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“THE EIGHTH POWER” IN THE INTRODUCTION TO THE GREAT WAR – A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF SERB PRESS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: The reaction of Austro-Hungarian policy on the intensification of national movements of the Slavic peoples was also felt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was considered to be a potential framework of Yugoslav reciprocity and convergence. Press editorial boards were centres of national promotion and this ideological and political trend was promoted in various ways – through Slavic media congresses, establishment of associations and inspired texts. The Serb press and their protagonists were thus found under attack of the authorities and were sanctioned in varying ways, which is a topic explored in this paper.

Keywords: *national movements, Slavic reciprocity, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serb press, editorial boards, Slavic media congresses, press associations, sanctioning, Law on press, repression*

Like any other military conflict, the First World War completed many processes and social changes whose roots go way back into the past, and one of these, an integral part of modernization movements, was the cultural and national revival of Slavic peoples in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The national movements and requests for national independence, which gradually began to appear from the 18th century, were already by the mid-19th century taking shape into first national institutions and societies. This process was intensified by the end of the 19th century and was one of the main ideological currents which damaged the social stability of the multinational empire. Up to then, the Monarchy was relatively

tolerant towards the spiritual and national tendencies of the Slavs, but after the losses caused by Italian and German national movements and territorial separation, it formed new patterns of behaviour and changed its stance towards these movements, considering that they severely undermined Habsburg confidence. Thus the emperor and the minister of foreign affairs, as stated by Haselsteiner, “*decided that foreign policy needed to be carried out in tighter organisation with military assumptions*”.¹ In one word, it was a dawn of an era where the “*right of fist ruled over small and great*”,² whereby the proclaimed harmonious coexistence proved to be fragile, because there was already a hierarchy among the certain peoples of the Monarchy.³

Applied to the South Slavs, after supporting and forcing of separation of Balkan nationalisms, feeding their mutual struggles with political and police methods, the idea of final military intervention gradually took its form. Until this happened, the Monarchy dealt with the bearers and propagators of the idea of Slavic reciprocity, as well as with the leaders of national movements, that is to say, it focused on the main dangers – the idea of Pan Slavism, Russophile attitudes, the Yugoslav idea, all notions of Serbo-Croatian cooperation, but also on the Croatian and Serbian national movements,⁴ and from the last decade of the 19th century, on the Serb “*piedmontism*”, as a matrix around which a greater Yugoslav state would be formed on the South of the Monarchy.

However, what was actually happening was that the “*Spring of peoples*”, i.e. the social, political and national movement for changes on a European stage, did not bypass Bosnia and Herzegovina, and therefore the solution of the “*Bosnian issue*” did not move in the desired direction for the Monarchy. Therefore, the so-called “*civilizing mission*” was proclaimed in the central Yugoslav regions and it included the elimination of all attractive neighbouring influences, especially of Serb ones, which were dominantly present, and whose activity the Austro-Hungarian authorities sometimes labelled as “*unreasonable*”. The tendency of even closer convergence of Serb and Muslim political goals and their common actions

¹ Vervaet, Stijn. *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj*. Synopsis. Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2013., 37.

² Popović, Đ. Cvjetko. *Sarajevski Vidovdan 1914*. Prosveta. Beograd, 1969., 36. (Serbian Cyrillic)

³ “From the standpoint of the occupation and expansionistic policy of the Monarchy it would be difficult to say that the Bosnians were treated as an equal member of the Habsburg family.” – Vervaet, N. (2013.), 125.

⁴ Whereby in Bosnia and Herzegovina work was undertaken to eliminate the pro-Yugoslav, but also Croatian ideas and their bearers promoted through, for instance, the papers of the Party of Rights until the 1890’s, the publications of the Matica hrvatska, ideological followers of Bishop Strossmeyer, press from Dalmatia, Vojvodina, and especially Serb press from these lands and other various Serb influences on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

presented an additional danger for the Monarchy, and this was something which was feared from the beginning of the occupation.⁵ Nonetheless, the greatest problem was the national and political positioning of the Serb population,⁶ justifiably so, considering the "special, ethnically differentiating policy of Austria-Hungary towards the three religious and ethnical groups in Bosnia, as in the sphere of religious and educational self-governance, so in the sphere of culture..."⁷

In their attempts to "*permanently exclude Bosnia and Herzegovina as the central Yugoslav region from becoming a factor of Yugoslav unity*",⁸ the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, even though it was purported to be the bearer of "*West European culture*", but not of the promoted democratic proclamations, was forced to, among other things, cover the land with a network of informants who monitored the population. They especially focused on the esteemed and educated individuals in the university centres of the Monarchy which were conservative, but in the full flight of liberalism still generated more opponents than loyalists. The others sought to get employment in the administrative structure and state educational institutions, "*separated*" from the people and their interests.

"*On the side*" of the educated groups were assembled in the editorial boards of the first newspapers "*for literature, entertainment and education*", where they attained new life and political experiences and were engaged in the forming of

⁵ In the name of imperial military office General Beck issued instructions to General Filipović on the eve of the occupation, on 19 July 1878: "We advise you most heartily to take particular concern in religious issues, whereby among the population special attention needs to be given to the Catholic element which has proven itself to be reliable and friendly towards the endeavours of the Monarchy, as well as to the Muslim population ... We also advise you to bring the Muslims into closer contact with the Catholics and to prevent the convergence or alliance of the Muslim with the Orthodox population, which needs to be monitored most severely considering its potential aspirations which are adverse to the occupation" – Kapidžić, Hamdija. *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1958.,13.

⁶ Even though the limits of this paper prevent us from delving into more detail, we will only cite one observation, connected to North-Eastern Bosnia: "Now the most difficult problem is the Serb population. In the associations for whose work the authorities were quite thrifty to issue permits, the "Serb spirit" is being nurtured, the books from Serbia and Vojvodina which enter Bosnia through secret channels, speak of a Mother Serbia, about the unity of Slavs, the imminent downfall of the Monarchy, about Bosnia which is yelping under the yoke of the predatory Germans, and all over Majeveica, Ozren and Birač – armed troops intercept finance officers and gendarmes, scribes and counts, officials and friends of the government, killing them one by one." – Sušić, Derviš. *Tuzla – hronika narodno oslobodilačkog rata*, (manuscript), Tuzla, novembra 1965, 37.

⁷ Vervaet, S. (2013.), 28.

⁸ Kraljačić, Tomislav. *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1987.,76.

public opinion, but at the same time raising of national awareness of their religious and national group, gradually bringing them closer to national struggles.⁹ These papers were helped by the growing number of reading rooms in towns,¹⁰ by the already present coffee shops and the increased political interest, not only on the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also outside of it.¹¹

The press and individuals awakened by national inspiration went hand in hand, so from the mid 90's of the 19th century the secondary school pupils from Sarajevo organized secret associations and established their literary lithographic papers (*Srpska svijest* 1896, *Zolja* 1903/1904, *Srpsko kolo/Zora* 1910), interwoven with revolutionary ideas and notions of struggle against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Many of their members later on even publicly fought for their ideals.¹²

⁹ "The great majority of the reading public only read the papers belonging to their kin or confession, not acknowledging others, often not even by name... Each of the peoples and confessions strove to have their own press where they would be able to print their own papers." – Pejanović, Đorđe. *Štampa u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850-1941*. Svjetlost. Sarajevo, 1949., 15. (Serbian Cyrillic)

¹⁰ Here we should take into account the limited outreach of the press on the illiterate population (87,84%) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was mostly influenced by the confessional leaders. "Every breeding of national consciousness is accelerated through the church, because the elitist phase of the national movement is thereby skipped over and there is no need to wait for the peasant masses to be brought gradually to the national struggle by means of a "reading revolution". The church helps to create an illusion of a mass type nationalism, before the society was mature for it in a historical sense." – Ekmečić, Milorad. *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*. 2. Prosveta. Beograd, 1989., 168-169. (Serbian Cyrillic)

¹¹ "In a report about the government for Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1906 it is claimed that by the end of 1905 a number of 19 papers were published in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 20.292 copies, with 16.260 subscribers ... on average 900 subscribers per paper. *Srpska riječ* was printed in most copies (3.000), then *Bosanska vila* (2.500), *Težak* (2.000), *Vrhbosna* (1.800), *Kršćanska obitelj*, *Mala biblioteka* and *Pokret* (1.000 copies), *Bošnjak* (900 copies), *Učiteljska zora*, *Osvit*, *Behar*, *Školski vjesnik*, and *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* (800 copies), *Sarajevski list* (official) had 686 copies. Other papers were printed in smaller numbers, around 500 copies ... Of the 16.260 subscribers, only 9.809 or 60% were from Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas 6.451 or 40% came from Austria and other countries." – Pejanović, Đorđe. *Bibliografija štampe Bosne i Hercegovine 1850-1941*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1961., 11.

¹² Malbaša, Ante. *Hrvatski i srpski nacionalni problem u Bosni za vrijeme režima Benjamina Kallaya*, 1. Dio (1882-1898), Tisak Građanske tiskare. Osijek, 1940., 60. The founders of this secret society were: Vasilj Grdić, Milan Srškić, Nikola Stojanović, Lazar Brkić, Đorđe Pejanović, Dušan Čorović, Vaso Varagić ... The first president was Vasilj Grdić. The society was enlarged immediately or later by: Savo Skarić, Petar Šotrić, Branko Žegarac, Đoko Kovačević, Savo Ljubibratić, Vaso Zrnić, Vlado Andrić, Vojislav Besarović, Vaso Glušac, Aleksa Jerković, Živko Nježić, Aco Babić, Mihailo Bukvić, Lazo Kondić, Jovo Popović, Đoko Milošević and others. – *Spomenica Velike gimnazije*. Sarajevo, 1929., 52-51, prema: Kruševac, Todor. *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*, Muzej grada Sarajeva.

The importance of the published word in that time brought about the use of the phrase "seventh power",¹³ which implied the power of the media to manipulate. In time the press became more important, since it was the stage of political battles even before the formation of political parties, and its speech was not only the speech of culture and literature, but formed the basic national and ideological matrixes. The "eighth power" referenced in the title of this paper is an allusion to Slavic press and is a phrase coined by Mile Pavlović – Krpa, professor and publicist, used in a text about the 10th congress of Slavic journalists, held in Belgrade in 1911.¹⁴ Besides that, war against journalism and freedom of press as an indicator of freedom of opinion goes further back than the title might suggest – since it interfered in the sensitive political and national sphere of struggle between the regime and the freedom of political expression, which preceded the military conflict – a kind of a war before a war. Considering that the encounter of the authorities with the "eight power" had its principles, which stemmed from the political circumstances, the process of its emergence and crescendo seems more important and interesting than the time when there was no doubt about the positions of the political adversaries in the years closer to the big armed conflict, and it will be treated as such in this paper.

The basis for the upsurge of journalism on the Yugoslav territory was established in the mid-19th century, when requests for its freedom were placed,¹⁵ and

Sarajevo, 1960., 418. (Serbian Cyrillic). The editor of *Srpska svijest* was Vasilj Grđić, and the main associates of the secret youth literary paper *Srpsko kolo/Zora*, founded in 1907, were Jovo Davidović, Svetislav Tešanović, Slavko Trninić, Drago Radulović and Isak Samokovlija. – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 54, 63.

¹³ The French revolution brought the later adopted democratic principles, among which was also the freedom of the press. In the time of this social upheaval the word journalism was created, and Napoléon Bonaparte coined the expression that journalism was the "fifth power in Europe" (after France, Great Britain, Russia and Austria). Since Italy (1861) and Germany (1871) were unified later on, the number of European powers increased to six so journalism "fell" to the position of the "seventh power".

¹⁴ *Bosanska vila*, no 15. and 16, 15. and 30. 8. 1911, 227.

¹⁵ For instance, in the political petition of the Croatian people from March 1848, titled "Request of the people", of the 30 articles, the 9th proclaimed "Freedom of press, faith, teaching and speech", and the 11th "Equality of all without regard to class and faith in court". - Gavranović, Ante. "U borbi za nacionalni identitet. Kratka povijest hrvatskog tiskanog novinstva". in: *Medianali: znanstveni časopis za medije, novinarstvo, masovno komuniciranje, odnose s javnostima i kulturu društva* 1, 1(2007.), 121. The basic principles of the programme of the *Serb people's organization*, formed in Sarajevo in 1907, declares that: "... individual freedom, freedom of property, expression of thought, freedom of congregation and association, the protection of the sanctity of the home threshold and secrecy of letters are precursors and guarantee of every liberty." – *Srpska riječ*, no 237, 1/14. 11. 1907, 3.

an additional wind under its wings was the organization of media congresses – Global,¹⁶ Slavic in Austria-Hungary (the first of which was held in Prague in 1898), the congress of Yugoslav journalists,¹⁷ and a congress of Serb journalists (Belgrade, 1902),¹⁸ established with the idea of strengthening mutual solidarity and the necessity of closer cooperation within the greater Slavic community.¹⁹ The review of the last, 10th congress of journalists, held in Belgrade, brought the following politically engaged words published in *Bosanska vila*:

Slavs, Northern as well as Southern, have a common enemy. He is strong and very dangerous, and should be, if not beaten, at least subdued and limited in his aggressive demands.²⁰

To this we should add news about congresses of Slavic journalists held in America,²¹ as well as about other congresses of intellectual circles, such as the national student youth and their activities.²²

The *Serb journalist association*, founded in 1882 in Belgrade, influenced Yugoslav journalism and strengthened its structure from 1891 to 1897. The rise of journalism had an impact on the composing of the so-called “*journalist circle dance*”

¹⁶ *Bosanska vila* reported on the International journalist congress in Bordeaux in 1895, where “many European states were represented and were free as the United States of America”, and on the congress in London in 1909: “Of the Slavs Serbs, Czechs and Russians were present.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 19, 15. 10. 1895, 304; no 19. and 20, 15. and 30. 10. 1909, 319.

¹⁷ The Yugoslav journalist congress began its three-day work on 6 November 1905, and Yugoslav authors participated in it. In that year, the editorial board of the *Bosanska vila* could not attend “due to the poor material conditions”, but its editor participated in the congress held the following year on 13 August in Sofia. – *Bosanska vila*, no 23, 15. 12. 1905, 366; no 15-16, 15. and 30. 8. 1906, 254.

¹⁸ Bosnia and Herzegovina was represented with its two journals – the editor of the *Bosanska vila* and the associate of *Srpski vijesnik* Aleksa Radović. Special honour was afforded to the “famous champion and popular leader Mr. Gligorije M. Jevanović”. – Prvi kongres srpskih novinara u Biogradu, *Bosanska vila*, no 21-22, 30. 11. 1902, 406. During lunch a toast was given to “their majesties emperor and king Franz Joseph and sultan Hamid, as rulers who rule where Serbs live, and from where many delegates came to the journalist congress. And this toast was followed by delighted cheers.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 23, 15. 12. 1902, 430.

¹⁹ From 1889 to 1911 a number of 10 congresses of Slavic journalists were held.

²⁰ *Bosanska vila*, no 15-16, 15. and 30. 8. 1911, 227.

²¹ “In St. Louis in America a Pan Slavic journalistic congress will be convened, to which all Slavs from America are invited.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 6, 31. 4. 1904, 119.

²² Madžar, Božo. *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1982., 338. (Serbian Cyrillic). In Vienna the *Serb academic society Zora* published a review of the same name from 1910.

in 1900,²³ and on other, more serious and official manifestations with significant impact.²⁴ On the area of Bosnia, the public importance of the press was increased by the marking of anniversaries significant for journalism (such as the 25th anniversary of the *Serb journalist association*, or the 25th anniversary of *Bosanska vila*), publishing of articles written by eminent journalists, writers and philosophers,²⁵ which were also used for potentiating the national name, institutions, symbols and national goals. Thereby, the newspapers, even the "literary" ones, became stages from where a group of educated individuals manifested collective interests, formed a collective opinion and deepened collective, national feelings.²⁶

This young intelligentsia, which drew on western political terms and was already profiled in humanist studies on universities throughout the Monarchy, began establishing papers, printing them in "their" presses,²⁷ with a firm belief in their role of enlightening their own illiterate and neglected people,²⁸ ("they took their pens to serve their kin"),²⁹ with the goal of protecting their own culture, language, tradition and other national determinants, thereby defining their function as protectors and promoters of patriarchal, popular values. The editorial boards were also schools for many literary forces and political actors,³⁰ where the fever-

²³ "The journalist circle – the composer of the royal Serbian popular theatre in Belgrade composed a new dance – the journalist circle. It was played and danced for the first time on the journalist concert in Belgrade." – *Bosanska vila*, no 3, 15. 2. 1900, 48.

²⁴ The Serb king Alexander I awarded the president of the Serb journalist society and founder of the Serb journalist congress Mr. Stevan Đurčić with the order of the Takovo cross of the 2nd degree. The king heard an audience of Serb journalists from Dalmatia, Mr. Antun Fabris, the editor of *Dubrovnik i Srđ*, who was awarded the order of St. Sava of the 4th degree. – *Bosanska vila*, no 20, 30. 10. 1902, 376.

²⁵ Dimitrije Mitrinović wrote a review on the initiation of the paper *Pijemont*, Pred novom žurnalistikom. – *Bosanska vila*, no 18, 30. 9. 1911, 273-274.

²⁶ Pera Taletov, Novinar književnik – *Bosanska vila*, no 2, 30. 1. 1909, 18.

²⁷ The only companies with the national names founded by the end of Kállay's regime were the *Serb printing press and bookstore* of Vladimir Radović in Mostar and the *First Serb printing press of Risto J. Savić* in Sarajevo in 1891. – Kraljačić, T. (1987.), 173.

²⁸ *Bosanska vila*, for instance was the paper of the teacher's society and its founders were teachers.

²⁹ Kosta Majkić, Jezik u novinarstvu. – *Bosanska vila*, no 2, 30. 1. 1905, 24-26.

³⁰ A number of prominent individuals had their "education" in *Bosanska vila*, for instance Aleksa Šantić (from 1888), Jovan Dučić (from 1889), and the fourteen year old Svetozar Ćorović, Božidar Ćerović (Gaj Dobrićev), 1896 Avdo Karabegović Hasanbegov and Osman Đikić, Petar Kočić (1899), who became the second editor of the paper in 1912, Dimitrije Mitrinović (1905), "and a good number of quality and conscious workers in science": Risto Jeremić (1889), Vladislav Skarić (1892), Stevan Žakula (1896), Vaso Glušac (1900) ...*Bosanska vila*, br. 1, 1912, 3. It should be mentioned that other prominent names also sent

ish romantic enthusiasms often intertwined with real social situations, so that it seemed sometimes that it was “an enterprise in the thin layer of semi-literate Serb *čarsi* behind who came, more or less consciously, the vast illiterate peasant mass”.³¹ At the same time, the idealistic goals of these cultural and national workers who promoted them, “thinking, probably, that politics was a kind of art”,³² which sometime brought to internal disagreements about the conduct of the newspaper policy, and even to conflict with founders and real-politicians,³³ which was publically visible in the recurring changes in the personnel of the editorial boards of the newspaper (*Srpska riječ*).³⁴ These social and generational differences were described after the annexation by baron Karol Pinter in his report written from Mostar, in which he emphasises

“that the Serbs have differences and shades in opinions, from the well-off merchants who have only half an hour a day for the Serb

their contributions to the *Bosanska vila*: Vladimir Ćorović, Milan Prelog, Sava Kosanović, Risto Radulović, Toma Bratić, Pera S. Taletov, Marko Car, Ivo Ćipiko, Lujo Vojnović, Mita Klicin, Milorad Pavlović-Krpa, Pavle Lagarić, Branko Lazarević, Milan St. Nedeljković, Tihomir Ostojić, Tihomir Đorđević, Vladimir Čerina, as well as Tin Ujević, Isidora Sekulić, Laza Kostić, Sima Pandurević, St. Sremac, Aleksandar Belić, Nadežda Petrović, Vladimir Gaćinović, Jaša Prodanović, Milan Grol, Jovan Skerlić, Milenko Vesnić, Kosta Majkić, and Vjekoslav Jelavić.

³¹ Kruševac, Todor. “Osnivanje i prve godine “Bosanske vile” .in: *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva*, god. I, knj. 1. Muzej grada Sarajeva. Sarajevo, 1963., 147-171.

³² *Bosanska vila*, no 11-12, 15. and 30. 6. 1912, 164.

³³ The intelligentsia supported the policy of the Serbo-Croatian coalition, while in 1908 Jeftanović gave instructions to the editorial board of the *Srpska riječ* that in Bosnia and Herzegovina they cannot pursue policy “such as is led by the Serbs, who are in the coalition in Croatia and Slavonia”, and that they should not seek in Bosnia “some progressive Croats”, because the acknowledgment of them “stands in opposition to the interests of Serbdom”... The *Srpska riječ* should still express sympathies towards Hungary and the Hungarians “because it is required by our interest” and is “of great help to the Muslims”. This is “justified because of the truly useful conduct of the Hungarian press towards the Serbs in Bosnia concerning the campaign of the Austrian press about the Great-Serbian propaganda”, ... In the same way to report about the situation in Serbia and Montenegro (Less information should be given about Russia, especially about the “corruption and bad state because it suits the enemies and does not affect the popular spirit in a good way. f.n.)” Imamović, Mustafa. *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914*. Svjetlost. Sarajevo, 1976., 165.

³⁴ The new generation saw the methods of old leadership as more opportunistic for the Austro-Hungarian governments, while they advocated an opposing view and the expansion of national requests. More on that and the dispute of the editorial board of *Srpska riječ* with its founders: Grđić, Vasilj. *Riječ dvije o našem sporu*, izdanje piščevo. Srpska štamparija Đorđa Ivkovića. Novi Sad, 1906., (Serbian Cyrillic)

ideals, to the journalists who are starving of hunger, but still live for their ideals and want to continue living."³⁵

All the journalists in Bosnia shared this characteristic, so in 1906 a representation was sent to the common minister of finance Istvan Burian for "the freedom of press which was signed by 21 author, journalist and publicist from all the nations."³⁶ Further organizational strengthening was achieved by the establishing of the *Serb literary club* in 1906,³⁷ and then with the "colourful" *Association of journalists and authors in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, founded in 1911.³⁸

Nevertheless, the editorial boards of literary journals began growing with the appearance of political parties, and in the Serb case (*Serb national organization*) with the establishing of political papers,³⁹ which fortified the group of opponents

³⁵ Mastilović, Draga. *Između srpstva i jugoslovenstva. Srpska elita iz Bosne i Hercegovine i stvaranje Jugoslavije*. Art Print. Banja Luka, 2012., 32.

³⁶ "For the freedom of press. All domestic authors and journalists, without regard to faith and political opinion, agreed and wrote a representation to the common minister of finances and governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina Mr Burian. In it they ask that the following things be abolished: 1. preventive censure; 2. all orders of the Provincial government that prevent the change of opinion; 3. all of the government's orders which prevent all the better papers to be imported into Bosnia. All of them request to introduce complete freedom of press, freedom of congregation, agreement and association, that all the prohibited Serb, Croat and foreign papers should be directed to the country. The representation was written in Cyrillic and Latin. We are pleased to make it known that Muslim representatives signed the Cyrillic part and that all signed in Cyrillic script." – *Bosanska vila*, no 3, 1906, 47. Besarović, Risto. *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine (1878-1918)*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1987.

³⁷ "The Serb literary club. A few literary forces founded in Sarajevo a Serb literary club. Its tasks are: 1. Stimulating literary activity by meeting, reading of works, commenting and critiquing; 2. Treating and preserving the clarity of the Serb language; 3. Spreading of literature to the people; 4. Spreading of literacy to the people; 5. Helping those authors who are in need. The club holds its meeting every 15 days, for now modestly and in small numbers, while it does not spread and turn into a Literary society. Good luck and with God's will." – *Bosanska vila*, no 8, 30. 4. 1906, 128.

³⁸ "On 20 June 1911 in Sarajevo an association of Bosnian journalists and authors was established. This association is very colourful and made up of differing elements. This unique heterogeny, more than anything else, guarantees it a long and peaceful life. There are no famous authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the association, and the journalists are only known to the owners of the papers who give them salaries at the end of the month. It would be unusually interesting to find out what kind of force could turn these varying elements into a society." – *Bosanska vila*, no 11-12, 15. and 30. 6. 1911, 191; The first assembly of the Association was opened on 3 July 1911 by the vice-president of the union of the Sarajevo press Risto Radulović, who was then the editor of *Narod* and *Pregled*. – *Sarajevski list*, no 140, 17/30. 6. 1911, 3.

³⁹ The most important political papers were: *Srpska riječ* from Sarajevo (1905), *Narod* from Mostar, owned by Dr. Uroš Krulj, and edited by Risto Radulović (1907), *Otažina* from Banja

to the Habsburg bureaucratic centralism, considered as a threat to nationalizing the ethno-religious community.

In the attempt to keep Bosnia at peace, the Austro-Hungarian authorities attempted to stabilize the situation even during the 1880-ies. They wanted to balance the existing growing nationalisms by preventing all the mentioned tendencies which hindered the planned national policy of the Monarchy, and the conscious activities of the rising “*eighth power*” in the neighbourhood. Among the first undertaken measures was the equal distribution of concessions for the establishing of pro-regime oriented journals among the main national and confessional groups, with the aim of publicly promoting their loyalty. In the Serb case this was not completely successful. The good will gesture of the authorities shown towards the requests and complaints of the Serb population,⁴⁰ with the goal of achieving order after uprisings in 1882, was expressed in the giving of a concession to the publishing of a Cyrillic journal named *Javnost* (Eng. *Public*). However, this action did not achieve anything in regards to the “*domestic*” Serbs, and Jovan Vidić, a graduate of the Budapest Tekelijanum, was appointed as the editor of the first Serb paper *Prosvjeta* (Eng. *Enlightenment*).⁴¹ This paper was short-lived (1885-1888), and its decline corresponded to the abdication of King Milan and the waning of the Serbian Austrophile policies which were connected to him, as well as to the proclamation of the freedom of the press with the Constitution of 1888 which brought intensified anti-Austrian tones to the public.

As an answer to these events across the Drina, the common minister of finances Kállay issued a confidential decree in 1889 turning the attention of the

Luka, edited by Petar Kočić (1907), *Istina* (1913), the political and informative paper owned by Danilo Dimović and Dr. Milan Jojkić, *Dan* (1905), the political and informative paper published by the *Independent people's party in Bosnia and Herzegovina* and edited by Dr. Laza Dimitrijević.

⁴⁰ During his third visit to Bosnia, “minister Kállay invited the most prominent Serbs through his agents, so that they could inform him of their wishes and hardships. They answered that the Serbs already presented him their wishes in 20 articles during his first visit to Bosnia, but that to the present day they do not know what came of this complaint. After that, all the assembled presented their numerous complaints.” Among the various complaints cited then was one which complained of a “lack of a Serb paper in Bosnia”. – Kruševac, Todor. “Vidićeva “Prosvjeta” 1885-1888”. in: *Glasnik arhivâ i Društva arhivskih radnika*, 1964-1965, IV-V. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1965., 212.

⁴¹ After an unsuccessful attempt to engage the Sarajevo Serb and future vice mayor Risto Đ. Besarović to become the editor of the proposed paper and after the concession had already been given, the authorities had to employ Vidić who worked as a teacher in Banja Luka from 1881 to 1883, and moved to Sarajevo afterwards. All that time Vidić was in conflict with the board of the Sarajevo church-school community, and they considered him to be “a sworn enemy of the whole of our population.” – Kruševac, T. (1965.), 209-228.

Provincial government to act more decisively towards individuals and the press who wrote against the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and against the Bosnian and Herzegovinian government, since this represented "foreplay" for the intensified activities on the field of agitation. Therefore, he ordered that the most suitable measures be undertaken which would root out any further attempts at agitation. Anonymous correspondents already set the stage for the expression of their political opinions from Bosnia and Herzegovina, by sending their contributions to papers in Vojvodina.⁴² This brought about the prohibition of spreading and owning newspapers and literature, mostly from Serbia, but also from Croatia and Dalmatia. The Criminal law for Bosnia and Herzegovina defined the punishment for such offences in financial terms as 50 to 300 guildens, or as a prison sentence lasting from one to three months. However, this was often overreached in practice, and stiff measures were undertaken to prevent the importation of forbidden publications.⁴³ The first to be affected by this were literate and educated persons – teachers in Serb schools and young merchants who were considered to be associated with progressive groups outside of Bosnia, so their properties were often raided. The found issues of forbidden Serb papers were reason enough to expel their owners back to Serbia, and in the case of domestic Serbs, to send them to court with the accusation of high treason.⁴⁴

⁴² "The illusion that the rise of the Serb national movement was exclusively a result of the agitation influences from Serbia was created because there was no possibility to express public opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the lack of freedom of press and prohibition of political organizing and manifestations, the attitudes of the opposition could not rise to the surface nor be fully manifested in the country. Therefore, it is not surprising that Serb opposition circles were looking for a way to make their social and political views available to the broader public. In the existing circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina this was only possible to achieve through press outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina." - Kraljačić T. (1987.), 118-119.

⁴³ "In order to prevent the import and distribution of prohibited papers, on 9 February 1886 the Provincial government issued an order according to which all transport companies were obliged to bring every shipment of papers sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina to the closest political and custom authorities who would have a look at it, and then forward it to the Provincial government for further inspection." - Kraljačić T. (1987.), 119,122. Almost twenty years later, the Law on press would additionally regulate in article 18 that: "... apart from the financial fine, it is also necessary to confiscate the copies of the discovered prohibited foreign papers". - Zakon o štampi za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (odobren Previšnjim riješenjem od 13. januara 1907). *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, dan proglašenja 2.marta 1907, god. 1907, 28.

⁴⁴ A part of them were "considered to be connected to Miletić's party in Vojvodina." - Malbaša, A. (1940.), 46. These means of government control became common and later even represented the usual procedure, and even for the monitoring of high school youth. It was especially active in 1912, when a number of them were denounced, apprehended and questioned in prisons. "It became a kind of legitimation for the national struggle. We were already used to house raids and arrests as every day occurrences." - Popović, C. (1969.), 22.

By vigilant monitoring, raiding, expelling of editors, summoning to court, preventive censures, confiscations of papers and books, the authorities attempted to suppress the editorial boards, “*the dens of high treason*”,⁴⁵ and at the same time to send a message to the public of how those who are opposed to the government will be treated. Evidently, the strength of these repressive measures towards those who in any way endangered the system was proportional to the hindrance that the institution/group/individual was guilty of, so it was necessary to instil obedience to the restless subjects in any way and method possible.

The year 1903 was in many ways a watershed and was also important in this case as well,⁴⁶ so that to 1914 the number of newspapers and journals increased,⁴⁷ and many social groups summoned the courage to influence public opinion and move it in the desired direction. Among these the political parties were most important, and with them their journals.⁴⁸ This journalistic vibrancy did not mean that preventive censure was softened,⁴⁹ that the freedom of press was in power and that the essential changes were made, because the political authorities still maintained significant influence in the control of information. So, for instance,

⁴⁵ “This was the time of confiscation of all opposition papers and all books of a more radical tone; the time of prosecution of Dr. J. Paču, Dr. Đ. Krasojević and priest Stjepo Tripković; the time when one poem or statement brought into question the whole existence, as was the case with Jovan Dučić, and when immature high school pupils were considered to be dangerous rebels, as was the case of Petar Kočić.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 1, 15. 1. 1912, 3.

⁴⁶ Until 1903, the following papers were published – three in Sarajevo: *Prosvjeta* (1885) “journal for public interest, popular economy and entertainment”, *Bosanska vila* (1887), “journal for entertainment, education and literature” and *Dabro-bosanski istočnik* (1887) “journal for ecclesiastical and educational needs of the Serb orthodox clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, and three in Mostar: *Zora* (1896), edited by Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović, *Srpski vjesnik* (1897) edited by Vladimir M. Radović and *Prijegled Male Biblioteke* (1902) edited by Risto Kisiće and Jovan Protić. – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 18.

⁴⁷ “In the time of Austrian rule Serbs initiated and published 40 papers, of which 37 were public and 3 secret.” – *ib*, 18.

⁴⁸ Apart from the political papers, others which were published were *Prosvjeta* (1907), “journal for popular enlightenment” owned by the Serb cultural society *Prosvjeta*, *Pregled* (1909), “journal for science and social life”, *Srpska škola* (1907), “pedagogical and literary journal”, published by the *Serb teachers' association for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, *Vjesnik* (1909), the official journal of the Serb Orthodox ecclesiastical and school authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Srpski sveštenik*, the paper of the Serb Orthodox clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1912).

⁴⁹ “The first edition of each issue was sent to be censored by the government in Sarajevo or to the local political authorities if they had the permission from the government ... The government, in fact, had the right to prohibit a publication without citing any reason.” – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 12.

among the first mentioned, already in 1894, and who were under the pressure of local police and political potentates, was the group of Serb intellectuals in Mostar, gathered around the first Serb calendar *Neretljanin*. In that instance, the editor Svetozar Ćorović complained that he was often prevented to work because of the imposed prohibitions.⁵⁰

The state of "free approximation" of the local authorities lasted until the passing of the *Law on press for Bosnia and Herzegovina* with an imperial decree on 13 January 1907, whereby the procedure of press control was legalized. Most of the 46 articles of this Law, which began with the motto "Press is free within the limits of the law", concerned the determination of responsibility for the "published paper", covering of judicial expenses in the case of lawsuits, procedure of press control, the punishment and the determining the extent of financial and prison sanction of "crime and offences, such as the distribution of published papers of offensive content".⁵¹ It is impossible not to notice that the Law (article 6) specifies that special papers, published along with the printed papers, are to be considered as their integral part "if they are limited to the publishing of unexpected daily events of special significance or in the case of war and the news of its progress". The Law in essence only legalized the actions of the responsible police and political authorities (village and town regional offices, the commissioner of the Government and the state attorney), which hinted at the greater authority and presence of the state in the creation of internal policy. The opposition newspapers were supposed to file for caution and seek a new editor in chief who was supposed to serve a prison sentence for his salary, since raids became commonplace.

The press suffered the biggest damage with the annexation crisis in 1908, and by then as the editors of *Srpska riječ* (Eng. *Serb word*) both Stijepo Kobasica⁵² from Dubrovnik and Pera Taletov were expelled, the former in 1906 and the latter in April of 1908.⁵³ Đorđo Trifunović was sentenced to four months of

⁵⁰ "Just think of it – half of my works have been prohibited! And those were all works of quality authors, such as: Vlado Jovanović, Dr V. Bakić, S. Kosanović etc." - Ćorović, Svetozar. *Dokumentarna građa*. Muzej književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1972., 13. The calendar was published in 1893 under the title *Neretljanin*, "the big Serb illustrated calendar for the simple year of 1894 which has 365 days".

⁵¹ Zakon o štampi, &43, 33, 1907.

⁵² Stijepo Kobasica, the president of the Belgrade section of the *Yugoslav journalistic association* from 1925 to 1926, came from Sarajevo to Belgrade in 1907, where he became editor of *Srpska riječ*; after the war he was one of the editors of the radical paper *Samouprava* (1926) and journalist for the news agency Avala.

⁵³ Pera S. Taletov, who was the chief of administration of the *Srpska riječ* and the *Serb joint stock press*, "received an order from the local police today that he has to travel outside of the borders

solitary confinement, and Mirko Starčević was found guilty “for crimes and offences committed by press” and sentenced to five months of prison, but his sentence was overturned to a fine of 400 crowns.⁵⁴ In 1908, due to the heavy censures, the advertisements comprised most of the contents of certain issues of *Srpska riječ*, and in other instances, the columns were completely white and only the titles of the articles could be read, or just the front page of the paper.⁵⁵ Certain numbers which had a third of their contents struck out in white colour were also quite usual.⁵⁶

At the beginning of 1909 two editors – Ostoja Jugović and Aleksandar Omčikus – were tried for publishing, or rather reprinting an interview of Miroslav Spalajković, the then minister of foreign affairs of Serbia, which initially appeared in *Pester Lloyd*, and then in the *Samouprava* from Belgrade, where he gave his opinion on the annexation.⁵⁷ Regardless of the presented evidence, Jugović was sentenced to a year of prison and was subsequently supposed to be expelled. After the reaction of the public, the indictment against Omčikus was withdrawn,⁵⁸ and Jugović’s sentence was decreased to six months of prison for “disturbing public peace and order”.⁵⁹ Such trials of the Austrian judicial system often caused the consternation of the public, but were also a reason to show professional solidarity. On this trial, the Sarajevo journal *Musavat* published a short comment: “We do not have any words on these sentences – because we are not

of Bosnia and Herzegovina, accompanied by police officers.” – *Srpska riječ*, br. 81, 10/23 April/10 June 1908. *Petar Taletov* was shortly the president of the Serb journalist association in 1921, a correspondent of *Tribune* before the war and its editor after it, the editor of the radical paper *Novi život*, chief of politburo (1926) and the journalist of the *Avala* news agency.

⁵⁴ *Srpska riječ*, no 151, 12/25. 7. 1908, no 191, 30. 8. 1908, 3.

⁵⁵ *Srpska riječ*, no 156, 18/31. 7. 1908; The second special issue number 199, on two sheets, was completely white along with the front page. – *Srpska riječ*, no 199, 10/23. 9. 1908.

⁵⁶ *Srpska riječ*, no 211, 24. 9/7. 10. 1908, 1; no 212, 25. 9/8. 10. 1908; no 214, 6/19. 10. 1908, 2.

⁵⁷ According to *Srpska riječ* Spalajković, among other things, stated “that Serbia will not want the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina be pushed into any kind of calamity on the account of complications and battles ...” – *Srpska riječ*, no 8, 1909.

⁵⁸ In that interview, Spalajković claimed “that the annexation is not a completed act and that it did not seal the fate”. On this occasion “there was a storm in the Austrian and Hungarian press. Even *Pester Lloyd* published two articles proving that this sentence was unfounded. Apart from that, the parliaments also debated this sentence.” – Dimović, Danilo. *Iz mojih uspomena, Bosanska štampa za vreme aneksijske krize* - NUBiH, Odjeljenje rijetkih knjiga i rukopisa, Građa, dok.br. 870. In the “spontaneous farewell” Omčikus was followed by “a significant number of young Serbs and Croats” to the station from where he left Sarajevo in order to “finish his legal studies on one of the western universities.” – *Srpska riječ*, no 73, 3/16. 4. 1910, 3.

⁵⁹ “The editor in chief of *Srpska riječ* sentenced again” – *Srpska riječ*, no 29, 8/21. 2. 1909, 3.

allowed to have them".⁶⁰ The public reaction though rarely changed anything, and the editors continued to be prosecuted.⁶¹

Confiscations were another measure directed against the disobedient press, and by July of 1908 a number of 69 confiscations took place, and *Srpska riječ* experienced this on the day of the annexation.⁶²

However, the people's tribune Petar Kočić and his associates were treated even worse, and were sentenced to solitary confinement because of the article *The Smell of Gunpowder* published in *Otadžbina* (Eng. *Homeland*) in Banja Luka, which proclaimed resistance to the annexation. This text was considered to be a reflection of the general feeling of the Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so the Austrian authorities reacted swiftly to it, with trials against the editorial board. Kočić spent the whole of 1908 condemned as a traitor in the prisons of Banja Luka and Tuzla, and the sentenced editorial board was transferred to Arad after this affair and the trial.⁶³ The editor Janković was sentenced to nine years of prison. This was *Otadžbina's* end in Banja Luka and this paper belongs to a group of journals which were prohibited, shut down, and then later own re-established after the proclamation of the Constitution and the opening of Parliament.⁶⁴

In the beginning of 1909 *Srpska riječ* published an illustrative balance of the way that the *Law on press* affected them.

There were 316 hearings, trials and sentences proclaimed against our editors... Throughout the year there was not one single day in the solitary confinement cell of the regional court that at least one of our editors did not spend there, and not only to serve a sentence, but also during the hearings and investigations. Sometimes, three of them would be there at the same time. Financial fines nearly amount to 20.000 crowns. But, it was not only our editors who bore the brunt of this. Our correspondents and associates were also sentenced, whereas the police expelled the factors and administrators, and all of the members of our committee of directors in Sarajevo are still under inves-

⁶⁰ In order to express their shock, the editorial board of *Musavat*, in a text titled *Heavy indictment*, bolded the following part of the text: "**and Omčikus to a year of heavy (!!!) solitary confinement, after which he is to be expelled from these lands.**" (bold in the original text – remark S.D.) – *Musavat*, no 4, 18/31. 1. 1909.

⁶¹ The editor Veljko Petrović Somborac was also sentenced in 1911. – Ćorović, Vladimir. *Odnosi između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku*. Biblioteka grada Beograda. Beograd, 1936., 185.(Serbian Cyrillic).

⁶² "The first confiscation in the constitutional era!", *Srpska riječ*, no 212, 25. 9/8. 10. 1908.

⁶³ *Srpska riječ*, no 81, 151,152, 156, 157, 191, 199, 1908.

⁶⁴ Kruševac, T. (1960.),423.

tigation, and were forced to come to court either as witnesses or as accused. And our attorney was sentenced to pay a thousand crowns in fines. In the last period we have stopped writing articles. We have limited ourselves just to presenting facts and reproducing assertions of certain statesmen.⁶⁵

The editorial board stopped commenting political events, and contributions about those topics were merely reprinted from other papers, mostly from *Pokret* (Eng. *Movement*) published in Zagreb.⁶⁶ For example, at the beginning of 1909 they reproduced texts titled *War is ready for spring* or *Serb preparations for war*,⁶⁷ whereas the constitutional and parliamentary year of 1910, along with the visit of Franz Joseph, completely “shut down” political topics, but “opened” a new column titled *Dry depredations*, which chronicled various injustices caused to Serbs in all areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The pressure of the authorities on the Serb press caused reactions of support from journalist circles, in the extent which was possible. So in November of 1906 the *Serb journalist association* organized a meeting in Belgrade which condemned the action of the Bosnian government which expelled the journalist Stijepo Kobasica, the editor of *Srpska riječ*, from Sarajevo. The most attention drew the affair *The Smell of Gunpowder*, and moved by these events in Bosnia and Herzegovina the 8th Pan Slavic journalist congress, held in Ljubljana from 25 to 27 August, published a *Resolution about journalistic circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina* which expresses “sympathies towards their kin, against the Germanic oppression of Yugoslavs, especially the Serbs ... where the political government of the land persecutes even today – as has happened in Banja Luka – journalists, members of the editorial board, even typographers, bringing them to court martial, citing orders about the press from the military occupation of 1878”. The Congress expressed solidarity and called on “the duty of all members of the organization of Slavic journalists to dedicate special attention to the Banja Luka affair; thus acting and influencing all political circles to introduce normal press circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that those accused and sentenced in Banja Luka be set free”. This resolution was unanimously proclaimed in Ljubljana on 28 August 1908.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Srpska riječ*, no 16, 24. 1/6. 2. 1909, 1.

⁶⁶ *Pokret* was a daily paper of the *Croatian people's progressive party*, and was published from 1904 to 1910. Among the many of its editors were Milan Heimrl, Većeslav Vilder, Ivan Lorović, Đuro Šurmin etc. The work of *Pokret* was continued by *Hrvatski pokret*.

⁶⁷ *Srpska riječ*, no 1, 25, 1909.

⁶⁸ *Srpska riječ*, no 191, 30.8/12, 9.1908, 3.

The material damage that the owners of Serb journals had to suffer through paying of judicial costs was somewhat lessened by the subscribers who gave voluntary contributions, which was not viewed positively by the authorities,⁶⁹ but the financial aid was also collected by the organized émigrés.⁷⁰

Solidarity was mutual, and the Serb press continued to inform their readers about the political events in the neighbourhood which were close and connected to the political reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1909 a lot of space was given to the "high treason process" in Zagreb, but also to the support of Slavic brothers who were unjustly sentenced.⁷¹

The trials against the editors and journalists were only a part of those political processes organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina which were mostly aimed against the educated layers, carried out on the accusation of high treason, of which from the annexation until the outbreak of the First World War there were 148.⁷² This number is also made up of those sentences carried out during the Balkan wars, which is a separate chapter which still awaits its historiographical treatment.

The amount of repression expressed in the clash between the authorities and the journalists, as a manifestation of national movements, was equal to the

⁶⁹ Contributions were sent by the citizens of Sarajevo, but also subscribers from whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The benefactors were named in the paper. – Javna zahvalnost. Dobrovoljni prilozi Srpskoj riječi. – *Srpska riječ*, br. 25, 1909. Kosta Popović, the priest and national representative in Derвента was sentenced to 300 K for collecting contributions for *Srpska riječ*. – *Srpska riječ*, no 26, 1909, 3.

⁷⁰ "The Serbs of Los Angeles collected 232 crowns for *Srpska riječ*." – *Srpska riječ*, no 28, 1909, 4. "The Serbs of Chicago for *Srpska riječ*." The texts name the financial amounts of the contributions. – *Srpska riječ*, no 59, 1909, 2.

⁷¹ The statement of the Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina against the high treason process in Zagreb – 20 April/3 May 1909. – The signatories from Sarajevo were: Gligorije M. Jeftanović, Risto Hadži Damjanović, Dimović, V. Andrić, Čedomir Babić, Aleksandar Besarović, Vojislav Besarović, Risto Bujak, Niko Vasiljević, Dr-Dimitrije Vasić, Risto Vuletić, Vasilje Grdić, Jovan Jevtić, Stevo Kaluđerčić, Marko Katić, Jovan Kreštalica, Dr. Savo Ljubiratić, Milan Mandić, Mirko Manojlović, Milorad Milunić, Niko Mitričević, Uroš Misita, Risto Novokmet, Risto Obradović, Aleksandar Omčikus, Drago Pamučina, Jovo Pešut, Đorđo Petrović, Nikola Pijuković, Vladimir Popadić, Miloš Popara, Maksim Prnjatović, Savo Skarić – Zembiljef., Stijepo Srškić, Vuko Starčević, Glišo Stojkanović, Nikola Stojkanović, Kosta Travanj, Danilo Trebić, Mihajlo Trebić, Đuro Ternčić, Jovan T. Ukropina, Vlado Čabaković, Risto Šušić. Apart from the named citizens of Sarajevo, the text also names other signatories from the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who "send their honest greetings to our brothers on the indictment bench". – *Srpska riječ*, no 85, 1909, 1.

⁷² Mikić 1999: Mikić, Đorđe. "Veleizdajnički procesi u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini", in: M. Ekmečić, Đ. Mikić, D. Živojinović, N. B. Popović, *Politički procesi Srbima u Bosni i Hercegovini 1914-1917*. Grafomark. Laktaši, 1996., 55.(Serbian Cyrillic).

amount of potential danger and damage to the authority of the government, its exponents, institutions of power, danger to the social and state order of the Monarchy. It was also equal to the amount of attractive force that the institutions, groups or individuals – in this case the Serb press – had for their national community in the eyes of the government. After all the peace-time efforts of the authorities to control it, and the general rehearsal with the Balkan wars, the Great war brought about the ending of one conflict which was unavoidable and which stripped bare the conflicted sides. The Austro-Hungarian policy towards the Serb population, its intellectual leadership and the Serb press during the First World War was just a continuation of the policy directed by the relation of the strengthening of the Serb national movement in the Monarchy. The day after the assassination, the demonstrations first destroyed the Serb presses and the offices of the editorial boards of Serb papers,⁷³ intellectuals who worked as journalists were taken hostage, tried in high treason hearings, but all of this could not contain the processes of Serb national integration and the creation of the Yugoslav state which was followed by the contemporaneous breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

⁷³ Trišić, Đ. Nikola. *Sarajevski atentat u svijetlu bibliografskih podataka*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1960., 9.