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**THE DICTATORSHIP OF NATIONALISM
GREAT SERBIAN EXPANSIONISM, ETHNIC
PERVERSION AND “THE WILL OF PEOPLE”**

Text is published in periodical “Survey” 3-4, 2007

Summary

Can the crime and its practical institutional and political results in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina be justified, without immorally and inhumanly humiliating the victims and the sense of human existence? That is one of the questions motivating the text. We are driven into a corner; or to an almost hopeless situation when facing this kind of question, in which we learn about the dark side of human existence. What does, in fact, a victim need to do in order to prevent the repetition of crimes against it and why does the victim become suspicious of the international institutions, human rights declarations and stories about the achievements of our time? All that has a global and local value of representation. Furthermore, does the acceptance of the results of crime (silent consent to crimes) mean that one can, in the future, expect the same actions of physical extinction of a people, which have proven to be genocidal? Experience of the victim is that the international community never reacts timely – the international peacekeepers and the Owl of Minerva come “when all passes away “or at the “end of the day”, or when everything is covered with mass graves. Democracy and enlightenment can even further disown the unbearable dictatorship of nationalism and ethnic monarchies in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: *nationalism, the great Serbian project, crime, will of people, democracy, rights, dignity, freedom, perversion, ignorance, international community.*

Introduction

The post-war confrontation of political parties of Bosnia and Herzegovina has turned into clashes of “national” leaders, behind whom stand the echalons of patriots, small and greater nationalists, their followers and loyal executioners of the holy national affairs in war and in peace. They are only showing to have mastered their “national body and soul”. Of course, it is no big secret that political parties control Bosnia and Herzegovina as a private property by developing non-institutional mechanisms, which make decisions on state affairs. Even the priests, who are attached to the politicians, display their power and appear to have risen from the darkest days and nights of the European inquisitional history. All of them have joined forces to destroy, as much as possible, the multilateral being of Bosnia. It appears that more evil than good had come from their Houses in the early days of the fratricidal war in the former Yugoslavia. Representatives of the “international community” wisely stay out of the numerous and disturbing outflows of non-democratic, uncivilized and apolitical activities of individuals, political parties and representatives of certain political options. Similarly, the “international community” had waited in 1992 for Milošević to *calm down* (and it is clear today that he was the chief executor of the big powers’ plan to disintegrate the *communist* Yugoslavia), holding the unarmed Bosniaks under the embargo, while JNA (and the great Serbian paramilitary formations) was creating, in a military fashion, a map of the great Serbia in the area of the disappearing Yugoslavia. Little before that, in the late 1980s, Milošević had used the so-called loan for Serbia to finance the war machinery, instead for the modernization and development of the Serbian society, which had already fallen into a deep crisis.

In the nineteenth century, an idea appeared among the Slavs, that they could live together, regardless of the specific historical developments, religious experience and ethnic tradition. It seemed logical that Slovenians, Croats, Bosniaks, Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins and others could live together. They started embodying that idea in 1918, only to seal it in blood

in the fratricidal wars of 1992 – 1995. However, the naive abandonment of the Yugoslav cosmopolitan spirit and narrative, as well as the decent into the ethno-clerical exclusiveness and hate of the 1990s had almost suited the cardinal interests of the European and world political constellation which had considered communism the number one enemy (later, “Islamic fundamentalism” would become the enemy which needed to be stopped by “the war on terror”). An anti-civilisation narrative is at work in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, as if the goal is to install *hate* between the peoples as the main form of existence, in which the future generations will not know that people “can” live together and in harmony, rather than separated and in opposition. According to that concept, the “irreconcilable historical narratives”, the “holy elements of our identity”, our “national tradition” have existed from the beginning of time and it is because of them that we cannot and do not want to contact or live with the others in the same city, in the same street or building. Priests, politicians, newly-emerged teachers and writers teach our people such nonsense in the Balkan casabas. And *our people* have always placed more faith into priests than into scientists! That is a part of the Balkan spirit. *Our people* – good and exceedingly honest, have chosen the rulers on their own accord...

1. Historical and Political Outline of Great Serbian expansionism in the Balkans

Today, one of the most interesting issues is that which concerns the processes and deeds which make certain people (or groups of people) criminals. Because of the ideas and actions of those people (or groups of people), horrible events have taken place in the Balkans in the last two centuries, for which there can be no humanly possible justification. When one says that horrible crimes have taken place in the Balkans in the last two centuries, one primarily means that the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire from the historical scene, which was used by the newly-formed Christian states for the increase of territorial domination, was followed by a merciless genocide against Muslims. That horrible genocide has not been recorded in many books on history and in political texts, which is, of course, quite irrational, for such ignorance is equal to, for example, the possibility of a hurricane or an earthquake taking away millions of lives without any records made by an instrument or

without someone noticing it. Nationalism and imperialist obsession for expansion have, sadly, brought millions of Muslims to “death and exile”, as J. McCarthy¹ stated. McCarthy, a historical demographer is astonished with the suppression of the number of Muslim victims in numerous historical outlines and books about this period. His book is the result of a research on the Muslim losses in the Balkans in the 19th century – *a history of the mortality and forced migration of the Muslim peoples*. That certainly does not mean that Christians had not fallen victim as well. Muslim losses have often been accompanied by the losses of Christians. However, McCarthy’s book *Death and Exile* (1995) is “a history of Muslim suffering, but not only because Muslims suffered, but because a *scientific corrective* was needed for the traditional and one-sided view on the history of the Turks and Muslims of these regions. This is a story of mass mortality and of one the history’s great migrations.”²

In that regional context, the issue of the Bosniak suffering imposes itself. Why have the Bosniak people suffered for two centuries from the hands of their closest neighbours? A short and clear answer to this question is – because the ***Great Serbian expansionist project*** is at work, being implemented by the most horrific of all military means (the Great Serbian militarism), and supported by nationalistic politics and the Orthodox fundamentalism, which feed each other.³ This answer should be clear enough, without further explanations. In it, partly lies the answer to the question of how it was possible in the late 20th century to attack the internationally-recognized state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Great

¹ J. McCarthy, ***Death and Exile. The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821 – 1922***, The Darwin Press Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1995., p. xv (“*The statistics said that one-fourth of the Muslim population had been lost. I could not believe that such loss had been glossed over in the histories, but checking and rechecking the data left the same conclusion. Not only during the World War I, but all through the nineteenth century, Muslim peoples of Anatolia, the Crimea, the Balkans, and the Caucasus had suffered overwhelming mortality. Their losses were worthy of further research.*”)

² Justin McCarthy, *Ibid.*, p. xv

³ Enver Redžić, ***A Hundred Years of the Muslim Politics. In Thesis and Controversies of the Historical Science***, ANUBiH, Institute for History, Sarajevo, 2000, p. 134 (“*The Greater Serbian national ideology developed in two directions and forms – national-political and national-cultural. The former was inspired and created by a minister in the Great Serbian Government Ilija Garasanin, while the author and representative of the latter was Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, founder of the Serb national culture...*”)

Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 should be viewed as the *continuation* of the Great Serbian project originating from the 19th century. Every new genocidal attack against Bosniaks narrows their living space and borders.⁴ Criminals have killed Bosniaks without any feeling of shame or responsibility, so that today there are no Bosniaks in areas they had lived in for centuries.⁵ That is why Bosnia and Herzegovina today represents their last line of defence, without which they would definitively disappear as a people. The small Balkan rulers and their undersized principalities had imitated the great imperial powers of the 19th century, and their successors continued doing the same thing in the 20th century, thus trying to claim the biggest territorial expansion possible, at the expense of the former Ottoman territories in the Balkans, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Serbia, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, etc.⁶ After two centuries of activities it is evident that

⁴ In the 17th century, the Venetian Republic took over Herceg Novi and the Bay of Boka Kotorska (1687). At that point, the border of the Bosanski paseluk moved from Trebinje, towards Niksic and further to Sandzak. In 1877, Montenegro occupied Niksic and a considerable part of Herzegovina. In 1878, Bar and Podgorica also became a part of Montenegro. After the Berlin Congress in 1878, Sandzak was separated from Bosnia, after having been a part of the same administrative and cultural structure for centuries. For a while, Bosnaski paseluk had stretched from Kupa and Una in the west to Ibar and Kosovo polje in the east. During the Balkan wars, Serbia and Montenegro occupied Sandzak and committed the monstrous crimes of genocide over Bosniaks in the territory. After the Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosniaks were repressed from the eastern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Trebinje and Bijeljina, from the Bosanska krajina and Posavina, only to be brought today to some miserable percentages of territories they had used to live in in the early 20th century.

⁵ A valuable book has been written by Vladimir Dedijer and Antun Miletic on the terrible crimes of genocide against Bosniaks committed in the Second World War. The book is entitled *Genocide against Muslims 1941 – 1945. A Collection of Documents and Testemonies*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990

⁶ There is virtually not a single reasonable right or reason which could ensure the right of Serbs to become masters of all the West Balkan territories ruled by the Ottoman Empire until 1878, that is, until 1912. All that has been offered as a valuable reason or as a good enough reason can be based only on myths and on the obsession of the Balkan peasant provincialities with the size of the territory. Those provincialities had started acting on their own after the Berlin Congress, when the European territories of the Ottoman Turkey were divided and when the Eastern Issue was solved. The Serb-Montenegrin army occupied Sandzak and Kosovo in 1912 and 1913, in which Muslims had been the majority population – Bosniaks and Albanians. That army committed

the Great Serbian project is a barbaric and criminal enterprise of the Great Serbian elite, which has been disowned and treated as ahistorical and uncivilized national project. It has become obvious that the Serb planners can no longer “satisfy their needs” in Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania or Croatia. At the end of the grand historical projection, Milorad Ekmečić shows all the horrors of the naked Great Serbian barbarism and savagery.⁷ The project of Great Serbia is active at the beginning of the 21st century, as a monster from a terrible past. The ghostly ahistorical voices of Milorad Ekmečić and the miserable parrot-like repetition by Nenad Kecmanovic only confirm that this project can finally be presented unscrupulously and openly and that its *importance* for the Great Serbian clique exceeds all human and international regulations and obligations.⁸ Ekmečić, in his historic constructions, does not recognize Bosniaks, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian language; he does not recognize anything that is below the demands of the Great Serbian project, according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina is exclusively a “Serb” country. The culmination of the old historian’s immorality is seen in the following conclusion he made: *“The historical foundations upon which the Republic of Srpska was created as a remnant of the remnants of the Serb ethnic territory west of the Drina River represent the historical constant of its future existence.*

terrible crimes in the area under the pretext of “civilizing” the savages. That was the reason for revenge of Albanians during the retreat in the direction of Corfu via Prokletije in 1915. The army of Serbia had occupied Kosovo in 1912, only to leave in 1999. For the Serb people, Kosovo is the central point of the national mythology, and that, of course, does not have anything to do with the real history.

⁷ The *DANI* magazine from Sarajevo (No. 532., 24.08.2007, p. 22.–31.) published the most significant expose of Milorad Ekmečić in Banja Luka on June 26/27 2007. In it, one can recognize the essence of the Greater Serbian insulance and immoral, as well as the new dangers for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁸ Nenad Kecmanović, an unaccomplished narrator of political myths, has been dully repeating the opus of his predecessor from Zagreb, the consocial professor Kasapović, on the negation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is interesting that both of them fall beneath the level of science by writing booklets on the impossibility of existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is seen on first glance at the title of a book written by Kasapović (*Bosnia and Herzegovina – A Divided Society and an Instabile State*, 2005); while Kecmanović, in a classical Belgrade and in a traditional Greater Serbian manner, informs the domestic and foreign public that Bosnia and Herzegovina is an impossible state (*The Impossible State* is the title of his book, distributed for free with the purchase of the *Glas srpske* newspaper in 2007).

This legitimate base gives it the right to exist, regardless of how it may be, from a moral point of view, a product of violation of all the international legal norms of the Western countries that had decided on the issue."⁹ The construction "Serb ethnic territory west of the Drina river" is interesting, as well as the mitigation of the horrific crimes committed in the name of the Great Serbian concept by stating that the Republic of Srpska is "a product of violations of all international legal norms by the Western countries that had decided on the issue". This is how Ekmečić partly washes Serb criminals of responsibility and points the finger at Western countries accusing them of being responsible for the general misfortune of the Southern Slavs. He has "forgotten" that the Republic of Srpska was created through genocide against the non-Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that he, as a historian, should have had in mind the verdict of the International Court of Justice at the Hague. Ekmečić displays the sick concept of Great Serbia which has never recognized the existence of anyone else but Serbs in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and parts of Croatia. Ekmečić's unfortunate eye has never been able to see any other people with which Serbs used to live – he remained only a consistent Great Serbian historian. One must say that the relationship of Great Serbia towards the world is pathological. Today, we can say that the *project of Great Serbia has met its end*, regardless of Ekmečić's calls for help from "mother Russia" and calls for new war sufferings, because nobody in the region can let the Serb nationalists to "satisfy their needs" in the territories of the independent countries (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Albania, Bulgaria). That regional mosaic is in the process of being placed together – its base should be righteousness, which is a precondition of peace and order in this part of Europe.

What are the main characteristics of the Great Serbian expansionism? The Great Serbian expansionism is based on *non-realistic* plans. It was implemented through *crimes* against Bosniaks, Albanians, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and other peoples who had been in the way of the Great Serbian project. The Great Serbian project brought *hate, wars* and *disrespect*. As such, it became the *central agenda* of Serbian politics in the Balkans and the basis of relations towards other peoples in the region in the last 150 years. Territorial expansion could not have

⁹ DANI, *Ibid.*, p. 27

been justified by any sensible reasons, because Serbia had never ruled Bosnia, Croatia or Bulgaria. That is why the Great Serbian project is pathological by nature; in it, we recognize the obsession of destruction of Bosnia and a greedy attempt to carve up the Ottoman Empire for the purpose of increasing the territories which were to become a part of the renewed “Empire of Dusan”, that is, Great Serbia.¹⁰ That is where all the crimes against non-Serbs had come from. *Writers* (or designers) of the Serbian grand state plans and projects have always been aware that none of them could be fulfilled without *crimes*, i.e. genocide, either against Bosniaks, Albanians or Croats. Even worse, they have always recommended that crimes be committed, for example, Jovan Cvijic, Vasa Cubrilovic, Ivo Andric, Stevan Moljevic or the SANU (Serb Academy of Arts and Sciences), which issued a Memorandum in 1986 on the future of Serbia and the Serb people.

The spirit of Great Serbia does not allow the Serb people to see others as the *other* people and as an *autonomous* people. Those have been the eyeglasses of Great Serbia ever since the 19th century. Everything has been overemphasized since Karadžić proclaimed all the people as Serbs, without ever having asked them about it (“Serbs are all and everywhere”).¹¹

¹⁰ Serbia entered the second half of the 19th century as a small Balkan principality with approximately 25.000 square kilometres of territory; whereas in the 20th century, after the Bucharest Peace Conference in 1913, Serbia gained control over 87.000 square kilometres of territory (Misha Glenny, *The Balkans...*)

¹¹ It should be noted that equalizing the *stokavian* dialect with the Serb language is not an invention of Vuk Karadžić, who had repeated that time and again. The true credits for that go to the early German Slavic studies, which developed certain ethnolinguistic conceptions, especially to its representative August von Schläzer (1735 – 1809). According to that thesis, Serbs should be all those speaking in the *stokavian* dialect, regardless of their true ethnic affiliation. Vuk Karadžić, having won the battle of language against the Old Slavic Church, set another principle of the Serb national consciousness. It is considered that the Orthodox religion of Serbs is in fact the first principle, while the second principle is *equalizing* the *stokavian* dialect with the *Serb language* – the *stokavian* space is the space of the Serb language, that is, the *Serb* people. Those two principles had been active until the beginning of the 21st century. Garasanin, in his treatise *Nacertanije*, in 1844, favoured the second principle: all those who spoke in the *stokavian dialect* in Bosnia and Croatia were Serbs and therefore needed to be a part of the Greater Serbia. This began the “scientifically”-based propaganda that all the people speaking in the *stokavian* dialect are Serbs. There are no Bosniaks, no Croats, no Montenegrins!

The driving force of the Great Serbian nationalism and fascism is *hate* towards all that is non-Serb and the disregard of others as equal or better in many affairs. In that sense, a prominent position is taken by the Orthodox Church priests, who show through their own “example” the way to treat others.¹² The unnatural hatred towards others is followed by the *obsession* of occupying other people’s territories, this, of course, without any basis. The obsession is led by the current historical situation and militant possibilities of the Great Serbian leaders, who have used the great historical breakdowns to implement their territorial expansions onto surrounding countries.¹³ Other peoples, like Bosniaks, Albanians, Bulgarians, have been satanized and dehumanized as enemies, against whom the Serb revenge for the Kosovo battle of 1389 should follow.¹⁴ That means that the *dehumanization* of other peoples is at work (Albanians, Turks, Bulgarians, Croats, Bosniaks), at times when the Great Serbian expansionist spirit faces a compact people; when it is outnumbered by the local majority, such is the case with the Kosovo Albanians, who have not left their centuries’ old homes easily and without resistance, unlike the Muslim townsfolk in central Serbia, who had been forced out of their properties and homes in the city districts, like paupers, in several immigration waves during the 19th century. These immigrants from the right bank of the Drina River have been constantly equalized with Turks in the 19th century, even though *Načertanije* clearly mentions Bosniaks.

The first clear *program* of the Great Serbian expansionism, which takes the shape of fascist extinction of the others and of the different through

¹² The newest example is the case of Kačavenda from Bijeljina, who wants to turn the town’s centre into the possession of his church. He has mercilessly taken away the land in the town centre from Bosniaks and Serbs who used to have their homes and properties there.

¹³ Such events are, for example, the Turk-Russian wars fought in the 19th century, the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Balkan wars from 1914 to 1918, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the monarchist dictatorship, the Second World War from 1941 to 1945, the Yugoslav wars from 1991 to 1995, the Kosovo war of 1999.

¹⁴ The Serb historiographic mythology keeps “forgetting” that the Ottomans in Kosovo defeated some other rulers (of other Slavic peoples and of Albanians), not only the Serb army headed by the despot Lazarus. That means that the Orthodox Slavs, today known as Serbs, were not alone in Kosovo. That fact largely undermines the Greater Serbian myth of Kosovo as the central point of the Serb national mythology.

open genocide, is recognized in the *Načertanije* treatise¹⁵, which is, as the Serb national program from 1844, completely in the spirit of the 19th century – the period of colonial conquests of the world divided between several great forces. The small principality of Serbia *joined* those processes. It mainly strived for the properties and lives of Muslims, from Macedonia to Kosovo; from Sandžak to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The principality of Serbia used the Turk-Russian wars of the 19th century for the realization of its territorial expansion to the neighbouring countries; it largely spread its territory, just like a vulture. The Great Serbian messianism¹⁶, pan-Serbism and superiority over all other peoples of the Balkans are developed through a militant political ideology. After the Berlin Congress, Serbia and Montenegro have expanded onto the territories which had been, for centuries, under the Ottoman rule. Muslims were destroyed in those territories, according to the plan. Exactly such a genocidal base for the destruction of Muslims and seizure of the neighbouring territories was clearly presented in the mentioned treatise *Načertanije* (1844), a political and military *program* for the creation of the Great Serbia, which truly is a monstrous indicator of the Great Serbian refusal to recognize other peoples in the Balkans and humiliate all that is non-Serb. In that textual propaganda, one can see the Great Serbian obsession for conquest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia, parts of Croatia,

¹⁵ According to the orders of Minister of Police of the Principality of Serbia, Ilija Garašanin, a document was made and submitted for consideration to Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević. This document, known as *Načertanije* would not have been of any significance, had it not contained a proposal for the creation of the great Serbian state which would represent the renewed medieval “Empire of Dusan”. The document was created by Prince Adam Czartoryski, (a failed immigrant in Paris) and Franjo Zah, who had developed the foreign policy plan of the then-principality. The main idea of the *Načertanije* is the megalomaniac expansion of the Serb state onto the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, parts of Croatia, Kosovo, Sandžak, Montenegro, Macedonia, north Albania... In it, Muslims are clearly and unambiguously named Bosniaks. In his text *Serbs Are All and Everywhere* (1849), Vuk Stefanović Karadžić mentions Bosniaks, who are “Serbs, but have not become aware of it yet”. Such plans are later presented by Vasa Čubrilović (in the text *Exile of the Arnauts*, from 1937, which proposes a monstrous criminal solving of the issue of Albanians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and Ivo Andrić (in the *Study on Exile of Albanians* from 1939).

¹⁶ Esad Zgodić wrote about the Serb messianism in a book entitled *Ideology of the National Messianism* (VKBI, Sarajevo 1999, p. 201 – 220).

Bulgaria, Salonica, etc.; as if no other peoples lived in those areas with their traditions and beliefs. That is how, for example, tens of thousands of Albanians had left Kuršumlija on the river Toplica and the Town of Vranje, once they came under the Serbian rule in 1878, and went to Kosovo and Albania. After the Balkan Wars (1912 – 1913) Serbia and Montenegro occupied Kosovo and Sandžak.¹⁷ The program of adjoining Bosnia, conceptualized by Garašanin in the 19th century, has become the “general Serb national program, for it has been supported not only by the uprisers from 1875 – 1878, but also by all other future Serb national movements in Bosnia”.¹⁸

Within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (the Kingdom of SHS), formed in 1918,¹⁹ Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniaks were left unnoticed. In 1929 and 1939, Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided in a “gentleman-like” manner, between Serbs and Croats. Then came the Second World War and the new suffering of Bosniaks, who were killed mercilessly only because they had lived in the mapped territory of Serb or Croat greater-statehood. In 1943, in Jajce, at the session of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia), which took place during the war, statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina was revived and it was given the status of a federal unit within the future Yugoslavia. In the Tito-lead Yugoslavia (from 1945), however, the process of *nationalization* of Muslims was in progress – in the sense of Serb or Croat national identity. It was not before 1974 that an ambiguous solution was reached – they were “proclaimed” a nation of Muslims (with the capital “M”), which is a historical untruth and deceit.²⁰

¹⁷ Harun Crnovršanin / Nuro Sadiković, *Sandžak – A Conquered country. Bosnia, Sandžak and Kosovo through History*, Das Sandžak’s Wort, Frankfurt am Main, 2007

¹⁸ Enver Redžić, *Historical Perspective of Religious and National Relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 2005, p.116

¹⁹ The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was not recognized at the Paris Peace Conference which took place after the First World War, in order not to “offend” Italy, which started, immediately after that, realizing its imperial and expansionist plan for Istria and Rijeka. However, the Yugoslav delegation pretended to be united. Several years later, more precisely in 1923, N. Pašić travelled to Rome to sign the handover of power over Rijeka to Italy. That greatly offended Croats in Yugoslavia.

²⁰ Enver Redžić, *A Hundred Years of Muslim Politics*, Sarajevo, 2000, p. 86 (“By a constant refusal to accept Serb, that is, Croat national conversion, the Bosnian Muslims preserved their original national identity under the name of Bosniaks. I was of the opinion

2. The Context of Bosniak Suffering

The Balkans and the relationships between the people of this region is again a neuralgic spot of today's Europe. The great forces – or, to use the euphemism “International Community” – have created the borders according to their own interests and divided the Balkans into their own spheres of interest. It seems as if the fate of the small Balkan states is to call the great forces to their protection. Is the Balkans returning to the 19th century? To the time when Russia and Turkey collided and when the Christian people of the Balkans created their mini national states by committing genocide against Muslims? The 19th century practice of followers of Garašanin's and Karadžić's projects, does not end successfully or fortunately for the Serb interests either. One should recall a Serb military adventure of 1866, when the majority of Serb army (about 86.000 people, the “*peasant warriors*”, as M. Glenny states), commanded by a Russian general Mihail Grigorjevič, was defeated in an attack on the town of Niš, defended by the Ottoman army. Then, suddenly, all the roads towards Belgrade were open for the Ottoman army. “Russian government prevented the fall of the Serb state by warning **the Porta**. That unless they agree to a ceasefire, Russia would enter the war. The ceasefire was signed on 17. February 1877...” The Serbian defeat was terrible – 5.000 people killed, 9.500 wounded and maimed. Not only did the myth of warfare and heroism of the Serb soldiers collapse, but political consequences followed as well. “Russians rejected the Serbs scornfully as incapable. Serbia lost a friend and ally. What is worse, Russians showed their sympathies towards Bulgarians and acknowledged the right of Austro-Hungary to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina”²¹

that the proclamation of the “Muslim nation” by the Union of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina was unacceptable for a number of reasons. Firstly, by equalizing a religious community with a nation would only temporarily postpone the political practice of national determination of the Bosnian Muslims, for nations are not created through spelling (capital “M”), and, secondly, from an ethnic and national point of view there has not been a Muslim people or nation, although there have always been numerous Muslim peoples who belonged to different ethnic and national communities, nations.”)

²¹ Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804-1999, Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*, Granta Books, London, 2000, p. 132

About the year 1800, there was a huge Muslim land in Anatolia, at the Balkans and in the southern parts of what is Russia today. That was not only a country in which the Muslims ruled, but it was a country in which Muslims were a majority or a substantial minority. That enormous, spacious land (*a vast Muslim Land*, according to J. McCarthy) encompassed the Crimea and its hinterland, most of the Caucasus, south Romania, east and west Anatolia, Southeast Europe from Albania and Bosnia to the Black Sea – all within the Ottoman Empire. However, in 1923, only Anatolia, East Thrace and parts of the Southeast Caucasus remained a part of the Muslim land. Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (Yugoslavia). Muslims of the Balkans had largely disappeared, they were either killed or forced to migrate. Those who survived were left to live in pocket settlements (isolated, irrelevant, powerless) of Greece, Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia. The same was the fate of the Muslims of Crimea, northeast Caucasus, Russian Armenia – they were simply gone. Millions of Muslims, most of them Turks, were killed, several millions migrated to what is today Turkey. Between 1821 and 1922 over five (5) million Muslims were forced to leave their land. Five and a half million Muslims died, some of them were killed in the war, others were refugees and they starved and died from diseases on the Balkan roads.

Most of the history of the Balkans,²² Anatolia and Caucasus cannot be properly understood without the consideration of the Muslim refugees and victims. That is a poignantly true history of nationalism and imperialism. The contemporary map of the Balkans and Southern Caucasus shows the countries of a rather homogenous population, countries that were created in wars and revolutions which had separated them from the Ottoman Empire. Their religious and ethnic unity was achieved through expulsion of the Muslim population. In other words, the new states were formed on the suffering of their deceased (removed, former, rejected, dead) inhabitants. Similarly, the Russian imperialism, often portrayed as the “civilizing” march

²² I recommend the reading of a quality encyclopaedic entry *Balkans* written by Nenad Filipović as part of *Europe 1450 to 1789. Encyclopaedia of the early modern world*, Johnatan Dewald (Editor in Chief), Volume 1, Absolutism to Coligny, Charles Scribner’s Sons, Thomson, Gale, New York..., 2005, p. 191 – 201

of the European culture, resulted in deaths of millions of Circassians, Abkhazians, Chechens, Tatars, Laz and Turks.²³

The loss of Muslim lives is an important part of the history of Turks, for they were the ones who felt the most horrific consequences of nationalism and imperialism. The new Turkish Republic was a nation of immigrants, comprising of citizens who had come from Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Armenia, Georgia, Russia and from many other places. McCharty emphasized the importance of the discussion of loss of Muslim lives, but no schoolbooks or history books contained information on that issue; the focus has been placed on the massacres of Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks, without ever mentioning the correspondent massacres of the Turkish people.²⁴ – It is interesting how this thesis summons the *views* of Marija Todorova and Misha Glenny and what it means as a supplement of their acclaimed works. The suffering of Muslims is a major part of the Balkan, Caucasus and Anatolian history.²⁵ The few people who tried to change the traditional point of view were laughed at and considered “revisionists”, as if revision was an academic sin and as if contextual historical precision was irrelevant. Revision of a one-sided history is necessary. This history speaks of Turks as victims.

That is why it is necessary to precisely talk about the Bosniak (and of all other) losses in the last 150 years in order to preserve a trustworthy image of what had happened and in order to understand the events between

²³ Justin McCarthy, *Ibid.*, p.1 – 2 (“*Similarly, Russian imperialism, still too often portrayed as the “civilizing” march of European culture, brought with it the deaths of millions of Circassians, Abkhazians, Laz and Turks. Nationalism and imperialism appear in a much worse light when their victims take the stage.*”)

²⁴ J. McCarthy, *Ibid.*, p. 2 (“*The exile and mortality of the Muslims is not known. This goes against modern practice in other areas of history. It has rightly become unthinkable today to write of American expansion without consideration of the brutality shown to Native Americans. The carnage of the Thirty Years’ War must be a part of any history of religious change in Europe. Historians cannot write of imperialism without mention of slaughter of Africans in the Congo or of Chinese in the Opium Wars. Yet, in the West, the history of the suffering of the Balkan, Caucasian, and Anatolian Muslims has never been written or understood. The history of Balkan, the Caucasus and Anatolia has been written without mention of one of its main protagonists, the Muslim population.*”)

²⁵ Justin McCarthy, *Ibid.* p. 2 – 3 (“*A major part of that context is the suffering of Muslims, which took place in the same regions and at the same time as the suffering of Christians, and often transcended them.*”)

1992 and 1995 as a continuation of a process of eradication of Muslims from the Balkans, which is where Bosniaks live as well. That image tells about the crimes and victims, about the International community's (the great forces') cynicism, about disaster and injustice, about goodness and hope...

3. Ethnic Territorialization

“It is in the tradition of the Balkan ruling circles to apply genocidal measures for the purpose of creating ethnically clean territories. That is what, for example, the ruling circles of the Principality of Bulgaria did, having been liberated by the Russian Army during the rule of Alexander the Second. The new Bulgarian army made a cordon and exiled to Turkey a vast number of non-Bulgarian peoples, primarily Turks and Muslims. That is what the Bulgarian historiography does not mention.” This is a brave statement made by Vladimir Dedijer.²⁶ It contains a part of the answer to the question of how the “ethnically clean territories” are formed. So, how are the ethnically clean territories formed? They are formed by the destruction of *the Others*, *the Different* and *the Unlike*. That is the entire barbaric “wisdom” of the ethnically clean territories in the Balkans or anywhere else in the world.

Territorialization of an ethnicity/people in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a forceful process which was openly implemented in 1992 by military means and crimes committed against civilians of another ethnic group, while from 1995 the implementation of the process continued with the use “peaceful means”, that is, by political, ideological, administrative and terrorist means, which are manifested in the prevention of the return process, humiliation of returnees, intimidation and murder of returnees, continuation of exclusivism and ethnic homogenization, obstruction of the implementation of Annex 7, which resulted in the failure of the Dayton Peace Agreement, or, in other words, the agreement which was never fully implemented and for which it had been known that it would not

²⁶ V. Dedijer/A. Miletić, *Ibid.*, p. XIX (The army of Principality of Serbia did the same thing during the Berlin Congress of 1878, by forcing a large number of Muslims from southern parts to migrate, especially from the Toplice region. The Serb historiography was silent about this, in a deliberate manner. Dedijer stated that he heard this for the first time from Vaso Čubrilović.)

be implemented in its entirety... This process of ethnic territorialization, completely equivalent to the wartime occupation of territories in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the continuation of the old processes of ethnic eradication, leads to unreasonable, unnatural and illogical ethnic fragmentations (splitting and atomization) of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been known for a while as *balkanization*. From a historical and political point of view, this process should be observed as a part of a wider event and of an older process of creation of national states on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, which also continued after the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Yugoslavia. The Great Serbian implementators of the project did the same thing again in 1992 – they killed all those who had been on the way of the “Great Serbian state”. It seems that a horrible transition from the culture and spirit of a “multilateral society” (a pluralistic world) to the national states occurred in 1991 and 1992, for even Yugoslavia had been, in a way, a multilateral, pluralistic “empire” similar to the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires in the sense of diversity of peoples, religions, customs, languages and traditions under one state hat.²⁷

And then followed a loud glorification of *consociation* as the “only possible form” of post imperial community of two or more peoples in an area. In the early 21st century, the idea of consociation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was mentioned as territorial demarcation of the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina into compact and homogenous ethnic territories, which resulted from the war conflicts. It was amended in a synchronized action with the concept of *federalization* which, again, comes down to the same thing – division of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with the “war achievements” and ethnic principle. Consociation is led by an obsolete idea that the national state is the sense of human history. Fascism and consociation (in one version, federalization) come together in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The demand and tendency for separate existence in a historical, economic, cultural and, which is of the highest importance, *state* territory, accompanied by the open refusal to recognize

²⁷ It will suffice to only mention the peoples: Slovenians, Croats, Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians, Jews, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Italians, etc. Their *religions*: Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Islam, Judaism. Their *languages*: Slovenian, Croat, Bosnian, Serb, Albanian, Macedonian, etc.

the other and the different, directly leads to a fascist horror – one leader, one people, one religion, one truth. Consociation quite literally follows the nationalistic errand to place every individual into a collectivity, into a national group, for it is the only way it can act. Preferring the model of consociation may be understood as a sign of disappointment with the existing situation, but also as a sign of refusal to remove or decrease the terrible results of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina – those results are a *reality* nationalists take as the measure of everything – and to simply take the side of raw barbarism.

Models that have been proposed for fifteen years take as a starting point the “occupied” territory in which a certain ethnic group or people is concentrated, or a people which should be strictly separated from the other ethnic groups. The post-Dayton political metaphysics is trying to nominate that “occupied territory”, from which the unwanted *others* have been banished, as the “true reality” from which the future activities should take place and which serves as a measure in every political and constitutional planning. All the *others* have been killed and banished from that territory; all their property and heritage has been devastated, all traces of *the other* in the “occupied territory” have been meticulously erased – so that there are no clues left and that the criminals are not reminded of their crimes. The “occupied” territory is “ours” (a permanent category) and our symbols are quickly displayed all over it (as a sign of “Victory” and as a sign of warning to the others that they have nothing to look for there) as the signs of domination (the cross on the hill of Hum overlooking Mostar, the Orthodox church in Konjević Polje, built on the property of Fata Orlović, etc.). War of the sacral structures and symbols is an extension of the bloody war in which the people died. Ethnicization of territories is a complete transformation of the previous situation “on the ground”, so that certain areas, towns and settlements, which have been affected by the “ethnic” construction of the area, can no longer be recognized. What used to be dominant structures and symbols in them no longer exists and have been replaced by new, different and bigger ones. It now appears as if they had been there from the beginning of time and in the exact same shape that we now see them in.

3. Vox Populi, Vox Dei

For a long period of time, the European metaphysics represented man as a “heavenly creature” or as someone created in accordance to the “image of God”.²⁸ That is how the people acquired the divine characteristics for themselves and imagined that they truly are gods. Their will is the very will of the gods. Vox populi, vox dei. With the appearance of the European citizenry, the rule of the *will of people* became a political ideal. Or, in other words, the will of people became a modern myth. What kind of a *populus* is it whose will represents the greatest value? The vociferous nationalists like to call upon the *will of people* as the base of legitimacy and validity of all their attitudes – the will of people as the *cover* for political ideas which are, in the essence, fascist. What is it for a will of people that nationalists use as justification? That is the will which is formed, in the majority of cases, by a political oligarchy which rules under the name of an ideology and on behalf of a people.²⁹ That is the rule of “the politically active and the power-oriented” (Hannah Ardent) over these who are insufficiently included, uninterested, liberal. This is where the fear of liberals begins before the dominance and the “tyranny of the majority” (A. de Tokvil). In other words, wherever there is democracy, there is a threat that “individual freedoms and rights of minorities may be annulled in the name of the people”.³⁰

Members of a nation have never taken a unanimous stance on an idea and that is why it is disputable to consider that the will of people is a general

²⁸ All that was denounced by Nietzsche in the late 19th century, who announced an era of the new values in which masses would come to the stage of the world history, together with their “national consciousness”. Sloterdijk stated that the “music of sparrows” surfaced, which could be heard from all sides.

²⁹ According to the authors Pareto, Mosca and Michels, the 19th century theories of *elitism* underline that representation in a democratic system, with time, causes a rift between those holding power and those who elected political representatives to power. That is why an idea or insight is developing on their part that democracy is nothing but a good cover for the rule of organized oligarchies, while political representation ensures hardly anything more than mere circulation of the ruling political elites and satisfaction of the formal conditions of the narration on democracy. For that reason, J. Schumpeter defined democratic authority as “competition between the elites for the right to rule” via elections.

³⁰ A. Heywood, *Politics*, Clio, Belgrade, 2004, p. 149.

value, something that is true and the right interest of a collective body. This is where the borders of Rousseau's political teachings lie, as represented in *Emile* and *Social Contract*. Radical democracy leads to deviations of the democratic political activities, and then comes the expansion of political narratives of nationalists, who allegedly advocate the "deliberative" democracy, meaning that they emphasize the discourse and discussion in order to determine the public interest (while their predecessors have already made a crime in half of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and determined what may be of the "public interest") and to direct the social action through a consensus. They do not allow the crimes to be discussed in public, for those histories could disrupt the victim's *oblivion* that has reached a certain point. From now on, the victim needs to be tamed, tranquilized and offered stories on consociation, consensus, deliberation,³¹ "European" models of democracy in Switzerland and Belgium (on which little is known) and federalization of the stolen and occupied land.

Will can be represented by someone who does not necessarily need to express the opinion, understanding and wishes of all the citizens. That will is used when the political leaders need to do something extraordinary, something that at times exceeds the frames of normal, humane, civilized behaviour. Today's hypostasis of the "ethno clerical democracy" in Bosnia and Herzegovina only confirms that the so-called democrats have emerged from the former communist regimes which had been created in accordance to the Soviet model – in social reality, the Party (which used to represent the "avant-garde of labour class") holds all the power. That is why the contemporary nationalists are disguised, former communists and political officials who substituted the "care" for the labour class (proletariat)

³¹ This is where a positive relation towards the *deliberative* democracy is seen, for it is a necessary means of liberalism (individualism) which helps place an accent on discourse, dialogue and thinking in order to determine the public interest. That is why it is important for democracy that the people in a democratic society preserve their own opinion on many an issue, without accepting (or following) mechanically the voices and opinions of the majority, which would lead towards the unification of a society. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, nationalists like to mention categories such as agreement, conversation and common decision-making (regardless of them not knowing that they are, at that very moment, on the brink of deliberation), but as soon as the "unquestionable" issues are touched upon, then there is no more dialogue, thinking and common decision-making.

with the care for their ethnos, ethno territory and religion. That only shows that they never had serious political orientations beyond the narrow ethnic-religious set of questions and possession of “pure” power. Politics has been reduced to the politics of ethnic oligarchies assisted by priests and some parts of the international interest institutions. It is becoming apparent that the strategy of the International Community (great forces) in Bosnia and Herzegovina is *ethnic*, e.c. a strategy by which, either consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, nationalisms and the situation of national pathology of hopelessness is encouraged. The very High Representative is the guardian of the ethnic division of the country (the Dayton Peace Agreement), and each of the high representatives has talked about democracy, about the European principles and human rights, in the way that it has always resembled a schizophrenic narration.

Now we have the case that, many years after the Dayton Peace Agreement, it is emphasized that the peace agreement is good, at least for those continuing the legacy of Radovan Karadžić, only because the Agreement mentions the name of the Republic of Srpska. Nobody is interested in the rest – for example, the return of refugees to their pre-war homes! However, it is a fact that territories conquered by *force* have been renamed to Republic of Srpska in violation of all international legal standards. That is something we need to always have in mind. Nobody had asked the citizens and peoples (primarily Bosniaks and Croats, as well as the pro-Bosnian Serbs) whether they agreed to have a part of their country Bosnia and Herzegovina (which is internationally recognized as the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina) called or renamed the Republic of Srpska. In that sense, Bosnia and Herzegovina should not serve as an exception from the international criteria and righteousness. The Dayton Agreement negated the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Constitution – that is why it is amoral today to talk of “constitutional reforms” as if nothing had happened and as if Bosnia and Herzegovina started living after 1995. That is the main factor of destabilization and unrest coming from one side or the other of the ethno national tension which suits the global transnational owners of capital, the International Community which once again democratizes the savage in the Balkans and the local tycoons who fish in murky water. “Our people” suffers in all that, our “naive people” which elects “our men” to the ruling positions, the “wonderful people” which, in the smoke of the “national issue”, has been reduced to poverty, without any perspectives.

One disturbing question is constantly imposed, preventing us to move forward. That question is: where was the **will** of Bosniaks and Croats (as peoples who also have their “will” and right) at the time they were killed, persecuted and whipped off the land which is today called the Republic of Srpska? Had anyone asked those people if they would like to have been killed, burnt or exiled? Did a Serb rapist respect the will and dignity of an innocent woman? Was a consensus mentioned then? Where are the Bosniaks from Trebinje, Gacko, Bileća, Nevesinje, Foča, Rudo, Čajniče, Višegrad, Rogatica, Bratunac, Zvornika, Srebrenica, Žepa, Han-Pijesk, Vlasenica, Bijeljina, Doboj, Teslić, Banjaluka, Prijedor (etc.) today, i.e. where are the Croats from towns and villages of Posavina and the region of Banjaluka which has been “turned” into the property of the RS?³² Would any citizen of Europe or of the United States of America agree to what is today offered to the Bosniaks and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina – reconciliation and acceptance of everything that is the result of the actions of Karadžić’s and Milošević’s killers as normal? There is no such will in the world that can *overlook, disregard* or *hide* that the RS was formed on mass graves of non-Serb citizens (Bosniaks and Croats) of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is where the political and moral issue of the relationship of Europe towards Bosnia and Herzegovina begins. This issue is crucial not only for the future of Bosnia, but also for the future of Europe.³³ One wonders what does the preservation of the

³² In today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina, a counterfeit “truth” is at work – that the entity of the Republic of Srpska is an exclusive property of the Serb people or a permanent ethnic territory of the Serb people, something that does not stem from a single serious legal document, agreement or decision, or history for that matter. Individual desires of certain peoples are not even recognized by the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska (Article One of the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska mentions Serbs, Bosniaks, Croats, meaning all three peoples).

³³ Republic of Srpska will be, as long as it exists, followed by a terrible shadow of *crime (genocide)*, which is attempted to be legalized or which is imposed onto others to be accepted as something normal. The Republic of Srpska cannot escape the dark shadow of the past, for one cannot change the past or anything that had happened in it. A crime can by no means be made senseful, nor can it be erased as if it had never occurred. But, at the same time, it cannot be relativized, ignored or laughed at. To live in a “mass grave” means to live with the crime in the same room in which one’s own children are playing or in which someone else’s children had played but were killed only because they had different names. That is why the Republic of Srpska will

Dayton Agreement mean for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a time when the country should be an active part of the European community?

The Bosnian misfortune is and should always be observed in the context of the modern world. The global “favours” local primitivism (backwardness, underdevelopment, lack of education, localism, provincialism), which “needs” to be tamed, halted and brought into order of the “democratic world” and the “liberal” values of the citizens of the free world. In that sense, the hidden dialectic in which a local bully is “necessary” to the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina seems quite reasonable. The supernational/global power or system of powers needs the provincial primitives who will suffer the sanctions – they are an accompanying phenomenon resulting from the accompanying activities of that power which also perpetuates them as additional means for its operations. However, Serbs are the only ones who can find the answer to the question concerning their own will, or answer the question of what is “the will of people”. Radomir Konstantinović was on the right track with his critical interpretation of the village philosophy spirit...³⁴

4. The Unpunished Crime and Conscious Perversion

At the turn of the 21st century in Bosnia, nationalists have risen to bring down any possibility of normal common life. Instructions and advice come from all sides to Bosniaks (and to Croats, in part) to accept their fate and *situation* which had come as a result of war activities in Bosnia; to finally accept the “reality in the field” and not to live in delirious idealistic moments.³⁵ For Bosniaks, it means to “make peace” with genocide and irreversibility of the Bosnian way of life prior to the aggression, together

never be a *normal* (or better) part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for it was born in the crime against the non-Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Surely, no reasonable or moral citizen could ever agree to such a structure.

³⁴ Sadly, neither Serbs nor Bosniaks can recognize their most brilliant of minds anymore, the ones which should make them proud and important among the other peoples of the world. Instead, they are swerved and deluded into thinking that the facts of *history* matter, the ones created by peasant-casaba creatures as the only valid, i.e. their epic narrations and histographic mythologies.

³⁵ That is something they are especially persuaded into by advocates of consociation and by federalists, who agree with the ethno-clerical division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that way, for example, it turns out that the whole of Čajniče or Foča, Gacko or

with the impossibility of the return of hundreds of thousands of Bosniaks to the places they had been exiled from, as well as the failure to bring criminals to justice. They are fatalistically being hit in the head with phrases on the impossibility of a turnover, about the impossibility to reverse the existing horror, about the impossibility of return and recurrence of the normal Bosnia. All this also means that they should come to terms with the demand for the federalization of the country according to which the “ethnic territories” (federal units) will be defined as spoils of war. Bosniaks should forget about Srebrenica, Višegrad, Rogatica, Foča, Čajniče, Rudo, Nevesinje, Gacko, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Zvornik, Brčko, Doboj, Banjaluka, Prijedor, Derventa, Bosanski Šamac and other places of their suffering; places from which the Serb fascists had “cleansed” them as if they had never existed. Today, those places are gaping with the Serb “majority” and with a weird colour above the landscape in which mass graves are dug out, containing the bones of the innocent civilians. Croats should forget about Posavina and move to Australia. All Serbs should only think about the Great Serbia and kill the others in its name, in order to live in one state. To come to terms with the “situation on the ground” is the topmost demand of the realist-political monsters around us, who have gained the necessary operative power over a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They want to say that all is for nothing, that riddance from the Great Serbian “embrace” is impossible and that one should simply faint. “Reality on the ground” tells about the presence of nazi-fascism, the Great Serbian fascism in the early 21st century, which is imposed on the citizens and peoples as a “normal” state of spirit.

Is it necessary to accept to the situation imposed by the war? It is not, and there is no justification for such a thing! That is so because, in the war initiated by Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina was defragmented to ethnic territories and turned into an apartheid country. Had Serbs agreed to the situation on the ground in the period from 1941 to 1945, they would have been constantly shot dead even today by a firing squads of nazis in Kragujevac or in Belgrade. That is why today one of the important pro-

Nevesinje, is *Serb country*. Perhaps even that there are territories that have always belonged to this or that people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Naturally, this is not true, not even after the aggression and genocide against Bosniaks in those areas. This is because Bosniaks have possessed large properties in those areas, and these areas cannot be labelled as Serb or included into some “Serb land”.

Bosnian lines is the struggle for *alleviation and removal of the consequences of genocide and Great Serbian crimes*, in order to come as close as possible to the pre-war quality of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This idea will, of course, be obstructed by all means available to Great Serbia, the same means that have been long in use against Bosniaks, Albanians and Croats. However, the Great Serbian policy can no longer rip a single part of the state territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and join it to a Great Serbian state. The Great Serbian program had claimed “property” in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1992 – 1995 war by relegating and destroying all the non-Serb population from half of the country’s territory. That is why it is inevitable for the victims to mark the Republic of Srpska as a genocidal structure, together with the deeds of Serb fascism.³⁶ Liberation from that genocidal structure is a human right of Bosniaks and Croats.

Negation of genocide by the Great Serbian nationalists leaves open the possibility of its continuation. The Great Serbian politics has been acting in a genocidal manner against Bosniaks and other non-Serb peoples in this part of the Balkans for a long time. Although acting in such a manner since the 19th century, it has never been sanctioned for the monstrous massacres of Muslims in Bosnia, Sandžak and Kosovo. It sees the killing and slaughtering of Muslims in the Balkans as “normal”, almost a “holy

³⁶ Dodik’s planned and targeted irritations of the Bosniak victims and deliberate irritations of Bosniaks from the Drina river region through miserable statements make him a new supreme leader on this side of the Drina river. He makes all kinds of threats, he creates an image of prosperity and negates all else. The main goal of Dodik (which is also the strategic goal of Belgrade) is to prevent the friendship and reconciliation between Bosniaks and Serbs (Serbs and Croats) in Bosnia and Herzegovina – he is probably receiving instructions from *whisperers* in Belgrade when he goes to them to submit the report from “Turkey”. Both Dodik and the Belgrade whisperers would be the happiest if Bosniak intellectuals and politicians, Bosniak and Croat people in general, agreed to the legacy of Karadžić – “living together is impossible” – and if they started speaking that Sarajevo is exclusively and solely a Muslim city. Dodik is there to try to complete what Milošević and Karadžić had begun, regardless of the fact that he is publicly “denouncing” their political options and the *Greater Serbian savagery and barbarism* in Bosnia. He is the guardian of the results of genocide over the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Dodikization* of the public sphere of communication, which is, and one should openly state, a shameless, primitive and thuggish form of behaviour, is the most immoral political primitivism in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina.

obligation". F. Karčić elaborated the "Eastern issue"³⁷ and emphasized that the concept of "cleansing" of the Balkan territory from the "remaining Muslim population has continued living in the ideologies of the Balkan nationalistic elites and in the consciousness of their followers, even after the definitive retreat of the Ottomans from the area in 1912 and even after reducing Muslims to the status of a minority"³⁸. They were allowed to either move out or to return to "the religion of their ancestors", or else they would stand to lose lives and property.³⁹ One could say that, in the war against Bosnia from 1992 to 1995, Bosniaks managed to confront the Great Serbian *enterprise* and halt it. That, of course, came at a high price in human lives. The country had been devastated and ethnically divided, its technology obsolete, scientific system facing collapse, its communication network weak with old roads and railroads built during the time of Tito. The Dayton Agreement clearly said – the country is without a winner! Even then, in peace, the nationalists continued to disseminate the country in striving towards the "mother lands".

Sadly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, representatives of one entity (the Republic of Srpska) channel their political form and essence of their political activities through political parties which insist on various kinds of divisions, seclusion and nationalistic exclusiveness. It is sometimes called a "democratic political game", when in fact, it is shamelessness, primitivism and perversion, supported by the regressive ethnocentric ideology and immoral politicization of the social life.⁴⁰ The true challenge

³⁷ Book entitled *Muslims of the Balkans: "The Eastern Issue" in the 20th Century* (Behram-begova medresa, Tuzla, 2001) edited by Fikret Karčić is instructive.

³⁸ Fikret Karčić, "The Eastern Issue": *A Paradigm for History of the Balkan Muslims in the 20th Century*, in *Muslims of the Balkans: "The Eastern Issue" in the 20th Century*, edited by Fikret Karčić, Behram-begova medresa, Tuzla 2001, p. 23

³⁹ Safet Bandžović significantly elaborated the immense and tragic process of migration of Bosniaks to Turkey in *Emigration of Bosniaks to Turkey* (Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, Sarajevo, 2006). Bandžović wrote a 760 pages long expose on all the misfortunes of Bosniaks in the 19th and 20th centuries, who had been enrooted by the chetniks from Serbia and Montenegro.

⁴⁰ All that was *acquired by war* cannot be reasonably and morally defended and justified in peace, regardless of all the possible attempts of finding manoeuvre space for legalization and legitimization and regardless of all the calls upon the "authorities". The darkest perversion of the contemporary age comes from the attempts (political/legal/diplomatic, etc.) to justify the crimes. The danger is that it can be at the expense of Bosniaks and then at the expense of other peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

for young democratic systems lies in the fact that even primitives need to surface and play their part.

All the sick primitivism of politicians becomes most obvious if seen through the example of the relationship towards the verdict for the Srebrenica genocide. However, that “cool blooded” relativizing relationship comes as no accident or as a result of ignorance, but it is rather a *calculated* perversion and minimizing of the Serb crimes in East Bosnia, of which Srebrenica is only a part.⁴¹ Apart from the fact that the Bosniak victims are dissatisfied and confused by the verdict passed by the International Court of Justice, the ones preserving the image and “deeds” of Radovian Karadžić, from the Bosnian side of the Drina river, are affected the most – the same people who today plead allegiance to the Republic of Srpska and who hide behind the stories of democracy and the will of people. They have been, for a long time, puppets of the Belgrade planners of the Great Serbian horror for all those who are, in the south Slavic area, of a different religious and ethnic affiliation! They are “aware” that it is *necessary* to change the war-imposed division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into two entities. In the *Verdict*, they see and emphasize only that what “suits” their interests. They say that the Republic of Srpska was formed “a long time ago”, as an expression of the *will of the Serb people*, and that the verdict passed by the International Court of Justice is only a confirmation of that! However, regardless of the contents of the *Verdict*, one should not be naive – the ruling Serb politics *from the other side* of the Dina River has shown no signs of catharsis ten years after the war, and it seems that there is no shame for what was done in the time of war.⁴²

⁴¹ The fact that the authorities of the Republic of Srpska bury their head in the sand shows the level of *ignorance* of a peasant-like political orientation, which gives the name of democracy to nazism. That is immoral behaviour which has its rational basis – that is the politics of immorality, or better, that is the culture of immorality in the centre of which operate *lies* and *crimes*. That means to kill a man and act naive, as if to have no knowledge of the killing. That means to kill a man and move into his house and “live” in it. That means to kill thousands of people and never mention a word of the killings – “not to have knowledge” of mass graves and “not to have knowledge” of “who” had done that. That very immorality has become the core of the national culture as an organized madness.

⁴² Milošević’s regime had created the Republic of Srpska in the process of making the Greater Serbia and everybody, from London to Paris, knows that. Everybody also knows that all the governments in Serbia, which came to power after Milošević, have

One can see today that the “Serb” *will* left behind a terrible crime over Bosnia’s and Croats, a genocide in the area of Srebrenica (in the municipalities surrounding Srebrenica: Bratunac, Vlasenica, Višegrad, Rogatica, Han-Pijesak, Milići, Zvornik...), in the municipalities of Krajina (primarily Prijedor and the Sana river valley) and in towns in the upper Drina river area in which the Bosniaks were exterminated in the period from 1992 to 1995, and, as a result, no Bosniak can be found in the area (Foča, Čajniče). That “Great Serbian” will, however, had not supported the will of the majority of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1992 referendum, after which the international recognition of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina followed. Serb army and politics trampled down an internationally recognized country – the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and occupied a large part of its territory by killing, persecuting and eradicating the trace of non-Serb population in the territories. The “Great Serbian” will stood against the 63% of votes for the independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state of equal peoples and citizens, only because Milošević and the Yugoslav Army held power. That means that there was the Belgrade regime, which had decided to create Great Serbia under the motto “all Serbs in one state”. That resonant

rocked that monstrous, genocidal child which represents the only *spoils of war* after several lost wars in the area of the former Yugoslavia. All all of them (those Serbian governments) will play the card of Kosovo later – “if Kosovo can be independent, so can the Republic of Srpska!” That is why the concerns of the Bosnian victims are justified, for the experience tells us: as long as the Republic of Srpska exists, there will be justification of Milošević’s politics and wars he had led in the area of former Yugoslavia, against Slovenians, Croats, Bosniaks and Albanians. However, Bosniaks and Croats have been repeating louder and louder lately that they will not allow the dead Milošević and his living successors to satisfy their needs over their backs and to realize the fascist, sick, expansionist ambitions of Greater Serbia in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The demands for a special status of Srebrenica have already started. Apart from that city-victim, the place of the most horrible terror in the late 20th century, there are also dozens of other towns and villages (in which Bosniaks and Croats had been majority for centuries) which had become a part of the plan of Greater Serbian nationalists and fascists to create a “century’s old Serb property” *on this side of the Drina river*. That is why today the Greater Serbian politicians are “generously” proposing the third entity to Croats in the areas of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a basis for legitimizing the Republic of Srpska.

motto meant only one thing – either stay six feet under or become refugees. That motto reflected the old Serb obsession of seizing neighbouring countries. That will left the Republic of Srpska – cleansed of Bosniaks and Croats – Serbanized and turned into a monoethnic fortress occupying 49% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina; that is, a “pure Serb” territory which came as a result of the use of force and crime. What should be kept in mind here, and is directly related to the interests and future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is the fact that *international law does not recognize the results of the use of force*. However, that Great Serbian will does not recognize or respect anyone (neither Bosniaks, nor Albanians, nor Montenegrins, nor Hungarians); it is exclusivistic, violent and primitive; it is immoral, anti-civilizational and perverse, for it now asks the ones whom it had killed and humiliated to act as if nothing had happened, it asks them to recognize it and to forget all about what had happened (until a new madness outbreaks). That Great Serbian “will” is “unhappy” because nobody in the Balkans wants to live in one state community with Serbia – although that does not mean that all Serbs are chetniks, criminals or murderers. Serbs, just like other peoples in the world, have problems with their *political regimes* and *political orientations*, with the primitives who get the hold of power and who immediately begin the epic revenge, glorified in folk songs, against “Turks and the Vatican”; who start creating the holy Serb state, be it Great Serbia or something similar, based on the Great Serbian ideology, as if nobody else existed in this world and as if it is possible to kill all Bosniaks, Croats or Albanians and, on the ruins of their homes (on their bones and graves), build a monstrous Serb state edifice. That is, however, the early 21st century pathology! Serbs can no longer play the role of Piedmont among the South Slavs. Finally, the (Great) Serbs, Serb politicians and intellectuals, the so-called Serb elite, have remained all alone with their myths that still occupy their minds, while the only thing the Serb people needs is enlightenment and peace.

Today, the Serb political orientation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been mainly reduced to continuation of the *affairs* (and some other things) of Radovan Karadžić, ICTY indictee, who has been heroically hiding all around the world. Dodik and his fellow fighters for the “eternal” Republic of Srpska know exactly what has been at work, regardless of how much they pretend not to have anything to do with the crimes that “someone else”

committed in the name of the Serb national feeling and other myths.⁴³ Dodik brings nothing new or prestigious to the scene – all he says (waving and threatening with his huge hands) and all he does has already been heard and seen, meaning, *nothing new and nothing wise*; he keeps repeating (in the manner of Radovan Karadžić) that the “Serb” people recognizes no one and nothing but itself. However, compared to Karadžić, he no longer has the powerful Yugoslav army and Milošević’s regime to rely on, he is not in the possession of the “will for war”; he does not have much choice, for everything has been reduced to “either this way or no way”. And that, we must admit, is not a grand political imagination and activity. In that way, the Bosnian Serbs have become ahistorical prisoners of the project which can no longer be implemented in the territory of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Political representatives of Bosnian Serbs have been repeating for a long time something the Belgrade prompters have planned for them to say; in that way, they are using a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina for implementation of the Belgrade political interests – that is why we are witnesses to the planned creation of crisis in the state institutions and the prevention of any movements forward in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One could say that the essence of the political activities of the Republic of Srpska representatives is *halting* the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the preservation of the existing situation, in cooperation with other ethno confessional political elites – that is the strategic goal of the Belgrade (Serbian) politics. In that way, the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina agrees to the role Belgrade has assigned for it – the Bosnian Serbs should only be the border guards and cannon fodder of the greater mindcrmes from the Belgrade institutes of death.

Serb politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as represented by the Republic of Srpska politicians, sadly, still *believes* that they will be able to create a “Serb state” in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as if it does not know that Bosniaks and Croats do not agree with that. Or maybe it pretends

⁴³ They are well aware of the legacy of the entity called the Republic of Srpska, founded by Karadžić and his associates, with the generous assistance of Milošević and his regime. Nobody believes that Dodik (and his *Serb police*) has ever seriously thought about arresting Karadžić and Mladić – which is one of his chief affairs and obligations. Also, everybody has become aware that Dodik has nothing to do with democracy and modern, civilized forms of action.

not to know that and not to be interested? The entity of Republic of Srpska is not Serb – that is a constitutional fact. The Constitution is clear – the Republic of Srpska is an entity which is a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats and others live. That is why it is impossible to rule that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the cost of another. However, the Serb politicians from the Republic of Srpska know very well that the terrible crimes of 1992 – 1995 eradicated the majority Bosniak people from the Podrinje area, (Bratunac, Zvornik, Višegrad, Rogatica, Foča, Srebrenica...). (That is why they have no right and cannot consider that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be “the centuries’ old Serb territory” or war acquis in the Great Serbian calculations, the way that is understood by Milorad Ekmečić. To ignore that fact means to cause destabilization of the region, to tell stupid tales of a referendum and to cause a new war conflict. The Dayton division of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not God’s decision, nor is it the sense of common future of the citizens and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina!⁴⁴

In the End

The prospect of Bosnia and Herzegovina lies in the European Union. For that reason, keeping Bosnia and Herzegovina outside the EU, in the bloody Balkan darkness, is the last chance of the Great Serbian expansionism. Today, we see that the unreasonable Great Serbian project is the biggest obstacle to Bosnia and Herzegovina on its way to the European Union, which is a community of peoples who live in peace and cooperation. The result of the Great Serbian war against Bosnia and Herzegovina is the Republic of Srpska – and that is something that should be discussed clearly and with precision. That is not the holy cow which must not be looked at.

The question of the sense of Great Serbian wars with the closest neighbours, with the yesterday’s fellow countrymen and citizens of the

⁴⁴ So, if we are still human beings, we should point a finger at the Republic of Srpska as to a creation of crime and genocide. That creation is humiliating for Serbs, Bosniaks, Croats and the international community, for we all know the way in which it had been formed. The verdict emphasized that genocide was committed in Srebrenica! It was committed by the ones who “established” that entity. We must never forget that.

same state, with the old Slavic brothers, is inevitably imposed on us. What is that egotistical Great Serbian project of seizure of other people's towns and territories like? Is it only a reflex of a small Balkan dwarf who looks upon the greater imperial forces, or is it a way of functioning of a people and its culture in this part of Europe? Of course, it is up to the Serb scientists to provide us with an adequate answer, for anything else would be tasteless. But, we need to wait for that to happen and be careful. One thing we certainly should not neglect is the senseless nature of wars between the South Slavs, the absolute senselessness which brought about nothing good in the end of the 20th century. The Balkan sons died once more in the senselessness of their myths, ideologies, religious ideas and merciless leaders. I do not believe that it is possible to argue that wars have brought about something good – except perhaps to the war profiteers. Many more people have been damaged or irreversibly devastated. I do not see a single valid ideal or some other similar idea worth killing a hundred thousand of Bosniaks, a hundred thousand Croats or a hundred thousand Serbs. Anyone nurturing such an ideal or a similar idea is a sick nationalist, a pathologically disturbed person and a murderer. Also, anyone who jumps over the bodies of a hundred thousand victims, as if nothing had happened, while, at the same time, insisting upon oblivion, is again preparing the situation in which a wild group of nationalists will undertake a war of extermination. That is why we need to be careful and keep a cool head, without mythology, without our glorious history and secret heavenly predictions, as well as with a new, racism-free culture (of the Cvijić kind).

The new constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina must explicitly emphasize that there can be no exclusive ethnic territories in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which certain “leaders” could blackmail the state integrity and manipulate and threaten with their separation from Bosnia and Herzegovina. That means that not a single part of Bosnia and Herzegovina may be separated as an exclusive territory of one of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead, the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the territory of all the people living in it – that is *the healthy Bosnian nationalism*, or Ambassador Schmunk's idea of the Bosnian nation. Or, that is something defined by ZAVNOBIH (Regional Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1943.

So,

- Revision of the past in accordance to the needs of national projects and leaders leads to new, confronted historical traditions among the South Slavs. That is followed by rehabilitation of the defeated ideologies from the Second World War – chetniks and ustaše have become antifascists, which has made *antifascism* discredited and senseless in the past fifteen years. This did not begin by accident. The nationalist discourse, which had been considered a measure for all and which had determined everything in the situation of economic and political crisis and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and which has also continued decades after the bloody breakup, had to annul the ruling *antinationalist*, *antifascist* and *cosmopolitan* spirit. It also brought to prominence the provincial (regional-provincial, tribal and religious) community (of cousins, fellow countrymen, our people...) which enables the fascist primitivism and nationalism to realize their ideas.

- At the cultural and political scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the dark forces are trying to *make antifascism superfluous* and to *install the fascist and nationalistic ideology and system of life as natural in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. It is obvious that the keepers of Radovan Karadžić's legacy will fall into the increasingly-rigid nationalistic models of explanation and understanding of the political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They will have difficulty finding a valid democratic argument for the preservation of the genocidal and criminal structure called the Republic of Srpska. Bosniaks (and Croats, of course) *do mind* the Republic of Srpska, but not the Serb people, for the Republic of Srpska is an expression and the result of Great Serbian fascism, crime of genocide and injustice. The Great Serbian mythomen and nationalists cannot, at the beginning of the 21st century, create their ethnic territory in the area of an internationally-recognized state, by killing, raping and exiling all the others and by wiping off the face of the earth all clues of their centuries' old presence in, for example, Foča, Višegrad, Rogatica, Zvornik, Doboje or in Banjaluka, Derventa and Bosnaski Šamac. The Great Serbian mythomen consider the Republic of Srpska to be a continuation, an ongoing event in a series of events that had started happening in 1804 at the Ada-Kale, at the Danube river (the so-called uprising against the *dahias*).

- An attempt of convincing everyone that Bosnia and Herzegovina is only possible as a *mechanical composition of ethnic territories* (Bosniak,

Serb, Croat) is at work. In that case, the Serb planners are at loss, for they will have to return dozens of towns and settlements, cleansed during the war of the majority population – Bosniaks and Croats. It is obvious that the politicians from the Republic of Srpska do not want to “federalize” Bosnia and Herzegovina in that way. They will not return the spoils of war – the Republic of Srpska is “inseparable, autonomous and permanent federal unit/category”.

- Politicians from the Republic of Srpska have been attempting to produce *a narrative about the Republic of Srpska as something normal and natural*. That cannot be done even by Milorad Ekmečić and his monstrously cold historiographic ahistoricity, or Nenad Kecmanović who prompts Dodik, an absolutely wrong player for this strategic goal. Yet, it is absolutely clear that the Republic of Srpska is the key source of all problems and tensions in the region; the Republic of Srpska, which was formed by savage crimes and rejection to recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as an internationally-recognized state. Republic of Srpska is not a result of singing songs at a picnic at the Romanija mountain grove – it is the result of crimes over non-Serb citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The attempt to *change the image of the Republic of Srpska* is not naive at all. Synchronized and vocal defence of Radovan Karadžić’s legacy, calls for the “will of people” and paying money to the US lobbyist companies to bribe the world in favour of the interests of the Republic of Srpska show that politicians of the Republic of Srpska are not giving up the separation, super-Serb feeling and self-sufficiency.

- Politicians of the Republic of Srpska are also “*playing*” for Serbia by halting and breaking up in every possible way the system of Bosnia and Herzegovina (political, economic, cultural, social...). Is there a bigger case of perversion in Europe today than this? They oftentimes spite the reason and common sense. That is why sometimes they act as if they have come from another planet. That is why they keep on trying to impose the idea that the Republic of Srpska is a “state” and that its bodies and institutions are functioning just like in any other country of the world.

- Politicians in both entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina like to use “their people” or “their electors”, so the magic syntagm “*the will of people*” is oftentimes repeated, like a *deus ex machina*, in all the hopeless situations. However, they do not recognize the will of other peoples – but rather, only the “holy will of their people”. Of course! They also recognize the *Dayton*

peace package as if it had been written by God – and only because the Republic of Srpska is mentioned in it. Politicians of the Republic of Srpska, clearly and unambiguously, state that they are not interested in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniaks, on the other hand, do not agree to the situation in which from now on only one people rules over the area in which they had lived and had been a majority in for centuries, and that the area is called by the Serb name. Such pure, exclusive name for the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina leads to a grave danger in the future, when new nationalists and fascists may arise with the demands to separate that part of the country as, allegedly, “the centuries’ old Serb land”.

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