

Appendix 5

Milivoje Ivanisevic EXPULSION OF THE SERBS FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1992-1995

With the break-up of Yugoslavia the Serbian people residing in former republics (now Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia) were left at the mercy of the authorities of those new states, led by Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman. The national and religious intolerance, domineering political convictions of these leaders, was not in the least promising for Serbs. On the contrary. Once revived state symbols and emblems followed by the party armed paramilitary formations, especially the Ustashas, Green Cadre, Khanjar Division, Devil's Division and similar did not only degrade all political, religious and cultural existence and rights of the Serbs but they also threatened with the new physical liquidations of the Serbs and their ethnic cleansing from the two states. The atrocities experienced by the Serbs during the World War II threatened to repeat. Not a single party among the old political parties or the new ones tried to protect the Serbian people and their existential needs. Further survival of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Serbs depended only on the individual, family and local ingenuity and inventiveness. To all political, religious, cultural and armed pressure Serbs opposed by the same political, religious, cultural means or arms.

The only bright spot for the Serbs in that chaos and confusion in which they found themselves was the Serbian Democratic Party led by an academician Jovan Raskovic in Croatia and Radovan Karadzic in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Actually, or to be more specific, the party was more the movement of ever-growing resistance of the local Serbs to Croatian Ustasha ideology and Islamic fundamentalism than the true political and especially ideologically coherent party. Still, the movement and its leaders became the only mainstay for the Serbs – that one can overcome the new evil and find a way to survive.

As the Serbian resistance grew in force and efficiency, the pressure exerted upon them grew stronger and stronger, too. From one day to another, from one month to another the pressure kept growing and the same happened with the resistance when it escalated with such a force that with the ardent support of their mentors, the initiators and activators of genocide and eviction of the Serbian nation, after suffering numerous defeats, started accusing Serbs for something they initiated themselves and tried to accomplish. Irrespective of all media tricks and manipulations, such defeats on the ground were hard to take by NATO patrons and their proteges. Politically deprived of their rights, the Serbian people could nothing else to do but to fight for its physical survival. UN representatives, representatives of the so-called international community, various humanitarian, or better to say supposedly humanitarian organizations, diplomats, newspaper men, numerous foreigners who flocked to the region were witnesses of such crimes over the Serbs. Most of them were aware of the prisoners' camps, executions, expulsions and maltreatment of the Serbs in Sarajevo, Konjic, Mostar, Zenica, Tuzla... Some of them probably did report the facts to their governments and institutions they represented, but the world did nothing to protect the Serbs. The media were blocked for all the news telling about terrible suffering of the Serbian people. Such attitude reached the highest point at the end of summer 1995 when NATO forces joined Islamic fundamentalists in pursuing their jihad and Croatian nationalistic herds. The consequences of that joint armed campaign were numerous Serbian victims and hundreds of thousand of Serbs expelled from their homes.

During all that time any Serbian reaction armed, even when defending their own homes or villages, was qualified as an aggression while at the same time the attacks of the Muslim or Croatian armed forces were treated as a defense to which they were entitled. Accordingly, sufferings of the Serbs were never treated as a crime while those of the Muslim and the Croats were. The Hague Tribunal is applying the same rule.

The Region of Tuzla

The region, naturally domineered by Tuzla, is a unique example because of the most perfidious way by which the Serbs were evicted. The mayor of this town is a certain Selim Beslagic, a man from an old and well known family from Tuzla. At the multi-party elections he was elected from the list of candidates of the Socialist-Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was one of its main candidates. During the war he kept stressing and repeating that Tuzla was a multiethnic civilian community, such as were authorities

under his control and management. In other words, according to him Tuzla had remained an "oasis of peace" throughout the war.

The same was repeated by the UNPROFOR in its bulletins as well as many governmental and nongovernmental institutions in the world. (As a praiseworthy Bosnian democrat he was awarded important international recognition by numerous anti-Serb world foundations and forums, and especially by the European social-democrats. One such recognition, known to us, is an award of the international bureau for peace, Sean McBride awarded for the multiethnic resolution of the Bosnian crisis.) In the meanwhile, from the so-called multiethnic Tuzla, whose mayor was so appreciated and praised, almost all Serbian inhabitants were expelled leaving the town under many and different pressures. "They left the town", was the interpretation of local authorities, and it was their alibi for the world and a proof of their alleged allegiance to civil freedoms and human rights: *because they wanted to join their families, attend schools, study, receive medical treatment, participate in some sports events and competitions, visit their relatives in Yugoslavia or abroad, etc.* not to mention the so-called humanitarian problems which made the majority of them leave the town, such as: shortage of food, hard living conditions in the town, employment and other duties out of the town of Tuzla... Actually, the true reasons could be found in permanent media harassment of the Serbs, maltreatment of people in their homes and at work, molesting children at schools, tormenting people at night, dispossession of property (especially requisitions of various technical devices and vehicles for military needs), forced mobilization, searching flats and forced bringing in new, Muslim, tenants, forced labor, labeling Serbs as traitors, rapists, beating Serbs and even some murders. Local authorities went that far to adopt a decision on permanent prohibition of return to those citizens who left for Yugoslavia, irrespective of the reasons that made them leave. The decision did not apply to those citizens of Tuzla who went abroad or to any other former Yugoslav republic. Prisons and prisoner's camp full with Serbs were not sufficient evidence for the representatives of foreign humanitarian and other institutions, the Red Cross or the representatives of the mass media and press of Serbian suffering in the town (secret or public private prisons, such as prisons of extremely bad reputation like Sapna, Mining Institute, Workers University, Husinska buna barracks, Municipal prison etc.). According to the census, in 1991 about 55.000 Muslims, 30.000 so-called Yugoslavs, 20.424 Serbs and similar but lower number of Croats lived in the town of Tuzla. Out of the total number of the so-called Yugoslavs at least one half, that is, 15.000 were the Serbs. In other words, at the beginning of the war more than 35.000 Serbs lived in Tuzla while today we find only about 3.000, mostly persons married to other nationals, the old and sick and a small number of people who did not find a way or did not want to leave the town. It has to be added that all Serbian villages within the municipality of Tuzla were plundered, demolished and burnt to ashes. Today the area is absolutely devastated. Something similar happened to Tuzla's Croats. They were also dislodged but, to tell the truth, under different circumstances. (According to the testimony of Z.Mladjenovic in the *Book about Tuzla*, in the records kept by the Catholic church there were only 83 believers registered in the town in October 1994). Today's Tuzla, one of the largest towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is mostly inhabited by the Muslims. (How far the process of Islamisation has progressed can be easily seen from the following example recorded at the hospital of Tuzla. At the beginning of 1994 the managers of the gynecological ward issued their warning and prohibition by which gynecologists and obstetricians of the Serbian origin were forbidden to examine and especially to deliver Muslim babies by the Muslim women with scarves on their heads).

It is the truth that no one reveals about the representative civil and multiethnic town of Tuzla, the municipality of Tuzla and their authorities. The truth about the "Oasis of peace" named so by its preposterous mayor.

In other municipalities within this region the exodus of the Serbian population was completed in an even more energetic and radical way in 1992. We are talking about the following municipalities:

Kladanj	(3.833 Serbs)
Zivinice	(3.499)
Lukavac	(12.281)
Gradacac	(11.184)
Kalesija	(7.669)
Srebrenik	(5.326)
Gracanica	(13.566)
and Olovo	(3.196).

Even before the signature of the Dayton accords, in the parts belonging to the so-called Muslim-Croat Federation, only between 2,000 and 3,000 Serbs were left. Many of them were not expelled but killed mostly in prisoners' camps, in houses or while digging trenches and other fortifications for the Second (Tuzla) Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Anyhow, the final balance for the Serbs is disastrous.

Along with the exodus of the Serbs their spiritual upholds were destroyed as well. Following churches were demolished: St.Elijah church at Gradacac (built in 1887) and St.Mark church at Krecane, the churches in the municipality of Kalesija, at Dubnica and Jegilov Lug, Kladanj (St.Demetrius' church), Pozarnica (called the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, built in 1896). Parochial houses and other church buildings at Pozarnica (two of them), Gradacac, Kladanj, Zivinice (two buildings). Apart from that, damaged, hit or demolished buildings are: Orthodox cathedral built in 1882 and Episcopal court in Tuzla, St.George church and parochial administrative building at Trnovac, parochial house at Olovo, Churches at Banovici and Lukavac.

Central Bosnia

Central Bosnia, that is the valley of the river Bosna, was the first region from which the Croats and the Muslims ousted the Serbian population almost instantly. The region then become the sovereign mujahedin territory for their training camps and actions launched at the beginning only against the Serbian population but as soon as the fighting with the Croats started, the orientation was broaden to include Catholics and other Christians in the region. That is why the region accommodated most of the Islam holy warriors who were arriving, in large numbers, from numerous Muslim and especially Arabic countries (Jordan, Syria, Arab Emirates, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sudan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Iran and others). The municipality of Visoko kept its mujahedin characters even after the Dayton document was signed and the Americans, who at all times and places are almost pathologically afraid of the Islamic warriors, were forced to intervene with their protge Alija Izetbegovic repeatedly to relieve them of such pests. And he did that, but in his own way. He married off most of them and thus legalized their stay in the country. Nowadays there are no more Serbian villages in Central Bosnia except symbolically in a small piece of territory belonging to Republika Srpska. Hundreds of Serbian villages were either burnt and devastated or are now inhabited by the sacred warriors of Islam and their families who also live in numerous secret and public camps.

When we take into account the municipalities of Central Bosnia, the situation is almost identical everywhere. Smaller towns, or municipal centers, as well as rural areas were exposed to massive eviction of the Serbian population.

In Visoko out of 7.377 Serbs only a few dozens have remained.

About 2.289 Serbs lived in Zepce. They were expelled, contrary to other municipalities where the Muslims performed the cleansing, by the Croats. In this way they created their pure Croatian municipality, isolated and surrounded by the Muslims. In Kakanj lived 4.039 Serbs while today there are only a few hundred. The figure can make us believe that today Kakanj is the most Serbian of all towns of Central Bosnia. Here, like in other cases, we have many people coming from "mixed marriages" who sometimes declared themselves as the Serbs and sometimes Yugoslavs.

There used to be more Serbs in Maglaj than the Muslims and the Croats due to the vicinity of the mountain of Ozren whose inhabitants always migrated toward this town. From the town and surrounding villages that are now belonging to the Muslim-Croat Federation most of formerly 13.297 registered Serbs were expelled. Their property, as well as the property of other Serbs, was robbed, burnt and devastated. Even those villages in the Ozren region, that once used to be pure Serbian are deserted.

It is similar with the municipality of Zavidovici where 11.637 Serbs used to live. The last Serbs of this rural area left after the offensive launched by the joint forces of the NATO aviation and rapid-deployment artillery units, mujahedin armed herds and two Muslim corps (Tuzla and Zenica corps) against the Serbs and their army in the area of Vozuce in autumn 1995. Today, in Zavidovici, mainly in the town itself, one can still find about three hundred Serbs.

Tesanj is a prevailing Muslim municipality with a little more than 3.078 Serbs. Here again the Serbs were expelled.

Serbian residents of Vares (more than 3.630 Serbs used to live there) were also expelled.

A considerably lower number of the Serbs has been registered in the municipalities:

Breza		(2.118),
Kiseljak	(747)	and
Kresevo (33).		

Before the war the largest portion of Central Bosnia used to be industrially considerably developed region with very heterogeneous population, a huge number of married couples of different nationalities and consequently with a high percentage of those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs. There were about 30.000 Yugoslavs in the municipalities of central Bosnia, out of which more than 15.000 of them lived in Zenica. According to numerous estimate out of such demographic and statistic figure (still insufficiently defined, in our belief), at least one half were the Serbs, as was the case in Tuzla. However, such Yugoslavship was of practically no help to any of those Serbs-Yugoslavs during Muslim raids against Serbian population.

It is a known fact that Zenica is the largest and in many ways the most influential town of Central Bosnia. In it, counting also a part of the above mentioned Yugoslavs, lived about 30.000 Serbs. Nevertheless, already in June 1992 Zenica was without its Serbian and a large part of Yugoslav residents. Prior to the exodus, most Serbs had experienced the prison regime of the notorious Zenica prison. There the former criminals, who turned into Alija's prominent warriors, searched the people thoroughly depriving them skillfully of all money, foreign currency and jewelry, practically of everything that they managed to take with them. Robbed, physically and spiritually tortured and maltreated, they were then transported into prisoners' camps or exchanged. Since then Zenica is one of the most important fortifications – a bastion of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to verify the fact more convincingly, they established some sort of Islamic Academy of Pedagogy. To tell the truth, a number of Serbs were kept, just in case, about a thousand or two, as the estimates say, to serve as an ikebana – for the promotion, among other things, of a multiethnic entity with civil authority, like Tuzla. Actually, they are kept as hostages, as many of them had been found guilty and sentenced for various "crimes", most often for rebellion against legal bodies of the Muslim authorities and state. And it was exactly in the municipality of Zenica, as far as we know, that not a single Serbian village nor the Serbian population in town was involved in the armed resistance against the Muslim and the Croat herds which attacked their lives and property. The exodus of the Serbs from central Bosnian municipalities, located mostly along the valley of the Bosna river, was accomplished by the Muslims and the Croats in due time, thoroughly, and what is also important, for those who had done it, without any undesirable consequences. No one in the so-called international community and its legal bodies has even had any objection in this regard.

Our historical monuments, ecclesiastical edifices and relics seems to have provoked special furry of the Muslim and the Croatian fanatics. Every little thing that belonged to the Serbian people and its Orthodox church was destroyed, devastated and desecrated. Not even the graveyards and graves from the earliest times were spared, the same graves that even the fascist Pavelic state had not managed and had no time to destroy and dig over during its rule. Our Orthodox places of worship in Kakanj, Maglaj, Skender Vakuf and in other places were destroyed. Damaged, partially burnt or shelled and desecrated were the houses of worship in Breza, Visoko, Kiseljak, Skender Vakuf and Zenica (Moscanica, Mutnica and Osojnica). Devastated or damaged were parochial homes, chapels and cemeteries in Kakanj, Maglaj, Tesanj, Skender Vakuf... Church relics were broken, stolen or burnt.

The Krajina Region

The Krajina region is an area bordering mostly with Croatia. A part of this territory, Cazinska Krajina, was under rotating rule of Alija Izetbegovic and his former vassal who later on turned into his political opponent, Fikret Abdic. Nevertheless, none of them found place for the Serbian people.

Dominant town and center of Cazinska Krajina is Bihac where more than 1.500 Serbs used to live while now we can see only some traces of their former stay and a few people who reluctantly, remained in the town. They saved their lives mainly due to the fact that their parents or spouses were of different religion and nation. Other pre-war and pre-Dayton municipalities existing within Cazinska Krajina are:

Velika	Kladusa	(2.261	Serbs)
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Cazin (765)

As we can see, they had less Serbian population that Bihac. Still, is it a reason and excuse to have them expelled from their homes? The number of the Serbian people in a village, town, municipality is not that important. What is important is that they have to disappear from there. Namely, they should not exist in a newly composed state conceived and created by Clinton - the so-called Muslim-Croat Federation.

After imposing Dayton dictate upon the Serbs, a larger portion of Bosnian Krajina was literally wrenched from the Serbs and handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation. That happened with the municipalities of:

Bosanska Sanski Bosanski Petrovac (11.695).	Krupa most	(13.765	Serbs) (25.373)
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The same happened to more than two hundred formerly predominant Serbian villages and four municipalities which historically and demographically used to be Serbian territories from the times immemorial: Drvar with 17.079 inhabitants, 16.613 of them being the Serbs (34 Croats, 33 Muslims, 357 Yugoslavs and 42 people of other nationalities and ethnic groups).

Bosansko Grahovo, out of 8.303 inhabitants 7.929 were the Serbs.

There is also Glamoc in which out of 12.543 inhabitants 9.969 were the Serbs.

The Serbs from Kljuc left the town as soon as the Dayton agreement was signed and the town and many villages subdued to the so-called Federation. That happened at the end of 1995/beginning of 1996. According to the census from 1991, 18.438 Serbs (2.500 Yugoslavs, 350 Croats and 17.700 Muslims) lived in this municipality.

Today in these municipalities and towns we can find only some abandoned, plundered and devastated Serbian houses. All these municipalities and towns, at the will of the Americans and their West-European satellites, are in possession of those who have plundered and devastated them. The total number of evicted persons from the mentioned municipalities of Krajina, that is, its above defined territory, is over 100.000. The exodus was accomplished in two stages. The first stage (Cazin, Velika Kladusa, Bihac) followed immediately after the attack of the Muslim and the Croatian paramilitary formations on the Serbian settlements and Serbs living in those municipalities (1992). The second stage started soon after the Dayton ultimatum was made to the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (November-December 1995) and it was completed in early spring next year. By the will of the signatories to the Dayton documents all those Serbian municipalities were placed under the rule of the Muslim and Croatian authorities and their Federation. One thing the two stages have in common was that the Muslim and the Croats performed evicting of the Serbs thoroughly.

In these municipalities of Cazinska Krajina Serbian religious and historical monuments were destroyed. Serbian cultural heritage was destroyed as well as many traces of the former Serbian presence in the territory. The following churches were destroyed: the one in Bihac (Gata), Velika Kladusa (as well as in the village Bosanska Bojna). Town church in Bosanska Krupa was damaged and the one in the village Osredak ravaged. Based on former experience, destruction of the Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical building, desecration and theft of relics in those municipalities that were taken from Republika Srpska and fell under the management of the Muslim-Croat Federation is still to be expected. Now both Muslims and Croats have a plenty of time to accomplish that.

Lasva-Bugojno Region

Prior to the outbreak of the recent war the Lasva-Bugojno region, like Cazinska Krajina, was among the territories scarcely inhabited by Serbs. It means that during the first years of the Muslim-Croat raids launched against the Serbs this region was subject to thorough ethnic cleansing. Here again the Croatian and the Muslim civil authorities, their police and armed forces acted united to a great extent. The results of such coordinated action were empty Serbian villages and the Serbs dislodged from towns. Their property, as in other cases, remained in possession of their executors.

The biggest town of this region is Travnik where about 10.000 Serbs used to live. After the exodus which took place at the very beginning of the conflict, the number of Serbs that remained in the town was exactly the number of a minority or ethnic group in any nationally uniform community. They are mostly the old, feeble people and persons with spouses of different nationality. Originally, we have to say, other residents of Travnik were the Muslims and the Croats, in almost equal numbers 32.000 and 26.000 respectively.

It is similar with the municipality Pucarevo (now called Novi Travnik) where 4.087 Serbs lived and twice the number of the Croats and the Muslims.

In	Bugojno	there	were	more	than	8.845	Serbs.
In	Donji		Vakuf	–	about	9.375.	

At Jajce – 8.384.

It is estimated that today in all these municipalities one can hardly find 2.000 Serbs. These were municipalities with more significant number of the Serbs but proportionally less than the Croatian and the Muslim population.

Kupres is, in a certain sense, somewhere in between this group of municipalities and the next one, in which presence of the Serbs was only symbolical. In the municipality of Kupres, the major nation was the Serbian (4.895 Serbs, 800 Muslims, 3.800 Croats) but their fate was identical to those of other municipalities of the region. The Serbs from Kupres were finally evicted by the Croats and their armed forces which came from Republic of Croatia as well as some units from the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia, at the beginning of November 1994.

The following municipalities are those municipalities in which the Serbs lived only in minor numbers:

Vitez		(1.502)
Busovaca		(634)
Gornji	Vakuf	(106)
Fojnica	(154)	and
Prozor (49)		

According to the former territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina some municipalities that we dealt with here did not belong to this region (Jajce, Kupres, Donji Vakuf, Fojnica, Prozor) but under new circumstances and as it was the case with Cazinska Krajina we take them in a broader sense – as the area from which people gravitated to the region of Lasva-Bugojno. For this region, as well as for the region of Central Bosnia and also Herzegovina it is characteristic that the exodus of the Serbs was no guarantee for a peaceful life of the new lords and "co-tenants", the Muslims and the Croats. Indeed, they soon started fighting so that the Muslims expelled the Croats and vice versa, depending on who was stronger at the municipality at that moment. Their latent fight still goes on even though their armed conflicts temporarily ceased due to the pressure and intervention of foreign forces, America and Germany in the first place. (Due to such pressure and concluded armistice it was possible to create at least a simulated common state, formerly and repeatedly called the so-called Muslim-Croat Federation, one of the two entities of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.)

However, the wrangling which is not absolutely negligible is still going on, followed by intermittent skirmishes on whose is what and who will rule specific municipalities and specific parts to which both sides are entitled. Not by their will, the Serbs were permanently eliminated and it only remains upon the Muslims and the Croats to make mutual agreements and clarifications and this never runs so smoothly. Due to their mutual disagreements on who is going to be in control, they have not yet managed to define all constitutional, legal and territorial aspects. Their mentors, representatives of the international community and creators of this new entity have been worried about that for a long time. The strongest and most frequent conflicts are inspired by possible division of unoccupied and conquered Serbian territories, villages and towns, former Serbian public and private property.

In this region many Serbian spiritual and historical monuments were destroyed. The organizers and perpetrators of such misdeeds are mainly the Croats. In Travnik, the Orthodox church located in the center was leveled to the ground; the same was done with the Orthodox churches in Bugojno, Jajce, Donji Malovan (the municipality of Kupres), while the one at Turbet was heavily damaged. Church relics, as in majority of other cases, were of the same fate. The only exception are those stolen pieces made of gold or gold-plated which might be traced one day and bought. This is only a remote possibility as they may have already been taken and resold by the Catholic priests or their believers.

The Valley of the Neretva River

A considerable part of the Neretva river valley was throughout the war and for quite a while after Dayton an area within the Croatian territory called Herceg-Bosnia. Even today this is still a slow burning and very turbulent center of the Muslim-Croat relations and possible misunderstandings. The valley of the Neretva, similarly to all other regions and municipalities from which the Serbs were expelled, is typical for the violent outburst of long hidden antagonisms between the Croatian and the Muslim political parties, their programs, ambitions and interests. Unfortunately, it seems that it was the Serbs who proved to be the only factor and their exodus the only mutual goal which until accomplished provided at least some cooperation and homogeneity of false friends and partners. When the expulsion was completed a lot of disputable issues have come to light between former fellow-soldiers. Misunderstandings arose in regard to the problems which have not been observed earlier. A significant portion of these misunderstandings and disputes arose in connection with the issues of control and rule over stolen Serbian property, Serbian settlements and territories. The only peaceful spots in this part of Herzegovina, as well as in the Federation itself, one must say, were the old or, during the war, newly created settlements and municipalities inhabited by only one nationality. The best

illustration of such misunderstandings not only in the territory of Herzegovina and the valley of the Neretva, but in the overall Muslim –Croat Federation is the town of Mostar.

This, in the former Yugoslavia one of the most beautiful towns, favored not only by those who lived in it, but by the whole former Yugoslavia, suffered so much destruction that one can hardly recognize it today. In merciless fighting trying to get Mostar only for themselves neither Croats nor the Muslims paid any attention to victims and destruction of their town to the ground. In their revengeful fury the Croats smashed the symbol of Mostar, a beautiful medieval masterpiece made of stone, the Old Bridge over the Neretva river. But even before this act of vandalism the Serbian population was expelled from Mostar. After that not even the mediation of various international factors (soon after Dayton meeting) gave any significant results. Thus actually Mostar remains a divided town even today.

Prior to any armed conflicts about 44.000 Muslims, 43.000 Croats and 23.909 Serbs and about 13.000 Yugoslavs lived in Mostar. The exodus of the Serbs commenced during April/beginning of May and was completed by mid September 1992. For more than four months a few hundred Serbs were killed and the number of 35.000 Serbs or Serbs-Yugoslavs was expelled. Soon after that, at the beginning of the next year, the Croats and the Muslims started fighting ruthlessly.

Considering the overall population in the municipalities in the valley of the Neretva the Serbs were proportionally less represented, compared to the Muslims and especially the Croats.

The similar course of action took place in Konjic, where 6.645 Serbs used to live. Other municipality had even less Serbian residents.

Capljina	had	3.768	Serbs,
Stolac			3.912.
In Jablanica	lived	only	504 Serbs

and at Neum the number was almost symbolical – 209.

In terms of dislodging, the number of the Serbs in specific municipalities was neither essential nor even represented any decisive factor. It was the intention of the Croatian or the Muslim authorities and their armed and police forces to have the Serbs expelled that counted. This proved to be true in all municipalities irrespective of the fact whether there lived only a few hundred or a few thousand Serbs. The number itself was important only for the time required by the Croatian or the Muslim authorities to get hold of them, put them to prison, deport to various camps and then finally banish from the territory.

Camps played an important role in such deportation of the Serbs. Even though there were a few hundred prisoners' camps in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by the Muslims and the Croats, nevertheless, when taking into account the size of the territory and the number of Serbian population, Herzegovina was the one with the highest concentration of camps. In their practice the Croats have applied their fascist experience from the World War II. Even though all data have not yet been properly processed, and at some places even not collected and assorted, the estimates say that at least 10.000 Serbs stayed in the camps. Their hardships inflicted by the regimes by which the camps were managed, various forms of torture and maltreatment, poor nourishment, lack of medicines and treatment by camp staff did not differ from the fate and position of prisoners in the concentration camps of Hitler's Germany or Pavelic' Independent State of Croatia. Lynch, all forms of humiliation and killing prisoners were ordinary every day routine. Let us remind that in the period 1992-1996 in this territory there were notorious prisoners' camps: Dretelj, Rodoc, Musala and Celebici and that apart from few hundred other criminals it was already mentioned Zejnil Delalic, with his assistants, who was at best in his criminal affinity. Zejnil Delalic was a coordinator of the Muslim actions and a trustee of Alija Izetbegovic in charge of one part of this territory.

The fate of our churches and monasteries in Herzegovina is a special deeply-moving story. It represents despair and moral abyss of the civilization of our century and at the same time it is the triumph of blasphemy and satanism of Croatian and Muslim politics and ideology. In the municipality of Mostar it was the monastery of Zitomislic with the church (which was built in 1566) and graves of perfidiously killed monks that were destroyed. Everything that was Serbian and Orthodox in the town was burnt or devastated: Orthodox cathedral, Holy Mother of God's church, Episcopal court and Episcopal quarters, the Old Eparchial edifice, the Treasury below the church of the Birth of Our Lady, desecrated building and destroyed church altar at Bijelo Polje while the eparchial court at the same place over Mostar was devastated. In most cases those were important pieces of architecture and cultural monuments from previous century. The following churches were demolished: at Blagaj – the church of St. Basil of Ostrog (also from the 19th century), at Bogodol – the church of St. Apostles Peter and Paul, at Raska Gora – the chapel. In the

municipality of Konjic the same happened to the churches at Bradina and Celebici, while at Blace the chapel was ruined. In the town of Konjic the tower was demolished while the church of St. Basil the Great (from 19th century) was damaged. The house annexed to the church was also demolished and the chapel and cemetery were extensively ruined. At Stolac the church of Ascension of Christ (restored in 1872) was demolished and burnt as well as the Orthodox temples at Neum and Capljina. The Monastery Zavala with its church (built in 1514) and lodging houses for priests were seriously damaged. Devastated or demolished were almost all rural Orthodox churches, chapels and cemeteries in this part of Herzegovina. In the town of Mostar the bust of a great Serbian and Yugoslav poet Aleksa [antic was smashed and thrown into the Neretva. It was not only the Serbian people of Herzegovina who suffered because of Croatian destruction of the Memorial Chapel dedicated to the Serbian new martyrs from the previous war, built at Prebilovci.

Western Herzegovina

Western Herzegovina is a relatively small area inhabited mostly by the Croats. A good part of Western Herzegovina also belonged to the Croatian Herzeg-Bosnia. In this region, as well as in the valley of the Neretva even prior to 6th April, being the date when Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized as an independent state, that considerable armed forces of the neighboring Croatia were stationed and remained in the territory even after signing of the Dayton document. Most of the armed assaults, camps establishing and expulsion of the Serbian people were accomplished equally by these units and the armed formations of Herzeg-Bosnia.

Serbs lived mostly at Livno – 3,782, then at Duvno (Tomislavgrad) - 570 and a very few of them lived at Listica – 147,

Ljubuski	–	64,
Citluk	–	19,
Posusje	–	9,
Grude	–	8.

The expulsion from the territory of above municipalities was already completed during spring months of 1992.

In this territory numerous religious (Orthodox) buildings were destroyed. The churches at Livno, Duvno and Ljubuski were demolished, burnt or laid waste and desecrated. The memorial ossuary at Livno was mined, while parochial house was burnt. The churches at the villages Rujani and Rascani were also laid waste. The chapel Dobric, at the municipality of Listica, was damaged.

Bosnian Posavina

At the onset of the war till the breaking through of the Serbian corridor from Banja Luka to Bijeljina, this territory was predominantly under the control of the Croatian-Muslim armed forces. After that, and upon the signing of the Dayton document, the municipalities of Orasje and Odzak fell under the control of the Federation, as well as some rural areas within the municipalities of Bosanski [amac, Brcko, Modrica... From those municipalities, that is, from those municipalities which had fallen under the Federation control, about 1.000 people of Serbian nationality were expelled. Preparations for the fight with the Serbs at Posavina lasted throughout the year 1991 and the final resolution took place in February and March 1992 at the time when Bosnia and Herzegovina was still within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. In the meantime, by cunning manouvering, the Republic of Croatia managed to infiltrate into the territory a large number of its combatants, establish illegally and supply with arms members of the Croatian and the Muslim political parties from the municipalities of Posavina and together with the Muslims prepare for the attack on Serbian settlements. In spring 1992 in a synchronized offensive conducted in Herzegovina and in the plateau of Kupres, they launched the armed actions in which they had isolated all larger Serbian settlements in the municipalities of Orasje and Odzak. At the same time numerous camps were established in which several thousand Serbs were kept. Soon afterwards they subjected the Serbs to various kinds of blackmail before releasing them. In most cases they insisted on the exchange according to the reciprocity. Such kind of blackmail was applied to the Serbian leaders of [amac, the only municipality that successfully defended itself against the attacks of the Croatian-Muslim paramilitary formations. They were forced to find sufficient number of the Muslims and the Croats, either on their free will or using some administrative measures who could be exchanged for the Serbs imprisoned in the camps in Orasje and Odzak. The consequences of this act are known. The Serbian leaders of [amac were accused of ethnic cleansing and the Hague Tribunal brought its action against them. The Croats and the Muslims, the creators and the first direct perpetrators who

ethnically cleansed the huge territory of Posavina were and still are innocent both for the Tribunal and the whole world. Ethnic cleansing of the Serbs was thus again legalized by the so-called international community while the coerced Serbs and what they did under pressure and for the purpose of self-protection were declared criminals. In this case, as in many cases afterwards, the sequence of acts and sequence of responsibility were bartered away.

At a territory presently in possession of the Croats and the Muslims that belongs to the so-called Federation, the churches at Orasje, Gnjonica, Donja Dubica and Novi Grad were destroyed. At Novi Grad parochial house was shelled and quite damaged. In this case again, as before, we do not mention devastated religious and buildings of culture located in those municipalities that, according to the Dayton Agreement, are located in those municipalities that were denominated to belong to Republika Srpska. Throughout Posavina there are ruined houses of worship at almost all places that were under temporary Croat or Muslim control in 1992.

Major Towns

Major towns that were under military or civil Muslim or Croat authorities had been, as pointed out on several occasions by the first president of Republika Srpska, Dr Radovan Karadzic, prisoners' camps for the Serbs of a special kind as long as the war lasted. The UN Security Council contributed to such a state considerably, as many of those towns were treated as special zones (Gorazde, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac) under its protection. In that way the military and civil authorities of Alija Izetbegovic were free to do with the Serbs what they wanted. And they used that right extensively. In previous chapters dealing with the expulsion of the Serbs from specific territories we also mentioned all available information about their fate in most major towns of those regional communities (Tuzla, Zenica, Bihac, Travnik, Mostar). The only thing that has left is to tell something about the destiny of the Serbs in Gorazde and Sarajevo.

The municipality of Gorazde was inhabited by over 10.000 Serbs, 26.000 Muslims and a little more than 700 Yugoslavs. In the town itself lived 9.600 Muslims, 5.600 Serbs and 650 Yugoslavs. The Serbs from the town and the largest part of that municipality were expelled only after being subject to torture at various camps or privately kept prisons while a few hundred Serbs were killed. Serbian population from the largest part of the country area that was robbed, burnt and devastated was also expelled and that territory is now under control of today's so-called Muslim-Croat Federation. The only Serbs who remained on the ground are those living at Kopaci (the seat of today's Serbian municipality Gorazde) and surrounding places located within the borders of Republika Srpska.

At Gorazde the following Serbian Orthodox buildings were demolished or burnt: the Church of St. George built in 1446 (a renowned monument of national culture at which the first Serbian printing press was located from 1529 to 1531), the chapel and parochial house were demolished and the graveyard at Kopaci was devastated, it was actually excavated by a dredger.

The city of Sarajevo is a story for itself, but no doubt it was the biggest grave of the Serbian people in the war. All estimates on the Serbian casualties are quite unreliable and different. However, even stated in the mildest form they are more than terrifying. Depending on the source from which they originated, the figures about the Serbs who were killed in Sarajevo most often range between 8.000 and 20.000 victims. To tell the truth there are some estimates that reach even the figure of 30.000 but there are even those, a smaller number of them, who believe that only 6.500 Serbs were killed. No one says the figure could be smaller, even when we speak about the multitude of the Muslim sources (always treated by the author as unreliable). We are stating the Serbian casualties in Sarajevo because the figure directly produces effect on the total number of the Serbs expelled from the city. Unfortunately for the whole Serbian nation, the dead were permanently left hidden at various secret places of execution known only to the executors.

The capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided into ten suburban and city municipalities with only two suburban municipalities, Pale and Trnovo, belonging to Republika Srpska. According to the census from 1991 in those ten municipalities lived 158.000 Serbs (30%), 56.000 Yugoslavs (10.6%), 35.000 Croats (6.7%) and other nations 18.500 (3.5%). But these figures represented a little more than the half of the total number of residents of this city (526.000). The second half was composed of the Muslims. If, as most estimates says, at least one half of the Yugoslavs were of the Serbian origin, than the total number of the Serbs in Sarajevo could be estimated at more than 185 000. The expulsion of the Serbs from Sarajevo was accomplished in two stages: the first one, which commenced even prior to the declaration of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and continued till the moment of signing of the Dayton act and realization of the fact that Sarajevo was absolutely taken from the Serbs and given away to the Muslims and their so-called Federation. At that first stage the Serbian civilians emigrated exclusively from those city municipalities that

were under control of the Alija Izetbegovic' s armed forces and civil authorities. The second stage commenced as soon as the dictate of Dayton was signed (November – December 1995) and covered the whole territory of Sarajevo, meaning both those municipalities that already belonged to the BH federation and those newly annexed that used to be entirely or partially a part of Republika Srpska, inhabited mostly with the Serbian population (Ilijas, Ilidza, Hadzici, Vogosca, etc). The only exception were the municipalities of Pale and Trnovo with the total number of 13.000 Serbian inhabitants. The expulsion of the Serbs from Sarajevo was completed on 20 March 1996, when the Serbs left a part of Grbavica.

It is estimated that from spring 1992 until the above date in 1995 the total number of the expelled Serbs reached the figures of 150.000 – 155.000 while in the municipalities of Pale and Trnovo and in a rather small territory of Sarajevo suburbs that are inhabited by the Serbs and in the city itself (today under the rule of the Muslim-Croat Federation) remained between 30,000 and 35,000 Serbs, former Sarajevo residents, at the maximum. Certain differences in interpreting the above figures are the result of already mentioned unknown figure of the Serbian victims in the city.

During the war operations in this city, in the period 1992-1995, the following Serbian religious and cultural monuments and buildings were partially or completely destroyed: Orthodox cathedral (built in previous century), Metropolis, the church of St. Archangels, Gabriel and Michael, the Church of St. Lazarus, the church of the St. Sava of Serbia, the building of the Theological Seminary with the library, the church of Transfiguration of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, the church of St. Apostles Peter and Paul, the church of the St.Great-Martyr George (built in 1886). These were not the religious buildings only but the important cultural and historical monuments of our nation, some of them being under special protection of the state for decades.

http://www.karadzic.org/rat/rat_hrono_e.html