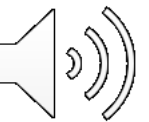


# NATIONS IN CONFLICT

Maya Hadar, PhD

Spring 2020

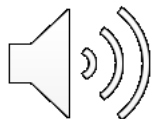
**Session 8: The Balkan Wars**



# On The Agenda For *The Balkans*

## Today

- Introduction
- The Balkans Before Yugoslavia
  - Historical Background
  - The Treaty of Berlin (1878)
  - 19<sup>th</sup> Century Nationalism
  - The Balkan Wars (1912-1913)
  - The Balkans in the 1920s'
- Yugoslavia: Ethnic Relations in a Centralised State
  - Yugoslavia During WW2
  - Yugoslavia 2.0
- Josip Broz Tito
- The Collapse of Yugoslavia
  - Increasing Tensions
  - Separation of Ethnic Groups
  - Yugoslavia 3.0
- Bosnia Herzegovina
- The Kosovo Conflict
- Contemporary Developments
- Analysis, Conclusions



# The Balkans:

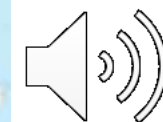
## Introduction

**'Balkan'** - 'mountains' in Turkish

- No universal agreement on the regions' components

- **Varied Definitions:** Cultural, historical, geographical

- **Ethnic Diversity**



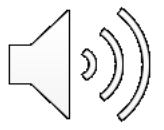
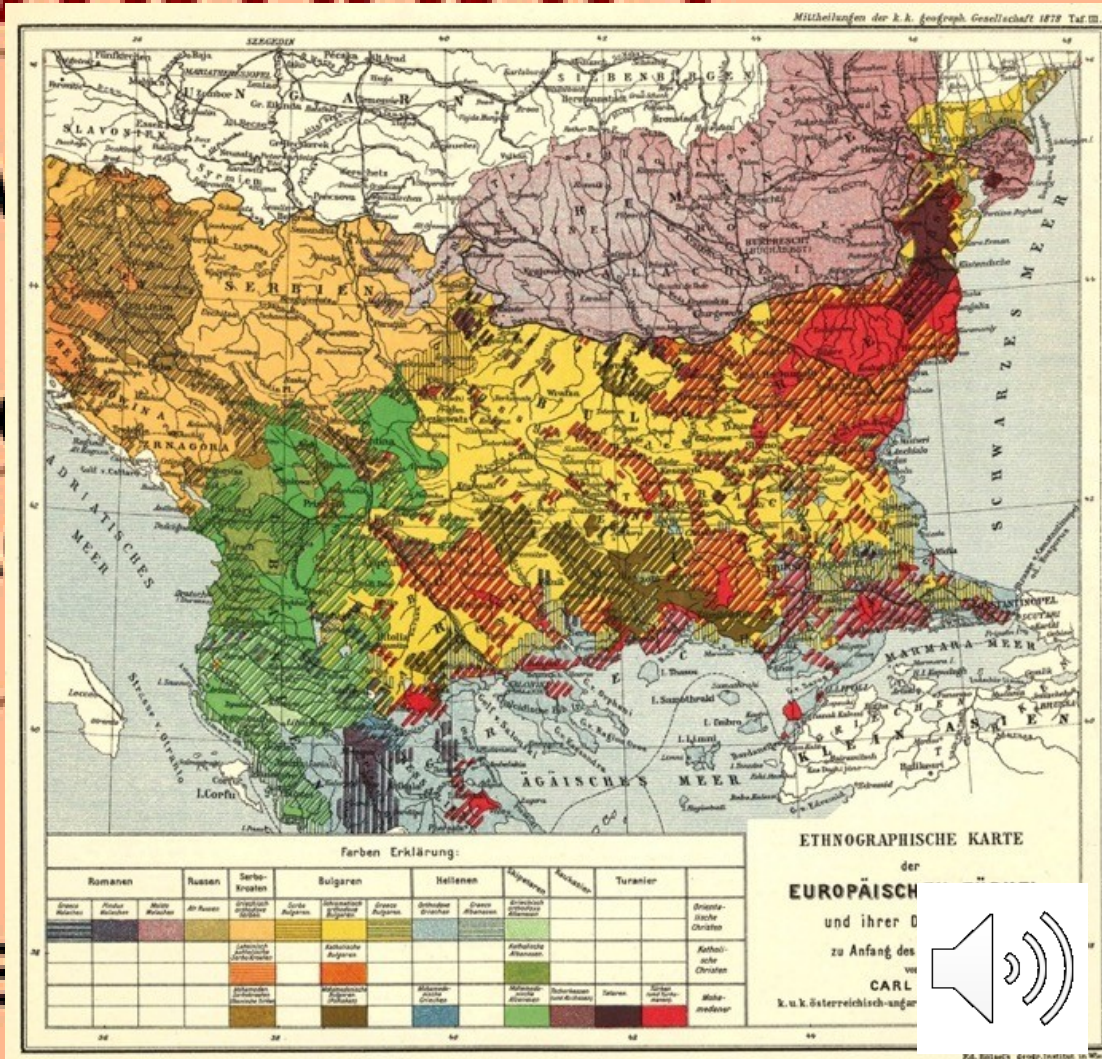
# The Balkan Peninsula <

## 1878

Historical Background =>

- Late 14<sup>th</sup> century: The Ottoman Turks invaded the region
- Turkish rule lasted for 500 years
- Conversions to Islam
- Late 17<sup>th</sup> century: The Austro-Hungarian empire grew stronger

## The Balkans



# The Balkan Peninsula <

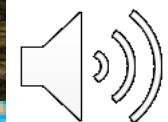
## 1878

Historical Background =>

- Renewed Habsburg-Ottoman fighting
- The Austrian 'Militärgrenze' (Military Frontier)
- Failed Serbian uprising
  - Serbian uprisings (1804-1813), revolt seeking self determination after over 300 years under Ottoman rule



Austro-Turkish War (1788-1791)



# The Balkan Peninsula <

1878

- The ethnic composition of the Balkans changed throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century

- Steady decline of the Ottoman Empire

- Two major redefinition of political boundaries in the Balkans:

- The Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878)

- The Treaty of Berlin (June 1878)

*The Balkans*



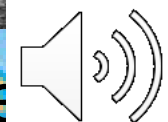
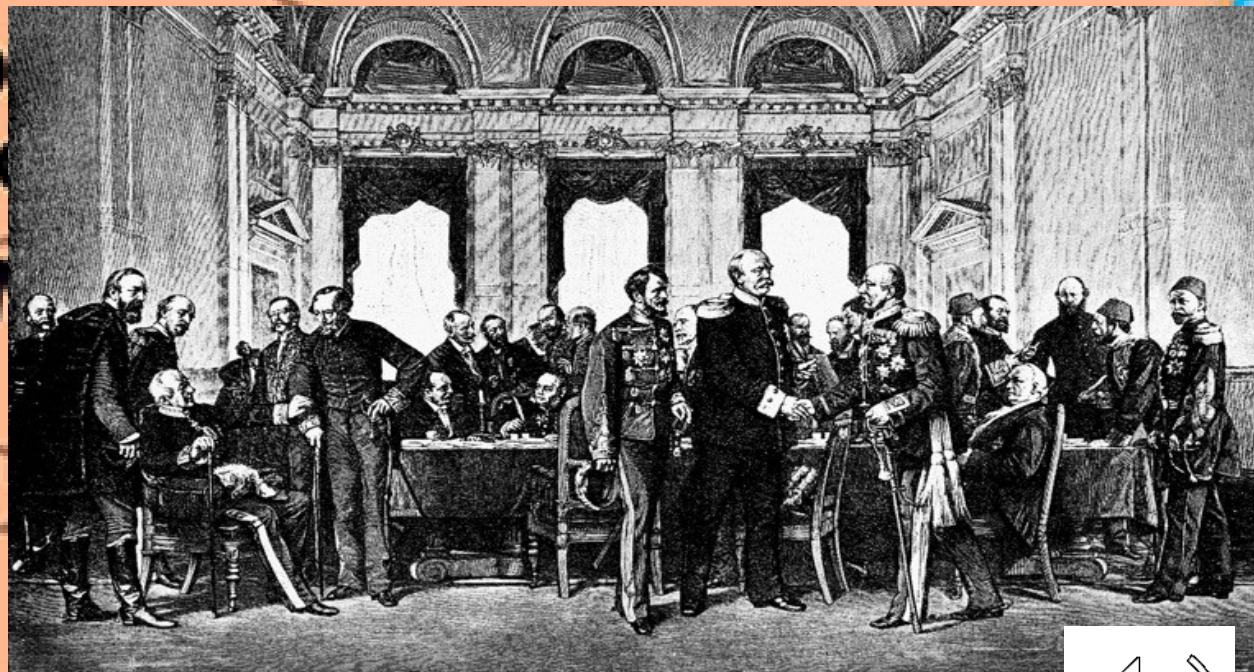
# The Balkan Peninsula <

## 1878

### The Treaty of Berlin (1878)

## *The Balkans*

- Bulgaria was split to three parts: Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, Macedonia (Ottoman)
- Romania - independent
- Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austria-Hungary
- Serbia and Montenegro lost territories and became isolated from each other
- No consideration of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples themselves



# Forming Nation States

## *The Balkans*

19th century Nationalism in the Balkans =>

### **BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

- The creation of nation-states on former Ottoman territory
- Occurred when the region's Christian population induced foreign intervention to secure its separation from Ottoman power
- While each nation evolved in a unique way, two common characteristics were:
  - The formation of national movements (mostly in an armed struggle against a ruler/foreign expansionist nationalism)

**Dominant external factor**





# Forming Nation States

## *The Balkan*

19th century Nationalism in the Balkans =>

Independent states: Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro

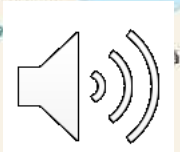


Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia (1885), fully independent in 1908

Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina ruled by Austria-Hungary

Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: The Ottoman Empire was crumbling

Nationalism wave in the Balkans



# The Balkans Before WWI

## *The Balkans*

The Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913) =>

**BOSNIA AND**

**HERZEGOVINA** The First Balkan War (1912) fought between the members of the Balkan League and the Ottoman Empire

- **Balkan Victory**
- **Ottoman Empire lost** Macedonia and Albania
- **Albania** became independent, **Macedonia** was **divided** among the Balkan allies



# The Balkans Before WWI

## The Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913)

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- The Second Balkan War (1913), fought between Serbia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria over Macedonia

- Bulgaria lost
- Greece and Serbia divided

most of Macedonia between themselves  
■ 28 June 1914: Franz Ferdinand assassinated by a Bosnian Serb nationalist => WWI



# The Balkans: 1920's

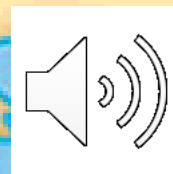
## *The Balkans*

- 1918 => **End of WWI**, Austria-Hungary and Russian Empire collapsed

- The fate of their Balkan territories was decided at the **Paris Peace Conference** (1919-1920): Formation of **Yugoslavia**

- **Ethnic kaleidoscope**: Settlements did not completely follow ethnic lines of division, but-

- **Impossible** task to begin with
- **Larger states** would be more **economically viable** than smaller, more ethnically homogeneous ones
- **Larger states** would be more **effective barriers** against Russian + Hungarian **bolshevism**



# Yugoslavia

ROMAN



## The Balkans

- Land of the South Slavs

### 1. The 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia' (1918-WW2)

### 2. Postwar Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia 2.0)

- Serbia & Montenegro, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Slovenia

### 3. Yugoslavia 3.0 (1992-2003/6)

- 45% of the population + 40% of the territory of its predecessor
- New name: **Serbia and Montenegro**



# Yugoslavia 1.0

*The Balkans*

- Created in the **Paris Peace Conference**, post **WWI**
- The **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes** comprised the former kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro (including Serbian-held Macedonia), Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina
  - Unitary, highly centralized, Serb dominated state
  - Turned into a **royal dictatorship** named '**Yugoslavia**' in 1929
- Deep **regional disparities** in standard of living
- Ended with the outbreak of **WWII** (1941)



# Yugoslavia: Ethnic Groups

## *The Balkans*

### Religious Diversity:

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Serbian Orthodox Church

Croatian Catholic Church

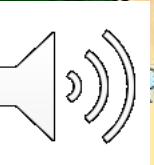
Islam + Heretical tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ethnic groups were dissatisfied with their status in the new state

Opposed the domination of one ethnic group and called for greater national & political rights



Ethnic Groups in Yugoslavia





**SVENIA**

**ROMANIA**

**CROATIA**

# *The Balkans*

**BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA**

**SERBIA**

**MONTENEGRO**

**KOSOVO**

**BULGARIA**

*Adriatic Sea*

**MACEDONIA**

**ALBANIA**

**TU**

**GREECE**

*Aegean*

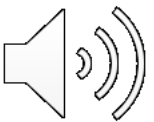




# Yugoslavia 1.0

## *The Balkans*

- Not only that people were divided by religion and had distinct national aspiration,
- **Discrepant Visions for Yugoslavia =>**
  - **Fascists:** Strong central government headed by a dictator
  - **Communists:** Goods + services should be owned & distributed among the people
- **Economic Problems** due to diverse origins



# Yugoslavia During WWII

## *The Balkans*

### Yugoslavia's Agony in the Second World War

#### ▶ BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

■ April 1941: German & Italian armies **conquered Yugoslavia**

- **Croatia:** Independent **puppet state** (included Bosnia)
- **Serbia:** Controlled by Germans
- **Montenegro:** Occupied by Italy
- **Kosovo:** Occupied by **Albanian** and **Italian**
- **Communist** partisan + **Serb nationalist** groups fought the **Germans and each other**
- **Bulgarians** invaded Macedonia



# Yugoslavia During WWII

## *The Balkans*

- The Chetnik (*Yugoslav Army in the Homeland/ Ravna Gora Movement*) was a Yugoslav royalist & Serbian nationalist movement in occupied Yugoslavia
  - Led by Draža Mihailović
  - Fought the Germans, but more often the **Ustasha**, the Communists + **Bosnian Muslims**
- Croatian fascists in the **Ustasha Party** collaborated with the Germans, **ethnic cleansing** of Serbs in **Croatia**



# Yugoslavia 2.0

- Created in **1946** after the country was liberated from German rule by **communists**
- A **federation of six republics**: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia
  - Over twenty ethnic groups
- Centralized communist state** => Loosely coordinated union
- Good relations with **the west** + economic **stability**



# Josip Broz Tito (1892-

# 1980)

- First Yugoslavian President
- The Communist kept ethnic hatreds in Yugoslavia from boiling over into hostilities
- Propagated a “Yugoslav identity” (failed)
- Failed to reduce prosperity gap between north & south
- 1974: Granted autonomy to Vojvodina & Kosovo

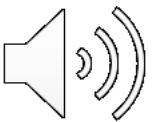


# Increasing

# Tensions

## *The Balkans*

- Tito's death gave rise to ethnic tensions
- 1987: Milosevic, head of the Serb Communist Party, establishes a Serbian nationalist movement
- The collapse of the Soviet Union + its satellite regimes weakened the forces that held modern Balkans together
- Dominant force in the Balkans: Communism => Nationalism



# Separation of Ethnic

## Groups

- 1990-1991 => Surge in violence by Serbs against non-Serbs in mixed areas of Croatia
- Milosevic: *'Yugoslavia does not exist anymore'*
- 1991 => Yugoslavs army begins ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs from "Greater Serbia"

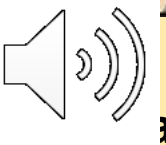
Sham election in Croatia, union with Serbia

- Independence referendum in Croatia

## The Balkans



Red: Serb occupied and ethnically cleansed of non-Serbs areas of 1991 – 1995



# Yugoslavia 3.0

ROMANIA



*The Balkans*

- Serbia tried to dominant the region

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Croatian War of Independence (1991-5)

- Muslim/Croat coalition vs. Serb forces (1992-3)
- Muslim-Croat + intra-Muslim wars (1993-4)
- Muslim/Croat, Muslim/Croat/NATO joint offensive vs. Serb forces (March-October 1995)

- 1992 => A new federation of Serbia and

Montenegro (during the Yugoslavian civil war)

Bosnia & Herzegovina + Macedonia declare independence, Yugoslavia 3.0)

fighting spread





# Separation of Ethnic

# Groups

## *The Balkans*

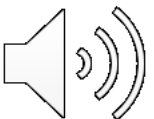
Response of the International Community =>

**BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA**

■ In 1992, UN brokered ceasefire between Serbs and Croats in Croatia

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is created to monitor the Serb-Croat cease-fire

- First UN peacekeeping force in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Yugoslav Wars



# Bosnia Herzegovina



## The Balkans

- **Multi-ethnic Society:** Muslims, Serbs, Croats
- **Bosnian Serbs seek autonomy + expansionism**
- **1992: Bosnia Herzegovina breaks out of Yugoslavia**
- **Bosnian Serb attack, Muslims forced to flee**



- **1993: Serb forces control around 70% of Bosnia**
- **Ethnic Cleansing of Muslims & Croats by Bosnian Serbs**



# Bosnia Herzegovina



## *The Balkans*

Areas of control in Bosnia  
Herzegovina, September 1994

Mainly controlled by the **Bosnian  
Serb Army** and the Army of  
Republic of Bosnia and  
Herzegovina

**Croats military forces** were  
also present



# The Srebrenica

## Massacre

## The Ba

- June 1995 => The Srebrenica

- Massacre/genocide

- Eastern Bosnia conquered by

- Bosnian Serb & Serbian army

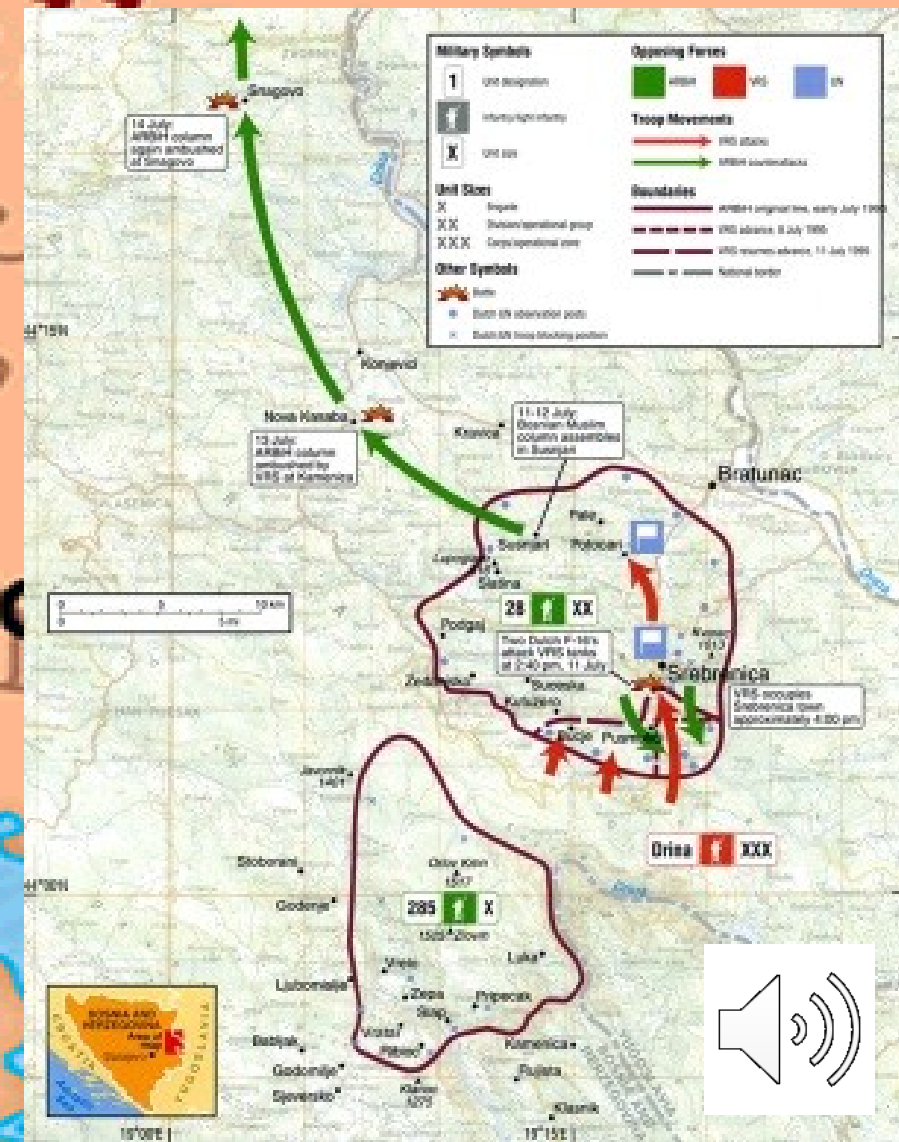
- forces

- Was supposed to be a safe zone

- Killing of over 7,000 Bosniak (Bosnian Muslims) killed in/around Srebrenica, perpetrated by the Bosnian Serb Army

- Mass expulsion of Bosniak civilians

ROMANIA



# Separation of Ethnic

## Groups

### Response of the International Community

#### ➤ BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Mass killings, concentrations camps, destruction of mosques reported worldwide

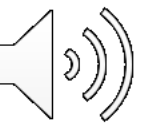
- UN placed economic sanctions on Serbia, didn't send a fighting force

- Agreement to stop attacking Muslims was broken when Serbs attacked "safe havens" in Bosnia

- 1995: Bosnian Serbs reject peace

*The Balkans*





# The Dayton Agreement

## *The Balkans*

- November 1995 => Dayton agreement (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia)

Ending the war in Bosnia

- Preserved Bosnia as a single state, made up of two parts:  
**Bosniak-Croat federation + Bosnian Serb Republic**

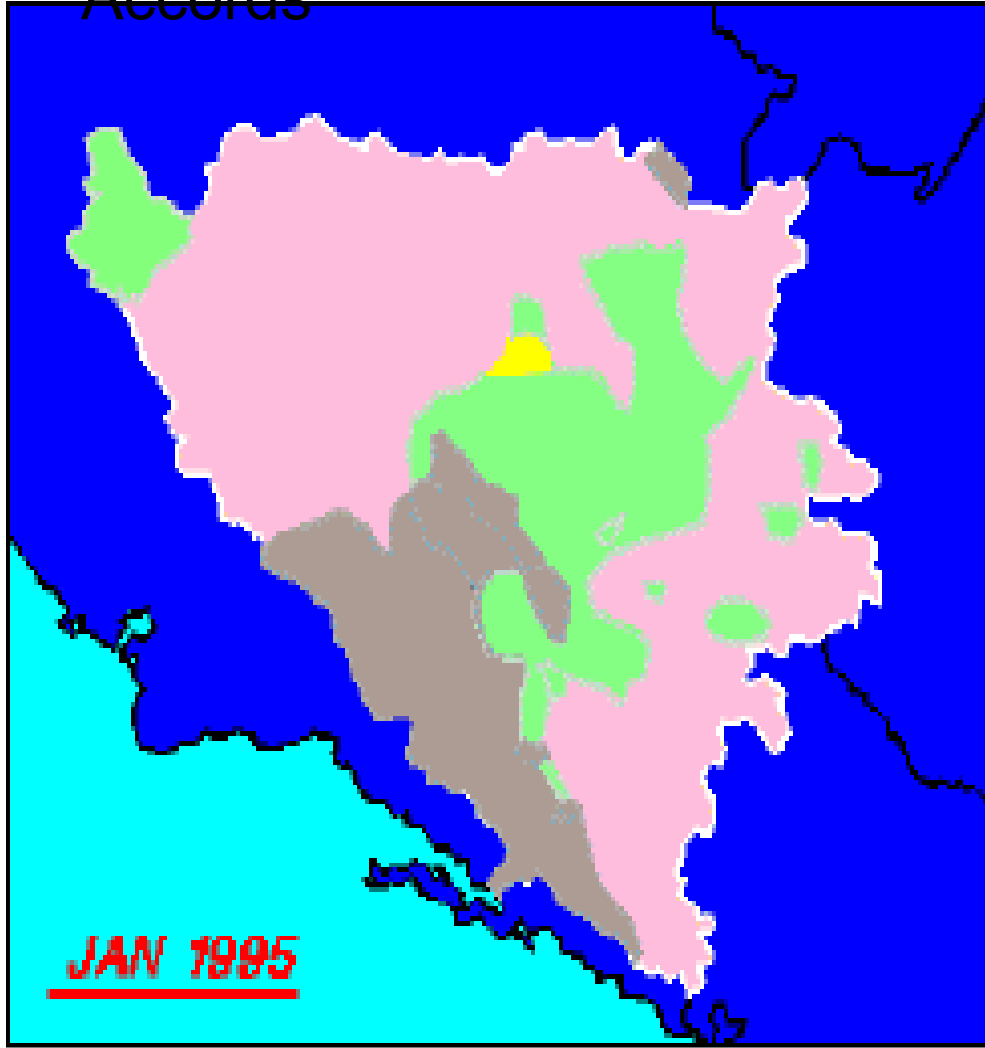
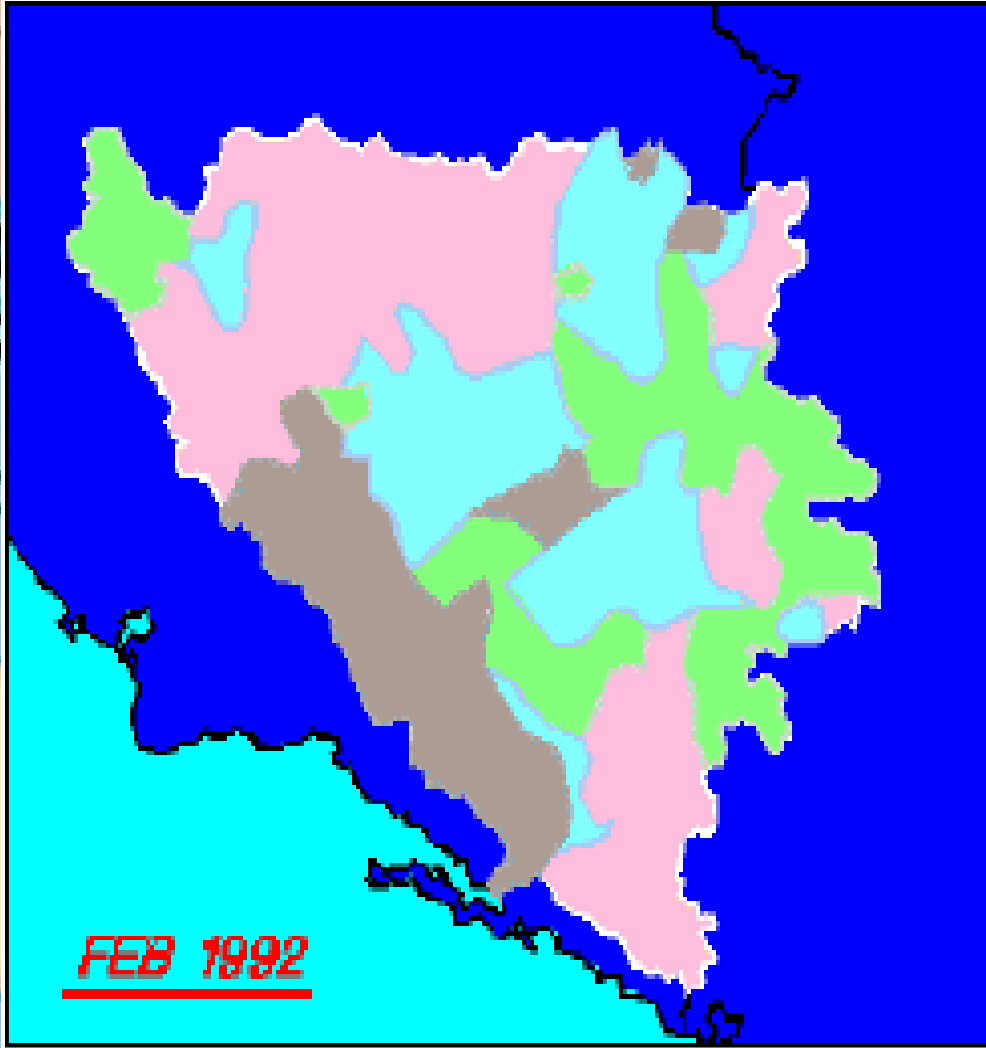
- **Sarajevo**: Undivided capital

- A **NATO-led peacekeeping force** was created to supervise



Before the War

After Dayton  
Accords





# The Kosovo Conflict

(1998)

## *The Balka*

■ The **Kosovo Liberation Army** (supported by a majority ethnic Albanians) started a **rebellion** against the Serbian rule, seeking independence

⇒ **Civil War**

- **Forced expulsions of Albanian refugees by Serb forces**

- **International pressure on Serbian Milosevic to end the escalating violence in the province failed**

- **Major Serbian military offensive against the Kosovo Liberation Army led to NATO's intervention**



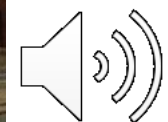
# The Kosovo Conflict

(1998)

*The Balkans*

BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA

SERBIA



# The Kosovo Conflict

(1998)

1999 => NATO air strikes against Serbia

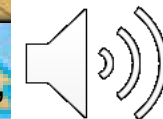
(March - June)

- Focused on military targets in Kosovo and Serbia
- Destroyed the defense ministry and the Chinese embassy in Belgrade
- US Marines and KFOR occupied Kosovo
- **Peace Accords** (summer of 1999)
  - Union is maintained + greater autonomy
- 2003: Renamed '**Serbia and Montenegro**'

## The Balkans



Serbia and Montenegro,



# Contemporary Developments

## The Balkans

- By 2003, Serbia and Montenegro were all that's left from Yugoslavia

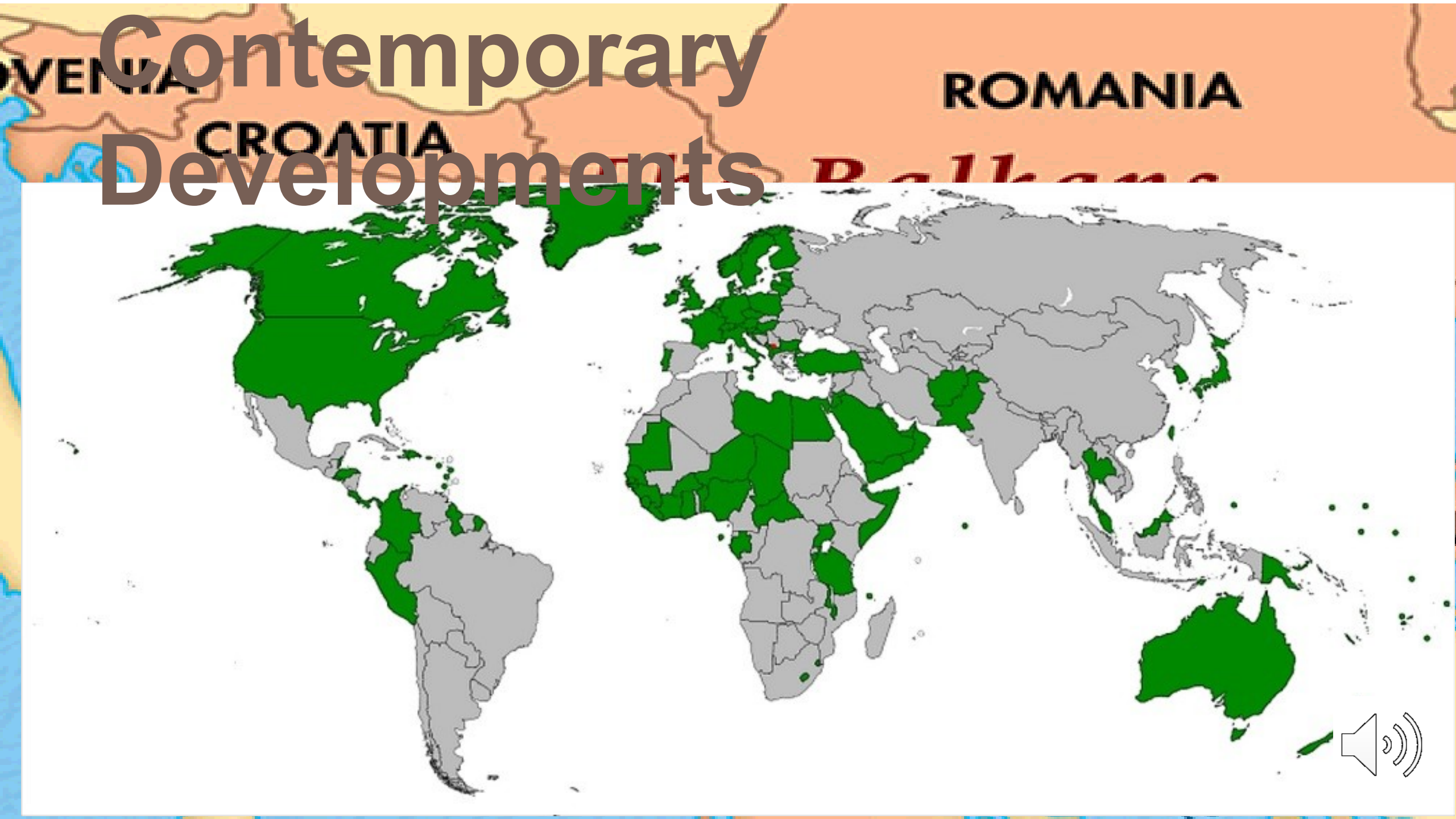
- 2006 => Montenegro separated from Serbia and gained independence following a close referendum

- 2008 => Kosovo declares its independence

- Only recognized by the countries in green



# Contemporary Developments



# Contemporary Developments

2019: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia => North Macedonia

The Prespa Agreement (2018)



# Analysis

## *The Balkans*

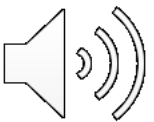
- The volatility of the 'Balkan Powder keg'
  - ⇒ Dispute over resources
  - Ancient hatred
  - Meddling by Great Powers
  - Terrain
  - Religious diversity



# Analysis

## *The Balkans*

- What can account for the volatility of the 'Balkan Powder keg'?
- Ethnic Diversity => Ethno-nationalism => Identity Politics

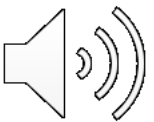




# Conclusions

## *The Balkans*

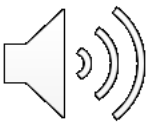
- The Balkans: Arena of **conflicting identities** and **clashing political goals**
- Two World Wars created **revised political borders** irrespective to ethnic population disparity
- The **communist state** 'kept the lid' on the Balkans' pressure cooker of ethnicities
- Post Cold War + collapse of communism
- **Division along ethnic lines** (not religious, skin color, etc.), not on the Balkans



# Conclusions

- A series of various **secessionist wars** with different combatant groups (state and non-state) were fought between 1991 and 2001
- Former Yugoslavia is now broken into **seven independent countries**:
  - Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia

## *The Balkans*



# Conclusions

## *The Balkans*

- **Politicians tactically swapped communist rhetoric for ethno-nationalism as a way to gain, maintain, and consolidate their power in a time of extreme national and international upheaval**
- **Serbian:** Heroic past, portrayed Croats and Bosniaks as identity threats
- **Croatian:** Feared Serbian domination and control
- **Contributing Economic Disparities**



# Next Session...

## *The Balkans*

BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA

SERBIA

ROMANIA

■ The 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland

MONTENEGRO

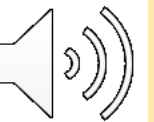
KOSOVO

BULGARIA

MACEDONIA

ALBANIA

GREECE





# *The Balkans*

Questions? Feel free to email me

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