire to reattach to Yugoslavia (or rather to Serbia) the territories in the west where crimes were committed against the Serbs during World War II. In April 1990, Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, and Milan KOMNENIĆ travelled to the United States to enlist the support of the Serbs living in that country.[174] The journal *Četničke novine* described the foundation of the SPO as the beginning of a new Serbian uprising.[175] A conflict soon erupted within the ranks of the SPO leadership. On 5 June 1990, one part of the leadership relieved Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ of his presidential functions.[176] On 18 June 1990, the faction headed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ decided to create a new organisation, known as the Serbian Chetnik Movement (*Srpski četnički pokret*, SČP). The new party was more explicit about the creation of a Greater Serbia as one of its goals and its programme clearly stated which territories should become part of an expanded Serbia:

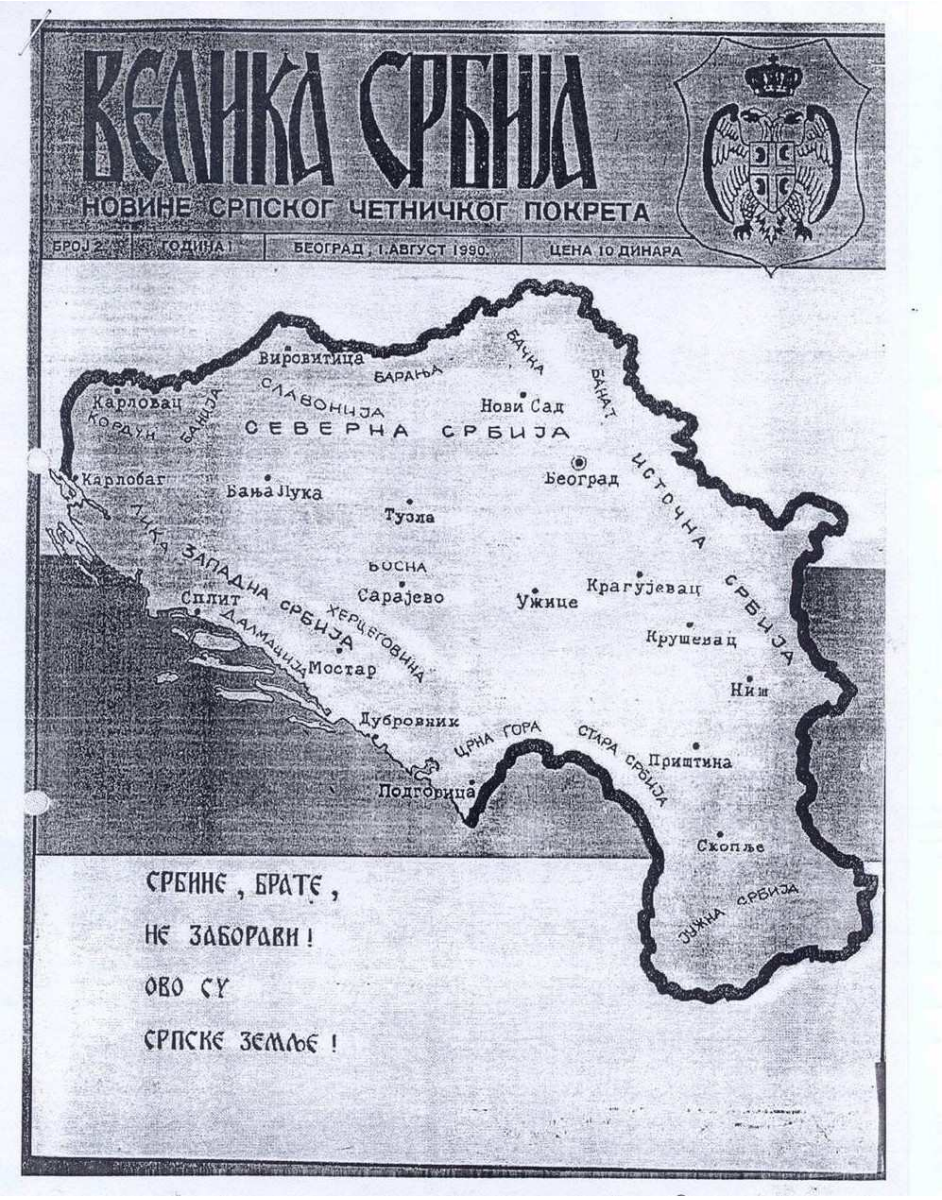
> 1. The restoration of a democratic, independent and free Serbian state in the Balkans, which would encompass all of Serbdom, all the Serbian lands; that is to say, in addition to the Serbian federal unit as currently defined, it will include within its borders Serbian Macedonia, Serbian Montenegro, Serbian Bosnia, Serbian Herzegovina, the Serbian town of Dubrovnik, Serbian Dalmatia, Serbian Lika, Serbian Kordun, Serbian Banija, Serbian Slavonia, and Serbian Baranja.
>
> 2. The full realisation of the political, economic, cultural, spiritual, and national unity of the Serbian people; mutual understanding and solidarity with Muslim Serbs, Catholic Serbs, and Protestant Serbs. This means that the civil war imposed on Serbs by communists half a century ago will end once and for all. [. . .]
>
> 5. To make possible – economically, politically, and from the perspective of international law – the systematic settlement in Serbia of all the members of the Serbian minority in Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece, as well as the return of all émigrés who wish to return, both from Europe and from overseas. [. . .]
>
> 20. To suppress by all possible means the Albanians' separatist rebellion in Kosovo and Metohija. In order to avoid the repetition of such occurrences we would like to see the following measures put in place immediately:
>
> - The effective prevention of the introduction of any kind of autonomy for Kosovo and Metohija,

[174] *Četničke novine*, no. 305, Juillet 1990, pp. 2 and 4. These three SPO leaders stayed about ten days in the United States with the aim of rallying the support of the Serbian Expatriate community. They made public appearances in Cleveland and Chicago.

[175] *Četnicke novine*: *glas srpskih boraca (Chetniks Newspaper: Voice of Serbian Fighters for Freedom)*, published in Milwaukee (Wisconsin) is one of the Chetnik expatriate papers in North America. Djoko P. MARIĆ, a former Chetnik commander, was editor-in-chief at the time.

[176] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ wanted Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ to resign because the latter had criticised a group of SPO members, including Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, for violently interrupting the play "Sveti Sava" in the Yugoslav Drama Theatre. *Vjesnik*, 7 June 1990, published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Bal vampira* /Ball of the Vampires/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1992), p. 119.

- The immediate expulsion from Yugoslav territory of the 360,000 Albanian immigrants and their descendants. Those who entered Yugoslavia from Albania after 6 April 1941 should be placed under the jurisdiction of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. There are countries in this world that are incomparably larger, richer and less densely populated than Yugoslavia; let them receive these immigrants and show us some proof of their humanism.[177]



Velika Srbija /Greater Serbia/, organ of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, No. 2, August 1990. On the cover page is a map of Greater Serbia as claimed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's political movement. To the west (in Croatian territory), Serbia stretches to the Karlobag – Karlovac – Virovitica line.

[177] Programme published in *Velika Srbija*, the organ of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, in July 1990, no. 1, pp. 2-3.

The Serbian Chetnik Movement's programme features the same desire to unify all Serbs into one state entity and the same kind of solution advocated by the Serbian intellectuals of the Serbian Cultural Club in the late 1930s, i.e. to create a state that would be as homogenous as possible in national terms through the expulsion of national minorities, the Albanians in the first place. Indeed, the Serbian Cultural Club was founded anew on 18 September 1990.[178] At its second session, on 20 September 1990, the Serbian Cultural Club unanimously decided to join collectively the Serbian Chetnik Movement.[179] During the summer of 1990, the Liberal Party of Valjevo, headed by Aleksandar STEFANOVIĆ, merged with the Serbian Chetnik Movement. The party then organised several meetings (in Valjevo, Velika Plana, Mali Zvornik, and other places) at which it presented its programme to the broader public. In August 1990, the Serbian Chetnik Movement failed to get itself registered as a political party, after the authorities rejected its application. Thus it could not take part in the first multi-party parliamentary elections in December 1990. Nevertheless, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ would present himself as an independent candidate at the presidential election representing, as he said, the "Serbian Chetniks".[180] During the electoral campaign Vojislav ŠEŠELJ warned the Croatian political leaders that Croatia would not be able to detach itself from Yugoslavia without losing territory:

> As for the Croats, we the Serbian Chetniks advise the new Ustasha chief Franjo TUDJMAN and the new Ustasha authorities in Croatia not to play games with the Serbian people living in the territory of the present-day improvised Croatian state community. That territory is Serbian territory, inhabited by the Serbian people, and we will never allow it to be separated from the rest of the mother nation. The Croats can secede from Yugoslavia, they can form an independent state or attach themselves to another state, but they must know that we shall never allow them, at the cost of further rivers of blood, to take away from us any part of the territory that contains Serbian villages, Serbian mass graves, sites where Serbs were massacred, pits that Serbs were thrown in, camps where Serbs were imprisoned, such as Jasenovac, Serbian churches that were destroyed … We will never allow this.[181]

[178] With Želimir MARKOVIĆ as president, Branislav FILIPOVIĆ and Srdjan OBRADOVIĆ as vice-presidents, Rajko BUKVIĆ as secretary, and Radmila NIKOLIĆ as treasurer.
[179] *Velika Srbija*, November 1990, no. 6, p. 31.
[180] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Filipike četničkog vojvode: dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ u objektivu Siniše AKSENTIJEVIĆA* /A Chetnik *Vojvoda*'s Philippics: Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ as Seen by Siniša AKSENTIJEVIĆ/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1994), p. 24.
[181] *Ibid*., p. 24.

What Vojislav ŠEŠELJ and his party are aiming for is in fact the amputation of Croatia. His statements on the subject are explicit:

> The Croats must be punished in the way that peoples and states are punished for the crimes committed by their regimes in wartime; this is to say, they must be punished by loss of territory.[182]

In fact, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ denies the Croats the right to their own state:

> "Look, what is the basis of the Croats' right to a state? What arguments do the Croats have against this? Was Slovenia ever a state? No, it wasn't. And we don't want to live with them. We don't care whose territory it is. The Serbian army entered Slovenia in 1918. The Serbian army is now withdrawing from Slovenia. And it is a fact that the Slovenes know where they are going. The Croats have had no state since 1102. They surrendered their state to the Hungarians in the Treaty of 1102. Therefore, we don't know who owns this territory. There is only one international legal instrument which tackles the question of Serbia's western borders and that is the 1915 Treaty of London. And according to the provisions of the Treaty of London we can claim the territory up to the Karlobag – Ogulin – Karlovac – Virovitica line. We have no idea who owns the territory to the west of the line. It might belong to the Italians since it was promised to them in the Treaty of London. It might belong to the Austrians since it was part of the Austrian Empire before the end of World War I. It might be Hungarian since, at the time, the Croats gave their country to them of their own free will. In fact this is more likely since the Hungarians built their big port on the Adriatic coast. The port of Rijeka is a Hungarian port. It may actually be Croatian. We are not interested in finding out who owns it. We shall inform the United Nations; we have withdrawn our troops from that territory. There is no state authority there. Let the United Nations, the major powers and the neighbouring countries decide who owns it."[183]

> "Croatia has no international legal basis for its statehood. Neither has Slovenia . . . When Yugoslavia ceases to exist only Serbia will survive. Since the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), i.e. the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, is the legal successor of the Kingdom of Serbia, only Serbia can be the legal successor of Yugoslavia. It is possible to draw the western border of in accordance with the provisions of the 1915 Treaty of London. And it can follow the Karlobag – Ogulin – Karlovac – Virovitica line if we want it to be an ethnic, historical and strategic border."[184]

Moreover, he contests the existence of the Croatian nation:

> "The Croats are not a historical nation. Consider the Czechs and the Germans, for instance. 'Czech' is synonymous with 'coward', while the Germans are a warrior nation. The same goes for the Serbs and the Croats. The Croats are a depraved nation. I have yet to meet a decent Croat."[185]

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[182] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[183] Cited from an interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ in 1991 to Radio Čačak. The interview was published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Branković je ustao iz groba* /Branković has risen from the Dead/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1994), p. 6.

[184] In an interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the magazine *Svet* (4 September 1991) and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Politika kao izazov savesti*, p. 97.

[185] Interview given to the Yugoslav press agency TANJUG on 8 August 1991 and published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Crveni tiranin sa Dedinja* /The Red Tyrant from Dedinje/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1995), p. 7. In his work entitled *Ideologija srpskog nacionalizma: naučno i publicističko delo prof. dr. Laze M. Kostića*, p. 323, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ refers to the Croats as an "artificial nation":

> "It is obvious that today's Croats are a completely new, artificial nation made up of Serbs who have lost their national identity. They have as little in common with the original Croats, the ratio of čakavian speakers to kajkavian speakers in the Croatian population."

5.2. The Serbian Radical Party

On 23 February 1991 in Kragujevac, the Serbian Chetnik Movement and most local committees of the People's Radical Party (*Narodna radikalna stranka*) united to form the Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*, SRS), which claimed to be the heir of the Radical Party founded by Nikola PAŠIĆ in 1881 (Article 1 of the Party Statute). The latter played an important part in the political life of both pre-World-War-I Serbia and the first Yugoslavia (1918-1941). Its leader, Nikola PAŠIĆ, was head of the Serb and Yugoslav governments on several occasions. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was elected president of the new party, with 489 votes out of 509. The programme of the SRS took over elements of the programmes of the first political parties founded or co-founded by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ. Its principal goal was the "restoration of a democratic, independent and free Serbian state in the Balkans which would encompass all of Serbdom, all the Serbian lands; that is to say, in addition to the extant Serbian federal unit as established by decree it will include within its borders Serbian Macedonia, Serbian Montenegro, Serbian Bosnia, Serbian Herzegovina, the Serbian town of Dubrovnik, Serbian Dalmatia, Serbian Lika, Serbian Kordun, Serbian Banija, Serbian Slavonia, and Serbian Baranja".[186] The actual aim of the programme is the creation of a Greater Serbia. The reference to a "restoration" of the Serbian state implies that Serbia was once composed of the territories listed above. Some territories however have never been part of the Serbian state (Lika, Kordun, Banija, Slavonia and Baranja). As regards the frontiers of a future Greater Serbia, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ popularised the idea of a western frontier running along the "Karlobag – Ogulin – Karlovac – Virovitica" line, a notion that he repeated again and again in his media appearances. This differs little from the notion proposed by Stevan MOLJEVIĆ during World War II, which significantly reduced Croatia's territory:

[186] "Programska deklaracija Srpske radikalne stranke" /Programme of the Serbian Radical Party/, *Velika Srbija*, no. 9, May 1991, pp. 6-7.

> "First of all we are fighting to make the secession of Slovenia possible in the hope that a wise government in Belgrade will amputate Croatia, that is to say what we consider to be Croatia, i.e. the territory to the west of the **Karlobag - Ogulin - Karlovac - Virovitica line (emphasis added by Yves TOMIC)**. Whether this is really Croatian territory is of no concern to us. They are probably Italian. Then we will make a deal with the Italians so that they take what belongs to them . . . Then again they might belong to Austria or Hungary."[187]

> "We hope to see Yugoslavia disappear from the historical scene. The most likely scenario is that Yugoslavia will disintegrate into three states: a greater Serbia, a small Slovenia and an even smaller Croatia. As for the Serbian Radical Party, if we get a share of the power, or win it over, we pledge that Serbia will conclude, in the shortest possible time, an agreement with Italy, that the Treaty of London will be revived and that the Serbian - Italian border will be established along the **Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica line (emphasis added by Yves TOMIC)**."[188]

> "Our western borders lie on the **Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica line (emphasis added by Yves TOMIC)**. Of course, Rijeka will not be in our territory. Neither will Zagreb and some other towns but we have no option but to exchange population with Croatia. One can hardly imagine Serbs living under a Croatian regime. Furthermore, what would the Croats do on our territory? We shall exchange population as best we can, and we shall live separately."[189]

Although the leader of the Serbian Radical Party had benefited from the Chetnik credentials conferred on him by Momčilo DJUJIĆ, leader of the Ravna Gora Movement of Serbian Chetniks in the Free World, his political orientation distanced him from the Chetnik émigrés. As he was not in favour either of the monarchy or of the KARADJORDJEVIĆ dynasty, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ became the target of Momčilo DJUJIĆ's fulminations. He was accused of collaborating with Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ's Socialist Party of Serbia and was stripped of his voivode title in 1998 after a meeting with a delegation of DJUJIĆ's movement.[190] Indeed, people with different kinds of intellectual or other ties to the Ravna Gora Movement of World War II were not at all unanimous in their attitude to Vojislav ŠEŠELJ. Intellectuals who were working towards the rehabilitation of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ's Chetnik movement thought, as a matter of fact, that the radical leader, with his comments full of hate and his violent provocations, was detrimental to the image of the historical Chetnik movement.

> "One day comrade ŠEŠELJ vows to expel all the Croats living in Serbia. The next day he physically attacks teachers who have been striking for days for a minimum salary of DM 20. The day after he vows to expel the

[187] Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the magazine *Glas Podrinja*, 21 March 1991, and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Razaranje srpskog nacionalnog bića*, p. 179.
[188] Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the journal *Pogledi* /Views/ of 31 May 1991, p. 36.
[189] Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the magazine *Adresa* (5 – 18 November 1991) and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Politika kao izazov savesti*, p. 111.
[190] *Večernje novosti*, 24 November 1998.

> Slovenes. Then, in fascist style, he reads out a list of journalists about to be shot and then he resumes his fight with the teachers.
>
> This is Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's ultimate moral downfall. He has clearly shown that he is in the hands of the party in power and that he is following instructions. At first he might have thought that he would use the communists. It so happened that the communists used him and reduced him to the level of an obedient servant.
>
> [. . .] As for brutality, ŠEŠELJ's own justification is: "This is how any Chetnik voivode would act". Firstly, a genuine Chetnik does not behave in this way. The Chetniks, at least those I have met, are well behaved *gentlemen*. Secondly, ŠEŠELJ knows that he is a fake voivode and that as an instant Serb – and a Chetnik and voivode on top of it – his wild behaviour (which might be intentional) causes most offence to the members of the Ravna Gora Movement. This is the best proof that ŠEŠELJ, although once a victim of the communist regime, has become its most loyal servant."[191]

The Serbian Radical Party differed from most political organisations in Serbia in that its network had spread beyond the borders of the Republic of Serbia. Thus it set up branches in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (under the leadership of Rade LESKOVAC), in Republika Srpska (under the leadership of Nikola POPLAŠEN) and in Montenegro (under the leadership of Drago BAKRAČ). In 1993, the SRS became the second most important political force in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. In Republika Srpska, the SRS supported Radovan KARADŽIĆ's Serbian Democratic Party in its defence "of the vital Serbian space, the Serbian lands, the Serbian people", even though it remained critical of the way it wielded its power.[192] In 1993, the SRS had 70,000 members in Republika Srpska, where the party published the *Western Serbia* (*Zapadna Srbija*) monthly.

5.3. The political positions of the SRS during the war (1991-1995)

In the spring of 1991, armed incidents broke out in Croatia. The Serbian Radical Party sent volunteers to fight there. Associated with the political organisation headed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ these volunteers also depended on the remote authority of Momčilo DJUJIĆ who awarded medals and the title of voivode (military leader) to men who distinguished

[191] Aleksandar I. POPOVIĆ's forum in *Pogledi*, no. 107, 24 April 1992, p. 21. The magazine was founded in 1982 by the students of the University of Kragujevac (a town in central Serbia). In 1990, the magazine became a political publication dedicated entirely to the rehabilitation of the Ravna Gora Movement (Internet site: http://www.pogledi.co.yu).

[192] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Srpska radikalna stranka* /The Serbian Radical Party/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1995), p. 26.

themselves in clashes with the Croatian security forces.[193] This is how a link was established between the Chetniks of World War II and the men who claimed to be Draža MIHAILOVIĆ's heirs. This link is also apparent in the national symbols used by the combatants of the Serbian Radical Party. The war in Croatia, then in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was for the radicals an opportunity to define their objectives and positions on the enlarged Serbian state which they wanted to promote. Although the national aims, primarily the creation of a unitary Serbian state under the name of Greater Serbia, were clearly defined before the war broke out in Croatia in the spring of 1991, during the years of armed conflict (1991 – 1995) the Radicals adjusted and adapted their positions to the reality of the moment.

One of Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's major proposals during the war years was the exchange of population between Serbia and Croatia. This idea echoes the solutions proposed by some members of the Serbian Cultural Club at the end of the 1930s.

> "The Croats are a nation of cowards. They are not a nation in the real sense of the term. No wonder that Marx and Engels said that the Croats were the scum of European nations. These texts still exist and they can be consulted. And how will that war end? In my opinion, it will end very quickly with a Serb victory and the establishment of Serbia's western borders. And the Croats will have to pay war damages. As for the Serbs living in Zagreb and in those regions of present-day Croatia which are not Serbian, in my opinion, they should move to Serbia since they cannot survive in places where the Croats are a majority and which are under Croatian rule. A Serb under Croatian rule can only be a slave and live an undignified life. I also know that no Serb will accept this and that they will do anything to move to Serbia. Therefore, an exchange of population is inevitable."[194]

While the war was raging in Croatia, the Radicals considered retaliatory measures against the Croats living in Serbia, more specifically in the province of Vojvodina. They wanted to organise a "civilised exchange of population" between the Serbs in Croatia and the Croats in Serbia. Referring to this exchange, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ stated that it was a matter of sending

[193] Thus, following the victory of Chetnik fighters in Borovo Selo in early May 1991, the commander of the Chetnik unit, Miladin TODOSIJEVIĆ, was given the rank of major by a decree issued by *vojvoda* Momčilo DJUJIĆ and signed on 9 May 1991, at a ceremony commemorating the "Third Serbian Uprising" at Ravna Gora in 1941. Momčilo DJUJIĆ's organisation thought of the Serbian Chetnik Movement headed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ as one of its constituent parts (*Srbija: glas srpskih boraca*, no. 328, August 1991, p. 2). Indeed, Momčilo DJUJIĆ was president of the Council of Voivodes /*Vojvodski savet*/, an organ which acted as the high command of all the Chetnik units active in the fatherland (according to an interview that Vojislav ŠEŠELJ gave to the fortnightly magazine *Pogledi*, 31 May 1991, p. 35). The volunteers sent to Croatia were aged between 25 and 45. Many of them had family connections with the Chetnik movement of World War II.

[194] *Ratne novine*, 18 August 1991 published in ŠEŠELJ, *Razaranje srpskog nacionalnog bića*, p. 296.

home those Croats who had been moved to Vojvodina by the Croatian authorities during World War II.[195] However, in the spring of 1991, he declared that 100,000 Croats had to leave Serbia so that Serbian refugees from Croatia could be settled there.[196] In 1992 he reiterated this aim, adding that the Croats in Serbia were not loyal and that many of them were members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the party in power in Croatia, and "collaborators of the Ustashi".[197] On 1 April 1992, in the National Assembly of Serbia, he clearly advocated the exchange of populations as a measure of retaliation:

> One other thing, if the Croats are expelling the Serbs in such huge numbers, what are the Croats here in Belgrade and those throughout Serbia waiting for? An exchange of populations – we will expel from Belgrade the same number of Croats as the number of Serbs Tudjman has explled from Zagreb. When a Serbian family from Zagreb arrives, they will live in the home of Croats from Belgrade in return for the keys to their home in Zagreb – an exchange. . . .
>
> After the next or other elections, when the power in Serbia changes, there will be no pardon. The same law as the one used by Tudjman to expel the Serbs from Croatia will be used to expel the Croats from Serbia. And we will not allow the Croats from Slankamen to offer their old, crumbling, houses turned into stables to Serbs in exchange for villas on the Adriatic coast which they had to abandon. The Croats in Slankamen, Zemun, and other places will not sleep peacefully if they stay since we have to find homes for the Serbian refugees from Zagreb, Rijeka, a Varaždin and other Croatian towns and we have to compensate them for having been expelled from their homes.[198]

On 6 May 1992, he went to Hrtkovci to attend a meeting during which some Croatian residents were being threatened with expulsion.[199] This meeting paved the way for a campaign of intimidation against non-Serbs in the Srem area (Vojvodina) which led to the exodus of several thousands of people.[200] A change in the ethnic structure of the population was also sought in Kosovo through a programmed settlement of Serbs and the creation of Serb enclaves in a region where the Serbs and Albanians would be completely separated.[201]

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[195] According to Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, Ante PAVELIĆ, head of the Independent State of Croatia, had settled Croats from western Herzegovina in some localities in Vojvodina (Slankamen, Hrtkovci, Petrovaradin). Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Milošević hapsi radikale* /MILOŠEVIĆ Arrests the Radicals/, (Beograd: ABC Glas), 1994, p. 20.

[196] *Politika*, 14 May 1991.

[197] *Vreme*, 13 July 1992.

[198] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Poslaničke besede* /Speeches by Parliamentarians/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1995), pp. 173-174. On 7 April 1992, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ claimed in the National Assembly again that his position was well founded (*ibid*., p. 175).

[199] *Vjesnik*, 9 May 2004, (http://www.vjesnik.hr/html/2004/05/09/Clanak.asp?r=van&c=3, consulted on 23 February 2005). The village of Hrtkovci is in the Ruma municipality. In the spring of 1992 its population was made up of 70% Croats, 20% Hungarians and 10% Serbs (*Vreme*, 13 July 1992).

[200] *Dnevnik*, 7 May 2003, (http://www.dnevnik.co.yu/arhiva/07-05-2003/Strane/dogadjaji.htm, consulted on 23 February 2005).

[201] ŠEŠELJ, *Srpska radikalna stranka*, pp. 175-176.

According to the SRS, if the 400,000 Albanians who had settled in Kosovo during World War II – their descendants included – were expelled, Serbia could resettle in their place the 400,000 Serbian refugees from the former Yugoslav republics.[202]

In the winter and spring of 1992, when the Serbian and Montenegrin political authorities were working on the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (known as the Third Yugoslavia), Vojislav ŠEŠELJ expounded his vision of the future of this Yugoslav federation and its neighbours on numerous occasions. Speaking about Bosnia and Herzegovina, the president of the Serbian Radical Party declared on 23 January 1992 that if the Muslims did not wish to be part of the federation, Bosnia and Herzegovina would have to be divided. In this case the Muslims could count on eighteen per cent of the territory of the republic.[203] Western Herzegovina, that is, the right bank of the Neretva, could be attached to Croatia.[204] ŠEŠELJ had in mind two scenarios for Bosnia and Herzegovina: either the preservation of a state that would be integrated into a smaller Yugoslavia or its division. Any other solution would mean war.[205] In March 1992, the SRS expressed a preference for the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina along national lines:[206]

> We believe that any solution accepted by the Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its legitimate representatives, in the first place the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party, which we likewise support, will suit all other Serbs. We believe that when the final map of the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three territories is drawn up, the Serbian representatives must be extremely vigilant to make sure that the Serbian territories are not too fragmented and that the division is based on the principle of two territorial units for each people, within the framework of a single national territory.
>
> Thus if the Muslim territory is divided into two entities, the Cazin Krajina and Central Bosnia, and if the same is true of Croatian territory (western Herzegovina and areas along the Sava), the Serbian territory cannot be divided into more than two entities. This means that the region of Semberija, that is, northeast Bosnia, must be territorially linked with Bosanska Krajina, and the autonomous territories of Romanija and Ozren with the region of eastern Herzegovina.[207]

[202] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[203] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Milan Panić mora pasti: konferencije za štampu 1992. godine* /Milan PANIĆ must fall: Press Conferences in 1992/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1994), p. 19.
[204] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[205] *Ibid.*, p. 52 (press conference of 27 February 1992).
[206] *Ibid.*, p. 59 (press conference of 19 March 1992).
[207] *Ibid.*, p. 59 (press conference of 19 March 1992).

In Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's view, the Serbian state entity (the Republic of Serbian Krajina) constituted on the territory of the Republic of Croatia should become part of this smaller Yugoslavia.[208] He did not envisage that the territory of "Serbian Krajina" could once again be part of Croatia.[209] As early as February 1992 he announced that the Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Chetnik Movement within it had been placed on alert and were ready for action in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[210] The head of the SRS was opposed to any recognition of the sovereignty of Macedonia, which used to belong to Serbia before Yugoslavia was created. Believing that this republic should become one of the units of the new Yugoslav federation, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ spoke out in favour of the use of force should the Macedonian authorities decide to proclaim the independence of their state. If the army proved unable to defeat Macedonian separatists, the territory of Macedonia should be divided among Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania.[211] Eastern Macedonia would become part of Bulgaria, its western parts would go to Albania, the territories in the south to Greece, while Serbia would be given northern Macedonia. Serbia would keep the frontier with Greece in the Vardar valley.

In 1993, estimating that most Serbian "vital areas" have been liberated, the SRS declared itself in favour of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the establishment of new borders which would coincide with the front lines.[212] Bosnia and Herzegovina should be divided into three separate independent states.[213] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ believed that the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republika Srpska should unite and form a single state, to be called "Western Serbia" (*Zapadna Srbija*).[214]

At the third congress of the SRS held on 30 January 1994 a new programme was adopted. In the spirit of the previous congress, a plan for the unification of "Serbian lands"

[208] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[209] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[210] *Ibid.*, p. 52 (press conference of 27 February 1992).
[211] *Ibid.*, p. 41 (press conference of 20 January 1992).
[212] Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Partijski bilansi i politički balansi* /Party Results and Political Balancing/ (Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1993), p. 127.
[213] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

was put forward.[215] The new articles adopted on the same day stated that "[t]he primary aim of the Party is unifying all Serbian lands into one single state, protecting the Serbs living in other states, seizing and holding onto power in order to implement the Party programme" (Article 3).[216] Once again the SRS pronounced itself in favour of abolishing the autonomous provinces inside Serbia and taking repressive measures against Kosovo Albanians.[217] The goal of creating a unitary Serbian state is mentioned once again on 2 February 1994 when a coalition agreement was signed by the Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina, headed by Milan BABIĆ. In fact, the agreement defined "the unification of all Serbian lands and the establishment of a unified Serbian state" as its primary objective.[218] In Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's opinion, national minorities should not account for more than eight per cent of the population of a Greater Serbia and its different territorial components.[219]

In the autumn of 1995, when the territories which had been under the control of the Serbian authorities for several years fell to the Croat and Croat-Bosnian forces, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ accused Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ of having betrayed the Serbs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Republika Srpska.[220] He argued for the "destruction of Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ's treacherous regime"[221] as a way of defending Serbian national interests.

[215] Jovan BAZIĆ, *Srpsko pitanje: političke koncepcije rešavanja srpskog nacionalnog pitanja* /The Serbian Question: Political Approaches to Settling the Serbian National Question/, (Beograd: Službeni list SCG, Institut za političke studije, 2003), p. 268.
[216] ŠEŠELJ, *Srpska radikalna stranka*, p. 99.
[217] *Ibid.*, p. 96: expulsion of all Albanian immigrants and their descendants (400,000 persons according to SRS estimates); closure of all state-funded institutions working in the Albanian language; stripping of their Serbian citizenship all *Šiptars* /Albanians/ living abroad who furthered the separatist cause activities, etc.
[218] ŠEŠELJ, *Filipike četničkog vojvode*, p. 185.
[219] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[220] ŠEŠELJ, *Srpska radikalna stranka*, p. 20.
[221] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

5.4. The electoral weight of the Serbian Radical Party and its ambiguous relationship with the Socialist Party of Serbia

During the 1990s the SRS maintained an ambiguous relationship with the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia. Strongly opposed to communism and the personality cult of Tito, the Serbian Chetnik Movement was not recognised by the authorities, who saw the organisation as the heir of the Chetnik movement of World War II, which the communists had defeated in 1945-1946. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was sentenced to 45 days in prison for having disturbed the peace on 2 October 1990 in the centre of Belgrade by setting up a stall with placards urging the citizens of Belgrade to sign a petition for the transfer of the House of Flowers – with the tomb of Josip BROZ Tito – from Belgrade to Kumrovec (Croatia) and to enrol as volunteers to go to Knin to support the Serbs living in Croatia.[222] Imprisoned on 23 October, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was freed on 15 November 1990 and managed to have himself put forward as a candidate at the presidential election of 9 December 1990. It was in June 1991 that Vojislav ŠEŠELJ emerged as a more serious political contender when he competed for the constituency of Rakovica, a working-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of Belgrade.[223] ŠEŠELJ defeated the novelist Borislav PEKIĆ, candidate of the Democratic Party, with 23 per cent of the votes in an election in which voter turnout was less than 50 per cent. Although the authorities had marginalised him in 1990, the Socialist Party of Serbia now gave him its unofficial support and allowed him free access to the principal media in Serbia, in the first place the state television. When the SRS became the second most important political power in the country, the two principal parties in Serbian political life entered an informal alliance. The alliance was made possible by their ideological convergence with regard to the Serbian national question. The nature and seriousness of this endorsement of the ruling party's

[222] The Prosecution's documents are published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Srpski četnički pokret* /The Serbian Chetnik Movement/ (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1994), pp. 187-189.
[223] The by-election was held to fill a seat that fell vacant when writer Miodrag BULATOVIĆ, an SPS member of parliament, died. *Vreme*, 17 June 1991, p. 8.

policies remains difficult to fathom. In the spring of 1992, Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ declared that Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was his favourite opposition politician. In May 1992 Vojislav ŠEŠELJ had his first talks with the President of Serbia at the latter's request. Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ allegedly asked him to send more volunteers to Bosnia and Herzegovina:

> "MILOŠEVIĆ asked us, the Radicals, to send more volunteers across the river Drina and, in exchange, promised adequate supplies of arms, uniforms and means of transport. This collaboration worked smoothly until September 1993. [. . .]" [224]

In the presidential election of December 1992, the SRS supported Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ when he faced the Serbian-American Milan PANIĆ in the second round. This unnatural alliance between the former communists and the heirs of the Chetnik movement did not have very strong foundations and in the spring of 1993, when Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ gave his support to the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the SRS distanced itself from the regime and provoked the fall of the government of the republic of Serbia headed by Nikola ŠAINOVIĆ. The Socialist Party of Serbia then embarked on a propaganda campaign against the Serbian Radical Party and its leader Vojislav ŠEŠELJ. From then on the radicals were portrayed as fascists and louts, and no longer had access to the state media.[225] The police arrested a number of SRS militants allegedly for the possession of weapons.[226] The state-controlled media began to portray the leader of the SRS as a war criminal. The SRS, on the other hand, accused Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ of betraying the Serbian national cause[227] and of being responsible for corruption and organised crime in Serbia.[228] In the autumn of 1994 the leader of the SRS was arrested after he insulted and

[224] *Svet*, 13 January 1995 published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Srpski bračni par "Čaušescu"* /The Serbian "Causescu" Couple/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1995), p. 158.

[225] "And when we submitted our request to proceed with a vote of no-confidence in Nikola ŠAINOVIĆ's government, the Socialists lashed out. They accused us of being fascists, criminals, a paramilitary organization. What did they not accuse us of? [. . .]"; Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Preti li nam slobotomija* /Are We Being Threatened with a Slobotomy?/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1994), p. 6.

[226] ŠEŠELJ, *Milošević hapsi radikale*, pp. 33, 52, 72,73.

[227] "Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ is a traitor to the fatherland. He is leading the people into utter poverty. His sole aim is to cling to power. We want to bring about his downfall as soon as possible." Extract from an interview given to the Italian daily *Il Mondo* of 8 May 1995 and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Srpski bračni par "Čaušescu"*, p. 226.

[228] In an interview given to the magazine *Velika Srbija*, January 1995, and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Crveni tiranin sa Dedinja*, pp. 220-221.

attacked the speaker of the Yugoslav parliament, Radoman BOŽOVIĆ. Sentenced to three months in prison, he would be released on 29 January 1995.

In October 1994, there was a schism in the SRS: a group of seven radical deputies in the federal parliament founded the "Nikola PAŠIĆ" parliamentary group, which would create a dissident party of its own in order to consolidate its positions: the inconsequential "Nikola PAŠIĆ" Serbian Radical Party. After five years of marginalisation in the media the Serbian Radical Party returned to the centre of the political stage thanks to the deterioration of the situation in Kosovo. Between 1998 and 2000 it would share power with the Socialist Party of Serbia.

In electoral terms, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's party evolved rapidly from a marginal to a nation-wide political force. After the administrative authorities refused to recognise it in August 1990, the Serbian Chetnik Movement was unable to present candidates at the first multi-party parliamentary elections in Serbia, on 9 and 23 December 1990. Nevertheless, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was able to collect enough signatures to appear as an independent candidate at the presidential election of 9 December 1990. He was placed fifth, with 96,277 votes (or 1.91 per cent of the ballots cast), compared to 3,285,799 votes for Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ of the Serbian Socialist Party and 824,674 votes for Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ, who, like Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, situated himself in the tradition of the Ravna Gora Movement.[229] In February 1991, the Serbian Chetnik Movement became part of the Serbian Radical Party which was able to have itself legalised under this name in March of the same year. From a marginal political force Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's party became the second most important political organisation in Serbia in just a year. At the first parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on 31 May 1992, the SRS won 1,166,933 votes (30 per cent).[230] The Yugoslav

[229] Vladimir GOATI, *Izbori u SRJ od 1990. do 1998.*: *volja gradjana ili izborna manipulacija* /Elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1990 – 1998: The Will of the Citizens or Electoral Manipulations/, (Beograd: Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju), 1999, p. 287.
[230] *Ibid*., p. 290.

and Serbian parliamentary elections in December 1992 confirmed the radicals' electoral power: in both elections they were placed second, behind Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ's Socialist Party, having obtained 1,024,983 (21.8 per cent) and 1,066,765 (22.6 per cent) votes respectively.[231]

After supporting Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ's party and cooperating with it, the SRS caused the fall of the Serbian government in the autumn of 1993. When the SRS was targeted by the ruling party's propaganda, it lost nearly half of its voters at the parliamentary elections of 19 December 1993, obtaining no more than 595,467 votes (13.8 per cent).[232] In the general elections of 1997, the radicals regained the popularity they had enjoyed in 1992: they received the support of 1,162,216 voters (28.1 per cent) and on 5 October 1997 Vojislav ŠEŠELJ won the second round of the presidential election against the socialist candidate, Zoran LILIĆ.[233] However, due to low voter turnout (less than fifty per cent) the result was pronounced invalid. When votes were cast anew, on 7 and 21 December 1997, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ was left behind Milan MILUTINOVIĆ, candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia, in the second round, having received 1,383,868 votes to MILUTINOVIĆ's 2,181,808.[234]

In 2000, when it shared power with Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ's party, the SRS saw another drop in the number of its voters. At the elections for the federal parliament it won no more than 472,820 votes, while its candidate for the presidency of the Yugoslav federation, Tomislav NIKOLIĆ, did badly and obtained only 289,013 votes (5.9 per cent). After the fall of Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ on 5 October 2000, the SRS's electoral base showed further signs of erosion at the general elections of 23 December 2000: no more than 322,333 voters placed their confidence in the radicals.[235]

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[231] *Ibid*., p. 291.
[232] Vladimir GOATI, *Partije i partijski sistem Srbije* /Parties and the Party System in Serbia/, (Niš: Odbor za gradjansku inicijativu, 2004), p. 251.
[233] *Ibid.*, p. 257.
[234] *Ibid*., p. 258.
[235] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Conclusion

As formulated in the nineteenth century, the project of the unification of Serbs in one and the same state was no different from the programmes of other national movements in Europe, especially the Italian and German unification movements, as well as national movements in the countries of central and eastern Europe and the Balkans. At the time, the ideology of a Greater Serbia did not have as its goal the expulsion of non-Serbs from a future state in which all the Balkan Serbs would live together. The important thing for the leaders was to obtain the support of other South Slavs who lived in the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. While national identities were still being constructed, numerous intellectuals and politicians believed that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were part of one and the same nation. The concept of a Greater Serbia was not clearly defined and it was often confused with aspirations to unite the South Slavs. Its basic principle was not the exclusion of other South Slavs but their inclusion, regardless of religion. The few maps of Greater Serbia published in the nineteenth century correspond in fact to the territory of Yugoslavia. Moreover, this ideology developed at a time when the Balkans were dominated by the Austrian and Ottoman empires.

After the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, we notice that the ideology of a Greater Serbia begins to evolve, especially on the eve of World War II, and from then on it features the idea that non-Serbs should be expelled from the Greater Serbia that is aspired to, in order to achieve ethnic homogeneity. In this sense the ideology of Greater Serbia acquires a new dimension, which will be translated into military terms during World War II. This transformation of the ideology of a Greater Serbia occurred in the late 1930s and was given impetus by the intellectuals gathered around the Serbian Cultural Club, some of whom would subsequently be active in the Ravna Gora Movement of Draža

MIHAILOVIĆ, which was defeated by the communist partisans in 1945-1946. It was these intellectuals who formulated the Movement's national and political programme.

The idea of gathering all the Serbs in one and the same state entity emerged forcefully during the second half of the 1980s, as Yugoslavia was plunged into a severe political, economic, and social crisis. From the unification of Serbia, a republic divided into three entities (Serbia proper and the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo), the leadership in Belgrade moved on to support for the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose right to self-determination it would defend. In the context of the disintegration of Yugoslavia (1991-1992), the Serbian president, Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, expressed the opinion that all Serbs should live in the same state. Expressions of extreme nationalism were facilitated by the ideological transformation of the League of Communists of Serbia, which had acted as the defender of the Serbian national cause since 1987-1988.

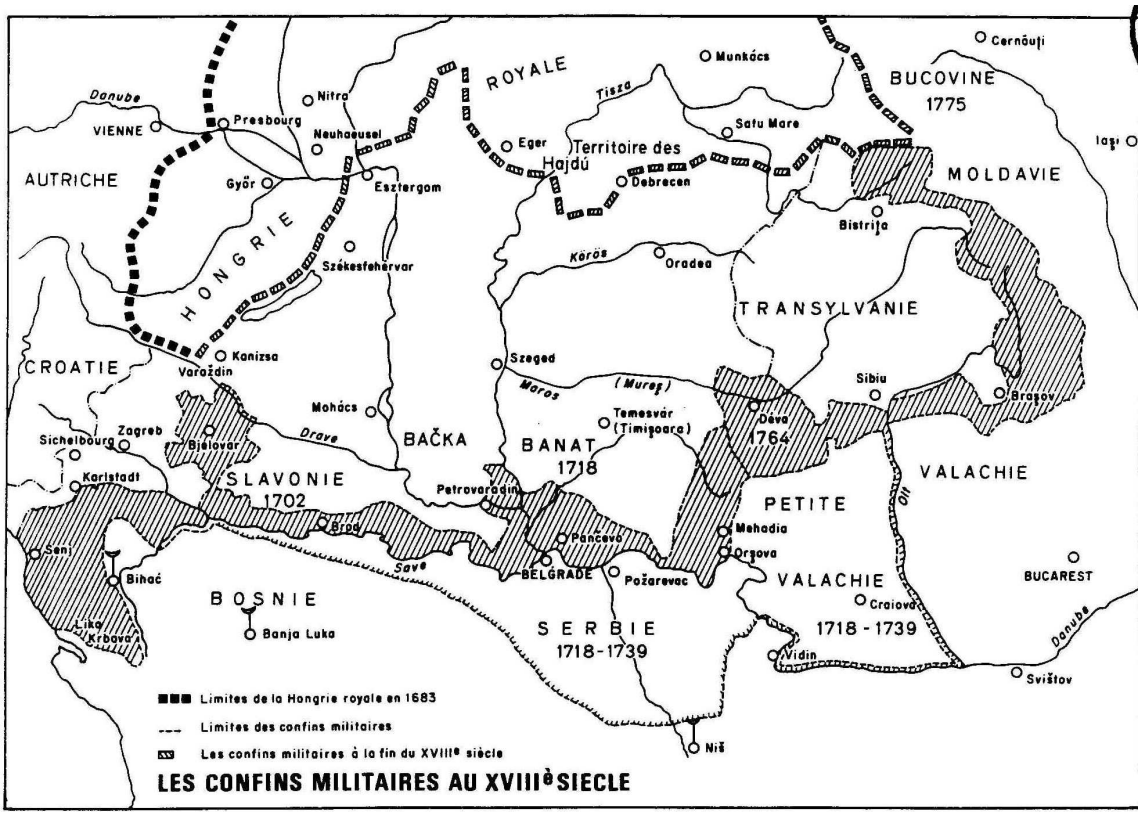
During this period, numerous intellectuals contributed to the formulation of a project for the unification of all Serbs in one and the same state. Beginning in 1983-1984, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ proposed a redrawing of Yugoslavia's internal borders and thereby the enlargement of the republic of Serbia. In subsequent years he would continue to expound his political project, aimed at the creation of a Greater Serbia. In fact, his programme was elaborated a long time before the advent of political pluralism in 1990 and the accession to power of Franjo TUDJMAN's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) that same year. TUDJMAN's policies, which were far from favourable to Croatian Serbs, would provide a justification for the armed engagement of Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's party. But the idea of reducing or territorially amputating Croatia is one that he had already had for several years. Politically and ideologically, Vojislav ŠEŠELJ saw himself as a descendant in the direct line of Slobodan JOVANOVIĆ, Dragiša VASIĆ, Stevan MOLJEVIĆ, and Draža MIHAILOVIĆ.[236] And he is

[236] According to an interview with the weekly *Slobodni Tjednik* of 4 May 1990, reprinted in ŠEŠELJ, *Razaranje srpskog nacionalnog bića*, p. 61.

indeed an intellectual descendant of the Serbian Cultural Club and the Ravna Gora Movement, from which he took over the intention to create a Serbian state entity as ethnically homogeneous as possible, by means of forced population transfers or displacements.

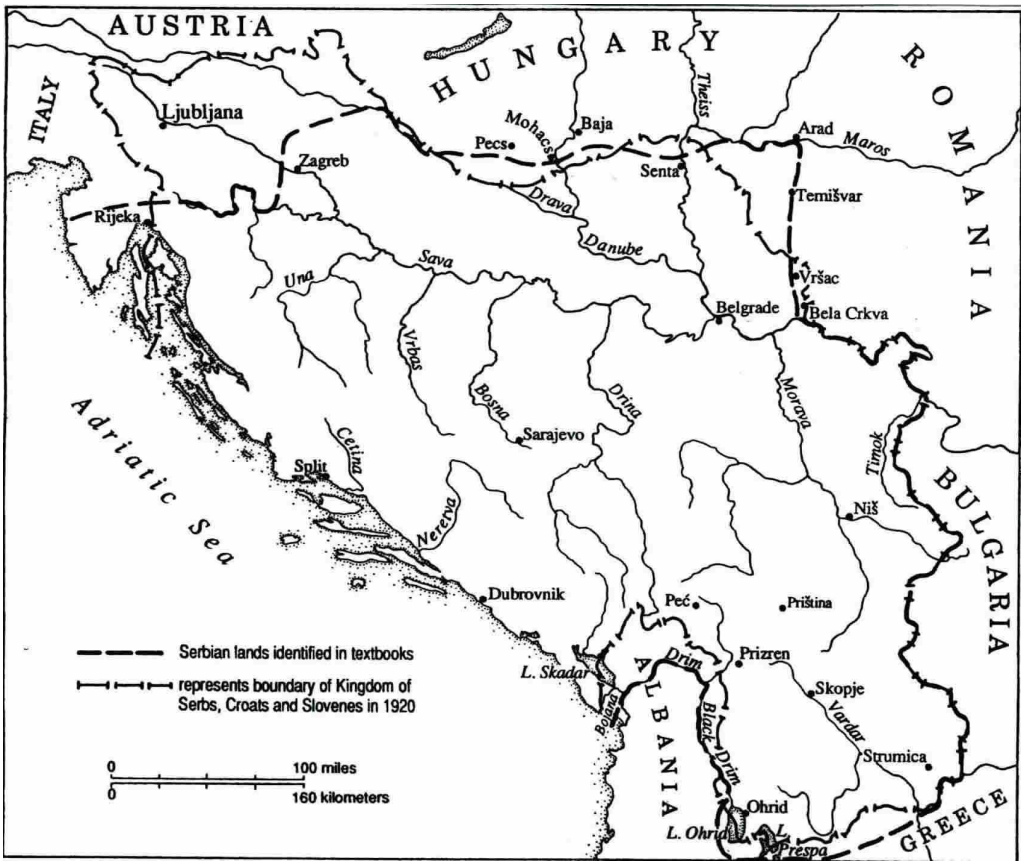
A n n e x e s

Map 1 – The Military Frontier in the eighteenth century



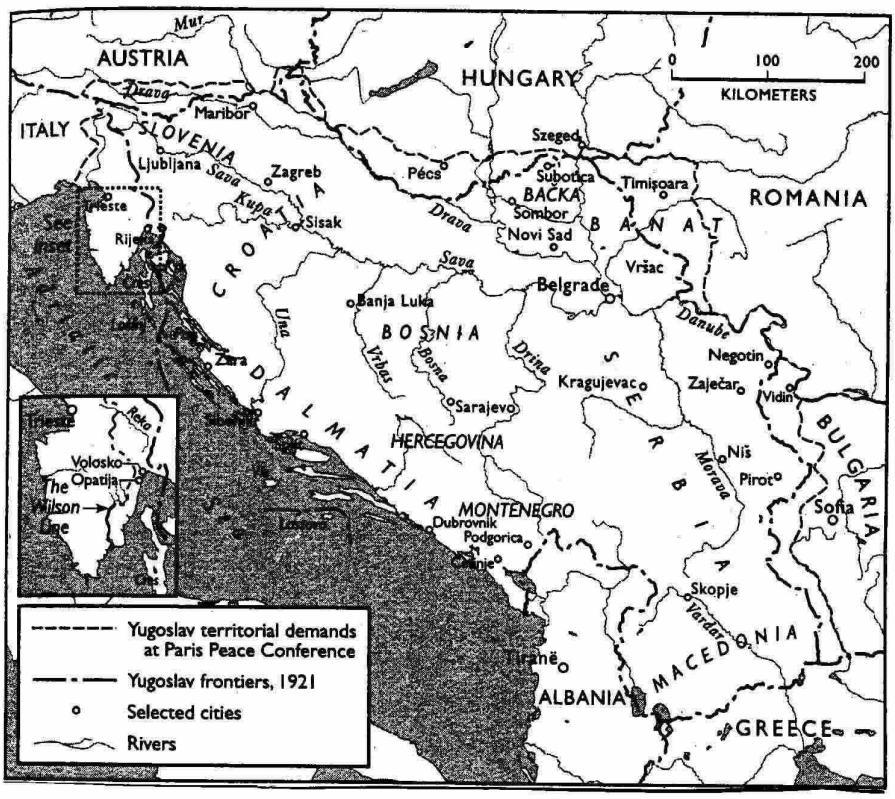
Source: Jean NOUZILLE, *Histoire de frontières : l'Autriche et l'Empire ottoman* /A History of Boundaries: Austria and the Ottoman Empire/ (Paris: Berg International, 1991) 232.

Map 2 - Serbia according to geographer Vladimir KARIĆ



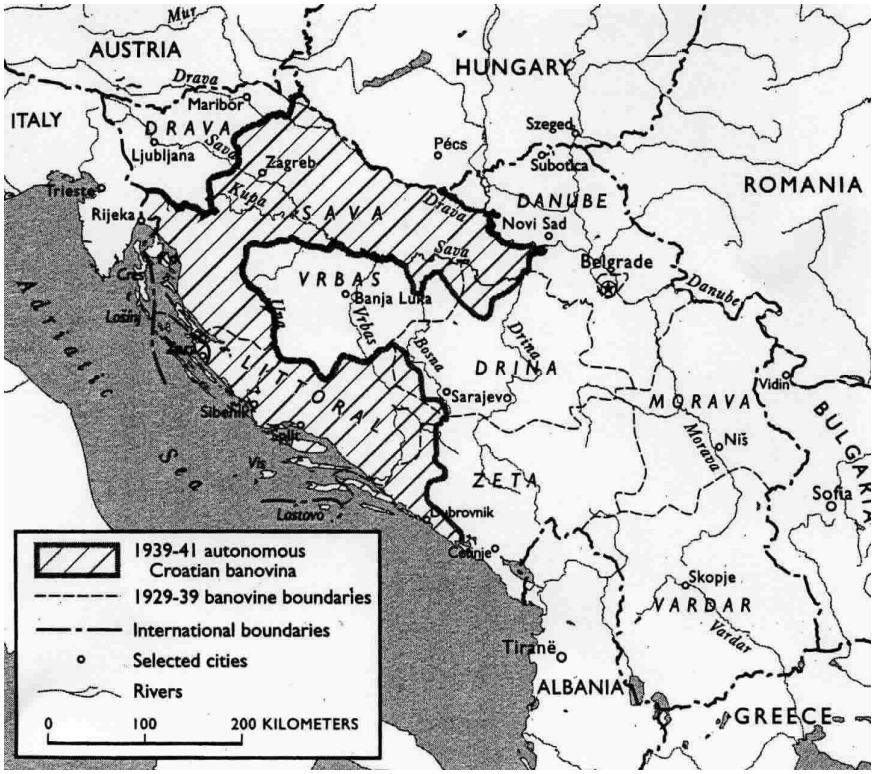
Source: Charles JELAVICH, *South Slav Nationalism: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union Before 1914*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, cop. 1990), p. 142

Map 3 - Yugoslav territorial demands and the final boundaries, 1918-1921



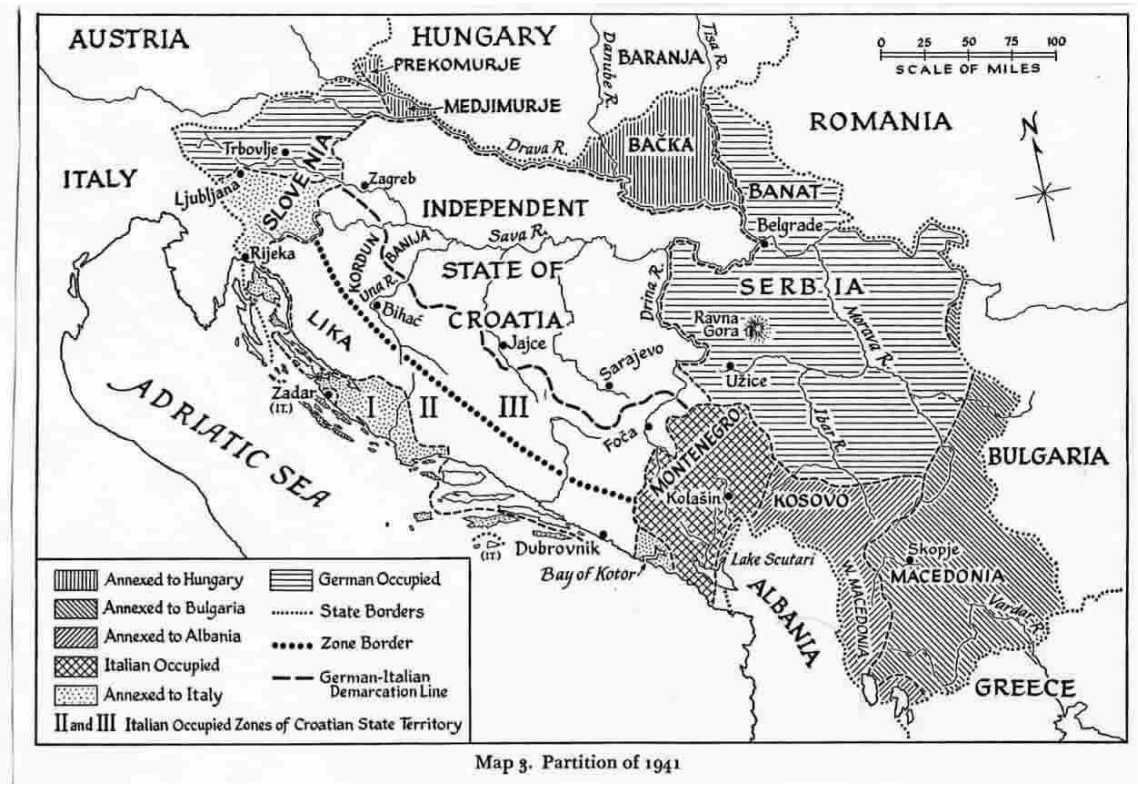
Source: John R. LAMPE, *Yugoslavia As History: Twice There Was a Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 113

Map 4 - The Administrative Partition of Yugoslavia and the Croatian Banovina (1939)



Source: John R. LAMPE, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 165

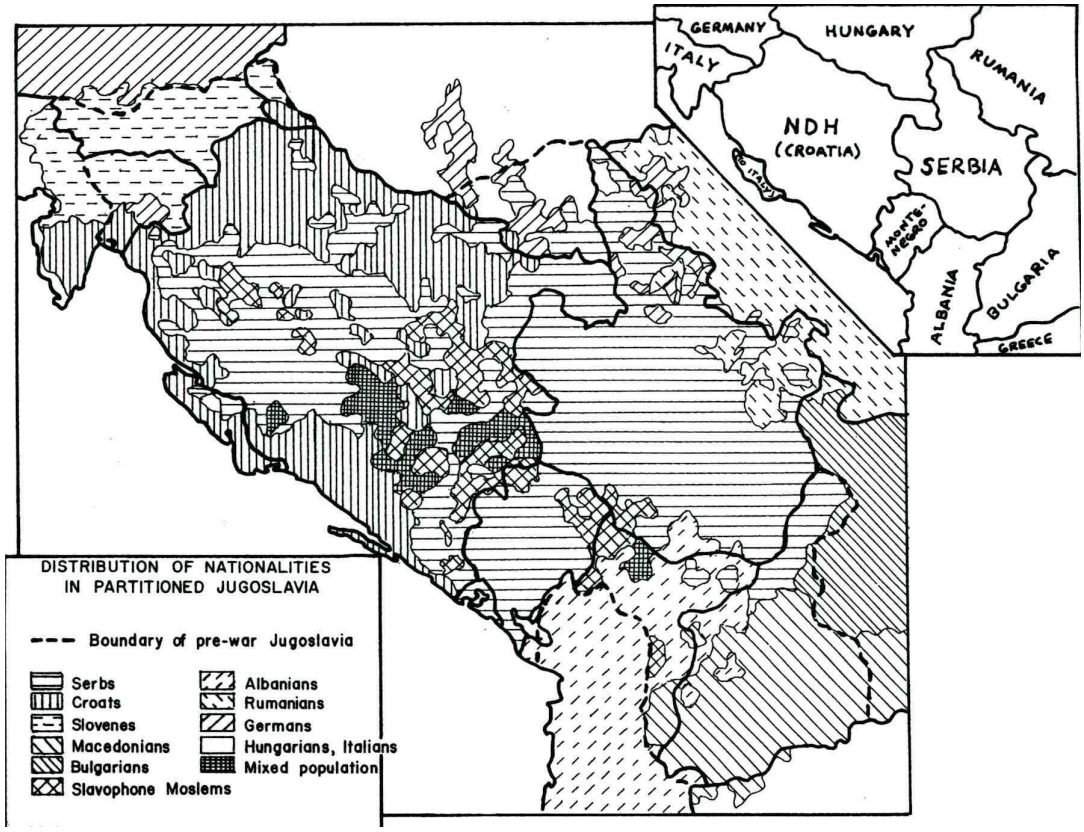
Map 5 - The partition of Yugoslavia in 1941



Map 3. Partition of 1941

Source: Jozo TOMASEVICH, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: The Chetniks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 90.

Map 6 - Distribution of nationalities in partitioned Yugoslavia (1941)

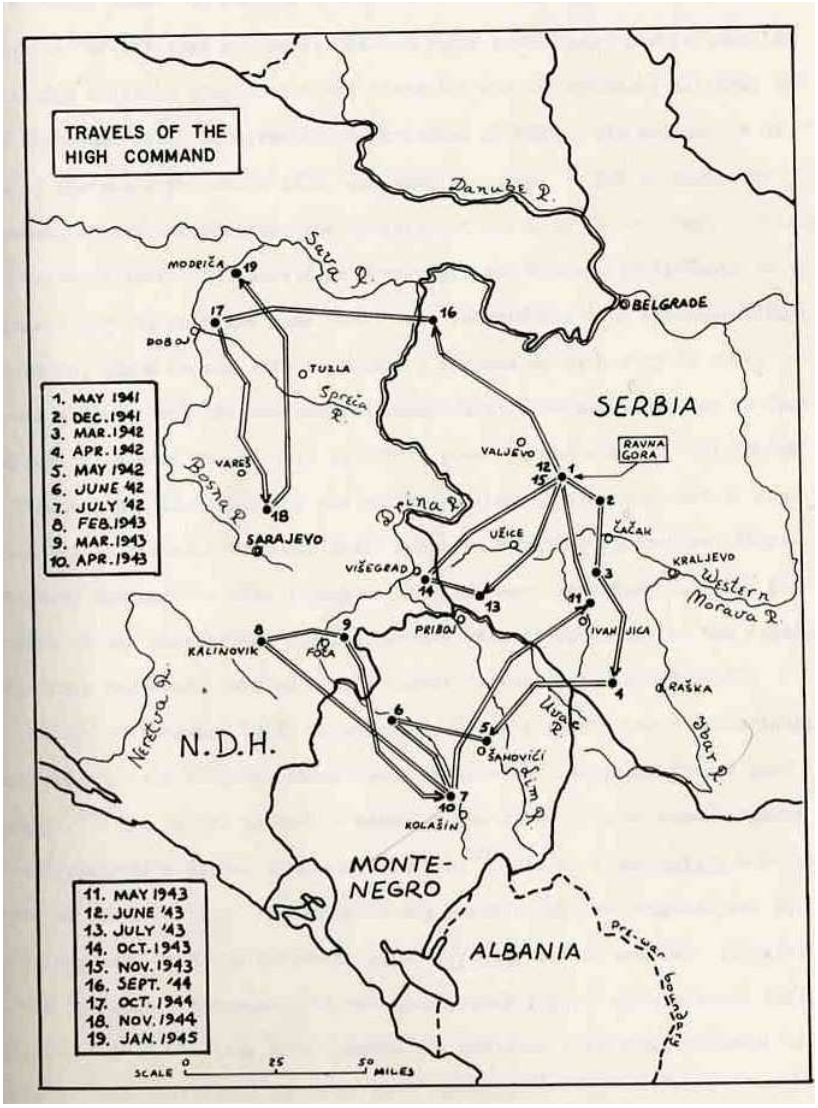


Source: Lucien KARCHMAR, *Draža Mihailović and the Rise of the Četnik Movement, 1941-1942*, (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1987), Vol. 1, p. 28.

Map 7 - Map of Greater Serbia as drawn by Stevan MOLJEVIĆ

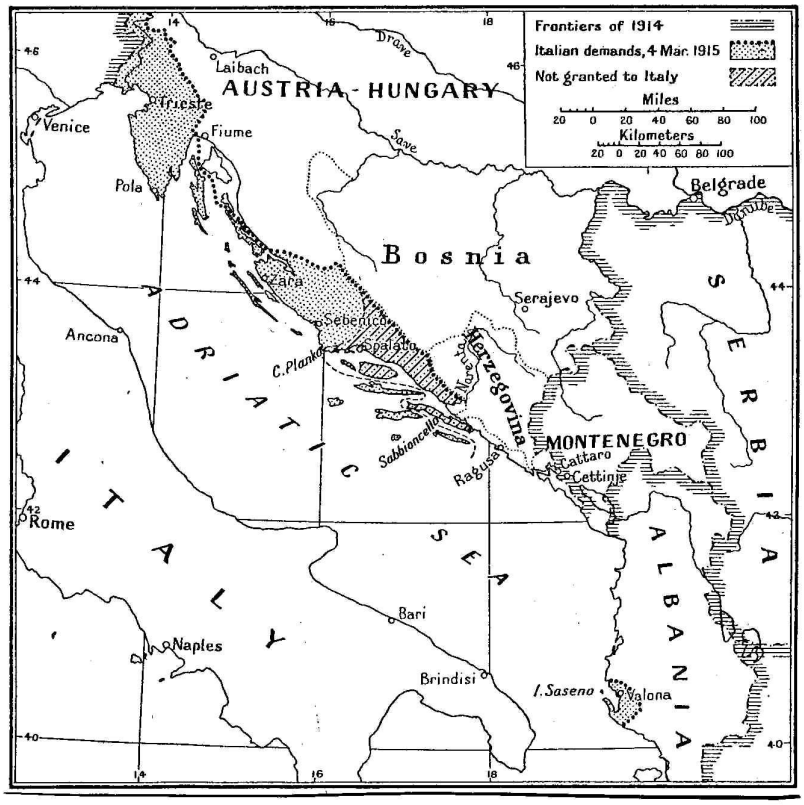
Source: Jozo TOMASEVICH, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: The Chetniks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 168.

Map 8 - Travels of the JVUO High Command during World War II



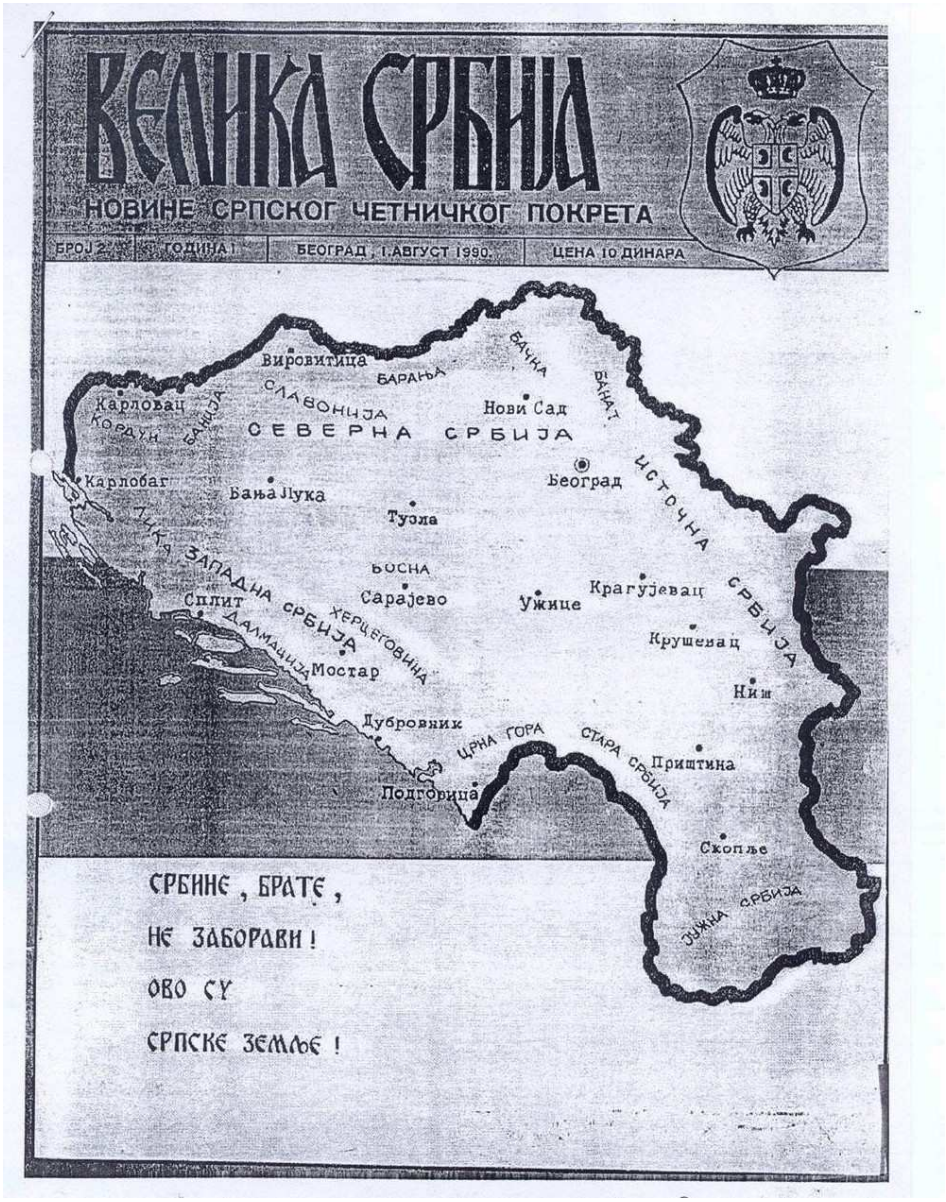
Source: Lucien KARCHMAR, *Draža Mihailović and the Rise of the Četnik Movement, 1941-1942*, (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1987), Vol. 2, pp. 528-529.

Map 9 - Map of territorial negotiations for the Treaty of London (26 April 1915)



Source: René ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 27.

Map 10 – Map of Greater Serbia published in *Velika Srbija*, organ of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, in August 1990



Velika Srbija /Greater Serbia/, organ of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, No. 2, August 1990. On the cover page is a map of Greater Serbia as claimed by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's political movement. To the west (in Croatian territory), Serbia stretches to the Karlobag – Karlovac – Virovitica line.

Quotations/statements by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ on Greater Serbia

The following is a selection, not an exhaustive list.

"[. . .] The autonomous provinces should be abolished or at least put strictly under Serbian sovereignty since the majority of the population in Vojvodina is Serbian, while in Kosovo a large part of the Albanian ethnic group have shown their readiness and determination to follow a separatist policy. Granting it more political advantages would therefore be inappropriate and harmful in terms of general Yugoslav interests and interests of the state which, in cases like this, are decisive. The Yugoslav federation would thus consist of four truly equal republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia. A new territorial division between Serbia and Croatia would be necessary. Given that part of the Serbian and Croatian population in the territory of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija and Slavonia is territorially mixed, the partition would be done on the principle whereby the same number of persons of Serbian nationality would remain within the borders of Croatia as that of Croats in Serbia, based on the latest population census. This is how the Serbo-Croat national question would finally be resolved on the principles of humanism and democracy, thus strengthening inter-ethnic unity and communal spirit, and avoiding one of the main causes of past discord. [. . .]"

Odgovori na anketu-intervju: *Šta da se radi*? /Response to a Survey-Interview: What is to be done?/, September 1993, published in ŠEŠELJ, *Demokratija i dogma*, p. 130.

"[. . .] We, Serbs, within the framework of Yugoslavia, must define our national goals, our national programme and the boundaries of our state and allow our so-called northern brothers, the Croats and Slovenes, to determine freely whether they wish to live in that state. The Serbian people are not a priori opposed to the existence of Yugoslavia. I am fully convinced that the Serbian people are in favour of the existence of Yugoslavia, but not at any cost. Only of a Yugoslavia whose borders would be consistent with Serbia's state borders as guaranteed by the Treaty of London. If a federal Yugoslavia is to be maintained, the Serbian federal unit must therefore encompass within its borders not only present-day Serbia, its present-day provinces of Vojvodina, Kosovo and Metohija but also Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, Lika, Banija, Kordun, eastern Slavonia and Baranja. These borders were not all guaranteed by the Treaty of London. They were drawn by Ante PAVELIĆ during World War II. He drew them with Serbian graves, mass graves, places of suffering, camps and murder sites. And I believe that the Serbian people must under no circumstances allow one single Serbian mass cemetery to remain outside the borders of the Serbian state."

"Program Dr. Vojislava ŠEŠELJA: iz predavanja kod Gračanice u Americi" /Dr. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's Programme: From a Gračanica Lecture delivered in America", *Četničke novine*, no. 298, July 1989, p. 4.

"Our main task is the reconstruction of Serbia's state independence within boundaries that would encompass all Serbian lands. Beside the territory of the present day reduced Serbian federal unit, we simply cannot imagine a Serbian state without Serbian Macedonia, Serbian Montenegro, Serbian Bosnia, Serbian Herzegovina, Serbian Dubrovnik, Serbian Banija, Serbian Kordun, Serbian Slavonia and Serbian Baranja."

Vojislav ŠEŠELJ's statement of intent during the presidential elections of December 1990, *Velika Srbija*, no. 7, 1990, published in ŠEŠELJ, *Srpski četnički pokret*, p. 220.

"Monitor: What is your concept of the future of this country?

Vojislav ŠEŠELJ: We hope that Yugoslavia will not survive, that we will soon see the demise of Yugoslavia.

One possibility in the region would be to create three independent states: a Greater Serbia, a small Slovenia and an even smaller Croatia. The other possibility would be that we Serbs come to an agreement with the Italians to revive the 1915 Treaty of London and establish the Serbian-Italian border along the Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica line."

Interview given to the weekly *Monitor* and published on 31 May 1991. Aslo published in ŠEŠELJ, *Razaranja srpskog nacionalnog bića*, p. 220.

"What, according to you, are the prospects of Yugoslavia?"

I believe everybody is aware that Yugoslavia has no future and that, in the very near future, it will be divided into three separate states, i.e. "greater" Serbia, a small Slovenia, and an even smaller Croatia. Personally, I expect that Italy will claim back its territory. This is the part of the Adriatic sea which it had to relinquish after the two world wars. This means that Istria will be Italian again as well as Rijeka and part of the islands, particularly those in the Kvarner. Serbia will establish its western boundary along the Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica line. [. . .]"

Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to the magazine *Svet* (9 August 1991) and published in ŠEŠELJ, *Politika kao izazov savesti*, p. 92.

"- These last few days there has been talk of creating some kind of union of Serbian lands and you are one of its main advocates. In your opinion, is there any possibility that it will be created soon or is this merely propaganda?

- I think it is a very timely idea and that it should be implemented in two stages. The first would be the unification of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. And this should be done immediately. This is a question of survival for both Republika Srpska and the RSK, especially for the latter. The second stage would then be the unification of such a state with the FRY as distinct federal units. I think the first part of the plan should be carried out immediately and radically.

- Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK says this state should be called 'New Serbia'. . . .

- I feel that the name 'Western Serbia' would be better since 'New Serbia' would not go down well with the West."

Interview given by Vojislav ŠEŠELJ to *NI Svet* (17 April 1993) and published in Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Aktuelni politički izazovi* /Political Challenges of Today/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1993), p. 210.

Abbreviations

AVNOJ	Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
CNK	Central National Committee of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*Centralni nacionalni komitet Kraljevine Jugoslavije*)
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
JRSD	Yugoslav Radical Peasant Democracy (*Jugoslovenska radikalna seljačka demokratija*) and after 1933 the Yugoslav National Party (*Jugoslovenska nacionalna stranka*)
JUORA	Yugoslav Organisation of Ravna Gora Women (*Jugoslovenska organizacija ravnogorki*)
JURAO	Yugoslav Ravna Gora Youth (*Jugoslovenska ravnogorska omladina*)
JVUO	Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland (*Jugoslovenska vojska u Otadžbini*)
LC	League of Communists
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia
RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina
SČP	Serbian Chetnik Movement (*Srpski četnički pokret*).
SHS	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
SKK	Serbian Cultural Club (*Srpski kulturni klub,*)
SNO	Serbian National Renewal (*Srpska narodna obnova*)
SPO	Serbian Renewal Movement (*Srpski pokret obnove*)
SRS	Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*)

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----------. *Partijski bilansi i politički balansi* /Party Results and Political Balancing/. Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1993.

----------. *Pledoaje za demokratski ustav* /Plea for a Democratic Constitution/. Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991.

----------. *Politika kao izazov savesti* /Politics as a Challenge to one's Conscience/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1993.

----------. *Poslaničke besede* /Words of Parliamentarians/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1995.

----------. *Pravo na istinu* /Right to the Truth/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991.

----------. *Preti li nam slobotomija* /Are We Being Threatened with a Slobotomy?/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1994.

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----------. *Srpska radikalna stranka* /The Serbian Radical Party/. Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1995.

----------. *Srpski bračni par "Čaušescu"* /The Serbian "Causescu" Couple/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1995.

----------. *Srpski četnički pokret* /The Serbian Chetnik Movement/. Beograd: ABC Glas, 1994.

----------. *Veleizdajnički proces* /On Trial for High Treason/. Belgrade: ABC Glas, 1991.

----------. "Zašto sam isključen iz Saveza komunista ?" /"Why was I excluded from the League of Communists?"/. In Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, *Hajka na jeretika* /Campaign against a Heretic/, (Beograd: ABC Glas, 1991), pp. 27-36

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----------. "Le movement national croate au XIXe siècle: entre yougoslavisme (*jugoslovenstvo*) et croatisme (*hrvatstvo*)" /"The Croatian National Movement in the 19th Century: Between Yugoslavism (*jugoslovenstvo*) and Croatism (*hrvatstvo*)"/. *Revue des études slaves*, 68:4 (1996), pp. 463-475.

TOPALOVIĆ, Živko. *Kako su komunisti dograbili vlast u Jugoslaviji* /How the Communists Seized Power in Yugoslavia/. Kragujevac: Pogledi, 2001.

TOŠIĆ, Desimir. *Srpski nacionalni problemi* /Serbian National Problems/. Paris: Oslobodjenje, 1952.

TRGOVČEVIĆ, Ljubinka. "Obrazovanje kao činilac modernizacije Srbije u XIX veku: analitička skica" /Education as a factor in the modernisation of Serbia in the nineteenth century: an analytical sketch/. In *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima XX. veka* /Serbia in Twentieth-Century Modernising Processes/, Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 1994, pp. 217-232.

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Velika Srbija /Greater Serbia/, organ of the Serbian Chetnik Movement.

VESOVIĆ, Milan, and Kosta NIKOLIĆ. *Ujedinjene srpske zemlje: ravnogorski nacionalni program* /Unified Serbian Lands: the National Programme of the Ravna Gora Movement/. Belgrade: Vreme knjige, 1996.

VIŠNJIĆ, Čedomir. *Partizansko ljetovanje : Hrvatska i Srbi 1945-1950* /Partisan Summer: Croatia and the Serbs 1945-1950/. Zagreb: SKD Prosvjeta, 2003.

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VOJVODIĆ, Vaso. *U duhu Garašaninovih ideja: Srbija i neoslobodjeno srpstvo 1868-1876* /In the Spirit of GARAŠANIN's Ideas: Serbia and Unliberated Serbism 1868-1876/. Beograd: Prosveta, 1994.

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"Za naše ujedinjenje i naše jedinstvo" /Towards our unification and our unity/. *Ujedinjeno srpstvo* /United Serbdom/, 2 April 1944, no. 1.

Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije, Tom XIV, Knj. 1, *Dokumenti četničkog pokreta Draže MIHAILOVIĆA 1941-1942* /Collected Documents and Information on the National Liberation War of the Peoples of Yugoslavia, vol. 14, Book 1: Documents of the Chetnik Movement of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ, 1941-1942/. Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1981, pp. 173-182:

Index of Names

Expérience professionnelle

Ingénieur d'études à la Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (BDIC, Université de Paris X-Nanterre), responsable du secteur Balkans, depuis octobre 1995.

Expert-Témoin auprès du Tribunal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie depuis 2004.

Chercheur associé à l'Institut des sciences sociales du politique (CNRS/Université Paris X-Nanterre), depuis 2004.

Etudes et notes de consultance sur les pays balkaniques pour la Délégation aux affaires stratégiques (ministère de la Défense) et le Centre d'analyse et de prévision du ministère des Affaires étrangères français.

Chargé de cours à l'université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), UFR d'études slaves, enseignement de l'histoire des pays yougoslaves, 1999-2000 et 2000-2001.

Commissaire de l'exposition "De l'unification à l'éclatement : l'espace yougoslave, un siècle d'histoire", Musée d'histoire contemporaine (MHC-BDIC), mars-mai 1998.

Etudes supérieures

D.E.A. d'Etudes Slaves et Est-Européennes, obtenu en novembre 1992, mention très bien, I.N.A.L.C.O. (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales).

D.R.E.A (Diplôme de Recherche et d'Etudes Approfondies) de serbo-croate, option civilisation, I.N.A.L.C.O., 1991.

Publications et activité éditoriale

Ouvrages

Yves Tomic, *La Serbie du prince Milos à Milosevic*, Bruxelles, P.I.E Peter Lang, 2003 et 2004, 165 p.

Laurent Gervereau, Yves Tomic (sous la dir.), *De l'unification à l'éclatement, l'espace yougoslave, un siècle d'histoire*, Nanterre, BDIC, 1998, 320 p.

Etudes de consultance :

La transition démocratique en Serbie, 31.05.2007, pour le Centre d'analyse et de prévision du Ministère des Affaires étrangères français.

La transition politique en RF Yougoslavie : aspects sécuritaires, projet en cours (juillet 2002-mars 2003), Nanterre, BDIC, *pour la Délégation aux affaires stratégiques (Ministère de la Défense)*

La question serbe après le conflit au Kosovo, Lyon, OEG, 2000, étude réalisée en collaboration avec Jacqueline Markovic pour la Délégation aux affaires stratégiques (Ministère de la Défense).

Bosnie : une alternative au protectorat ?, Lyon, OEG, 1999, étude réalisée en collaboration avec Jacqueline Markovic.

Articles

« Du réveil national au 'réveil' religieux? Le cas de la Serbie au tournant du XXIe siècle », *Balkanologie*, Vol. IX-, n°1-2, décembre 2005

« Serbie : quelle assise géographique ? A propos des projets de nouvelle Constitution de la Serbie », in André-Louis Sanguin, Amaël Cattaruzza, Emmanuelle Chaveneau-Le Brun (sous la direction de), *L'ex-Yougoslavie, dix ans après Dayton* , Paris, L'Harmattan, 2005

«La vie politique en Serbie de 1987 à 2004 : une chronologie », *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, Volume 35, N°1-2, Mars-Juin 2004

Le bilan de l'année en RF Yougoslavie dans *L'état du monde*, éditions 1996-2007, Paris, La Découverte.

« La dérive autoritaire et nationaliste en serbie : 1987-2000 », in Stéphane Yerasimos (sous la dir.), *Le retour des Balkans, 1991-2001*, Paris, Autrement, 2002

« La Ligue des communistes de Serbie et l'ouverture de la question nationale serbe : 1977-1987 », *Balkanologie*, Vol. III, n°1, septembre 1999, p. 89-119.

« De l'usage du mythe du Kosovo », *Les idées en mouvement : le mensuel de la Ligue de l'enseignement*, hors-série, juin 1999

« Le nationalisme utilitariste du régime de Slobodan Milosevic », *Cahiers Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu* (FNSP-IEP Paris), n°4, mai 1999.

« Serbie : une transition démocratique inachevée », *Balkanologie*, vol.I, n°1, juillet 1997, p. 119-124.

« Milosevic et la mutation de la Ligue des communistes de Serbie : du communisme au nationalisme populiste (1986-1989) », *L'Autre Europe*, n°34-35, mars 1997.

« Le long processus de désintégration de la Fédération yougoslave : tentative de périodisation », *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, 1997, 1 (mars) p. 147-161.

« Le mouvement national croate au XIXème siècle : entre yougoslavisme (*jugoslavenstvo*) et croatisme (*hrvatstvo*) », *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, Paris, LXVIII/4, 1996, p. 463-475.

« Y a-t-il jamais eu une intégration yougoslave », *Les Temps Modernes*, n°574 (mai 1994), pp. 87-96.

« Aux origines du déchirement de la Yougoslavie, à propos de quelques ouvrages récents », *Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, n°2 (1994), pp. 199-201.

Tribunes

« Ouvrons les négociations sur le Kosovo », *Libération*, 30.03.2004
« La Serbie en quête d'avenir », *Libération*, 07.01.2004
« Kosovo : une voie vers l'indépendance », *Libération*, 12.12.2001
« La dernière fiction yougoslave », *Libération*, 04.07.2001
« Regarder la Serbie autrement », *Libération*, 22.12.2000
« Yougoslavie, une transition chaotique », *Libération*, 28.09.2000.
« Ensemble contre Milosevic », *Le Monde*, 06.12.1996.

Colloques, séminaires,conférences

Année 2006

- Intervention au séminaire, «L'Europe centrale. Populations, identités et territoires (19e-20e siècles) », 01.02.2006, Centre d'histoire de l'Europe centrale contemporaine (Université Paris I), sous le titre : « Le réveil du mouvement national serbe à la fin des années 1930 et la question des échanges de population (1937-1941) »
- Intervention à la conférence « Une ère nouvelle dans les Balkans ? », Association des Journalistes Européens, 29.03.2006
- Intervention à la conférence « Le Kosovo : Statut et perspectives d'avenir », Sciences Po - 1er cycle européen - Europe centrale et orientale, Dijon, 03.05.2006

- Intervention à la conférence « Le Monténégro après le référendum du 21 mai 2006», Association française d'études sur les Balkans, 23.05.2006
- Intervention à la soirée de presentation du livre de Jean-Arnault Dérens, *Kosovo, année zéro,* Maison d'Europe et d'Orient, 01.06.2007

Année 2005

- Participation au colloque « La France et les migrants des Balkans : un état des lieux », organisé par le Courrier des Balkans, 20.01.2005
- Intervention au séminaire du LASP-CNRS, 24.01.2005, sous le titre : Le réveil national serbe à la fin des années 1930
- Intervention au colloque « Vers un statut définif du Kosovo », organisé par le Sénat de Belgique, 26.04.2005
- Intervention au séminaire « Les sociétés balkaniques de l'empire aux Etats-nations, figures mythifiées, figures oubliées », EHESS, 30.05.2005, sous le titre : « Le réveil du nationalisme serbe à la fin des années 1930 à travers le parcours de Stevan Moljević »
- Intervention au colloque international « L'ex-Yougoslavie dix ans après Dayton : De nouveaux Etats entre déchirements communautaires et intégration européenne », organisé par la Commission de Géographie Politique (Union Géographique Internationale), 07-08.06.2005, sous le titre : Serbie, quelle assise géographique ?
- Intervention à la Conférence « La Serbie et Monténégro », Bureau parisien du Conseil de l'Europe, 16.06.2005
- Intervention à un colloque restreint sur la Bosnie-Herzégovine, organisé par le Groupe d'amitié France-Bosnie-Herzégovine de l'Assemblée nationale, 20.06.2005
- Intervention à la journée d'étude « Les Eglises orthodoxes en Europe », organisé par le Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales Sciences-Po CNRS, 07.10.2005, sous le titre : Du réveil national au 'réveil' religieux : la Serbie des années 1990
- Intervention au colloque « Serbia in Europe : neighbourhood relations and european integration », Belgrade, 19-20.10.2005, organisé par l'Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies/OSI (Vienna), sous le titre : Serbia's historical heritage
-Intervention à la table ronde « La Serbie-et-Monténégro cinq ans après la chute de Slobodan Milosevic : bilan des changements et perspectives d'avenir » organisé par l'Association française d'études sur les Balkans, 28.10.2005

Année 2004

- Intervention à la conférence 'Où va la Serbie', Courrier des Balkans, Paris, 12.01.2004
- Intervention aux Entretiens de l'information «Après la guerre, le silence des médias», Ecole supérieure de journalisme, Lille, 16.01.2004
- Intervention à la conférence 'Les diasporas balkaniques entre incompréhension et intégration, Courrier des Balkans, Paris, 16.02.2004
- Intervention à la Commémoration du bicentenaire de l'Etat moderne de Serbie, UNESCO, Paris, 01.03.2004
- Intervention à la Rencontre-débat sur les identités nationales dans les Balkans, Journée du Courrier des Balkans, Arcueil, 06.03.2004
- Intervention au séminaire du GASPPECO, La Serbie dans les années 90, Université libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, 11.05.2004
- Intervention au colloque 'Construire la nation, construire le socialisme (2e journée)', La nation dans la Yougoslavie communiste, INALCO, Paris, 13.05.2004
- Intervention au séminaire 'Institution universitaire et mouvements étudiants', Juin 1968 : la contestation étudiante en Yougoslavie, Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po, 16.06.2004

Autres activités

Vice-président de l'Association française d'études sur les Balkans (AFEBALK, www.afebalk.org), mandat 2007-2008.

Consultant sur les Balkans (ministère des Affaires étrangères, Centre d'analyse et de prévision)

Langues (par ordre décroissant de maîtrise de la langue)

Serbo-croate, anglais, bulgare, russe, macédonien, albanais.

Yves TOMIĆ

Professional Experience

Design Engineer at the International Contemporary Documentation Library (BDIC, University of Paris X – Nanterre), in charge of the Balkan sector, since October 1995

Expert Witness at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia since 2004

Studies and consultancies on Balkan countries for the Delegation for Strategic Affairs (Ministry of Defence) and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Centre for Analysis and Projection

Lecturer at the University of Paris – Sorbonne (Paris IV), Slavic Studies training and research unit, instruction of the history of Yugoslav countries, 1999-2000 and 2000-2001

Curator of the exhibition "From Unification to Break-Up: the Yugoslav space, a century of history", Museum of Contemporary History (MHC-BDIC), March-May 1998

Higher Education

Post-graduate diploma (D.E.A.), Slavic and East-European Studies, obtained in November 1992, first-class honours, I.N.A.L.C.O. (National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilisations)

Post-graduate research diploma (D.R.E.A.) in Serbo-Croatian, Civilisation option, I.N.A.L.C.O., 1991.

Publications and Editorial Activities

Books

Yves Tomić, *Serbia from Prince Miloš to Milošević*, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2003 and 2004, 165 p.

Laurent Gervereau, Yves Tomić (Ed.), *From Unification to Break-Up: the Yugoslav Space, a Century of History*, Nanterre -BDIC, 1998, 320 p.

Consultancy Studies

Democratic Transition in Serbia, 31 May 2007, for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Centre for Analysis and Projection.

Political Transition in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: security aspects, ongoing project (July 2002-March 2003), Nanterre, BDIC, for the Delegation for Strategic Affairs (Ministry of Defence)

The Serbian Question following the Kosovo Conflict, Lyon, Observatory for European Geopolitics (OEG), 2000, study conducted in collaboration with Jacqueline Marković for the Delegation for Strategic Affairs (Ministry of Defence).

Bosnia: An Alternative to the Protectorate? Lyon, OEG, 1999, study conducted in collaboration with Jacqueline Marković.

Articles

"From National Awakening to Religious Revival? The Case of Serbia at the Turn of the 21st Century," *Balkanologie*, Vol. IX, nos. 1-2, December 2005.

"Serbia: What Geographical Basis?" Regarding Drafts of the New Serbian Constitution", in André-Louis Sanguin, Amaël Cattaruzza, Emmanuelle Chaveneau-Le Brun (Ed.), *The Former Yugoslavia, Ten Years After Dayton*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2005.

"Political Life in Serbia from 1987 to 2004: a Chronology," Review of East-West Comparative Studies, Volume 35, Nos. 1-2, March-June 2004.

Yearly Assessment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in *L'Etat du Monde*, Editions 1996-2007, Paris, *La Découverte.*

"The Authoritarian and Nationalist Drift in Serbia: 1987-2000", Stéphane Yerasimos (Ed.), The Return of the Balkans, 1991-2001, Paris, Autrement, 2002.

"The League of Communists in Serbia and Opening the Serbian National Question: 1977-1987", *Balkanologie*, Vol. III, no. 1, September 1999, pp. 89-119.

"The Use of the Kosovo Myth", Ideas in Movement: Education League Monthly, Special Edition, June 1999

"The Utilitarian Nationalism of Slobodan Milošević's Regime", *Cahiers Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu* (FNSP-IEP Paris), no. 4, May 1999

"Serbia: An Unfinished Democratic Transition", Balkanologie, Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1997, pp. 119-124.

"Milošević and the Transformation of the League of Communists of Serbia: From Communism to Populist Nationalism (1986-1989)", *L'Autre Europe*, no. 34-35, March 1997

"The Lengthy Disintegration Process of the Yugoslav Federation: Attempts at Periodization", Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest, 1997, 1 (March) pp. 147-161.

"The 19th Century Croatian National Movement: Between Yugoslavism (*Jugoslavenstvo*) and Croatianism (*Hrvatstvo*)", *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, Paris, LXVIII/4, 1996, pp. 463-475.

"Was There Ever Yugoslav Integration?", *Les Temps Modernes*, no. 574 (May 1994), pp. 87-96.

"To the Origins of the Break-Up of Yugoslavia, in Connection with some Recent Works", *Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, no. 2 (1994), pp. 199-201.

Newspaper Articles

"Open the Negotiations on Kosovo", *Libération,* 30 March 2004

"Serbia in Search of a Future", *Libération,* 07 January 2004

"Kosovo: a Path Toward Independence", *Libération,* 12 December 2001

"The Last Yugoslav Fiction", *Libération,* 04 July 2001

"Looking at Serbia Differently", *Libération,* 22 December 2000

"Yugoslavia, a Chaotic Transition", *Libération,* 28 September 2000

"Together Against Milošević", *Le Monde,* 06 December 1996

Colloquia, Seminars, Conferences

2006

- Presentation at the seminar "Central Europe. People, Identities and Territories (19th-20th Centuries)", 01 February 2006, Centre for Contemporary Central European History (University of Paris I), titled "The Resurgence of the Serbian National Movement in the Late 1930s and the Issue of Population Exchanges (1937-1941)"

- Presentation at the conference "A New Era in the Balkans?", Association of European Journalists, 29 March 2006

- Presentation at the conference "Kosovo: Status and Future Perspectives", Sciences Po – European First and Second Year – Central and Eastern Europe, Dijon, 03 May 2006

- Presentation at the conference "Montenegro After the Referendum of 21 May 2006", French Association of Balkan Studies, 23 May 2006

- Speech at the Evening Presentation of the book by Jean-Arnault Dérens, *Kosovo, Year Zero, Maison d'Europe et d'Orient,* 01 June 2007

2005

- Participation in the colloquium "France and Balkan Migrants: Baseline Survey", organised by *Le Courrier des Balkans,* 20 January 2005

- Presentation at the seminar of the LASP-CNRS /Political Systems Analysis Laboratory-National Centre for Scientific Research/ 24 January 2005, titled "Serbian National Awakening in the late 1930's".

- Presentation at the colloquium "Toward a Definitive Status in Kosovo", organised by the Belgian Senate, 26 April 2005

- Presentation at the seminar "Balkan Societies from Empires to Nation-States, mythical figures, forgotten figures", EHESS /School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences/, 30 May 2005, titled "Serbian National Resurgence in the late 1930's seen through the journey of Stevan Moljević"

- Presentation at the international colloquium "The Former Yugoslavia Ten Years After Dayton: New States Between Community Division and European Integration", organised by the Commission of Political Geography (International Geographic Union), 7-8 June 2005, titled: Serbia: What Geographical Basis?".

- Presentation at the Conference "Serbia and Montenegro", Parisian Office of the Council of Europe, 16 June 2005

- Presentation at the select colloquium on Bosnia and Herzegovina, organised by the France-Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Association of the National Assembly, 20 June 2005

- Presentation during the workshop "Orthodox Churches in Europe", organised by the Centre for International Study and Research of Sciences-Po CNRS, 07 October 2005, titled From National Awakening to Religious Revival: Serbia in the 1990's.

- Presentation at the colloquium "Serbia in Europe: Neighbourhood Relations and European Integration", Belgrade 19-20 October 2005, organised by the Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies/OSI (Vienna), titled "Serbia's Historical Heritage".

- Presentation at the round table "Serbia and Montenegro Five Years After the Fall of Slobodan Milošević: Status of Changes and Prospects for the Future" organised by the French Association of Balkan Studies, 28 October 2005

2004

- Presentation at the conference "Where is Serbia Headed?", Courrier des Balkans, Paris 12 January 2004

- Presentation at the Entretiens des Information /Information Meetings/ "After the War, Media Silence", Advanced School for Journalism, Lille, 16 January 2004

- Presentation at the conference "Balkan Diasporas In Between Misunderstanding and Integration", Courrier des Balkans, Paris, 16 February 2004

- Presentation at the Commemoration of the Bicentennial of the Modern Serbian State, UNESCO, Paris, 01 March 2004

- Presentation at the meeting-debate on national identities in the Balkans, Journée du Courrier des Balkans, Arcueil, 06 March 2004

- Presentation at the GASPPECO /Socio-Political Analysis Group of Central and Eastern European Countries/ seminar, Serbia in the 90s, Brussels Free University, Brussels, 11 May 2004

- Presentation at the colloquium "Build the Nation, Build Socialism (2nd day)", The Nation in Communist Yugoslavia, INALCO, Paris, 13 May 2004.

- Presentation at the seminar "University Institution and Student Movements", June 1968: Student Protest in Yugoslavia, Sciences-Po History Centre, 16 June 2004

Other Activities

Vice-President of the French Association of Balkan Studies (AFELBALK www.afelbalk.org), term 2007-2008.

Consultant on the Balkans (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Centre for Analysis and Projection)

Languages *(in descending order of fluency)*

Serbo-Croatian, English, Bulgarian, Russian, Macedonian, Albanian