

interesting is that, the people that fought in the wars from the 90's were the generation educated on separatist principles. Moreover, they were 'led not by the generation that grew up in "soft" Yugoslavism (50's-70's), but by a group who had come of age during or just after the ethnic slaughter from World War II' (Wachtel 1998, 197).

Among other factors, which had been articulated with the body and transformed it into a killing machine are discourse, symbols and narratives. It is worth mentioning the discourse of Slobodan Milosevic on June 28, 1989³ in front of one million Serbs in Kosovo on the Field of Blackbirds where he entailed numerous symbols and also depicted the Serbs as victims even if 'they liberated themselves and helped others to do it' (Silber 1996, 72) (Glenny 1996, 34-36). The political discourses were also augmented by the emergence of writings, which were emphasizing the sufferings of the Serbs in Kosovo and 'the Croatian massacres of Serbs during the war' (Wachtel 1998, 219).

Therefore, all these ideal factors were not isolated in the mind of the Serbs or Croats but they were articulated in their bodies. The separateness was sown not just in the mind of the different ethnicities, which were living together, but it was also articulated in their bodies. Education, discourse, 'mythical thinking, polarized' (Denich 1994, 382) the population mentally and physically as well.

However, the willingness to live separately (mentally and then physically) was not the only factor which led to the use of torture, rape and other cruelties between the different ethnicities within Yugoslavia. The power of the bodies was enforced with guns consequently this particular fact determined the feeling of superiority toward the unarmed (weaker) civilians. Basically, it is a similar reaction with the 'Stanford prison experiment'⁴ which transformed normal people in cruel persons with pathological violent actions. This kind of behavior was present in Yugoslavia as well, with the mention that people were using heavy guns and the relation between the constituent parts of the conflict was distorted and totally polarized.

Therefore, this could be a way to explain the ardent violence and hatred of the Serbs against the Croats and Bosniaks. The Serbs were bombarded by documents and past memoires, which were antagonizing in relations with the other ethnicities (e.g. SANU Memorandum, *Timor Mortis* by Slobodan Selenic, the cruelties of Ustase), then these feelings were augmented by guns and other armaments disseminated from the JNA into the hands of the Serbs, Bosnian Serbs and the Serbs from Croatia (Silber 1996, 217-218). Therefore, the coalesce between the antagonizing ideas and the superiority provided by the armaments, enabled the Serbs to use their bodies as killing machines towards neighbors, friends and colleagues.

³ See. (Milosevic n.d.)

⁴ For further details see. (Haney 1973)

Thus, the relation between conflict and body is bi-directional. It is changing the victim and the aggressor in the same time. On one hand, conflict redefines the tortured victim into an alienated person from its territory, community and values. On the other hand, the conflict enables normal people to behave in uncommon cruel ways, transforming them in killing machines. Generally speaking, the body is multi-functional whenever is involved in a conflict. In my case, the relation between body and conflict is defined by the victim and by the perpetrator. Whereas the tortured body induces the feeling of unrootedness in the victim's conscience, the empowered body is rather boundless in its hatred and violence.

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