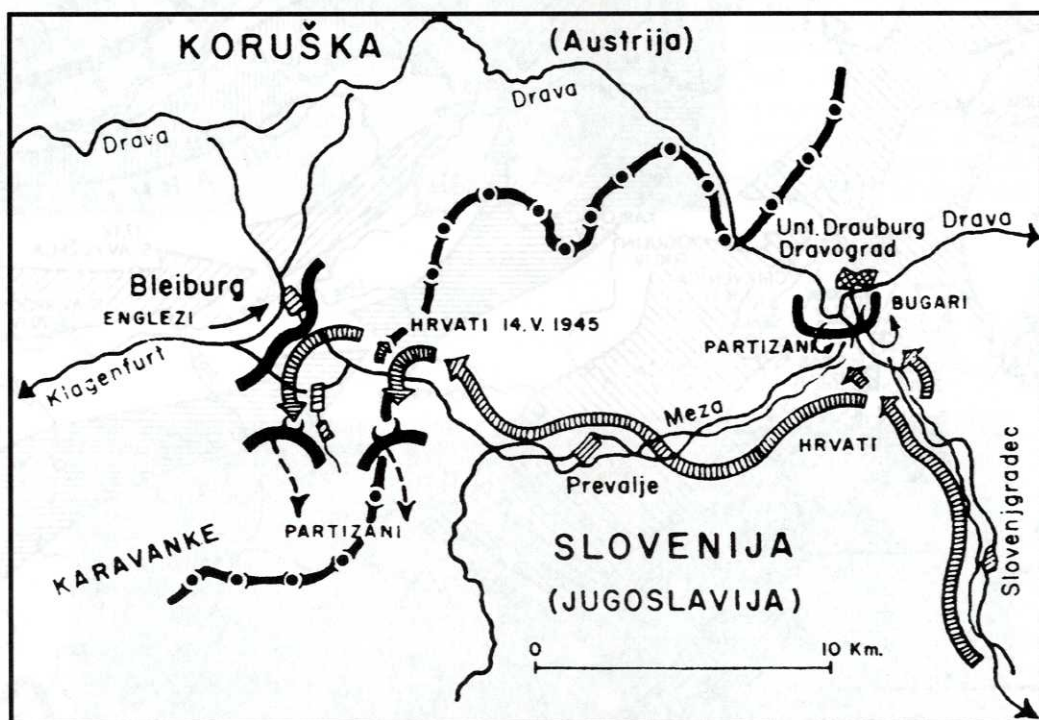




Povlačenje hrvatske vojske i građanstva prema Austriji (9. svibanj 1945.)

The withdrawal of the Croatian army and civilians towards Austria (9 May 1945).



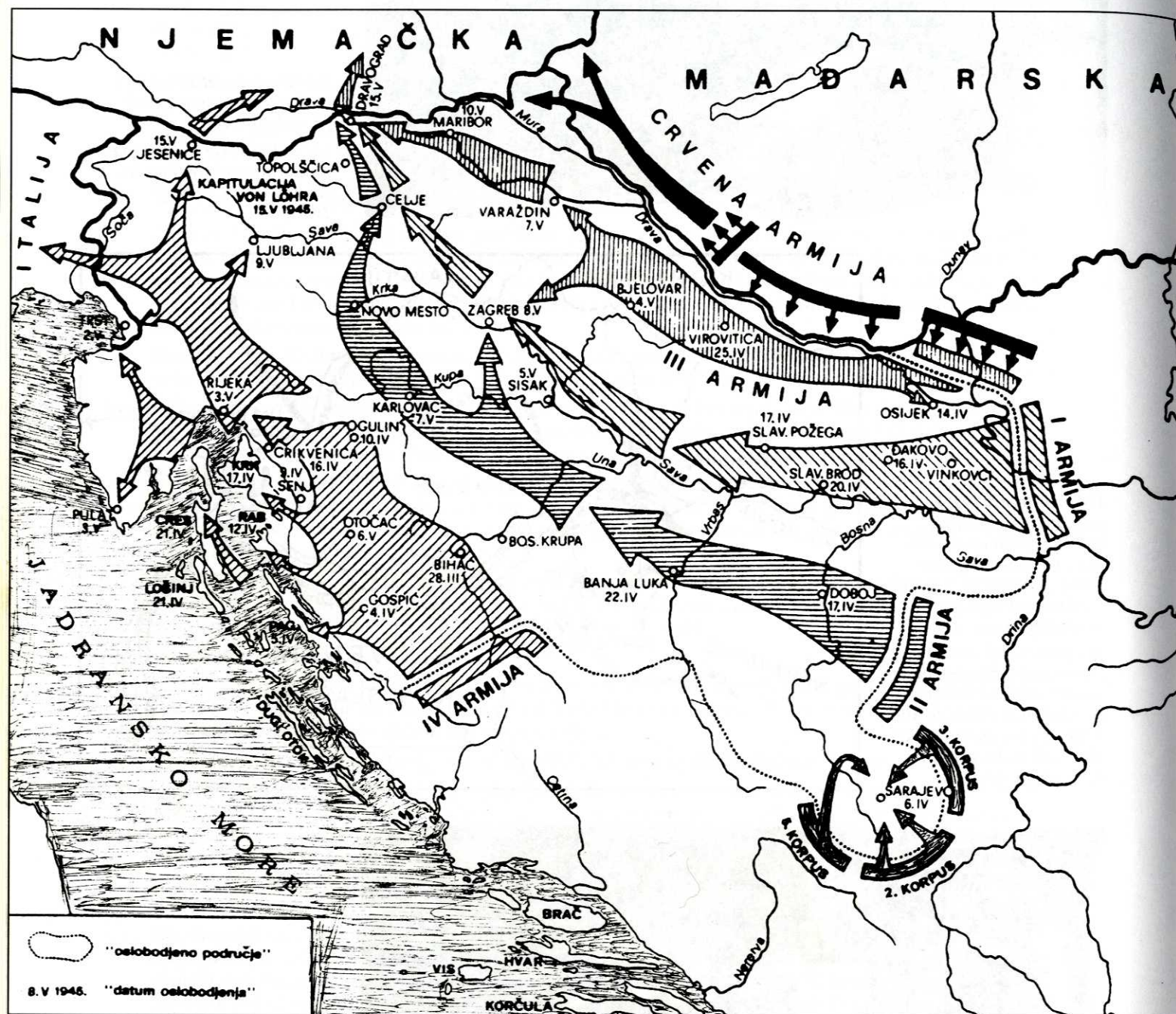
Položaj Hrvata (vojske i građanstva), označen crtkano, prema partizanskim i engleskim jedinicama (iz knjige V. Nikolić, Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda).

The position of the Croats (army and civilians), designated with hachure marks in relation to Partisan and English units (from V. Nikolić, Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda).



Hrvatska kolona u povlačenju snimljena u blizini austrijske granice.

A column of retreating Croats photographed near the Austrian border.

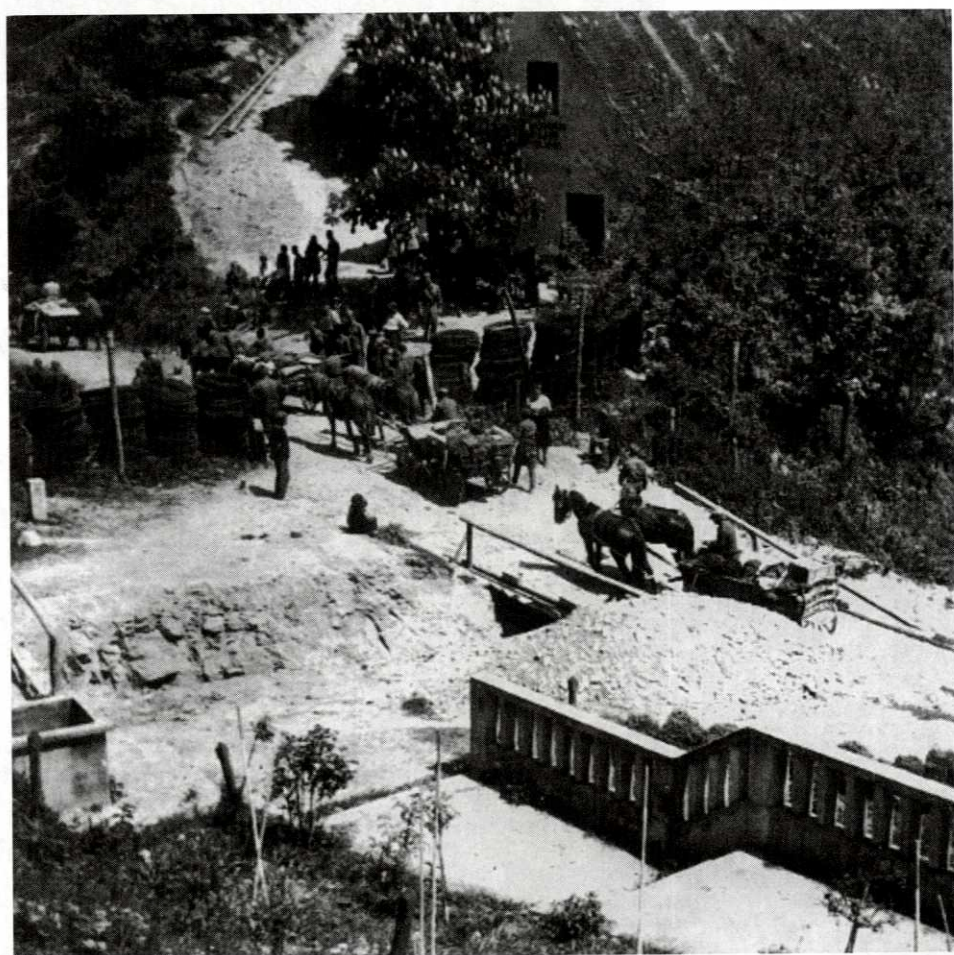


Karta završnih operacija partizanske-Jugoslavenske armije u proljeće 1945. (Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i kulture).

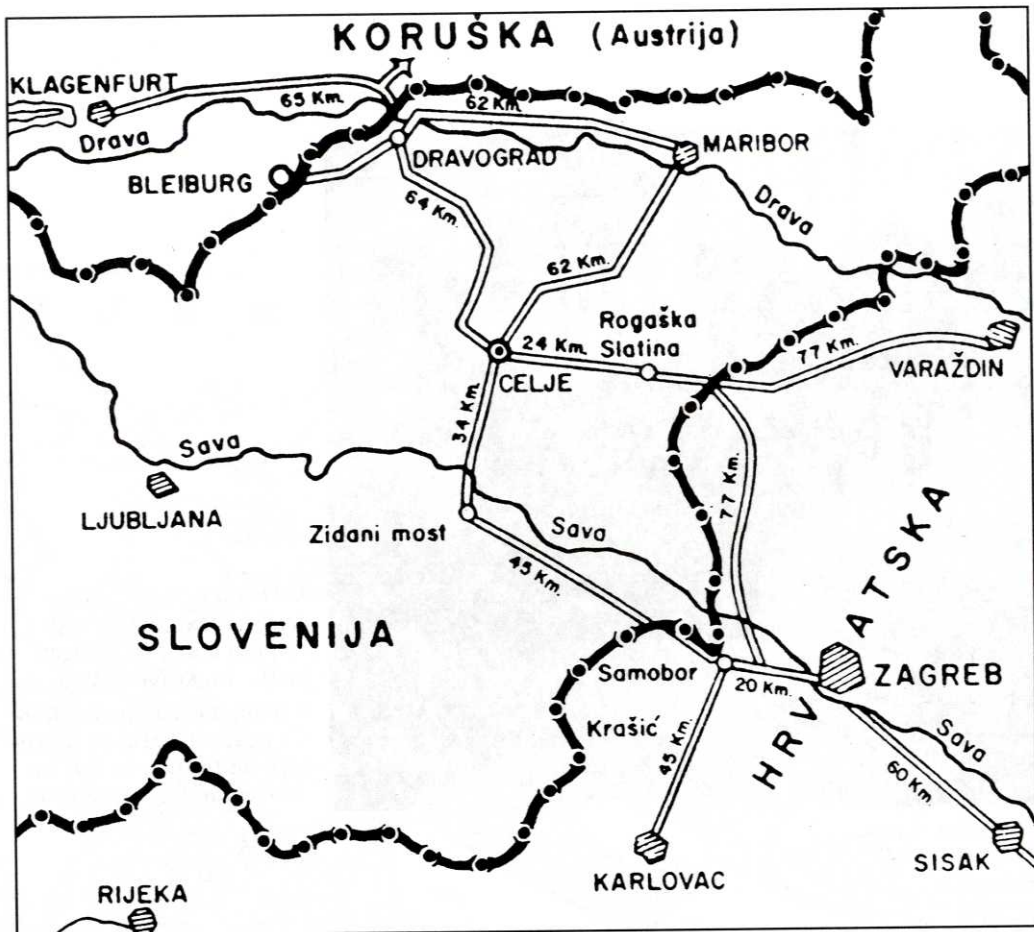
A map of the final operations of the Partisan/Yugoslav army in the spring of 1945 (Encyclopedia of Croatian History and Culture).



Kolona u povlačenju područja Tržiča, u Gorenjskoj, na putu u Celovec (Klagenfurt) - 10. svibanj 1945.
A column withdrawing from the region of Tržić, in Gorenjska, on the way to Celovec (Klagenfurt), 10 May 1945.



Hrvatska izbjeglička kolona na austrijskoj granici kod Dravograda - svibanj 1945.
A column of Croatian refugees at the Austrian border near Dravograd, May 1945.



Putovi izlaska vojske i građanstva iz Hrvatske u prvoj polovici svibnja 1945. (iz knjige V. Nikolića, Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda).

Departure routes of the army and civilians from Croatia in the first half of May 1945 (from V. Nikolić, Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda).

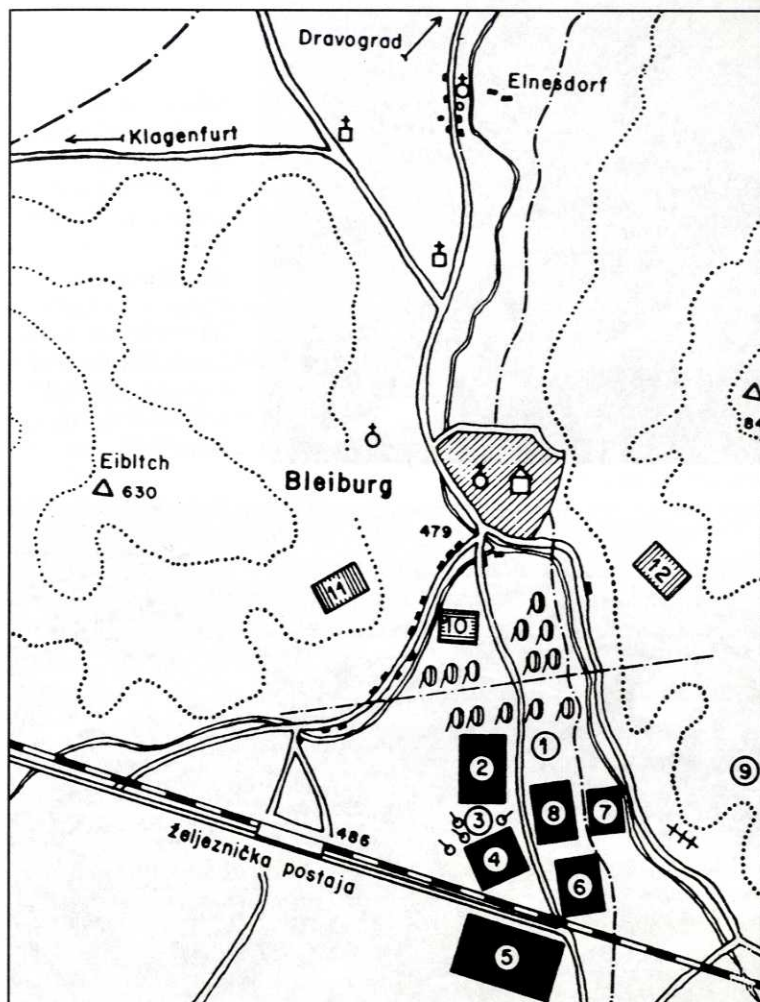
Odmorište hrvatskih izbjeglica u povlačenju prema zapadu.

Croatian refugees resting during their westward withdrawal.



Putovi prema Austriji bili su zakrčeni izbjeglicama. Snimak zakrčene ceste u Mrežnici, 13. svibanj 1945.

Roads to Austria were crowded with refugees. Photograph of an overcrowded road in Mrežnica, 13 May 1945.

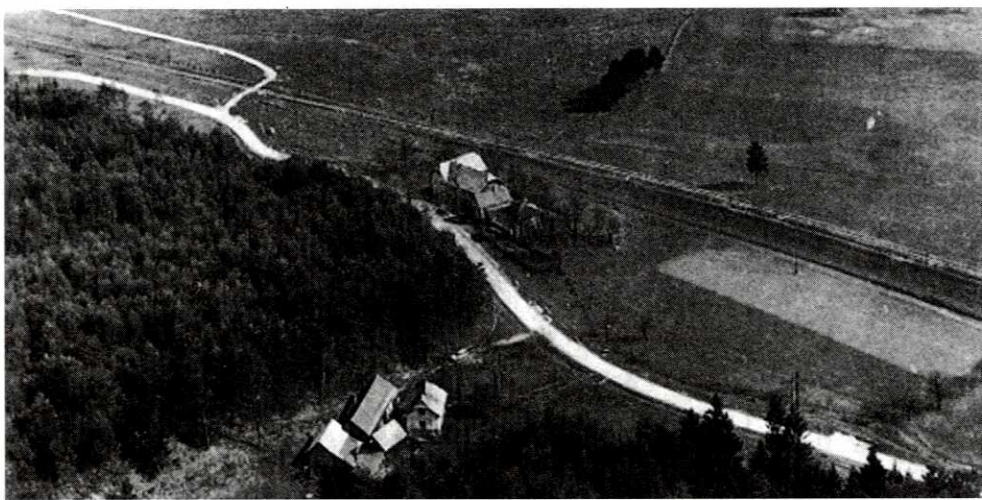


Položaj triju vojski pred Bleiburgom, 15. svibanj 1945. Ova karta je prvi put objavljena u "Danici" 14. svibnja 1952. godine. Hrvati u povlačenju bili su grupirani (oznake od 1 do 7), dok su ispred njih britanske oklopne jedinice (10) i partizanske jedinice (11 i 12), a 9 su Crnogorci u povlačenju. Oznake hrvatskih skupina: 1-glavno zapovjedništvo; 2-vojne jedinice; 3-topništvo i oklopne jedinice; 4-transportne jedinice; 5-civilne izbjeglice; 6-oružništvo; 7-udarne jedinice (Crna legija); 8-Previjalište (sanitet)

The position of three armies at Bleiburg, 15 May 1945. This map was first published in Danica, 14 May 1952. The retreating Croats were in groups (marked from 1 to 7), while before them were British armored units (10) and Partisan units (11 and 12), while number 9 designates retreating Montenegrans. Designations of Croatian groups: 1 - central command; 2 - military units; 3 - artillery and armored units; 4 - transportation units; 5 - civilian refugees; 6 - gendarmerie; 7 - shock troops (Black Legion); 8 - dressing station (sanitation).

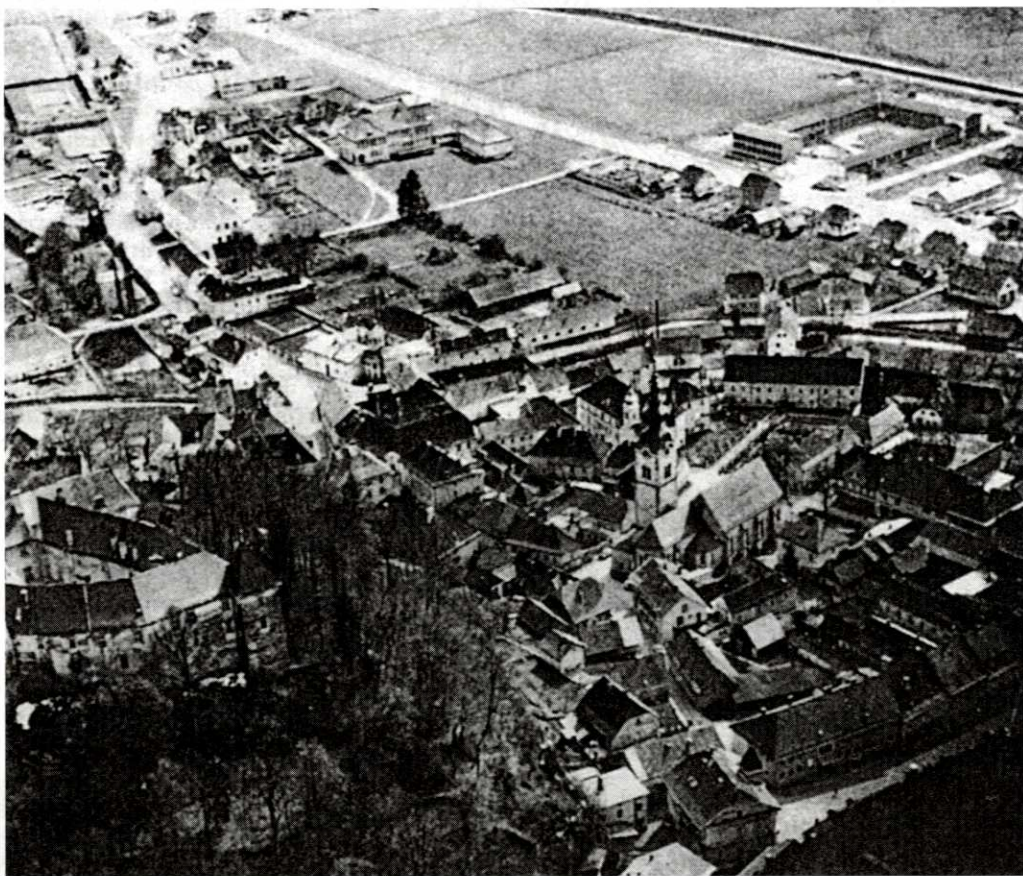
Raskrižja u Koruškoj bila su zakrčena mnogobrojnim hrvatskim izbjeglicama, vojnicima i pučanstvom
The crossroads in Carinthia with crowded with vast numbers of Croatian refugees, soldiers and civilians.





Polje kod Bleiburga, mjesto okupljanja i predaje hrvatske vojske i pučanstva u povlačenju- svibanj 1945.

A field near Bleiburg, a place where the retreating Croatian army and civilians gathered and surrendered, May 1945.



Bleiburg, snimak iz zraka.

Bleiburg, aerial photograph.



Dvorac Thurn - Valsassina iznad Bleiburga u kome je odlučena sudbina hrvatskih izbjeglica.

The Thurn-Valsassina castle above Bleiburg in which the fate of the Croatian refugees was decided.

Instructions regarding War Diaries and Intelligence
Summaries are contained in F.S. Regs., Vol. I.
and the Staff Manual respectively. Title pages
will be prepared in manuscript.

SHEET 6
WAR DIARY
G(OPS) or
INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY.
(Erase heading not required).

Unit **HQ 5 CORPS**

Commanding Officer **Lt Gen**

Month and Year **MAY 1945**

Place.	Date.	Hour.	Summary of Events and Information.	R.
	14 (cont)		from EAST and NE. Much YUGOSLAV activity in div area throughout day though patrol to border D.2061 met only scattered individual tps. Collection and org of very large numbers of surrendered forces and displaced persons continued. These numbers particularly great in 78 DIV area. HQ 1 AGRA passed to comd 46 DIV 2330 hrs.	
		0015	Personal message from Corps Comd to Army Comd giving situation in Corps area	
		1200	Temporary bdy agreed with SOVIET and BULGARIAN forces	
ge force of CROAT reported to be	15		200,000 strong accompanied by 500,000 Civs approached AUSTRIAN border from area DRAVOGRAD. Refused to surrender to YUGOSLAV forces/parleys agreed to remain far side of border temporarily. After further parleys conducted by Comd 38 IRISH INF BDE as intermediary and after full preparations for an engagement had been made by TITOS forces CROATS agreed to surrender to latter at 1700 hrs and to return to CROATIA. In order to meet threat of impending arrival of CROAT forces BRIT garrison in HEIBURG D.6178 strengthened by 16 LI less two coys. Smaller force of CROATS SOUTH of EBERNDORF D.4878 surrendered to TITO forces at same time. Move of YUGOSLAV tps both into and out of Corps area continued with considerable increase in number in KLAGENFURT. HQ ARMY GP 'E' moved from GRIFFEN during afternoon under orders YUGOSLAWS. In 78 DIV area 5 NORTHAMPTONS contacted 3 US DIV in area RADSTADT A.3181 during afternoon. 36 INF BDE completely disarmed CAUCASIANS and continued round up of COSSACKS in hills.	
		0130	Report on YUGOSLAV situation in AUSTRIA by Comd 5 CORPS to Comd EIGHTH ARMY passed to Resident Minister H.M. GOVERNMENT	Ap
			BGS 5 CORPS had meeting with reps of 4 JUGOSLAV ARMY	Ap
			Wt 13171/1805 1,200,000 7/40 BPL 61-7171 Forms C2118/22	

Stranica ratnog dnevnika britanskog 5. korpusa u kojem se govori o 200.000 pripadnika hrvatskih oružanih snaga koje prati oko 500.000 civila, koji se nalaze nadomak austrijske granice, u području Dravograda.
A page from the war journal of the British fifth corps, in which it speaks of 200,000 members of the Croatian armed forces accompanied by approximately 500,000 civilians located near the Austrian border, in the Dra-
vograd area.



*Kolona na povlačenju
na raskrižju udaljenom
svaga 3 kilometra od
Bleiburga.*

*A retreating column at
a crossroads located on
3 kilometers from
Bleiburg.*

KABINET
MARŠALA JUGOSLAVIJE
Br. 15. ✓

17 maja 1945 godine

ŠEFU BRITANSKE VOJNE DELEGACIJE

Molimo Vas obavjestite feldmaršala g. Aleksandera, da je Maršal Tito primio njegovu depešu od 16 maja 1945 g. o predaji 200.000 Jugoslavena koji se nalaze u Austriji i o evakuaciji Vaših snaga sa ostrva Visa.

Maršal se slaže u potpunosti sa predlogom feldmaršala g. Aleksandera i izražava mu zahvalnost.

Napred pomenutih 200.000 preuzeće Štab III armije kome su izdate potrebne instrukcije.

Slobodni smo Vas umoliti, da nas obavjestite, gde bi se sastala komisija za prijem zarobljenika sa delegatima odredjenim od feldmaršala g. Aleksandera za primopredaju.

Primitite izraze moga poštovanja

Po naredjenju Maršala
Generalmajor

Ljub. Djurić

/Ljub. Djurić/

Brzjav kojeg je 17. svibnja 1945. godine Tito uputio šefu britanske vojne delegacije u kojem se govori o 200.000 izbjeglih Hrvata koje će partizani preuzeti.

A telegram dated 17 May 1945 sent by Tito to the head of the British military delegation that mentions 200,000 Croatian refugees who will be taken by the Partisans.



*Zarobljenička kolona Hrvata u okolici Dravograda, svibanj 1945.
A column of captive Croats in the Dravograd vicinity, May 1945.*



*Zarobljeni vojnici i civili u drugim su kolonama prelazili most u Mariboru, u svibnju 1945.
Military and civilian captives crossing the bridge in Maribor in long columns, May 1945.*



Kolone zarobljenika kroz Maribor sprovodila je XII. proleterska brigada Jugoslavenske armije.
Columns of captives were led through Maribor by the Yugoslav Army's 12th Proletarian Brigade.



Karta Križnog puta zarobljenih Hrvata (autor ove karte naziva ih "kolonama smrti"), sa naznakom NAJVAŽNIJIH putova od Austrije do Beograda. Mnogobrojni odvojeci nisu naznačeni. Karta iz knjige "Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda".

A map of the Way of the Cross of Croatian captives (the author of this map calls them "death marches"), designating the PRINCIPAL routes from Austria to Belgrade. Many alternate routes and detours are not noted. The map is from the book *Bleiburška tragedija hrvatskoga naroda*.



Pogled na zarobljenički logor u Donjoj Vasi u Koruškoj
A view of the prison camp in Donja Vas in Carinthia.

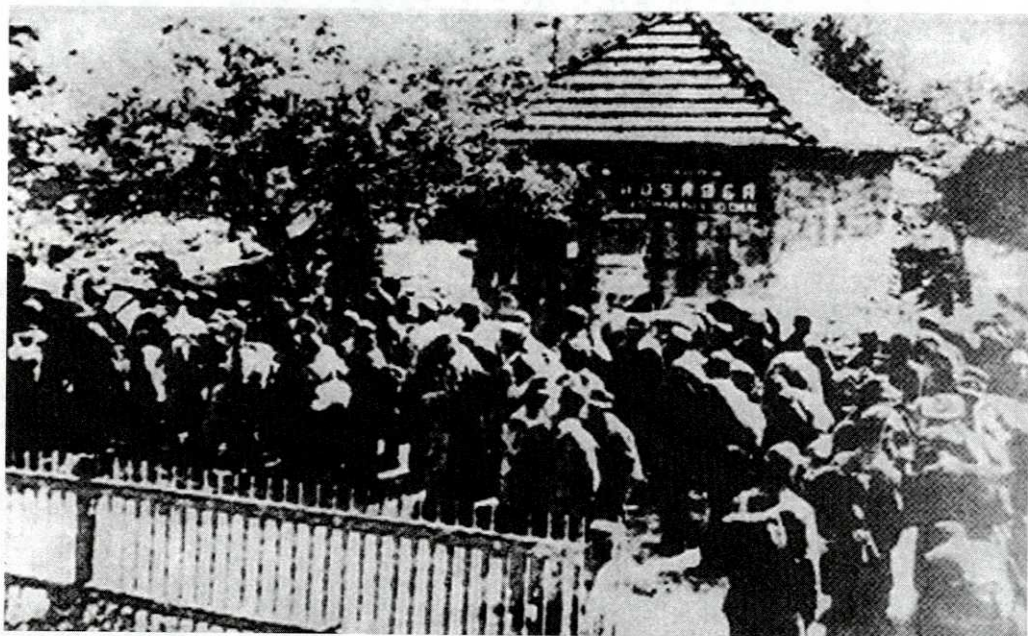


Zarobljenički logor u Celju, u svibnju 1945.
A prison camp in Celje, May 1945.



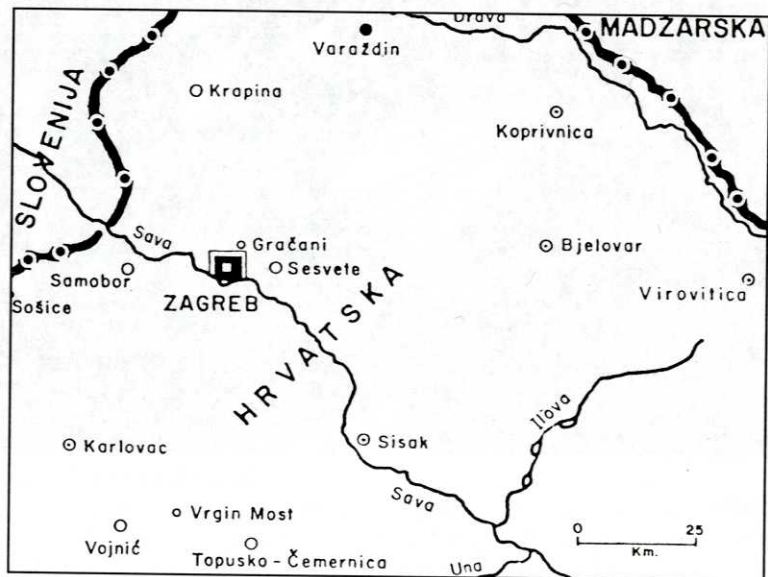
Dio Slovenije s naznačenim mjestima u kojima su masovno i bez suda, partizanske jedinice likvidirale Hrvate.

A part of Slovenia showing places at which Partisan units liquidated Croats massively and without a trial.



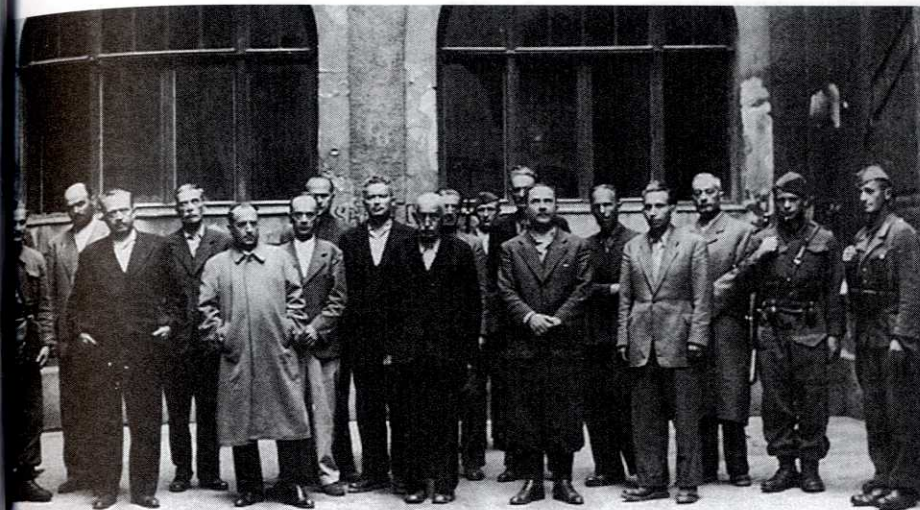
Predah zarobljenika u okolici Karlovca, svibanj 1945.

Captive resting in the Karlovac area, May 1945.



Dio najpoznatijih mjesta u kojim su u prvim danima "Križnog puta", masovno ubijani Hrvati zarobljeni u okolici Bleiburga.

A portion of the best known places at which Croats apprehended near Bleiburg were massacred during the first days of the "Way of the Cross."



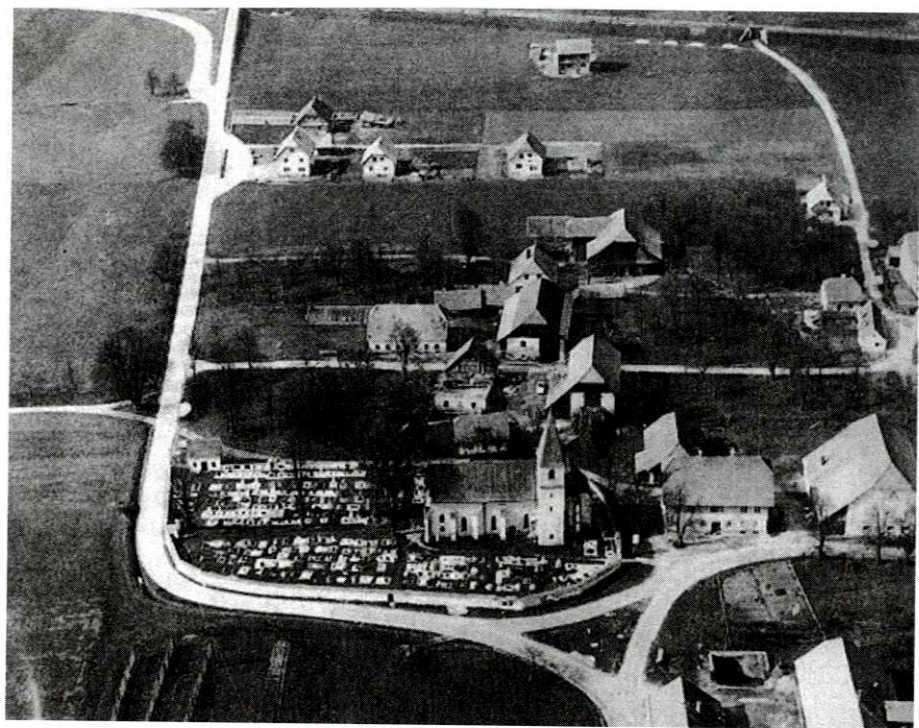
Članovi vlade NDH i drugi dužnosnici, koje su Saveznici izručili jugoslavenskim vlastima u svibnju 1945., u zatvoru u Đorđićevoj, u Zagrebu.

Members of the government of the Independent State of Croatia and other officials, who were handed over to the Yugoslav authorities by the Allies in May 1945, in a prison on Đorđićeva Street in Zagreb.



Zarobljenički logor u Zagrebu, u Maksimiru, u svibnju 1945.

A prison camp in Maksimir, in Zagreb, in May 1945.



Unter-Loibach

*Borik u bleiburškoj dolini u kojemu je postavljen spomenik Hrvatima – bleiburškim žrtvama.
Borik in the Bleiburg valley—the location of a monument to the Croatian victims of Bleiburg.*



Jedno od spomen-obilježja u okolini Bleiburga.

One of the memorial markers in the Bleiburg vicinity.



Spomenik "U čast i slavu poginulohrvatskoj vojsci. Svibanj 1945."

A monument "In honor and to the glory of the fallen Croatian army. May 1945."



Ovaj spomenik podignut 1977. je jedan od najvećih u okolici Bleiburga.

This monument, erected in 1977, is one of the largest in the Bleiburg area.



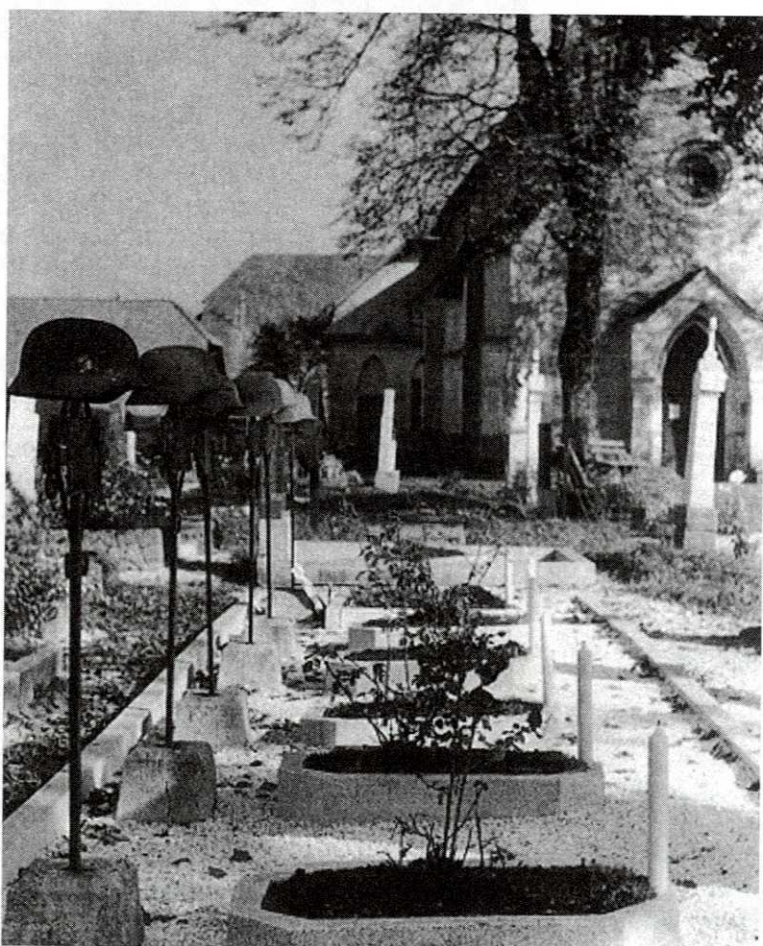
Preživjeli suborci podigli su ovaj spomenik hrvatskim vojnicima zakopanim na groblju u Eisenkappelu.

Survivors lifted this monument to Croatian soldiers, their comrades-at-arms, buried at the cemetery in Eisenkappel.



Groblje u Unter-Loibachu na kojemu su pokopani hrvatski vojnici, svibnja 1945.

The cemetery in Unter-Loibach, at which Croatian soldiers are buried, May 1945.

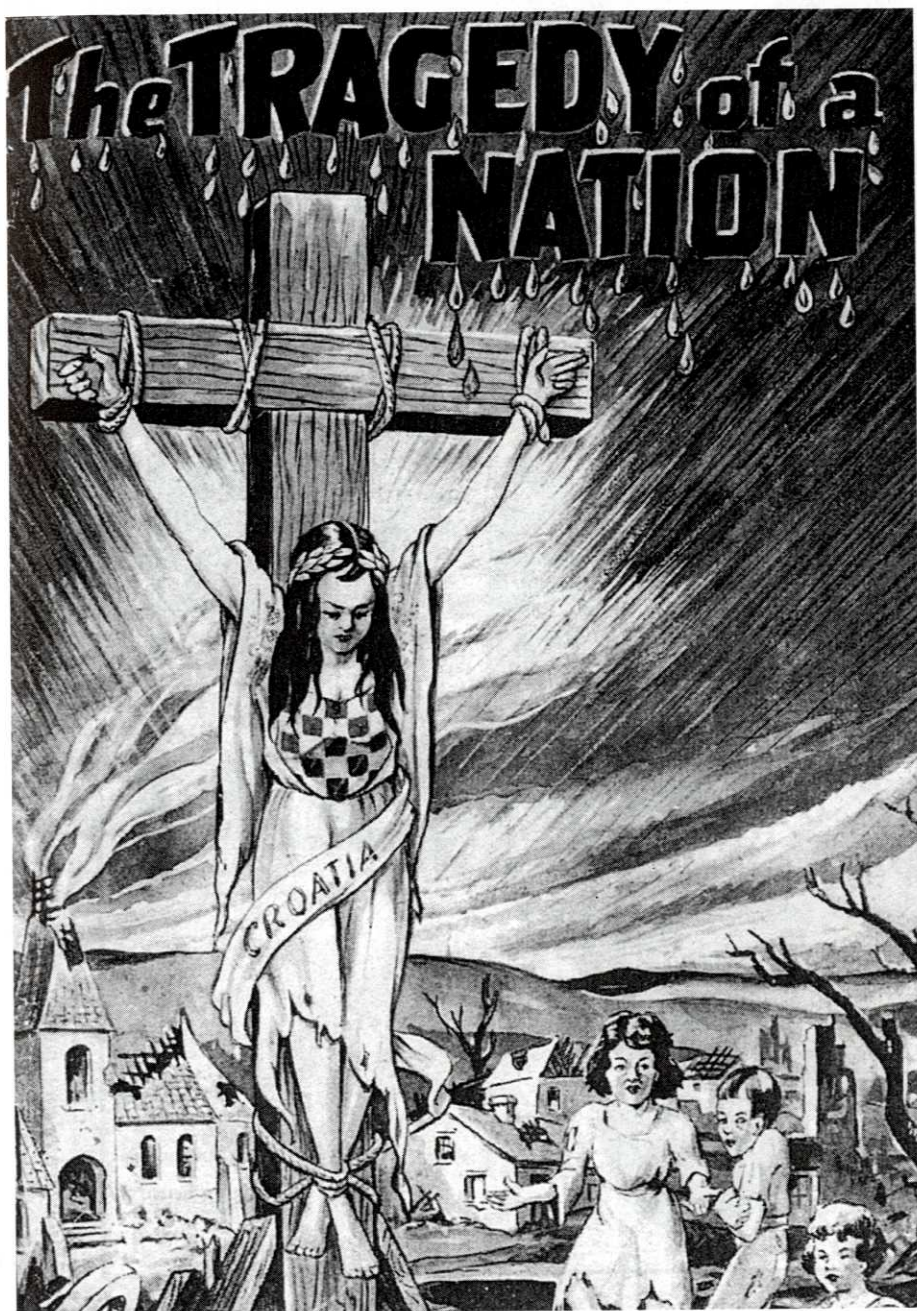


Grobovi hrvatskih vojnika pokopanih u Unter-Loibachu.

The graves of Croatian soldiers buried at Unter-Loibach.

Hrvatske pošte su 1995. godine povodom 50 godina bleiburške tragedije hrvatskog naroda, izdale prigodnu poštansku marku koju je dizajnirao Boris Ljubičić.

In 1995, the Croatian Postal Service issued stamps designed by Boris Ljubičić to mark the 50th anniversary of the Bleiburg tragedy of the Croatian people.



Naslovnica prve publikacije, djela autora Theodora Benkovića koja se pojavila u Chicagu 1947. godine, u kojoj je prvi put javno objavljen dio istine o tragediji hrvatskog naroda u Bleiburgu.

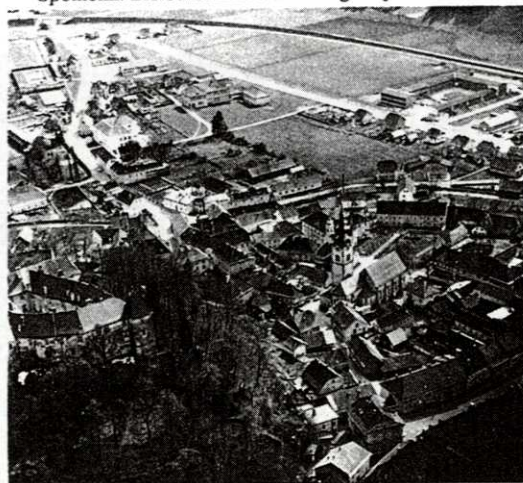
The cover of the first publication to mention a part of the truth on the tragedy of the Croatian people in Bleiburg. Its author is Theodore Benković and it was published in Chicago in 1947.



Kristian Kreković -
Hrvatska smrt
1945.



Spomenik Bleiburškim žrtvama na groblju u Loibahu



Austrijski gradić Bleiburg



Dvorac u Bleiburgu



Kristian Kreković - Hrvatska siročad

MOLBA OBRAMBENOG FONDA BLEIBUŠRKIH ŽRTAVA

Naslovnica apela u povodu sudskog spora lorda Aldingtona protiv Nikolaja Tolstoja, britanskog državljanina koji je hrabro ustao u obranu istine o Bleiburgu. Sudska rasprava je održana 3. listopada 1989.

The cover-page of an appeal to Lord Aldington's suit against Nikolai Tolstoy, a British citizen who courageously spoke out to defend the truth at Bleiburg. The court proceedings began on 3 October 1989.

BLEIBURG I KRIŽNI PUT U HISTORIOGRAFIJI, PUBLICISTICI
I MEMOARSKOJ LITERATURI

KRONOLOŠKI POPIS VAŽNIJIH RADOVA, ZBORNIKA I KNJIGA

Theodor Benković, *The Tragedy of a Nation*, Chicago, 1947.

Oton Knezović, *Pokolj hrvatske vojske god. 1945.*, Chicago, 1955.

Erich Schmidt-Richberg, *Das Ende auf dem Balkan Die Operationen der Heeresgruppe E von Griechenland bis zu den Alpen*, Heidelberg, 1955.

Krunoslav Draganović, *Kalvarija hrvatskog naroda god. 1945.*, Hrvatski kalendar, Chicago, 1955.

Rudolf Kiszling, *Die Kroaten*, Graz - Köln, 1956.

Borivoje Karapandžić, *Kočevje Titov najkrvaviji zločin*, Cleveland, 1959.(prvo izdanje)

Stephen W. Skertić, *The Bleiburg - Maribor Tragedy. Croatian Golgotha*, Cleveland, 1960.

Vetrinjska tragedija. V spomin nesmrtnim junakom, izdanim v Vetrinju od 27-31. maja in pomorjenim za velike ideje svobode, Cleveland, 1960.

Početak "Kronološkog popisa važnijih radova, zbornika i knjiga o Bleiburgu i Križnom putu", koji je objavljen u *Spomenici Bleiburg 50 1945. - 1995.*

The beginning of the "Chronological List of Important Works, Anthologies and Books on Bleiburg and the Way of the Cross," published in *Spomenica Bleiburg 50 1945. - 1995.*

Napomena: Većina ilustracija, osobito fotografija, preuzeta je iz "Spomenice Bleiburg 50 1945.-1995."

Note: A majority of the illustrations, particularly photographs, were taken from "Spomenica Bleiburg 50 1945-1995"

ANTE BELJO

YUGOSLAVIA GENOCIDE

**A DOCUMENTED
ANALYSIS**

Naslovnica prve knjige Ante Belje o GENOCIDU NAD HRVATIMA I BLEIBURGU, objavljena u Sudbury-ju 1985.

The cover of Ante Beljo's first book on the genocide of Croats and Bleiburg (GENOCID NAD HRVATIMA I BLEIBURG) published in Sudbury in 1985.

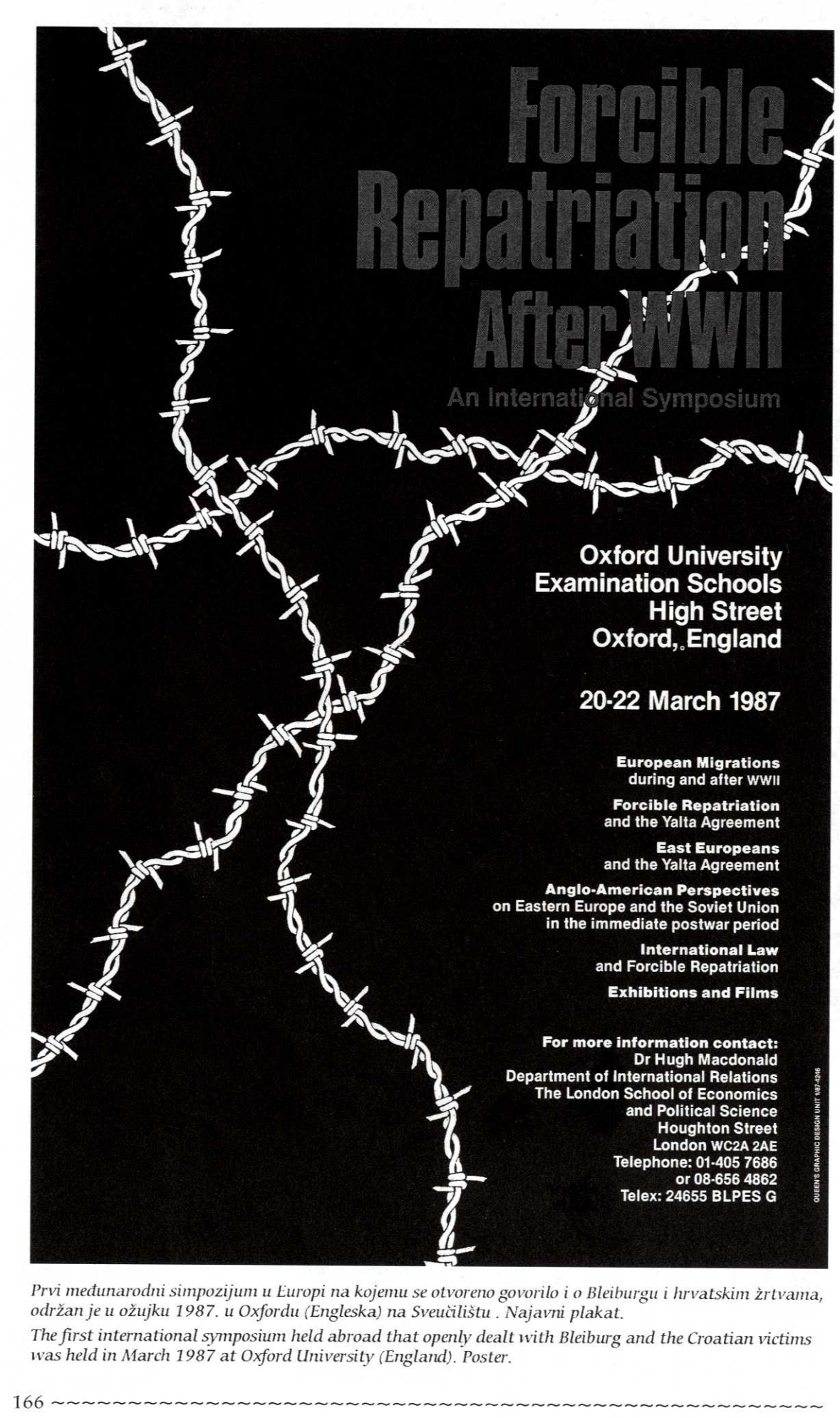
Nikolaj Tolstoj

MINISTAR I POKOLJI

BLEIBURG I KOČEVSKI ROG 1945

Nakladni zavod
Matice hrvatske

Knjiga Nikolaja Tolstoja MINISTAR I POKOLJI - Bleiburg i Kočevski rog 1945. - pojavila se tek 1991. u hrvatskom prijevodu./The Croatian translation of the book by Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Minister and the Massacres - Bleiburg and Kočevski rog 1945*, was only published in 1991.



Forcible Repatriation After WWII

An International Symposium

Oxford University
Examination Schools
High Street
Oxford, England

20-22 March 1987

European Migrations
during and after WWII

Forcible Repatriation
and the Yalta Agreement

East Europeans
and the Yalta Agreement

Anglo-American Perspectives
on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
in the immediate postwar period

International Law
and Forcible Repatriation

Exhibitions and Films

For more information contact:
Dr Hugh Macdonald
Department of International Relations
The London School of Economics
and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
Telephone: 01-405 7686
or 08-656 4862
Telex: 24655 BLPES G

QUEEN'S GRAPHIC DESIGN UNIT WIP 4246

Prvi međunarodni simpozijum u Europi na kojemu se otvoreno govorilo i o Bleiburgu i hrvatskim žrtvama, održan je u ožujku 1987. u Oxfordu (Engleska) na Sveučilištu. Najavni plakat.

The first international symposium held abroad that openly dealt with Bleiburg and the Croatian victims was held in March 1987 at Oxford University (England). Poster.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Dear ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor to welcome and thank you all for joining us in such great number at this scholarly assembly and symposium. As you well know, the topic of Bleiburg victims and the Croatian Calvary was, we might say, kept quiet for the past five decades. And even if it was talked about, the number of victims was minimized, just as were the events that led up to this event. Consequently, I believe this is the first time in our history that we are breaking the silence about these victims and are doing so in a dignified way — *sine ira et studio*, that is objectively, truthfully. This will obviously shed light upon these events and add a new perspective to our historiography. Many times we wonder about Bleiburg? There are at least three interpretations surrounding this question. All of them refer to some sort of euphoria that Dr. Ante Pavelic somehow dragged behind himself. I think that this betrays the truth. The historical truth is that every single village, from Srijem through Slavonia and farther, was perceived as a green light for the First or Second Armies (you know that both were made up of Chetniks who, during war time or after the liberation of Serbia, were included in the First and Second Partisan Army) to step into and there liquidate some more people. And because of this, mass panic developed. Panic that, in actuality, was a fear of losing people who were by and large innocent, or who were leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party, of any Croatian party, that is. Consequently, it was not just military personnel who fled in a panic generated by fear toward Zagreb, and farther toward Slovenia to Bleiburg, in the hope that when they surrendered to the allies — that is a democratic army — they would find protection and would be further protected under the established conditions of the Geneva Convention and other conventions. It is in this way that the Croatian Bleiburg, with its hundreds of thousands of refugees, was born. It was not just soldiers, but also elderly people, women, and children who, panicking, fled toward the Austrian border. We know how tragically their surrender concluded, how their delivery was conducted in the most undignified manner, especially when considering that it was the western allies who handed over the Croats, handed over war prisoners, among them many civilians, Croatian citizens who then found themselves in Bleiburg — the same citizens, I must emphasize, who turned themselves in when the war had ended. The First and Second Army handed them over, without any stipulations or firm guarantees whatsoever that these war prisoners would routinely be accepted and thus saved, under the condition that if a war criminal was found among them, he would be punished, but not under the condition that these war slaves were handed over, that they surrendered and that this massive liquidation was executed in such a massive, complete manner. On this Croatian Calvary that started in Bleiburg and continued toward Slovenia, Croatia and farther toward Serbia, people were liquidated without fair trial, massively riddled with shots; they died of hunger and thirst on the roads. Consequently, they were liquidated in the most undignified, most drastic manner possible. I would like to mention, since this was a great loss to Croatian historiography, that one monograph was never published which Dr. Krunoslav Draganović, who as you know was kidnapped in Trieste in 1968 and brought here, had spent many long years preparing. UDBA, which kidnapped him, searched him for the keys to his Vienna apartment, and that is how his monograph, which was in its final stages of completion, was destroyed. The complete documentation on Bleiburg, which he collected for nearly 40 full years, was destroyed, and it is highly unlikely that we will ever have the kind of authentic information that Dr. Krunoslav Draganović gathered, that it will ever be within reach again, and we extremely regret that his work was never

completed. It would have obviously been one of the most significant historical and historiographical documents on the Bleiburg tragedy. You see, we are aware that today, among the series of reports to be read here, will be a report examining the Bleiburg tragedy in an authentic way. But we earnestly wish that it truly be objective, since today we have prevailed over our historical traumas, and are inexpressibly glad that we have established the new conditions — our independent Croatian state, that is — in which we can, objectively and freely, speak about this topic. And we are well aware that, had the case been reversed and we had lost our battle in this Homeland War, we surely would have experienced an even worse Bleiburg and an even more bitter tragedy than that of the year 1945. And so I say, despite the painful feelings we experience when we think about the tragedy of Bleiburg, ultimately we are calm and happy that we have created the Croatian state. This is our satisfaction. All those martyrs who fell in 1945 are our great sacrifice and are Croatia's pledge, the foundation for the great event of Croatia's creation as a country. In the Catholic Church, it is said that martyrdom is the seed of Christianity, and this holds true for us. Therefore, those martyrs who lost their lives lost them on fruitful, *Croatian* ground, on the fruitful, homeland-loving Croatian earth, and today we are grateful for this real martyrdom because it planted the national seed for a new, heroic accomplishment that we attained in this Homeland War, through which we created our country, Croatia. To all the presenters here, I wish you great success, and to the symposium, fruitful labor. Thank you very much.

Ante Beljo, Chairman of the Symposium:

At this symposium, we will certainly discover many new facts. I wish to acquaint you with one of them right away. The documentation that professor Draganović worked on was not destroyed (editors's note: applause erupts in the room). It (and by this I mean the original) was reproduced in three copies, now being kept in secure locations. Draganović kept all this key documentation in two suitcases, which one family had hid. They were happy when they learned that the documentation would finally fall into safe hands. I personally traveled to Vienna to pick up this documentation and took it, via Rome, to Canada. We immediately made ten copies. There are some 70 kilograms of documents, and today they are in a safe place. The reason for their being copied into ten sets is to eliminate the possibility of them being lost. Among the documentation are very valuable documents, some of which you can see in the display set up at the Parliament entrance. That is one fact. Another fact: The taboo subject that has been kept secret all this time now reveals how the number of 1,700,000 victims, as Yugoslavia intensely propagated to the world, came to be. Namely, in order to receive war compensation, it was necessary at a Paris peace conference in 1946 to document the number of Second World War victims in the former Yugoslavia. This task was assigned to Vlade Vučetić, at that time a student who also worked at Belgrade's Institute for Statistics. He made these demographic calculations while seeking an answer to the question of approximately how many people could have died, and how many, due to the war, were not born, as well as other demographic losses during the entire war period. This information was brought to the conference in Paris and since then has been regarded as an official statistic. However, Vlade Vučetić, who later lived and today still lives in the United States, working as a professor at Chicago's South Band University, in 1985 told London's "Srpska reč" newspaper the story of how all this happened, how this number of 1,700,000 victims came to be. And it became obvious that the true number had been "inflated" manifold. So much for two significant facts.

THE IDEOLOGY OF GREATER SERBIA

Our first theme is titled The Ideology of Greater Serbia and will deal with its origins and what it had induced as such in the area.

I shall try to give you a brief outline of this ideology with a reflection on several prominent persons and works from the Serbian history who were its creators.

ILIJA GARAŠANIN (1812-1874)

Ilija Garašanin was one of the most active Serbian politicians in the 19th century. He was the contemporary of Ljudevit Gaj in Croatia. He was a minister in several ministries of the Obrenović dynasty and the Karađorđević dynasty, thus just this fact shows his political ingenuity. He became famous for his "Načertanije" which originated in 1844, but was published at a much later date. In his "Načertanije" he outlined a plan for the creation of Greater Serbia which was to include not only the territories that once belonged to Serbia, but also the lands he thought should belong to Serbia. Garašanin knew that Serbia would need the aid of neighbouring countries for the realisation of these plans and he counted on the weakening of the Balkan states by the fall of the Turkish Empire, thus enabling Serbia to grab certain territories more easily.

In this "Načertanije" he says: "The Serbian state must strive to expand and become more stronger; its roots and foundation are firmly embedded in the Serbian Empire of the 13th and 14th centuries and the glorious pageant of Serbian history. Historically speaking, the Serbian rulers, it may be remembered, began to assume the position held by the Greek Empire and almost succeeded in making an end of it, replacing the collapsed Eastern Roman Empire with a Serbian-Slavic one. Emperor Dušan the Mighty even adopted the crest of the Greek Empire. The arrival of the Turks in the Balkans interrupted this change, and prevented it from taking place for a long time. But now, since Turkish power is broken and destroyed, so to speak, this process must commence once more in the same spirit and again be undertaken in the knowledge of that right.

The substructure and framework of the Serbian Empire, therefore, must be cleared of all encumbrances so that a new edifice may be constructed on this solid and durable historical foundation."

* * *

"The Serbs were the first of all the Slavs of Turkey to struggle for their freedom with their own resources and strength; therefore, they have the first and foremost right to further direct this endeavour. Even now in many places, and in certain European cabinets, it is anticipated and expected that a great future is imminent for the Serbs, and it is this fact which has attracted the attention of Europe. If Serbia is thought of as merely a principality, the nucleus of a future Serbian Kingdom, then the world need not concern itself any more than it did with the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities where there is no independent principle and whom it considers Russian satellites.

A new Serbian state in the south could give Europe every guarantee that it would be orderly and strong, and able to maintain itself between Austria and Russia."

* * *

"... the hereditary princely dignity must become the most important and fundamental law of the state. Without this principle, which is the very embodiment of national unity, an enduring and permanent fusion between Serbia and Serbs in neighbouring areas is unthinkable."