



# Greater Albania and Greater Serbia

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# Greater Albania

# Albanians outside Albania

- Albania: 3,5 mil.
- Kosovo : around 2 million (80-90% of the population)
- Macedonia : ½ million (around 25 %)
- Montenegro: 40 880 Albanians (1991)
- Greece (300 000?), Italy (150 000?), Turkey (over million?), USA (250 000?)



# Emancipation of the Kosovo Albanians

- Started in the 60's
- 1974 gained more power
- 1989 authonomy drastically reduced; since then start of the setting up of the paralell institutions
- 1991 Badinter comission said Kosovo does not have right for independence
- 1996 emergence of UÇK
- 1996-1999 war Albanians vs. Serbs
- 1999 war NATO vs. Serbs
- 2000 Presevo valley
- 2001 Macedonia uprising
- 1999 protectorate under UN auspices
- 2008 independence



# Resolution 1244

- Withdrawal of SCG forces
- Protectorate of the UN, de iure autonomous province of Serbia
- Demilitarizing the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and other armed Kosovo Albanian groups.
- UNMIK and KFOR

# Metamorphosis of the UÇK

1. Political pillar (provisionary government and the political party PPDK)
2. Military pillar (KPC – Kosovo Protection Corps)
3. Police (KPS – Kosovo Police Service)
4. Organized crime



# Independence 2008

- Spain, Slovakia, Cyprus, Romania, Greece
- Russia China
- 96 states do not recognize

# Serbian minority

- Dinar, Car plates, language, social Security net, health care, education, para state





# Correction of the borders – land swap



# Issues

- Trepca mines, gazivode lake and electric power plant
- Serbian minority
- Import duty from Serbia into Kosovo increase 100% tariff
- Trains, planes, border crossings, car plates, ID's and passports, telephone nets
- Monasteries and their property



# Political landscape

- PDK, LDK, AAK
- Vetevendosje – Greater Albania



# Greater Serbia and the BiH question







Austria

Hungary

Romania

Bulgaria

Greece

Albania

Italy

Slovenia  
★ LJUBLJANA

★ ZAGREB

Croatia

Bosnia and  
Hercegovina

★ SARAJEVO

Montenegro

Serbia

Belgrade

Vojvodina  
(autonomous  
province)

Kosovo  
(autonomous  
province)

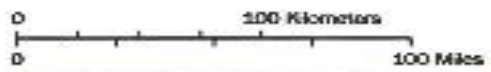
Macedonia

Adriatic  
Sea

- |  |            |  |             |
|--|------------|--|-------------|
|  | Albanian   |  | Montenegrin |
|  | Bulgarian  |  | Muslim      |
|  | Croat      |  | Serb        |
|  | Hungarian  |  | Slovak      |
|  | Macedonian |  | Slovene     |

No majority present

Based on *opstine* data from 1991 census.



# Ethnic composition of BiH



44 % Bosniaks (Muslims)

31 % Serbs

17 % Croats

# Desintegration and road to war



- 1991 Declaration of independence
- 1992 Referendum about the independence
- Are you for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Hercegovina, a state of equal citizens, the peoples of Bosnia and Hercegovina Muslims, Serbs, Croats, and members of other nations living in it?
- 63,4 % voters voted for
- Serbs boycotted the referendum
- 1992-1995 war in BiH and Croatia

# Position towards the independent BiH



Serbs and Croats endeavoured the partition  
of BiH

Serbs constituted the Serbian Republic  
(Republika srpska)

Croats declared their state as well – Herzeg  
Bosna



		<b>Serbs</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Bosniaks I.</b>	<b>Bosniak II.</b>
<b>Internal actor</b>	<b>Political party</b>	Serbian democratic party (SDS BiH)	Croatian democratic community (HDZ BiH)	Party of democratic action (SDA)	
	<b>Persona</b>	Radovan Karadžić	Davor Perinović, Stjepan Kljuić, Mate Boban	Alija Izetbegović	Fikret Abdić
	<b>Armed formation</b>	Army of Republika srpska	Croatian council of defence (HVO)	Army of Republic BaH	Army of Fikret Abdić
	<b>State</b>	9.1.1992 Republika srpska BaH, 12.8. renamed Republika srpska, Pale	3.7.1992 Croatian community Herzeg Bosna, 24.8.1993 Croatian republic Herzeg Bosna, Grude	Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH, Sarajevo)	Athonomous region Western Bosnia, renamed Republic of Western Bosnia, Velka Kladuša
<b>External actor</b>	<b>Political party</b>	Socialistic party of Serbia (SPS)	Croatian democratic community (HDZ)	Support of islamic countries	Cooperation with Croats as well as Serbs
	<b>Persona</b>	Slobodan Milošević	Franjo Tudjman		
	<b>Armed formation</b>	Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA), Yugoslavian army	Croatian army (HV)		
	<b>State</b>	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Belgrade	Croatia. Zagreb	Support of islamic countries (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libye)	
<b>Paramilitary formations</b>		Serbian volunteer guard (Tigers) – Arkan; Chetniks-Šešelj; White Eagles-Jović	Croatian defence forces (HOS)	El-Mudžahid Green Berets	

<b>I. Phase of the war (6. 4. 1992 beginning 1993)</b>	<b>II. Phase of the war (1993 - March 1994)</b>	<b>III. Phase of the war (March 1994 -1995)</b>	<b>IV. Local episode (29. 9. 1993 - 7. 8. 1995)</b>
<b><i>Serbs x Bosniaks + Croats</i></b>	<b><i>Serbs x Bosniaks</i></b>  <b><i>Serbs x Croats</i></b>  <b><i>Bosniaks x Croats</i></b>	<b><i>Serbs x Bosniaks + Croats</i></b>	<b><i>Bosniaks x Bosniaks</i></b> (Army of the Republic BaH x Army of Fikret Abdić)

# Dayton Peace Agreement



Negotiated in Dayton, signed in Paris 14th December 1995, signed by Milošević, Tudjman and Izetbegović, The Constitution of BiH was included in Annex IV. Of the Dayton Peace Agreement

# BiH – composed of 2 Entities

- the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51 %)
- Republic of Srpska (49 %).
- All citizens of either Entity are thereby citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



# Political system in BiH according to the Sarajevo agreement, which modified the Dayton Peace agreement:

## BiH:

- **Presidency: each entity shall have 1 representative**, 4 years.
- **Government:** Council of ministers appointed by the Presidency. Powers: foreign policy, foreign trade, taxes, monetary politics, financing of the institutions of BiH, foreign obligations, immigration, refugees, international law, penal law inbetween the entities, common infrastructure, air space control.
- **Legislative: bicameral:**

**House of nations** – 15 MPs, 5 from each entity, delegates elected by the parliaments of RS and FBiH

**House of representatives:** 42 MPs, 2/3 elected directly in FBiH, 1/3 in RS

Both chambers elect their common presidency, system of rotation.

- **Constitutional court:** 9 members, 4 are nominated by the House of representatives FBiH, 2 by national assembly RS, 3 by the chair of the European court for human rights (must not be the inhabitants of BiH or the neighbouring state, nominated for 5 years)

## FBiH:

- **President rotates with 2 vice-presidents**, elected by the House of representatives, president nominates the government, he is consulted with the nomination of ombudsman and judges, signs laws and international treaties, grants amnesties ( with exclusion of the war crimes and genocide)
- **Government: prime minister and deputy prime minister**, ministers and their deputy prime ministers which must not be from the same nation as the prime ministers. 8 Bosniacs, 5 Croats, 3 Serbs.
- **Legislative: House of representatives** : 98 MPs, 4 Years, direct vot, 73 proportional system, 25 compensatory mandates.
- **House of nations:** 58 MPs, 17 from each nation and 7 seats for the minorities)
- **Constitutional court** 9 judges

## RS:

- **President with 2 vice-presidents from all nations**, direct vote, president proposes the prime minister, the National assembly approves the government
- **Government** 8 Serbs, 5 Bosniacs 3 Croats.
- **National assembly** 83 MPs, direct vote, 4 years.
- **The Council of Nations** consists of 28 representatives delegated by the National Assembly (eight Croats, eight Bosniacs, eight Serbs, and four others).
- **Constitutional court:** 7 judges, elected for 8 years, once.



# The High Representative

The High Representative is the final authority in the matter regarding interpretation of this Agreement on the civilian implementation of the peace settlement.

- **Valentin Inzko** since 2009
- **Miroslav Lajčák** July 2007 -2009
- **Christian Schwarz-Schilling** 31 January 2006 – 2007
- **Paddy Ashdown** 27 May 2002 - 31 January 2002
- **Wolfgang Petritsch** August 1999 - 27 May 2002
- **Carlos Westendorp** June 1997 - July 1999
- **Carl Bildt** December 1995 - June 1997





**Serbia**



**Republic of Srpska**



**Serbia Monte Negro**



Serbia: the plain tricolour as the national flag, the tricolour with coat of arms as the state flag



The flag with 4 S is often used, but unofficially.

**Само слога Србина спасава**  
*in lat. Samo sloga Srbina spašava*  
(Only Unity can save the Serbs)"



# Elections - failure of multiethnic state and Dayton??

Almost every elections win the ethnic parti



# Questions:



- Is the endeavour of the international community to build the multiethnic society right/feasible?
  - Does BiH in its current shape have a future?
  - Would not be better to divide Bosnia? If Yes – How?
- Would not be better to build nation states in the Balkans – Greater Serbia, Greater Croatia etc.?
  - Should the international community withdraw from BiH or stay?
- What do u think about the US – stepping into the war, ending it and then withdrawing leaving the job on the EU?

# Islam in the Balkans

- BiH, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Albania
- History of Austro-Hungarian empire - institutionalisation
- Different historical development (Yugoslavia vs. Albania and Bulgaria)



# Islam in the Balkans

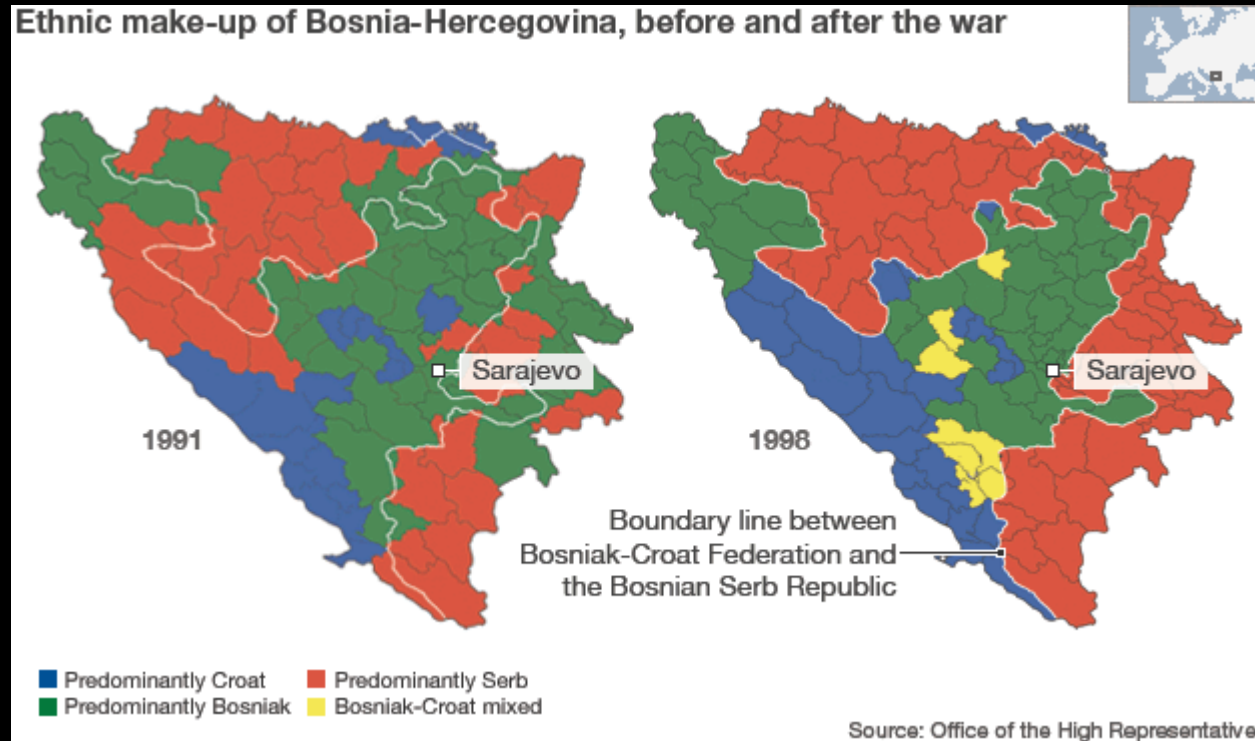
- War in BiH – mudžahedins
- Dayton agreement and the foreign fighters
- Local version of islam vs. New radical islam after 1990 (BiH vs. Albania)
- Fight for power between different streams
- Future – deteriorating old balkan version of islam and stricter islamic rules

# Islam in BiH

- 40 % of the population (Muslims, Albanians, Roma, Turks)
- Headscarves, hijabs

# BiH and freedom of religion

- Religious education decentralized
- State holidays
- Higher education
- RS parliament – oath
- Religious reconciliation
- Law recognizes only civil marriages



Source: Office of the High Representative

# Islam in Albania

- the largest religion in the country
- Majority Sunni with a significant Bektashi Shia minority.
- 1923 break with caliphate
- Albania the only European member of organisation of islamic cooperation
- imams
- 2011 opened first islamic uni



# Kosovo foreign fighters

- 2013 media portrayed those leaving for Syria as martyrs and heroes fighting against dictator
- Later on change - much stronger criticism: analysts demanding to remove citizenship when kosovar fighting for jihad in foreign country