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IN MEMORY OF GENERAL DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ THE SPEECH ON THE COMMEMORATIVE GATHERING IN CHI- CAGO MARKING THE ONE HUNDRED YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Draža Mihailović is an opportunity to view the General's life and deeds in the perspective of martyrdom and history of his people: to systematize our recent past in terms of long-term historical process, and to draw lessons and teachings for the future.

Today, more than ever in the past, we are in a position to do so since we are witnessing a great socio-political disentanglement: much of our supernatural enthusiasm collides with the cruel reality of civil war - both the one we accepted through our advocats of romantic social ideas in the form of dim Yugoslavism, and that which was imposed on us as the "ideology" of mother Russia. Put on trial in drama, in anger and pain, are our freedom loving and civilized beliefs which we accepted as a creative bridge between East and West, as St. Sava would say, "West in the East and East in the West". The great disentanglement shows that our diffusiveness made us become the victims of intercivilizational disagreement and conflict who are disappearing from the horizon of the world. The light of our people's rich spirit has been lost in the framework of other worlds.

Appearing "from the dead", we did not thoughtfully embark on a journey guided by our historical landmarks: instead we took the road offered to us by the experiences appropriate to luckier and more protected nations and countries. That is why we experience today our tragic reality with the sadness

of the misunderstood and deeply hurt, sometimes even with irrational anger. If by some chance the hermit from Cetinje were to again come down among Serbs he would sing a new "song of horror" : "The world would a hell appear to be and all its people hellish ghosts." I believe that the unhappy Njegoš, faced with the current anti-Serbian propagandistic unscrupulousness of merciless surroundings - that from the East and that from the West, would thunder in the spite of a hurt righteous man :

"To stamp out tyranny,
to bring it to recognize justice,
that is the most sacred duty of humanity".

The cry of Bishop Rade would merge into a thunder of freedom which is shaking the land of the Serbs: from bereft old Serbia and mindless Macedonia in the south to heroic and proud Serbian Krajina in the north and west; from the Serbian Duchy and Veljko's Krajina in the east to brittle Montenegro, proud Herzeg-Bosnia, the domestic Serbian coast and "the bride of the Adriatic" in the west. This would be followed by the howl of a sad righteous man:

"If there were any brother in the world
who would feel pity
it would be as if he helped us out."

At the great crossroads of epochs we see more clearly and judge more rationally both our freedom loving inspiration of the 19th century and our stumbling over bypaths of the 20th century. Especially we see the occupational and the Croatian-Albanian-Muslim quisling terror experienced by the national movement under the lead of General Draža Mihailović, in his steady defense of his own and western civilization, and his appeal to the Slavic and Orthodox Russia.

In the sunset of Serbian ideals that we feel from the bottom of our being, we have become aware that we were misled into a blind alley by naively subordinating our national interests to supranational aims, by those conceptions of ours which show that we made conclusions neither from our 1914-1919 golgotha, nor from our 1918-1941 Yugoslavistic life. Our credulity made us experience empty pace of history which turned us into the losers of our own identity. We ourselves have enabled the others to affirm themselves and expand on our account.

General Mihailović himself shared this social and state framework. Following the road to freedom and the unification of the Serbs, he, too, followed the ideals of a new federative and democratic Yugoslavism which was founded on the authentic national qualities of its three respective ethnic groups. He did not give up his ideals in the time of the dramatic war's disentanglement when the deception was widely spread about the Greater Serbian policy being continued through his movement. It was through manipulations that the old myth was revived in order to hide the essence of the wartime relations - the existential stumbling of all Serbian military and political organizations. Only as an afterthought it became clear that our Yugoslav wartime enthusiasm had been used as a psychological and political base of Stalin's

game with Western democracies, enabling international affirmation of Titoistic, anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav Yugoslavism.

The latter was operating in the vacuum which was left after the Serbian wartime cataclysm, in the empty space which meant degradation of intellectual and spiritual level of people's representatives: after the forcible removal or expulsion of real or "potential" opponents to revolutionary regime, after the removal of promising economic and democratic class. It was operating through the establishment of a "new class" with upstart mentality, whose weak Serbdom was subject to sterile internationalism.

In that post-war vacuum the fabrications about Mihailović's wartime position were put forward and that was done in the way which confused even his wartime allies. They were prevented from realizing their own mistakes, fatal for him, and their own superfluous tactics which put the General in the cracks between Churchill's alchemical policy and Stalin's ultimate goal-revolutionary strategy. Roosevelt's administration was fooled, even though it had until 1943 clearly seen the real state of Yugoslav relations, and within them, an obviously patriotic and pro-Allies position of the Serbs. Because of its Anglo-Saxon solidarity, by the end of the war, the U.S. administration accepted a course which strengthened the Churchill-Stalinian experimental policy of "compromise". Only today, in the epilogue of that process, in the bloody epilogue, has that fatal policy brought its full consequences. Is it not then only natural that Serbs rightfully expect the demystification and confession of those mistakes: first of all from Britain and the United States. In the gesture of awarding Truman's "Legion of Merit" to the heirs of General Draža Mihailović they see a sublime moral act of the Great Nation. On the other hand, from Britain they expect a lot more, they ask her to admit to herself and to the world that Churchill's administration was the main culprit in the evil fate of this man, causing a cataclysm that befell his army which was left to the mercy of the anti-Serb Titoistic Croatian policy. They expect her to admit that it was Churchill's mistakes which prevented the Second World War from ending on the Yugoslav territories as wars are supposed to end: by differentiating between the causes and the consequences, the murders and their victims, and with the incrimination of all crimes. Present-day behaviour of some of Britain's ruling circles is highly provocative and awakes associations of its old immoral policy. It is painful since our people know that post-war London significantly contributed to Mihailović posthumously becoming a match for the blood-covered Pavelić: to his becoming a symbol of the national symmetry which by evening the Serbian and Croatian positions prepared the grounds for the present bloody epilogue. The Honorable John Major should know this.

Our former Allies, especially those in the east of Europe, who are today represented in an anti-traditional way by some Kremlin diplomatic circles, they are responsible for the fact that after World War II, Yugoslavia adopted a political system which inevitably led to the destruction of the Yugoslav community due to its policy of neutralization of the Serbs. They be-

have as if they do not see that in front of their own eyes Tito's creation, in the building of which they had a significant role, is falling apart. Through their political superfluosity and indifference they are again provoking the people who were a victim of their wartime and post-war mistakes. Such is the attempt, for example, to return this people into the boundaries of Croatia, where during World War II they were subject to genocide, or to subordinate them to Islamic fundamentalist rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbs today are especially confused by certain misunderstanding on the part of your honored President, Bill Clinton, who clearly sees "centuries-old conditions of horrifying Bosnian problem", but nevertheless does not take into consideration the modern conditions which elucidate this problem in a more concrete way and even initiate the ways towards its permanent solution. He would understand this complex dimension if he took into account the European compromise with the Ottoman Empire by the end of the 19th century which stopped nation- and state-building in the Balkans. He would understand the problem better if he knew that the road of Christian Orthodox peoples was fettered and rendered by proselyte policy of the Holy Seat: its evil fruits are today's anti-Serb fanatical combatants in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia.

Speaking as a historian, I am deeply convinced that Mr. Clinton would initiate the complex solution if he would see the Serbo-Croatian relationship in its entirety. He would find out that the current problem could be solved within this frame alone. Your President would face one very unusual fact : Serbo-Croatian question has never been really brought up - partly because of Serbian altruistic supranational (Yugoslav) enthusiasm, partly because of Titoistic anti-Serbian constructions. He would find out that tendentious improvisations of these constructions remained hidden from the public because of the Communist Party's oppression which was partly conducted by Serbian marionettes of Tito's policy.

Even now, the main hindrance on the road towards the truth is that levelling of Serbo-Croatian wartime positions, the relapses of those lies which come from Tito's post-war ideological mystification of reality. In the haze of these lies one could hardly discern the levelling which has been equating Croatian chauvinistic separatism with Serbian liberalism.

It is sad that instead of praise for their solidarity with the Allies during 1941-1945, instead of piety for their uncountable victims, the Serbs are receiving sharp reproach today. Prevented from leading normal lives in their new centers of freedom : in the Serbian Republic and the Serbian Republic of Krajina, they are the only ones who do not have the right of self-determination and national unity. Following the illusionary and unfounded reasoning of their predecessors, the governments of our former Allies are allowing new anti-Serbian measures. The most characteristic among them is the attempt to discredit the new Serbian liberation movement through Mihailović's, already discredited, Chetniks.

The great historical disentanglement cannot be stopped. In front of our eyes our old ideals are colliding with the reality of hopelessness and

hope, they are also colliding on the battlefield of freedom and in the options of the outside world. The conclusions from our long walks through torments have been drawn. There is no more influential supranational ideologies which would in the name of some imaginary goal thwart the self-defensive and patriotic essence of the movement of the people in the territories of Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia. Under the flags of freedom, the former nationalists and internationalists are coming together. Most of the latter have finally realized that their struggle has been misused for anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav goals.

Today, faced with the ruins of our country, we recognize our successes and our mistakes, as well as those who came to us under the red flag of internationalism soiled with the Titoistic-Croatian policy of the destruction of Serbdom and Yugoslavism.

Never again should we allow ourselves to be used one against the other. Do not allow various world traders to confuse use, do not allow yourselves to be lost in regionalistic borders of Serbdom.

America, show a gesture of late recognition toward a man who was a victim of unconditional devotion to democratic world.

May Draža Mihailović and his martyrs rest in peace!

