



# From 1945 up to the disintegration of Yugoslavia

BALKAN POLITICS

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# After WWII

- ▶ Main resistance AVNOJ – antifascist council for national liberation of Yugoslavia
- ▶ **Leader Tito**
- ▶ Recognized Montenegrin and Macedonian nation
- ▶ **1945 elections manipulated**, People's Front 90% of the votes
- ▶ 1946 new constitution drafted after the Soviet one
- ▶ Post-war Yugoslavia produced as many **as four constitutions** – in 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1974, The whole system was getting more and more difficult

# Regional hegemon

- ▶ Regional hegemon – **integration of Albania into Yugoslavia?**
- ▶ Yugoslav support for Greek communists in Greek Civil War
- ▶ Yugoslav hoped that Greek threat would lead Albania into Yugoslavia

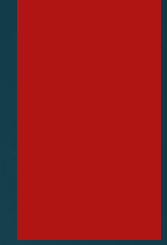
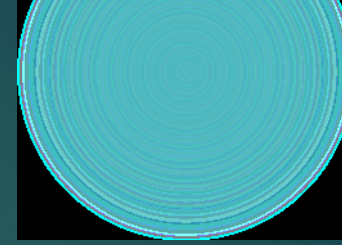
- ▶ **Federation with Bulgaria?** Suggested by Stalin
- ▶ **Tito-Stalin split** – Stalin's letters 1948
- ▶ At least one failed attempt for military coup supported by Soviets
- ▶ Lets poison Tito
- ▶ **Titoists!!!** – Koci Xoxe, Rudolf Slánský, Laszlo Rajk, Traicho Kostov
- ▶ Tito cut off support to greek communists 1949
- ▶ **Sharp antagonism with Albania after Tito-Stalin split**

# Foreign policy of Tito

- ▶ East and West
- ▶ Third World countries – Non-Aligned Movement



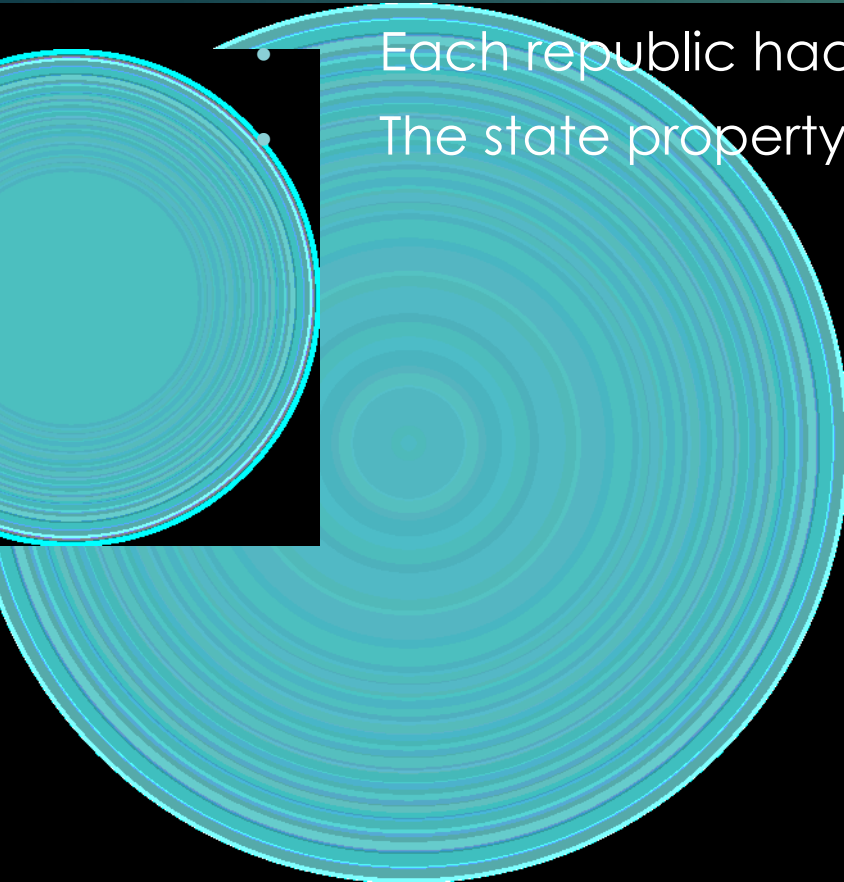
# 1974 constitution



- Right for nationality, use of mother language, yugoslav as well as republican citizenship

Each republic had a right to secede

The state property was changed into social property



# Croatian spring 1967-71 and Croatian silence 1971-1980's

- ▶ Croatian language
- ▶ Demands for increased autonomy
- ▶ Patriotic songs
- ▶ Croatian culture
- ▶ Plans for increased representation of Croatia-related materials in the school curriculum
- ▶ Calls measures to address the overrepresentation of Serbs in key positions in Croatia
- ▶ Increased tensions between croats and serb
- ▶ 1968 Student demonstrations in belgrade
- ▶ 1972 oil crisis, IMF debt
- ▶ 1974 constitution
- ▶ Franjo Tuđman imprisoned for nationalist activities
- ▶ Vice Vukov (Zvona moga grada [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzdp-ZU\\_kcE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzdp-ZU_kcE)) had to emigrate (Tvoja zemlja [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cE\\_z8mSZ8qQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cE_z8mSZ8qQ))
- ▶ Significance of catholic church in croatian identity
- ▶ Cult of Mary as croatian symbol
- ▶ Suppressed and purges out of Communist Party of Croatia
- ▶ League of Communists of Slovenia also suppressed



# Albanian nationalism

- ▶ 1944-48 – good relations Tirana and Belgrade, **pan-balkan federation?**
- ▶ 1948 Tito quarrel with Moscow and **Hoxha on Russian side**
- ▶ Kosovo republic? Why Montenegro and not Kosovo?
- ▶ **1968 autonomous region**, assimilation of Albanians
- ▶ **1968 demonstrations for unification with Albania**
- ▶ 1970s albanian language promoted, Albanians in state structures, Albanian university,
- ▶ 1977 autonomous province
- ▶ **Decline of serbs**, migration of Serbs vs natality of Albanians
- ▶ 1981 Albanian revolt suppressed
- ▶ 1986 limitations of kosovo autonomy
- ▶ **1990 declaration of independence of Kosovo**
- ▶ **Peacefull and armed resistance**
- ▶ **Vendettas and kanun**
- ▶ **1998-99 escalation of the conflict**



# Death of Tito 4.5.1980

- ▶ State funeral

- ▶ IMF debt

- ▶ Tensions

- ▶ Most attended state funeral in history – 128 countries out of the 154 UN members at the time were represented, delegates from seven multilateral organizations, six movements and 40 political parties.

- ▶ Recession, inflation

- ▶ Series of wars





# Prior to the collapse

- ▶ a regional industrial power and an economic success.
- ▶ 1960 to 1980, annual (GDP) growth averaged 6.1 percent, medical care was free, literacy was 91 percent, and life expectancy was 72 years.
- ▶ **Yugoslavia's armed forces** were amongst the best-equipped in Europe
  - ▶ East and west
  - ▶ Third World leader
  - ▶ Buffer zone between west and ussr
  - ▶ **Struggle between unitarists and federalists**
- ▶ 1973 oil crisis, economic growth curbed, heavy IMF debt
- ▶ 1981, Yugoslavia had incurred \$19.9 billion in foreign debt.
- ▶ Another concern was the unemployment rate, at 1 million by 1980.
- ▶ **"unproductiveness of the South"**



# the 1980's in Europe

- ▶ Pope Jan Paul II
- ▶ Mikhail Gorbatschow
- ▶ Tschernobyl
- ▶ Round tables in Poland
- ▶ But Živkov in BGR since 1964, Kadar in Hungary since 1964, Hoxha in Alb since 1944, Ceausescu in Romania since 1964



# Serbian Nationalism in the 1980's/1990's



- ▶ Memorandum of SANU

- ▶ Saint Sava

- ▶ Paraćinovo killing

- ▶ Poisoning of Albanian children

- ▶ Speech of Slobodan Milošević at Kosovo polje 1987 "You will not be beaten,,

- ▶ 1989 Gazimestan speech (0.5-2 mil. People)- victimisation of Serbs,

- ▶ Greater Serbia

- ▶ Vojislav Šešelj

- ▶ Dobrica Cosic, history of Serbia fullled with suffering



# Slobodan Milošević

- ▶ High ranking communist
- ▶ Leader of Socialist party of Serbia
- ▶ President of Serbia 1989-1997
- ▶ President of federal republic of Yugoslavia 1997-2000
- ▶ Communism to nationalism
- ▶ Authoritarian rule, police brutality
- ▶ Guilty for the wars
- ▶ Meetings with Tudjman to divide BiH
- ▶ ICTY, ICJ, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide
- ▶ called for political change to reduce the autonomy, protect minority Serb rights, and initiate a strong crackdown on separatism in Kosovo.
- ▶ Extradited to ICTY in 2001
- ▶ 2006 found dead in the cell



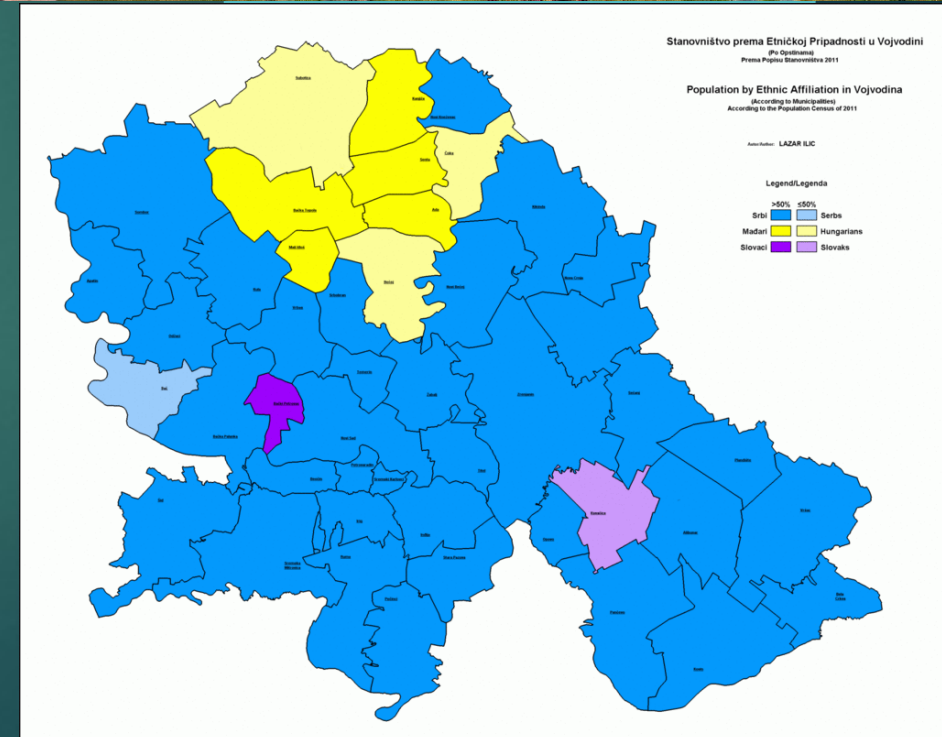
# Anti-bureaucratic revolution

- ▶ 1988 and 1989
- ▶ The protests overthrew the government of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro as well as the governments of the Serbian provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, and replaced them with allies of Milošević, thereby creating a dominant voting bloc within the Yugoslav presidency council

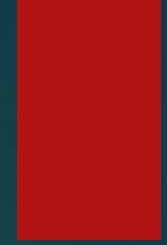
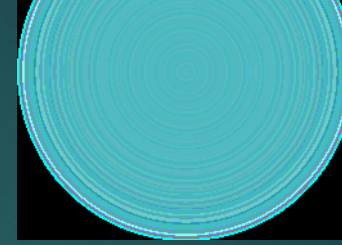


# Vojvodina

- ▶ Wide autonomy
- ▶ Multi-cultural melting pot
- ▶ No national tensions (exception flow of Kosovo Serbs)
- ▶ Serbianisation, ban of hungarian language
- ▶ 1988 Change in leadership from multinational to serbian
- ▶ War in Croatia and first flow of Hungarians to Hungary
- ▶ Revision of Trianon Treaty – voices coming from Hungary



# Multiparty elections 1990



- ▶ Nationalist platforms
- ▶ Nationalists won over re-branded communists in **Sl, Cr, BiH**
- ▶ Re-branded communists won in **Serbia, Montenegro**
- ▶ Accusation of Slovenes and Croats that they support „genocide in Kosovo“



# Ten day war

- ▶ Slovenian war for independence
- ▶ 25 June 1991
- ▶ Slovenian Territorial defence and JNA
- ▶ Ethnically homogenous
- ▶ Propaganda: case of a "David versus Goliath" struggle between an emerging democracy and an authoritarian communist state,
- ▶ Tanks as in [Tiananmen Square protests of 1989](#) - sympathy





# Why so many wars?

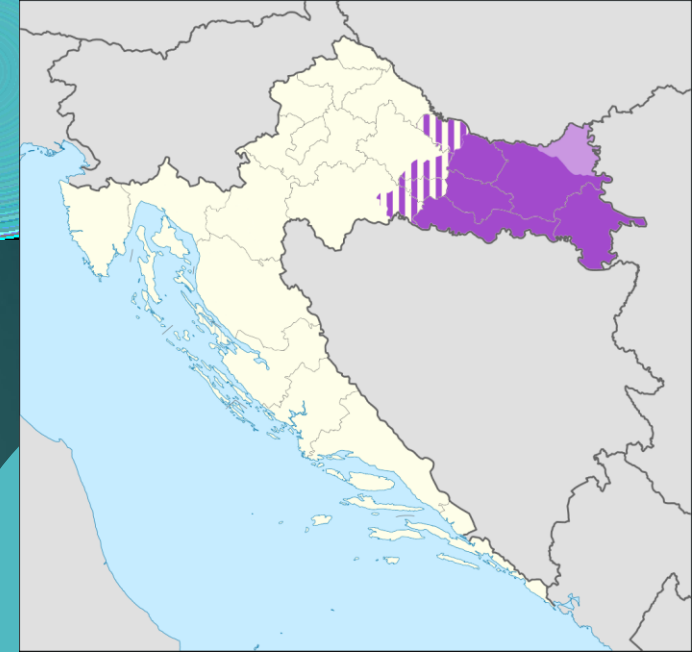
- ▶ Competing projects Greater Croatia, Greater Serbia, Greater Albania....
- ▶ WWII
- ▶ Pan-Slavism, Kingdom of Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, domination of Serbs, different concepts
- ▶ **Badinter Arbitration Committee**

# Nationalism in the 1990's in Croatia

- ▶ Serbs 12.2% but 17.7% of appointed officials in Croatia, including police, were Serbs.
- ▶ many Serbs employed in the public sector, especially the police, were fired and replaced by Croats.
- ▶ Franjo Tudjman remarks, i.e. "Thank God my wife is not a Jew or a Serb",
- ▶ Milošević's media :new "Ustashe state".
- ▶ Helmut Kohl and Slobodan Milosevic in TV: accusing the two of plotting "a Fourth Reich".
- ▶ šahovnica (Croatian checkerboard), kuna
- ▶ New constitution: define Croatia as "the national state of the Croatian nation and a state of members of other nations and minorities who are its citizens: Serbs ... who are guaranteed equality with citizens of Croatian nationality

# War in Croatia – 1991-1995

- ▶ War for independence, Homeland War, Greater Serbian aggression
- ▶ Civil war vs war between states
- ▶ Croats want to leave, Serbs want to stay
- ▶ 25. June 1991 declaration of independence
- ▶ Republika Srpska Krajina
- ▶ Operation Storm, Operation Flash 1995
- ▶ 1998 UN transitional authority for Eastern Slavonia integrated into Croatia



# Serbian forces

- ▶ JNA
- ▶ Paramilitaries responsible for massacres
- ▶ White Eagles
- ▶ Serbian Volunteer Guard
  - ▶ Arkanovi Tigrovi, delije
  - ▶ Volunteers from Russia
  - ▶ By 1991, the JNA officer corps was dominated by Serbs and Montenegrins; they were overrepresented in Yugoslav federal institutions, especially the army. 57.1% of JNA officers were Serbs, while Serbs formed 36.3% of the population of Yugoslavia.
- ▶ Army of RSK
- ▶ Arkanove Tigrovi

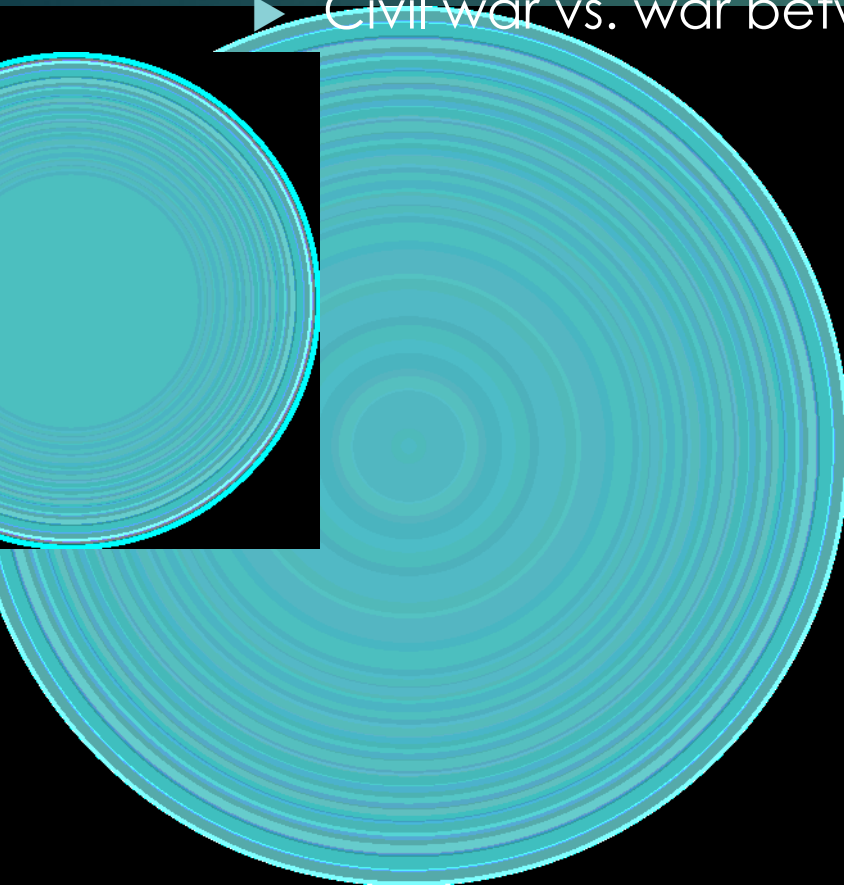
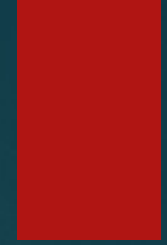
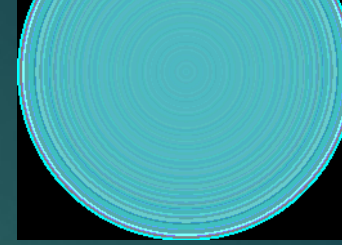
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a34IJNQRz>

WM



# War in BiH

- ▶ 3 ethnics: 17% Croations, 31% Serbs, 44 %Bosniaks
- ▶ Civil war vs. war between the states



		<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</b>		Serbian volunteer	Croatian defence	El-Mudžahid	

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

# Dayton Peace Agreement

- ▶ Milosevic, Tudjman, Izetbegovic





# Serbian propaganda

▶ **Vukovar baby massacre**- Serbian media reported false story that 40 Serb babies (age 5-7) had been killed in Vukovar school which led to retaliation and Ovčara massacre (264 executions of Croats by Serbs)

▶ **Fourth Reich**

▶ **Vatican conspiracy**

▶ Franjo Tuđman alleged speech: "There would not have been a war had Croatia not wanted one".

▶ Franjo Tuđman speech: "Some individuals in the world who were not friends of Croatia claimed that we too were responsible for the war. And I replied to them: Yes, there would not have been a war had we given up our goal to create a sovereign and independent Croatia. We suggested that our goal should be achieved without war, and that the Yugoslav crisis should be resolved by transforming the federation, in which nobody was satisfied, particularly not the Croatian nation, into a union of sovereign countries in which Croatia would be sovereign, with its own army, own money, own diplomacy. They did not accept,,"

▶ Mujahideen terrorist threat for Europe

▶ RTS bombing by NATO in 1999



# Croatian propaganda

- ▶ In September 1991, 300 employees at HRT were fired for "security reasons"
- ▶ false stories: 35 Croats were hanged near the Catholic church in Zenica on 9 August 1993
- ▶ Croatian journalists relativised war crimes committed by Croatian troops against non-Croat civilians
- ▶ portraying Serbs and Serbia as conquerors, war criminals, robbers and terrorists



# Bosnian propaganda

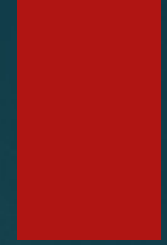
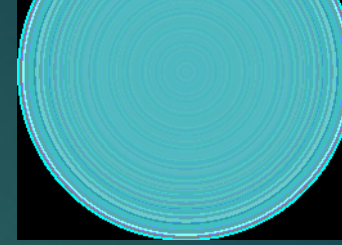
- ▶ the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina then aimed towards a unitary state

- ▶ Četnici and ustaše

- ▶ Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović signed a contract with the Washington-based Ruder Finn to promote a stronger leadership for the United States in the Balkans. The "Bosnian Crisis Communication Centre" set up by the firm put local Bosnian leaders in contact with Western officials and mass media. It also prepared news articles and war narratives for American outlets

# Western propaganda

- ▶ Demonisation of Serbs
- ▶ simplistic dogma that blames one nation, the Serbs, as the origin of evil in the Balkans
- ▶ Račak massacre?



# ICTY

- ▶ prosecute the war crimes that had been committed during the Yugoslav Wars

- ▶ The Hague  
▶ 1993-2017

- ▶ grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, genocide, and crimes against humanity. The maximum sentence that it could impose was life imprisonment. Various countries signed agreements with the UN to carry out custodial sentences.

- ▶ A total of 161 persons were indicted