

# TEACHING CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN HISTORY

SOURCE BOOKS FOR HISTORY TEACHERS

## VOLUME 2

# WARS, DIVISIONS, INTEGRATION (1990-2008)

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# WARS, DIVISIONS, INTEGRATION (1990-2008)

Edited by

CHRISTINA KOULOURI and BOŽO REPE

Series Editor

CHRISTINA KOULOURI

**CDRSEE**  
Center for Democracy and  
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## CHAPTER I: COLLAPSE AND CONSTRUCTION 1990-1992

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## ► INTRODUCTION

In the 1980s the Cold War was coming to an end, thanks to economic, political and military pressure by the United States on the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact. East European countries found it increasingly difficult to carry the economic burden of the arms race. In the Soviet Union, crucial changes were made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who launched political (*glasnost*) and economic (*perestroika*) reforms. In the late 1980s, the reform process in the Soviet Union triggered a series of revolutions in East European countries: Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. They were mostly peaceful civil social movements: it was only in Romania that a violent revolution took place. Mass demonstrations in several German cities in November 1989 led to the fall of the Berlin Wall. This in turn led to the reunification of Germany, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the introduction of a multi-party system and free market capitalism in the former socialist countries which had embarked upon a painful journey of transition. The end of a bipolar world resulted in the reshaping of geostrategic relations in a world which was becoming unilateral. The United States became predominant. The Warsaw Pact fell apart while discussions on the future of NATO started. Later, in 1999, NATO was strengthened and its membership expanded to include the former socialist East European countries. The end of the bipolar world also profoundly changed geostrategic relations in the Balkans.

At the end of the Cold War (1990) the Southeast European countries found themselves in very different situations. The degree of turbulence in the region is reflected in the fact that there were only seven countries at the time while now there are thirteen: Yugoslavia disintegrated into seven countries in the course of several wars. By contrast, although Cyprus had been partitioned by military force during the Cold War period, the part of the island under Turkish military occupation, despite an unilateral declaration of independence, has not been internationally recognised by any country except by Turkey itself.

Even the countries' geostrategic positions differ greatly. Greece was the only country from the region

which became a member of the then European Community even before the end of the Cold War. Greece and Turkey were also members of NATO. Bulgaria and Romania were members of the Warsaw Pact. During the Cold War, Albania was the most isolated country of Southeast Europe. At first, after World War II, it has been closely tied to Yugoslavia, but after the split between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, it attached itself to the Soviet Union and after the split between the Soviet Union and China, it became attached to China. From the 1970s onwards, Albania cautiously established relationships with other countries, but this policy did not alter the situation of the population, which remained in almost complete isolation until 1991. Apart from Malta, Yugoslavia and Cyprus were the only European countries which were members of the Non-aligned Movement.

The countries were also very different with regard to their internal order and level of democracy. Albania had the harshest communist system which was based on Stalinism and had not changed significantly in the decades after WWII. Romania's system most resembled that of Albania among those Soviet bloc countries which adhered to so-called real socialism, but it showed independence in its foreign policy.

The Romanian and Bulgarian leaderships were opposed to the changes introduced into the Soviet Union through Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. The Bulgarians rejected them at first, but then, unlike Romania, started copying the Soviet model and even claimed to have their own policy of reform. The changes in Bulgaria were implemented peacefully but those in Romania were only brought about by an armed revolution.

During the Cold War, Turkey and Greece both went through a period of dictatorship. At the same time they were in sharp mutual conflict, almost to the brink of war. However, of all the Southeast European countries, only Greece, Turkey and Cyprus formally had multi-party systems before the end of the Cold War period. Greece was the most democratic one, but there was a strong conservative undertone to its democracy, especially in the aftermath of the Civil War. However, already before the

end of the Cold War, Greece succeeded in its democratic transition after the fall of the colonels' dictatorship (1974) and became the first country of the region to join the European Union. Yugoslavia's system was somewhere in between: it was called socialist self-management, based on common ownership (factories were formally owned by the whole society [social ownership] and managed by the workers) but aimed at operating according to market principles. Yugoslavia was also the only country open both to East and West: its citizens were allowed to travel to all countries (the only exception being Albania due to its self-imposed isolation).

In the 1980s, Yugoslavia was nevertheless in the grip of a severe economic crisis, nationalism was on the rise

and, by the end of the Cold War, the country was on the verge of falling apart. The European Community, the United States, the Soviet Union and the UN were all against disintegration but did not do enough to help Yugoslavia remain united. A series of constitutional changes there in 1989 were followed by referendums and proclamations of independence in its constituent Republics. These opened the way in 1990 to the country's dramatic dissolution, which will be described in the next chapter. This historical process should be understood through the combination of documents of chapter VIII of volume 1 (the crisis of the 1980s) and chapters II and III of volume 2 (wars, international intervention and peace treaties).

## ► I.1. THE END OF THE COLD WAR

On 3 December 1989, U.S. President George H. W. Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev declared the end of the Cold War at the Malta Summit. Negotiations to reduce strategic nuclear weapons continued in the next years and resulted in signing bilateral accords between the USA and the Soviet Union. On 17 November 1990 in Paris, the leaders of NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), and two days later the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, declaring an end to Europe's military and economic divisions. On 25 February 1991 the six remaining Warsaw Pact members met in Budapest and decided to disband their military structure. At a second Budapest meeting on 18 June 1991, the Pact disbanded its economic organisation, COMECON. The Warsaw Pact was finally dissolved at the Prague Summit on 1 July 1991.

### I-1. A CIA report about the future of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, April 1990

The evolution of the region will make the designation "Eastern Europe" increasingly imprecise, as East-Central European countries – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany – move ahead in closer association with the West, and the Balkans – Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania – settle into a more separate role. Yugoslavia, if it holds together, will continue close ties to the West.

In some East European countries, however, we will see political instability and perhaps even a revival of authoritarianism, amidst lingering economic backwardness and re-emerging ethnic animosities. Despite Western aid and investment, the East European economies – excluding that of East Germany – are likely to make only uneven progress during the five-year timespan of this Estimate.

*The Future of Eastern Europe, 1990, p.182.*



Comment on the CIA report. What were the predictions? Did they come true? In what way? Study the second paragraph and discuss why East Germany is excluded from the pessimistic future predicted. How can you describe the "uneven progress" made, 25 years later?

### I-2. "The last nail in the Warsaw Pact". An Albanian newspaper on the disbandment of the military structure of the Warsaw Pact

In Moscow, as if at a funeral ceremony, the Soviet general Vladimir Lobov, Chief of the General Staff of the Eastern Alliance, held the last farewell meeting with chiefs of military structures of the Warsaw Pact. This meeting took place just one month after the Budapest meeting, which formally lighted the funerary candle of this alliance, determined the protocol of its obituary and the day when the last nail would be driven into its coffin. The Budapest meeting decided to disband all military structures of this bloc prior to 31 March. In practical terms, this protocol was strictly implemented. After a couple of days, the representatives of the Command of Warsaw Pact would be leaving for their own countries. The final demise of the Eastern Alliance would even carry away the shame for its deeds of August 1968. Its history, however, would occupy a significant place in museums in the service of future generations.

The real dismantling of the Warsaw Pact started long ago. But its lingering agony was now practically coming to an end, enabling the peoples and countries of Eastern Europe to breathe freely; and not only them but also those of Western Europe, considering that one of the potential threats to their freedom and independence would eventually be gone. [...]

During the days of the demise of the Warsaw Pact, European peoples who had suffered through two World Wars undoubtedly also wanted to see the other military bloc, NATO, in the near future in museums of modern history. [...] Meanwhile, former Warsaw Pact members are signing bilateral agreements for military cooperation between each other. Some of them go even further, seeking to establish political and military links with NATO, and – why not? – to become one of its "associate members" in the near future. [...]

*Çota, Zeri i Popullit, 27 March 1991.*



### I-3. A right-wing Greek newspaper and the official mouthpiece of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) reporting on the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact

#### A. "The 'funeral' of the Warsaw Pact", *Eleftheros Typos*, 2 July 1991

It seems it was meant to be that the military organisation which was feared more by its member-states should meet its end in the capital of the country where it carried out its gravest crime. At noon yesterday, the free Prague of 1991 took its revenge for the blood-stained Prague of 1968.

In the Czechoslovakian capital the six remaining members of the Warsaw Pact decided yesterday on its definitive self-dissolution. The organisation, which for 36 consecutive years had policed its members and scared the rest of the world, no longer exists.

At the same time, the Parliament of the "mother" of the dissolved Pact, the Soviet Union, was completing the passage of a law with far-reaching repercussions for the country's future: a law that maps the process regarding the privatisation of enterprises. According to this law, all hitherto state enterprises – save those related to Health, Defence, Security and the Environment – can be auctioned, can be ceded to limited liability companies and cooperatives or can become joint stock companies.

#### B. "Complete dissolution of the Warsaw Pact", *Rizospastis*, 2 July 1991

The Conference was presided over by V. Havel, who described the Warsaw Pact as an "old-fashioned institution, as a child of the Cold War". In his speech, the Czechoslovakian leader noted: "Our decision today is historic. We are saying farewell to the era when Europe was divided by ideological intransigence... The vision of a united, democratic, safe and peace-loving Europe rises up before us". [...]

Soviet Vice-President G. Yanayev expressed the hope that NATO would soon follow in the footsteps of the Warsaw Pact. He underlined the fact that organisations created for the Cold War were "antiquated" and that his government is expecting a [similar] "development or perhaps a revolution in NATO". "NATO will also realise that the prevailing political reality does not justify its survival as a confrontational organisation. That is why we

accepted the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact... I hope NATO will not survive for much longer", he concluded.

### I-4. The reorientation of Turkish foreign policy after the collapse of the USSR



After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many politicians, including President Turgut Özal and Süleyman Demirel, his prime minister and future president, explained that the 21st century would be the "Century of the Turks", with an accelerated economic, political, cultural and linguistic integration of Turkey with Central Asia and much less dependence on Western Europe. However, this optimism did not last long, the Central Asian Republics preferring to maintain their alliances with Russia.

#### A. Kazak President Nazarbayev rejecting Turkish plans for creating a "Turkish space" in Central Asia

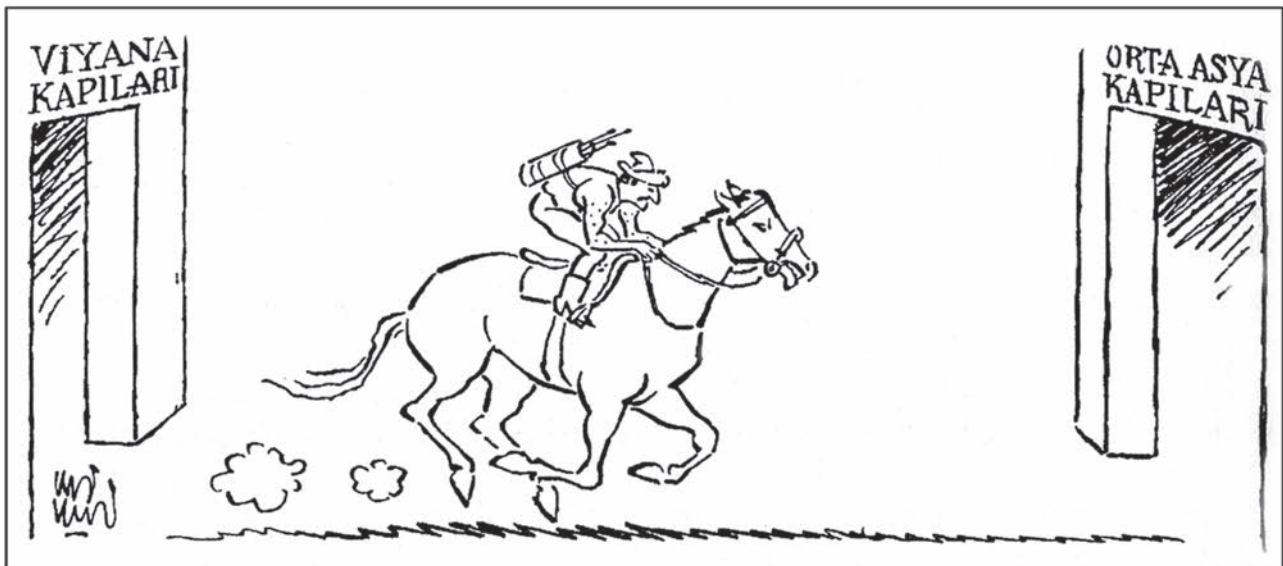
Nazarbayev, 1991 – "In this region of the world, Turkism began to flow as a reaction against Soviet hegemony... I am against strictly categorizing people by emphasizing Turkism or Islamism. They have no chance. Right now we are witnessing the intra-Turkish approach that is developing because of the common values that Turkish speaking people share. However, this cannot transform to a dangerous chauvinism".

Nazarbayev, 1997 – "This issue was clearly expressed in the announcement that our Turkish colleagues prepared in the first summit of the Turkish heads of states. It was mentioned that we would choose the path of cooperation with Turkey based on the historical unity of our roots, our common language and culture, the uniformity of our traditions. I was obliged to hurt Turgut Özal. I stated that I will not sign this statement. I told him that I was supporting only economic, political and humanitarian relations. It is true that our roots are the same, but it is also known that we have stayed separate from each other for too long. I proposed to him to re-establish the broken ties of our civilization by respecting our newly-gained independence, the sovereignty of every state. However, I would like to state that we will not end our relations with other peoples and states, we will not enter into unjust relations again, regardless of the state".

Oran, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 394-395.



## B. Caricature: *From the Gates of Vienna to the Gates of Central Asia*



(Ali Ulvi)

Oran, 2002, vol. 2, p. 374.



1. Describe the cartoon. Why are the Gates of Vienna mentioned and why are they being abandoned? Which historical event does the cartoon recall? Do you think the author of the cartoon is positively or negatively inclined towards Turkey's new orientation? What are your arguments?

2. Which are the "common roots" that Turkey and some former Soviet Republics share (e.g. Turks and Kazaks) as ethnic groups?

3. Why do you think Turkey is turning towards Asia? In what way do you think that the politics of "Panturkism" can be materialized?

4. Why do you think Nazarbayev reacts as he does to this attitude?

5. Can you recall similar political attitudes based on ethnological /racial approaches in modern and contemporary European history?

## ► I.2. POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

### I-5. The fall of Zhivkov and multi-party elections in Bulgaria

On 15 January 1990, Article 1 of the Constitution, which stipulated that the Bulgarian Communist Party was "the leading force in society and the state", was abolished. The first free elections, for the Seventh Grand National Assembly, were held on 10 and 17 June 1990. Half of the 400 members of Assembly were elected by proportional representation and the other half by majority vote. Almost seven million people, about 91% of all eligible voters, cast ballots.

The election results caused a public outcry. UDF (Union of Democratic Forces) supporters were certain that the elections were manipulated and began mass protests, erecting barricades and blocking traffic on Sofia's main thoroughfares after the preliminary results of the first round of voting were announced on 10 June. On 11 June pro-UDF students called a sit-in strike at Sofia University's main building. On 13 June the UDF called its supporters to accept the

election results and to stop violating public order. On the next day, however, the UDF released a controversial videotape of the then-president of Bulgaria, Petar Mladenov, saying during an anti-government demonstration that it would be best "to bring in the tanks" against the demonstrators. After the final results of the elections were announced, the UDF refused to join a coalition government and the protests continued.

### A. "45 years are enough! The Time is Ours", Election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)

The Union of Democratic Forces was born in the struggle for democracy. The political parties, which it unites, are inspired by the idea of eliminating the anti-human totalitarian system and implementing the peaceful and civilized transition of our country to democratic model...

Socialism was an invented society. We are for a real society.

"45 years are enough! The time is ours!" Election Platform of the Union of Democratic Forces

UDF stands for Union of Democratic Forces. We are for democracy, Democracy for people and citizens. Democracy without adjectives. Democracy that turned many countries into rich and well-regulated states. We can and want to become part of that Europe in which the application of the principles of democracy in the last two centuries has led to the biggest progress in the history of human civilization. WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS BULGARIA!

The Union of Democratic Forces was born in the struggle for democracy. The political parties and organisations that are united in it are inspired by the idea of abolishing the anti-human totalitarian system and of conducting a peaceful and civilised transition to a democratic system in our country. We are heirs of the democratic traditions of the Revival, of the political and cultural achievements, of the ideals of the builders of a new Bulgaria after the Liberation. All this – which was renounced and brutally suppressed in the years of communist dictatorship – is ours and we shall revive it. [...]

Socialism was an invented society. We are for a natural society. We do not proclaim to be in favour of the "dissolution" of any official organisation whatsoever. We are for a society in which life itself will show what movements and organisations are needed by the citizens. [...]

DEMOCRACY + NATURE = ECOLOGY

Socialism was not just an invented society but also

an artificial one. The idea of man's power over nature is merely the obverse of the idea of power over man. Man was proclaimed to be "the supreme objective" and, at the same time, was used as the cheapest means for achieving that! Man was sacrificed in the name of man! Wrongful industrialisation turned Bulgaria, which was famous for its natural beauty, into one of the most polluted parts of the world. [...]

WE ARE FOR A NATURAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIETY AND FOR A SOCIAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATURE!

*Демокрация* [Democracy], 28 April 1990.

[http://old.omda.bg/arhiv/predizborna\\_platforma\\_sds.htm](http://old.omda.bg/arhiv/predizborna_platforma_sds.htm), accessed on 4.07.2016.

### B. Transition without Chaos: Election platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party

[...] CITIZENS! The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is a deeply changed and changing party. It made a series of mistakes. But it helped our people to overcome the country's centuries-long backwardness and the misery of the countryside, to build industry, to construct contemporary cities, to create human living conditions for millions of people.

TRANSITION WITHOUT CHAOS

There is no crisis without a way out. But the way out of the crisis is different.

By voting for the BSP candidates, you vote for a way out of the crisis that will preserve civil peace and the stability of the life of your families and loved ones. [...]

The BSP is for an ACCELERATED transition to a market economy, for ACCELERATED construction and development of its three main components: a commodity market, a stock market, and a labour market.

ACCELERATED, NOT "SHOCK" TRANSITION!

ACCELERATED, NOT AT ONE GO!

We do not want and cannot allow our people to pay a huge social price by moving immediately towards an entirely free market. Such an economic policy is promoted by the opposition. But the UDF must openly say that what it is offering to our people is MASS UNEMPLOYMENT, UNCONTROLLABLE PRICES, STAGGERING INFLATION, DRAINING OF A HUGE PART OF THE NATIONAL INCOME, RAPID SELL-OFF OF THE FEW GOOD [ASSETS] THAT BULGARIA HAS. The opposition has the right to defend its economic programme. But it must explain, in a manner that is clear and understandable to everyone, the grave consequences of its "shock therapy". [...]

WITHOUT FREEDOM OF THE SPIRIT THERE IS NO FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE

The BSP has its own, contemporary Marxist ideology.

But we are not forcing it on anyone. We are against the turning of any ideology whatsoever into an official, mandatory one. Ideology is a matter of personal conviction. The BSP strictly adheres to this principle and fights against anyone who tries to impose a worldview on people by way of coercion.

Free creative expression, natural – and not Party-based! – selection and affirmation of talent: those are the BSP's principles in the sphere of science, the arts and culture.

<http://www.omda.bg/public/arhiv/platforma%20na%20BSP.htm>, accessed on 4.07.2016.



Form two groups of students/pupils. Study the previous sources, prepare and present, using documented arguments, the basic characteristics of the political choices and suggestions of the two parties. How does each one approach the transition to free market economy? What is their attitude towards democracy? What are the main elements of their ideologies emphasized in these sources? Spot the similarities and differences.

### C. The so-called City of Truth in Sofia, summer 1990



"The city of truth", Sofia, 16 July 1990, Pressphoto BTA, author: Zhivko Angelov 90-383N-19a.



When Andrei Lukanov of the BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party) was reaffirmed as prime minister on 29 June, protesters began a sit-down strike on the pavement outside the President's Office, which later grew into a tent city called the "City of Truth". For about two months, it was occupied by between 150 and 300 protesters – including university teachers, people of the arts and prominent dissidents. Rallies and performances were held almost every night. The City of Truth had its own mayor, council and church. Its residents demanded, among

other things, the "truth" about the rigged elections and the properties which the BSP had inherited from the BCP, and also called for the trial of Todor Zhivkov. The City of Truth was dismantled on the night of 26/27 August after Party House (former headquarters of the Central Committee of the BCP) was set on fire. Despite the protests, the BSP in this period formed two governments of its own – both the first (8 February – 21 September 1990) and the second (22 September – 19 December 1990) headed by Andrei Lukanov as prime minister.



**D. First elections in Bulgaria, June 1990**

Party	Vote	Seats
Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP, the renamed Communist Party)	47.15%	211
Union of Democratic Forces (UDF)	36.2%	144
Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU)	8.03%	16
Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)	6.02%	23

**E. A personal recollection of Bulgaria's 1990 elections by Alfred (Freddie) Foscolo, a journalist of Bulgarian-French origin, an anti-communist observer from France**

Apart from a 24-hour-long illegal visit to my homeland to take my family [out of Bulgaria], it had been 18 years since I had last set foot in Bulgaria. It had been even longer than that since I had last set foot in the embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Paris. But the time had come for me to make this step, too, as Bulgaria was about to hold its first free elections in decades on 10 June [1990]. [...]

On the Sunday of the elections, after a sobering Saturday, I pinned the badge identifying me as an election observer on my shirt and headed, together with the French television crew, for Levski, a Sofia neighbourhood I knew absolutely nothing about. The polling station was in a school. The desks had been pushed away to the corners of the classrooms, and in the middle stood a long table dominated by the ballot box. A clumsy, angry queue stretched all the way down the corridor, across the schoolyard and into the street. The voters complained that they had been waiting for hours in order to cast their ballot paper because there was only one polling booth. Besides that, the blue ballot papers of the opposition had turned out to be in short supply. While waiting for the delivery of additional ballot papers, I used my unclear authority as an election observer to get some desks piled on top of each other, which we then covered with curtains we removed from the windows, in order to build additional polling booths. Thus, by the end of voting, the queue had gone and everyone who wanted to vote could reach the ballot box.

Tired, I went out on the steps in front of the building to have a cigarette. There I almost bumped into a panting middle-aged woman who feverishly moaned: "I'm late, comrade, I must vote, please let me in!" "I'm sorry, madam," I told her, "polling has closed!" The eyes of the latecomer filled with tears, she turned around to leave and began whimpering: "Oh my goodness, oh my goodness! How could this happen to me... what am I to do now?" The woman's despair showed that she was still afraid that, because of her failure to vote, the local Fatherland Front official or Party secretary would censure her... or worse. She hadn't realised that these were now free elections in which everyone was free to decide whether to vote or not.

<https://bulgaria1989.wordpress.com/2010/06/09/izbori90/>, accessed on 4.07.2016.



1. Why was the lady mentioned in the last paragraph desperate? What was she afraid of? What was the meaning of these elections at the time?
2. Is freedom of expression something that can be just given to people, or does it need to be acquired consciously and be built as an attitude and way of life step by step through a more complicated process? Discuss.

**I-6. The 1990 elections in Yugoslavia**

A large number of new parties were formed for the first multi-party elections which were held in all Yugoslav republics in 1990 (there were no federal elections). Voter turnout was very high (nearly 80% in almost all republics), indicating that people were ready for political changes. In four republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia), the elections brought about a change in power, while the ex-Communist party were victorious in Serbia and Montenegro because they had already made changes in their leadership in the late 1980s when Slobodan Milošević came to power. Yugoslav- and civic-oriented parties were defeated at the first elections in all the republics, while conservative, right-wing and predominantly nationalist parties rose to power. In Slovenia, the right-wing DEMOS

coalition won (with a 54% majority), and in Croatia the conservative Croatian Democratic Union won (41.9%). Three ethnic parties won in Bosnia and Herzegovina – the Bosniak Party of Democratic Action (35.83%), the Serbian Democratic Party (30%) and the Croatian Democratic Union (18.35%), resulting in a parliament split along ethnic lines. The nationalist VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) in Macedonia defeated the ex-Communists by a narrow margin, with 38 seats in parliament (the communists won 31 seats). In Serbia, Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia won 46.1% of the votes and in Montenegro the League of Communists of Montenegro, headed by Momir Bulatović (elected president of the republic in 1990), won 83 seats in the 125-seat parliament. Although they were ex-communists, they played the nationalist card during the election campaign.

### A. The programme of Democratic Opposition of Slovenia "Demos"



Demos was a coalition of parties which ran together in the first free elections after the Second World War in 1990 and, as a coalition, it won a majority to construct the government which led Slovenia during the secession from Yugoslavia. Demos' election programme, with the title United for Democracy (in Slovene: Združeni za demokracijo), also became known as Demos' Constitution, which included demands for freedom and democracy. The first multi-party elections took place on 8 April 1990, with a turn-out of 83.5% of eligible voters. Demos won the elections with 54% of the votes.

2. In the area of organisation of the state, the Democratic Opposition of Slovenia – DEMOS strives for:

- a sovereign state of the Slovene nation either independent or in confederation with other states, which shall not stem from the utopian project of socialism; the internal organisation of Slovenia as well as its outside connections will be decided by the citizens at a referendum;
- parliamentary democracy and party pluralism,

demanding that political parties should not be established within companies and other working organisations; strengthening a referendum in Slovenia as a form of direct decision-making of all Slovene citizens; [...]

– full compliance and protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms, in which the exercise of civil rights is associated with Slovene citizenship; concern for the preservation and development as well as full implementation of rights concerning the Italian and Hungarian minorities in Slovenia;

[...]

3. In the field of the economy, the Opposition will strive for:

– an economic system based on free market principles and entrepreneurship, which may only be limited the law when necessary for improving and protecting the environment, protecting natural resources and riches together with the natural and cultural heritage and for ensuring minimal social security; it will attempt to eliminate social ownership and establish a clear definition of capital ownership;

*Demokracija* [Democracy], 19 December 1989.



Compare Demos' election programme with the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) in Bulgaria. What are the similarities and differences? What is their attitude towards Europe?

### B. Election campaign in Slovenia. A poster of Demos



Translation: Let's pull together! Come to the elections!

Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



Prior to the first democratic elections in Slovenia, several party and coalition emerged in the pre-election campaign. Demos portrayed itself as the power of the people whose time had come and would eventually prevail, while the authorities were presented as a force based on the past dictatorship of proletariat, owning prisons, media and enjoying larger financial support.

### C. A poster of the reformed Communist Party



One of the parties running for parliament was the Alliance of Communists of Slovenia (the former Communist Party), which contested the elections as an individual party. Notwithstanding that, the right-wing coalition Demos seized power. The poster shows that the previously red star was replaced by a yellow one.



Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



What is the symbolism of replacing the red star with a yellow one on a blue background? Do you know any other symbol bearing the same combination of colours?

### D. "A vote for Macedonia": From the first elections to the referendum on independence, 1990-1991



The first multi-party elections in the Republic of Macedonia (which was still formally a member of the Yugoslav federation at the time) took place in November 1990, after the first political parties in the country had been established in 1989. The elections were carried out using the majority electoral system, involving 18 political parties and 43 independent candidates. The first round took place on 11 November, and was followed by a second round on 26 November. Voter turn-out in the first round was 84.8%, and in the second one 76.8%. The majority of seats were won by ethnic Macedonian parties: the VMRO-DPMNE won 38 seats, the SKM-PDP (today's SDSM), 31 seats, and the ethnic Albanian party PDP 17 seats. On 25 January 1991, the Parliament adopted the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and two days later, elected Kiro Gligorov the first President of the country by a majority of votes. On the basis of the Declaration, the Parliament decided in August 1991 to issue a notice of a public referendum on independence. On 8 September the referendum was held, attended by 75.74% of the electorate; 95.26% voted for a sovereign and independent state. The ethnic Albanian political parties and the majority of the ethnic Albanian electorate boycotted the referendum. Since 1991, the 8th September, the Independence Day, has been a national holiday of the country.

The front page of the daily *Nova Makedonija*, 8.09.1991.







# НОВА МАКЕДОНИЈА

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ДИРЕКТОР ПАНДЕ КОЛЕМИШЕВСКИ  
ГЛАВЕН И ОДГОВОРЕН УРЕДНИК ГЕОРГИ АЈАНОВСКИ

СКОПЈЕ, НЕДЕЛА 8 СЕПТЕМВРИ 1991 ГОДИНА

Год. XLVII – БРОЈ 16029



## ГЛАС ЗА МАКЕДОНИЈА

**Денес граѓаните на Македонија, не со оружје и крв, туку со молив в рака, на најдемократски начин, со референдум, ќе го заокружат суверенитетот и самостојноста на својата држава**

Граѓаните на Македонија денес излегуваат на референдум на кој, препат во својата историја, гласаат за Македонија. Гласајќи „ЗА“, тие гласаат за суверена и самостојна држава Македонија со право да стави во иден сојуз на суверените држави на Југославија.

Овој осми септември ќе остане забележан со

лја, треба да решат дали таа ќе стане независна држава која ќе биде рамноправен фактор во преговорите за политичката иднина на Југославија, но и рамноправен фактор во Европа, или пак ќе остане на опашката на европските интеграциони процеси, ставајќи се под нечие патронатство. Гласот „ЗА“ на овој референдум е глас за Македонија и за нејзината рамноправ-

ностица. Референдумот во Македонија не е за отцепување од Југославија, како што тоа некои сакаат да го прикажат, туку за Македонија како рамноправен фактор во Југославија како сојуз на суверени држави, но и рамноправен фактор во Европа и светот.

Оние притисоци што за цело време на подготвките на референдумот се упатуваа до граѓа-

Инаку, за ова прво изјаснување за сувереноста и самостојноста на македонската држава се очекува да гласаат околу 1.452.972 граѓани во Републиката, колку што се јавиле на минатогодишните парламентарни избори. Покрај тоа, се очекува масовен одзив и на голем број граѓани кои се на привремена работа во странство, како и голем број Македонци, кои немаат државјан-

## I-7. The new power: Communiqué addressed to the country by the Council of the National Salvation Front, released immediately after the escape of the presidential couple from Bucharest



The Council of the National Salvation Front (CNSF) was a political organism that imposed itself at the head of the country immediately after the couple Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu fled the hostile crowd on 22 December 1989. The body was headed by Ion Iliescu, a member of the Romanian Communist Party marginalised by the former dictators in the 1980s. The main leaders, who remained in power in the following years, pretended that it had been a spontaneously-created group, a direct result of the anti-communist revolution of December 1989. However, many opposition voices stated that the CNSF was an alternative political force that had already been organised before the revolution, favourable to reform in general but not to the removal of the communist regime. It managed to subsume several power nuclei, coming first of all from the Romanian Communist Party, from among the armed forces and the political police (Securitate), and the intelligentsia. The first measures the CNSF took aimed at overturning of those of the Ceaușescu's decrees which had a directly repressive character: thus, they annulled the ban on abortion, allowed the population free access to food resources, and dissolved collectivised farms. Initially, the Front proclaimed itself as an apolitical structure, and that its only mission was to ensure the transition towards a new, democratic leadership of the country. On 6 February 1990, however, it registered as a political party under the name of National Salvation Front (NSF) which won a crushing victory (67% of vote) in the first "free" elections in May 1990. The NSF imposed a slow rhythm of democratic transformation displaying reluctance to install a genuine multi-party system, which contributed in the following months to the beginning of violent social and political tension. The NSF was renamed on 11 May 1993 as the Socialist Democratic Party, led by Petre Roman, a former important member of the CNSF.

Dear citizens,  
We are living in a historical moment. The Ceaușescu clan, which led the country into a disaster, has been removed from power. We all know and admit that the

victory our whole country is enjoying now is the fruit of the sacrificial spirit of the popular masses, of all nationalities, and first of all of our great young people, who gave us back, with the price of their blood, the feeling of national dignity. Special credit goes to those who have endangered their lives for years, protesting against the tyranny.

A new page in Romania's political and economic life starts.

At this moment of great importance, we have decided to establish the National Salvation Front, which relies on the Romanian army and gathers together all the healthy forces of the country, regardless of their nationality, all the organisations and groups that rose up to defend liberty and dignity in the years of totalitarian tyranny.

From this moment on, all structures of power of the Ceaușescu clan are dissolved. The Government is dismissed; the State Council and its institutions stop all activity. The whole public power is to be taken over by the Council of the National Salvation Front. The Higher Military Council, coordinating the whole activity of the army and the units of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, is subordinated to it. All ministries and central bodies in their current structure will continue their normal activity, subordinated to the National Salvation Front, in order to guarantee normal development of the whole economic and social life. [...]

The Front puts forward the following agenda:

1. Abolition of the one-party system and establishment of a democratic pluralist governing system.
2. Organisation of free elections in April.
3. Separation of the legislature, executive and judiciary in the state, and the election of all political leaders for one or, at the most, two terms. No one can pretend to power for life. [...]

*Adevărul-ziar al Frontului Democratic Român din Arad,*  
23 December 1989, p. 1.

## I-8. Proclamation of Timișoara (11 March 1990)



The "Proclamation of Timișoara" was the earliest and most radical call for lustration in Romanian post-communist society, and remains a landmark among the anti-communist political options. The thirteen-point text also criticised the National Salvation Front government.



[...] 7. Timișoara started the Revolution against the whole communist regime and against its *nomenklatura*, and not in order to provide an opportunity for the political ascension of a group of anti-Ceaușescu dissidents within the RCP. Their presence at the helm of the country makes the death of Timișoara heroes useless. We could have accepted them ten years ago if, at the 12th Congress of the Party, they had joined Constantin Părvulescu and toppled the dictatorial clan. But they did not do that, though they had both the opportunity and those important functions which gave them the power and means. Quite the contrary, some of them obeyed the dictator's order to slander the dissident. Their cowardice in 1979 cost us ten more years of dictatorship, the toughest of the whole period, and a painful genocide.

8. As a consequence of the previous paragraph, we propose that the electoral law should deny, for three consecutive terms, the right of former communist activists and former Securitate officers to run for any office. Their presence in the political life of the country is the main source of the tensions and suspicions now upsetting Romanian society. Until the situation has stabilised and national reconciliation has been achieved, their absence from public life is absolutely necessary. We also request that the electoral law should contain a special paragraph by which former communist activists could not be allowed to run for President. The President of Romania should be one of the symbols of our separation from communism. To have been a Party member is not in itself a fault. We all know to what extent someone's life, from professional achievement to provision of a home, depended on the "red" membership card

and what the serious consequences of losing membership were. But the activists were those people who abandoned their professions in order to serve the communist party and benefit from the special material advantages it offered. A person who made such a choice does not offer the moral guarantees that a President should. Following the model of many other civilised countries around the world, we propose a reduction in the prerogatives of this function. Thus, major personalities of cultural and scientific life with no particular political experience, could also run for the honour of being President of Romania. In the same context, we propose that the first term of office should be of only two years, the time needed for the democratic institutions to strengthen and for the ideological position of each of the emergent parties to clarify. It is only then that we could make an informed choice, laying our cards on the table. [...]

*România liberă*, 20 March 1990, p. 3.



1. Which are the common elements among newly-formed political parties in Balkan ex-socialist/communist countries as expressed through their political proclamations and programmes during the first free election process?
2. On what do they mainly focus and what do they promise to the citizens?
3. How were the former ruling communist parties transformed?

### ► I.3. PROCLAMATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

Socialist Yugoslavia changed its constitutional order several times (the 1946 Constitution, 1953 Constitutional Law, 1963 Constitution and the last Constitution of 1974). All these constitutions contained the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, but it was never agreed how individual republics would exercise this right, and a law to this effect was never adopted. Centralist-oriented lawyers argued that the right to self-determination, which was contained in a decision adopted by the representatives of the Yugoslav peoples who voted for a federal Yugoslavia at the Second Conference of the Anti-Fascist Council

of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in the Bosnian town of Jajce on 29 November 1943, had been exhausted once and for all. The 1974 Constitution gave the Republics many rights (the common features were a single Yugoslav market which functioned poorly, joint fiscal policy and customs, defence and foreign policy). Both the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were a part of Serbia and, at the same time, each was a "constituent federal element". This meant that they had their own bodies (Assembly and Government) and direct representatives in federal bodies, and that Serbia could not change laws

which might prejudice inter-ethnic relations without the consent of the provincial assemblies. National minorities were protected by federal and/or republican constitutions, but they did not have the right to self-determination and secession (for example, Albanians in Kosovo). Serbs in Croatia did not have the status of a minority according to the Croatian constitution of 1974, which defined it as follows: "The Socialist Republic of Croatia is a national state of the Croatian people, the Serbian people in Croatia and the state of other nations and nationalities living in it."

The constitutional order of Yugoslavia began to fall apart in March 1989 when Serbia changed its own Constitution abolishing most of the rights of the autonomous provinces (though they kept their position in the Federation, since Serbian President Milošević, together with Montenegro which was loyal to him, could then rely on four out of eight votes in the Federal Presidency). Then, in September 1989, Slovenia also changed its constitution, with the purpose of legally protecting itself from the introduction of a state of emergency but also to strengthen its statehood vis-à-vis the Federation. In December 1990 Slovenia held a plebiscite at which the majority of voters opted for a sovereign and independent Slovenia, to be achieved within six months (independence was declared in June 1991). Slovenia's actions were followed by those of Croatia. It had amended its Constitution in July 1990, stripping the republic's Serbs of the status of constituent nation and defining them as a minority. According to the

amendments, the Republic of Croatia was now a state of the Croatian people and of members of minorities who are its citizens: Serbs, Muslims, Slovenes... The Serbs' reply was to proclaim autonomous regions, hold referendums and raise rebellions. This also meant the end of the Yugoslav constitutional order. When Slovenia declared independence, the Serbs argued that its decision to secede was its right in principle but that this and the financial implications would have to be decided by federal law. Slovenia's point of view was that, as Yugoslavia had been formed by mutual agreement of its peoples, so the same was applicable in case of its dissolution. In the end, towards the end of 1991, the Badinter Commission, set up by the European Community (later, the EU) argued that the country had ceased to exist and thus that all constituent units were able to claim independence. It concluded that Yugoslavia had dissolved and that the EU should recognise as independent states those republics which requested recognition and which fulfilled the necessary conditions, and that joint assets of and international agreements signed by the SFRY would be subject to succession agreements. The remainder of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro and renamed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, did not automatically become a successor to the former SFRY (as was the case of Russia and the Soviet Union) in international relations. This also applied to membership of the UN, which it had to request like all the other former republics.

### I-9. Proclamations of independence by republics and provinces of Socialist Yugoslavia

DATE	COUNTRY
25 June 1991	Croatia
25 June 1991	Slovenia
8 September 1991	Macedonia
1 March 1992	Bosnia and Herzegovina
3 June 2006	Montenegro
17 February 2008	Kosovo

### I-10. The new Constitution of Serbia, 1990



According to the 1974 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, its provinces – the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija – practically enjoyed rights equal to other members of the Federation. During that time, the Serbian state leadership only had jurisdiction over the provinces with regard to national defence (the JNA, Yugoslav People's Army) and finance. On 28 March 1989, the Serbian leadership adopted amendments to the Constitution of Serbia. This day is now marked as the date of promulgation of the new constitution and of



the restoration to the Republic of Serbia of state and constitutional sovereignty over its whole territory. The provinces were stripped of all attributes of statehood and their competences were considerably reduced. The new Constitution of Serbia was adopted in 1990. It confirmed all decisions which had stripped the provinces of all attributes of statehood.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA VI TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION

The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija

Article 108 – The autonomous provinces have been formed in accordance with the particular national, historical, cultural, and other characteristics of their areas. [...]

Article 109 – The autonomous province shall, through its own agencies:

a) enact a programme of economic, scientific, technological, demographic, regional and social development, development of agriculture and rural areas, in accordance with the development plan of the Republic of Serbia, and shall lay down measures for their implementation;

b) adopt a budget and annual balance sheet; enact decisions and general enactments in accordance with the Constitution and law, to regulate matters affecting the citizens in the autonomous province in the areas of: culture; education; official use of the language and alphabet of the national minority; public information, health and social welfare; child welfare, protection and advancement of environment; urban and country planning; and in other areas established by law;

c) enforce laws, other regulations and general enactments of the Republic of Serbia, the enforcement of which has been entrusted to the agencies of the autonomous province, and pass regulations necessary for their enforcement if so provided by the law; see to the execution of provincial decisions and general enactments; [...]

The autonomous province shall collect revenues as laid down by law.

Article 111 – The agencies of the autonomous province shall be its assembly, executive council, and agencies of administration. [...]

Article 112 – If an agency of an autonomous province, despite a warning of the corresponding republican agency, fails to execute a decision or a

general enactment of the autonomous province, the republican agency may provide for its direct execution.

*Constitution of the Republic of Serbia,  
Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, no. 1/1990  
Ustav Republike Srbije, Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije,  
broj 1/1990.*

## I-11. The Christmas Constitution in Croatia



The Croatian Assembly adopted the so-called Christmas Constitution just before Christmas of 1990. Although it was still a part of socialist Yugoslavia, the new constitutional provisions replaced the one-party, communist system in Croatia with a parliamentary democracy. The problem arose because the position of Serbs, who until then had enjoyed the status of a constituent nation, had now been equated with that of a national minority, a status which in Yugoslavia has been accorded to those ethnic communities whose national states were outside Yugoslavia. This constitutional change strengthened the Serbs' rebellion in Croatia.

### Speech by President Tuđman

[...] 2. Regulation of the new constitutional position of Croatia in Yugoslavia. In view of the fact that our starting-point is a part of Yugoslavia, which is a recognised member of the international community, we are prepared to negotiate with representatives of other peoples of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and federal bodies for contractual regulation of mutual relations.

On the basis of overall historical experience, we believe that Croatia's state sovereignty in a union with other peoples of the present-day SFRY can be ensured only on a confederal foundation, as a contractual alliance of sovereign states.

3. Becoming a part of Europe and the Europeanisation of Croatia. Parallel with the internal democratic transformation, all necessary measures should be taken for the future inclusion of Croatia in the European Community.

*Vjesnik, 31 May 1990.*



Is Tuđman advocating an independent Croatia in this speech? How does he see the future of Yugoslavia?

## I-12. Referendum for independence in Slovenia, 23 December 1990



Translation: The land with four million hard-working hands should not be afraid of an independent future.

Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



The plebiscite was held on 23 December 1990, in which the Slovene people decided on separation from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During the one-month pre-election period, numerous posters were addressed to the Slovene people, incorporating patriotic quotations.



What kind of message is presented by the poster "Four million working hands"? What kind of image of Slovenia does it promote?

## I-13. Referendums in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The "Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (BiH), proposed by the Bosniak Party of Democratic Action (SDA) on 27 February 1991,

was not accepted by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). Some months later, on 24 October 1991, the Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina was established, and



this body decided to hold a referendum on 9 and 10 November 1991. With an overwhelming majority, a vote was taken to establish an independent Serbian Republic within the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the intention of remaining in the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The Sarajevo government did not recognise the referendum results. On 18 November 1991 in Grude (Herzegovina), the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) adopted a Decision on the Establishment of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna (HZHB) and decided to support the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the Badinter Commission (see vol 2, ch. III.2.2) had recommended that the holding of a referendum would be a precondition for the international recognition of BiH as an independent state. The decision to call a referendum was adopted by the Assembly of the SRBH (Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina) on 25 January 1992 but without the agreement of the Serbian party (SDS Serbian Democratic Party) – i.e. through outvoting by the Bosniak-Muslim and Croatian parties. The legality of calling a referendum was questioned by the Serbian side on the basis of constitutional Amendment LXX which had been adopted in 1990. In the same context, the Serbs decided to proclaim the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (9 January 1992). The referendum was finally held on 29 February and 1 March 1992: 62.68% of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly Muslims and Croats, voted in favour of the question: “Are you for a sovereign and independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina of equal citizens and nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs and Croats and members of other nations living in it?” The legality of the results was also disputed by the Serbian side, since the turnout for the referendum did not meet the two-thirds turnout required by the Constitution. Nevertheless, the European Community recognised Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign state on 6 April 1992. This coincided with the beginning of the shelling of Sarajevo and an all-out war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## A. Amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1990

### AMENDMENT LX

1. The Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a democratic sovereign state of equal citizens of the Muslim, Serb and Croatian peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and members of other nations and nationalities living in it.

### AMENDMENT LXII

1. The territory of the SRBH is one and indivisible. The borders of the Republic may be altered by a decision of the SRBH Assembly only in accordance with the will of the people of the entire Republic as expressed by at least two-thirds of registered voters in a referendum.

### AMENDMENT LXX

10. A *Council for Questions of the Establishment of Equality of the Nations and Nationalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina* will be formed in the Assembly of the SRBH (Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina). An equal number of deputies from the nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs and Croats, an appropriate number of deputies from other nations and nationalities and others living in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be chosen as members of the Council. The Council shall adopt decisions based on the agreement of members representing all nations and nationalities: the composition, ambit of influence and work of the Council shall be prescribed by law, to be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the total number of deputies in the SRBH Assembly. [...]

On the initiative of deputies of the SRBH Assembly, the Council shall review the issue of equality of nations and nationalities. If at least 20 deputies believe that a proposed regulation or other enactment under the auspices of the Assembly of the SRBH is in contravention of the equality of nations and nationalities, the Council shall draft a proposal on which the SRBH Assembly shall take a vote.

Matters of interest for the achievement of equality of nations and nationalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on a proposal by the Council, shall be decided upon by the SRBH Assembly according to a special procedure set out in the Rules of Procedure of the SRBH Assembly, with a two-thirds majority of the total number of deputies.

*Službeni list Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine*  
[Official Gazette of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina]  
Godina XLVI, broj 21 (Year XLVI, No 21) Utorak 31. Jul 1990  
(Tuesday 31 July 1990).

## B. A cartoon on the dilemma of independence



I do not know whether Bosnia will be an autonomous, dependent or independent, but I know it will be HUNGRY.

*Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 3. 02. 1992, p. 2.*

## C. Declaration of State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 27 February 1991)

1. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be a sovereign, united and indivisible democratic state of all its citizens, founded on the freedoms and rights of people and citizens, the rule of law and social justice.

2. The boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be unalterable.

3. Sovereignty shall be a right of all citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, exercised through an all-people's referendum and freely elected representatives. [...]

5. The constitutional system of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be founded on the guarantees and equality of all forms of ownership, the exercise and guarantees of freedom, egalitarianism, ethnic and any other equality and all other human and civil freedoms and rights, a multi-party political system and parliamentary democracy, the rule of law and the preservation and promotion of nature and environment. [...]

6. Firmly determined to resolve the Yugoslav crisis on the principles of equality, in a peaceful and democratic manner, the citizens, nations and nationalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina are determined to defend their peaceful life together and the sovereignty, indivisibility and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*Skupština Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, 1996, pp. 30-32.*

## D. A cartoon on the ethnic division of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the referendum



*Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 24.02.1992, p. 6.*

## E. Declaration on the proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 9 January 1992)

1. Pursuant to the plebiscite held on 9 and 10 November 1992, in which the Serbian people voted to remain in the common state of Yugoslavia, the REPUBLIC OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA is hereby founded and proclaimed in the areas of the Serbian autonomous regions and districts, other Serbian ethnic entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including areas where the Serbian people are a minority because of the genocide conducted against it in the Second World War.

2. The republic is an integral part of the federal state of Yugoslavia as one of its federal units.

3. Territorial demarcation with the political communities of the other peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the resolution of other mutual rights and obligations shall be achieved peacefully and by agreement, while respecting ethnic, historical, legal, cultural, economic, geographical, communications, and other significant criteria, and honouring the principles and rules of international law. [...]

5. The Constitution of the Republic shall guarantee full equal rights and equality, and peoples and citizens shall be protected by law from any form of discrimination. [...]

9. The organs of government of the former SRBH shall represent the communal organs of the national communities in the transitional period until a final

territorial demarcation and resolution of other rights and obligations.

During the transitional period, the communal organs shall adopt necessary decisions and enactments by consensus.

10. This Declaration comes into force on the day of its adoption and shall be implemented on the day of any recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence. The implementation of the Declaration shall be postponed for an indefinite period of time on condition that those who submitted the request for recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence withdraw the said request by 15 January 1992.

*Official Gazette of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, year I, no. 1, 15 January 1992, pp. 9-11.*

## I-14. Constitutional Declaration of 2 July 1990 and the Proclamation of the Republic of Kosovo



Albanian delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo proclaimed the Constitutional Declaration for the Republic of Kosovo on 2 July 1990. This took place in front of the Assembly building, since they had not been allowed to enter the Assembly. On 5 July 1990 the Assembly was dissolved. A referendum for the independence of Kosovo was held in September 1991.

Based on the will firmly expressed all over Kosovo by the majority of the Kosovo population, a will which is also subsumed into the ASA declaration of Kosovo on the new constitutional position of Kosovo, and also driven by the role and position of the Assembly of Kosovo as the highest representative and constitutional body of power and self-governance in Kosovo, the Assembly of Kosovo proclaims solemnly:

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DECLARATION ON KOSOVO AS AN INDEPENDENT AND EQUAL UNIT WITHIN THE FEDERATION (CONFEDERATION) OF YUGOSLAVIA AS AN EQUAL ENTITY WITH OTHER UNITS IN THE FEDERATION (CONFEDERATION)

1. This Declaration expresses and proclaims the original constitutional attitude of the population of Kosovo and this Assembly as an act of political self-determination within Yugoslavia.

2. This action of the Assembly in proclaiming, within its competence, Kosovo as an equal unit within Yugoslavia, based on the authentic principles of respect of the people's will, is taken pending confirmation of its constitutive act as part of the Constitution of Yugoslavia in full support of the democratic community in Yugoslavia and the international community.

3. This Assembly confirms Kosovo and its new constitutional position as a joint political-constitutional community and political-constitutional position of citizens and equal nationalities of Kosovo, where Albanians making up the majority of Kosovo population and one of the most numerous peoples in Yugoslavia, and also Serbs and others in Kosovo, are considered a people-nation rather than nationality.

4. In the meantime, until the definite legal application of this Constitutional Declaration, the Assembly and the authorities of Kosovo rely on the Constitution of Yugoslavia in force rather than on the amendments to the Constitution of 1989 of SR of Serbia regarding Kosovo's position within the constitutional order of Yugoslavia, and in this case the judgment of the Assembly of Kosovo dated 23 March 1989 on granting consent to those amendments, is hereby annulled.

5. The Assembly of Kosovo, until the new Constitution of Kosovo is released, shall thereafter communicate publicly using thereby at the same time confirming the designation of the social and political community which now exists solely as Kosovo.

Priština, 2 July 2, 1990.

Delegates, signatory to the Declaration.



Compare how the political position of Kosovo is defined in Serbia's 1990 constitution (doc. I-10) and in the Constitutional Declaration for the Republic of Kosovo (doc. I-14).



## I-15. Greek responses to the Republic of Macedonia's independence



Rally in Thessaloniki, 1994; the central slogan reads "Macedonia is Greek".

To Vima newspaper, 15 August 2014, <http://www.tovima.gr/books-ideas/article/?aid=623345>, accessed on 20.03.2016.



The independence of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia from federal Yugoslavia and its declaration of independence as the "Republic of Macedonia" in September 1991 (see doc. I-6D) provoked the immediate reaction of Greeks both within and outside Greece. Massive rallies were held; publications proliferated on the Greekness of Macedonia from ancient times; stamps, coins and pertinent paraphernalia were sold in tourist spots; airports and governments departments were given new names from the Greek Macedonian past; while, on the political level, not just the right-wing government of the time, but all its successors, have hitherto vetoed the new state's inclusion in international organisations under the name "Republic of Macedonia".



1. Why do you think there was such a reaction in Greece after the declaration of independence of the "Republic of Macedonia"? What does the name "Macedonia" mean for the two countries and how was it used? Compare also with I-18.

2. Research how the dispute over the use of the name has been reflected in the fields of education and public history in both countries: curricula, textbooks, propaganda flyers, maps, public history and education etc.

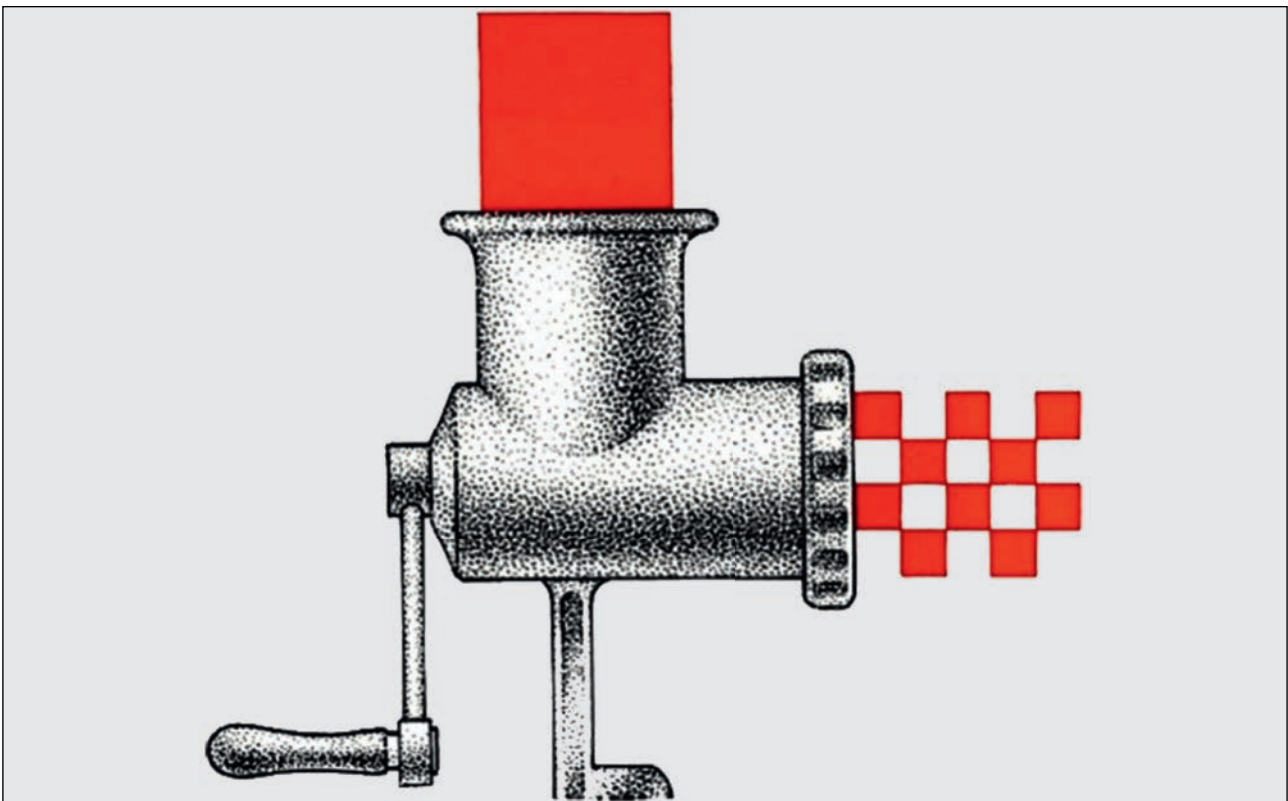


## ► I.4. NEW SYMBOLS, NEW CURRENCIES, NEW FLAGS

The countries which emerged from the socialist bloc proceeded to discard everything even remotely associated with socialism from their names and symbols. The states formed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia also introduced new symbols (coats of arms and flags), currencies and even national anthems. Sometimes these symbols, such as the flags of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, were, at the request of the international community, contrived and devoid of any historical context, in order not to give rise to inter-ethnic disputes. Most of the new countries have now restored their real or imaginary historical traditions, such as medieval coats-of-arms (for example, Serbia started using the coat of arms of the former Kingdom of Serbia),

or designed new coats of arms which are based on their historical tradition. However, this also proved to be a cause for disputes, an example being that between Austria (Province of Carinthia) and Slovenia due to the Slovenes' use of the medieval symbol of the Prince's Stone as a symbol of their medieval statehood. Since gaining independence, Slovenia first used it on its currency vouchers (see doc. I-21) and then on the two-cent euro coin. For this reason, Carinthian Governor Haider had the Prince's Stone moved from the Provincial Museum in Klagenfurt to the Provincial Parliament. An even more serious dispute in connection with the use of symbols continues to this day between FYR Macedonia and Greece (see doc. I-18).

### I-16. From Yugoslavia to national states. A cartoon by Yugoslav Vlahović



*JUGOSLAV, Karikature Yugoslav Vlahovic, published by Nip Knjizevine Novine and NIN, Beograd 1991.*



Describe the cartoon. What does the red going into the machine symbolize? Find out among the state symbols of former Yugoslav republics which coat of arms has red and white checkered fields (See also doc. I-19). Do you think the author's attitude toward the creation of independent states on the territory of Yugoslavia is positive or negative?

## I-17. Introduction of the Macedonian denar, 1992



The Republic of Macedonia became monetarily independent on 26 April 1992, with the enactment of the Law on Currency. The name of the Macedonian currency, the *denar*, was proposed by Petar H. Ilievski, classical philologist and Mycenaean scholar, member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The name was derived from the Roman silver coin *denarius*. The Council of the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia issued an open call for an Anonymous Competition to Design the Denar. According to the Competition requirements, the designs for the Macedonian *denar* were to reflect the key landmarks of the country's statehood – i.e. characters from the historical and cultural past of the Republic of Macedonia, its natural, economic, architectural landmarks, its flora and fauna etc. Of the seven designs submitted at the anonymous competition, the jury unanimously selected the submission labelled with the pseudonym "Dorian".



The *20 denar* banknote shows the Daut Pasha Baths at the entrance of Skopje's Old Town, built in the second half of the 15th century. In 1948, the baths were restored and adapted to their new function – an art gallery.



The *100 denar* banknote shows the 11th century St. Sophia Cathedral Church in Ohrid. Its frescos and architecture rank among the pearls of Byzantine art on the periphery of the Empire. The conservation and cleaning of the frescos, as well as the restoration of one of the church walls had begun as far back as 1949. Ten years later, the work on the frescos was completed, and the church's original appearance was restored.

## I-18. The Flag of FYR Macedonia



Greece disputed the symbol chosen for its flag by the new international entity which kept the name "Republic of Macedonia" after emerging from the ex-socialist federation of Yugoslavia. The intense dispute between the two countries about the flag lasted from 1992 to 1995. The symbol called "Vergina star" by the Greek side and "Kutlesh sun" by the other was a symbol of the ancient Macedonian dynasty, according to Greek archaeologist Manolis Andronikos, who had discovered the sarcophagus and the tomb that contained it in Vergina (Greece) in 1977. In the past decades, this "star" or "sun" has been treated by many in both countries to be part of their respective ethno-national history, which led to mutual accusations of stealing history. The diasporas of the two countries, especially in Australia and North America, were particularly active in the dispute. In 1995, the flag was changed in accordance with the Interim Accord between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (see vol. 2 doc. III-15).

**A. The first flag, 1992****B. The second flag, 1995****I-19. Croatia: flags and coat of arms**

Spot the similarities and differences between the two coats of arms.

**I-20. Croatian currency: the kuna**

After seceding from Yugoslavia and becoming an independent state, Croatia also tried to achieve monetary independence. As early as 1991, the official Yugoslav currency, the *Dinar*, was replaced temporarily by the Croatian *dinar*. In May 1994, the *kuna* became Croatia's official monetary unit. However, the same name, *kuna*, had been used for the currency of the wartime Independent State of Croatia from 1941 to 1945, which was why the name chosen for the new state's currency caused numerous polemics.

Croatia will soon be getting a new currency – the *kuna*. Public protests held from time to time against

its introduction have been too weak. Opposition politicians who were supposed to say something have been silent, according to their usual practice. The few public figures who did say something were not loud enough or could barely be heard. [...] The reasons for the silence lie partly in opportunism and partly in the failure to understand what the introduction of the *kuna* really means.

By proclaiming the *kuna* as its currency, the Republic of Croatia has made the strongest identification with the Ustasha regime. Croats are getting yet another topic to squabble about for years to come (because, obviously, many are in-capable of keeping silent and will not be able to do so), something which will divide them into two irreconcilable camps. Foreigners will again prattle on about the fact how pro-fascist tendencies in the country are getting stronger, proof of which Croatia is readily volunteering. Since it was President Tuđman himself who strongly insisted on the introduction of the *kuna*, all the claims to sympathy for anti-fascism, which he professed on numerous occasions, have lost all credibility whatsoever.

Ivo Goldstein, "Za šaku kuna" [For a Fistful of kunas],  
*Feral Tribune*, 30 May 1994.

## I-21. The Slovene *tolar*



In October 1991, the Slovene Parliament voted in a new currency, the Slovene *tolar*. However, since the notes for this had not yet been printed, untitled vouchers were put into circulation on 9 October 1991. The motifs on the vouchers upset some foreign countries as they carried the image of the Prince's Stone, which appeared as a symbol of Slovenia in Slovene mythology. The symbol is however also used by the Austrians and partly by the Slovaks. The vouchers were used until 1994 when they were finally replaced by *tolar* notes.



Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



Do you find any similarities between this story and the story about the Macedonian flag?

## I-22. Changing holidays: from SFRY to new nation-states

### A. New public holidays in Serbia



Public holidays in Serbia underwent a big change during the post-communist era, when numerous holidays from the period of Socialist Yugoslavia were replaced with new ones, "more rooted in tradition". A good example of the "return to tradition" is Serbia's new Statehood day. After 5 October 2002, Serbia adopted the day of Sretenje which is Candlemas day, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and also the day on which the First Serbian Uprising (1804) started and the first Serbian Constitution was adopted (1835). Evidently, the post-communist government wanted to cut ties symbolically with the former state by establishing a link between an Orthodox religious holiday and the roots of Serbian statehood. Thus, the national holiday has a strong religious trait and is a good example of the re-traditionalisation of Serbian society, which makes a strong contrast to the time of Socialist Yugoslavia.



### The change of public holidays from SFRY to Serbia

DATE	SFRY (SR Serbia)		SERBIA	
	NON-WORKING	WORKING	NON -WORKING	WORKING
1 January	New Year's Day		New Year's Day	
7 January			Orthodox Christmas (Julian calendar)	
14 January				Orthodox New Year
27 January				Saint Sava Day
15 February			Statehood Day (commemoration of the First Serbian Uprising in 1804, and the first Serbian constitution 1835) as statehood day cele- brated since 2002	
8 March		International Women's Day		
22 April				Holocaust Remembrance Day
1 May	May Day		May Day	
9 May		Victory Day (1945)		Europe Day / Victory Day
13 May		Day of Security Services and Organs		
15 May		Victory Day in Yugoslavia (1945)		
21 May		Day of the Yugoslav Air Force		
25 May		Birthday of Marshal Tito – Youth Day		
28 June				Saint Vitus Day
4 July	Fighter's Day (1941, uprising against Nazi occupation)			
7 July	Day of uprising in SR Serbia (1941)			
21 October				National World War II Victims Remembrance Day
7 November		Day of the October Revolution (Russia, 1917)		
11 November			Armistice Day (World War I, 1918)	
29 November	Republic Day (1943)			
22 December		Day of the Yugoslav People's Army		
25 December				Christmas Day (Gregorian calendar)



Study the table in which different state holidays in socialist and post-socialist Serbia are presented.

At which points can you locate the most significant changes? State possible explanations in relation to this.

## B. Public holidays in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have the same holidays throughout its territory. In the cantons of the Federation of B&H with a Bosniak majority, 25 November is celebrated as National Day and 1 March as Independence Day. In the Federation of B&H with a Croatian majority they unofficially celebrate 18

November as the Day of the establishment of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia. In the Republika Srpska they celebrate 9 January as the Day of the Republika Srpska and 21 November as the Day of the Signing of the Dayton Agreement. Common non-working days in B&H are New Year (1 and 2 January) and 1 May – Labour Day.

### Ethnic divisions in celebrating holidays

DATE	FEDERATION Muslim majority	REPUBLIKA SRPSKA	FEDERATION Croatian majority
1 January	New Year's Day	New Year's Day	New Year's Day
9 January		Day of Republika Srpska (1992)	
1 March	Independence Day (1992)		
1 May	May Day	May Day	May Day
18 November			Day of Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna (1991)
21 November	Day of the Signing of the Dayton Agreement	Day of the Signing of the Dayton Agreement	Day of the Signing of the Dayton Agreement (1995)



Why are there different national holidays for ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the declaration of independence?

Discuss the lack of a common national holiday and the meaning of the “celebration” of the Dayton Agreement.

## I-22. A disagreement about symbols in the University of Cyprus discloses an identity controversy – 1996



A few years after the founding of the University of Cyprus there arose a discussion as to its character, which was indicative of the political processes within the Greek-Cypriot community. The disagreement over whether to fly the Cypriot or Greek flag at the University was an extension of the debate on the identity of Greek Cypriots.

### A. Expert Opinion of the General Prosecutor of the Republic of Cyprus regarding the flag of the University of Cyprus

The University must obligatorily display the flag of the Republic of Cyprus daily. It is not entitled to display the Greek flag daily. It has the right to display the Cypriot and Greek flags alongside each other on public holidays.

*Phileleftheros* newspaper, 12 November 1996.

### B. A comment by *Simerini* newspaper on 13 November 1996

The whole matter is left to the will of the student majority: Either they will safeguard the Greek flag, from which they decided that they should not be separated, or be witnesses to its lowering under the celebratory applause of their colleagues in the minority... In making their decisions, let them reflect that, 38 years ago, certain of their peers, acting willingly, there, beneath the flagpole, offered themselves in sacrifice in order to see a Greek flag and Greek spiritual light emanating from it.

Mavratsas, 1998, pp. 129-130.



Why was there a debate on whether to fly the Cyprus or Greek flag at the University of Cyprus? Which identity was disputed here?





## CHAPTER II: THE DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA

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## ► INTRODUCTION

Yugoslavia, a socialist and non-aligned country which boasted open borders and a specific socio-economic system called socialist self-management or Titoism (after the leader Josip Broz Tito), spiralled, after Tito's death (1980), into a multi-faceted crisis: first economic and political, and later inter-ethnic. The idea of "brotherhood and unity" among Yugoslav nations was exhausted and nationalism was on the rise. The Yugoslav League of Communists attempted to resist this with administrative bans and by organising ideological plenums. Mass media became closed up within the borders of their home Republic, in combination with some of the leaders of those Republics, who had begun building their political career on nationalism in the late 1980s, all of which created a flammable nationalist foundation for war. Every nation in Yugoslavia felt it had been nationally and economically deprived and exploited. Historic conflicts between Serbs and Albanians and Serbs and Croats were revived. In Serbia, Slobodan Milošević was on the rise and joined forces with nationalist intellectuals who insisted that all Serbs should live in one country.

Since Serbs lived in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, that idea would mean the change of borders within Yugoslavia and the change of balance between Yugoslav peoples and in the construction of the Yugoslav federation (that project is usually called by its critics "Greater Serbia"). This led to a conflict between Serbia and Slovenia, the first in a series of inter-ethnic conflicts which came to the fore in Yugoslavia. It was in many ways a specific conflict, since it was not between peoples who had been hostile towards each other in the past. It arose around the dichotomy between a democratic (con)federal Yugoslavia in Europe, which would be open to the world, and a very centralised federation under the control of a Serbian majority, most probably under a communist regime. The military interventions in Slovenia were not carried out directly by the Serbian Army, which did not exist at the time, but by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). After Tito's death, the Yugoslav People's Army was regarded as the sole guardian of Federal Yugoslavia, brotherhood and unity, and communist Yugoslavia. It did not acknowledge

the authority of the divided federal presidency which was formally the army's supreme commander. All the Ministers of Defence had been generals, with no exception, and the army had an influential political role.

The ten-day war in Slovenia at the end of June and the beginning of July 1991 was defined as a limited JNA intervention which, following Slovenia's declaration of independence, was aimed at taking over all the border crossings and airports in Slovenia on the grounds that the role of the Army was to protect the unity of the Yugoslav state. This met with resistance from the Slovenian Territorial Defence and police, who were ready to defend the newly proclaimed independent state. The still ethnically-mixed JNA, with confused soldiers of all Yugoslav nationalities including Slovenes, began experiencing massive fall-out. Yugoslav officers who had lived in Slovenia for decades and founded families there were faced with great dilemmas. The Slovenian side also faced psychological dilemmas, since its soldiers had no experience in fighting and found that they were supposed to fight against their peers from the same country, including Slovenes.

It was time for the European Community to intervene. Between 3 and 7 July 1991, the representatives of Slovenia, Croatia, the Federal Government and the European "three" met on the Brijuni islands where they agreed on a ceasefire and that Slovenia's measures towards independence would be put on hold for three months. By the end of the year, following an unsuccessful Conference on Yugoslavia, and under particular pressure from Germany (which had at first supported Yugoslavia before changing its opinion), the European Union decided to recognise those Yugoslav republics which had proclaimed independence. What was left of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, remained in a state now named the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Relations within Croatia deteriorated after the first multi-party elections in April and May 1990, when the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), led by Franjo Tuđman, came to power. The republican government wanted to change the political balance of forces in Croatia as soon as possible, since Serbs accounted for 14% (580,000) of the population and, for historical reasons, had significant

influence in politics and in the police and intelligence agencies. The new regime was also attributed with nostalgia for the Ustasha regime of the Independent State of Croatia (during WWII). Serbs in Croatia started a rebellion which was additionally fuelled by Serbia, which gave them material support and weapons. The Serbs particularly opposed the intention of the new Croatian leadership to secede from Yugoslavia. Tuđman tried to quell their protests through various police actions which aimed to ensure complete control over territory with a majority Serbian population, but the Serbs started blocking roads in the summer of 1990 and forming so-called autonomous regions which had their own administration. The distribution of Serbian settlements was such that this raised the possibility of practically cutting Croatia in two. In October 1990, the Serbs began attacking local police stations and carrying out other armed actions. The Serbian Autonomous District (SAO) of Krajina, based in Knin, was established in December 1990 and in February 1991 it seceded from Croatia. After Croatia's proclamation of independence from Yugoslavia in June 1991, the situation escalated into a war which lasted from 1991 to 1995. Siding with the Serbs, the JNA got involved in this war while Yugoslavia was still in existence.

The war for Croatian independence (the Homeland War, as it is known by the Croats) was mainly confined to areas with an ethnically mixed population (Slavonia, Banija, Kordun, Lika and Dalmatia) and to territories which the Serbs regarded as their own. During the war, Croatia gained the sympathy of the international community. Among the events which contributed to this were the lengthy siege and shelling of Dubrovnik and the siege and occupation of Vukovar, a port on the Danube in eastern Slavonia near the border with Serbia, and the massacre which was perpetrated after the town had been occupied. In May 1995, the Croatian army defeated Serbian forces in Operation Flash and returned western Slavonia under Croatian control. Operation Storm followed in August 1995 and ended the war, when Knin, the capital of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina, was taken by Croatian forces. That offensive is called by Croats the "liberation" and by Serbs the "fall" of Knin. The operation was carried out with the help of former US soldiers with tacit US government support and the involvement of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It resulted in a mass exodus

of Serbs (about 200,000) and was followed by torching of villages. The remaining territory controlled by the Serbs in Eastern Slavonia and Baranja would, according to the Erdut agreement, be peacefully re-integrated into Croatia between 1996 and 1998 with the help of the UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). The war for Croatian independence claimed the lives of 13,233 persons on the Croatian side, 1,149 persons went missing and 33,043 were injured. The number of Serbian victims is estimated at around 7,000. Both sides carried out brutal ethnic cleansing and committed numerous war crimes. Hundreds of thousands of persons were forced to leave their homes. Many people were killed and much property was destroyed. On the Croatian side, the refugee wave peaked at the end of 1991, and on the Serbian side, after the final operations in 1995.

The war in Croatia was a prelude to an anticipated and much more brutal conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This republic had the most ethnically mixed population in the former Yugoslavia. According to the 1991 census, 43% of the population were Muslims, 31% were Serbs and 17% were Croats, and the geographic distribution of the intermingled ethnic groups resembled a leopard skin, making it impossible to draw clear lines between them. The first multi-party elections were held in December 1990 and were won by the three national parties. The results reflected the ethnic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted the European Community's proposal to Yugoslav republics to decide whether they wanted to become independent states and meet the requirements for international recognition. The decision caused a rift in the coalition: Serbs wanted to maintain ties with Yugoslavia (or become part of an expanded Serbia), Croats in Herzegovina were interested in joining an expanded Croatia and a step in this direction would be to establish their own state within Bosnia, while Muslims were in favour of the independence of a united Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on the calculation that the number of inhabitants and demographic trends would make them the predominant population. A referendum on independence was held on 29 February and 1 March 1992. It was preceded by unsuccessful attempts by the European Community to divide the country into cantons according to ethnicity. Muslims

and Croats voted for an independent state but the referendum was mainly boycotted by the Serbs. On 3 March 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina was proclaimed an independent state, with strong support from the United States which believed this to be the best way for a war in Bosnia to be avoided.

Inter-ethnic tensions had escalated soon after the elections in 1990. The Serbian community, reinforced by support from Belgrade and armed with accumulated military weapons and technology brought by the JNA from Slovenia, western Croatia and Macedonia, which would suffice for several years of war, used the model of Serbs from Croatia and began forming autonomous regions. In November 1991, Bosnian Serbs organised a referendum of their own at which they decided to remain in a common state with Serbia and Montenegro. On 18 March 1992 the EU/UN peace plan of decentralisation of BiH promulgated by Jose Cutileiro was rejected by Bosniak leader Alija Izetbegović, thus fuelling the separatist tendencies of both Serbs and Croats. The Bosnian Serbs proclaimed the Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 9 January 1992 and then, in an escalation of their actions, declared independence completely. They finally omitted the name Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that their entity was just called *Republika Srpska* (August 1992).

Following the Serbs' example, the Croats proclaimed the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna on 18 November 1991: this was based in the Croatian part of Mostar and led by Mate Boban. It remained in existence until March 1994, but in the meantime, on 28 August 1993, it had become a republic (the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna). It had its own military units – the Croatian Defence Council (*Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrane* – HVO), which were mainly equipped and armed by Croatia and, initially, included many Bosniaks. The HVO fought against the Serbs between April 1993 and March 1994 and also against Muslims (Bosniaks). In the Serbian and Croatian entities which had emerged, ethnic cleansing was carried out, which also included the destruction of the other sides' cultural and religious monuments.

The independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was internationally recognised on 6 April 1992, and one day later Serb paramilitary units commenced strong artillery shelling of the city of Sarajevo from the surrounding hills. At the same time, a military campaign was launched by the JNA against Zvornik, Foča, Višegrad and

other settlements. The Army of Republika Srpska was formed from JNA units at the beginning of operations on 12 May 1992: it had about 80,000 members and was led by General Ratko Mladić. The Army continued to be financed from Yugoslavia (Serbia). The Serbian plan was relatively simple: to occupy the Drina and Sava river valleys, establish a unified territory with the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia, occupy as much of Herzegovina as possible, keep Sarajevo encircled and thus crush Muslim resistance. Because the territory was ethnically mixed, this also entailed extensive ethnic cleansing, killing civilians, detaining men in concentration camps and raping women. This ethnic cleansing plan was practically completely accomplished. Within six weeks, Serbian forces controlled two thirds of the territory of Bosnia and, in 1994 when they were at the height of their power, 70% of it. A "struggle of all against all" was going on in Bosnia. Thus there were clashes among Bosniaks in 1993 and 1994 in the Cazin Krajina, i.e. between the Army of the Federation and Izetbegović's opponent, Fikret Abdić; there was also a war between Bosniaks and Croats, who allied with the Serbs in attacks against Bosniaks in some parts of Bosnia.

The United Nations embargo on arms exports to the former Yugoslav republics was distinctly to the detriment of the Bosniaks and Croats, and the divergent views of certain countries (France and the United Kingdom were more in favour of the Serbs, Germany and the United States insisted on supporting the Croats and Muslims) and the powerlessness of the European Union only prolonged Bosnia's agony. Among the numerous failed diplomatic initiatives to end the war and resolve the crisis was the so-called Vance-Owen Plan from the Peace Conference in January 1993. According to this plan, Bosnia would be divided into ten autonomous provinces plus Sarajevo as a demilitarised zone – the prerequisite for this being a ceasefire. Each ethnic group should have been the majority population in three of the ten provinces, while Sarajevo would be ethnically mixed. This plan was rejected by the Serbs and also met with strong criticism from the international community.

In 1994, the Croats and Bosniaks (headed by Tuđman and Izetbegović) agreed on an alliance, under pressure from the United States. US "advisers" began to train the Bosniak and Croat army and, with the tacit approval of the US, it was equipped by Islamic countries. The factors



which contributed most to the ending of the war were war crimes such as the massacre of over 8,000 Bosniaks in Srebrenica in July 1995, which was recognised as genocide by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and others such as the massacres in Sarajevo, which was besieged by the Serbs for over 1,000 days. US diplomat Richard Holbrooke launched an effective international campaign which also involved many compromises and had negative side effects. A broad international coalition was formed against the Serbs, which resulted in their isolation. NATO aircraft began bombing their outposts in the field, and the Croatian-Muslim units launched a broad offensive and took control over large areas in 1995. After a month of fighting, due to unfavourable external circumstances, Milošević had to cease his support to Bosnian Serbs.

On 1 November 1995, peace talks attended by all the parties of the conflict started at the Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. The dramatic negotiations ended on 27 November. Bosnia and Herzegovina survived as an independent state, though it now comprises the Bosniak-Croat Federation (with 51% of the territory) and Republika Srpska (49%). Its existence is guaranteed by the UN and NATO. On 14 December, an agreement was signed in Paris to this effect, and around 60,000 international forces were deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war had claimed more than 100,000 lives and resulted in more than 2.2 million refugees (almost half the population). Around 50,000 people were tortured, 20,000 women were raped, and there were 715 concentration camps throughout the country. War crimes were perpetrated by all three warring sides (the Serbs accounted for by far the most) as a result of which the UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) as early as May 1993.

Clashes in Kosovo started to intensify from mid-1998, after the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) had succeeded in establishing itself. Over time, armed confrontations with the Serbian forces became increasingly frequent and this, together with diplomatic pressure by the international community, led to negotiations which

started at Rambouillet near Paris in February 1999. The Serbian side rejected the peace plan offered by Western diplomats, after which, albeit without the authorisation of the UN Security Council, military intervention by NATO forces began against Serbia and Montenegro on 24 March 1999. NATO bombing continued on a daily basis for nearly three months, and caused great human and material losses, primarily in Serbia. During the bombing, Serbian forces expelled almost 1 million Albanians from Kosovo into neighbouring countries. The bombardment came to an end in June 1999 with the signing of an agreement in Kumanovo; after that, Serbian forces and also around 200,000 Serbian civilians left Kosovo, which was placed under the control of international forces. Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia in February 2008, and the region of Southeast Europe is now divided between countries that recognise Kosovo's independence and those that do not recognise it. Meanwhile, in 2001, two years after the NATO bombing, a conflict began in FYR Macedonia between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians.

The wars in Yugoslavia, which include the 1998-1999 war in Kosovo, the NATO bombing of Serbia from March to June 1999, and the limited conflict in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia between Macedonians and Albanians in 2001 were, after the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, WWI and WWII, the fourth conflict in the Balkans during the course of the 20th century. They left in their wake hundreds of thousands of casualties, millions of refugees and scores of destroyed towns and villages. They were a combination of cultural, religious and inter-ethnic conflicts but in the first place they were wars for new borders on the territory of Yugoslavia. The national states that have emerged on the territory of former Yugoslavia have been more or less ethnically "cleansed". The price and the consequences of these wars will be paid for by many generations to come. The region as a whole is still the "powder keg" that it was described as in the beginning of the 20th century. Furthermore, the Yugoslav wars put the European Union and the international community to the test and showed that neither was able to deal with the crisis.

## ► II.1. THE PATH TO DISINTEGRATION

### II-1. The 14th Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party, January 1990

#### A. The Slovene delegation leaves the Congress



After all the reform proposals of the League of Communists of Slovenia (a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia like all the other Republican communist parties) had been rejected at the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (transition to a multi-party system, respect for human rights, autonomous civil society, an end to political repression), the Slovene delegation left the Congress after a speech by their leader Ciril Ribičič. Sonja Lokar, a member of the Slovene delegation, could not hide her tears.



Repe, 2015, p. 224.



What was the symbolic meaning of the Slovene delegation leaving the Congress?

#### B. Speech by Ciril Ribičič

Comrades and deputies,

I do not have an amendment, but I would like to make a statement on the adoption of this Declaration. For us, deputies from Slovenia, this 14th Special Congress is coming to an end. We tried to change the course of this Congress several times. I would like to recall yesterday's statement and proposal made by our delegation. [...]

There is no doubt that the decisions adopted by the

Congress do not satisfy even the minimum of what the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia called for in the sphere of economic, political reforms and transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In our specific conditions, the Communists of Slovenia will continue to promote democratic socialism and for Yugoslavia to be a common state of equal and sovereign republics and will continue to cooperate with those with similar programme orientations.

After this Congress, the League of Communists of Slovenia will continue to cooperate with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on free contractual grounds on the basis of a common programme orientation and common interest.

We take note of the decisions adopted by the majority at this Plenary Session, but for us they are not acceptable and cannot be binding.

That is why I propose that all delegates from the League of Communists of Slovenia who agree that, unfortunately, the conditions have been met for us to leave this 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia do so, because we do not want to be jointly responsible for the agony of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which is the result of the present imposition of will by those imposing it. Thank you.

Archive of Republic of Slovenia. Collection of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, 1589/IV, Box 2072.



1. What did Slovenian communists advocate? Why were all their proposals rejected at the 14th Congress? The second question demands the additional information. How did Ribičič explain why the Slovenian delegation was leaving the Congress?

2. Explain the sentence: "In our specific conditions, the League of Communists of Slovenia will continue to promote democratic socialism and for Yugoslavia to be a common state of equal and sovereign republics and will continue to cooperate with those with similar programme orientations." How did the Slovenian communists see future relations between the Yugoslav republics? What did C. Ribičič mean when he emphasized that the League of Communists of Slovenia will "continue to cooperate with those with similar programme orientations"?

## II-2. The war starts in the stadium: The Dinamo-Crvena Zvezda football match



Fan riots intertwined with nationalism became an integral part of sports events in Yugoslavia in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The best known example of an escalation of nationalism and violence took place in Zagreb on 13 May 1990 during a match between Zagreb's Dinamo and Belgrade's Crvena Zvezda (Red Star).

### A. Article in a Croatian newspaper: Maksimir - A Veritable Battlefield

A BLACK DAY FOR FOOTBALL: The Dinamo – Crvena Zvezda match could not be held due to unprecedented vandalism and a rampage by fans of both clubs, and also because of the complete ineptitude of the police in handling the situation.

Zagreb – A black day for football! It was presumed that passions might run high at the Dinamo-Crvena Zvezda match, and that there might be incidents. But no one could have foreseen that something would happen to prevent the match in Maksimir [the city district where the stadium is located] from even kicking off. In a nutshell, the Dinamo stadium was turned into a veritable battlefield, the match naturally could not be played, and the situation at the stadium was finally put under control just before 23:00 hours when special buses came to take away the Crvena Zvezda fans.

The fans of both clubs are guilty, but not just them, since the police can also be blamed for ineptly handling the situation. About 1,000 Crvena Zvezda fans arrived in Zagreb in the morning and set off on a vandalistic rampage through the city streets. The police funnelled them all in the direction of Maksimir stadium where they took up a position within the stadium fences. There they caused considerable damage. Tearing down everything that stood in their path and demolishing cars, they even gouged out the eye of a policeman.

*"Maksimir battlefield", Vjesnik, 14 May 1990.*

### B. A Serbian newspaper: "Dinamo fans carried out a planned scandal"

*Threats by Dinamo fan leaders not taken seriously by noon – Crvena Zvezda (Red Star) leadership warned*

*fans days beforehand not to go to Zagreb – Worried parents at the Dinamo stadium and the Belgrade railway station*

It is fairly clear who is to blame for the scandal at Maksimir stadium, and the matter should be split in two parts. The first part deals with the events at the southern stand. Since stones were first hurled from there, Crvena Zvezda fans who were at the foot of the stand (yet another mistake of the organiser) started their vandalizing by destroying advertisement panels. Some did it to protect themselves from stones and pieces of broken seats, while others did it for the "sake of destruction". [...]

*The aggressors quickly betrayed themselves*

All in all, it seemed that the match would start.

However, that was when the war really started, but on the other side of the stadium. What the Dinamo fan leaders said at noon would happen, started happening – the scandal had been planned! [...] when the delirious HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] maniacs gathered around the stadium, Crvena Zvezda players were shaking with fear during their four-hour captivity, dreading whether the mob would break through the police cordon without anyone in sight who would appear to be in charge, and burst into the poorly-defended area around the locker rooms. Perhaps because a group of military policemen appeared in this area, the situation started to quiet down. [...]

*Janković, 15 May 1990.*



1. Compare these two sources. What is similar, and what is different in these two reports? Who is to blame for the violence, according to each of these sources? Can you distinguish facts from opinions in both sources? Detect emotional expressions and perspectives in both of them. How do you explain these differences? How does this story indicate a deeper breach in inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia at the end of the 1980s?

2. Imagine that these are the only two existing sources about this event. How would you use them to construct your own balanced story about it? Use phrases like "it seems", "we know for certain", "... it is not clear", "the first/second source indicates...", etc.



### II-3. Violent demonstrations against Milošević in Belgrade. Tanks in the streets, 9 March 1991



The first large-scale demonstrations against the Milošević regime were held in Belgrade on 9 March 1991. They were organised by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO). SPO leader Vuk Drašković called for them because of the propaganda-style reporting of Belgrade Television, which he dubbed the “TV Bastille”. Serbian President Slobodan Milošević used repressive measures including water cannon, mounted police and teargas, and eventually called in army tanks. The following day, thousands of students gathered in Terazije square demanding the resignations of top managers in the TV station and that of the Interior Minister, the release of arrested opposition leaders and lifting of the ban on the work of Radio B92 and Studio B TV. This part of the protest is remembered as the Serbian “velvet revolution”. The Serbian Assembly quickly adopted a decision accepting the resignation of Radio-Television Belgrade chiefs and the Interior Minister. Vuk Drašković was released from prison on 14 March. A few months later, the war in the former Yugoslavia broke out.

### II-4. The Gligorov–Izetbegović platform 1991: Kiro Gligorov at the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia [SRM], 15 June 1991



During the period of break-up of the SFRY, and in order to avert a potentially violent outcome, SRM President Kiro Gligorov and the President of the Bosnian Presidency Alija Izetbegović proposed constitutional reforms for SFR Yugoslavia’s future at the Sarajevo summit of Yugoslav republics which took place in June 1991. Their proposal, known as the Izetbegović–Gligorov Platform, envisaged an “asymmetric federation” with various degrees of constitutional autonomy for the Yugoslav republics and the potential for a European future for the country as a whole in the form of a loose confederation. Despite constituting a basis for discussion among the leaders of the republics, the Platform was soon rejected because it did not cater to the interests of those which desired full independence (Slovenia and Croatia) on the one hand and those of Serbia which, on the other hand, sought a heavily centralised federation where it would play the dominant role.



The people’s revolt was stopped by tanks.

Photo by Emil Čonkic.

ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA [...] – KIRO GLIGOROV: Mister President and Presidency, distinguished members of parliament, I shall try to inform you in brief about the platform proposed by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia... we believed that we needed to try to create a basis for overcoming the stalemate in the talks regarding the possible future of the Yugoslav union. [...]

What are the cornerstones of the proposed Platform?

First, any agreement as to the future Yugoslavia must take into account, and stem from, the sovereignty of the republics as states which came into being during the People’s Liberation Struggle and by means of these states’ and their peoples’ voluntary association into a federation. Nobody gave freedom to anybody. We have all won our freedom through arms and with great sacrifices, and hence talks about the future can only take place among equal partners...

Second, any kind of union implies agreement regarding certain common actions, certain common functions that will need to be performed through common bodies. Without that, there is no union. The fear that the common functions and common bodies could be in conflict with the sovereignty of the republic

should dissolve if we understand that we will jointly exercise the part of our sovereignty contained in these common functions and that it will be exercised as an inalienable part of every republic's original sovereignty. And that does not deny the republics' original sovereignty. [...]

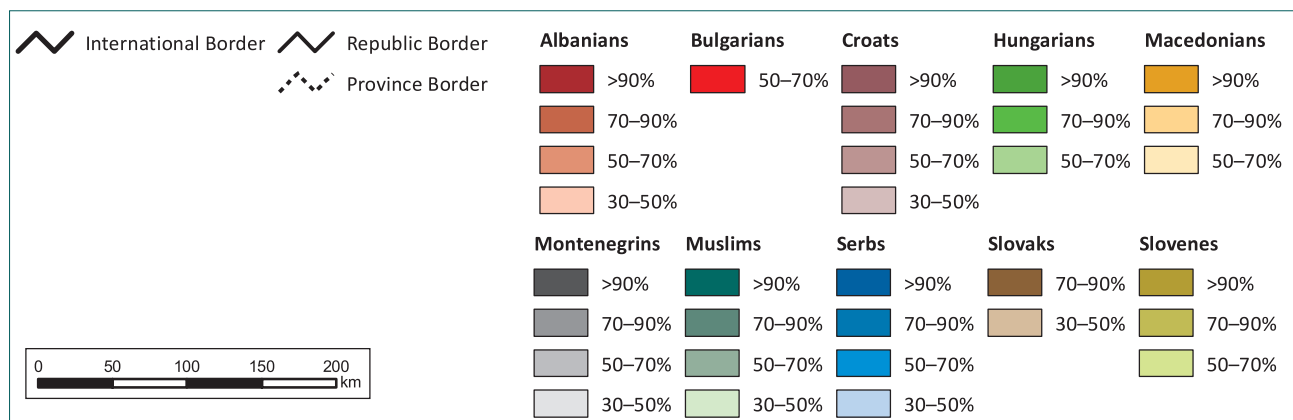
The European Economic Community has welcomed our document as a good basis and a roadmap that allows and promises a way out of the crisis. We should continue to maintain the initiative and be cooperative, and further prepare ourselves with even more concrete proposals of our own for when we will move on to discussions regarding the individual areas and the individual common functions.

Shorthand notes from the 17th Session of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, held on 15 June 1991, Skopje: <http://62.220.196.22/WBStorage/Files/17sednica15juni91god0.pdf>

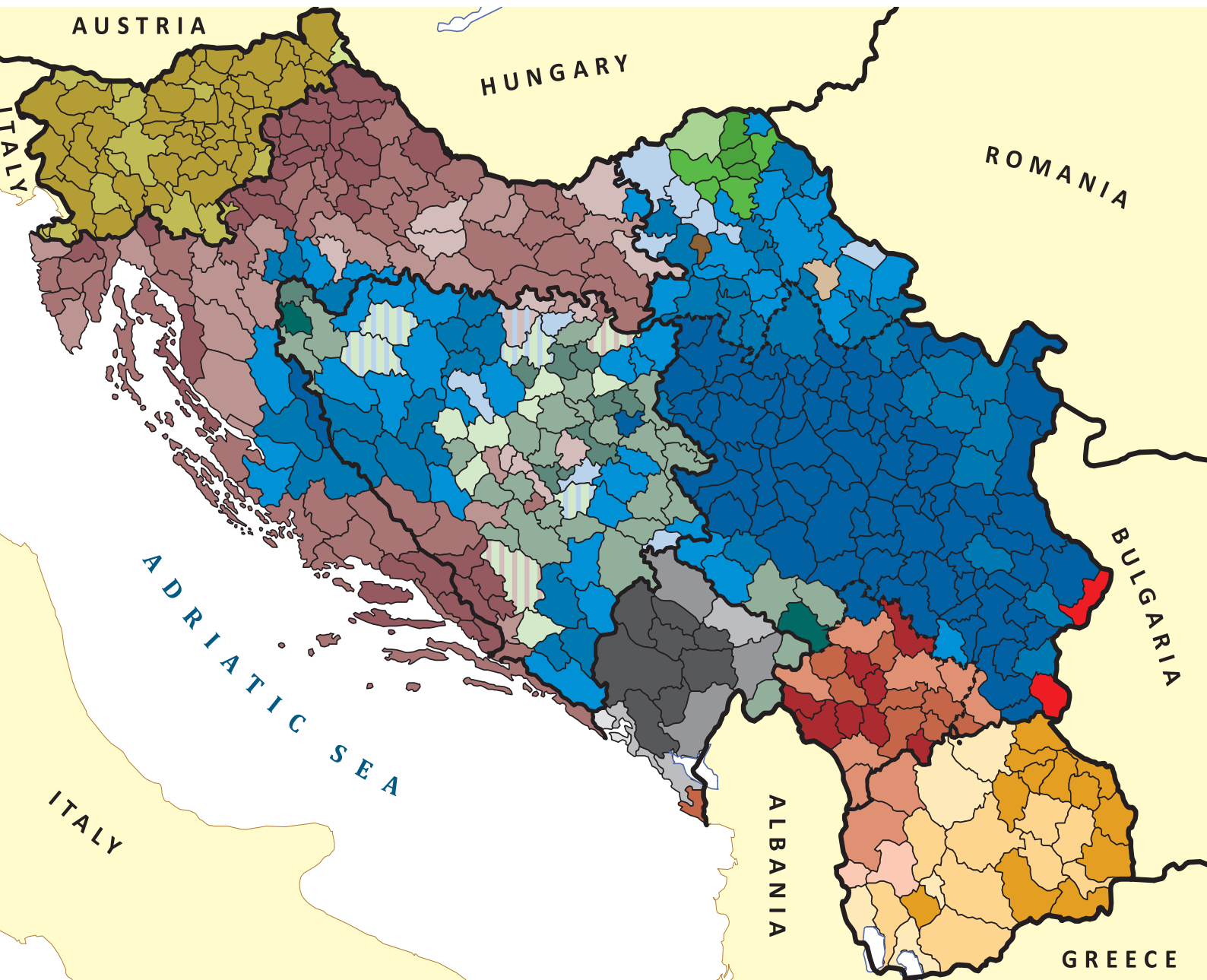


1. Which three starting points for negotiations are proposed in the text? Does this text point at some of the fears that existed in Yugoslavia at that time? If yes, which ones?

2. Explain: Why was this proposal eventually rejected? To answer this question, you have to connect the information in the document with the information given in the key.



### Ethnic Composition of Yugoslavia, 1987





## II-5. Repression and “parallel school system” in Kosovo



Throughout the 1980s, the Autonomous Province of Kosovo was repeatedly disturbed by conflicts between the Albanian majority and the Serbian minority. The Serbs in Kosovo felt persecuted and discriminated against. The Albanian community, which enjoyed considerable autonomy and authority stemming from the SFRY Constitution of 1974, however, demanded the status of republic. In response to the conflicts, the Yugoslav authorities repeatedly chose to use force. In 1989, the Serbian authorities, under the leadership of Milošević, pushed through constitutional changes which eliminated the autonomy of the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Thus the Albanian majority lost control over Kosovo and also experienced various forms of repression: mass redundancies of Albanian officials, journalists,

doctors and workers. There was an increase in police violence and discrimination in schools. In response, the Albanian community, led by Ibrahim Rugova, established a parallel political system including elections, as well as separate media and cultural institutions. They also created a parallel school system. Private houses were turned into classrooms, with lessons taught by Albanian teachers who had been sacked from the official education system. Moreover, textbooks in Albanian were smuggled into Kosovo. These schools were maintained through a special tax system and volunteer donations, particularly from the extensive Albanian diaspora in Europe and other parts of the world. Approximately 330,000 students were brought up in this school system.

### A. Students attending teaching in the “Sami Frashëri” High School in Irzniq (1992)



Archive of Institute of History, Priština.



Describe the conditions in the improvised classroom.

### B. Attacks Against Education Must Be Halted, November 1990

In a meeting held on 30.10.1990 and 3.11.1990, the Assembly of directors of elementary and high schools of the Priština Commune examined the serious situation of the educational process in Albanian language, which has been caused mainly and intentionally by the destructive actions of the authorities of SR of Serbia. In regard to this, it was considered that the work and educational process at elementary schools in the Commune of Priština is in a difficult situation and day by day suffers pressure and blackmail by non-legitimate authorities, individuals and irresponsible groups; suffering from disruption, it is in a state of disorganisation, teachers and students are no longer motivated to work. [...]

The Assembly of directors of the Priština Commune concluded that they would work with determination only with teaching plans and programmes compiled by the Pedagogical Entity of Kosovo and approved by the senior officials of the Education of Kosovo, maintaining that “we recognise and accept only Kosovo laws, that we recognise only legal authorities of Education of Kosovo. We also state that we do not recognise the [official]

Pedagogical Education Entity of Priština as well as the Pedagogical Entity of Kosovo unless Albanian advisors already suspended and expelled are returned”[...]

In the event that the competent authorities disregard these requirements, we shall appeal to international organisations.

Shkëndija, November 1990: Communication of the Assembly of elementary school directors.



**1.** What does the map on p. 45 tell you about the ethnic composition of Yugoslavia? How many republics and autonomous provinces are there? Which nations and ethnic groups lived in them? Which ones are ethnically the most homogeneous, and which the most heterogeneous?

**2.** Using the map and all the sources in chapter II.1, list the problems which paved the way to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Try to see beyond each individual event or case presented in the sources, and find more substantial causes.

## ► II.2. THE WARS OF 1991-1995

### II-6. The Slovene Ten-Day War



During the Slovene ten-day war (27 June-7 July 1991), 75 people lost their lives. The soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army (hereinafter: JNA) suffered 45 fatalities, the Slovene Territorial Defence and civilians 19, and 12 foreign citizens were also killed. One of the most horrific attacks by the JNA happened in Medvedjek (28 June), in which the Yugoslav air force fired on foreign truck drivers who were trapped in front of a road block. Although both sides knew there were foreign citizens there, the aircraft attacked the trucks and killed citizens from Turkey and Bulgaria. During the attack, a missile also hit a nearby farm and killed one more person. Due to the fact that the war was short and of low intensity, that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) was still then ethnically mixed, and also to the efforts of the Slovenian presidency, mayors in the field and individual officers of the Territorial Defence (TD) and JNA, no one from Slovenia was tried before the International Criminal Tribunal. Some events, however,

were viewed by the public as potential war crimes – primarily the shooting down of a JNA helicopter on 27 June 1991 above Rožna dolina in Ljubljana. This was transporting bread to Vrhnika barracks and was piloted by Slovenian pilot Anton Mrlak (at that time already a member of the TD). The co-pilot was Bojanče Sibinovski, a Macedonian. The Gazelle SA 341 helicopter was unarmed, as was well known. Those in command (Defence Minister Janez Janša, Commander-in-Chief Anton Krkovič) claim that Mrlak was not a TD member (even though the Slovenian Armed Forces later recognised his status) and that the aircraft was downed because it was flying above government buildings (untrue). Mrlak's relatives claim it was shot down deliberately for propaganda reasons, so that the TD could demonstrate that it was able to shoot down a JNA helicopter. The case was brought before a Slovenian court as late as 2016 and it is unclear whether it will even go to trial.



## Road block by the village of Medvedjek



Photo by Srdjan Živulović, *Delos* newspaper.

## II-7. JNA tank crushes “Fićo” on an Osijek street, 27 June 1991



On 27 June 1991, at the beginning of the war in Croatia, a Yugoslav People’s Army tank crushed a little Fiat 500 (the small car popularly known as the “Fićo”) on a street in Osijek. The video report of this was seen all round the world and became one of the first documents of the violence in Yugoslavia. Soon it also became a symbol with very different meanings. In Croatia it was a symbol of violence against ordinary citizens who drove the cheapest car made in Yugoslavia. It also meant the struggle between David and Goliath, where the red Fićo was a symbol

of a poorly armed Croatian people fighting a powerful army. In some circles it was also understood to mark the real end of Yugoslavia and its system, since the Fićo was a symbol of Yugoslav industry and the products it made for ordinary people. A special point was made of the fact that the Fićo was red – the colour of the Yugoslav communists. In 2011 an installation was set up to mark this spot in Osijek: the change of positions of the vehicles symbolised the victory of the Croatian people over the Yugoslav Army.



**A. “Fićo” crashed by the JNA tank**

Photographer Jozo Petrić, Private collection.

**B. A monument: “Fićo” crashes the tank**

Private collection.

## Disintegration and wars in Yugoslavia (1991-1995)





## II-8. Decision of the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina to annex parts of Croatian territory to the Republic of Serbia, 1 April 1991

ARTICLE 1 The Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina is hereby united with the Republic of Serbia.

ARTICLE 2 When this Decision enters into force, the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina shall become an integral part of the unified state territory of the Republic of Serbia.

In accordance with the previous paragraph of this Article, following the adoption of this Decision, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia shall be valid within the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and the laws of the Republic of Serbia shall apply as well as the constitutional and legal system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

ARTICLE 4 Pursuant to this Decision, territories of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina which shall become part of a unified state territory of the Republic of Serbia comprise the municipalities of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gračac, Donji Lapac, Korenica, Vojnić, Vrginmost, Glina, Dvor na Uni, Kostajnica, Petrinja and Pakrac.

All Serbian towns and villages which have joined one of these municipalities, and those that in the future choose to join them in the process of demarcating borders, shall also become a part of this territory.

ARTICLE 5 This Decision shall enter into force on the day of its adoption.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE SERBIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF KRAJINA

PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE SERBIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF KRAJINA

Dr Milan Babić

Number: 32/91-1

In Korenica, 1 April 1991

Copy, typewritten, Latin script

HR-HMDCDR. 2 kut. 232

## II-9. The Battle for Vukovar, August-November 1991



In late August 1991, armed incidents in the town of Vukovar culminated into a siege of the town for 87 days. Around 30,000 JNA soldiers were involved in the siege, as well as a large number →

from Territorial Defence and paramilitary units. There were considerably fewer Croatian forces. JNA units entered Vukovar on 18 November 1991. In the fighting, 90% of the town was destroyed. According to unofficial Serbian sources, between 1,103 and 1,500 soldiers and volunteers were killed and 2,500 were injured. According to Croatian figures, the total number of JNA casualties is estimated at around 8,000 killed and 15,000 injured. According to official Croatian estimates, 921 Croatian soldiers were killed, 770 were injured and 1,527 were captured. After the fall, most inhabitants of Vukovar left the town or were expelled. For the war crimes committed in Vukovar, the International Tribunal in The Hague issued five indictments and, by 2015, two persons had been convicted. In Serbian courts, 15 persons were sentenced to several years' imprisonment each for crimes in the Vukovar area in 1991. Serbian President Boris Tadić visited Vukovar on 4 November 2010 and apologized to the families of innocent victims.

### A. JNA convoy in New Belgrade on the road to Vukovar, 1991



Vojna parada "Beograd – Vukovar", 1991.  
24128642&viewfull=1#post24128642, accessed on 7.07.2016.

**B. The Serbian perspective: "Vukovar finally free"***AFTER THREE MONTHS OF HEAVY FIGHTING**Vukovar is Finally Free*

*Army guards are at the hospital gates, where there are 420 sick and wounded. – The Defence Commander of Borovo Naselje also surrenders. – Around 5,000 persons evacuated from Vukovar. – The number of those killed is yet to be established.*

Vukovar, 10 November (Tanjug)

The last clashes stopped in Vukovar today, in the vicinity of the hospital where, according to military sources, Croatian guardsmen and policemen tried to provoke an attack on this medical institution.

At the hospital gates, the Army has posted guards. One JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) unit is stationed on the hospital grounds. According to the head of Vukovar Hospital, Vesna Bosanac, there are around 420 sick and wounded in the hospital. According to her, around 400 civilians also sought refuge there.

The hospital will not be evacuated today, as envisaged. Negotiations, which were also attended by members of the Red Cross, ran late and the evacuation was postponed for tomorrow.

Military sources say that the civilians who sought refuge in the hospital first need to be checked, adding that those who participated in the fighting will not be able to go where they want.

In Ive Lole Ribara Street in the immediate vicinity of the hospital, on numerous occasions domestic and foreign journalists today saw 33 bodies, mainly civilians. Bodies making up a horrific picture can also be seen in other streets around the hospital.

Vukovar territorials, with the help of the Army, today established the town police. The intention is to prevent looting and take over control of the whole town.

As of today, there are practically no Croatian soldiers in Vukovar. They have all surrendered to the JNA. [...]

*Politika*, 20 November 1991.

**C. The Croatian perspective: "Who is manipulating the tragedy of Vukovar"**

During negotiations, the convoy of vehicles which was supposed to pick up the wounded came under attack on the stretch of the road between Vinkovci and Nuštar from multiple rocket launchers by Chetniks<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> About Chetniks see p. 91.

from Cerići and Pačetine. This incident shows who we are dealing with, that is, we are dealing with an enemy who goes to any length, it was stressed by Professor Hebrang. [...] Journalists were informed about thousands of civilians who were pressured into leaving Vukovar in 14 buses, which are still on their way. [...] The press conference was also attended by Stevo Bušić from the Vukovar Crisis Staff in Zagreb, who said that he had information according to which civilians in Vukovar at the moment were being killed and that the lives of children were in danger. He also conveyed the disappointment of Vukovar soldiers who came to Zagreb, and spoke about children who gave blood several times for the wounded and about 10-year-olds armed with rifles. [...] Professor Hebrang informed journalists about what was going on in Vukovar, that is, about the attempt to save the wounded. For 40 days, all attempts to deliver medicines and medical supplies to Vukovar hospital were impossible. 600 wounded were in the hospital basement without any real medical assistance, and the situation became critical due to a shortage of blood and equipment to take blood from civilians. The number of wounded reached a critical point and it was both physically and technically impossible to keep them in the hospital, Professor Hebrang pointed out. [...] A representative of the Red Cross started making a list of the wounded which was supposed to be with them in the convoy, but two hours later Yugoslav army soldiers burst into the hospital, although this was contrary to all international regulations since no armed members of any party to a conflict can enter hospitals, as Professor Hebrang said. The Army threw out the Red Cross representative and took over control of the telephone switchboard, and the whole procedure was described to us via radio communication by a representative of this international organisation. Furthermore, some of the wounded were taken away on army trucks. [...]

*"Tko manipulira vukovarskom tragedijom", Vjesnik, 21.11.1991.*

**D. Vuk Drašković on Vukovar (28 November 1991)**

Take our hats off in silence

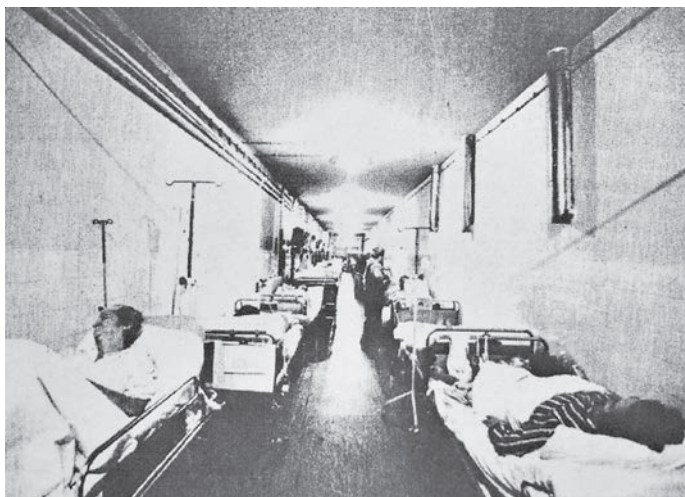
I cannot offer congratulations for the victory in Vukovar which Serbia is so enthusiastically celebrating, intoxicated by war propaganda. I cannot because I do not want to wrong those who have perished, thousands of them, or the lingering pain and misfortune felt by all survivors of Vukovar [...] Vukovar is the Hiroshima



of Croatian and Serbian insanity... Everyone in this country, which no longer exists, Serbs and Croats in particular, is living through the days of our biggest shame and fall. (*Srpska reč*, 1991)

Vuk Drašković, "On Vukovar (28 November 1991), Take our hats off in silence", [http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/npakteri\\_t06.html](http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/npakteri_t06.html), accessed on 17.9. 2015.

### E. Vukovar Hospital was very busy during the war and worked under very difficult conditions in basement areas



Wertheime-Baletić, 1993.



1. Compare documents 9B and 9C. Which data are the same, and which contradict each other? Which information can be found in both of these sources, and which in only one of these sources? How do they portray the "self" and the "other"?
2. Read the key and list a couple of reasons which might explain why there are such differing numbers of JNA casualties in Serbian and Croatian sources respectively.
3. Watch this video on YouTube. Discuss the statements from people interviewed on streets regarding military action.

B92: Beograd, Srbija 1991 - Bacanje cveca po tenkovima JNA <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xz42ucCGunU>, accessed on 21.10.2015.

## II-10. The Dubrovnik campaign, October 1991-October 1992



The main attack on Dubrovnik by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), navy, air force and the Territorial Defence (TO) of Montenegro began on 1 October 1991. In early November, Dubrovnik municipality was cut off from the land, sea and air and by the end of the month, JNA units had seized the suburbs of Dubrovnik and the town was under siege. At the time there were around 50,000 inhabitants and refugees there. Several thousand shells were fired into the town. The siege continued until May 1992, when the JNA units withdrew. Military operations stopped in October 1992, when the Dubrovnik area was placed under control of UN forces. Around 30,000 soldiers and volunteers took part in the fighting on the Dubrovnik front, mostly from Montenegro. A total of 442 soldiers were killed, of whom 165 were from Montenegro. The town was defended by around 1,000 Croatian soldiers. During the war, 417 Croatian soldiers and 92 civilians were killed in the Dubrovnik area.

### A. Conclusions of the Montenegrin Assembly of 4 October 1991

We are in the middle of an undeclared war by the Ustaša neo-fascist formations of the Republic of Croatia against Yugoslavia and the JNA, a war against all attempts to find a political solution to all outstanding issues in the country. The Assembly of Montenegro lends its full support to the JNA and its intention to use its power to prevent a civil war, inter-ethnic clashes and genocide against the Serbian people... The state organs of the Republic of Montenegro and all bodies envisaged by the operative programme of measures to strengthen the defence capabilities of the Republic, adopted by the Government of the Republic of Montenegro, must carry out their duties to the fullest until the political situation around the Republic of Montenegro changes and while combat operations in the border belt with the Republic of Croatia are in progress.

Vojičić and Biserko, 2006, pp. 324-325.

### B. The Serbian newspaper *Politika*, 7 December 1991



The daily *Politika* first appeared in Belgrade in the Kingdom of Serbia on 25 January 1904. It ceased publication during WWI and WWII. An



infamous period in the newspaper's history began in September 1987, when the daily was taken over by the Milošević regime and quickly turned into a populist propaganda medium. For this purpose a column entitled *Odjeci i reagovanja* (Echoes and Reactions) was launched in 1988 to publish so-called readers' comments. By the end of the 20th century, apart from having a printing works, publications and a country-wide sales network, Politika AD also had its own radio and television station. After the political changes of 2000 in Serbia, the ownership of *Politika* was turned over to the German media concern WAZ which, in 2012, sold it to the East Media Group, registered in Russia.

#### FIGHTING AROUND DUBROVNIK.

*Croatian paramilitary attacks the JNA right after assurances from Croatian ministers at a meeting in Cavtat that they would not open fire.*

#### THE JNA DID NOT SHELL DUBROVNIK.

The JNA did not shell Dubrovnik and not a speck of dust from the JNA side fell on that town, Tanjug was told yesterday by the spokesman of the SNNO (Federal Secretariat for National Defence) Milan Gvero. He described all reports about the alleged shelling of Dubrovnik by the JNA as "perfidious misinformation intended to tarnish the reputation of the JNA at this very delicate moment in the negotiations." Gvero pointed out that Croatian forces around Dubrovnik attacked JNA units in an attempt to push them back to surrounding positions, and that the army units replied. According to Gvero, provocations by the Croatian armed forces are typically carried out in the Srđ area and the JNA has been forced to return fire in order to prevent further attacks in the area. Gvero said that the Yugoslav People's Army had no intention of shelling Dubrovnik and the Croatian forces knew this and are thus provoking, as if they want the army to attack which, Gvero pointed out, will never happen. (Tanjug)

Milošević, *Politika*, 7 December 1991.



Analyse the language of this article: distinguish facts from opinions; find examples of emotional language. What is the purpose of this text – to inform or something else? Find examples in the text of how the "other side" (Croats) is portrayed? How is this source justifying the military operation against Dubrovnik and shelling of the town? Compare this source with the photo of Dubrovnik (source II-42B).

## II-11. War propaganda

### A. Propaganda photo: JNA artillery above Dubrovnik



This is the best-known photograph from the war in the Dubrovnik area. It appeared in the Montenegrin pro-governmental daily *Pobjeda* on 10 November 1991. The photograph depicts a JNA artillery crew above Dubrovnik. The caption under the photograph says: "A view of Dubrovnik: an artillery crew on Žarkovica" (Photographer: Nikica Mihailović).



*Pobjeda*, 9320, 10 November 1991.



What might be the purpose of this photograph? What message should it send?

### B. Milošević media propaganda



Propaganda in the media heralded the wars in the former SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), and some Serbian media (Serbian Radio and Television, the dailies *Politika*, *Politika Ekspres* and *Večernje novosti*) also played a key role in the propaganda of Slobodan Milošević's regime during the Yugoslav wars. An example of this war propaganda is shown by this clip from the *Večernje novosti* daily during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1994, *Večernje novosti* published a picture by well-known Serbian painter Uroš Predić "Orphan at mother's grave"<sup>2</sup>, as a photograph of a boy

<sup>2</sup>"Orphan at mother's grave", Uroš Predić, oil on canvas, 1888, 100 x 124 cm, inv. br. 312, Gift of Dr Mihailo Pupin, National Museum in Belgrade.

from Srebrenica “at the grave of his father, mother and other relatives killed in the Muslims’ offensive”. Criminal charges were not brought against a single editor, media director or journalist for their contribution to the tragedy and the war.



#### PAINFUL REMINDER

Children are the biggest victims of wars. This is now also the case with the Serbian people, again fighting for their bare survival. The picture which made all the headlines a year and a half ago is from a cemetery near Skelani, depicting this boy – an orphan – despairing at the grave of his father, mother and other relatives who were killed in a Muslim offensive. It continues to distress everyone who knows the meaning of childhood suffering. The boy from the picture has been adopted by a family from Zvornik and is now a first-year cadet at the military secondary school.

*Večernje novosti*, 19 November 1994.



Study carefully the sources about the war in former Yugoslavia. Many of these sources deal with propaganda material and the use of propaganda in the war. Find these sources. Analyse the sources by answering the following questions: Where was the source published (type of media)? When it was published? Why it was published (what was its purpose)? Who was the target audience? Make a list of examples of propaganda that you have found in these sources.

	Photo – JNA artillery above Dubrovnik	<i>Politika</i>	“Painful reminder”
The event			
Type of media			
When was the source published?			
Purpose (why it was published)			
Target audience			
Examples			

## II-12. Meeting of Croatian President Franjo Tuđman with high-ranking officers of the HV (Croatian Army), 31 July 1995, Brijuni

*President Franjo Tuđman:* Gentlemen, I called this meeting to assess the current situation and hear your views before I decide on our further actions in the next few days. [...] it appears that we might [have] a favourable political situation in Croatia, the demoralisation in Serbian ranks, the sympathy of the European people, in part in Europe, the part which is in favour of resolving the crisis and which favours Croatia, where we have Germany as our friend, gives us reserved support both in political negotiations and in NATO where they also have understanding for our views. We also have the sympathies of the United States of America, but only up to a certain extent, if you, gentlemen, take care of things professionally, like you did in Western Slavonia, within

several days. Please, this means three or four days, we can count on up to a maximum of eight days, in order not to sustain any political damage, and not only that, but also to score political points in the international community. [...] We should find an excuse for our operation, our undertaking which we can start according to plan, as it was yesterday, or tomorrow, either according to yesterday’s plan for tomorrow, or to see when we can. [...] we have to completely defeat the opponent along the south-north axis, and let it be perfectly clear, leave the east alone for the time being. Why should the east be left alone? Because our friends are also afraid if Yugoslavia goes in for a total war, with Yugoslavia and Russia, meaning an all-out war. So, we should leave the

east alone, completely, but we should deal with the north and south. Deal with it, but how? That is the topic of our today's discussion. We should inflict such blows so that Serbs will practically cease to exist, that is, in the parts we do not deal with immediately, they must capitulate within a few days. Therefore, the envisaged plan we had for tomorrow should be reviewed and modified. I will make my decision after hearing your assessments and opinions.

<http://snv.hr/oluja-u-haagu/media/sg1/sg1-01-brijunski-sastanak-hr.pdf>, accessed on 21.10.2015.

### II-13. The order of the Republic Civilian Protection Headquarters of the Republic of Serbian Krajina on the implementation of evacuation plans, 2.08.1995

2 August 1995

Knin

Republic Civilian Defence Headquarters of the RSK (Republic of Serbian Krajina) requests from the regional staffs a report on the implementation of the plan for civilian protection, evacuation and shelter

REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAJINA

REPUBLIC CIVILIAN

PROTECTION HEADQUARTERS

Number: Confidential 01 – 82/95

DEFENCE

OFFICIAL SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

Knin, 2 August 1995

TO ALL REGIONAL CIVILIAN PROTECTION STAFFS

Pursuant to Order no. confidential 01 – 78/95 of 29 July 1995, IMMEDIATELY and no later than 1900 hours on 3 August 1995, forward a report on the following issues:

1. Sheltering (updating the plan, arranging and preparing sheltering facilities and activating the population);
2. Evacuation (updating the plan, material support, those carrying it out standing by, forming committees, teams for admission and distribution, etc.);
3. Care (capacities for admission, obtaining equipment and requirements for accommodation, food, articles for personal and general hygiene);
4. Readiness and organising the implementation of the protection and rescue measures (itemise what has been done and organised, including the ability of business enterprises to take part in the protection and rescue operations);
5. The existence of hazardous substances and the protection measures taken;
6. Forces activated for protection and rescue, and forces standing by;

### 7. Difficulties with functioning and obtaining necessary means.

Hrvatski memorijalno-dokumentacijski centar Domovinskog rata [Croatian memorial-documentary centre of the Homeland War], 2, Box 265.



1. Read document II-12, look carefully at the map "Disintegration and wars in Yugoslavia" and check the chronology (p. 279). What was the purpose of the meeting? What kind of military operation is Franjo Tuđman planning to launch? Why did he describe the political situation as favourable for the operation? Why is he searching for political justification for his actions? Locate on the map the towns and territories mentioned in the speech. Conclude from the document and the map: What might be the reasons to launch such an operation? Why was Eastern Slavonia not included in plans at that moment? Find out what happened later.

2. The minutes from that meeting were later published. One of the sentences from this speech turned out to be very controversial and it was interpreted very differently – some suggested that this sentence referred to Serb civilians, others that this particular statement focuses mainly on the Serb military forces. Can you find it in the text? How could each of these readings affect the understanding of the meaning of this speech?

### II-14. Welcome of the Croatian army after Operation Storm



After negotiations between the Croatian authorities and the authorities of Croatia's rebel Serbs failed, Croatia decided to reclaim the occupied areas with the use of military force. The military operation *Oluja* (Storm) began on 4 August 1995 and, during the course of four days, the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia was restored over the territory of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" (except Eastern Slavonia). During Operation Storm and after it, most of the Serbs who lived in the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" left their homes and Croatia altogether. Operation Storm was also marked by gross violations of human rights, destruction of property belonging to Serbs and the killing of several hundreds of Serb civilians by the Croatian armed forces.





Hrvatski Vojnik Archives.

## II-15. Foreign fighters in the Bosnian war



Participants in the Bosnian war between 1992 and 1995 included foreigners on all sides, who were fighting for religious or political reasons or as mercenaries. Mujahideen, whose motive was fighting for Islam, were on the Muslim (Bosniak) side. Within the Bosniak army a special battalion was formed for them (better control of them was also a reason for this) called the Battalion of Holy Warriors (*Kateebat al-Mujahideen*). The exact number of these fighters is unknown: the highest estimation is up to 6,000 members. The presence of mujahideen was used for propaganda by the Serbian and Croatian sides who claimed that they were defending Christian Europe. For foreigners within the Croatian Defence Army a special brigade was established, in which volunteers from predominantly Catholic European countries participated (Spain, Italy, Ireland, France, Hungary, Austria), and also those from Germany, Sweden and

Albanians from Kosovo. The paramilitary militia (HOS), which also fought in Bosnia, was organised by the Croatian Party of the Right. However, the HOS was not involved in much fighting during the war (only briefly in 1992), as it was controlled and eventually abolished by the Croatian state. Operating on the Serbian side were various Chetnik and paramilitary units which came from Serbia and Montenegro (the so-called weekend warriors). Some volunteers came from Orthodox countries, mainly from Russia but also from Greece, Romania etc. Most of them fought for money and were mostly active in the western part of Bosnia together with the army of *Republika Srpska*. The Greeks had their own volunteer unit (the Greek Volunteer Guard) which had approximately 100 members. The total number of foreign fighters allegedly did not exceed 5% of all armed units on all sides.



### A. Russian fighters



Tafro, 2014, p. 40.

### B. Mudžahedini / Mujahideen



www.glasbrotnja.net, accessed on 21.10.2015.



What were the motives of foreign fighters for taking part in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina? List at least three of them.

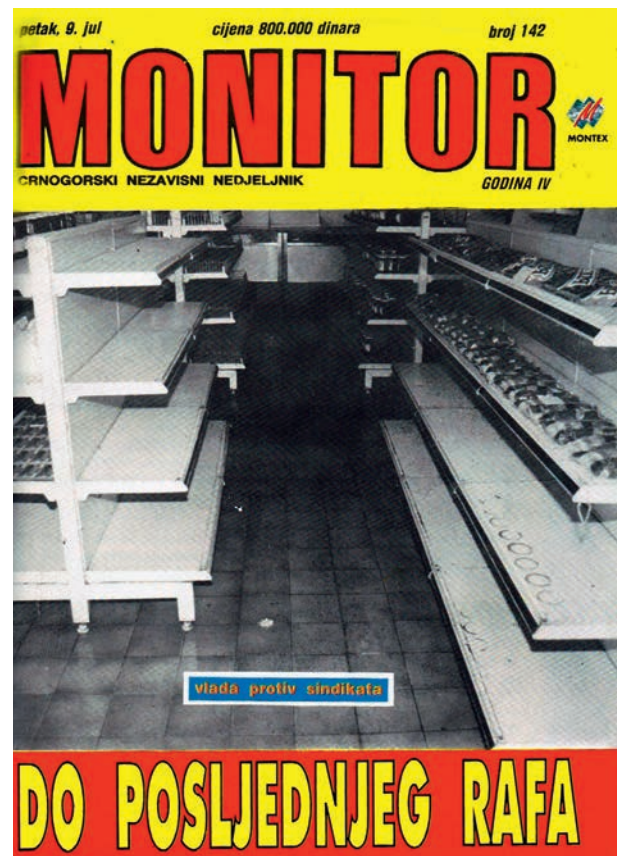
## II-16. International sanctions against the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)



International sanctions against the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) were imposed pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution →

757 of 30 May 1992 because of its involvement in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among other things, the sanctions involved cessation of economic relations and suspension of scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with the FRY, and the FRY was banned from international sports events. Over the years, the sanctions were tightened and loosened, and finally suspended on 22 November 1995, a day after the signing of the Dayton Agreement which ended the war in Bosnia. The sanctions resulted in a devastating economic crisis in the FRY (but also in Croatia and Slovenia). The war was financed by hyperinflation which came to its peak in 1993 and caused deep social and economic problems for citizens: the highest-value banknote was in the amount of 50,000,000,000 (50 billion) dinars. Shops were empty and people had to buy supplies on the black market. Since there was no petrol at petrol stations, it was mainly sold in plastic bottles in the streets by middlemen.

### A. Everyday life under sanctions





The cover of the independent Montenegrin weekly *Monitor* published on Friday, 9 July 1993. The picture depicts empty store shelves and the title is "Government against Trade Union – to the last shelf". The picture testifies to shortages of goods under the sanctions as well as skyrocketing inflation – the price of this issue of *Monitor* is shown on the cover: 800,000 dinars.

## B. Inflation in Serbia. Banknotes from the time of hyperinflation in 1993



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banknotes\\_of\\_the\\_Yugoslav\\_dinar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banknotes_of_the_Yugoslav_dinar),  
accessed on 21.10.2015.

## C. Fight for bread in Serbia



"Fight for bread: An everyday occurrence of late",  
*Borba*, 10-11 July 1993.

## D. Newspaper article: One loaf per person

Belgrade – Although both private and state-owned bakeries claim that it wasn't them but the other side which was responsible for reducing bread deliveries to the market, there was a particularly notable shortage of this foodstuff yesterday. Since a price hike of bread was decided yesterday, it remains to be seen which side told the truth. It must also be said that shopkeepers, sometimes at their own initiative and sometimes on the order of city procurement staff, had to limit sales to two loaves or, as was the case in Niš, "one loaf per person." Because, in order to save money before the price increase, people were buying more loaves than they needed in order to put them in the freezer. [...]

Although production was not reduced, people were queuing outside bakeries as early as 3 a.m., convinced that they will find bread that day only by getting up that early. [...]

However, bread never reached certain parts of Belgrade. [...] Most Belgraders who went from bakery to bakery in vain, say they did not find any bread. "I could not find and buy any bread yesterday and the same will probably happen today, so I'll have to make bread at home. The last time I bought milk was five days ago" – says Ružica Bogosavljević, a clerk. [...]

### No bread in Priština for weeks

Priština — The inhabitants of Priština are used to the bread shortage, it's been going on for a while now. Only early risers, and there are only a few, could queue up and buy the precious loaf. There has been no bread in Priština and elsewhere throughout Kosovo and Metohija for weeks. Very small quantities were sold in the Hotel Grand and three or four other shops. The bread came from Raška, at a price of 200,000 dinars per loaf. It was sold only two loaves per person, or three if they "knew a guy", although they would ask for ten loaves.

### Bread only for early birds

Podgorica. – Only early birds can find bread in Podgorica bakeries, as well as those who are physically stronger, who snatch a loaf or two from the already meagre deliveries. [...]

"Fight for bread: An everyday occurrence of late",  
*Borba*, 10-11 July 1993.



The Yugoslav wars affected most people living on the territory of former Yugoslavia, although in a different manner and to a different degree. Go through the sources in this chapter and make a list of their consequences.



### II.3. THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO



The siege of Sarajevo was one of the longest sieges in the history of modern warfare – the longest after the siege of Stalingrad in WWII. It lasted 44 months, from 5 April 1992 to 29 February 1996, when it was officially announced that the siege had finally ended, that Sarajevo was finally open. During this

time, the city was almost completely cut off from the rest of the country and suffered shortages of food, electricity, gas, water and medicines. Estimates of deaths in Sarajevo during the siege are, according to different sources, around 11,000. The story of the siege of Sarajevo is a story of death and survival.

#### II-17. Sarajevo under siege



From the Exhibition in the Museum Tunnel of Hope Dobrinja-Butmir, Sarajevo. Photo by Vera Katz.

#### II-18. Sarajevo Airport

The situation in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina was very difficult. The Serbian army, aided by the Yugoslav People's Army, had without much effort seized settlements around Sarajevo: Ilidža, Hadžići, Vogošća, Ilijaš and Grbavica. The occupation of Sarajevo Airport meant that the city was cut off from the free territories. Sarajevo was encircled, without water, food, medicines, electricity and gas. The few armed people were located

in the city centre [...] Nevertheless, the United Nations did a good thing in July 1992. By taking over Sarajevo Airport from the Serbs, food for the city's inhabitants could be airlifted in. However, pursuant to an agreement signed between the UN and the Serbian army, which was already under the command of General Ratko Mladić, the Serbs insisted on the airport being used solely for UN purposes. The airport was of strategic



importance to the Bosnian army and the inhabitants of Sarajevo, since it was located between the city and the free territories. UN soldiers respected their agreement with the Serbs and prevented, Bosniaks who tried to cross over to the other side of the airport during the night in order to join their families, or get hold of necessary food and ammunition [...] Serbian snipers

located near the airport also worked on preventing people who were intent on running across to the other side of the landing strip. This proved to be fatal for several hundred. Due to the large number of casualties, a new way out had to be found.

Edis & Bajro Kolar, Tunel, Brošura: Muzej Tunel spasa: Dobrinja-Butmir (izdanje autora), brochure for Tunnel of Hope Museum.

## II-19. The Tunnel of Hope: Dobrinja-Butmir (D-B) under Sarajevo Airport



The Tunnel of Hope or Sarajevo Tunnel was constructed beneath the airport runway in order to link Sarajevo (Dobrinja) to Bosnian free territory on the other side of airport. Construction was completed in July 1993. The tunnel was dug by hand, with pickaxes and shovels. It measured 800 metres in length, one metre in height, and its average width was 1.5 metres. It provided for the transport of military supplies to the defenders of Sarajevo as well as transport of medicine,

food etc. Sometimes it took people travelling in large groups two hours to pass through the tunnel. An average of 4,000 persons used it daily. The German Government donated an electricity cable, which was pulled through the tunnel to the city. When Serbian forces discovered the tunnel's existence, they shelled both ends. Many people think that the tunnel was one of the major factors that enabled Sarajevo to survive the siege.

### A. Graphic aerial view of the tunnel for the Tunnel of Hope Museum



From the ticket for Museum Tunnel of Hope Dobrinja-Butmir.

## B. Internal view of the tunnel



Photo from Museum Tunnel of Hope Dobrinja-Butmir, Sarajevo.

## II-20. Survival under siege

### A. Survival questionnaire

*How did you obtain water, electricity, cigarettes, etc...?*

– We made a sort of oil lamp, we rolled tea leaves in lieu of cigarettes, we got water from cisterns, and our food consisted of beans and stinking fish;

– I lived on the front-line, which was the priority area. I had electricity, water and heat. The B&H Army provided me with cigarettes;

– I went to Pioneer Valley to fetch water: it was dangerous, as a sniper was continuously shooting. I carried water in two-litre canisters. I got food from humanitarian aid and nobody else. [...]

– How did we survive? Well, I think that every person in B&H can write a thick book on survival in the state of war. We found water in wells and pools; we were skilled in finding or borrowing electricity. As for heating, we

burned an old wardrobe and occasionally firewood from Zuc hill. As for cigarettes, we would roll mint-tea leaves in old newspapers;

– [...] I used a couch, some shelves and an armchair to make a fire and kept warm. I don't smoke;

– [...] We burned firewood (we cut down the trees from our garden);

– As I am a smoker, I would frequently exchange cooking oil or some other food for cigarettes;

– I had to go in search of water, like everybody else. Most of the time I had no electricity, but sometimes I would attach a thin wire to a religious building (a mosque) to get electricity. I had no heating. I worked for cigarettes, I exchanged food for them;

– I fetched water from the pump only at night, I stole electricity, I received cigarettes from Army. I had no heating;

– I cannot tell you how I managed, but I survived. [...]

*Survival Questionnaire – The Siege of Sarajevo 1992-1996, 2000, pp. 834-924.*

### B. Market in Sarajevo



From the photo collection of Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### C. "How to get out of this hell". A Serbian source about survival

The city of Sarajevo is like hell. Hunger, thirst and cold, as well as skin and stomach diseases are rampant in the city. The Muslim authorities have seen to it that the Muslim inhabitants do not feel hunger as much, while Serbs and others, if they want to eat, have to pay 30 German Marks for one kilo of potatoes, 25 Marks for one kilo of rice, 50 Marks for coffee, 10 Marks for a leaf of cabbage [...] Nada Radosavljević (52), who got out of Sarajevo about two weeks ago, claims she received less than one litre of oil from international aid and that, had it not been for friends – some of whom were Muslims – who helped her,



she would have starved to death. Milena Pandurović (52), who lived in Sarajevo until recently, is also full of negative impressions. She says that Serbs have used all their furniture and wooden floor coverings to keep warm. The only wooden furniture which has not been used as fuel yet are the wall units. All the trees in Sarajevo's parks have been chopped down because people have no firewood.

Only the big park outside the Police Club in the city centre has not been affected because it is mined. The three corridors which enable civilians to leave the city offer a chance for at least one-third of Sarajevo's present population (which is believed to be between 250,000 and 300,000) to save themselves and leave that hell.

Danilović, 17 December 1992, p. 8.

## II-21. Sarajevo, Cultural Centre of Europe during the war



*Sarajevo Winter* is an international arts festival that is traditionally held in Sarajevo. The festival was first held from 21 December 1984 to 6 April 1985. Together with the International Peace Centre, *Sarajevo Winter* initiated and organised the project *Sarajevo, Cultural Centre of Europe* from

21 December 1993 to 21 March 1994. The idea was supported by Sarajevo City Assembly and by 11,000 famous personalities from around the world and the most important institutions of Europe. During the war, *Sarajevo Winter* organised a large number of different events.



*Sarajevo Winter Festival Posters, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995 (The Historical Museum of B&H).*



Urbicide is a term which literally translates (Latin: *urbs*: city + Latin: *caedere*, to cut, to kill) as "violence against the city". Especially after the

events in Sarajevo, cases of violence specially directed towards the destruction of an urban area have begun to be recognised.





1. Analyse the messages of these posters by investigating their symbols, colours, and texts. Why does the first poster compare Berlin and Sarajevo? Investigate the story of the Pink Floyd album *The Wall* and the movie it inspired, and find out what the reasons might be for using its imagery for the first poster.
2. Use visuals, documents, maps and the accompanying

texts in this chapter, as well as your knowledge of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and write your own story about the Tunnel of Hope. Combine information from different sources. You need to take into consideration the following elements: the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia, the causes and course of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, warring parties, the siege of Sarajevo, how to survive the war.

## ► II.4. CAMPS

### II-22. Camps for prisoners in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1992-1995

According to information from detainee associations, there were around 1,360 camps and other detention facilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, as follows: 656 were for Bosniak prisoners, 173 for Croats and 532 for Serbs. The names and circumstances under which around 1,000 detainees were killed have been established at trials of individuals for, among other

things, violations of international regulations on the treatment of civilians and prisoners of war which have been held before the International Tribunal in The Hague and courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to independent sources, around 200,000 inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, mainly civilians, were at one time or another in camps and other detention facilities.

#### A. The Camp in Omarska



Civilian life in Prijedor (Bosanska Krajina) changed in many ways after the town had been taken over by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). The new authorities increased the military presence and launched a propaganda war against non-Serbs. Based on decisions by the "Crisis Staff", armed attacks were carried out against non-Serbs throughout the municipality. The creation of an atmosphere of fear in Prijedor culminated in the Crisis Staff decision to establish prison camps in Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje.



[www.radiosarajevo.ba](http://www.radiosarajevo.ba), accessed on 21.10.2015.

#### B. Camps for Bosniaks and Croats

[...] 13) The Trial Chamber established that killings were frequent in the camps. There is no reasonable doubt of the fact that a number of massacres took place, among others, the one in cell no. 3 of Keraterm camp on or around 24 July 1992. In late July, over 100 persons were killed in Omarska camp, and on 5 August around 120 persons were taken from Omarska camp by buses and killed. On 21 August, members of the Prijedor Intervention Platoon, which was escorting a convoy of persons who were being deported, killed around 200 of those persons at Mt. Vlašić. [...] The Trial Chamber established that more than 1,500 persons lost their lives, and the identity of 486 of the victims was established.

14) Rapes and other crimes of sexual violence were committed in the camps, and thousands of people were subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment which included routine beatings and torture. The detainees lived in unhygienic conditions and the food they received was just enough for bare subsistence.

15) Bosnian Muslims who had lived in Prijedor municipality all their lives were expelled from their homes and deported in large numbers, often in convoys which were organised and supervised by the

Serbian authorities of Prijedor. [...] The exodus of mainly non-Serb inhabitants of Prijedor began in 1991, but increased in proportion just before power was seized, and peaked during the first few months after that. Over 20,000 persons were victims of this persecution, Most of them left on convoys of buses and trucks which departed from the area on a daily basis.

16) The houses of non-Serbs were marked for destruction and in many cases were really demolished, as well as mosques and Catholic churches.

*Sažetak presude Pretresnog vijeća II u predmetu Tužilac protiv dr. Milomira Stakić (Summary judgment of Trial Chamber II in the case of the Prosecutor against dr. Milomir Stakić), [http://www.icty.org/x/cases/stakic/tjug/bcs/030731\\_summary\\_bcs.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/stakic/tjug/bcs/030731_summary_bcs.pdf), accessed on 8.07.2016.*

### C. “Čelebići” camp for Serbs in Konjic



The “Čelebići” camp in Konjic was a prison for civilians of Serbian nationality in the period between May and December 1992.

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the armed conflict between the BiH Army and the Army of the Serbian Republic of BiH, Serb civilians detained in the Čelebići camp in Konjic municipality between May and December 1992 were kept in inhuman conditions, subjected to killings and intentional infliction of great physical and mental pain and suffering, and as a member of the BiH Army, he [Eso Macić] acted in contravention of the provisions of international humanitarian law and violated the provisions of Article 3, paragraph 1, items a) and c) of the Geneva Conventions on the Protection of Civilian Persons of 12 August 1949, in that he:

2) In the first half of June 1992, on the occasion of the Bairam religious holiday, killed Milorad Kuljanin (born 1966) in the Čelebići camp, in the following manner: after one of the guards said they needed a sacrifice for the Bairam, [...] and then, from a distance of about one metre from the injured party, he fired a shot in the chest and the head of the injured party, Milorad Kuljanin, killing him on the spot.

3) On an unspecified date in the first half of June 1992, together with a number of guards of the Čelebići camp, in front of the facility marked with number 22, he took part in the inhuman treatment and intentional infliction of great physical and mental pain and suffering against the injured parties, by kicking and punching the injured parties Momir Mrkajić and Velibor Mrkajić, after which

they were ordered to go down a sewage manhole, the size of 2 x 2 metres, where they had to stay for over nine hours, together with numerous other inmates, one of them being Velimir Kuljanin, and as a result, suffered further physical and mental anguish.

Predmet tužilaštva BiH protiv Ese Macića (The case of the prosecution in the Court of B&H against Eso Macić), [www.sudbih.gov.ba/](http://www.sudbih.gov.ba/), accessed on 21.10.2015.

### D. The Croatian Camp for Serbs in Dretelj (1992-1993)



Dretelj '92 was the camp for Serbs in Mostar and the surrounding area, which was held by the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS). Dretelj '93 was the camp for Bosniaks from the wider Herzegovina, which was held by the Croatian Defence Council (HVO – Army of Bosnian Croats) from April 1993. In early October 1993, when the camp was closed, the prisoners were transferred to camps in Gabela and Heliodrom.

#### Dretelj '92



[www.bhrt.ba](http://www.bhrt.ba), accessed on 21.10.2015.

#### DRETELJ '92 AND DRETELJ '93

Dretelj '92: In May 1992, the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) formed a camp in Dretelj for Serb civilians from Mostar and surrounding settlements. From early May until 18 August 1992, at least 224 Serbs were detained in the camp. [...] At least five detainees were killed or died as a result of injuries inflicted during beatings. The Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Norway on 13 April 2011 sentenced Mirsad Repak, a former member of the HOS, to eight years imprisonment.

Dretelj '93: A former JNA warehouse was re-activated as a camp in April 1993. The Croatian Defence Council (HVO) started arresting and detaining Bosniaks from the general Herzegovina area. In mid-July 1993, 2,270

Bosniaks were detained in the Dretelj camp, some of whom were minors while many were over the age of 50. At least six detainees were killed or died as a result of injuries inflicted during beatings. [...] On 29 May 2013, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), pronounced a judgment against six former leaders of the Croatian Community, which later became the Republic of Herceg-Bosna, for crimes committed against Muslims and other non-Croats between 1991 and 1994. The judges were unanimous in their decision and sentenced the former Prime Minister of Herceg-Bosna Jadranko Prlić to 25 years imprisonment, the Minister of Defence Bruno Stojić and commanders of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) Slobodan Praljak i Milivoj Petković to 20 years imprisonment each, Military Police Commander Valentin Ćorić to 16 years, and the Head of the Office for the Exchange of Prisoners, Berislav Pušić, to 10 years imprisonment.

Centre for Democracy and Transitional Justice, <http://cdtp.org>, accessed on 21.10.2015.



1. Study the sources in II-22 on concentration camps. Then recall the function of concentration camps in contemporary European history (20th c.). Look at the time period and note the main purpose of the persecutors. Why do you think the dehumanisation of "the other" is so important in time of war? Discuss.
2. Why was the value of human life in wartime Bosnia and Herzegovina so degraded? To answer this question, combine information from sources in this chapter and previous chapters.
3. Total war is usually defined as a kind of warfare that includes civilians as legitimate military targets, and involves the use of weapons and tactics that result in significant civilian casualties. Would you define the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a total war? Support your answer with evidence from the sources in this chapter.

## ► II.5. THE WARS OF 1998-2001

### II-23. Rugova's peaceful struggle for independence



Ibrahim Rugova (1944-2006) was the first President of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo from 1992 to 2000 and again from 2002 to 2006. As the "Gandhi of the Balkans", he advocated a peaceful struggle for independence. In his younger years he had been a journalist and writer and had participated in the 1968 student protests in Kosovo. He was also a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party. When, in 1989, Serbian President Slobodan Milošević abolished Kosovo's autonomy by restoring the province to its pre-1974 status, Rugova (who counted as the informal leader of Kosovo Albanians) was one of the 215 signatories of the "Appeal of Kosovo Intellectuals" against Milošević's decision. In the same year, Kosovo Albanians boycotted Yugoslav and Serbian elections and then, in the following year, members of Kosovo's former provincial assembly within Yugoslavia declared – illegally – a new but unrecognised state, the Republic of Kosovo (see ch. I, doc. I-14). Rugova became the leader of a newly formed political party, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), which was joined by 700,000 people – practically the entire adult population of Kosovo Albanians – and which won secret elections in May 1992. An underground Kosovo Assembly was

formed and also a government which organised a social and school system parallel to the official one. Rugova went on to win the first presidential election in the unrecognised Republic of Kosovo. As president (and in 1998 he secured a second term) he continued his non-violent political struggle which was aimed at full independence.

Although Rugova's strategy of passive resistance initially had almost unanimous support, in 1997 he faced opposition from proponents of armed resistance, who had formed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). He soon lost his support while that for the political chief of the KLA, Hashim Thaçi, increased. It was Thaçi and not Rugova who was nominated by the underground Kosovo Assembly to lead the Kosovo Albanian delegation in the (unsuccessful) negotiations in Rambouillet in 1999.

During the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, Rugova spent a few weeks in Priština under house arrest, together with his family. At the start of April 1999 he was taken under duress to Belgrade and shown on Serbian television having a meeting with Milošević, calling for an end to the war. In May 1999, he was allowed to leave Kosovo for temporary exile in Italy. He returned in July when Kosovo





had come under the United Nations administration. He managed to win elections held in October 2000 (with 58% of the vote) against Hashim Thaçi and the KLA (27%), because although the KLA had been welcomed as liberators by Kosovo Albanians, they were also accused of being involved in organised crime, extortion and violence against political opponents and ethnic minority groups. Until his death, Rugova continued to encounter violent opposition. On 15 March 2005, he escaped an assassination attempt when a bomb exploded in a waste container as his car was passing. He died from lung cancer in January 2006.



*Mladina Journal, Slovenia, author Denis Sarkič, 2003.*

## II-24. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA/ UÇK)



The Kosovo Liberation Army (*Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës* – UÇK) was created in November 1997. However, armed actions against the Serbian authorities, especially police stations, started in February 1996. The KLA initially carried out actions in the area of Drenica and Prizren and then gradually expanded them to other areas of Kosovo. They obtained their arms illegally, primarily from Albania. The number of KLA members supposedly rose from 6,000 to about 25,000. The Serbian authorities

proclaimed it a terrorist organization. KLA attacks and the increasing armed conflicts resulted in mass emigration of the Serbian population. The Serbian authorities responded by deploying reinforced police and military units, and Serbian paramilitary units also began to operate in Kosovo. Consequently, the Albanian population fled or were deported en masse. From 24 March to 10 June 1999 NATO intervened with airstrikes against Serbia (the UN Security Council, however, did not support the NATO intervention). The war finally ended with an agreement in June 1999 signed in Kumanovo between the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the International Security Force – KFOR. The Yugoslav forces withdrew and control over Kosovo was taken by the UN (UNMIK).

### A. KLA Declaration no. 8, 16 September 1998

The Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) has long stood, with determination and consciousness, for the road to freedom and independence and many times already has invited political, intellectual and professional forces to join the UÇK, to realize the general will. The UÇK has not only stood for freedom and union, but is already fighting fiercely in this direction to find a solution for the seemingly unsolvable Albanian cause. To the UÇK and its General Headquarters, any temporary solution that leaves Kosovo under the rule of Serbia or with Serbia is unacceptable. We consider and declare any agreement signed under these terms to be high treason.

[...] We are all supporters and advocates of freedom and independence for Kosovo and its people, the major issue for our nation. Those who do not fight for freedom and independent institutions in Kosovo, on behalf of humanism, support anti-national and anti-democratic forces which want and seek to continue the agony of Albania and of the Albanian cause in general.

[...] Only a stable, strong, free and democratic Albania will guarantee the lives and the individual and collective properties of all Albanians around the world. We ask from the international community to sincerely help Albania; to stop and fight with justice and determination the ominous developments against Albania and the Albanian people in general. To support with determination and concretely the issue of Kosova, to help save Albanians from the danger of Serbian barbarism.

Agjencioni Shteteror I Arkivave te Kosoves; Fondi Koha Ditore.

## B. KLA press release, 23 September 1998

THE LIBERATION ARMY OF KOSOVO

The Directorate of Information

Press release no. 55

[...] The war of our people is entering the stage of final confrontation with the centuries-old enemy. This is why we call on all the vital forces of our nation to join us and engage in the just cause of our war which can be long, difficult and full of sacrifices but in which victory has never been so close and possible. Our role in this is self-sacrificing and, if we all engage, negative consequences will diminish and this helps all of us. Only together, without excluding anyone, can we reach victory. [...] To family members of fallen martyrs we express our sincere condolences and assure them of the continuation of our just war.

Honour to the Martyrs!

Victory!

Agjencioni Shteteror I Arkivave te Kosoves; Fondi Koha Ditore.



According to these sources, what were the main goals of the Kosovo Liberation Army?

## C. KLA attacks against Serbian police. An article from a Serbian newspaper

Armed operations of the so-called KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) have intensified since March, after the Serbian police attempt to "clean" Drenica. Terrorists barge into houses and control the roads while the Yugoslav Army fights against arms smugglers on the Yugoslav-Albanian border. At present, the most sophisticated infantry weaponry is being used. By mid-January, there had been 70 terrorist operations and in March the number exceeded 130 attacks. Eight citizens were killed in 46 attacks by "Albanian terrorists" and 45 criminal reports were brought against NN (unidentified) perpetrators. Albanian sources say that more than 100 Albanians were killed in the police operation in Drenica. Serbs from the Dečani area, terrified by attacks by masked "KLA" members, are seeking refuge in the monastery buildings. The Yugoslav Army is building up its forces on the border with Albania. [...] The first appearance of the "Kosovo Liberation Army" (KLA) on 22 April 1996 and the attack on Dečani, Peć, Štimlje and Kosovska Mitrovica in which five Serbs were killed and five were injured, was an indication that unless a peaceful solution was found

soon, body counts would be a frequent occurrence. [...] Apart from terrorist attacks, there were also 13 incidents involving armed and masked individuals stopping vehicles, asking passengers for identification papers and searching passengers, and there were two cases when armed and masked individuals broke into police stations and other facilities to seize weapons...

*Naša Borba*, 16 May 1998, [http://www.yuorpe.com/nasa-borba/arhiva/Maj98/1605/1605\\_14.HTM](http://www.yuorpe.com/nasa-borba/arhiva/Maj98/1605/1605_14.HTM), accessed on 13.11.2015.



Compare the different sources – both the Albanian ones and the Serbian opposition newspaper. Analyse the language and find words and phrases that show how the other side in the conflict is presented.

Serbs in Albanian sources	Albanians in Serbian sources

## II-25. Thousands of ethnic Albanians gathered in Skopje to support their co-ethnics in Kosovo demanding international intervention

In Skopje and the day before in the Western Macedonian town of Tetovo, an Albanian political stronghold, several thousand people gathered, as previously agreed, to protest against the violence of the Yugoslav police and army in Kosovo and the "inadequate" reaction of the international community. Both rallies started with the national anthem but only state flags of the Republic of Albania, which incidentally are legalised here as national flags of the Albanian minority, flew above the heads of the crowd.

Report by journalist Budo Vukobrat: "THE SHQIPTARS ARE TAKING IT TOO FAR", AIM (Alternative Information Network) Skopje, 11 March 1998: <http://www.aimpress.ch/dyn/trae/archive/data/199803/80316-019-trae-sko.htm>, accessed on 8.07.2016.

## II-26. The Yugoslav-Albanian border at the time of the Kosovo crisis, Spring 1999



During the NATO bombing hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians were expelled from Kosovo

following police and army actions which caused an enormous humanitarian crisis.



<http://www.nato.int/pictures/review/9902/b9902-13.jpg>, accessed on 8.07.2016.

## II-27. The Račak case in Kosovo



Serbian police and the KLA clashed in the Kosovo village of Račak on 15 January 1999. To this day, opinions about the incident are completely contrary. According to Human Rights Watch, the CSCE and ICTY, what happened in Račak was a massacre of Albanian civilians by Serbian security forces. The FRY authorities claimed that everyone killed had been a member of the KLA and that they had been engaged in an armed clash with the security forces. The three forensic reports compiled also caused controversy. The UN Security Council condemned the massacre of

Kosovo Albanians in Račak, and the case is viewed as an important trigger for the NATO bombardment of the FRY. Due to insufficient evidence, the Račak case was left out of the indictment which the ICTY brought against a number of high-ranking Yugoslav officials. On June 2001, the Priština Court sentenced Zoran Stojanović to 15 years' imprisonment for murder and attempted murder in Račak, but he was pardoned in 2007 because of insufficient evidence and released from custody. Up to 2015, no one had been convicted for their involvement in the massacre.



**A. Report of the EU forensic expert team on the Račak incident: statement of Dr. Helena Ranta, 17 March 1999**

[...] It should be noted that the EU experts now have completed only a part of the overall investigations concerning the events in Račak – namely the medico-legal investigation of the victims. For a more complete picture of what took place in Račak a full criminal investigation into the events would be required, combining scene investigations, interrogation of witnesses and analysis of the evidence with the autopsy findings of the EU experts.

[...] The clothing [of victims] bore no identifying badges or insignia of any military unit. No indication of removal of badges or insignia was evident. Based on autopsy findings and photographs of the scenes, it is highly unlikely that clothes could have been changed or removed. [...] There were no indications of the people being other than unarmed civilians.

The Račak events have been described as a "massacre". However, such a conclusion does not fall within the competence of the EU Forensic Team or any other person having participated solely in the investigation of the bodies. The term "massacre" cannot be based on medico-legal facts only but is a legal description of the circumstances surrounding the death of persons as judged from a comprehensive analysis of all available information. Thus, the use of this term is better suited to be used by organs conducting criminal investigations for the purpose of initiating legal proceedings. Moreover, medico-legal investigations cannot give a conclusive answer to the question whether there was a battle or whether the victims died under some other circumstances. A full criminal investigation combined with the interrogation of witnesses by appropriate investigative entities could shed more light on the circumstances prior to and at the time of death.

Source: United States Information Agency.

**B. Text on the Račak case from the Serbian opposition magazine *Vreme***

The Yugoslav authorities maintain that all 40 Albanians who died were armed, engaged in combat and most of them were in uniform, and that they were changed into civilian clothes during the night. The Albanian side still maintains that they were unarmed civilians which

the Serbian police, with the help of Serbian volunteers, simply killed out of revenge. [...]

William Walker, head of the Kosovo Verification Mission, after a short visit to the scene of the tragedy on Saturday said that he "has no hesitation in calling the incident a massacre, a crime against humanity." "I do not hesitate to pin the crime on government forces," Walker said. This statement, made before an investigation had even been launched, provoked an avalanche of accusations, threats and pressure against the Yugoslav authorities, which still continues. [...]

Whatever is established by the investigation, which will obviously be conducted under international supervision, this cannot eliminate the effects of the political upheaval caused by an interpretation of the events in Račak which Ambassador William Walker presented to the media.

Zoran B. Nikolić, "Tragedy in Račak, Verified heating-up [of the situation]", *Vreme*, No 431, 23 January 1999.



[http://www.vreme.com/arhiva\\_html/431/index.html](http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/431/index.html), accessed on 7. 04. 2015.

### C. Text on Račak from the Kosovo newspaper *Koha Ditore*, 17.1.1999

REČAK, 16 JANUARY – 23 massacred bodies of Albanian civilians were lying on Saturday morning on a hummock above Rečak, a village on the outskirts of Shtime.

With the help of the “Yugoslav” Army and the excuse of searching for a “terrorist gang”, Serbian forces started an attack on this village in the early hours of yesterday.

Today the victims, aged 12 to 80, passed through the village to their last resting places on the hillsides nearby. On Saturday in every quarter, in every house, the villagers of Rečak counted the corpses of their relatives. Four of them are from Haxhaj family; these are two brothers; these others are father and son; these others belong to one house; thus said a villager who had escaped yesterday's execution by the Serbian police, while identifying the pile of bodies of villagers massacred in a ditch in the Babush Hill (Kodra e Babushit).

[...]

The Serbian attack and execution of dozens of Albanian civilians was carried out after the release of “YA” soldiers who had been captured by KLA forces, and despite hopes that the situation was calming down. Now on the verge of chaos, the situation again threatens to escalate into a general war. Serbian government members whose presence in Priština has visibly made the situation more tense, were gathered yesterday in the building of the so-called Priština District. The new massacre occurred again during a weekend, when foreign embassies are not working, and took place behind the smokescreen of the false calm following the release of “YA” soldiers.

[...]

Members of the OSCE Verification Mission in Kosovo tried in vain yesterday to enter the conflict zone, as they were prohibited by the Serbian police. The failure of the verification mission to achieve a ceasefire, which is already non-existent, further impairs diplomatic efforts to find any political solution. In this situation, the presence of unarmed verifiers makes even any eventual NATO intervention impossible, as this can only occur after the verifiers have withdrawn. Meanwhile, Serbian forces, which have proved that they can prevent the free movement of international verifiers, have a free hand in carrying out “actions searching for terrorist gangs” and “investigations” into the murder of Serbian policemen.



1. There is a controversy regarding the events in Račak – whether it was a massacre of Albanian civilians by Serbian forces, or whether everyone who was killed had been a member of the KLA. Are there any conflicting data in the sources from the time of the event (i.e. the Serbian magazine *Vreme* and Kosovo newspaper *Koha Ditore*)? Why couldn't the report of the EU expert forensic team resolve the controversy? Why was the term 'massacre' controversial? List reasons why the EU team was reluctant to use that term in their report (third paragraph of the report).
2. Discuss the role of international institutions in local conflicts using the example of former Yugoslavia. Use sources also from chapter III.

## II-28. The NATO bombing of FRY



The NATO bombardment (Operation Allied Force) of the FRY started on 24 March 1999 and lasted until 10 June. The intervention was launched because Serbian security forces were allegedly carrying out ethnic cleansing of Kosovo Albanians, and reasons for the bombardment also included the events in Račak. The actual trigger for the intervention was Milošević's rejection of the proposed Rambouillet Agreement. The UN Security Council had not approved the intervention. Residential and industrial facilities, the infrastructure, refineries, schools, medical institutions, media centres and cultural monuments were severely damaged in the bombardment. A total of 2,300 airstrikes were carried out. According to a Serbian Government estimate, at least 2,500 persons were killed in the bombardment, 89 of whom were children. According to estimates of human rights organisations, there were 500 civilian casualties. The Serbian Ministry of Defence stated that 1,008 soldiers and policemen were killed. The attacks were suspended after the signing of a military and technical agreement in Kumanovo on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army and police from Kosovo. More than 200,000 Serbs and other non-Albanians fled to Serbia after the army and police had pulled out.

### A. NATO operation in Montenegro

#### SIX TARGETS HAVE BEEN HIT

Podgorica, 24 March – In the NATO airstrike which began at around 20:00 hours this evening, six targets in Montenegro have been hit according to the initial unconfirmed reports. According to *Pobjeda's* sources, the targets are as follows: Šipčani, in the vicinity of Podgorica, was hit with seven or eight projectiles around 20:00 hours, and immediately after that four shells fell on the military airport in Golubovci. Ten minutes later, NATO aircraft also hit the army barracks in Danilovgrad. We also learned that targets in Bar municipality have also been shelled. According to initial reports, NATO airstrikes have caused casualties. According to unofficial information, soldier Saša Stojić from Belgrade was killed in Danilovgrad... Extensive material damage has also been caused, mainly to military facilities, while damage to civilian facilities is still being assessed. The Danilovgrad army barracks is in flames, and a fire is raging on the landing strip and

surrounding buildings at Golubovci airport. Šipčani is also on fire, and similar reports are coming from other locations which were targets of NATO aircraft.

#### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ TO THE CITIZENS OF MONTENEGRO

Podgorica, 24 March – What we have been warning against for months has, unfortunately, happened this evening – NATO carried out airstrikes against military targets in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. NATO bombs this evening also fell on the territory of Montenegro. Military facilities were targets of these attacks, but people also perished. Those are the tragic consequences of an insane policy of confrontation with the whole world. This policy has dragged our country into a dangerous adventure, putting at stake peace and human lives [...] Montenegro has done everything to prevent this suicidal adventure which will have far-reaching and unforeseeably damaging consequences. However, it came to be without any fault of Montenegro. We have emphatically pointed out to all the key factors in the country and the international community that the Kosovo problem could not be resolved with the use of force by either side, including international military force because the use of force will not bring peace to Kosovo, or Serbia or Yugoslavia [...] Our future is not to be in conflict with the whole world, and that is why we ask the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to discontinue the policy which leads to collective suffering of innocent people [...] At the same time, we ask the international community to refrain from carrying out any strikes against targets in Montenegro and Yugoslavia... I address you as the President of all citizens at these difficult and challenging times for Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and urge calmness and restraint, peace and harmony, for overcoming all the disputes and divisions which Montenegro has paid for dearly in the past. In the interest of the most sacred goal of all – the preservation of Montenegro [...] I call on the citizens of Montenegro, all parties and political subjects, to do their utmost for the realisation of this most important and most precious goal.

*Pobjeda*, 25 March 1999, pp. 2-3.

### B. Bombing a passenger train



The attack in Grdelica gorge, when a NATO aircraft fired two missiles and hit a passenger train while it was crossing a railway bridge across the Južna Morava River, was carried out on 12





April 1999. As a result of the explosion and fire caused by the projectiles, many passengers were killed and injured. To this day, the exact number of casualties has not been established with certainty. Investigating

Judge of the Leskovac Municipal Court Nebojša Stojčić said after the attack that there were between 30 and 50 casualties on the Belgrade-Thessaloniki train. Many people are still listed as missing.

General Clark: [...] We have worked very hard in this campaign. It is not a campaign against the Serb people, as we have said from the outset, it is directed specifically to cause President Milošević to change his mind, to change his pattern of behaviour, to achieve some well-articulated political aims and we don't want to hurt innocent people, innocent civilians in this campaign, so we are working very, very hard to prevent collateral damage. One of the things we are doing is we are using precision weaponry. This campaign has the highest proportion of precision weaponry that has ever been used in any air operation anywhere. We are going after militarily significant targets and we are avoiding, taking all possible measures to avoid civilian damage. I wanted to show you the tape of the cockpit view of the missile that hit the railroad bridge and the train yesterday... But I want to describe it because this was a case where a pilot was assigned to strike a railroad bridge that is part of the integrated communications supply network in Serbia. He launched his missile from

his aircraft that was many miles away, he was not able to put his eyes on the bridge, it was a remotely directed attack. And as he stared intently at the desired target point on the bridge, and I talked to the team at Aviano who was directly engaged in this operation, as the pilot stared intently at the desired aim point on the bridge and worked it, and worked it, and worked it, and all of a sudden at the very last instant with less than a second to go he caught a flash of movement that came into the screen and it was the train coming in. Unfortunately, he couldn't dump the bomb at that point, it was locked, it was going into the target and it was an unfortunate incident which he, and the crew, and all of us very much regret. We certainly don't want to do collateral damage. The mission was to take out the bridge. He realised when it had happened that he had not hit the bridge, but what he had hit was the train...

Press Conference by Jamie Shea and General Wesley Clark, NATO HQ Brussels, 13 April 1999, <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/press/p990413a.htm>, accessed on 7.11.2015.

### C. Destroyed bridge across the Danube in Novi Sad



Photo by Darko Dozet, 3 April 1999.

**D. The Serbian government building in Belgrade destroyed by a NATO bomb on 8 May 1999**



Devetnaest na jednoga, *Politika*, Photo: D. Jevremović,  
<http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/252679/Devetnaest-na-jednoga>, accessed on 21.10.2015.



**1.** Study sources in this chapter and previous chapters and make a list of possible long-term and short-term causes for NATO's decision to launch air strikes against Serbia. What made this decision controversial?

**2.** What did Montenegrin president Milo Đukanović mean when he said that the NATO air strikes are "the tragic consequences of an insane policy of confrontation with the whole world"?

**3.** What might be the reason for such different estimates of casualties during the NATO air strikes in Serbia? Do sources used in this chapter support or contradict the claim of General Clark that NATO was going after militarily significant targets? According to General Clark, NATO was working hard during the campaign to prevent collateral damage and avoid hurting innocent civilians. Why were still there so many civilian casualties?



## II-29. The armed conflict in FYR Macedonia in 2001



Coalition governments formed after the independence of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which was achieved peacefully, included ethnic Albanian parties. Nevertheless, all major levers of power were controlled by ethnic Macedonian parties. During the 1990s there were clashes between Albanians and the state resulting in the arrest of the (Albanian) mayors of Gostivar and Tetovo. Following the bombing of Serbia and withdrawal of Serb forces from Kosovo, armed clashes erupted in the spring of 2001 between state security forces and a formerly unknown group, the National Liberation Army (NLA – in Albanian, the group's acronym is identical to that used by the guerrilla group that had fought Serbian forces in Kosovo two years earlier). The international community pressed for a swift end to the fighting, and in May 2001 a government of national unity was formed. The armed conflict came to a close with the signing in August of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which had the full support of the United States, European Union and OSCE. NATO forces oversaw a handover of weapons by the NLA. In September, the Parliament approved amendments to the constitution, which were intended to address the main concerns of the ethnic Albanian parties. For instance, the constitutional (and legal) changes strengthened the multi-ethnic character of the country, gave greater recognition to the Albanian language, provided equitable representation of ethnic Albanians as well as of other, smaller, ethnic communities in the public administration and other state institutions; ensured the decentralisation of competencies from central government to local government units, etc.

### A. An unfinished war: From relaxed relations to armed conflict



Professor Ljubomir Frčkoski was a member of the government of FYR of Macedonia from 1990 until 1997: Minister without Portfolio until 1992, Minister of the Interior from 1992 until 1996, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1996 until 1997. From 2000, Professor Frčkoski has been working as an adviser to the President of the FYR of Macedonia on constitutional issues and human rights affairs. He was one of the key figures during the negotiations related to the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Prof. Ljubomir Frčkoski on the 2001 armed conflict: "It was more or less clear that we would not have had a war if we had not had Kosovo for a neighbour. It is harsh to say this, but that is the truth. The war had nothing to do with Albanians' rights as set out in the 1991 Constitution. We had been complimented for the Constitution's treatment of the rights of minorities. It had been assessed, in this respect, as the best in the entire region. Based on this logic, a conflict in Macedonia arising from a repression of any minority rights would have been highly unlikely. Any view to the contrary is incorrect and wrong. Some liberals subscribe to the thesis that we would have avoided the war if we had given them more rights in the Constitution. My view is a categorical "NO". Following the Kosovo operations and the unleashing of the KLA, the conflict was virtually unavoidable: had we been more capable, perhaps it could have been handled differently, mitigated, reduced to frontier skirmishes. But it could not have been avoided," Frčkoski says.

*Globus Magazine*, No. 414,

<http://www.globusmagazin.com.mk/?ItemID=D72ED9AE7AC05748872862B8D78DA0EC>, accessed on 7.04. 2015.

### B. Humanitarian catastrophe averted in Kumanovo and Lipkovo

Skopje, 18 June 2001

[...] The valves of Glaznja Lake were opened on Saturday around 8:00 p.m., after the flow from the city water supply network had been cut off 12 days ago. Over 100,000 citizens of Kumanovo and its outskirts are supplied with water from the Lipkovo Lake, which started filling with water. After five days of disagreements and setting conditions, the terrorists allowed the convoy, led by OSCE representatives and including expert Water Supply Company teams to enter the village. The catastrophe threatening the residents of Lipkovo, who have been held hostages by Albanian terrorists for 45 days, and the over 100,000 Kumanovo citizens left without water for 12 days, was practically averted. A few more days will pass before water from the Likovo Lake reaches the water treatment station for chemical and bacteriological analysis. Until the water supply normalises, Kumanovo citizens will be supplied with drinking water by water tankers and, for non-potable needs they can use water supplied after the intervention on the Lipkovo River. Due to the high percentage of chlorine, citizens may only use this non-potable water for sanitary needs.

<http://reliefweb.int/report/former-yugoslav-republic-macedonia/macedonia-security-humanitarian-catastrophe-averted>, accessed on 8.07.2016.



### C. Testimonies of ethnic Macedonian villagers saved by the International Red Cross in the daily *Utrinski Vesnik*, July 2001

A 77-year-old Macedonian from the village of Neprošteno, who could barely move his lips and found it even harder to speak, as the tears in his eyes and the quiver of his lower jaw would not permit it, said that he had managed to escape the worst by hiding in the chimney of his summer kitchen [i.e. the kitchen outside in his backyard]. We barely managed to calm him down a bit so that we could understand at least something of what he was saying. Almost unintelligibly he said through his teeth that when a few heavily armed men in uniforms and balaclavas appeared in his backyard, he could think of nothing else but going into the chimney, head first, and then pulling himself up with the chain inside, just enough to hide his legs and feet. When they entered the small kitchen, the intruders could not find anyone there. They only slammed some of the kitchen cabinets with their rifle butts, mumbled something in Albanian and went to the house across the yard. They first knocked the door open and then, having turned the house upside down, fled. [...]

Утрински ВЕСНИК, 30.07.2001, no. 633.

### D. A report on the social and education background to the conflict

[...] Roughly speaking, ethnic Macedonians constitute two-thirds of the population of the country, ethnic Albanians account for one-quarter, and a mix of ethnic Turks, Roma, Serbs and others make up the rest. The Macedonian and Albanian communities had led peaceful but increasingly separate lives under Yugoslav rule, with ethnic Macedonians becoming increasingly urbanised and dominating the public-sector workforce, while ethnic Albanians suffered from low levels of education and employment and tended to remain in the impoverished countryside. The new republic's constitution promised Albanians and other nationalities "full equality as citizens and permanent co-existence with the Macedonian people," but the structural inequalities between the ethnic groups persisted, fuelling Albanian resentment. On the Macedonian side, many people suspected the Albanian community of rampant criminality and of disloyalty to the new state – disloyalty that ranged from tax evasion to secessionist and irredentist plots. The three coalition governments formed in the 1990s included Albanian parties but were dominated by Macedonian parties [...]

### Education and Ethnic Division

Macedonia's educational system has long been one of the major contributors to the de facto segregation between the ethnic Albanian and ethnic Macedonian communities. Using opportunities offered by this system, ethnic Albanians attend separate classes at preschool, primary, secondary, and high school levels, where they are taught solely in their native tongue (the Macedonian language is taught as a separate subject from the third grade on). Even in ethnically-mixed schools, where Albanian students study under the same roof with ethnic Macedonians, separation and lack of communication between the two groups is obvious during breaks and extracurricular activities [...]

Petroska-Beska et al, Special Report, Macedonia. Understanding History, Preventing Future Conflict, USIP, February 2004, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr115.pdf>, accessed on 8.07.2016.



How is this source describing the causes of the conflict between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians in FYR Macedonia? Why do the authors see separate education as one of the major problems?

### E. Rufi Osmani explains the armed uprising of the Albanians

The very act of the armed uprising of the Albanians in Macedonia explicitly testifies to the massive failure of Albanian politics in Macedonia, owing to the fact that the institutional offer to meet the democratic demands of the Albanians in Macedonia, which have been becoming increasingly greater, is lagging. The reasons for the uprising are political and they should be overcome by political means and by a political offer, because only in this way will the solution be sustainable and long-lasting. [...] The respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Macedonia by the Albanian rebels, which is the key demand of both the Macedonians and the international factor, is the key issue that implies a dialogue about the matters of dispute. The fact that the international factors have denounced military acts as a means for achieving political goals, but at the same time support the Albanians' demands and encourage democratic solutions to the problems, is a very positive development towards a start of a dialogue and a resolution of the dispute. International mediation is the first step towards opening a democratic dialogue.

Ilsen et al, p. 85, <http://soros.org.mk/dokumenti/FIOM-Zbornik-05.pdf>, accessed on 8.07.2016.

### F. Funeral in Tetovo of two ethnic Albanian civilians shot by state security forces, March 2001



<http://www.magnumphotos.com/Asset/-2S5RYDZNTNTN.html>, accessed on 1.10.2016.

## ► II.6. ATROCITIES AND ETHNIC CLEANSING

During the Yugoslav wars between 1991 and 2001 numerous crimes, killings and tortures were carried out. All sides were involved in ethnic cleansing and creating ethnically homogeneous territories, thus making civilians the prime target for violence. These crimes included numerous rapes. The majority of the atrocities took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), and the worst was the massacre in Srebrenica in July 1995, when the Republika Srpska army under the command of Ratko Mladić killed 8,000 Bosniak civilians, mostly men and boys. The Srebrenica massacre was adjudged to be genocide by the International Court of Justice. In addition, dozens of villages and towns were destroyed, and religious buildings and cultural monuments were also specific targets for destruction. Concentration camps for

prisoners were also established. One of the consequences of the war was the creation of a huge number of refugees. During the wars a total of 4 million people were displaced, which amounted to well over half of the population of BiH, and by the end a total of 2.3 million people had become permanent refugees. Some territories became almost completely ethnically homogeneous after the war (Kosovo, large parts of BiH and Croatia). Only a few towns which had enjoyed mixed ethnicity before the war remained as such (in BiH, for example, Mostar, which was divided into Bosniak and Croatian parts, Brčko and, partly, Sarajevo). Several cities were bombed and/or under siege for a long time (Vukovar, Mostar, Zadar, Pakrac, Gospić, Karlovac, Derventa, Dubrovnik, Priština and, worst of

all and for the longest time, Sarajevo). The total sum of all those killed throughout the wars was around 140,000. Most of them were from BiH, between 100,000 (according to the Research and Documentation Centre in Sarajevo) and 110,000 (ICTY) – of whom around 60,000 were soldiers who fell in battle and 40,000 were civilians (83% were Bosniaks). Croatia followed with about 13,000 to

14,000 dead. From January 1998 to December 2000, during the conflict in Kosovo, 13,421 people were killed: 10,533 Albanians, 2,238 Serbs, 126 Roma, and 100 Bosniaks and others (according to a joint study by the Humanitarian Law Centre, the International Commission on Missing Persons, and the Serbian Commission on Missing Persons, 2008).

## II-30. Genocide in Srebrenica



According to the verdict of the International Court of Justice, of 26 February 2007, it has been established that genocide was committed in and around Srebrenica “with a special intent to partially destroy the group of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as such” (International Court of Justice, Verdict dated 26 February 2007, paragraph 297). See also chapter III.2 and source VI-21.

### A. A mother's testimony

“I remember clearly the face of my son, and the big tears that rolled down his face as they took him away from me forever. I didn’t know anything after this” – this is the memory of Sabaheta Fejzić, a member of the Mothers of the Enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa.

Nettelfield and Wagner, 2014, p. 46.

### B. Reports in the Serbian media on Srebrenica in 1995

[...] The majority of media in Serbia did not pose any questions or investigate the events in the war regions. For them, Srebrenica was merely another episode of the war in which victims were taken for granted and not counted any more. Or were simply not mentioned at all [...] However, those who read the Naša Borba daily newspaper learned, as early as 12 July, from a statement to the Beta News Agency by Stefan Obere, a representative of Médecins Sans Frontières, that between 20,000 and 30,000 persons had fled from Srebrenica to the UN base in Potočari on the previous day, that artillery had fired at them while they tried to escape and that there were many wounded. The newspaper quoted the last radio report to be broadcast just before the fall of Srebrenica, sent by local reporter Nino Čatić: “Everything is turning into a huge slaughterhouse. The killed and wounded are constantly being transported

to the hospital. It is impossible to describe it. Three deadly projectiles are fired on this town each second. [...] Can anybody at all in this world come to witness the tragedy that is happening to Srebrenica?” AFP carried this and Naša Borba published it. [...] At the time when the massacre of Srebrenica refugees was in full swing, Večernje Novosti (on 13 July) published a statement by General Ratko Mladić, according to which civilians were safe. [...] On 15 July, Studio B TV aired a piece by Zoran Petrović Piroćanac, who filmed soldiers of General Mladić on 13 and 14 July in and around Srebrenica. The report included footage showing bodies of about 20 men lying by the bullet-pocked wall of a village cooperative warehouse in Kravice. As unbelievable as it may seem, this footage did not attract public attention at the time, not even of media that struggled to report as objectively as possible [...] It was only later, during a trial before the Hague Tribunal, that the public learnt that, after the broadcast in which the footage showing killed civilians had “slipped through” by mistake, the video-tapes were confiscated by representatives of the Republika Srpska [...]

CENZOLOVKA: Antonela Riha, [http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/pregled\\_stampe.php?nav\\_id=1014239](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/pregled_stampe.php?nav_id=1014239), accessed on 8.07.2016.

## II-31. Young victims in Tuzla



The first tragic event happened in Tuzla at the beginning of war, in May 1992, when the withdrawing convoy of JNA, consisting of young recruits mostly Serbs was bombed and few dozens of young soldiers were killed. In the last year of the war, one of the most serious crimes committed against civilians happened in the same town. The Serb Republic army fired a shell at the evening corso, a meeting place for young people known as the Gateway (Kapija) on 25 May 1995. The shell killed 71 citizens and wounded more than 150. The average age of the dead was about 24 years old.



## A. The bombing of soldiers in Tuzla

Muslim forces attacked a JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] convoy in Tuzla on 15 May 1992 during the withdrawal of armed members of the JNA 92nd Motorised Brigade from the town. This incident is known as the "Tuzla Convoy". The exact number of officers, young recruits and JNA reservists killed during the pull-out from Tuzla has not been established since the remains of all victims have not been found yet, though 29 bodies have been buried in the memorial mausoleum in Bijeljina. Investigators from the Hague Tribunal referred the Tuzla Convoy case to the BH Prosecution in 2003. The BH Prosecutor's Office suspended an investigation into the case in December 2009. In May 2007, Ilija Jurišić was arrested in Serbia. At the time of the attack, he was a high-ranking officer of the BH

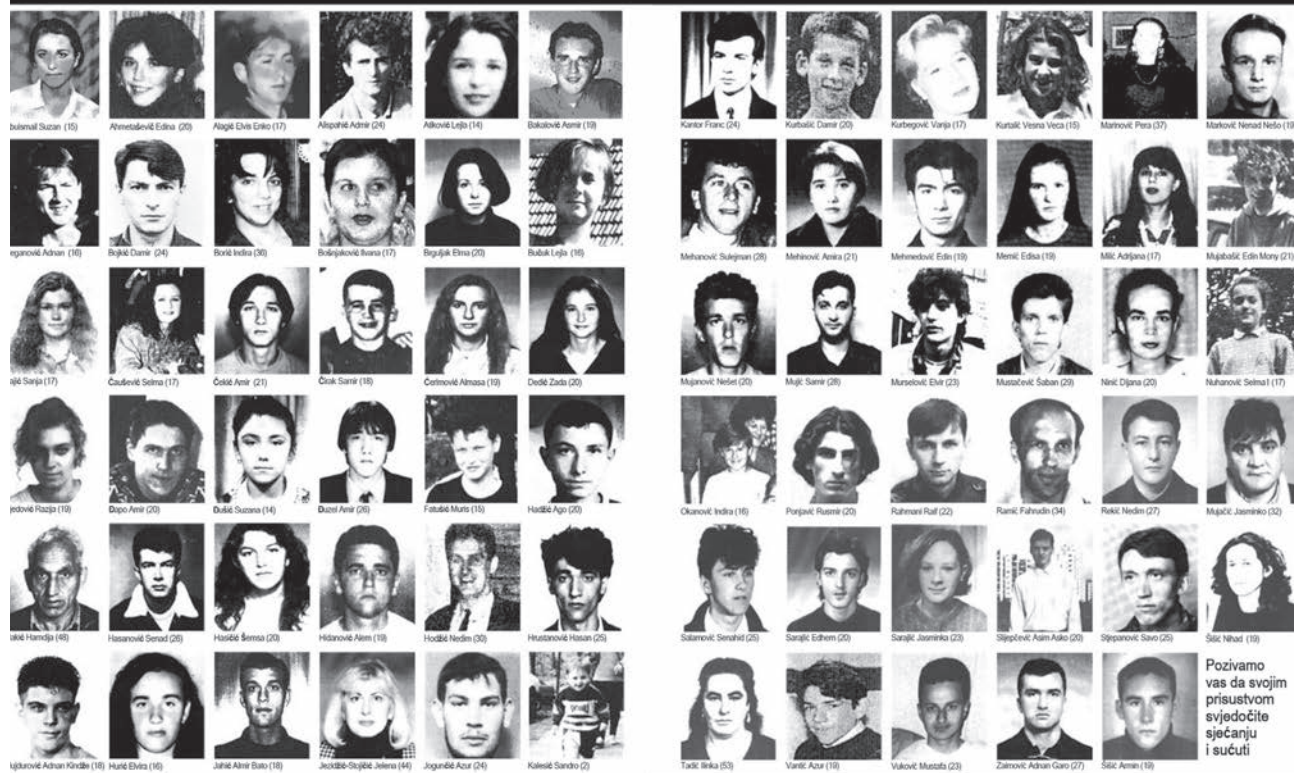
Ministry of the Interior and the duty officer of the Tuzla Public Security Operations Staff for that day. According to a first-instance judgement of the Special War Crimes Chamber of the Belgrade District Court, Ilija Jurišić was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment but, on 11 October 2010, the Belgrade Appeal Court returned the case back for a new trial. Then on 2 December 2013, the Belgrade Appeal Court sentenced him to 12 years' imprisonment, though the case has not been closed yet. The matter of the Tuzla Convoy is still a source of political tension in relations between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

B92, TANJUG, 15 May 2010, 18th anniversary of the crime in Tuzla, [http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=05&dd=15&nav\\_id=431349](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=05&dd=15&nav_id=431349), accessed on 8.07.2016.

## B. In memory of the victims of Tuzla

### IN MEMORIAM 1995.-2014.

Prilje devetnaest godina, 25. maja 1995. godine, pripadnici tzv. Vojske Srpske Republike pod komandom ratnih zločinaca Radovana Karadžića, Ratka Mladića i Novaka Đukića, granatom ispaljenom sa Ozrena na centar Tuzle, na Kapiji, u 20 sati i 55 minuta ubili su sedamdeset i jednu Tuzlanku i Tuzlaka. Ubijeni su:



Pozivamo vas da svojim prisustvom svjedočite sjećanju i sućuti

U Tuzli će se u nedjelju, 25. maja 2014. godine održati komemorativno obilježavanje posvećeno sjećanju na žrtve tragedije na Kapiji i sjećanju na sve civilne žrtve rata. Protokol obilježavanja: 10:00 polaganje vijenaca i cvijeća na groblje na Slanoj banji, 11:00 Polaganje cvijeća na Kapiji.

<http://rtv7.ba/arhive/72455>, accessed on 8.07.2016.



Divide the class into two groups:

- One group should seek information about the international Law of War (*Jus in Bello*) in the form of legal documents, protocols, conventions which try to establish – if possible – limits to military actions, to define the treatment of unarmed persons, refugees and prisoners of war, and to prohibit the use of certain weapons during military conflicts, such as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the Geneva Conventions (1949), the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions (1977) etc.
- The other group should examine thoroughly the terms "ethnic cleansing" (along with the new term "cultural cleansing", see also II.9) and "genocide".

They should also examine which genocides in the 20th century have been officially recognised as such by the United Nations or by parliaments of several states.

- Then both groups should study closely a selection of the sources of chapters II.2, II.4, II.5 and II.6 and discuss: 1. Whether the activities of the opposing sides in the conflict(s) respect the basic laws of war or not, and 2. how the use of terms such as "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing" when referring to brutal and traumatic events of the past affects public opinion and provokes tension. They should also refer to examples from other regions/countries. Why do you think using or not using such terms is so controversial and provokes public debate?

## ► II.7. FORCED MIGRATIONS AND REFUGEES

### II-32. A column of people leaving Vukovar, November 1991



Photographer Ron Haviv.



### II-33. Columns of Serbian population leaving Croatia after Operation Storm, 1995



Reuters.

### II-34. Migrations during and after the war from Bosnia

Emigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and their descendants (second and third generation) in selected countries of relocation:

Host Country	Number	Naturalized Citizens in Selected Countries
USA	350,000	66,642 (as of 2010)
Germany	240,000	83,000 (as of 2009)
Croatia	300,000	n/a
Serbia	150,000	n/a
Austria	150,000	48,924 (as of 2008)
Slovenia	150,000	96,744 (as of 2010)
Sweden	80,000	48,595 (as of 2010)
Switzerland	60,000	25,900 (as of 2010)
Australia	60,000	17,339 (as of 2009)
Canada	50,000	21,583 (as of 2009)
Italy	30,000	n/a
Montenegro	25,000	n/a
Denmark	23,000	11,196 (as of October 2011)
The Netherlands	16,000	n/a
Norway	16,000	11,559 (as of 2009)
TOTAL	1,700,000	431,482

*Bosnia and Herzegovina Migration Profile for the Year 2011*, Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Security, Sarajevo, March 2012, pp. 72, 73. (Data for the nine states included in the 2011 report are from the Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees.) Nettelfield and Wagner, 2014, p. 155.



## II-35. Refugees from Kosovo



According to the 1981 population census in Yugoslavia, Albanians represented 77.42% and Serbs 13.22% of the population of Kosovo. The Serbian percentage fell during the 1980s, and the 1991 census was boycotted by Albanians. It is believed that a total of 862,979 Albanians from Kosovo, or over 80% of the overall population, was expelled during the NATO bombardment. According to NATO information, by the end of May, over 230,000 refugees fled to FYR Macedonia, over 430,000 to Albania, around 64,000 to Montenegro, about 21,500 to Bosnia and Herzegovina and over 61,000 to other countries. After the signing of the Kumanovo Agreement, the UNCHR registered 187,129 displaced persons from Kosovo. Between 143,000 and 210,000 displaced persons from Kosovo in Serbia and Montenegro were Serbs and more than 25,000 were Roma. Several thousand Roma and Serbs went to FYR Macedonia during the same period and an unknown number fled to third countries. Those who stayed in Kosovo moved into Serbian or Roma enclaves under the protection of KFOR.

### A. Expelled Kosovars in FYR Macedonia, 1999



Photographer Robert Atanasovski.

### B. Camp of Kosovar refugees at the Kosovo-FYR Macedonia border



Photographer Cedomir Nenkovic.

### C. An analysis of the refugee crisis in FYR Macedonia during the Kosovo conflict in 1999

The Kosovo refugee crisis in FYR Macedonia in 1999 was unique in terms of its unprecedented magnitude combined with its short duration (involving a sharp increase and sudden decrease in the refugee population), its high visibility in the world media, and attention received by donors. Refugees from Kosovo began to enter Macedonia in late March 1999, after NATO had launched its air campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Within 9 weeks, the country had taken in 344,500 refugees. With the goal of providing emergency humanitarian relief, the United Nations, together with other international and national organisations, the host country, donors and other concerned parties, coordinated the delivery of immediate assistance to meet the needs of the refugees. This included shelter in collective centres (camps) and accommodation in host families, nutrition, health care, and water/sanitation. Morbidity and mortality rates remained low due to this effective action undertaken by a great number of humanitarian organisations, backed up by strong government support. There were no significant epidemic outbreaks in the camps or elsewhere during the crisis. The mortality rate of the refugees was lower than in other emergency situations.

Donev et al 2002, pp. 184-9, <http://neuron.mefst.hr/docs/CMJ/issues/2002/43/2/11885045.pdf>, accessed on 8.07.2016.

#### D. MSF (Doctors Without Borders) providing emergency assistance to refugees from Kosovo fleeing the atrocities and aerial bombardments



Photographer Roger Job, private collection.

#### E. Serbs fleeing Kosovo

According to official UNCHR figures, over 100,000 Serbs have fled from Kosovo following the pull-out of the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian police. Only the privileged reach Belgrade, while others find accommodation with relatives and friends in the countryside. State television cameras and the authorities have omitted to report their flight from the province. There is high demand for a state-organised return to Kosovo. Returnee package deals include accommodation in collective centres on the outskirts of the remaining Serbian enclaves, payment of salaries and pensions. The safety of their lives and remaining property has been handed over to KFOR (Kosovo Force) [...]

Grujić, 24 July 1999.

### II-36. Serbian refugees during NATO bombing



The exact number of citizens of Serbia who left the FRY during the bombardment is not known. Between 24 March and 20 June 1999, 2,315 citizens of the FRY (825 Albanians, 787 Hungarians and 506 Serbs) requested asylum in Hungary. Many more FRY citizens entered that country either illegally or with tourist visas. According to some information, 8,000 FRY citizens crossed into Hungary with tourist visas. During March 1999, a group of 4,000 Serbian refugees (from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia) arrived in Romania, from where they went to the USA.

#### Serbian refugees in Romania: "We are Europe's pariahs"



This article reports on the difficulties met by the Romanian authorities at the border with Serbia because of the large number of requests for refugee status by Serbs, following the intensification of the NATO bombing.

[...] Romania has already registered more than 200 requests for refugee status by Serbs fleeing both the Milošević regime and NATO airstrikes. The rhythm has intensified during the past few days, following the intensification of the bombing. According to local sources at the Romanian-Serbian border, there are likely to be more Serbs seeking refuge among relatives and friends in the border area of Timișoara County than officially registered refugees. Here, the majority of Romanians show solidarity to their Serbian neighbours and don't hide their anger against this war that is so close to them.

Nevertheless, the reception of Serbian refugees does not proceed without problems. Housed in private establishments, their accommodation it is taking its toll on the limited budgets of these tourist infrastructures...

Romanian legislation was caught off guard by the incoming tide of refugees. For example, a 1996 law on refugee status grants the sum of 10,000 lei – the equivalent of 5 francs – for the daily expenses of a refugee. Today, this allows for the purchase of half a sandwich, at the most. Moreover, Romania has accepted to receive 6,000 Kosovar refugees who are presently residing in Macedonia and Albania. A committee for the refugees, bringing together representatives from five Ministries, was set up in order to draft an emergency decree to create the necessary legal framework to address the issue. Since then, pre-existing tensions between diverse public services have been re-surfacing. The funding sources remain unclear.

Romania is committed to ensure accommodation for the refugees; however, it is asking the international community for emergency aid to cover their secondary expenses, such as meals and medication. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has contacted the European Union and the United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees (UNHCR) on this matter. For the time being, no one seems to be in a hurry to respond to the Romanian request. [...]

*Le Monde*, 30 April 1999, no. 16877, p. 3.



## II-37. Macedonian refugees return home, around Tetovo, 17 September 2001



<http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/EURO-AP-I-MKD-XNG102-MACEDONIA/d07b3edabde0da11af9f0014c2589dfb/59/0>,  
accessed on 8.07.2016.



1. Use written and visual sources in this chapter and write an essay on "What does it mean to be a war refugee?".

2. Compare the crisis caused by the Yugoslav wars (a) with contemporary civil wars outside Europe and (b) with conflict and war in Cyprus (see vol. 1, ch. VIII). What are the similarities and what are the differences?

3. In II-36, read the sentence "Romanian legislation was caught off guard by the incoming tide of refugees": What does this mean in practical terms? The humanitarian problem of refugees fleeing from their homes in order to survive is a timeless one. Usually, neighbouring or other countries of destination are caught unprepared to deal with

the demanding needs of the increasing number of people coming and seeking refuge. It is important for pupils to understand that a refugee is forced to leave in order to protect life and basic human rights, and usually has no alternative other than to suffer or die. Discuss the problem with reference to the current refugee crisis arising from the Syrian war.

4. Imagine that you are: a reporter, covering the inflow of refugees, a volunteer with an NGO helping the refugees, an inhabitant of a small town where refugees are arriving in countless numbers and a teenage refugee. Describe one day where all of you meet. Write a short dialogue in which you express attitudes, fears, hopes and feelings. You may choose a specific historical context or not.



## ► II.8. CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE DURING THE WAR

### II-38. A primary school in Sarajevo



Many children (over 1,600 in total) were killed during the siege of Sarajevo – every day in their homes, outside buildings, on playgrounds and in schools. Classes in Sarajevo schools were held in

makeshift shelters. Many children were killed on their way to school and while they were actually in school. One such tragedy happened in a school in the new part of Sarajevo.



Sarajevo's makeshift school in the shelter.  
From the photo collection of Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Two months after the beginning of the 1993/1994 school year, at around 10:50 on 9 November 1993, a fragmentation shell exploded in Sarajevo's Ali-pašino Polje settlement, at ZAVNOBiH Square no. 18, outside the ground floor of a residential building which temporarily housed the Prvi Maj (May Day) primary school. Three pupils were killed by the explosion: Adis

Kujala b. 1984, Vedad Mujkanović b. 1984, Feđa Salkić b. 1987 and their teacher Fatima Gunić b. 1948, and 21 civilians were injured. The shell fell in front of concrete slabs shielding the entrance to the schoolroom, but the shrapnel passed through the cracks in the slabs and flew into the room. At the moment the shell fell, the last class for third-graders was underway in the improvised

classroom, while first-graders were waiting outside to get in for their class which was to begin at 11 o'clock. [...] Several minutes later, another shrapnel shell was fired at the same settlement: it exploded outside the Jedinstvo (Unity) local commune in Rade Končara Street, killing three civilians and injuring seven. The school was renamed after the teacher who was killed, and is now called the Fatima Gunić Primary School.

Kazović Babić, 2014, p. 130.

### II-39. Children in Zadar play in front of a museum which is fully protected by sand bags, Spring 1992



Photographer Dražen Breitenfeld, private collection.

### II-40. Learning suspended at elementary and high schools; reduced at Priština University, March 1999

Priština, 22 March – The Council of Education of Priština Commune announced that today it decided to suspend the regular learning process at certain levels of this commune, while the Priština University Rectorate announced that lectures at the university shall be reduced.

The notification signed by CEC chairman, Zijadin Gashi, states that “following an analysis of the situation and in order to avoid further risk to pupils and teachers, an agreement has been concluded according to which the learning process shall be suspended in elementary and high schools until 31 March 1999”.

[...]

Meanwhile, for the same reasons, the Rectorate of the University of Priština also decided to reduce the number of lectures and examinations and adapt the schedule to the conditions reflected in the situation in Kosovo.

Archive of the Institute of History, Priština.



Use sources in this section and in the previous section (II.7) to describe the different experiences of children living in areas affected by the war.

### II-41. The *Dizelaši* in Serbia



The term *Dizelaši* was coined in Serbia in the 1990s to describe members of a subculture engaged in smuggling fuel during the sanctions or in other criminal activities. They wore high-priced clothes (e.g. Diesel jeans), mainly sportswear and running shoes, as well as bomber jackets, and the BMW was their car of choice. They shaved their heads, packed weapons and wore thick gold chains with large crosses. This style apparently came about as a copy of the styling of US wrestler Mr. T., known for his role in the *Rocky 3* film, who came from a Chicago ghetto. Music played an important influence on the visual identity of *Dizelaši*. The song “Atlantis” performed by the group VIP links the *Dizelaši* and rap in the verse: “Within these four walls, I’m not used to losing! Rapper and Dizelaš, bro – a real Serb!” Sociologists link the phenomenon with the rise of nationalism, the disintegration of the system of values and the arrival of a “new Serbian elite” comprising the politicians in power, war profiteers, businessmen and criminals who supported Milošević’s regime.

CYA, *Up-and-Coming Boy*

I’m a vicious youth from the streets of Belgrade  
As I pass by, no one dare look me in the eye  
I drive a wicked car, worth one thousand German Marks  
With 150 French Francs in my pocket

I have ten track suits and gold around my neck  
A chrome-plated gun my dad bought me  
And so I frown at everything that moves  
Hoping no-one turns to face me [...]

<http://tekstovi.net/2,171,1844.html>, accessed on 21.10.2015.



What kind of “real Serb” is described in the verse mentioned above? Can you detect here the hints of nationalism in the *Dizelaši* attitude? Explain and present arguments.

## ► II.9. DESTROYING CULTURAL HERITAGE

During the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia, numerous cultural monuments and religious buildings were destroyed. Some were ruined as a consequence of the armed clashes while others were demolished deliberately. An integral part of ethnic cleansing was also “cultural cleansing”. Quantities of valuables were stolen and taken away to places where it would not be immediately clear which country they belonged to (for example, artworks stolen after the destruction of Vukovar). Religious antagonisms played a substantial role in the Yugoslav wars, generating an additional motive for demolishing religious edifices. Consequently, hundreds of mosques (the vast majority in Bosnia), Catholic and Orthodox churches, monasteries, synagogues and other religious buildings were destroyed. Libraries, archives, museums, cemeteries and historical parts of the cities were not spared either. The National Library of Sarajevo, for instance,

was destroyed by fire: this was caused by a shell fired from a Bosnian Serb army position, and over 1.5 million books and rare manuscripts were destroyed in the blaze. In 1993, the 16th-century Old Bridge in Mostar, considered to be the main symbol of the city, was demolished by the Bosnian Croat side. The historical centre of Dubrovnik was heavily damaged during JNA attacks, including several historic buildings. In Kosovo more than 35 Orthodox churches and monasteries which were considered to be historic monuments were damaged or completely destroyed (in total, more than 156 Orthodox religious objects). Before that, the Serbian army had destroyed over one-third of Kosovo’s mosques (more than 200), the majority of traditional Albanian houses and numerous other monuments from the Ottoman period. In addition, many religious and cultural objects were also ruined or damaged during the NATO bombardment.

### II-42. The old town of Dubrovnik



During the Croatian War of Independence, JNA units shelled the town of Dubrovnik from land and sea on several occasions. Apart from human casualties, these attacks also caused damage in the old town centre, to numerous cultural and historical monuments which are on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The most violent attack on Dubrovnik was carried out on 6 December 1991.

#### A. Colonel Radomir Damjanović’s news conference in Trebinje

“The other side does not care, or cares very little, about preserving Dubrovnik – a pearl of world heritage”, Colonel Radomir Damjanović, the deputy Commander of the 2nd Operations Group in Trebinje, told a news conference. “If they did care, they would have surrendered their weapons and expelled from the city those mercenaries, among whom there are blacks and whites, scum of the earth – Africans, Dutch, German, Argentinians ... They forced us to conduct operations against Dubrovnik, although we had no intention of doing so. We never touched the Old City although they fired at us from there.”

Vojičić, 2006, pp. 171-172.

#### B. Ruined fountain in Gundulić Square, May 1992



Photographer Josip Bistровić, private collection.



Since 1979, the city of Dubrovnik has been on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. Therefore, the attack on the Old Town on 6 December was met with strong protests from the international media and UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor Zaragoza. In this light, what is your comment on the speech of Colonel Damjanović?



## II-43. Destroying Vukovar



Before the Croatian War for Independence, Vukovar was one of the most beautiful baroque cities in Croatia. After several months of being

under siege and subjected to destruction, in November 1991, Vukovar looked as though it had been through a cataclysm.



The baroque centre of old Vukovar.



Wertheime-Baletić, 1993.

## II-44. Ferhad Pasha's Mosque in Banja Luka, Bosnia, before and after demolition



<https://zokstersomething.files.wordpress.com>, accessed on 21.10.2015.

## II-45. Serbian Orthodox churches destroyed in Kosovo



Thirty-nine Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries have been destroyed or desecrated in Kosovo since June 1999. Among them is the endowment of King Milutin, Our Lady of Ljeviš (Bo-

gorodica Ljeviška), built in the early 14th century in Prizren. In March 2004, a fire was started inside the church, the altar area was desecrated and the frescoes were extensively damaged.



<http://www.eparhija-prizren.com/sr/vesti/podsecanje-na-martovski-pogrom-2004>, accessed on 21.10.2015.





1. Study the before-and-after photos in this section. Which of those examples made the strongest impression on you and why?

2. In this section, some of the best known examples of destruction of cultural heritage during the war in former Yugoslavia are mentioned. In the war which is driven by nationalism and motivated by the wish to conquer and/or “cleanse” the territory that is inhabited by the members of other religious or ethnic groups, what would be the purpose for destruction of religious and cultural heritage which belongs to the “others”? To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “An integral part of the ethnic cleansing was ‘cultural cleansing’, which was considered as a foundation for the new beginnings of ethnically pure lands.”

3. Do you think that the destruction of these emblematic buildings and monuments mentioned above was accidental or on purpose? Why do you think it was important to destroy religious and cultural symbols during the war? Explain and discuss, after having studied carefully the sources and the key. (See also II-51, “Appeal by historians of Belgrade University to the Yugoslav army, 4 October 1991”).

4. Find other examples of destroying or preserving cultural heritage in the region and your country before and after the Yugoslav wars.

5. Find and discuss the text of The Hague Protocol on the protection of cultural heritage / Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954).

## ► II.10. AGAINST THE WAR

### II-46. I want my brother home!!! Protests in Slovenia



Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



Compulsory military service in the Yugoslav Army usually took place away from the draftees’ homes, and this was supposed to maintain the multi-ethnicity of the military. Before the Yugoslav breakup, there were demands that draftees should perform military service in their home towns, which was also supported with organised protests.

### II-47. Letter from Olga Carević, a Croatian scientist and ethnic Serb, to Serbian nationalist Vojislav Šešelj, 5 August 1991

#### WORDS ARE MY ONLY WEAPON

Dr. Vojislav Šešelj’s message to us Serbs who oppose the Chetnik crimes is that he will speak to us through snipers. I have no gun, my only weapons are WORDS.

Therefore, keeping in mind the Serbian proverb “If someone hits you with a stone, hit him back with a loaf of bread”, I reply to this provocation with words: I appeal to the conscience which exists in every man, I appeal to your doctorate of the University of Belgrade, by which you pledged yourself to behave humanely, and finally, I appeal to you as one Serb to another.

Withdraw your bloodthirsty Chetniks from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. This is the only thing that will enable Croats and Serbs to continue their peaceful coexistence and to rebuild their common Croatian homeland, which is now in ruins.

*Vjesnik*, 5 August 1991.





During the wars the terms “chetnik”, “ustasha” and “mujahideen” were used to generally disqualify Serb, Croat and Bosniak fighters respectively. The first two terms were related to the Second World War, the memory of which had remained strong in socialist Yugoslavia. The third term implied a link between Bosniaks and Islamic fundamentalists. (“Balijs” was also used as a derogatory term to describe Muslims). During WWII, the Ustasha Movement promulgated an extremist and pro-fascist Croatian

nationalism and was installed in power when Nazi Germany founded the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in April 1941 as a puppet state. The Chetniks, led by Serb officer Draža Mihailović, were a royalist resistance movement which eventually collaborated with the German occupiers and clashed with Tito's partisans. In the 1990s wars, the term was used to describe Serb nationalists, in particular paramilitaries. About the situation in Yugoslavia during WWII, see Workbook 4.

## II-48. The Wall of Love, a rally in Zagreb, August 1991



The so-called *Bedem ljubavi* (Wall of Love) was a movement of mothers whose sons had been sent into war while serving the compulsory military service in the Yugoslav Army. The movement held a rally in Zagreb at the end of

August 1991, in front of the headquarters of the Fifth Military District of the Yugoslav Army. At this meeting, Croatian writer and politician Vlado Gotovac made one of the most famous anti-war speeches to be heard during the war.



Photographer Robert Šipek, private collection.

## II-49. Tomb for Miroslav Milenković, a reservist who refused to go to the front line



*Miroslav Milenković, born in 1951, father of two, construction worker, a reservist from Gornji Milanovac, committed suicide on 20 September 1991, at the cattle market in Šid, torn between two groups of reservists – one group had laid down their weapons having “returned” them, and the other group took up their rifles, intent on setting off towards Tovarnik, to the front line.*

The slogans on the black and white banners read:  
**FOR ALL THOSE KILLED IN THE WAR**  
**SOLIDARITY FOR ALL WHO REBEL AGAINST THE WAR**

*Grobnica za Miroslava Milenkovića, Beograđani protiv rata [Tomb for Miroslav Milenković, Belgraders against the War], Nov. 1991.*

## II-50. Anti-war Marathon in Serbia, October 1991

An anti-war protest rally was held in Belgrade's Pionirski Park [Pioneers Park] on 5 October. The rally was organised by the Centre for Anti-war Action which

was formed last summer by the UJDI [Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], the European Movement for Yugoslavia, the Women's Party, the Women's Parliament, the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and the Helsinki Committee. In addition to protesting against the war, the rally also called on the Federal Assembly to convene on 10 October and take over civilian and democratic control of the Yugoslav Army. [...] At the start it was agreed that the Belgrade Anti-war Marathon (BAM) would last only until 10 October but, on that day, it was decided it should continue. The marathon's purpose was to exchange information about civil initiatives for peace and discuss them without pretending to be large-scale or to impose centralised guidance and control. It was a convergence of similar peace initiatives by citizens whose actions were “capillary”, small-scale and decentralised. Every group assumed public responsibility for the initiative it pursued.

*Republika, no. 31, 16-30.10.1991.*

## II-51. Appeal by historians of Belgrade University to the Yugoslav Army, 4 October 1991

Open letter to all armed forces in Yugoslavia  
**PLEASE, DO NOT TOUCH DUBROVNIK!**

In connection with reports about the fighting around Dubrovnik, we ask and if necessary, beseech you not to permit the destruction of any part of this historic city. Dubrovnik is a part of the history of both the Serbian and the Croatian people and a part of world cultural heritage. The whole civilised world would never forgive you that, just as it has never forgiven the destruction of the University in Leuven in 1914 (which was condemned, among the first, by the professors of Belgrade University at the time), but has also remembered the names of those who, in spite of wars, have preserved historical monuments, both their own and those of others. No objective, no borders are worth the destruction of something we are under an obligation to leave to our descendants.

Historians:  
 Ljubinka Trgovčević,  
 Sima Ćirković,  
 Andrej Mitrović,  
 Mirjana Živojinović,  
 Ivan Đurić

*Borba, 4 October 1991; Vojičić and Biserko, 2006, no. 24, p. 912.*



Read the paragraph: "We ask and if necessary, beseech you not to permit the destruction of any part of this historic city. Dubrovnik is a part of the history of both the Serbian and the Croatian people and a part of world cultural heritage". Revisit the sources on the destruction of cultural heritage above. Was this appeal respected? What is the meaning of it? Does cultural heritage belong to a particular nation or to all mankind? Discuss.

## II-52. Women in Black: feminist resistance in Serbia

On 9 October 1991, women from Belgrade launched a protest entitled WOMEN IN BLACK AGAINST THE WAR. They were joined on 16 October by WOMEN IN BLACK from Pančevo. The following declaration was issued.

We, THE WOMEN IN BLACK, hereby:

- COMMEMORATE ALL VICTIMS OF THIS WAR, express
- SOLIDARITY WITH ALL WHO REBEL AGAINST THE WAR, and
- PROTEST AGAINST ALL MILITANTS WHO USE WEAPONS AND WORDS TO PROMOTE HATRED AND CAUSE DEATH, as well as
- CALL ON ALL WOMEN AND MEN TO OPPOSE THE WAR

Women and men of all nationalities, religious affiliation, views and convictions, let us unite and join all initiatives and movements which call for PEACE NOW, EVERYWHERE, FOR EVERYONE. Let's join them.

Let us unite and join all those who want no part of and do not want to take part in a dirty civil war. Let's not let them go after them into flats, workplaces, universities and streets.

Let's not let them fire people or mobilise them because of their political views. Let's tell everyone who does not want to go to war that they are not traitors. The potentates want this war, as well as well-paid generals and war profiteers – everyone who is making people kill others to enable them to stay in power and keep their privileges.

WE DEMAND THE FOLLOWING:

- THE RETURN OF ALL RECRUITS AND RESERVISTS FROM THE FRONT
- ABOLITION OF PUNISHMENTS FOR ALL THOSE WHO REFUSED TO ACCEPT MOBILISATION CALL-UP PAPERS OR WHO RETURNED FROM THE FRONT ON THEIR OWN

- CESSATION OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL MOBILISATION IN SERBIA. THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE OTHER FIVE REPUBLICS TO OPPOSE THE MOBILISATION.

THE CITIZENS OF SERBIA ARE NOT AND MUST NOT BE THE GENDARMES OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE BALKANS. In Belgrade on 30 October 1991.

*Republika*, 32, 16-30 November 1991.

## II-53. Mothers of Croatian soldiers serving in the JNA beg the Federal Secretary for National Defence General Veljko Kadijević not to send Croatian soldiers to shoot their brothers, January 1992

SPARE OUR SONS!

[...]

As the fateful day of 19 January approaches, we, the mothers of soldiers in units of the Yugoslav People's Army, appeal to you to spare the innocent lives of our sons.

In the name of humanity, do not allow the shedding of our sons' blood!

In the name of peace, do not force our sons to fire at their brothers, their sisters, their parents, their friends!

In the name of freedom, do not allow the solving of political problems over the dead bodies of our sons!

Gather your strength in dialogue and reason!

Listen to your conscience and think of our innocent young sons and yours!

Tolić, 1992, p. 236.

## II-54. Proclamation by the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro to the inhabitants of Montenegro, 19 December 1991

"Those who do not wage a dirty war are heroes"

On the occasion of the deaths of Montenegrin youths and the shameless war adventure against Dubrovnik, the Liberal Alliance sent a proclamation to the people of Montenegro with the following message: "Slobodan Milošević's foolhardy policy in Serbia and his cohorts in Montenegro have been pushing you for a long time into a civil war and conflict, as far as the mutual extinction of the Yugoslav peoples.



The world is shocked by the destruction and human victims on both sides of the front of the war in Croatia. Serbia and Montenegro have become a synonym for aggression among the international public, and our fathers, sons, brothers, friends and cousins are daily getting killed or maimed in the absurd war adventure against Dubrovnik. Montenegro has taken upon itself a shame unworthy of its centuries-long honourable history for liberation and unworthy of its famous ancestors.

Montenegrins, Muslims, Albanians and Croats – citizens of the state of Montenegro, do not let them drive a wedge between you, do not let hatred and warmongering passions into your common state. Protect it from disgrace; protect your children and grandchildren from the lasting shame which today hangs over Montenegro. Say no to this war. Your refusal


to go to war is the best way to help find a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, to the constructive efforts of the international community which has seen far too much death and destruction in the Yugoslav area.

In view of its history and its reputation, Montenegro has to say – enough! In your hands you have the key to resolve this fratricidal drama which threatens to turn into a mutual bloodbath, and even a civil war in Serbia and Montenegro...

This is a dirty war; this is a war in which the names of the victims are no longer made known. The only form of courage with which you can now preserve your reputation and look into the eyes of posterity is to refuse to blindly follow national leaders.

The whole civilised world is with you!

*"Antiratni pokret u Crnoj Gori 91-92", 2012, p. 187.*



Study the sources in this chapter and find answers to the following questions: Who (social groups, personalities) protested against the war? Make a list of reasons for the protests. Find similarities

and differences among the examples of anti-war protests in different ex-Yugoslav republics. Which of those examples made the strongest impression on you and why?

Who protested	Reasons for protest

## ► II.11. THE WAR OF THE JOURNALISTS

### II-55. An article by Slovenian reporter Ivo Štandeker, killed in Sarajevo, 1992



The Slovenian reporter Ivo Štandeker died in besieged Sarajevo on 16 June 1992, after being severely wounded by the explosion of a grenade fired from the Serbian lines. This is the last article he wrote. The beginning of the article, in which he predicted a long war that would badly affect all citizens –Muslims, Croats and Serbs – is marked by his most famous sentence: "I like cities and I hate when someone is attacking them."

#### *What is left of Sarajevo*

*"The Bosnians were not crazed by a holy war, instead they were crazed by a holy anger" reports Ivo Štandeker from the besieged capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

I like cities and I hate when someone is attacking them.

In the eastern part of Sarajevo, in the direction of Vogošća, there is an old Turkish graveyard and beneath it is an enormous cave which used to serve as a shelter during the Austro-Hungarian period. Thousands of people from the city, including the nearby villages, have spent most of the time in the safety of the old cave, while their houses and their city were destroyed. [...]

A friend of mine, Medina, told me that she did not want to stay in Sarajevo after the war. There is nothing left. No more buses and no more trams. Broken power cables lying in the streets, surrounded with demolished cars and piles of glass. Every mosque or church has been shattered or destroyed. The buildings which used to shape the city are devastated or burnt to the ground. There are no more bars and coffee shops where people used to meet. There are only clearings and gaps where you are shot at from the edges of the city if you try to get to "Alipašino Polje" [a neighbourhood in Sarajevo], which is the only place where you can buy some onions, spinach and milk. "Remember your neighbours," Artije Raguš told me, a vice-president of the liberals. "Houses that I have been passing by all these years are now full of people who shoot at me with mortars, rockets and machine guns." [...]

No one has it easy at home, not even those who predicted the war. Selam Abdić, the head editor of

Sarajevo's best newspaper *Slobodna Bosna* [in English: Free Bosnia], which published a map of the city's siege last year, is now wandering about due to the lack of printing paper. Mithad Ajanović, a sketcher, has also stayed. His comic strips, however, are no longer funny at all. When I saw Alija Izetbegović, he told me he was very grateful that the refugees from BiH were looked after very well in Slovenia. Then he even added: "This is going to be a long war."

Ivo Štandeker: "Kaj je ostalo od Sarajeva? [What Remains of Sarajevo?], *Mladina*, 23/1992, pp. 1-3.



1. According to this text, how does war destroy life in a city? Compare the text with II-21 and reflect on the term "Urbicide" (killing of a city).

2. Read documents in II.3 and the article by Štandeker. What was everyday life like in besieged Sarajevo? Write a page of the diary of a pupil in Sarajevo, based on previous sources. Describe your day and your fears and feelings.

### II-56. "In Sarajevo, the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] Feels Like Being Back in the Days of [the Battle of] Solferino"

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are no holds barred. The symbol of the Red Cross is not respected; it is even used for military purposes. The ICRC tries to act throughout the country with only 60 representatives.

[...]

"We have launched a daily press campaign, on which a person is working full-time; we are broadcasting messages by television and radio to call for respect of humanitarian values, and to remind people who has the authority to bear the emblem of the Red Cross." A drop in the ocean of wild propaganda produced by the two sides: they are broadcasting "appalling images for hours and hours, with a morbid insistence and complacency" and generate reflexes of "vengeance and hatred" even among children, whom the images affect deeply. [...]

Estier, 9 May 1992, p.6.



Read the sentence: "The ocean of wild propaganda produced by the two sides: they are broadcasting 'appalling images for hours and hours, with a morbid insistence and complacency' and generate reflexes of 'vengeance and hatred' even among children, whom the images affect deeply". Discuss two topics: The propaganda war and its effect on children, based on this extract.

## II-57. Christiane Amanpour, a CNN journalist, describing her experience as war correspondent in Bosnia



In 1992 Amanpour went to Bosnia and Herzegovina to cover the outbreak of violence that she thought would become "my generation's war." Her reporting was credited with bringing the savage nature of that conflict to the attention of the world, although some criticised her for what they

thought was her tendency to editorialise rather than report, claiming that she was clearly biased against the Serbs.

[...] The war in Bosnia is a war that is being fought against civilians, in the cities, people's homes, not on the battlefield. The United Nations has said that there has never been a war in modern times that has affected so many children. It's horrifying, and savage... I keep going back there because I cannot believe this is being allowed to happen. [...] Just walking from the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo, where journalists stay, is dangerous... I was asleep one night last fall when I heard this awful whistling noise near my room at the hotel. It was a 105-millimetre mortar shell from a howitzer, apparently mis-aimed. It landed in a room two doors down from mine – but it didn't explode, although it demolished the room from the sheer impact. If it had exploded, it would've been over for me.

[http://articles.latimes.com/1993-07-14/entertainment/ca-13112\\_1\\_christiane-amanpour](http://articles.latimes.com/1993-07-14/entertainment/ca-13112_1_christiane-amanpour), accessed on 4.01.2016.

## II-58. The building of the *Oslobođenje* newspaper in Sarajevo after its destruction



Oslobođenje, archive of Oslobodjenja.



### II-59. “A Brief Manual of Misinformation”: journalist Guy Mettan, executive chairman of the Swiss Press Club, comments on information spread about the NATO bombing

[...] The NATO aggression against Yugoslavia degenerates into a real war not only because of the huge armada that was mobilised to annihilate this country under a flood of bombs, but also because of the psychological war that is waged with regard to international public opinion in order to win it over to the warmongering cause.

In other words: the novelty of this conflict, apart from deadly weapon testing, is the campaign of misinformation conducted by the United States and NATO on a planetary scale. So, how does one recognise misinformation? How does it differ from simple propaganda? [...]

Mettan, 24 April 1999.



1. Imagine that you are a war correspondent in Sarajevo in 1992. Write a short article about the siege of the city (use also documents of II.3).
2. Write an essay on the role of the media in (a) manipulating public opinion and (b) preventing crimes by reporting about them.
3. Organise a debate in the classroom with two groups on the question: “The role of journalism is to unravel the truth for the public at any cost, even during war. Do you agree?”. One group should be affirmative (arguments for the question), and the other should be negative (arguments against it).
4. Read the sentence: “The novelty of this conflict, apart from deadly weapon testing, is the campaign of misinformation”. Discuss and use arguments based on examples from other contemporary wars, such as The Gulf and Iraq wars or the Syria war.
5. Why do you think media buildings were war targets? Can you find other examples?

## ► II.12. INTERNATIONAL AND BALKAN REACTIONS

### II-60. Jean-Pierre Chevènement, French ex-minister of Defence: from Maastricht to Sarajevo

Post-Tito Yugoslavia could not survive; however, the Yugoslavian Idea, renewed by the practice of an adult democracy, would have deserved to. The post-Communist bureaucracies bear the main responsibility for the present drama because they aroused ethnic nationalism; however, it should have been the responsibility of Europe to oppose this dreadful intention by protecting the fragile

Yugoslavian patriotism against the reactionary concept of a nation. Apparently, there are almost one million mixed marriages in Yugoslavia. One has to admit that Europe of the Twelve did not promote the French model of the civic nation but rather the ethnic conception of a nation.

*Libération*, 2 September 1992, p. 9.



Jean-Pierre Chevènement served as a minister in socialist governments in France in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1993 he left the Socialist Party and founded the Citizens’ Movement which could be described as a left-wing Eurosceptic party. He opposed the Maastricht Treaty as he was against European federalism, and he has also regularly expressed objections to regionalism and to autonomist movements.



The French ex-minister mentions in his text two concepts of nation – civic and ethnic one. What is the difference between these two concepts? Why does he think that the ethnic concept of a nation in the Yugoslav case is one of the causes for the war? Do you agree with the following statement: “French ex-minister of Defence Jean-Pierre Chevènement sees the Yugoslav idea as an expression of the civic concept of nation”? Give arguments for your answer.

## II-61. Declaration of Bulgarian intellectuals on the war in Yugoslavia, 1999

The Bulgarian intellectual cannot but be aware that back in 1991 the Milošević regime started a terrible war by Serbs against all other nationalists in Yugoslavia and turned it into a war among several states in the Balkans. [...]

Today, let us answer the following questions:

1. Do we recognise the right of existence of other ethnicities and cultures side by side with us and amongst us? We do. Do we want peaceful coexistence of the different nations, races, and religions under the common roof of Europe? We do.

2. Do we condemn the eight-year-long war which the top crust of the Serbian Socialist Party has been conducting against all peoples of the former Yugoslavia and against its own citizens? We do. Do we reject the ideology of communist nationalism, personified today by the last dictator in Europe, Slobodan Milošević? We do.

3. Do we empathise with the humanitarian tragedy Serbs and Kosovars are going through? We do. Do we want all people forced to flee by the war to return to their homes as soon as possible? We do. [...]

4. Do we stand in solidarity with the drama of our brothers in Macedonia? We do. Are we aware that if they lose, we lose too? We are. Should we help Macedonia avoid being obliterated as an independent state? We should. Are we for Macedonia? We are.

5. Will we accept the only serious guarantees we can receive for our national security? We will.

6. Do we want our only-just-recovering economy to grow stronger and Bulgaria not to isolate itself from the world because of a rash refusal? We do.

7. Are we convinced that the Balkans will be a zone of peace and stability only when they become an integral part of the Euro-Atlantic security space? We are.

This means that we are "for" the European Union, "for" NATO, "for" affirmation of the Balkan national identities as components of the all-European identity. 23 – 26 April 1999.

[http://www.kultura.bg/media/my\\_html/2078/c\\_mih.htm](http://www.kultura.bg/media/my_html/2078/c_mih.htm), accessed on 6.10.2016.

## II-62. The leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadžić in Athens, June 1993



In June 1993, one month after he signed the Vance-Owen Plan (which was then rejected by Bosnian Serbs) in the capital city of Greece,



the leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadžić paid an unofficial visit to Athens at the invitation of the Society of Greco-Serbian Friendship. He was warmly welcomed and met with Archbishop Seraphim of Athens and Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis, who had supported the Belgrade government at the height of the war in Yugoslavia, at the same time seeking to mediate between the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosniaks so that peace could return to the region. In the ceremonies at the Peace and Friendship Stadium the people were full of enthusiasm but many seats remained empty. Those who were present at the events had ideological and political characteristics that differentiated them from other political groups and unions, as can be seen in doc. II-62B.

### A. Serbs and Greeks

[...] Karadžić, who was in Athens yesterday to attend an event organised by the Serb-Greek Friendship Association, also said that the Serbian people are characterised by the same spiritual beauty as the Greek people because both are Orthodox.

"In these times it is not easy to be a friend of the Serbs. But real rebels indeed manifest themselves in times like these" he said at some other point. "What I should emphasise", added Karadžić, "is both the Serbian as well as the Greek Church are deeply patriotic".

*Eleftherotypia* newspaper, 15 June 1993, p. 12.

### B. "The Greeks and God are by our side"

"Everyone is telling us to lay down our weapons because we are alone. We say no, we are not alone. We have the Greeks and God by our side". [...] Though the stadium was not full, everyone present was filled with enthusiasm. Even the extreme nationalist groups of plainly far-right nature were represented by a small group of youth in military attire, black berets and coat of arms with the two-headed eagle; shouting out slogans, they simply operated just as hooligans in sports events.

\* The presence of GSEE [General Confederation of Labour] in the event at the Peace and Friendship Stadium "conflicts with the policy of peace, cooperation and equal partnership with Unions in the Balkans sharing common goals", claims the minority group "Autonomous Intervention" within GSEE, characterising this stance as one-sided in favour of Serbs in Bosnia.

*Eleftherotypia* newspaper, 15 June 1993, p. 13.

### C. The meeting with the Greek Prime Minister



Mitsotakis and Karadžić at the Prime Minister's Office. The Serbian leader asked for Greek intermediation in order to achieve an entente between Serbs and Croats.

*Eleftherotypia* newspaper, 15 June 1993, p. 12.

### II-63. Henry A. Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, comments on the Rambouillet agreement concerning Kosovo, 1999

[...] I respect the humanitarian motive for intervention. But this does not absolve the democracies from the necessity of coming up with a sustainable solution. The Rambouillet agreement does not meet that test. Conducting a negotiation based on an agreement drafted entirely in foreign chancelleries and seeking to impose it by the threat of air bombardment has only exacerbated the crisis in Kosovo. [...] The Serbs have rejected the Rambouillet agreement because they see in it a prelude to independence for Kosovo. They also see the presence of NATO troops as the sort of foreign occupation Serbia has historically resisted against the Ottoman and Austrian empires, Hitler and Stalin. Even if they are bombed into capitulation, they can hardly be expected to be willing supporters of the outcome. [...] the war on Yugoslavia inspires profound ambivalence. Serbia fought at our side in two world wars, and stood up to Stalin at the height of his powers. We cannot ignore Milosevic's brutality, yet the disappearance

of Serbia from the Balkans equilibrium may tempt eruptions in other neighbouring countries containing ethnic minorities. [...]

Kissinger, 1999, pp. 28-29.



What are Kissinger's arguments for and against the NATO intervention?

### II-64. Greek responses to the NATO bombing of Serbia



The snapshot shows a crowded Constitution Square in downtown Athens on the occasion of a Mikis Theodorakis concert against the NATO bombing of Serbia. The concert constituted one of the many manifestations of support that the Greek people exhibited towards the Serbs. A similar concert, with the participation of numerous Greek artists, had taken place in Belgrade two weeks earlier.



## Mikis Theodorakis's concert in Athens against the NATO bombing of Serbia



26 April 1999; Photographer Charis Bilios.



1. Greece was the only country from Western Europe which supported Serbia in the Yugoslav wars. Why do you think this was so? What does the phrase “we are brothers” mean? Are there any historical or other bonds between the two countries?

2. Study the relations between Greece and Serbia in the 20th century and prepare a chronology of their alliances and conflicts. Then discuss the topic whether there are “historic friends” and “historic enemies” (you can use other examples too).

## II-65. Romania provided NATO with facilities for bombing Serbia in 1999: a media report

Romania supported bombing actions against Yugoslavia in the period May-June 1999. [...] In October 1998, the Romanian Parliament approved a NATO request for the Alliance’s planes to use Romanian airspace for possible military operations against Yugoslavia, only in exceptional and emergency situations. [...].

In February 1999, military from Romania and US established a monitoring centre for air traffic, which was meant to cover neighbouring regions in addition to Romanian territory.

[...] On 18 April 1999, NATO requested Romania to open its airspace for allied planes. On 20 April, the Supreme Council of National Defence (SCND) [CSAT in Romanian] and the Romanian government responded to the request. On 22 April, the Parliament authorised NATO planes to use the Romanian airspace during operations against Yugoslavia. [...] In May 1999, the Ministry of National Defence confirmed that the NATO Air Forces had the right to use Romanian airports during Yugoslavia operations. [...]

On 17 June 1999, the Romanian Parliament passed with a majority of votes President Emil Constantinescu’s request to allow the transit to Yugoslavia via Romania of Czech and Polish contingents of the Kosovo international peacekeeping force (KFOR). [...]

“Romania during the Yugoslavian wars”, *Vocea Rusiei* [Russia’s Voice], available on [http://romanian.ruvr.ru/2014\\_03\\_24/24-martie-1999-15-ani-de-la-bombardarea-Serbiei-3776/](http://romanian.ruvr.ru/2014_03_24/24-martie-1999-15-ani-de-la-bombardarea-Serbiei-3776/), accessed on 27.03.2015; and the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs site: <http://www.mae.ro/node/5346?page=2>, accessed on 3.04.2015.







## **CHAPTER III: INTERNATIONAL ACTORS, LOCAL ISSUES**

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## ► INTRODUCTION

In the decades following the end of the Cold War, Southeast Europe witnessed a series of sea changes. Some of these were also experienced by countries in Eastern Europe: for example, the transition to parliamentary democracy and the market economy as well as accession to Euro-Atlantic institutions. In the former communist countries, this transition was neither smooth nor straight. Not only did it not always lead to democratisation, but it also followed different paths in each country (e.g. in Bulgaria or Romania), and was characterised by the survival of old political structures. The rescission or renaming of the Communist Parties dominant in the previous era did not mean marginalisation of the old political elites. They adopted the programmes of European social-democratic parties and continued to be an important factor in the new political system. Many members of Communist establishments were also able to capitalise on their initial advantages, to join the emerging non-communist parties and/or new economic elites. Next to old politicians, who by and large had opposed the previous regime, new politicians appeared: they often articulated a nationalist and/or populist public discourse in order to rally supporters. The same period also witnessed an increase in the manipulation of public opinion by mass media outlets, the interests of which often interwove with those of the political elites. Financial scandals and corruption trials have survived despite borders and old Cold War divisions. The Susurluk car crash in Turkey in November 1996 (see source III-47) is but one example of an event in which networks of financial and political interests intertwine with criminal activities.

To grasp the significance of these phenomena which, though local, have international dimensions, one has to possess a sound knowledge of European and world history. Not least because the intervention of international agents in local issues has been decisive, particularly in the break-up of Yugoslavia. There is no doubt that the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia as independent states, first by Germany and then by the EC, played a crucial role in the escalation of the Yugoslav crisis. It was a form of “benign” international intervention that nevertheless had important repercussions at local level. Yet one should not consider these “foreign agents” as solely responsible for the suffering at the local level.

An examination of the historical sources that are set out in this chapter and in chapters I and II reveals the complexity of the causes.

Several countries and international organisations were involved in the crisis surrounding the disintegration of Yugoslavia: the United Nations, the European Community (subsequently the European Union), the United States and the Russian Federation. Their interventions were unsuccessful overall, and this is attributed to many factors: discord between the actors, poor assessments of events, and an unwillingness to internationalise the conflict and use troops in a timely manner. The US was at first busy with the Gulf War and then hesitated, while the European Community was occupied with its evolution into the European Union. Until 1995 the great powers confined their activities mainly to supporting UNPROFOR and enforcing an arms embargo, which in reality only benefited the Serbs.

From 1991 to 1999 the EU and US followed a policy of intervention designed to bring the war that raged on different fronts and between different belligerents on Yugoslav soil to an end. A number of committees were set up, a series of peace conferences were held, and plans for solving the crisis were put forward with, however, meagre results. Even the Dayton Agreement of 1995, which seemed to bring to an end the Yugoslav drama by creating a federal state in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the supervision of the international community, did not halt the escalation of violence or the further break-up of Yugoslavia.

Alternative means of pressure, such as economic sanctions, were also employed before the international organisations resorted to military intervention (with the NATO bombing of Serbia). In addition to diplomatic and military intervention, the international community's involvement was designed to offer humanitarian aid to civilian populations that were the victims of untold suffering ranging from ethnic cleansing to displacement. With some 39,000 men and women engaged in various missions across former Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR played a pivotal role in the rescue and relief of civilians, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

War crimes carried out in the course of the Yugoslav Wars were eventually brought before courts of law, mainly international ones but also local. In these the

final act of the Yugoslav drama is still being played out. In May 1993, the UN Security Council formed the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) based in The Hague. After the Nuremberg and Tokyo military tribunals, this was the first international war crimes tribunal since WWII. Its task was to organise trials for the murder of thousands of civilians, torture, rape, detention in concentration camps, displacement of hundreds of thousands of persons from their homes, destruction of property, and other crimes as defined by its Statute. So far, over 160 persons have been brought to trial.

After the war, the EU, with the help of other international organisations, sought to stabilise South-East Europe and offer economic aid. For this purpose, the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe was established in June 1999, in order to strengthen peace, democracy, human rights, and stabilise the economy in the countries of the region. The pact was the first attempt by the international community to replace the “reactive crisis intervention policy” in Southeast Europe with a long-term “conflict prevention” strategy.

The Yugoslav Question was undoubtedly the thorniest and most traumatic issue in post-Cold War Southeast Europe and, as the case of Kosovo illustrates, has yet to be fully resolved. Another by-product of the Yugoslav crisis is the controversy between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia concerning the name of the new state. The controversy began on the day after the new Republic’s declaration of independence, reached a climax in 1994 with the Greek embargo and was somewhat normalised with the Interim Accord of 1995. Despite the fact that the two countries have restored relations, the name issue has not yet been resolved and is still employed by nationalistic circles on both sides of the border.

Another unresolved question of the post-1990 era is that of Cyprus: in this, Greco-Turkish relations as well as many international actors come into play. Following

the island’s partition in the wake of the Turkish invasion of 1974, things started to move for the first time in the 1990s. On the one hand, the process for Cypriot accession to the EU began and, on the other, a number of plans for resolving the question were put forward by the international community, foremost among these being the Annan Plan of 2004. In addition, restrictions on the movement of people were lifted and, since 2003, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots enjoy the right to visit the “other side”. It was then that the Cypriots witnessed the demolition of their own “Berlin Wall”, though they have yet to see the union of their island. Although the Republic of Cyprus has been a full member of the EU since 2004, the benefits and rights of EU membership apply mainly to the Greek Cypriots. The northern part of the island, known as the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”, is not recognised by the international community, only by Turkey.

In 2004 Slovenia became the first former Yugoslav republic to join the EU, followed nine years later by Croatia. Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007 and, by the end of the first decade of the 21st century all these states, also including Albania, had become members of NATO. Although Turkey has been a NATO member since 1952, it has yet to join the EU. Thus Southeast Europe remains split as far as its European affiliations are concerned, as many states of the region are not EU members. For non-member states, excepting Turkey, the EU uses the neologism “Western Balkans”, which in reality means countries from the territory of the former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia and Croatia since 2004 and 2013, respectively) plus Albania. The so-called Western Balkans therefore include Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, FYR Macedonia and Albania.

The chapter aims to offer a concise all-round view of political developments in post-Cold War Southeast Europe, as these unfolded within the countries of the region and in the context of international relations.

### ► III.1. THE CYPRUS QUESTION

Up until the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Cyprus was the neuralgic hotspot of Europe (after the Middle East) and continues to be one of the most important areas of crisis in the region. Since the 1950s, several of the major diplomatic crises in international relations have concerned Cyprus (the events of 1955-58, the crises of 1963-64, 1967 and 1974, and the S-300 missile crisis between 1997 and 1999, among them). The collapse of the Soviet Union and the democratisation process in Eastern European countries changed the character of the system of international relations and increased the dangers to the national security of smaller states such as Cyprus.

Their integration into a big and powerful supranational organisation associating them with a wider group of states would offer security as well as political and economic advantages. Moreover, the Non-aligned Movement of which Cyprus had been a founding member was gradually declining in importance while the European Community and its expanding activity were in their heyday. The year 2004 was a turning point in the history of Cyprus: first, a referendum for the solution of the Cyprus Problem on the basis of UN General Secretary Kofi Annan's Plan was organised and second, the Republic of Cyprus acceded to the EU.

#### ► III.1.1. During the 1990s

##### III-1. An article by the President of Cyprus George Vassiliou before talks started at the UN, 19 February 1990



On 4 July 1990, the Cyprus Government led by George Vassiliou submitted a formal application to join the European Community under Article 237 of the EEC Treaty. Both the Turkish Government and the Turkish Cypriots reacted strongly to this application. However, with this act by Cyprus, the EU became a key external determinant of the evolution of the conflict.

[...] More than the future of Cypriots will be at stake. What stands to be decided in Cyprus is whether states made up of more than one ethnic group can survive as unified entities within secure borders, or whether they must fragment, with each community claiming the right to secede on the grounds that this is the only way to safeguard its interests.

The latter formula would spell the end of Europe and of the world as we know it – and that end would not come peacefully. The partition of Cyprus would set a precedent which the international community cannot afford.

Vassiliou, 2010, p. 97.



Comment on the following statement: "What stands to be decided in Cyprus is whether states made up of more than one ethnic group can survive as unified entities within secure borders, or whether they must fragment, with each community claiming the right to secede on the grounds that this is the only way to safeguard its interests." Find in this book other examples of countries that have had to deal with the same issue.

##### III-2. "Earthquake diplomacy" between Greece and Turkey



Relations between Greece and Turkey were in a state of continuous tension from 1974 onwards, reaching a peak in January 1996 in the crisis over the island called Imia in Greek and Kardak in Turkish. This situation altered as a consequence of three dramatic events in 1999. The first was the capture of the PKK leader, Abdullah Öcalan, who had been hiding in the Greek embassy in Kenya. The second was NATO's bombing of Serbia from March to May, which began with statements by the then US President and UK Prime Minister that one of their reasons was to avoid a Greco-Turkish war over Kosovo.





Both Greeks and Turks felt such statements were grossly inaccurate. In May the Turkish Foreign Minister, İsmail Cem, wrote to the Greek Foreign Minister, George Papandreou, and received a friendly response. The third, most dramatic, development came in the form of two massive earthquakes, near Istanbul in mid-August, and in Athens in early September. On the early morning of 17 August 1999, the Eastern Marmara region of Turkey was struck by a 7.4 magnitude earthquake. As the nation reeled with the shock of ruined cities, thousands of dead and wounded people, general panic ensued in the industrial and financial heart of the country. The heartfelt response of Greece was particularly appreciated in this hour of dire need. On 18 August, Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis ordered the deployment of emergency aid to Turkey consisting of three airplanes carrying medical personnel, rescue workers and aid material ("Yardım Yağıyor", *Hürriyet*, 18 August 1999). Then, on 7 September, the northern part of Athens was hit by a 6.00 earthquake, killing 150 people and injuring 2,000. This time, it was Turkish rescue workers fresh out of the Marmara Earthquake operation who flew in to reciprocate solidarity. The favourable atmosphere among the two nations resulting from these events consolidated state-level efforts to improve bilateral relations.

#### A. Stephen Kinzer reporting from Athens in the *New York Times*

The day after Athens was struck by its most serious earthquake in decades, millions of television viewers watched in awe as Turkish rescue workers pulled a Greek child from under a pile of rubble. Announcers struggled to control their emotion. "It's the Turks!" one of them shouted as his voice began to crack. "They've got the little boy. They saved him. And now the Turkish guy is drinking from a bottle of water. It's the same bottle the Greek rescuers just drank from. This is love. It's so beautiful." [...] "I think we're in the middle of a new phenomenon that you could call seismic diplomacy or earthquake diplomacy," said Nicholas Burns, the United States Ambassador to Greece. "Images that people saw on TV had tremendous political symbolism, and there's an opportunity for both sides to build on that." [...]

Kinzer, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/09/13/world/earthquakes-help-warm-greek-turkish-relations.html?pagewanted=all>, accessed on 23.05.2016.

#### B. Anonymous Greek offers his kidney to a Turkish earthquake victim

"A lesson in peace or a life-saving donation."

The Turkish pupils at a primary school in Bochum, Germany, learned of the offer and wrote to the "unknown Greek uncle".

"I do not know your name but I read in a newspaper that you will donate your kidney to a Turkish earthquake victim. You as well as we want Turkey and Greece to live in peace". Thus begins a letter to the "dear good-hearted Greek uncle" by 13-year-old pupil Pınar Karabacak. [...] Her letter was not the only one. Dozens of children, offspring of Turkish migrants in Germany, put their own stamp on this gesture by the "Greek uncle".

*Eleftherotypia* newspaper, 2 September 1999, p. 47.

#### III-3. "Leukaemia diplomacy" in Cyprus, March 2000



In March 2000, thousands of people from Cyprus, Greece and Turkey offered blood for the sake of Greek Cypriot Andreas and Turkish Cypriot Kemal, who both suffered from leukaemia and were in need of bone marrow transplants. The whole event was presented by the international media as a case of "leukaemia diplomacy" and was attributed to civil society's capacity to overcome nationalistic divides and build bridges between peoples. Ironically, no match was found for Andreas nor for Kemal. Yet, while the Greek Cypriot boy received a cord blood transplant in a US hospital and was saved, Kemal died because the match he received proved incompatible.

#### BOY'S PLIGHT OVERCOMES THE DIVIDE. TURKISH CYPRIOTS FLOCK TO LEUKAEMIA APPEAL.

Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots including Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş's son and opposition Republican Turkish Party leader Ali Talat, yesterday gave blood in the search for a suitable bone-marrow donor to save a Greek Cypriot child. [...] Denktaş and Talat said it had been a humanitarian effort that should not be used politically. [...] "The Turkish Cypriots have seen my child as theirs. I just want to say thank you to all the Turks and Turkish Cypriots who have come for my baby", Andreas' father said. [...] The government spokesman said the effort to find a donor had overcome the island's division, proving that Greek and Turkish Cypriots could live together. [...]

It has superseded separation and segregation and showed ... that Greek and Turkish Cypriots could not only be the citizens of the same state but act as such." [...] Meanwhile Greek and Turkish Cypriot diaspora

associations in Australia said yesterday they were joining the effort to find matching donors for Andreas and Kemal.

*Cyprus Mail*, 28 March 2000.



1. The incident described in doc. III-3 proves that T/C and G/C can live together, according to the source. Do you agree with this conclusion?

Why do you think that politicians themselves gave blood for the child in need and what was the aim and symbolic meaning of their personal participation in the campaign?

2. "And showed that Greek and Turkish Cypriots could not only be citizens [...] but act as such". Discuss the essence of being an active citizen (responsibilities, needs, attitude, activism).

3. Compare the responsible activity of "leukaemia diplomacy" with the "earthquake diplomacy" described in source III-2. Why do you think that disasters or humanitarian personal cases bring people, ethnicities or nations closer to each other despite their differences or

traumatic past? What do cases like that focus on and remind people of?

4. Discuss the terms "leukaemia diplomacy" and "earthquake diplomacy". Why and how is the term "diplomacy" used in both cases?

5. Split the class into three groups. Each one of them has to cover the earthquakes as 1) a foreign journalist, 2) a member of a Turkish rescue team and 3) a member of a Greek rescue team that were sent to help in the respective earthquake areas.

6. The whole class conducts a media research project in order to find similar cases not only involving Greece, Turkey or Cyprus but from the whole region and beyond. The findings of the research are to be compared and discussed in class.

## ► III.1.2. From the Helsinki Summit to the Annan Plan

### III-4. Turkish Cypriots divided on EU membership



In December 1999 the European Council in Helsinki welcomed the launch of UN-sponsored talks aiming at a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem, while noting that a political settlement of the Cyprus Question would facilitate the Republic's accession to the EU. If no settlement had been reached by the completion of accession negotiations, the Council underlined, its "decision on accession will be made without the above being a precondition" (see also ch. III.3.1, III-29). Turkish Cypriots were divided about the consequences of the Helsinki Summit: Federalists argued that this was the big opportunity to settle the Cyprus problem; partitionists, on the contrary, defended TRNC and its specific ties with "motherland Turkey".

not applied and started candidacy talks with the EU, Turkey's candidacy would again have a long way to go. Both facts are based on the Cyprus issue. There is no doubt that Cyprus will lead Turkey to candidacy and membership in the future!

[...] Although they try to mislead us, the Cypriot Turks had their own gift in Helsinki. In fact, it is a gift bigger than the one given to Turkey! We can become a full EU member right away.

So, why are we sad instead of being happy? Why is our pride hurt?

Due to the attitude of Turkish politicians, who characterized what was for us a beneficial decision, as a negative one.

[...] They have accepted everything in the Helsinki decisions, but they do not accept the article regarding Cyprus. As if there is a condition of accepting or not! [...]

Fatma Azgın, *Yenidüzen* newspaper, 15 December 1999.

#### A. Turkish Cypriot Federalists

[...] It is a fact that if Turkey was not an important party in Northern Cyprus, Turkey's candidacy would have a long way to go. Another fact is that if Cyprus had

#### B. Turkish Cypriot Partitionists

At the end of Helsinki Summit, there were "those who were happy and those who had bitterness". [...] We were also surprised to learn how alienated the Turkish people are from the EU club. [...] today in Turkey, where

the "neo-republican" reaction and fundamentalists' resistance against Turkey's opening the EU door, cannot be underestimated.

And the inexhaustible hopes of this rather large fraction say out loud that "Turkey will not be able to become a full member of EU".

[...] The shelling of the opposing fronts will be intensified in order to weaken full membership and make it a vain hope.

[...] Just consider that the Turkomans, who came from the Asian steppes to Anatolia, created an entire Ottoman Empire. They also went right to the door of Vienna, to the inner places of Europe...

[...] And Cyprus: consider that we took the history and we moved it four hundred years forward, right up to 1999. Put Cyprus, fairly, into its right place within this "huge" history. When was it out of Turkey and without Turkey?

[...] Since 1571, that is, from the "modernization pains" of Turkey up to today, Cyprus has developed within the womb of the Ottoman State and Turkey and has been born and brought to our time.

For this reason, the decision that binds Cyprus in Helsinki is not important at all. Eventually, European Turkey and European Cyprus will settle in their right places. As long as Turkey's structure internalizes this "Europeanism".

Eşref Çetinel, *Halkın Sesi* newspaper, 13 December 1999.



1. How are the relations between Cyprus and Turkey described in the two documents? What are the differences?

2. Find historical references in the second document and identify to which events the author refers. Based on that knowledge, explain how history is used as a political argument.

### III-5. The lifting of restrictions on passage through a divided Cyprus, 2003



Between 1974 and 2003, it was impossible for people in Cyprus to visit the other side and meet each other. In April 2003 Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership decided to lift restrictions at certain barricades, allowing people to pass. Some analysts have considered this event a result of the pressure Turkish Cypriots had exercised (with continual demonstrations) against Denktaş policy.

The partial lifting of restrictions on free movement to and from the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" on 23 April heralds a new era in the long and tumultuous history of the national issue in Cyprus.

That measure was the result, primarily, of the Turkish Cypriot (T/C) uprising against the Denktaş regime throughout the course of 2002 and into early 2003. It included mass demonstrations, militant protests and strikes without precedent in T/C history. These mobilizations left the regime in mid-air and sent to the new Turkish government under Erdoğan the clear message that enough is enough!

[...] The settlement of the Cyprus issue and membership of the EU were seen as the last hope of the T/C masses which have suffered three decades of economic recession, isolation and brutal oppression.

#### *A mass "festival" of reconciliation*

[...] Within 15 days, 260,000 G/C and 90,000 T/C, approximately 40% of the population passed through the barricades! Endless caravans of people waited for hours in the burning sun, while thousands slept in their cars so as to be able to visit for the first time after 29 years their homes or their beloved places on the "other side".

The most important of all is that waiting for them there were not some enemies as they had expressly been told by nationalists on both sides for three decades, but "ordinary folk just like us," who made every effort to express feelings of love and friendship uniting G/C and T/C for centuries. People who had kept photographs and other cherished items of house-owners safe handed them back 29 years later.

The myth of the long-established enmity between Greeks and Turks, which suited the bourgeoisie for an entire era, collapsed within days. Even limited free movement turned into a mass "festival" of reconciliation.

#### *Politicians as bewildered spectators*

The shock was no less for the G/C political leadership.

Others remained as bewildered spectators of developments, while many tried with minced words to discourage the movement of G/C, with the excuse that showing passports constitutes recognition of the Denktaş State, that free movement provides financial support to the Pseudostate, that the government cannot guarantee the safety and security of the travellers, etc.

People defied the "politicians" and voted with their feet, cars and bicycles! The prevailing sentiment was that: "The 'politicians' proved inept, not only at solving the national issue, but even at finding a way for us to visit our villages and towns. If the constant talks and contacts



of 'politicians' with the other side do not constitute recognition and treason, why are ordinary people traitors for visiting their dearly loved places in the north?"

Mihail, 20/5/2003,

<http://www.xekinima.org/arthra/view/article/kypros-h-eksegersi-ton-tk-anoikse-ta-odofragmata>, accessed on 19.01.2016.



1. Why, despite the negative attitude of their leaders, did so many people from both sides, decide to cross the line and visit their places of origin? What motive was so strong to drive the move into the others' territory? Why were these visits considered "treason" by nationalist politicians from both sides? How do you understand the title "Politicians as bewildered spectators"?

2. Imagine you are someone who is waiting to cross the line. Describe your feelings and expectations. What are you afraid of and what do you hope to find on the other side? Write down the main points of your thoughts and choose to be T/C or G/C. Compare and discuss. Then write down what you did find and describe how you feel (see also other chapters about Cyprus in vol. 1).

### III-6. The referendum on the Annan Plan – 2004



Between December 1999 and November 2002, Kofi Annan launched and held preliminary talks on the resolution of the Cyprus issue. Direct negotiations were held between 2002 and 2004. Annan produced five versions of his plan for a "United Republic of Cyprus" in succession. The Second and Third Plans were rejected in December 2002 and March 2003 by the then elected leader of the Turkish Cypriots, Rauf Denktaş, in theory on behalf of his community which, however, evidently supported it, in reality with the support of the Turkish government. It was immediately after his second rejection in April 2003 that the Green Line was opened (cf. WB2, IV-27, v30). After further amendments by the UN, the Fifth Version of the Annan Plan was put to a referendum in April 2004, when – with Turkish government support – it was accepted by 64.91% of Turkish Cypriots but rejected by 75.83% of Greek Cypriots. One week after the referendum vote, the Republic of Cyprus was fully integrated in the European Union with all its citizens,

→

including Turkish Cypriots, becoming citizens of the EU. However, the Community Acquis did not apply to the area outside the control of the government of the Republic of Cyprus.

**The negative vote for the Annan Plan was celebrated among the Greek Cypriot community as "the survival of the Republic of Cyprus"**



Φιλελεύθερος newspaper (Phileleftheros: Liberal),  
25 April 2004.



How would you describe the attitude of the cartoonist towards the outcome of the referendum – positive or negative? Why is the female figure holding the flag of the Republic of Cyprus? What is the statement here? Do you think that this caption represents both communities of the island? Do you find any contradiction in the way the figure is represented and the result of the referendum, especially when referring to G/C? Use arguments for your answer.

## ► III.2. THE QUESTION OF YUGOSLAVIA

The European Community was the first to intervene in the war in Yugoslavia. During the war in Slovenia, the so-called Troika was in Zagreb on 28 and 29 June 1991 and brokered a ceasefire agreement and a three-month moratorium on Slovenian independence, but the fighting continued since the Army did not adhere to the agreement, and the ceasefire did not start being implemented until 3 July. On 7 July, representatives of Slovenia, Croatia, the Federal (Yugoslav) Government and the Troika agreed in Brijuni that Slovenian police would monitor Slovenian borders, that customs revenue would go to the Federal Government, that the situation on the borders would be restored as it was before 25 June

(it was unclear how), that Slovenian units would unblock army barracks allowing withdrawal of JNA units, which would cease their attacks, that the territorial defence force would be demobilised, all prisoners released and that Slovenia would freeze all measures relating to independence for three months. This was the only successful diplomatic intervention. Following the escalation of the war in Croatia in the summer of 1991, the presidents of the Yugoslav republics, the Federal Presidency and the Federal Government, under the auspices of the European Troika, led by Hans van den Broek, signed a cease-fire agreement to extend the activities of EC observers to Croatia and to launch a Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague.

### ► III.2.1. International military intervention

#### III-7. Observers of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Slovenia



Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



Following the implementation of the Brijuni Agreement, which declared a three-month moratorium on Slovenia's independence in order to facilitate a cease-fire between the Slovene armed forces and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), a group of Dutch international observers came to Slovenia

for a short period of time with a mandate from the Conference on the Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), adopted on 5 July 1991. Although the JNA tried to prevent them from coming, the observers were finally able to visit Slovene Territorial Defence barracks and police stations without any interruptions.

### III-8. UNPROFOR: the United Nations Protection Force

UNPROFOR, the United Nations Protection Force, popularly referred to as the "blue helmets", was a peacekeeping force active in the period of Yugoslav wars in the territory of former Yugoslavia (1992-2001). It was established by the UN Security Council in February 1992. Between 1992 and 1995 it operated in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). UNPROFOR was deployed in December 1992 in FYR Macedonia in order to protect territory bordering the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Albania. Between March 1995 and February 1999, the peacekeeping force acted as the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) with the task of protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of FYR Macedonia. In November 1995, after the Dayton Agreement, the blue helmets' mission was for the most part greatly reduced.

post at Vrbanja Bridge. During the subsequent battle, French members of UNPROFOR killed four Serbs and captured others. However, the Serbian side forced them to apologize for that because it was holding French hostages. The most severe criticism of the blue helmets came after the fall of Srebrenica and the genocide that followed. The UN had designated Srebrenica a safe zone in April 1993. It was attacked in July 1995 by the army of Republika Srpska under the command of Ratko Mladić and paramilitary units from Serbia, and a Dutch UNPROFOR battalion failed to protect it. The killing of over 8,000 Bosniak men and boys followed.

#### THE PEACE-KEEPERS ARE COMING A CHALLENGE FOR THE HOSTS

[...] only high-ranking officers will be allowed to come with their families (the wives will be an advance party of sorts), as our media have been reporting for a long time. Thus, Colonel Wilson's wife is in Israel for the duration of his mandate, and she visited him in Belgrade. Most "ordinary" UNPROFOR soldiers will have six days off each month, which they can use to travel in the country or visit their families.

Discipline will be very strict for all UN peace-keepers, according to the strict rules of the international organisation. However, there is such a thing as "national policy" which differs from contingent to contingent, depending on the country of origin. This means that some matters are within the sole discretion of the commanders of national contingents, including the "question of love". Some national contingents allow soldiers to keep company, fall in love and marry local women, while others strictly prohibit it. However, they all prohibit drinking on duty, engaging in smuggling, black-market trade, reselling goods...

Nevertheless, communication with local inhabitants is more than welcome, associating with them as much as possible, shopping in local stores... It is known that peace-keepers are big spenders and one-quarter of

#### A. The blue helmets - coming to save civilians



In 1994, the UNPROFOR forces in BiH were exposed to many Serbian attacks and involved in various military battles and operations. Their major failure was a failure to protect so-called safe areas which were under constant Serbian attack. For example, when NATO responded to Serbian bombardments of the Goražde safe zone, the Serbs then captured a number of UNPROFOR members and used them as a human shield. The "safe area" and "no-flight" zone in Bihać were exposed to Serbian attacks in which cluster bombs and napalm were used, and the violence of the Serb forces caused a massive exodus. Additional NATO air strikes were fruitless since the Serbs captured UNPROFOR members again and thereby blocked delivery of humanitarian aid. The protection of the safe zone in Tuzla was likewise ineffective. In May 1995, after NATO air strikes on Pale, the Serbs seized 400 members of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, and captured another 12 at the UN observation →



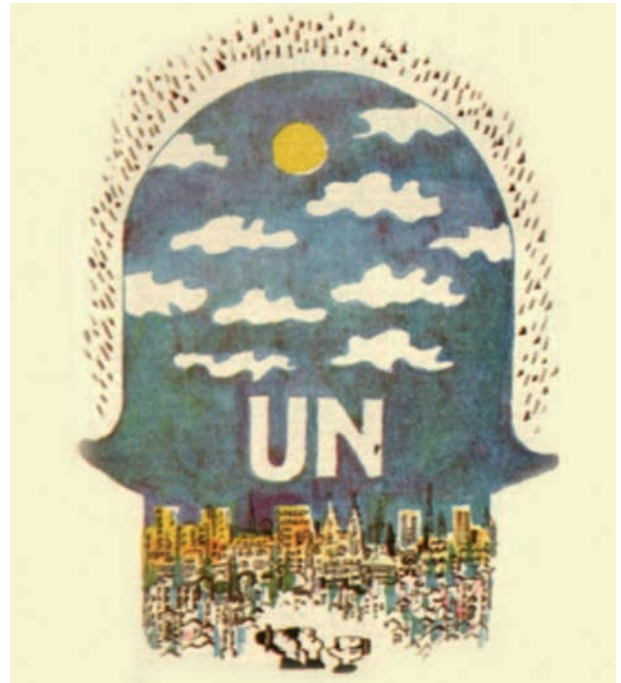
the planned budget of this peace-keeping mission (around 175 million dollars) is earmarked for their salaries. According to experience from previous such missions, in the end, the host country profits from big and small-scale business as well as from everyday consumption by the peace-keepers. Of course, if the hosts know how to [...]

*Oslobođenje, 28.02.1992, p. 5.*



What does the acronym UNPROFOR stand for? What was the main purpose of UNPROFOR? What does this source tell you about the composition of the UN peace-keeping forces? What are the "national contingents"? Why might the rules of conduct of the soldiers depend on the country of origin of each individual contingent? How was what the local population expected from the peace-keepers presented in the newspaper, apart from their primary mission?

## B. A caricature about the blue helmets



*Oslobođenje, year XLIX, issue 15694, Sarajevo, 28.02.1992, p. 5.*

## C. UN "spring-cleaning the house"



*Oslobođenje, god.XLIX, br. 15683, Sarajevo, 17.02.1992, p. 2.*



Describe the cartoon: who are the two men to the left and right of the main figure? Explain the perspective of the author (bear in mind that the cartoon was published in a Bosnian newspaper: the political situation in Bosnia at the time was tense, but there was still no war). Do you think that cartoonists from Croatia or Serbia would present the issue in the same manner? Use your knowledge of the events in your explanation.

#### D. The experience of the Bosnian population with UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) and the UNHCR (UN High Commission for Refugees)



In Bosnia and Herzegovina UNPROFOR initially protected Sarajevo airport and successfully escorted humanitarian convoys (between July 1992 and January 1993 almost 2,500 aircraft landed in Sarajevo, bringing nearly 28 tons of humanitarian aid). From 1993, it protected the safe area in Srebrenica and then other places as well (Sarajevo, Goražde, Žepa, Tuzla, Bihać). In the last period (from February 1994 onwards) UNPROFOR monitored the truce between the Croats and Bosniaks, which resulted in the establishment of the Muslim-Croat Federation. It also monitored some of the border crossings which were points of entry into the Federation. Using aircraft, UNPROFOR forces also monitored the so-called no-flight zones (Operation Deny Flight). NATO warplanes, coordinated by UNPROFOR land forces, shot down several Serbian aircraft.

*What was your experience with UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) and the UNHCR (UN High Commission for Refugees)?*

– I had contacts with UNPROFOR on Mount Igman, we were together on the front line. We would sit and drink together, they gave us coffee, chocolate and wine; [...]

– I had no contacts with UNPROFOR and the UNHCR, but I think they did not realize what was going on – who was attacking and who was defending the city;

– I was selling diesel oil on the black market with UNPROFOR; [...]

– I would occasionally buy something from them, but it was all very expensive; [...]

– Once I sat with a Pole, he was member of the Foreign Legion. I think they were more miserable than we were;

– I hate them; [...]

– My experience with UNPROFOR is good. I practically survived thanks to them, as both my husband and my daughter worked for them;

– Once I saw UNPROFOR soldiers throwing candy and chocolates to children in front of the RTV building.

– On several occasions they brought food and drugs to the hospital. They were very nice and kind; [...]

– I never liked them, although I had no contacts with them; [...]

– These institutions were brimming with our enemies who worked for their own benefit;

– All outright thieves both in UNPROFOR and in UNHCR;

– Yes, I had contacts with French soldiers from UNPROFOR, to whom I used to sell various things;

– I had no personal experience with them, although I frequently saw girls gathering at night in front of the UNPROFOR base; [...]

– I had no personal experience with them, except with their vehicles which I would rob at night and take out diesel oil and gasoline;

*Survival Questionnaire – The Siege of Sarajevo 1992-1996, FAMA, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 834-1029.*



Taking into consideration doc. III-8 A, B and C, try to describe the task of the international forces and the dangers of their presence in conflicting areas as such (pros and cons). Read doc. III-8D in which extracts from the personal experiences of Bosnian people are given and various attitudes expressed. What do you detect here of the attitude of "blue helmet" soldiers?

## UN deployments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia



UNPROFOR's task in Croatia was to monitor the ceasefire and to protect demilitarized war zones (the United Nations Protected Areas) which were determined by the UN in predominately Serb-populated areas. The mission was then extended to the so-called "pink zones", to the border crossings and the demilitarized zone on the small peninsula of Prevlaka near Dubrovnik. In addition, it protected the strategically important bridge at Maslenica, which divided Croatia in half and was under surveillance from the local hills by Serbs. When the Croatian authorities wanted to re-open

the bridge in 1993, it was demolished by the Serbs, and thus the UNPROFOR mission was unsuccessful. The blue helmets received a new task in 1994 under the name United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), monitoring the cease-fire between the Croatian authorities and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. This task ended at the beginning of 1996: the Croatian military operation Oluja (in English: Storm) had been carried out in August 1995, and had terminated the existence of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and resulting in a mass exodus of Serbian population.





Compare this map with the map showing the ethnic composition of Yugoslavia (p. 45) and the map of areas affected by the war (p.50).

### III-9. NATO Troops in Kosovo after the Kumanovo Agreement, 1999



After three months of NATO bombing and constant actions by the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army), the Yugoslav army was obliged to sign an agreement in Kumanovo on 9 June 1999 to withdraw from Kosovo. NATO units (KFOR) entered Kosovo the same month and have remained there ever since (though reduced in number to about 4,000 members). After the war, however, the UN established the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and this took on a governing role there. It maintains a symbolic presence there even →

today, although it lost its leading role Kosovo declared independence in 2008.

#### Signing of Kumanovo Agreement 9 June 1999. NATO General Michael Jackson and Yugoslav Army General Nebojša Pavković



State Archive Agency of Kosovo, Pictures and Daily Press Fund.

### ► III.2.2. Negotiations and peace treaties

Following the escalation of the war in Croatia in the summer of 1991, a cease-fire was signed and a Peace Conference on Yugoslavia was launched in The Hague, under the chairmanship of Lord Peter Carrington. A declaration on peace and negotiations in Yugoslavia and a decision to establish an arbitration commission (the "Badinter Commission") was adopted at the first meeting. On 25 September 1991, the crisis in Yugoslavia was discussed for the first time in the UN Security Council and Resolution 713 was adopted. This called on all parties to respect the cease-fire agreement and imposed an arms embargo on Yugoslavia, which affected most of all Muslims during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On 8 December, the EC arbitration commission assessed that Yugoslavia was in the process of dissolution, i.e. that the matter did not involve secession and that thus the problems of succession should be resolved in keeping with the principles of international law.

Numerous peace plans were made for Bosnia and Herzegovina. In January 1993, the international community drafted the first peace plan, the

so-called Vance-Owen Plan (named after EC negotiator David Owen and UN mediator Cyrus Vance), which envisaged ten ethnic semi-autonomous cantons and a separate canton for Sarajevo. The plan was rejected by the Bosnian Serbs. The Owen-Stoltenberg Plan (named after Thorvald Stoltenberg, Vance's successor) of March 1994 envisaged Bosnia and Herzegovina as a confederation made up of three ethnic units. This plan was again rejected by the Bosnian Serbs, while Muslims and Croats established the Muslim-Croat Federation. A new peace plan was developed by the international Contact Group. In spring 1995, new negotiations were held, and by the summer Richard Holbrooke had taken over. The Dayton Agreement was adopted on 21 November at a military base in Dayton, Ohio, and signed on 14 December at the Élysée Palace in Paris. It was also the basis for an agreement between Tuđman and Milošević concerning the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem into Croatia (the so-called Erdut Agreement of November 1995), which would guarantee the rights of the Serbian minority.

### III-10. The Badinter Commission, 1991



The Arbitration Commission, or the Badinter Commission, was set up on 7 September 1991 under the auspices of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. It was made up of five constitutional court judges: Roman Herzog (Federal Republic of Germany), Aldo Corasaniti (Italy), Francisco Tomas y Valiente (Spain), Irene Petry (Belgium) and Robert Badinter (France). The last was appointed President of the Commission which was named after him in documents and by the press. It was supposed to clear up the legal aspects of problems faced by the Conference in its work. It was envisaged and formed as a part of the process of political negotiations between Yugoslavia's warring sides and, as such, the Commission was a body unprecedented in international political and legal practice. The Commission established that the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) had ceased to exist, that none of the newly-formed states were its successor, and that the republican borders were to be regarded as the borders of the newly-formed states which could not be changed with the use of force.

#### DECLARATION ON YUGOSLAVIA

Extraordinary EPC Ministerial Meeting, Brussels, 16 December 1991

The European Community and its member States discussed the situation in Yugoslavia in the light of their guidelines on the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. They adopted a common position with regard to the recognition of Yugoslav Republics. In this connection they concluded the following:

The Community and its member States agree to recognise the independence of all the Yugoslav Republics fulfilling all the conditions set out below. The implementation of this decision will take place on 15 January 1992. They are therefore inviting all Yugoslav Republics to state by 23 December whether: – they wish to be recognised as independent States; [...] – they accept the provisions laid down in the draft Convention – especially those in Chapter II on human rights and rights of national or ethnic groups – under consideration by the Conference on Yugoslavia; [...]

The applications of those Republics which reply positively will be submitted through the Chair of the Conference to the Arbitration Commission for advice before the implementation date. In the meantime, the Community and its member States request the UN Secretary General and the UN Security Council to

continue their efforts to establish an effective cease-fire and promote a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict. [...]

The Community and its member States also required a Yugoslav Republic to commit itself, prior to recognition, to adopt constitutional and political guarantees ensuring that it has no territorial claims towards a neighbouring Community State, including the use of a denomination which implies territorial claims.

Hamill, 2008, contributions 143-146.

### III-11. A caricature on the role of Lord Peter Carrington



Lord Peter Carrington was the Chairman of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia (the Hague Conference) which opened on 7 September 1991 at the Peace Palace in The Hague and continued until 14 August 1992. In October 1991, Carrington presented a European Community plan, according to which Yugoslavia was to become a loose association or an alliance of independent republics; to sign agreements on the protection of rights of ethnic minorities and possibly to accord a special status to certain areas and to exclude every possibility of unilateral changes to republican borders. The plan was rejected by Serbia and Montenegro and the peace process was suspended by the war in Bosnia.



Deus ex machina: Lord Peter Carrington and the presidents of six former Yugoslav republics. *Oslobođenje*, Sarajevo, 9.02.1992, p. 1.



Use your knowledge and explain the cartoon. How would you describe the attitude of the cartoonist: hopeful, ironic, derisive?

### III-12. “Peace signed by Karadžić”: A Greek newspaper’s articles on the signing of the Vance-Owen Plan in Athens, May 1993



Athens was considered friendly territory for Serbs, where the international community could persuade Karadžić to sign the peace plan developed by UN mediator Cyrus Vance and EC negotiator David Owen. The signing of the agreement was hailed with enthusiasm by the Greek press as an achievement of the Greek Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis, despite the reservations of the opposition under the leadership of A. Papandreou. Nevertheless, even though signed by Karadžić the plan was rejected by the Parliament of Republika Sprska and a few days later by its citizens through a referendum (96%).

#### A. How the first step was taken



The danger of war is receding from the Balkans, on condition that on the day after tomorrow the Serbian Parliament in Bosnia will ratify the Agreement for peace in the area, which was signed by their leader Radovan Karadžić yesterday in Athens after the intolerable pressure exerted by the threat of bombing Bosnia Herzegovina. [...]

*Ethnos newspaper, 3 May 1993, p. 4.*

#### B. The background to the agreement



[...] After unremitting backroom consultations, in a last-ditch effort Mr. Mitsotakis reportedly told Karadžić the following: “Peace is always better than war. Think, if you leave Athens without signing, there will be a holocaust in Bosnia”. Mitsotakis and Milosevic both extended their pens for Karadžić to sign. Then, Karadžić turned to the Speaker of Serbian Parliament in Bosnia and asked him: “What do you think I should do?” Still in grief, as his family had been killed by bombing not long ago (he still wears the black tie for mourning), he answered: “Do whatever you like”.

*Ethnos newspaper, 3 May 1993, p. 5.*

### III-13. The Washington Agreement, 1994



The Washington Agreement was a peace agreement reached between the warring Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the formal representatives of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed in Washington and Vienna in March 1994. It was signed by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haris Silajdžić, Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mate Granić, and the President of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Krešimir Zubak. The agreement marked an end to the conflict between Croats and Bosniaks.



## Alija Izetbegović and Franjo Tudjman are signing the Agreement in Washington



<https://www.flickr.com/photos/ciagov/9779477576>, accessed on 1.10.2016.

### III-14. The Z-4 plan, 30 January 1995



An attempt towards a peaceful resolution of the war in Croatia was the so-called Z-4 Plan which was worked out by the ambassadors of the USA, USSR, UN and EU. The plan was to have ensured a high degree of autonomy to the Serbs in the Krajina region but was rejected by the Serbian side.

#### PART ONE: CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE KRAJINA

##### Chapter I Establishment of the Serbian Krajina

##### Article I.1 Boundaries

1. There shall be established the autonomous Serbian Krajina (hereinafter referred to as "the Krajina") [...]

2. At any time after the entry into force of the present Agreement, the boundaries of the Krajina may be changed by agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia (to be reflected in appropriate legislation) and the Legislature of the Krajina. During a period of six months from the entry into force of the present Agreement, the

Implementation Commission [...] is empowered to change the boundaries for a distance not exceeding two kilometres from their location in accordance with Map 1 in Annex A, provided that it acts by consensus after hearing representatives of the Governments of the Republic of Croatian and of the Krajina.

3. There shall be no border controls at boundaries between the Krajina and other parts of the Republic of Croatia.

[...]

##### Article I.4 Language

The Legislature of the Krajina may provide for the use of the Serbian language and the Cyrillic script, provided that the interests of minorities in the Krajina are duly protected in accordance with Chapter XI.

[http://www.b92.net/specijal/oluja/index.php?start=0&nav\\_id=173983](http://www.b92.net/specijal/oluja/index.php?start=0&nav_id=173983), accessed on 29.11.2015.



Analyse the different peace plans for Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why do you think so many of them failed?

## The Dayton Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995



The Dayton Agreement is the peace agreement which ended the war in Bosnia. It was reached on 21 November 1995 by the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia in Dayton, Ohio, USA. It preserved Bosnia and Herzegovina as a single state made up of two parts, the Bosniak-Croat federation which controls 51% of the territory, and the Bosnian Serb Republic (Republika Srpska) which controls 49% of the territory, with Sarajevo remaining as the

undivided capital city. Although highly decentralised, the country has a central government, a central bank and a collective presidency; each of the two federal units has its own laws and political bodies. The agreement envisaged disarmament, withdrawal of troops to barracks and the right of refugees to return to their homes. Bosnia and Herzegovina became, in fact, a protectorate under the supervision of the international community.



Why do you think it took so long for the conflicting parties to reach a peace agreement? What are the main elements of the Dayton Agreement?

### III-15. Interim agreement between Greece and FYR Macedonia, 1995



Greece disputed the name "Republic of Macedonia" immediately after that state's proclamation of independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. Greece refused recognition unless it renounced the name "Macedonia". On 6 January 1992, in order to assuage Greek concerns, the new Republic's Parliament passed two amendments to the Constitution. The Badinter Commission (see source III-10) in a report issued on 11 January 1992 stated that, among the former Yugoslav republics, only Slovenia and Macedonia satisfied the EC guidelines for recognition. Athens however put pressure on its EC partners to stall the process, claiming that the independent republic had expansionist ambitions toward the northern Greek region named Macedonia. Skopje viewed this refusal as an attempt to deny its international status as a state. A compromise was negotiated in 1993 when the independent republic was accepted into membership of the United Nations with a clause that it should provisionally be referred to as "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". However, the conflict continued. On 16 February 1994, the newly elected Greek government of Andreas Papandreou imposed an embargo on FYR Macedonia. The embargo was an economic disaster for that country: because it had been greatly dependent on using the port of Thessaloniki and, because it lacked alternative transit routes, the country's economic activities were severely curtailed (see table in III-15B). Andreas Papandreou's policy raised a world outcry against Athens and also provoked criticism from influential segments of Greek society itself. With the assistance of the US and UN, the two countries reopened negotiations and signed an "Interim Accord" in September 1995. Athens lifted the embargo while Skopje removed the "star of Vergina" from its flag (see ch.1, I-18). This led to normalisation of bilateral cooperation.

#### A. The agreement

GREECE and THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Interim Accord (with related letters and translations of the Interim Accord in the languages of the Contracting Parties). Signed in New York on 13 September 1995

*Authentic text: English.*

*Registered by Greece on 13 October 1995.*

#### INTERIM ACCORD

Minister Karolos Papoulias, representing the Party of the First Part (the "Party of the First Part") and Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, representing the Party of the Second Part (the "Party of the Second Part"), hereby DECLARE AND AGREE as follows:

[...]

#### A. FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

Article 2 The Parties hereby confirm their common existing frontier as an enduring and inviolable international border.

Article 3 Each Party undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the other Party. Neither Party shall support the action of a third party directed against the sovereignty, the territorial integrity or the political independence of the other Party.

Article 6.1 The Party of the Second Part hereby solemnly declares that nothing in its Constitution, and in particular in the Preamble thereto or in Article 3 of the Constitution, can or should be interpreted as constituting or will ever constitute the basis of any claim by the Party of the Second Part to any territory not within its existing borders.

Article 7.1 Each Party shall promptly take effective measures to prohibit hostile activities or propaganda by State-controlled agencies and to discourage acts by private entities likely to incite violence, hatred or hostility against each other.

Article 8.1 The Parties shall refrain from imposing any impediment to the movement of people or goods between their territories or through the territory of either Party to the territory of the other. Both Parties shall cooperate to facilitate such movements in accordance with international law and custom.

2. The Parties agree that the European Union and the United States may be requested to use their good offices with respect to developing practical measures referred to in paragraph 2 of Article 5 so as to assist the Parties in the implementation of Article 8.

[http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MK\\_950913\\_Interim%20Accord%20between%20the%20Hellenic%20Republic%20and%20the%20FYROM.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MK_950913_Interim%20Accord%20between%20the%20Hellenic%20Republic%20and%20the%20FYROM.pdf), accessed on 6.07.2016.



## B. The effects of the Greek embargo

TRADE BETWEEN GREECE AND FYR MACEDONIA (1993-1996)

	Greek exports to FYR Macedonia (in USD)	Greek imports from FYR Macedonia (in USD)	Trade surplus for Greece (in USD)
1993	127,473	24,310	103,163
1994	12,301	4,128	8,173
1995	10,532	4,729	5,803
1996	183,589	30,991	152,598
1997	274,661	53,952	220,709

National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia, cited by Christos Nikas, "The effects of the Interim Accord on the economic relations between Greece and FYROM", in Kofos and Vlasidis, 2005, p. 92.



1. Why was this interim agreement signed by the two parties?
2. What was the problem related to the dispute between the two countries? Was there a danger of military conflict? Were the existing frontiers questioned and by who? How did or could one intervene in the internal affairs of the other?
3. Read Article 7. Discuss how propaganda controlled by the state or by private entities can "incite violence, hostility or hatred against each other".

## III-16. The Rambouillet negotiations on Kosovo, 1999



The UN Security Council first tried to stop the war in Kosovo by adopting Resolution 1160 in March 1998, condemning the FRY for excessive use of force and imposing economic sanctions and an arms embargo against Serbia. This was followed by activities of the so-called Contact Group (United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Russia). In March 1999, negotiations were held at Rambouillet castle near Paris between Kosovo Albanians and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the mediation of envoys from the United States, Russia and the European Union. The most controversial elements in the negotiations involved a NATO military presence in the FRY and the holding of a referendum in Kosovo three years after the signing of the agreement. →

Yugoslavia ultimately rejected the plan and NATO used this as their reason to carry out air strikes in Kosovo and Serbia. The NATO action eventually led to the Yugoslav forces pulling out of Kosovo and an interim UN administration being established in the province.

## A. Rambouillet Accords. Appendix B: Status of the Multi-National Military Implementation Force

Article 7. NATO personnel shall be immune from any form of arrest, investigation, or detention by the authorities in the FRY. NATO personnel erroneously arrested or detained shall immediately be turned over to NATO authorities.

Article 8. NATO personnel shall enjoy, together with their vehicles, vessels, aircraft, and equipment, free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY including associated airspace and territorial waters. This shall include, but not be limited to, the right of bivouac, maneuver, billet, and utilization of any areas or facilities as required for support, training, and operations.

Article 9. NATO shall be exempt from duties, taxes, and other charges and inspections and custom regulations including providing inventories or other routine customs documentation, for personnel, vehicles, vessels, aircraft, equipment, supplies, and provisions entering, exiting, or transiting the territory of the FRY in support of the Operation.

[http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/990123\\_RambouilletAccord.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/990123_RambouilletAccord.pdf), accessed on 14.06.2016.

## B. An article in the Serbian weekly Vreme

Nothing was signed by either the Serbs or the Albanians – all of a sudden, there was no agreement about air strikes against Yugoslavia, deployment of NATO troops in Kosovo was postponed indefinitely. A conference has been scheduled for 15 March on the implementation of the agreement – which does not exist [...]

THE ALBANIAN "NO": The Americans had no doubts about the success of the meeting in Rambouillet. Everything was known beforehand: if the Serbs proved to be difficult, they would be bombed within several hours. The Albanians had no reason to be difficult because they were told that the USA would "see to it" that the supply lines of the separatist Liberation Army of Kosovo would be cut off if they even tried. No disagreements were expected among the Western allies. Everything would end – especially the air strikes, if there were any – by 1 March, because that was when

China would take over the Presidency of the United Nations Security Council, and China is against the use of NATO forces in Kosovo. The troops will be deployed in a timely fashion to preserve peace and Western interests, and this victory would contribute to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of NATO in April in Washington.

However, there were certain setbacks and it seems that US officials were most surprised by the Albanians' refusal to accept a political agreement which would not explicitly guarantee them a referendum on independence in three years' time, during which the envisaged interim agreement was to be in force. Also, representatives of the KLA were unwilling to agree to be disarmed, pursuant to the military annex of the agreement. [...]

It only remains unclear why Kosovo Albanians, having accepted all this, did not also sign the Rambouillet agreement which did not require anything else from them, as far as it is known?

**THE SERBIAN "NO":** The other delegation, which could hardly be called either Serbian or Yugoslav, and is thus described as a "state", for its part did not want to agree to any formal indication of independence of Kosovo in the political agreement, and did not even want to discuss the military annex which envisages deployment of NATO troops. [...]

Roksanda Ninčić, "Krah pregovora. Nemoć moćnih"  
[Failed Negotiations. The Powerlessness of the Powerful],  
*Vreme*, 436, 27 February 1999.



*Failed Negotiations. The Powerlessness of the Powerful*  
*Vreme*, 436, 27.02.1999, [http://www.vreme.com/arhiva\\_html/436/index.html](http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/436/index.html), accessed on 22.09.2016.



This article on the Rambouillet negotiations was published in the Serbian weekly *Vreme* (Time). How would you evaluate the author's approach to the matter – is her intention to inform or to take sides? Give arguments for your answer.

### III-17. Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council on Kosovo, 1999



UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1244 on 10 June 1999 (the day after the signing of the Kumanovo military and technical agreement) according to which the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) would maintain its territorial integrity and sovereignty over Kosovo, which was given "broad autonomy" within the FRY. Kosovo was accorded the status of an international protectorate with a civilian administration embodied in UNMIK and NATO military control of the KFOR forces. The FRY army and police had to withdraw. The UN was authorised to launch a political process to define the future status of Kosovo and Metohija which eventually began in 2005. Also according to the Resolution, a certain number of Serbian security personnel would be allowed to return and maintain a presence at Serb "patrimonial sites" and border crossings, but only with the explicit approval of the KFOR commander. Equality of human rights was guaranteed to all inhabitants of Kosovo and Metohija as well as the right to a free and safe return for all refugees and displaced persons.

### NATO Peacekeeping Forces in Kosovo, 1999



### ► III.2.3. Prosecutions, courts, tribunals

#### III-18. The Hague Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia



The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has brought indictments against 161 persons accused of war crimes: 104 Serbs, 34 Croats, nine Bosniaks, eight Albanians, two Macedonians and two Montenegrins. The ethnicity of the other two is either unknown or indictments against

them have been withdrawn. Among those prosecuted were two state presidents, Slobodan Milošević and Milan Milutinović, Federal Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Šainović, four Chiefs of General Staff, Dragoljub Ojdanić, Nebojša Pavković, Momčilo Perišić and Ratko Mladić, and several generals.



**A. United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: part of the proceedings**

Updated 23/03/2015

The Tribunal has indicted **161** persons  
for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia

Concluded proceedings for **146** accused

18	Acquitted	Idriz Balaj, Ljube Boškosi, Ivan Čermak, Zejnil Delalić, Ante Gotovina, Sefer Halilović, Ramush Haradinaj, Zoran Kupreškić, Mirjan Kupreškić, Vlatko Kupreškić, Fatmir Limaj, Mladen Markač, Milan Milutinović, Isak Musliu, Naser Orić, Dragan Papić, Momčilo Perišić, Miroslav Radić.		
79	Sentenced	7	Awaiting transfer	Ljubiša Beara, Vladimir Lazarević, Sreten Lukić, Radivoje Miletić, Drago Nikolić, Vinko Pandurević and Vujadin Popović
		18	Transferred	Ljubomir Borovčanin, Miroslav Bralo, Radoslav Brđanin, Vlastimir Đorđević, Stanislav Galić, Goran Jelisić, Radislav Krstić, Dragoljub Kunarac, Milan Lukić, Sredoje Lukić, Milan Martić, Dragomir Milošević, Mile Mrkšić, Momir Nikolić, Nebojša Pavković, Milomir Stakić, Nikola Šainović, Dragan Zelenović.
		51	Have served their sentence	Zlatko Aleksovski, Haradin Bala, Predrag Banović, Vidoje Blagojević, Tihomir Blaškić, Lahi Brahima, Mario Čerkez, Ranko Češić, Hazim Delić, Damir Došen, Dražen Erdemović, Anto Furundžija, Milan Gvero, Enver Hadžihasanović, Dragan Jokić, Miodrag Jokić, Drago Josipović, Dragan Kolundžija, Dario Kordić, Milojica Kos, Radomir Kovač, Momčilo Krajišnik, Milorad Krnojelac, Amir Kubura, Miroslav Kvočka, Esad Landžo, Vinko Martinović, Darko Mrđa, Zdravko Mucić, Mladen Naletilić, Dragan Nikolić, Dragan Obrenović, Dragoljub Ojdanić, Biljana Plavšić, Dragoljub Pračac, Mlado Radić, Ivica Rajić, Vladimir Šantić, Duško Sikirica, Blagoje Simić, Milan Simić, Veselin Šljivančanin, Pavle Strugar, Duško Tadić, Miroslav Tadić, Johan Tarčulovski, Stevan Todorović, Mitar Vasiljević, Zoran Vuković, Simo Zarić, Zoran Žigić.
		3	Died while serving their sentence	Milan Babić, Rasim Delić, Miroslav Deronjić.
		10	Reported deceased before transfer to the Tribunal	Stipo Alilović, Janko Bobetko, Goran Borovnica, Simo Drljača, Dragan Gagović, Janko Janjić, Nikica Janjić, Slobodan Miljković, Željko Ražnatović, Vlatko Stojiljković.
		6	Deceased after transfer to the Tribunal	Mehmed Alagić, Đorđe Đukić, Slavko Dokmanović, Milan Kovačević, Slobodan Milošević, Momir Talić.

UN ICTY, <http://www.icty.org/sections/TheCases/KeyFiguresoftheCases>, accessed on 7.04.2015.

## B. Slobodan Milošević at The Hague Tribunal



During the war in Kosovo, on 27 May 1999, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia brought an indictment against the President of the FRY Slobodan Milošević for crimes against humanity. Accusations for violations of the customs of war and the Geneva Conventions in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and for genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina were added a year and a half later. After two dramatic days and seven-hour negotiations for him to surrender, Slobodan Milošević was arrested in Belgrade on 1 April 2001. He was handed over to The Hague Tribunal on 28 June pursuant to a decree of the Serbian Government, which was headed by Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić. The trial at the Tribunal began on 12 February 2002 and Milošević undertook his own defence because he did not recognise the legality of the court's jurisdiction. He was found dead in his cell in Scheveningen on 11 March 2006. An autopsy established that he died of a heart attack.

### CASE INFORMATION SHEET (ICTY)

#### SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ

Indicted for genocide; complicity in genocide; deportation; murder; persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds; inhumane acts/forcible transfer; extermination; imprisonment; torture; wilful killing; unlawful confinement; wilfully causing great suffering; unlawful deportation or transfer; extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly; cruel treatment; plunder of public or private property; attacks on civilians; destruction or wilful damage done to historic monuments and institutions dedicated to education or religion; unlawful attacks on civilian objects.

President of Serbia from 26 December 1990; President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) from 15 July 1997 until 6 October 2000; as FRY President, he was also the President of the Supreme Defence Council of the FRY and the Supreme Commander of the Yugoslav Army.

- Died on 11 March 2006
- Proceedings terminated on 14 March 2006

UN ICTY, [http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan\\_milosevic/cis/en/cis\\_milosevic\\_slobodan\\_en.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/cis/en/cis_milosevic_slobodan_en.pdf), accessed on 8.04.2015.



Study the list of the people accused of war crimes and atrocities. What do you observe? What was the rationale for their trial at the International Court in The Hague? Do you think that this procedure would prove right and justified for the people of former Yugoslavia or provoke more pain? What is the benefit for societies that suffer civil wars when and if war criminals are convicted? What is the moral obligation for the states and societies – winners or losers – when the war ends? Debate this issue, with arguments.

## III-19. Arrest warrants for Mladić and Karadžić



Radovan Karadžić was a psychiatrist, the founder of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of Republika Srpska from 1992 to 1996. In July and November 1995, The Hague Tribunal brought indictments against Karadžić, charging him with genocide and crimes against humanity, after which he resigned his offices and stepped down from public life. An international wanted notice was issued for his arrest and in November 1998, the United States offered a reward of five million dollars to persons who helped bring to court persons accused of war crimes. He was arrested in Belgrade on 21 July 2008 and turned over to The Hague Tribunal. After his arrest, it was revealed that he had lived in Serbia since 1998 under the assumed name of Dragan David Dabić. He had used the identity of a man who died in Sarajevo in 1993. Under this name, he worked as a psychiatrist and doctor of alternative medicine and even participated in public forums and lectures.

### Wanted MLADIC, Ratko



Legal Status	
Present family name:	MLADIC
Forename:	RATKO
Sex:	MALE
Date of birth:	12 March 1942 (69 years old)

Screenshot of the Interpol website, accessed on 10.01.2010.



Colonel-General Ratko Mladić was the commander of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) from 1992 to 1996. After 1995, The Hague Tribunal brought several indictments against him for war crimes, which include genocide, complicity in committing genocide, crimes against humanity, murder, violations of the laws and customs of war, deportations, taking hostages, etc. In November 1996, Mladić was dismissed from the post of Commander

of the Main Staff of the VRS. Between 1996 and 2011, he was out of public reach. Several attempts to arrest him were all unsuccessful. Officially, all trace of him was lost in 2005. He was arrested on 26 May 2011 in the village of Lazarevo near Zrenjanin. Around 10,000 of his supporters protested against his arrest in Belgrade on 29 May. He was transferred to Scheveningen prison on 31 May 2011 and his trial began on 16 May 2012.



PREZ. i IME: KARADŽIĆ RADOVAN  
NADIMAK: Raša, Rašo  
DATUM ROĐENJA: 19-jun-1945  
NACIONALNOST: Srbin iz BiH  
OPIS: 185cm, smeđkastosijeda kosa.  
POSLEDNJA: Pale, BiH  
ADRESA:



PREZ. i IME: ČEŠIĆ RANKO  
DATUM ROĐENJA: 5-sep-1964  
NACIONALNOST: Srbin iz BiH  
OPIS: 180-190cm, 85-90kg, jake građe, smeđkastocrna kosa, smeđe oči.  
POSLEDNJA: KP Dom  
ADRESA: Foča (Srbijne), BiH



PREZIME i IME: NIKOLIĆ DRAGAN  
NADIMAK: Jenki  
DATUM ROĐENJA: 26-april-1957  
NACIONALNOST: Srbin iz BiH  
OPIS: 190-200cm, mišićav, smeđkastoplava kosa, plave oči.  
POSLEDNJA: ul 27 Mart 12,  
ADRESA: Vlasenica, BiH



PREZ. i IME: MLADIĆ RATKO  
DATUM ROĐENJA: 12-mart-1943  
NACIONALNOST: Srbin (iz BiH)  
OPIS: 170cm, zdepast, rumena lica, plave oči.  
POSLEDNJA: Han Pijesak, BiH  
ADRESA: (Viden je u Beogradu)

Reuters.

### III-20. The verdict of the International Court of Justice in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia for genocide



In 1993, at the height of the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) accused the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of genocide by trying to exterminate the Muslim population (the Bosniaks) in BiH. The indictment was later supplemented and the principal issue of the hearing therefore became the genocide in Srebrenica. In February 2007, the International Court of Justice ruled that genocide had been committed in Srebrenica by the Republika Srpska. The Court did not find Serbia directly

responsible for the crimes but did, however, rule that Serbia had violated the Genocide Convention by failing to prevent it from happening and also for not meeting its obligations towards the ICTY (the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia) in apprehending criminals, particularly with regard to Ratko Mladić, who had commanded the Army of Republika Srpska. According to the Court's statute, BiH had the right to file for the re-vision of the ruling six months after the discovery of new facts related to the case, or ten years after the Court's ruling.

Bosnia and Herzegovina vs. Serbia and Montenegro – Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide – Judgment of 26 February 2007 – Judgments [2007] ICJ 2 (26 February 2007) 471. For these reasons, THE COURT, [...]

(2) by thirteen votes to two,

Finds that Serbia has not committed genocide, through its organs or persons whose acts engage its responsibility under customary international law, in violation of its

obligations under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; [...]

(3) by thirteen votes to two,

Finds that Serbia has not conspired to commit genocide, nor incited the commission of genocide, in violation of its obligations under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; [...]

(5) by twelve votes to three,

Finds that Serbia has violated the obligation to prevent



genocide, under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, in respect of the genocide that occurred in Srebrenica in July 1995; [...]

(6) by fourteen votes to one, Finds that Serbia has violated its obligations under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by having failed to transfer Ratko Mladić, indicted for genocide and complicity in genocide, for trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and thus having failed fully to co-operate with that Tribunal; [...]

(8) by fourteen votes to one, Decides that Serbia shall immediately take effective steps to ensure full compliance with its obligation under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to punish acts of genocide as defined by Article II of the Convention, or any of the other acts proscribed by Article III of the Convention, and to transfer individuals accused of genocide or any of those other acts for trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and to co-operate fully with that Tribunal;

International Court of Justice, <http://www.worldlii.org/int/cases/ICJ/2007/2.html>, accessed on 9.11.2015.

### III-21. The verdict against Commander Mirko Norac, Croatia 1993



Mirko Norac joined the Croatian Special police forces in 1990. He participated as brigade commander in the defence of Gospić in 1991 and 1992. In spite of accusations of crimes being committed against Serbian civilians in Gospić by certain members of the Croatian forces under his command, President Tuđman did not replace him. During the war he reached the position of General and led his troops in the "Medak Pocket" operation, when Croatian forces took back from Serbian forces the Gospić suburb called the "Medak Pocket". Norac was also one of the leading commanders in "Storm", the final military operation leading to the end of the war in Croatia. In 2000, President Stjepan Mesić, Tuđman's successor, forced Norac to retire after he had signed the "Open Letter" from twelve generals to the public, which was interpreted as an attempt at a military coup. Norac was arrested in February 2001 and in June 2004 sentenced to twelve years in prison because of war crimes against civilians in Gospić (witnesses claimed that he personally killed at least one woman). In 2008 he was sentenced by The Hague Tribunal to another seven years. While serving his sentence, he was granted free weekends and finally released in November 2011.

### Following a one-year trial, the Zagreb County Court Trial Chamber passes a judgment. Ademi acquitted and Norac sentenced to seven years for the Medak Pocket

[...] The court established that Norac did not order the start of the operation on 9 September 1993, but that he was responsible for everything that happened after that in Sector 1 because he was personally and directly aware of the fact that his subordinates were committing crimes and he did not stop them from looting property, killing civilians and prisoners of war and torching facilities. [...] Norac was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on two counts of the indictment, that is, to a single sentence of seven years. According to the indictment, 23 Serbian civilians and five prisoners of war were killed and 300 different facilities were destroyed in the Medak pocket area between 9 September and 17 September when the Croatian forces withdrew and turned over the area to the UN "peace-keepers". [...]

*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30 May 2008.

### III-22. Vladimir Trifunović, the general who was tried in three former Yugoslav republics



Vladimir Trifunović was a Major-General in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). During the war in Slovenia (a 10-day long battle between JNA and Slovene police forces as well as the Territorial Defence) at the end of June 1991 and the beginning of July, Trifunović was given the order for the Varaždin Corps which he commanded to protect the border crossing between Slovenia and Austria. He sent troops there, commanded by Colonel Berislav Popov: they fought the Slovene Territorial Defence, and JNA tank units shot at civilians and shelled residential buildings, resulting in two civilian deaths. In 2013, Popov was sentenced to 5 years in prison (in 2015, on appeal, the sentence was rejected) while Trifunović was acquitted. War crimes charges were also brought against Trifunović and Popov in Croatia, for committing crimes against civilians during the siege of Varaždin barracks in 1991. Shells used in this battle also caused damage to civilian buildings. In 1993, they were both already sentenced to 40 years in prison for crimes against the civilian population, though later the sentence was reduced to 15 years. Charges were brought against them in Serbia. Trifunović was accused of undermining the military and defence power of Yugoslavia by ordering 280 soldiers of the JNA to withdraw from the Varaždin

→

barracks following attacks by the Croatian armed forces. After two acquittals, Trifunović was sentenced to 11 years in prison in Serbia, while Popov got 6 years. In 1996, Trifunović was pardoned by the then president of Serbia, Zoran Lilić, and is trying to achieve an acquittal in Croatia as well.

### Confession of General Vlado Trifunović

Why didn't I destroy Varaždin, why didn't I destroy the dam to flood the whole Varaždin? This would have meant my soldiers drowning like mice, and then the citizens of Varaždin. And I didn't finish school and wasn't born to commit crimes and destroy people. But Serbia did not at that time need living people, but dead heroes it could be proud of and gild its history with. It should also be borne in mind that only the children of poor people stayed with me. All the other kids, all the other soldiers who had a bit of property, had someone in an influential position, or some connections were pulled out earlier. Fled, and did not come to the army in Varaždin.

Iva Martinović, "Trifunović: Srbiji su trebali mrtvi heroji", 5.01.2010, [http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/trifunovic\\_/1921871.html](http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/trifunovic_/1921871.html), accessed on 14.06.2016.



What is the case against General Vlado Trifunović? In what way does this differ from the previous ones? What were his moral dilemmas?

## III-23. Serbia accusing Croatia of genocide during Operation Storm



In 1999, Croatia filed a lawsuit for genocide in the International Court of Justice against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). In 2010, Serbia responded with an appeal. Both countries demanded compensation for damage caused during the war. FRY was accused of committing genocide (as defined by the UN Genocide Convention in 1948) by having direct control over the activities of its army, paramilitary units and intelligence services that operated on Croatian territory (Knin, western Slavonia and Dalmatia) which were directly linked to ethnic cleansing, genocide, murder, torture of the population and destruction of property. Serbia accused Croatia of similar offences, which the Croatian army committed

against Serbs in Gospić, Sisak, Pakrac, Karlovac, Osijek and particularly during the military operations BLJESAK (Flash) and OLUJA (Storm) as well as the operations in the Medak Pocket. Serbia additionally linked its appeal to the ethnic cleansing and crimes committed by the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War. In February 2014, the International Court of Justice dismissed both applications on the grounds that neither side had provided sufficient evidence.

### APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE (CROATIA vs. SERBIA) 3 FEBRUARY 2015 JUDGMENT VI. CONSIDERATION OF THE MERITS OF THE COUNTERCLAIM

444. In substance, Serbia asks the Court to declare that Croatia has violated the Genocide Convention by committing against the Serb national and ethnical group living in Croatia, during and after Operation "Storm" in 1995, acts prohibited by Article II of the Convention, with intent to destroy that group as such, in whole or in part (paragraph 6 of the final submissions).

[...]

446. Serbia claims that Croatia committed the following acts defined in Article II of the Convention as constituting genocide: killings of members of the national and ethnical group of Serbs living in Croatia (II (a)); causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the same group (II (b)); deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part (II (c)), all of these acts having been committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the group as such.

[...]

479. In the present case, the Court notes that it is not disputed that a substantial part of the Serb population of the Krajina fled that region as a direct consequence of the military actions carried out by Croatian forces during Operation "Storm", in particular the shelling of the four towns referred to above. It further notes that the transcript of the Brioni meeting, to which it will return later, makes it clear that the highest Croatian political and military authorities were well aware that Operation "Storm" would provoke a mass exodus of the Serb population; they even to some extent predicated their military planning on such an exodus, which they considered not only probable, but desirable.

[...]

499. In light of the above, the Court is fully convinced that, during and after Operation "Storm", Croatian armed forces and police perpetrated acts against the Serb population falling within subparagraphs (a) and (b) of Article II of the Genocide Convention, and that these acts constituted the *actus reus* of genocide. The Court must accordingly now determine whether the existence of the specific intent (*dolus specialis*) which characterizes genocide has been established in the present case.

[...]

515. The Court concludes from the foregoing that the existence of the *dolus specialis* has not been established. Accordingly, the Court finds that it has not been proved that genocide was committed during and after Operation "Storm" against the Serb population of Croatia.

<http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/118/18422.pdf>,  
accessed on 14.06.2016.

### III-24. The Netherlands Report on Muslim atrocities in Kravica and Bratunac, 1993



"Srebrenica a 'safe area'" was the title of a report which was made at the request of the Dutch parliament to establish the responsibility of the Dutch Battalion whose duty was, on behalf of the UN, to protect the Srebrenica safe area during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following an attack by Serbian forces led by General Ratko Mladić in July 1995, the Dutch Battalion turned over the safe area to the Army of Republika Srpska. After a seven-year investigation, a 3,400-page report was published in 2002 which confirmed the responsibility of the Dutch Battalion and of the Dutch Supreme Command for omissions which led to the fall of Srebrenica. The conclusion was that the mission had neither been planned nor conducted well and that the Dutch Battalion and the UN had not done their duty. It also presented an analysis of events which indicated that the Republika Srpska Army attack on Srebrenica had been provoked by crimes perpetrated by Bosniak forces against Serbian civilians in Kravica and Bratunac in 1992 and 1993. The report, as well as the Srebrenica case itself, raised a furore among the Dutch public and, six days after it was published, the Dutch Prime Minister submitted his resignation.

In the part of the report dealing with the period prior to April 1993, the following assessment appears: "It

became clear that the Serbs would suffer even greater losses because more and more Serb villages and hamlets were being attacked by the Muslims. Various Serbian commanding officers were killed or were seriously wounded in fighting, for example at Kravica and Konjevic Polje. Given the fact that villages in this region were for the most part ethnically homogenous and small in size, it was easy for large groups of Muslim attackers to distinguish Serb from Muslim villages. If it was a Serb settlement, it was directly and without regard to persons plundered and burned down. In the summer and autumn of 1992, the sallies into the Serbian area became increasingly frequent and violent. [...] The food situation in the enclave of Srebrenica became more and more acute, which was a strong incentive for carrying out raids. The Muslim forces were constantly looking for ways to strengthen their strategic positions. Finally, revenge also played a role. [...] After more than half a year of sallies, thirty Serb villages and seventy hamlets had fallen into Muslim hands and there were only a few places left that were Serb, among them Bratunac. Kravica was one of the last to fall into Muslim hands, on Orthodox Christmas (7 January 1993). There were at least a thousand Serb civilian casualties in all. Consequently, it is understandable that the Serbs saw the situation around Srebrenica as a war of aggression by the Muslims. [...] Most Serbs sought revenge if the opportunity presented itself." (Netherlands Report, pp. 1277-1278.) [...]

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro), <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?p1=3&p2=3&case=91&p3=4>, accessed on 14.06.2016.

### III-25. The Serbian court in the case of Ovčara



After the Battle of Vukovar, the JNA and Serbian paramilitary formations took over control of the town. Prisoners were gathered in the town hospital and promised a safe evacuation. Instead of that, they were taken to Ovčara, a nearby agricultural estate, where more than 200 Croatian civilians and soldiers were killed between 18 and 21 November 1991. JNA officers Veselin Šijivančanin and Mile Mrkšić were convicted by The Hague Tribunal for turning the prisoners over to the paramilitary forces. Two hundred bodies were found in the exhumation of a mass grave. A special Court for War Crimes in Belgrade sentenced 13 persons to a total of 193 years' imprisonment. Some trials are still in progress.



CASES RESOLVED IN THE SECOND INSTANCE			
CASE	CONVICTED PERSONS AND ACQUITTED PERSONS	YEARS IN PRISON AND ACQUITTING VERDICTS	VICTIMS
Ovčara 1 (Vujović and others)	13 convicted persons 5 acquitted persons	190 years in prison 5 acquitting verdicts	193 victims minimum
Ovčara 2 (Bulić)	1 convicted person	2 years in prison	4 victims
Ovčara 3 (Sireta)	1 convicted person	15 years in prison	3 victims
Čirić Petar (Ovčara)	1 convicted person	15 years in prison	193 victims
Vukovar (Vujanović) (singular verdict from Ovčara 1)	1 convicted person (singular verdict from Ovčara 1)	9 years in prison (singular verdict of 20 years in prison from Ovčara 1)	4 victims

Republic of Serbia, OFFICE OF THE WAR CRIMES PROSECUTOR, [http://www.tuzilastvorz.org.rs/html\\_trz/predmeti\\_eng.htm](http://www.tuzilastvorz.org.rs/html_trz/predmeti_eng.htm), accessed on 14.06.2016.

### III-26. Crimes against civilians during the conflict of 2001-2002 in FYR Macedonia

#### A. The case against Minister of Interior Ljube Boškoski at The Hague Tribunal

Ljube Boškoski was Minister of Interior for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) between May 2001 and November 2002. According to the Second Amended Indictment, Ljube Boškoski was charged with superior responsibility for the criminal acts of his subordinates. It was alleged that he knew or should have known that the crimes had been committed by his subordinates during the attack on the Albanian village of Ljuboten on 12 August 2001 but did nothing to punish the perpetrators. Boškoski had been indicted with Johan Tarčulovski. He faced charges on the basis of individual criminal responsibility with violations of the laws or customs of war including murder, wanton, destruction of cities, towns or villages and cruel treatment. The trial of Ljube Boškoski and Johan Tarčulovski started on

16 April 2007 and closing arguments took place on 6 and 8 May 2008. Boškoski pleaded not guilty to all the charges. On 10 July 2008, Trial Chamber II found Boškoski not guilty of all charges. On 6 August 2008, the Prosecutor filed its Notice of Appeal against the Trial judgement of July 2008. On 19 May 2010 the Appeals Chamber delivered its judgment in the appeal of Tarčulovski and Boškoski. The Appeals Chamber found that it was not shown that Boškoski had failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to punish his offending subordinates. The Chamber stated that, in the circumstances of the case, it was open to a reasonable trier of fact to acquit Boškoski of failure to punish, on the basis of reports about the events described in the indictment which had been provided by the Ministry of Interior to the competent judicial authorities. The Appeals Chamber dismissed the Prosecution's single ground of appeal against Ljube Boškoski's acquittal.

The Hague Justice Portal, Ljube Boškoski, <http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/index.php?id=6001>, accessed on 14.06.2016.

### **B. Excerpt from the Amnesty International report on FYR Macedonia related to war crimes in 2001**

The armed conflict in Macedonia between the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA), and the Macedonian security forces escalated from the start of January 2001. An agreement was reached in Ohrid between the parties in August 2001, setting the groundwork for improving the rights of ethnic Albanians. Victims of crimes committed during the armed conflict and their relatives are still being denied access to justice and to adequate and effective reparation. Eleven years later, the authorities are still failing in their duty to promptly initiate independent, impartial and thorough investigations into allegations of enforced disappearance and abductions during the armed conflict. On 19 July 2011, the parliament of Macedonia approved an “authentic interpretation” of the 2002 Amnesty Law, which extended the provisions of that law to four war crimes cases which had been returned to Macedonia for prosecution from the ICTY in 2008. This effectively ended the prosecution of war crimes. Since 2001, no adequate measures have been taken to investigate the cases of six ethnic Albanians believed to be the victims of enforced disappearance by the Macedonian Ministry of Interior police during the armed conflict. Nor have any effective measures been taken to investigate the abduction of 12 ethnic Macedonians and one Bulgarian national. Their bodies were found in three graves near the village of Neprošteno-Tetovo in November 2001, and subsequently exhumed by the Ministry of Interior and the Office of the Prosecutor. All these men are believed to have been abducted by the NLA during the armed conflict. No further investigation has been carried out by the authorities.

“The Right to Know: Families still in the Dark in the Balkans,” August 2012, <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/50474caf2.pdf>, accessed on 14.06.2016.

### **III-27. The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms of Kosovo appeals to The Hague Tribunal for crimes committed by the Serbian police forces, 1998**

LEGAL SUBMISSION ON WAR CRIMES – TO THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina

TO THE PROSECUTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL

### **CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL ON WAR CRIMES FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA THE HAGUE**

1. Since March 1989 in Kosovo, when political and constitutional autonomy were violently suppressed, a state of emergency was declared. This was formally abolished after a few years, but in reality it exists to this day. During this period up to 31 December 1997 the police forces of Serbia and Yugoslavia killed 171 persons, wounded 312 others and physically tortured 10,000 Albanians of different ages and genders. The murders, woundings and physical tortures of these Albanians were committed for no reason at all except their ethnicity [...].

16. Meanwhile, in other regions of Kosovo, especially the municipalities of Decan, Gjakove, Kline, Malisheve etc., the Serbian police undertook further attacks. These attacks also directly involved the Yugoslav Army and during them, injuries were inflicted on many other victims. The Council is collecting data regarding these crimes of the military and police forces and will therefore send to the Prosecutor of the Tribunal a separate Legal Submission with the relevant data.

17. The Council believes that the crimes described in this legal submission contain all elements of the crime of genocide and crime against humanity, cited in Articles 4 and 5 of the Statute of the Tribunal. Persons shown in this Legal Submission are responsible for these crimes as commanders and responsible persons given that perpetration of these crimes was previously planned and carried out on their orders. [...].

18. This Legal Submission is based on evidence in possession of the Council such as: eyewitnesses, photographs and video cassettes of corpses and ruined houses, lists of victims, requests made by Serbian judicial bodies to undertake investigative actions, etc.

Priština, on 3 May 1998

Prof. Dr. Pajazit Nushi, President

Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms in Priština, File: War Crimes in Kosovo 1997-1999.



After reading through the legal cases of various states and regions in Former Yugoslavia area, try to focus on the main accusations, spotting the common elements. Why did almost all appeal to the International Tribunal at The Hague? Did the states take any measures against their fellow citizens accused or convicted for war crimes? Discuss the moral obligation of a lawful state towards its citizens and the victims of other ethnicities.

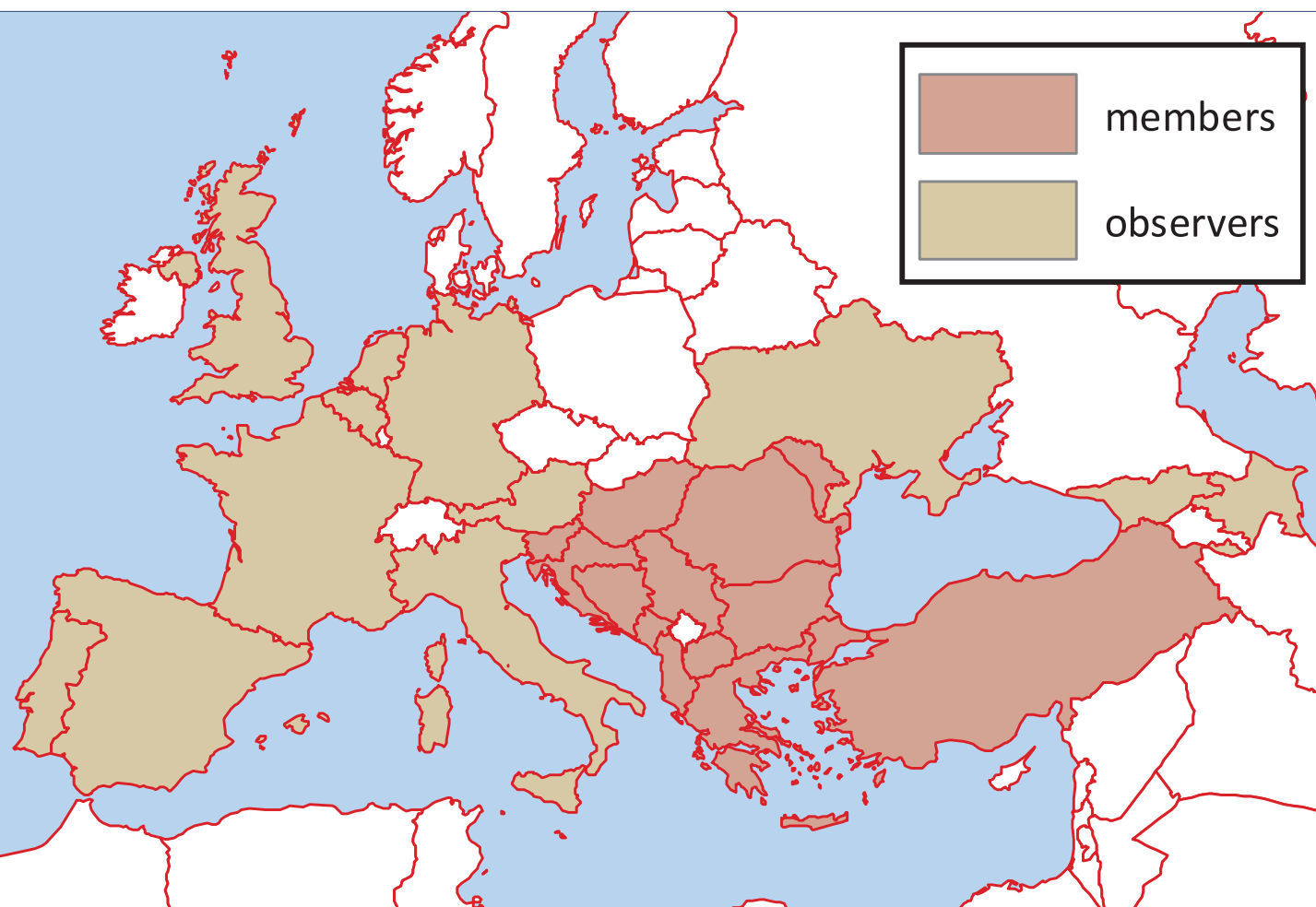
### ► III.2.4. The Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) and the Stability Pact



The Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) was formed after the Dayton Agreement as a means of stabilization of the region. Conceived as a “new Marshall Plan” (see vol.1, ch. I), SECI was not however meant to be a financial assistance plan. SECI’s strategy was to encourage cooperation among its member states on issues of common concern and to facilitate their integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. Erhard Busek, former Vice-chancellor of Austria and head of the Christian-conservative People’s Party (ÖVP), was appointed SECI Coordinator on 19 December 1996. The Stabi-

lity Pact for Southeastern Europe (1999-2008) was created following the escalation of Kosovo War, under the auspices of the German Presidency of the European Union. The pact was the first attempt by the international community to replace the “reactive crisis intervention policy” in Southeast Europe with a long-term “conflict prevention” strategy. Synergies between SECI and the Stability Pact were consolidated when Erhard Busek became Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact (2002). In 2008, the Stability Pact was succeeded by a more regionally owned cooperation framework, the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC).

#### Members and observers of SECI in 2006





### III-28. Speech of Ambassador Richard Schifter at the SECI inaugural session, 5 December 1996

[...] As the first two words of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative imply, SECI rests on a geographic basis. It proposes to bring together for discussion and action on transboundary and environmental matters twelve countries that have some commonality based on their geographical proximity. Land and water transportation, energy grids, communication systems, clean water and clean

air needs can be effectively addressed in Southeastern Europe only on a regional basis. Whatever their history, background, or past and present political outlook or affiliation may be, it is geography that logically brings the countries of the region together if solutions are to be found to the economic and environmental problems which they share. [...]

Busek, 2006, p. 28.

## ► III.3. THE BALKANS IN THE EU AND NATO

After 1989, the transition in the Balkan countries which used to be members of the Eastern bloc proceeded peacefully, with most of them expressing a desire to join the so-called Euro-Atlantic integrations (EU and NATO). The only exception was Yugoslavia which disintegrated into war. Greece had been the first arena of the Cold War in Europe. When the Greek communists were defeated in the civil war, Greece joined Turkey as the only non-communist countries in the region. They joined NATO together as early as 1952. After the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Bulgaria, Romania and Slovenia became members of NATO in 2004, followed by Albania and Croatia in 2009. Of the other SEE countries, Montenegro is currently the closest to membership.

In 1981, Greece was also the first country in the region to become a member of the then European Economic Community (EEC). Slovenia and Cyprus became members of European Union in 2004, Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, and Croatia in 2013. With regard to candidacies for EU membership, the earliest current candidate to have applied is Turkey: it submitted its application to the EEC in 1987. However, it is precisely in relation to Turkey's candidature that EU countries have the biggest doubts, because of a whole series of actual or alleged political, human rights, press freedom and cultural

differences, quite apart from the controversial issues concerning Cyprus.

In its pre-accession negotiations with the Balkan countries, the EU made use of various instruments, primarily the Stabilisation and Association Agreements, which require the fulfilment of certain conditions in various fields (legislation, economy, human rights etc.). FYR Macedonia has been a candidate country since 2000, but its progress has been blocked by Greece because of the dispute over its name. Montenegro signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2007 and accession negotiations started in 2012. Albania signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2006 and started accession negotiations in 2014. Serbia signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2008 (after ICTY Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte had given her approval for Serbia having met the conditions for cooperation with the ICTY), and accession negotiations started in 2014. Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to its complicated internal situation and the blocking of constitutional reforms, needed seven years for its Stabilisation and Association Agreement to come into effect (it was signed in 2008, ratified in 2010 and came into force in 2015). Economic relations with the EU are governed by a so-called Interim Agreement on Trade.

### ► III.3.1. Joining the EU

#### Southeast European countries joining the EU



#### III-29. The Helsinki Summit, 1999. Turkey as an EU candidate country



In December 1999, the European Council in Helsinki noted “with satisfaction the substantive work undertaken and progress” that had been achieved in accession negotiations with Cyprus, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia, and decided to begin negotiations in February 2000 with Romania, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Malta for their entry into the Union. It also welcomed “recent positive developments in Turkey, [and] its intention to continue its reforms towards complying with the Copenhagen criteria”, officially recognising the country as a candidate for full membership. Relations between Turkey and European institutions have a long history: In 1959, i.e. only a year after the establishment of the EEC, Turkey submitted an application to become an associate member. This status was achieved in 1963 under the so-called Ankara Agreement. In 1997, candidate status was withdrawn because of human rights violations but was restored two years later at the Helsinki Summit. Negotiations were started on 3 October 2005. However, Turkey’s membership bid has remained a major controversy of the EU enlargement process.



Turkey’s EU bid: <http://citizensmedia.eu/dialogue/tr-eu/>, accessed on 14.07.2016.

#### III-30. The Ankara Protocol between the EU and Turkey and the recognition of Cyprus, 2005



At the December 2004 Brussels Summit of the EU, the start of formal accession talks with Turkey was agreed upon by all EU members. To that end, Turkey had to enlarge the 1963 Ankara Treaty and the 1995 Customs Union Treaty with the EU in order to include the 10 new members of the Union who had entered on 1 May 2004. As a result of the failure of the Annan Plan in the referendum on the island in April 2004, the Republic of Cyprus had become an EU member, but the island remained divided. Thus, on 29 July 2005, Turkey signed the additional protocol enlarging the Ankara Treaty and the customs union, but the Turkish General National Assembly (TGNA) simultaneously issued a declaration that as long as the Cyprus question remained unresolved, Turkey would not recognise the government of the internationally-recognised Republic of Cyprus as the legitimate and sole representative of Cyprus. In response to this declaration, the EU issued a counter-declaration on 21 September 2005. The counter-declaration condemned Turkey’s non-recognition of the Republic of Cyprus and demanded full and non-exclusive application of the additional protocol. The Turkish government did not introduce the additional protocol for TGNA ratification, but instead issued Cabinet Decree no. 2006/10895 that opened Turkish sea and air ports to all EU member states except the Republic of Cyprus.

Turkey's declaration on Cyprus, 29 July 2005

1) Turkey maintains her resolve to find a political solution to the Cyprus problem and has clearly displayed her attitude to that end. Turkey will continue to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General to arrive at a new, bi-sectional partnership state in Cyprus. A fair and lasting solution would significantly contribute to peace, stability and harmonious relations in the region.

2) The Republic of Cyprus that is indicated in the additional protocol is not the partnership state that was originally established in 1960.

3) Therefore, Turkey will continue to deal with the Greek Cypriot authorities in the form in which they have hitherto been, since only they possess authority and rule over the territory south of the

Green Line, and do not represent the Turkish Cypriot people.

4) Turkey declares that the signature of this Protocol does not indicate a recognition of the aforementioned Republic of Cyprus and does not forfeit the rights and obligations of Turkey emanating from the Treaties of Guarantee, Alliance and Establishment of 1960.

5) Turkey confirms that her signature of the aforementioned Protocol does not change her relations with the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

6) Until a comprehensive solution is arrived at, Turkey will not change her policy towards Cyprus. Turkey declared her readiness to establish relations with a new partnership state in Cyprus that will be established as a result of such a comprehensive solution.

Baykal, 2013, pp. 361-362.

### III-31. Celebration of Slovenia's accession to the EU at Gorizia/Nova Gorica, 30 April 2004



Photographer Borut Krajnc, Archive of *Mladina* [Youth] newspaper.





The celebration of EU enlargement and the welcoming of ten new members took place in Gorizia/Nova Gorica, a city that belonged to two countries, Italy and Slovenia. Gorizia had become part of Italy on 10 February 1947, in accordance with the Paris Peace Treaty between Italy and Yugoslavia. The idea to build an entire new town was born right after the final delimitation, and was also supported by the CK KPJ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia). The new city was built directly along the border of Italian Gorizia on marshy ground and took the name Nova Gorica in 1949. The celebration of 2004 conveyed the message that borders in Europe would no longer exist.

### III-32. Support for EU accession in Serbia 2003-2008

Date	Question	Yes
December 2003	Join EU?	72%
September 2004	Join EU?	71%
2005	Join EU?	64%
2006	Join EU?	61%
December 2008	Join EU?	61%

Serbia's EU integration supported by 51% of citizens, <http://www.seio.gov.rs/news.101.html?newsid=1121>; Lidija Valtner, Nikada manja podrška ulasku Srbije u EU, [http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/politika/nikada\\_manja\\_podrska\\_ulasku\\_srbije\\_u\\_eu.56.html?news\\_id=254980](http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/politika/nikada_manja_podrska_ulasku_srbije_u_eu.56.html?news_id=254980); Galup: Opada poverenje građana u EU, Tanjug | 25. 11. 2010, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/219802/Galup-Opada-poverenje-gradjana-u-EU>, accessed on 13.07.2016.

### III-33. The accession of Cyprus to the European Union had an immediate impact. Low-priced European products started circulating on the Cypriot market



The accession of Cyprus to the European Union in 2004 and the consequent abolition of customs duties started to have an impact on the Cypriot economy early on. Cyprus had entered the single European market.

#### Cheap European products are already flooding the market

Whisky	cheaper by	£6.00
Fruit	cheaper by	£1.00
Cheese	cheaper by	£1.00
Meat	cheaper by	50 cents
Dog food	cheaper by	40 cents
Soft drinks	cheaper by	15 cents

Φιλελεύθερος [Phileleftheros] newspaper, 7 May 2004.

### III-34. Albania and the EU: an assessment by the European Commission, March 2008



Between 1991 and 1999 Albania received grants totalling around one billion euros from the European Union budget. This was one of the highest amounts of assistance relative to the Albanian GDP and included 256 million euros in humanitarian aid. In June 2006, Albania signed a Stabilisation and Association agreement with the EU as a first step to becoming a candidate for EU membership. In a document published in March 2008 the European Commission noted progress in Albania.

Albania has continued to make progress in reforms and approximation to EU standards. It is implementing its Interim Agreement well under the SAA and is building up a good track record.

Albania has maintained a balanced position on the Kosovo issue, thus contributing to regional stability.

Political leaders in Albania have pledged to engage in a constructive relationship on key reforms. Electoral reform, particularly in view of the 2009 parliamentary elections, strengthening the rule of law, reform of the judicial system and the fight against corruption and organized crime are central. An improved climate in Parliament will contribute to move forward on such issues.

Communication Western Balkans: enhancing the European perspective, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-08-378\\_en.htm?locale=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-08-378_en.htm?locale=en), accessed on 29.09.2016.



Use sources in this section to investigate different attitudes towards joining the EU among Southeast European countries. Find similarities and differences, investigate trends and processes. Write an essay based on your findings.

### ► III.3.2. Joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)


#### Southeast European countries become members of NATO

Bulgaria	29 March 2004	5th Enlargement
Romania	29 March 2004	5th Enlargement
Slovenia	29 March 2004	5th Enlargement
Albania	1 April 2009	6th Enlargement
Croatia	1 April 2009	6th Enlargement
Montenegro	2 December 2015	Invited to join NATO

#### III-35. Referendum in Slovenia for integration in NATO



*Delo newspaper.*

 Following independence, Slovenia began to engage in international organisations. In November 2002 it received an invitation to join NATO along with six other new members: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. In March 2003, Slovenia held a double referendum on joining the EU and NATO. Entering the EU was supported by 89.64% of voters, whereas joining NATO was supported by a mere 66.08%. The caricature shows a “pregnant” (thus, in a hurry) Slovenia in her national costume, absolutely excited (“YES!”) to be married to NATO. In March 2003, Slovene soldiers joined the peacekeeping mission International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Prior to the referendum, supporters of NATO displayed the slogan: “At home in Europe, safe in NATO.”



Describe the cartoon. Why is Slovenia represented as a pregnant bride? Can you detect any stereotypes? What does this imply about the relationship in which she is about to be engaged? Discuss.

#### III-36. Visit of US President G.W. Bush to Albania, 2007



Photographer Roland Tasho.



President George W. Bush visited Albania on 10 June 2007. Bush was the first US President to visit the country and the event was hailed by the Albanian authorities as “a historic visit of a great friend”. Albanians consider the United States as “their great historical ally”, mainly referring to the support provided by the US to the newly-independent Albanian state following WWI. However, the ties between the two countries were severed while the communists ruled Albania (1944-1990). The then-Albanian communist regime considered “The American imperialism as a major threat to the freedom of nations”, and completely cut the diplomatic relations with the US in 1946. Relations between the two countries were restored in March 1991, and since then the US has played a primary role with its influence on Albania’s domestic and international policies, the stress being placed on the “Euro-Atlantic” integration of the country. In this context, the visit of US President Bush to Albania in June 2007 served to further support

Albanian government reforms in the defence sector, with an eye on accession to NATO. Albania officially became a NATO member during the Bucharest NATO Summit in April 2009. The photo shows American

president George Bush and Albanian president Afred Moisiu in Tirana on 10 June 2007. President Moisiu was elected in 2002 and stayed in office until the end of his mandate in 2007.

## ► III.4. POLITICAL TRANSITIONS AND TRADITIONS

### III-37. The conflicts between Romanians and Hungarians in the town of Târgu-Mureş (mostly populated by ethnic Hungarians), 19-20 March 1990



The unrest in Târgu Mureş, in March 1990, was preceded by several insistent claims made by ethnic Hungarian citizens of Romania; they focused especially on the need for education institutions in their native language, which had been almost abolished in the last years of the Ceauşescu regime. However, the basic demand of the Hungarian community was to return to a form of political autonomy similar to the one they had enjoyed under the communist regime, between 1952-1968, when a distinct administrative division existed, with a majority Hungarian population, i.e. the "Autonomous Region of Mureş". Such a claim was seen as a threat to the unity of the Romanian state, especially in the context of state tension and dissolutions that followed the collapse of other communist regimes (such as in the Soviet Union

or Yugoslavia). The Romanian majority was unpleasantly surprised by the vehemence of the Hungarian demands, and the leaders of local and central institutions proved unable to find satisfactory political solutions. The events took place in the context of the organisation of the first free Hungarian legislative elections and led to an escalation of tensions in Romanian-Hungarian relations, which had been rising during previous years. The reaction of the Romanian state took the form of a massive military intervention which resulted in dozens of victims. Characteristic of the period were the mobilisation of some impressive crowds and the appeal to use physical violence. In the immediate aftermath of these events, the disappointment of the Hungarian population led to a rapid increase in those leaving Romania, mostly for Hungary.

#### A. The events of 19 March 1990: fragment from a Hungarian chronicle

On 19 March 1990, around noon, two or three buses and two DAC type trucks brought Romanian inhabitants from the countryside into Marosvasarhely from the Gorgeny valley settlements of Gorgenyhodak and the Marosorosz village commune. They were armed with tools for hitting and cutting. The vehicles parked in the main square, next to the statue of the Heroic Roman Soldier, and their passengers got down and joined the Romanian crowd which was already gathered on the square. From the Vatra Romaneasca headquarters, a dozen metres away, 50-60 people joined them and led the crowd towards Bolyai Street. On the way, the demonstrators destroyed panels with writings in Hungarian and insulted people of Hungarian nationality.

Around 4 pm, the crowd surrounded the building housing the headquarters of political parties [...] and started a siege, trying to break in with axes and throwing stones at the windows. The people inside

tried to stop them, and a big fight therefore broke out at the entrance to the building, and later in all the rooms inside. This resulted in many demonstrators and Hungarians being injured. [...]

Márton and Zoltán, 2012, pp. 327-328.



Vatra Romaneasca (Romanian "Vatra" Union) was an organisation established in order to counteract the UDMR (Union of the Democratic Hungarians from Romania). Its founders were members of the local Romanian elite (army officers, judges, intellectuals, former Party officials etc.), who felt that their political and economic positions were endangered in times of transition after the fall of the Ceauşescu regime. Their discourse was a highly nationalist one, mainly oriented against the Hungarian "threat".



## B. The events of 19 March 1990: a national Romanian perspective

[...] On the occasion of the 143rd anniversary of the 1848 revolution at Budapest, the authorities of the Republic of Hungary asked their Romanian counterparts for permission for the Hungarian Ambassador to Bucharest and his deputy to lay wreaths in Miercurea Ciuc, Cristuru Secuiesc, Tîrgu Mureş and Albeşti, on the statues of Nicolae Bălcescu and Sandor Petöfi, who had been remarkable personalities of the event being celebrated. The Romanian authorities ensured the necessary conditions for this to be done. [...]

During the next days, the city of Tîrgu-Mureş saw an escalation in the tense state of affairs and violence took place, caused by instigations of a nationalist-chauvinistic and revisionist nature targeting Romania.

The Romanian government took the necessary measures to restore calm and public order in all parts of the area. Unfortunately, the enforcement of these measures was undermined by the actions of officials of the Hungarian Republic. These culminated on 18 March 1990 in an appeal by temporary President Mátyás Szüros addressed to Hungarians in Romania through the press calling on them to intensify their activity and organize themselves around to the idea that Transylvania would be a "Hungarian ancient land" [...].

Thus, on the evening of 19 March, a series of violent confrontations occurred in Tîrgu Mureş, resulting in injuries both to Romanians and Hungarians, including a major cultural personality, the writer Andras Sütö. [...] On the morning of 20 March, new battles took place with more victims from both sides.

How did this start: [...] First, Hungarians isolated themselves from Romanians. If they had lived in great harmony up to then, or at least that is how it seemed like, the moment had now arrived for them to become enemies. First of all, the schools. Separate schools. The Bolyai High School. Then the faculties. Hungarian students did not want to study together with Romanian students any more. [...] One of the signposts at the entrance to the city is changed. Instead of Tg. Mureş – Marosvásárhely. The workers of Azomureş put it back. Same thing the second day. And the third. [...] Then, a lack of real and complete information, as well as incitement of enmity from the shadows. By whom? We don't know. Why? That is clear. Then the day of Monday, 19 March, when most of the city's inhabitants gathered in two camps. The day ended with casualties. The same sequence of events took place on the following days. [...]

*România liberă*, XLVIII / 76, 22 March 1990, pp. 1, 3.

## III-38. "Zhivkov is dead, a change in the value of money": the new media discourse after 1989



The socialist state had a total monopoly over the media, including the language and content of the most widely read dailies which strictly followed the political line of the Party and the directives of official communist ideology. This situation changed radically with the fall of the regime in 1989. Many new and private newspapers and magazines appeared and, moreover, they no longer followed any established standards, but complied with market demands and readers' new expectations for diverse, exciting and entertaining news. The example was set by the newspaper *24 hours*, which defined itself as a "daily telling the news as it is", combining serious journalism with tabloid stories and sensationalism. Its front-page headlines were, and still are, aggressive, scandalous and provocative. They make unexpected connections between events of an entirely different character – political, economic, cultural – and balance on the border between the serious and the frivolous. Thus, in the summer of 1998 the news of the death of Todor Zhivkov, the former long-time communist leader of Bulgaria, appeared in the same headline as the decision of the Council of Ministers and the Bulgarian National Bank to peg the Bulgarian Lev to the German Mark.



Front page of *24 hours*: "Zhivkov is dead, a change in the value of money", 211, 7 August 1998.

### III-39. Alert! Alert!: an article in one of the first nationalistic newspapers (*Zora*, 17 July 1990)



*Zora* (Dawn) was the newspaper of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party (BNDP), a relatively marginal political party in the first years of democratic transition, which stood in open confrontation with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). MRF's electoral success outraged the then-emerging nationalist parties, which staged a series of protests immediately prior to the first sittings of the Grand National Assembly under the slogans: "No Turks in Parliament!" and "Parliament [Must Be] Bulgarian". *Zora* published a series of reports and articles warning about the danger of "Turkish assimilation" of Bulgarians in mixed communities.

#### Alert! Alert!

The past week has seen a dangerous escalation of events about which the BNDP [Bulgarian National Democratic Party] and *Zora* have repeatedly warned, by revealing the pan-Turkist and destabilizing role of the so-called Movement for Rights and Freedoms which is in essence a fifth column of Turkey in Bulgaria. The facts are extremely alarming. In a number of villages in the areas of Razgrad, Kardzhali and Dzhebel, the few Bulgarians who still live there are being given ultimatums to leave, accompanied with threats of physical violence. At the same time, Doganov's emissaries and semi-legal commandoes have completely blocked the Rhodopian village of Pripek in which live Muslim Bulgarians whose mother tongue is Bulgarian. In protest, the latter have announced a hunger strike in relays and appealed to the Grand National Assembly for protection against the assimilatory visions of those who are turkifying themselves. The Bulgarian National Democratic Party expresses its resolute support for the patriots from Pripek and informs them that it will do everything possible under the Constitution and the law to stand up for their rights.

*3opa* [*Zora*], no. 7, 17 July 1990.

### III-40. Zhelyu Zhelev, first democratically elected President of Bulgaria



Zhelyu Mitev Zhelev (3 March 1935 – 30 January 2015), a famous Bulgarian dissident, founder and leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), was the first democratically elected President of Bulgaria,



from 1990 to 1997. His first attempt to defend a PhD thesis had been unsuccessful, as he was accused of upholding anti-Marxist views. He was expelled on the same grounds from the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1965 and remained unemployed for political and ideological reasons until 1972. In 1974 he succeeded in defending his PhD thesis and was appointed as a research associate in the Institute for Culture. His scholarly book *Fascism*, published in 1982, became famous for its unambiguous analogies between the Nazi and communist regimes. Although the book was banned and removed from bookstores and libraries only three weeks after its publication, it was translated into ten languages. In 1988 he co-founded the Club for Support of Glasnost and Perestroika, one of the first dissident organisations in Bulgaria. After 10 November 1989, he went into politics and became a founding member of the coalition Union of Democratic Forces, the first Bulgarian political formation to officially identify itself as anti-communist opposition at that time. In June 1990 Zhelev won a seat in the Seventh Grand National Assembly (GNA). On 1 August 1990 the GNA elected him President of the Republic of Bulgaria, and in January 1992 he became the first President in Bulgaria's history to be directly elected by the people. Subsequent developments led to a rift and eventual splintering of right-wing political formations and hence to confrontation between the different parties and groups within the UDF. Zhelyu Zhelev was also part of this tendency: he was associated with the moderate and sometimes also conformist line towards the political representation of the former communist party until the end of his active political career. After his term as President ended in January 1997, he founded the Dr Zhelyu Zhelev Foundation which sought to educate young people in a democratic spirit.



<http://25freebg.com/2015/video-jelio-jelev-na-miting-na-sds-ot-1990-godina/>, accessed on 14.06.2016.

### III-41. Transition without change of power in Montenegro: Milo Đukanović



Milo Đukanović has the longest career of any statesman in the former Yugoslavia. At the age of 17, he became a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and advanced quickly up the party ladder, especially after his contribution to the toppling of the Montenegrin authorities in 1989 and entering into an alliance with Slobodan Milošević. As the Prime Minister of Montenegro (from 1991) he supported the JNA attack on Dubrovnik. The turnabout came in 1996 when he stated that Milošević was an outdated politician, after which he managed to beat the opponents in his party and win the parliamentary and presidential elections (1998). His new policy was supported by West European countries and the United States. In June 2000, he apologized to Croatian President Stjepan Mesić for the participation of Montenegrins in the aggression on Dubrovnik in 1991-1992. After the fall of Milošević in 2000, he again made another change and led the political struggle for the independence of Montenegro. After independence had been gained (2006), he launched the process of integration of Montenegro in the European Union and NATO.



<http://www.predsjednik.gov.me/predsjednik/biografija>  
accessed on 9.06.2015.

### III-42. The Tetovo University in FYR Macedonia



The University of Tetovo was established on 17 December 1994 but was not officially recognised as a state university by the Government of FY Republic of Macedonia until January 2004. Government officials reacted to the attempted establishment of Tetovo University by forcibly closing it down. In the eyes of the ethnic majority, the "Albanian university" was regarded as a symbol of the "duplication of the state" and as a proof of the Albanians' determination to reach their ultimate political goals. For several years the international community had been trying to find an alternative solution to this deeply polarising political issue. Finally, financially supported by the OSCE, USAID etc., the private international trilingual university SEEU opened in October 2001 in Tetovo (lessons are conducted in Macedonian and English, too) to meet in particular the ethnic Albanian population's needs for higher education. In 2004 the government coalition finally came to a compromise over the legalisation of the State University of Tetovo (SUT). Today SUT has 11 faculties, 35 study programmes, 93 fields of study and 3 scientific research institutes.

With sixty votes in favour and two votes against, the Assembly adopted the amendments to the Law on Higher Education yesterday, providing a legal framework for the legalisation of the Tetovo University, which had been operating illegally since 1994. The bill was supported by MPs from the ruling parties and by two PDP MPs, while two opposition MPs voted against it.

SDSM and DUI justified the proposed amendments to the existing Law of 2000 with the need to join the European integration processes and to overcome the deficiencies of the Law itself. VMRO-DPMNE denied the need to enact the amendments using the fast-track procedure, demanding a public debate and the opinion of the university...

Gjorgjević, 16 October 2016, No. 1222.



Why do you think it was so important for the Albanian University in Tetovo to be legalised? What does this mean from symbolic and practical points of view? Imagine that you are a student of Albanian origin who is arguing for the need to support the functioning of an Albanian-speaking university.



### III-43. Prime Minister of Albania, Fatos Nano, on trial for corruption, 1993



Fatos Nano was the first leader of the Socialist Party following the change of party name from the "Labour Party of Albania" to the "Socialist Party" in June 1991. The former Labour Party of Albania had ruled the communist country for half a century. Nano served as Prime Minister of Albania three times during the post-communist period, during the periods 1991, 1997-1998, and 2003-2005. Following the victory of the Democratic Party in the general elections of 1992, the Socialist Party went into opposition. In July 1993, Nano was arrested and faced charges of misuse of office and financial abuses when serving as Prime Minister in 1991. His trial ended in 1994. He was found guilty and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. The court ruling was criticised by human rights activists and critics of the then-President of Albania, Sali Berisha. They considered the ruling to be politically motivated and aimed at destroying the Socialist Party as the main opposition party. However, the authorities, who had failed to stage a reliable trial, rejected the claims of the critics highlighting the financial abuses committed by the former Socialist prime minister. Fatos Nano was released from prison in 1997 when the country was swept over by the massive turmoil due to the fall of the pyramid schemes. He became again prime minister in 1997, when his Socialist Party defeated the Democratic Party of Sali Berisha. In 1999, a Tirana court absolved Fatos Nano of corruption charges.



Albanian Telegraphic Agency.

### III-44. End of Milošević's regime in Serbia, 5 October 2000



The overthrow of Slobodan Milošević occurred on 5 October 2000 in Belgrade. The Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) called citizens to gather on that day in front of the Federal Assembly building, in order to protest against the great theft of votes carried out by the Federal Polling Commission on Milošević's orders.



Blic, 30 September – 1 October 2000

"DOS (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) calls for a general strike"  
 "Mass protests, strikes and road blocks throughout Serbia"  
 "Koštunica calls for an independent vote count"



Večernje novosti, 7 October 2000.

"FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) Elects President"  
 "Milošević and Putin congratulate Koštunica"  
 "Democratic day of joy, rallies and constitution of new authorities"  
 "Serbia sighs with relief"



### III-45. Zoran Đinđić's assassination and funeral, 2003



Photographer Ivan Milutinovic.



Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić was killed on 12 March 2003 in the yard of the Serbian Government building in the heart of Belgrade, by a sniper. His funeral was attended by 500,000 citizens. The assassination led to a state of emergency being introduced in Serbia: the police conducted an operation codenamed *Sablja* (Sword) during which 11,665 persons were arrested. Members of a Special Operations Unit of the Serbian police and also members of the Zemun

criminal clan were charged with and convicted of organising and carrying out the assassination. They were found guilty in May 2007 and sentenced to a total of 378 years in prison. The Special Unit Commander, Milorad Ulemek a.k.a. Legija, was sentenced to 40 years' imprisonment, as well as the man who pulled the trigger, Zvezdan Jovanović, who was also a member of the special police unit. The political background of Zoran Đinđić's assassination is still a mystery.



### III-46. Turgut Özal's policy in the 1990s



Turkey in the 1990s was a country governed by weak coalitions. Turgut Özal (1927-1993) was influenced by the world economic trends of the times and the policies implemented by Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. He introduced a number of fiscal reforms that centred on privatisation and cuts in public spending. His time in office as prime minister (1983-89) and president (1989-93) was characterised by the coexistence of economic liberalism with political conservatism, as well as the rise of new Muslim elites that challenged the hegemony of the old Kemalist ones. The unexpected death in April 1993 of Turgut Özal, who had tried to resolve the Kurdish question, deepened the country's political crisis.



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turgut\\_ozal\\_2.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turgut_ozal_2.jpg)  
(author: Terryboy668), accessed on 21.10.2015.

### III-47. A car accident near the city of Susurluk, Turkey, 1996: the report of the investigation committee appointed by the National Assembly



Killed in this car accident were a high-ranking police officer, a "Miss Turkey" beauty queen and Abdullah Çatlı, the well-known leader of the Grey Wolves, who had been involved in the assassination of numerous left-wing militants and in the assassination attempt on Pope John-Paul II in 1982. The only survivor, Sedat Bucak, was a well-known leader of a Kurdish tribe and paramilitary force and by then was also a deputy of the governmental party DYP (Party of the True Path) of Tansu Çiller. The accident enquiry revealed the strong links existing between the mafia, the radical right, the security forces and politics.

The Susurluk Report: "State secret"

The parts of the Susurluk Report that were kept as "state secrets" have been revealed. A censored 12-page part of the report was included in the annex of the Ergenekon indictment. The report documented the partnership of bureaucrats, policemen, soldiers, and those who had confessed to many illegal acts, from the preparation of a coup in Azerbaijan to murders committed by the state. From the report: "Behçet Cantürk was killed by the police, many persons of Kurdish origin were executed, their punishment was right. However, the effect of some murders was miscalculated..." "Abdullah Çatlı was commissioned against ASALA by Hiram Abas on behalf of MIT with the permission of Kenan Evren. On his return, he was protected by the General Directorate of Security". "He used JITEM confessors along with Veli Küçük, he was made the group commander. They later committed personal murders". [...]

<http://www.nasname.com/a/susurluk-raporu-devlet-sirri>,  
accessed on 14.06.2016.

### III-48. The 28 February Process (1997) in Turkey



At the 1995 elections, with a considerable number of parties in competition after Turgut Özal's death in 1993, the Islamist Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*) of Necmettin Erbakan became the leading political party in the country with only 21.32% of the votes. On 28 February 1997, the National Security Council, dominated by the military, adopted a series of harsh anti-Islamist measures which would ultimately lead to the fall of Erbakan's coalition government. The 1997 coup was called "post-modern" because it displayed a new kind of political engineering not depending on direct intervention by the military. However, after 1997, the military actually assumed an enlarged political role, acting as a protector of the Kemalist state against the threats of Islamic activism and Kurdish separatism.

#### A. Why the 28 February coup is called a "Process": a statement by retired General Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu

The 28th of February is a process. It began in 1923 and from [that] date until the present it has kept up the momentum against the threat of *irtica* [reactionary



Islam]... If necessary, the 28th of February will continue for ten years. If necessary, one hundred years. If necessary, for a period of a thousand years.

Ergin, in Kasaba (ed.), 2008, p.312.

**B. Çevik Bir, number two in the military and a key architect of the “procedure” of 28 February, describes the role of the Turkish armed forces in the working of the country’s system of government**

In Turkey we have the pairing of Islam with democracy. [...] Secularism is the offspring of this marriage. Now, sometimes this child is taken ill. Turkey’s armed forces act as the doctor who saves the child. Depending on how sick the child is, we prescribe the necessary remedy to make certain the child will recover.

Kızılyürek, 2006, pp. 150-151.

**C. Decision of 28 February 1997 of the National Security Council on measures that have to be taken against reactionary anti-regime actions**

1-The principle of laicism that is one of the basic features of the republic in our Constitution and is ensured in Article 4 of the Constitution should be protected with great rigour and sensitivity; the laws existing for its protection should be implemented without any distinction, and if the existing laws seem inadequate when implemented, new regulations should be made.

3- With regard to raising the awareness of the tender minds of the younger generation for the aims and ideals of lifting the Turkish nation to the level of contemporary civilization, firstly through love for the republic, Atatürk, homeland and nation, and then their protection from the effects of various centres:

a- The implementation of uninterrupted 8-year education should be protected throughout the country.

b- The necessary administrative and legal arrangements should be made for the operation of courses on the Koran under the responsibility and control of the Ministry of Education, where children who have taken basic education could continue their education in accordance with their family’s wishes.

7- Publications aimed against the armed forces and their members by certain media groups that try to present the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) as opposed to religion, by exploiting the subject of personnel who have, due to reactionary activities, ceased relations with the TSK following decisions by the Supreme Military Council, should be taken under control.

9- Measures taken under existing legislation to prevent infiltration of extremist religious sections into the TSK should be applied in other public institutions and organisations, particularly universities and other educational institutions, and at every level of the bureaucracy and judiciary.

13- Practices which are emerging against the law in regard to the dress code and giving Turkey an outdated image should be prevented: our laws and Supreme Court decisions on this issue should be rigorously implemented without compromise, firstly and especially in public institutions.

17- Initiatives that aim to end the country’s problems on the basis of the “concept of *ümmet* rather than *millet*” [i.e. religion rather than nation] and encourage separatist terrorist organisations by addressing them on the same basis should be prevented by legal and administrative means.

Annex-A of National Security Council Decision as of 28 February 1997, number 406.



Follow the thinking and rhetoric of Çevik Bir on the role of armed forces in Turkey at the time. The metaphor of a “sick country” and the army as a physician curing the ills was used by Greek dictator George Papadopoulos (also a military man) some 20 years ago. What was the army entitled to do, according to the source?

**III-49. Legal reforms in Turkey to conform to EU norms**



After Turkey’s recognition as a candidate for EU membership at the December 1999 Helsinki Summit of the EU, the country undertook a series of legal reforms to conform to EU norms. The first major step came with the constitutional changes in October 2001. On 3 October 2001, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) enacted the most comprehensive changes to the 1982 constitution since its inception. The changes led to harmonisation of individual freedoms and rights of association with the relevant decisions of the European Court of Human Rights. From February 2002 to July 2004, eight additional harmonisation packages were enacted to meet the Copenhagen criteria. These have in total changed



218 articles of 53 laws, including the infamous counter-terrorism law (*Terörle Mücadele Kanunu* – TMK) and Law no. 301 of the penal code that led to several indictments based on “insulting the Turkish nation, the republic and the TGNA”. The changes also removed capital punishment from the Turkish penal system (a change of vital significance for imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan), as well as enlarging the “cultural rights” of individuals and groups (another important issue for the use of the Kurdish language and preservation of Kurdish and minority cultures). The seventh harmonisation package of July 2003 led to restriction of the authority of the National Security Council. The potent General Secretariat of the NSC was relegated to a coordinating function and would soon be entrusted to a civilian. The NSC’s privilege to oversee the implementation of NSC decisions was also revoked, thereby transferring the strategic functions of oversight and implementation to the elected government.

Changes introduced with the 19 June 2003 Law no. 4903 “Law on Amendments to Various Laws”

Article 12: “Article 9 of Law No. 3257 [on Cinema, Video and TV Productions] has been amended and the following paragraph added:

“In cases where a product has been detrimental to the basic principles of the Republic as laid out in the Constitution, general public health, order and public morality by a due inspection of public or ministerial authorities, the product can be banned by a court order or, in cases where delays are considered a risk, can be banned by ministerial or public decree. Any decree to such effect must be submitted for district penal court approval within 24 hours. The Presiding judge has to rule within the next 48 hours, or the decree is automatically annulled.”

Article 14: amendment to Article 4 of Law No. 3984 on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Radio and TV Channels:

“Turkish citizens can henceforth broadcast in the different languages and dialects that they use in their daily life.”

Article 20: Amendment to Law No. 3713 Counter-terrorism Law article 1 on the definition of “Terror and Terrorist Organisation”:

“Terrorism entails criminal acts including violence, intimidation and threats, by individuals or

organisations aiming to modify the basic principles of the Republic as laid out in the constitution, or the political, legal, social, secular, economic order; disrupt the indivisible unity of the state and society; endanger the existence of the Turkish Republic and State; to weaken, destroy or take over State authority; destroy basic rights and freedoms; disrupt the internal and external security of the State, public order or public health.”

*Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına İlişkin Kanun* [The Law on Amendments to Various Laws] No 4903, Turkish Grand National Assembly, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/d22/1/1-0633.pdf>, accessed on 31.05.2016.

### III-50. Parliamentary elections in Turkey, November 2002 and July 2007



The classical Turkish political system collapsed as a result of the parliamentary elections on 2 November 2002. The Turkish AKP (Justice and Development) party, an offshoot of classical Turkish Islamism, led by the former mayor of Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, obtained an absolute majority in Parliament with 34% of the vote. The party increased its share of the vote (46% in 2007, almost 50% in 2011) before falling to 41% in 2015 and then winning again almost 50% in the repeat elections on 1 November 2015. Right-wing newspapers generally saw the election results as a “protest victory of the nation” and a demonstration of the people’s anger against other parties such as MHP (Devlet Bahçeli’s Party), ANAP (Özal’s party), DYP (Demirel’s Party) and DSP (Ecevit’s Party), all of which stayed below the 10% vote threshold for entering Parliament. The Kemalist newspapers were very skeptical about the results. On 5 November 2002 *Cumhuriyet* used the headline “Islamist power”. Referring to the European press, the newspaper indirectly argued that the AKP victory was a threat to Turkey’s EU membership process. Because of Erdoğan’s Islamic world-view and his remarks during his mayoral term, secularists and the army worried that AKP could endorse political Islam in Turkey. *Sabah*, one of the biggest and most influential newspapers in 2002, called this dramatic political change the “Revolution of Anatolia”.

## November 2002 General Elections



[https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_T%C3%BCrkiye\\_genel\\_se%C3%A7imleri#/media/File:2002\\_T%C3%BCrkiye\\_genel\\_se%C3%A7im\\_sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1.svg](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_T%C3%BCrkiye_genel_se%C3%A7imleri#/media/File:2002_T%C3%BCrkiye_genel_se%C3%A7im_sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1.svg), accessed on 14.06.2016.

## July 2007 General Elections



[https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_T%C3%BCrkiye\\_genel\\_se%C3%A7imleri#/media/File:2007\\_T%C3%BCrkiye\\_genel\\_se%C3%A7im\\_sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1.svg](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_T%C3%BCrkiye_genel_se%C3%A7imleri#/media/File:2007_T%C3%BCrkiye_genel_se%C3%A7im_sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1.svg), accessed on 14.06.2016.





Active in Necmettin Erbakan's National Salvation Party youth associations from the 1970s, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the leader of the Istanbul branch of the Welfare Party in 1985. He developed the party's grassroots organisations successfully, leading to his election as mayor of Istanbul in 1994. Following the recital of a poem considered as "incitement to religious intolerance" his tenure was terminated. He received a ten months prison sentence in 1999, of which he served four. In 2001, breaking with Erbakan, he co-founded, with Abdullah Gül, the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Although his criminal conviction prevented him becoming Prime Minister on AKP's 2002 election victory, a by-election permitted

this from March 2003. Erdoğan initiated reforms that fundamentally altered Turkey, while maintaining rapid economic growth and high rates of international investment. Constant tension with the military culminated in a military memorandum of May 2007, warning against Islamisation. In the subsequent elections AKP triumphed. Abdullah Gül was elected President. Erdoğan's hegemonic position was consolidated when a closure case against the AKP was narrowly defeated in the Constitutional Court in July 2008. A counter-attack, much assisted by supporters of Fetullah Gülen, began in 2007 with the Ergenekon case against prominent military figures. Many of the resulting convictions were evidently unjust.

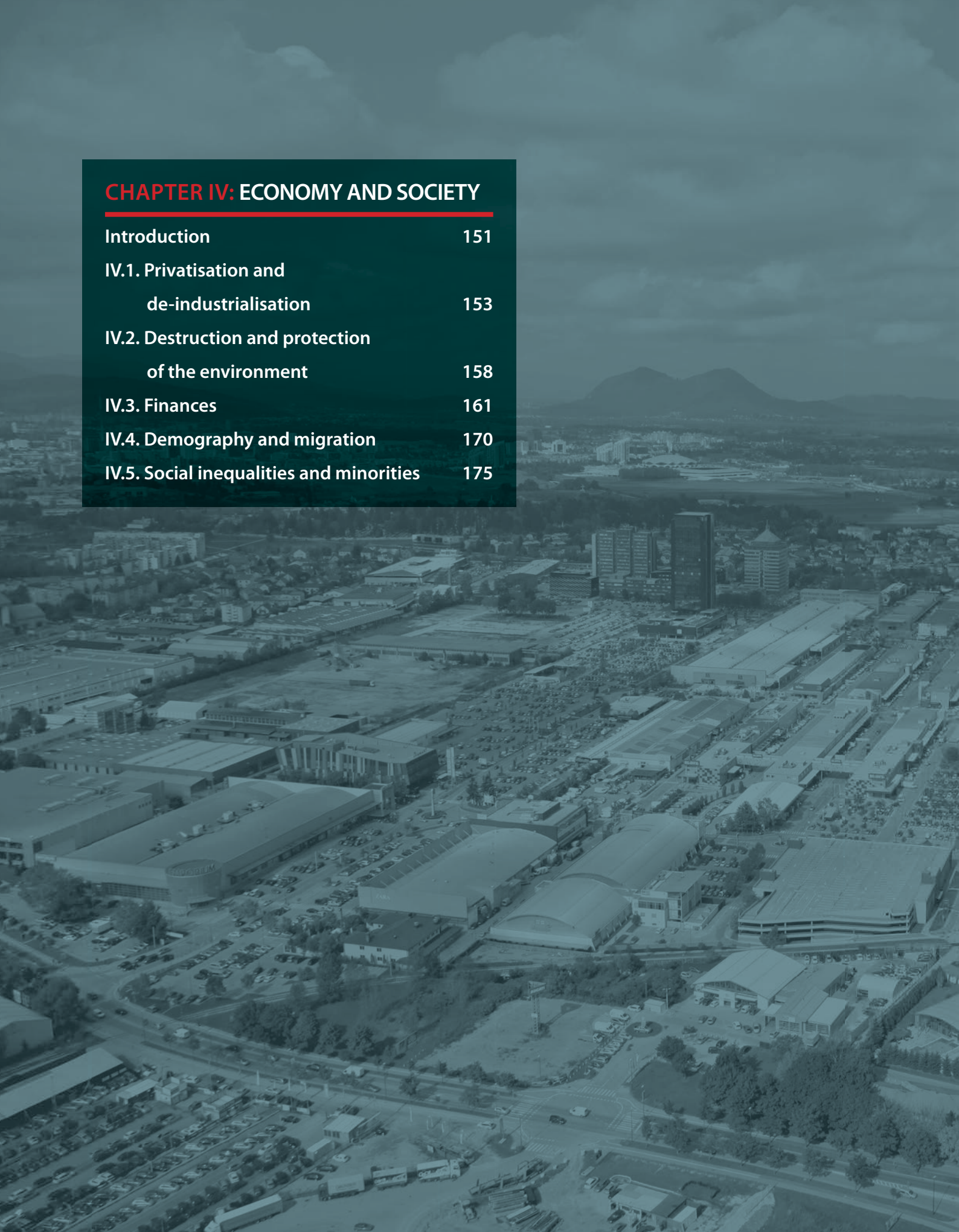




## CHAPTER IV: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

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## ► INTRODUCTION

The economy and society changed fundamentally in Southeast Europe after 1990. These changes were associated with the political developments that we studied in chapter III: the opening of the borders of the so-called Iron Curtain countries following the fall of communist regimes, and European unification, both of which provided a growth of trade and the economy in general; but also structural changes dependent on international developments such as the decline of old sectors, the emergence of new technologies and the globalisation of the world economy. In addition, major changes followed the “service revolution” that occurred in the occupational structure of Western societies, including a dramatic increase in service employment.

Southeast European countries followed different paths. The transition in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey had begun earlier, in Greece and Cyprus with the crisis of 1974 and in Turkey with the emergence from military dictatorship in 1983 (see vol.1, ch.VIII). Greece was the first country in the region to join the eurozone in 2001. The same year, Turkey experienced a severe economic crisis starting with the massive 40% devaluation of the Turkish Lira. However, the successful implementation of a “Strong Economy Program” enabled Turkey to enjoy a steady and strong growth rate in the 2000s. Cyprus, with its numerous banks, had become a significant financial haven (according to some evidence, it was used to “launder” money from the Balkans). Greece and Turkey were both shaken by corruption scandals and links between political elites and various interest groups (e.g. the Susurluk scandal in Turkey in 1996).

After 1990, the former socialist countries went through a process of denationalisation and privatisation, and at the same time of de-industrialisation due to their industry proving uncompetitive. Most countries were faced with severe ecological problems. Yugoslavia had been the most economically developed and most Western-oriented among the socialist Balkan countries, with a mixed market and socialist economy. An economic crisis coupled with hyperinflation had started in the 1980s, before the country’s disintegration. Slovenia, the most developed former Yugoslav republic, was affected by the war only in a limited sense and for a short time. It was the most successful in getting through the transition process and joined the eurozone in 2007. However, it was hit by the world

economic crisis in 2008. The other former republics were economically impoverished either by war or by international economic sanctions or both, with Serbia enduring hyperinflation as a result, while FYR Macedonia was affected by an external economic blockade by Greece.

Other socialist countries with market economies were less unfortunate but began from a far weaker economic position. Albania in particular, had been the most closed, both politically and economically. They all went through economic instability and various economic crises during the 1990s. Common features of post-socialist Southeast European countries were unstable financial systems, liberalisation of prices and foreign trade, a decline in GDP, a dramatic increase of unemployment and severe deterioration of social conditions for the majority of the population. In some countries, people were further impoverished by so-called pyramid investment schemes – Albania was hit the worst, but similar phenomena occurred in other countries – as a result of which a large segment of the population lost their savings. Due to the war in the region, substantial foreign investments began only after the year 2000, as opposed to 1990 for Eastern and Central European countries.

De-nationalisation and privatisation were carried out in different ways in Southeast European countries. All ex-socialist countries in the region tried to avoid so-called “shock therapy” which would have involved rapid privatisation and selling off the majority of state property: they opted for gradual reform programmes. Privatisation took the form of a combination of different methods: restitution (returning state assets to their former private owners); privatisation by mass free distribution of shares or using a voucher system (the authorities gave away to the population, or sold for a nominal fee, vouchers that could be used to purchase shares in enterprises); direct sales of enterprises; formation of State (Treasury)-owned joint-stock companies; management-employee buyouts (shares of an enterprise were sold or given to a combination of managers and other employees). Small-scale privatisation, e.g. of small shops, was usually undertaken relatively easily by selling them cheaply to their employees, but the privatisation of large enterprises was the most controversial and abused process.

The processes of non-transparent accumulation of capital through privatisation, which were largely made possible by politicians or with their direct involvement, resulted in significant social stratification in societies that had formerly been highly egalitarian, except for the party elite. A very narrow stratum of wealthy people was formed. Underneath this developed a small middle class, and then the majority who live very modestly and most of whom are on the verge of poverty or below the poverty threshold. In consequence private property now accounts for between 60 and 75% of GDP in the former socialist countries (highest in Albania, with 75%). Banks were also privatised in most cases – in some countries, for example, in Slovenia, this process is still going on. The region as a whole is lagging behind the former socialist countries which have joined the EU, but there are great differences between individual countries. Some are affected by the EU's differing approach to individual non-member states at a time of "fatigue" in EU enlargement and the internal EU crisis, as a consequence of which the process of European integration is lagging behind. The poor economic policies of individual countries and their internal political conflict are also contributing factors.

After 1990, demographic trends and the position of minorities changed fundamentally. Under socialism, migrations from socialist countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia) were rare due to strictly protected borders. In some cases, the authorities allowed emigration in return for payment – for example, in Romania – or they themselves expelled certain minorities, as for example, Bulgaria with the so-called "Big Excursion" of Bulgarian Turks. Before 1990 Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia all experienced mass migration to West European countries where emigrants became *Gastarbeiter* – immigrant workers. After 1990, and after some Southeast European (SEE) countries had become

members of the EU (Slovenia and Cyprus in 2004, Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 and Croatia in 2008), migration flows have increased dramatically. Most of them were caused by the war in Yugoslavia and its refugees, victims of ethnic cleansing and the expulsion of minorities, but many also by classical economic migration: "looking for a better life in the West". The latest emigration from SEE is not confined to more or less skilled labour: there is now an intense increase in the so-called "brain drain", i.e. emigration of the most educated part of the workforce, seeking employment in scientific and high technology industries in Western Europe and further impoverishing countries of origin.

The "new" migration has changed relations between the region's countries. Those that traditionally exported immigrants, such as Greece and Turkey, were transformed into host countries. A mass influx of economic migrants principally from Albania changed Greece's demographic composition and created new minorities. At the same time, the position of old local minority groups was also altered with the cataclysmic change of 1990 and the stirring up of old nationalisms. In most countries the position of minorities failed to improve, while in the territory of the former Yugoslavia many disappeared or were marginalised as a result of ethnic cleansing.

As Mark Mazower has pointed out, since the end of the Cold War Southeast Europe has faced dilemmas familiar to most European countries: "how to reconcile older patterns of welfare provision with the competitive pressures of global capitalism; how to provide affordable energy while safeguarding the natural environment from pollution; how to prevent the total decline of rural ways of life, and to build the prosperous economies that alone will reduce the attractions of organised crime and allow democracy to flourish"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> M. Mazower, *The Balkans*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000, p. 135.

## ► IV.1. PRIVATISATION AND DE-INDUSTRIALISATION

### IV-1. The law-decree of 7 February 1990 on property changes in Romania



Immediately after the 1989 anti-communist revolution, Romanian society was not ready to enter directly the “capitalist world” of full property rights, unregulated prices and real costs. Owning several dwellings and granting property rights to foreign citizens were still regarded as suspect or dangerous situations. Furthermore, in the country’s first post-communist Constitution private property was not “guaranteed” but only “protected”, while foreigners were denied the right of property over plots of land. The law-decree no. 61/7 February 1990 concerned the sale to members of the public of dwellings built with state funds, and enabled millions of people who were tenants of the state to become full owners of their dwellings, paying sums that, due to inflation, only represented a part of the construction costs.

#### Council of the National Salvation Front decrees

Art. 1. According to the present law-decree, companies engaged in selling houses and offices in the field can sell to the population dwellings built with state funds.

Art. 2. By dwelling, in the sense of the present law-decree, shall be understood a living area including one or more rooms, bathroom, kitchen and other annexes, forming an independent unit determined as such by construction.

Art. 3. The dwellings stipulated in Art. 1 are sold to Romanian citizens domiciled in the country, upon payment of the total price when the sale-purchase contract is concluded or by taking a loan from the Savings and Loans Bank, without restrictions related to owning a second dwelling. The buyer of the dwelling also receives the usufruct of the related land during the existence of the building.

Art. 4. Purchase of dwellings with a view to reselling or renting is forbidden.

Art. 5. [...] Dwellings with tenants can only be sold to the latter, based on demands for the units specified in the dwelling purchase.

Art. 6. Selling prices for the population for dwellings built with state funds and received by 31 December 1989 are established in accordance with annexes no. 1 and 2 [...].”

Law-decree no. 61/7 February 1990, published in the Official Gazette, part I, no. 22, 8 February 1990, p. 1.

### IV-2. Law for the restitution of nationalised immovable properties in Bulgaria, 1992

Article 1. (1) The ownership of any immovable properties, expropriated under the Expropriation of Large-Size Urban Roofed Immovable Properties Act (promulgated in the State Gazette no. 87 of 1948; corrected in no. 91 of 1948), which are owned by the state, municipalities, public organisations or by companies thereof or by any single-member or single-shareholder companies under Article 61 of the Commerce Act and which exist physically up to the size in which they were expropriated, is hereby restored.

(2) Any transactions effected in violation of the resolution of the Grand National Assembly of 6 December 1990 on the partial lifting of the prohibition of disposing of state and municipal property (State Gazette No. 101 of 1990) are hereby declared null and void, and ownership of the properties subject to the transfer is hereby restored. [...]

Article 9. Any persons whereof the ownership is restored by virtue of this Act may obtain documentary proof of title by means of a verification of circumstances if they demonstrate that they themselves or the antecessors thereof held the right of ownership until the date when the property was confiscated. Stamp duty shall not be collected for the verification of circumstances.

Държавен вестник [State Gazette], no. 15, 21 February 1992.  
<http://www.pravoto.com/site/zakonodatelstvo/zakoni/13209-zakon-za-vazstanovyavane-sobstvenostta-varhu-odarzhaveni-nedvizhimi-imoti>, accessed on 21.10.2015.



Why do you think it was important that citizens of ex-communist countries regained the right to own property? Take into consideration the fact that the right to property has been a fundamental human right recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948; Article 17).



### IV-3. Land Fund Act (no. 18/1991), reflecting the breakdown of collectivised agriculture, the deterioration of farm properties and dramatic diminution of production in Romania



The enforcement of the provisions of the law proved to be difficult because of the lack of evidence, the insufficient amount of land compared to the demands of former owners, as well as of frequent abuses, tergiversations, poor implementation, etc. The immediate effect was the rapid deterioration of the heritage of collective farms and agricultural equipment (e.g. of irrigation systems), a significant decrease in productiveness and a massive return to subsistence agriculture.

[...] Art. 1 Plots of land of any kind, regardless of their destination, of their title deed, or of the public or private area of which they are part, represent a part of Romania's land fund.

[...]

Art. 3 In the sense of the present law, by owners of plots of land shall be understood owners of the title deed, of other real rights over the land or those who, under civil law, have the capacity of provisional owners or holders.

[...]

Art. 8 Establishment of private property rights on the plots of land that are part of the heritage of agricultural collective farms is made by mean of the present law, by restoring property right or by establishing this right.

The stipulations of the law shall benefit the members of collective farms who contributed their plots of land to agricultural collective farms or from whom plots of land were taken by any means, as well as, under civil law, the heirs of the latter, the members of the collective farms who contributed no plots of land, and other specifically nominated persons.

Establishment of property right shall be made upon request, by issuing title deeds over areas of at least 0.5 ha for each incumbent by means of the present law, and not exceeding 10 ha per family in arable equivalent. By family shall be understood spouses with their unmarried children, if they are members of the same household as their parents. [...]

Art. 11 The land contributed to the collective farm is that found in: title deeds, real estate register excerpts, land registry office, applications to join a collective farm, collective farm records or, if these are lacking, any other evidence, including statements of witnesses.

The stipulations of the previous paragraph shall also apply to plots of land taken over by collective farms either based on special laws, or without any title deed or in any other way.

Establishment of a title deed is done on request, based on the situation of the agricultural real estate held by the collective farm on 1 January 1990, recorded in the system of the General Land Registry Office or the Agricultural Land Office, amended with the alienations conducted by the collective farm until the entry into force of the law. [...]

Law no. 18/1991, published in the *Official Gazette*, Part I, no. 37, 20 February 1991, pp. 1-2.

### IV-4. Changes in employed population in Romania 1989-2006

#### A. Employed population, by branches of the national economy, 1989

Industry	38.1%
Agriculture and forestry	27.9%
Civil engineering	7.0%
Transport	6.2%
Circulation of goods	5.9%
Common housing and other non-productive services	4.9%
Education, culture and art	3.4%
Health, social assistance and physical culture	2.7%
Science and scientific services	1.3%
Telecommunications	0.7%
Administration	0.5%
Other branches	1.4%

#### B. Employed population, by branches of the national economy, 2006

Services	41%
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	29.7%
Industry	23.2%
Civil engineering	6.1%

Statistics Annual of Romania, 1990, pp. 51, 102-105, 126-127;

Statistics Annual of Romania, 2000, pp. 52-54, 96, 99, 165;

Statistics Annual of Romania, 2007, pp. 40, 117-119, 234, 306.

**IV-5. "Fruit for every child": abandoned cooperative farm orchard in Northeastern Bulgaria**



Photo by Alexei Kalionski, 2012.

#### IV-6. Miron Cozma, the leader of the Valea Jiului miners, during the “mineriad” (violent march by miners to Bucharest) in 1991



Miron Cozma speaking to miners. <http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/miron-cozma-nu-am-remuscari-pentru-mortii-de-la-mineriade.html>, accessed on 30.05.2015.



Miron Cozma was the most famous leader of the miners' trade union in Valea Jiului during the first post-communist decade. He played an important part in the organisation of the 1991 “mineriad” which resulted in many violent episodes and caused the resignation of Petre Roman's reformist Cabinet. Following the decisions made by Radu Vasile's cabinet in 1999 to close the mines of Valea Jiului, the miners organised another protest march to Bucharest (January). The event degenerated into a bloody confrontation with the police (the so-called “battle of Costești”), but ended with a meeting for negotiations between the premier and the leader of the miners (the

“Cozma peace”). However, shortly after (in February 1999), Miron Cozma was arrested and sentenced to 18 months in prison for offences committed during the “mineriad” of 1991. His condemnation caused further protests by miners. Being considered one of President Ion Iliescu's protégés, Cozma was pardoned on 15 December 2004, in the last days of Iliescu's term of office. The pardon decision resulted in a wave of protests from both civil society and Western politicians, a fact that led to its revocation. Following a new trial and conviction in 2005, in relation to the 1999 “mineriad”, Miron Cozma eventually left prison at the end of 2007.



### IV-7. A Bulgarian industrial worker describes the mistakes of the transition

I used to work in the power industry. But I had an accident at work and retired. I was born in 1960. I started working at the time of socialism. To my mind, that time wasn't so bad, I mean, for me at least, we were lucky to live in the best years of socialism and democracy because those were the years I had a job. [...] There was a lot of enthusiasm [on 10 November 1989], everyone was rejoicing. I was at a chalet in Kazanlak and when we woke up in the morning someone said Todor Zhivkov had fallen from power. And everyone was so enthusiastic, hoping that something would change for the better, in a positive direction. Above all, human freedoms. Because before the change, people didn't have that freedom. You couldn't speak your mind freely, you had to conform. There were informants everywhere and they reported everything to the authorities. From this point of view, it was stressful. But as regards employment, it was good because everyone had a job. So there was a middle class in Bulgaria. During the transition, everything went upside down. We all hoped things would change for the better, but they haven't. We initially supported the opposition, the UDF. But then it became clear that there's no opposition, that everyone was fighting for power in Bulgaria, for a position in power, and no one cared about the people. Eventually, around 2000, it became clear that everything about the transition was totally wrong. Because everyone was promising that things would get better, but everyone cared only about their self-interest. [...] The polyester factory [in Dimitrovgrad] was one of the biggest textile factories at the time. We've been there personally, so we know that everything was arranged for an Italian to buy it, but then at the last minute some Turk turned up and he [the mayor] sold it off. Although he had promised that the polyester factory would start operating again. [...] The city itself was one of the biggest industrial centres, but everything was sold off dirt-cheap. [The chemical plant] Neochim was siphoned off in the same way, but at least it has remained in operation. But there is a big difference in the salaries of the workers and of the administration. Because Neochim has been divided into two companies and the company that's actually in charge of sales gets the profit, while the workers are paid medium at best, if not meagre, wages. Those who actually make the money [for Neochim] de facto get paid much less than those who sell. There are two companies, but one is in charge of sales of fertilisers while the other is in charge of production of fertilisers.

The chemical plant is operating, true, but now at just one-third of its previous capacity. It is managed [by the rules of] market economy, so they have closed down the workshops they don't need any more. If they also close down the whole chemical plant, the city will turn into a big village. [...] The market isn't what it was like before, the crisis is felt everywhere. Everyone's cutting back on things they love. There have been [crises] before, too, I remember the one in 1992-1994, but people then still lived much better than they do now. There's a crisis in the whole of Europe, but in Bulgaria the crisis is perpetual. Back then [in 1996-1997, the crisis] was a shock. It was done deliberately, in order to take away people's money in this way. Because people had big savings, they had saved money during socialism, and this was done deliberately – they raised the dollar [exchange rate] and took away people's money. Artificial inflation and people who had saved throughout their lives [lost all their money] – this was the biggest gaffe. I worked at a TKZS [labour-cooperative farm] at first. By and large, at the time of socialism, things were more or less good there, even though people's remuneration wasn't distributed fairly because the people who worked in the fields and produced all the produce worked for pennies, but the money went to the administration. During the transition, they returned the land to the former owners, dissolved all labour-cooperative farms, and then some leaseholders appeared who rented lands, without investing anything – they were only concerned about making a profit, again at the people's expense, because they grew only crops that didn't need irrigation and their sole purpose was to make a profit. They didn't invest anything in agriculture. People did get their lands back, but very few private owners tried farming their lands themselves. But when the state itself doesn't ensure you a market and there's nowhere you can sell your produce, you simply give up. There appeared those leaseholders who produced more cereal products at lower costs in order to make a bigger profit. And they accumulated some capital from the very beginning. Now the government has started providing subsidies [...] but still not on the same scale as in the EU. [...] They sold off absolutely everything and gave away the animals to people depending on their share in the TKZS. It's simply that whoever is in power always capitalises on those sales. They sold off the machines, everything. Very few TKZSs were preserved, a very small part – not even a trace was left of some,

and some were totally plundered. [...] At first everyone was enthusiastic about democracy, but things have gone totally wrong, because the West has converted to our variant, the one we had established long before

– that is, land consolidation – while we did the exact opposite. Yes, this is a mistake of the transition.

Interview with Vasil Valev, Dimitrovgrad, 11 October 2012; <http://prehodbg.com/?q=node/1760>, accessed on 21.07.2016.

## ► IV.2. DESTRUCTION AND PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

### IV-8. The Venice Declaration on environmental ethics signed by Pope John Paul II and Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, 10 June 2002

The problem is not simply economic and technological; it is moral and spiritual. A solution at the economic and technological level can be found only if we undergo, in the most radical way, an inner change of heart, which can lead to a change in lifestyle and of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production. [...]

A new approach and a new culture are needed, based on the centrality of the human person within creation and inspired by environmentally ethical behaviour stemming from our triple relationship to God, to self and to creation. [...]

We and, much more, our children and future generations are entitled to a better world, a world free from degradation, violence and bloodshed, a world of generosity and love. [...]

It is not too late. God's world has incredible healing powers. Within a single generation, we could steer the earth toward our children's future. Let that generation start now, with God's help and blessing.

Chrysavgis, 2012, pp. 336-338.



A series of conferences in 1988, 1989 and 1991 inspired Bartholomew, elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 1991, to make the environmental crisis a central theme of his mission of Church renewal. In 1992 all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches made a common statement on the subject, while Patriarch Bartholomew himself embarked on a series of sea and river journeys emphasising that the destruction of the environment constitutes a major sin. On his journey in the Adriatic he met with Pope Paul John II and they issued together a historic joint statement, a good example of the increasingly close collaboration between the Christian West and East in recent decades.

### IV-9. "Let Nature Remain in Bulgaria": a petition initiated by a coalition of Bulgarian environmental non-governmental organisations in 2006



"For Nature in Bulgaria", a coalition of 30 Bulgarian environmental organisations including the WWF (World Wildlife Fund) organised a series of protests in Sofia, Varna and elsewhere that mobilised thousands of people. The October 7 action, "Let's Get Loud, Let's Save Nature", had thousands of citizens walking through Sofia and Varna playing instruments, banging on pots and pans and ringing alarm clocks to "wake up" their fellow citizens to take action. The coalition "For Nature" has already submitted a number of official complaints to the European Commission regarding protected areas. The Commission has responded forcefully to complaints concerning the designation of Natura 2000 sites, putting pressure on the Bulgarian government to include all relevant areas in the network, but the latter has yet to take serious action to stop some of the ongoing destruction of the protected areas.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our Constitution states that the Republic of Bulgaria shall ensure the protection of the environment and the maintenance and diversity of wildlife. As a citizen of the Republic of Bulgaria, I petition you – representatives of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government – to take all actions and decisions within your competence in order to protect Bulgarian nature and to guarantee the observance of our Constitution.

I am alarmed by the fact that in the last few years Bulgaria's most valuable natural territories – the protected areas and the proposed Special Protection Areas – have been degraded by development, logging or draining. I am particularly alarmed by the overdevelopment and "concretisation" of the Black Sea coast, the construction of ever more ski resorts in the

mountains, and the installation of dozens of wind turbines in unsuitable locations, which kill birds and endanger human health. I disagree with the attempts by some investors and government bodies to resume uranium mining in our country and to introduce cyanide technology in mining.

I want economic growth and development in Bulgaria, but not at the expense of nature and people's interests.

That is why I support the initiatives of the campaign "Let Nature Remain in Bulgaria" and insist that you take at least the following actions:

Adopt amendments to the Protected Areas Act, the Spatial Development Act and the State Property Act, as well as a Forestry Act and a Black Sea Coast Development Act, which will guarantee that illegal development in protected areas and Special Protection Areas will be stopped. The environmental non-governmental organisations have good proposals in this respect. [...]

[http://old.bluelink.net/zaprirodata/send\\_appeal.php](http://old.bluelink.net/zaprirodata/send_appeal.php),  
accessed on 21.07.2016.

#### IV-10. The Roşia Montană mining project in Romania: destruction of the environment and cultural heritage



In 1997, a Canadian mining company launched a 17-year-long project of exploitation of gold mines in Roşia Montană, the oldest mining area in Romania, which had been first recorded under Roman control in 131 AD and includes the best preserved Roman mine galleries in existence. The danger of destruction of the cultural heritage and the environment caused an international and national reaction which lasted until 2015, when the Romanian government cancelled the project. The campaign against mining at Roşia Montană was actually one of the largest campaigns over a non-political cause in the last 20 years in Romania and demonstrated the effective resistance of civil society against overwhelming political and economic pressure.

##### A. An article by Ionel Haiduc, President of Cluj Branch, Romanian Academy, on the risks of the Roşia Montană mining project, 2003

*Economic and social aspects:* It is anticipated that the extraction of gold and silver in the Roşia Montana area

will last for a period of 17 years. This means that at the end of the operation the area will remain again short of jobs, with a larger number of unemployed people (and with a severely affected environment - vide infra) because the social problem does not have a long-term, sustainable solution. [...]

*Technological aspects:* The technology used in the mining project is based upon the extraction of gold from finely ground ore by leaching with a solution of sodium cyanide. The use of technology based upon cyanide leaching seriously endangers the environment. [...]

*Ecological and environment conservation aspects:* Open pit exploitation produces a significant degradation of the natural environment, in fact a real mutilation of the landscape, leaving behind four huge craters and massive deposits of sterile material [...]

*Scientific archaeological-historical aspects:* The area covered by the project contains archaeological remains of great scientific interest, which are unique in Europe and perhaps in the world, [...] The mining of the gold deposit would irremediably destroy most of the archaeological site, which would be an irrevocable loss and would cancel any chance of establishing a zone of cultural tourism, a long-term economic solution. [...] The destruction of archaeological remains of such value would be a cultural crime. [...]

*Alternative solutions:* An alternative is needed, to solve on a long-term basis the problem of unemployment and poverty in the area. Such a solution should be based upon the regenerable resources of the area, e.g. cultural tourism in which the archaeological richness of the area could be a real point of attraction. Declaring the area an archaeological park of world heritage under UNESCO protection (which is possible) would increase touristic interest and could attract European Union funds for the continuation of the archaeological investigations. [...]

*Academica*, nr. 13-14, April-May 2003, pp. 77-80.

##### B. Roşia Montană project in figures

1,346 ha to be exploited, 2,388 ha licensed perimeter, 300 ha covered by the tailings pond of heavy metals and cyanide, which will represent a permanent life risk for over 6,000 persons living in neighbouring areas, 4 mountains to be blasted away, 2,064 private properties to be relocated, 975 houses to be destroyed, out of which 47 are part of the national heritage, 7 churches to be demolished, blown up or covered by the cyanide pond, 11 cemeteries



to be relocated, 12,000 tons of cyanide to be used annually (totalling an amount of 204,000 tons) and only 634 workplaces to be created during the period of 17 years [...]

<http://www.rosiamontana.org/ro/pe-scurt-despre-proiectul-minier>, accessed on 28.03.2015.

### C. Graffiti "Salvați Roșia Montană" in Cluj-Napoca, Romania



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salvati\\_Rosia\\_Montana.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salvati_Rosia_Montana.jpg), accessed on 21.06.2016.

### IV-11. The nuclear power plant in Krško, Slovenia



In the 1980s, Slovenia, jointly with Croatia, built a nuclear power plant at Krško. In addition to this reactor there, the Jožef Štefan Institute near Ljubljana also houses a private reactor which is used for research purposes. The issue of nuclear waste →

thus arises frequently. Slovenia found a solution for that in constructing warehouses for nuclear waste called Brinje, which were equipped according to the latest international standards. Working in these warehouses as well as their surroundings is considered completely safe.



Storage for Nuclear Waste - Brinje. ARAO - Slovenian Agency for Radioactive Waste.



1. Use the Romanian and Bulgarian examples and try to follow major changes related to the transition from a state-controlled economy to a free market economy.
2. Two groups of pupils debate the necessity of development as a means of improving life, raising employment and increasing wealth for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. One group defends measures that help development and the other defends to the utmost the preservation of the environment. What are the dangers to human life, and for the natural and cultural environments? Try to discuss the right solution to both aims: what does a country need for sustainable development? (study carefully the keys and sources). Why do you think that states in transition such as Bulgaria or Romania seem vulnerable in this area? What did Slovenia do?
3. Write an essay on civil society movements for the protection of the environment in Southeast Europe.

### ► IV.3. FINANCES

#### IV-12. Ownership certificates in Slovenia, 1993



Ownership certificates were introduced in Slovenia in 1993 during the transition from socialism to capitalism, and were issued to a total value of 567 billion tolar. They were mostly (58%) invested in authorised investment companies, 32% were put into other companies, while 67 billion were left unused. Every citizen received a notification with information about opening an ownership certificate account which would contain a certain amount which had been allocated to each and everyone. This certificate could then be cashed at bank counters, and this all meant that every Slovene could acquire ownership in Slovene companies. Numerous well-known companies and unknown investment funds fought a war for citizens' certificates. Advertising campaigns also attracted investors with the help of famous Slovenes, for instance, Olympic bronze medal winner Jure Košir, who was considered one of the biggest celebrities in the first half of the 1990s.



Translation: Svoj certifikat bom zaupal Ateni. Atena, modrost, ki se obrestuje. (I will entrust Athena with my certificate. Athena, wisdom that gives dividends.)

Gorenjski glas newspaper.

#### IV-13. The fantasy of getting rich overnight and the big swindles of the 1990s: the “Caritas” pyramid scheme and the “National Investments Fund” (FNI in Romanian)

##### A. “Caritas” – the first Romanian swindle

[...] One of the financial legends of Cluj is, undoubtedly, the pyramid scheme Caritas. It was organised by the “Caritas” company of Cluj-Napoca, founded by Ioan Stoica, and was launched in 1991. Caritas promised the pay-out, after six months, of a sum of money eight times bigger than that invested. Officially, Caritas attracted a number of 400,000 depositors from all over the country, who invested 1,257 billion lei (almost \$1 billion) before it went bankrupt on 14 August 1994, with debts amounting to \$450 million. The money went right into the pockets of the leaders of the time, policemen, Securitate officers and employees of the forces of law and order. Some of the politicians launched into business with that money, and we can find them today in leading positions or owning prosperous companies. Furthermore, the Phanariot municipality provided the company with a headquarters building and the “father” of Caritas with a house. In order to provide a guarantee for the business, Gheorghe Funar [a well-known nationalist politician, who was Mayor of Cluj between 1992 and 2004], together with other local personalities, then appeared next to Stoica, so as to present the latter as the saviour of Romanians' pockets. After everything had collapsed and those who had invested money in the “pyramid” had been left with nothing, it was revealed that the game had actually functioned with no accounting and financial records, had not observed labour regulations, and that Stoica had not even registered his own salary. Records were actually preserved on floppy disks which disappeared after the prosecutors' searches.

[...] The trial of Caritas's “father” Ioan Stoica in the Romanian courts had a happy end for the swindler. In 2004, he benefited from the enactment of a special extinctive prescription – a special statute of limitations [...]. The Caritas file is considered by legal experts to be the biggest file ever dealt with in Romania (no less than five tons of documents). Yet the pyramidal “bureaucracy” cost Stoica only a few months in prison, between 1994 and 1995. [...]

<http://gazetadecluj.ro/stiri-cluj-investigatii/caritas-primarescrocherie-romaneasca/>, accessed on 28.03.2015.



## B. The “NIF Affair”, the art of greediness

The National Investments Fund [FNI in Romanian] represented the most dramatic collapse of a pyramid scheme, with over 300,000 injured parties and almost € 400 million in frauds [...]

If it had been a strictly private business, it would have been all right. But during its last year of existence, the NIF attracted the state as well – from both a financial and juridical standpoint, by its association with the CEC Bank (literally, the Deposits and Consignments House). The state did not exercise strict control over the business in which it was involved so that, in the mid-2000s, when the fund collapsed, all the conditions were there for the huge damage to be transferred into the public debt. [...]

When the contract was concluded, the NIF also received the right to use the CEC logo. Such a guarantee from the state made the NIF much more attractive for citizens, who thronged to place their savings in this fund [...].

After the NIF collapsed, there were several court actions to establish the extent to which the CEC-NIF contract, illegally concluded, was valid and, if so, what the value was of the damages that CEC had to pay [...] The courts decided that compensations had to be made at the level of the last value announced, which led to a final bill of 7,480 billion lei – about \$350 million. This huge sum of money was assumed into the public debt in order not to result in CEC going bankrupt, and from that moment on every year significant sums of money are allocated from the public budget to AVAS – Autoritatea pentru Valorificarea Activelor Statului [The Authority for State Assets Recovery] between 2004-2012 – to pay the debt in instalments. [...]

[http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/afacerea-fniarta-lacomiei-1\\_50ada9b87c42d5a66398e077/index.html](http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/afacerea-fniarta-lacomiei-1_50ada9b87c42d5a66398e077/index.html), accessed on 28.03.2015.

## IV-14. Popular protests in Romania against the bankruptcy of National Investments Fund (FNI), because of which over 300,000 investors suffered losses (May 2000)



Ioana Maria Vlas, *Amintiri din pușcărie. Episodul 1* [Memories from Prison. Episode 1], <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/amintiri-din-puscarie-episodul-1-336739.html>, accessed on 21.11.2015.



## IV-15. The Pyramid Scandal in Albania, 1997



During 1996-97, Albania was convulsed by the dramatic rise and collapse of several huge financial pyramid schemes. In January 1997, two pyramid schemes, Sude and Gjallica, declared bankruptcy triggering riots. The other schemes soon also ceased to make payments. By March 1997 Albania was in chaos. Many in the army and police force had deserted, and 1 million weapons had been looted from the armouries. The country descended into anarchy and a near civil war in which some 2,000 people were killed. In April, a European international military humanitarian force called "Alba"

(around 7,000 soldiers, under the guidance of Italy) came to Albania to help state authorities restore order. Evacuation of foreign nationals and mass emigration of Albanians began. The government was forced to resign. The pyramid schemes were a sign that the post-communist transition in Albania was heading over two parallel tracks: a) deep market economy reforms, after half a century of radical communism, and b) the booming of an illegal economical sector that reached its climax with the blossoming of the pyramid schemes that pervaded the country, VEFA being the biggest and the symbol of them.

### A. Protests against the Vefa pyramid scheme in February 1997



Photographer Roland Tasho.

### B. "Where is our money?" A newspaper article, 22 January 1997

XHAFERRI CLOSES DOWN COUNTER WINDOWS

*Contradictory news on "Gjallica". Police: "We arrested him". His father: "He is at home". Enigma of lists.*

*Creditors: "General, tell us where is our money?"*

Of Sudja and her millions, there now remained only lists. The money-lender was arrested and, together with almost her entire technical staff, which for five consecutive years

had dealt with tens millions of dollars, ended up behind bars. Of Sudja's office building, there now remained only ruins and long lists of clients who were never paid. A disorderly archive, which brings to mind the lend-patents and mortgage documents which the communist regime found after the Second World War, was all that remained.

The destiny of Sudja is prison, but what is the destiny of the thousands of people who entrusted their money to her? The atmosphere actually seems to be not at all optimistic. Nevertheless, depositors can do

nothing except hope and satisfy themselves with the statements made by Rrapush Xhaferri to help Sudja. But, nobody can play with the money and documents of the citizens. Even Enver Hoxha did not behave in this way with expropriated people, and so there is no hope now for Albanian citizens since they have lost even their last savings in Sudja's pyramid scheme. [...]

#### "General" Xhaferri beaten yesterday

Yesterday at about 1410 near the branch of "Xhaferri" Foundation (near the "Gjallica" polyclinic), a large number of creditors surrounded the car of "Xhaferri" Foundation president Mr. Rrapush Xhaferri and tried to overturn it as he was not giving them back their money. At this moment, the police and his bodyguards intervened and saved him from being punched by the people who were waiting for their money. Creditors' anger reached a climax when they were informed that the "Xhaferri" Foundation had also gone bankrupt, and that it had blocked all its counter windows all over the country thus causing thousands of people to lose their hopes. The "General" returned back home without the epaulettes of a general.[...]

"Xhaferri mbyll sportelet", Editorial, *Koha jonë* newspaper, 22 January 1997.



Lend-patent is the certificate of ownership of any kind of property owned by a citizen.

Rrapush Xhaferri was an officer of the Albanian communist army before 1990. He became "rich" with the pyramid schemes after 1990 and then people started to call him "general" ironically.

VEFA was founded by Vehbi Alimuca, a former officer of the Albania communist army. He was put in prison in 1998, after the closing of the pyramid schemes in 1997.

### IV-16. Cyprus was one of the destinations of the "black" money of Milošević

[...] Greece, Cyprus and Switzerland are the three countries to which former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević illegally transferred huge amounts, according to the front page of Sunday's *Washington Post*. The lengthy article discusses the efforts being made by Yugoslav authorities to detect between 200 million and one billion dollars paid by the telephone organisations of Italy and Greece to the Serbian public mobile telephone company. [...] The newspaper claims that gold bars were illegally transferred, and points to the illegal export of approximately 700 kilograms of gold over the last three

years by MCC, a Cyprus-based company. "Western and Yugoslav officials say that the central point of the entire endeavour was Cyprus", while the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal, Carla Del Ponte, suspects the involvement of a Cypriot legal company and political figure. Although, according to the *Washington Post*, the Greek and Cypriot authorities have not assisted in the investigations for the discovery of the funds, it is highlighted that under the pressure of efforts to accede to the EU, the Cypriot government started to cooperate and agreed to close bank accounts belonging to nine companies which the International Criminal Tribunal had linked to money laundering schemes, including an account containing 56 million dollars which belonged to three high-ranking and close associates of Milošević.

Φιλελεύθερος [Phileleftheros] newspaper, 12 March 2001.

### IV-17. The Arizona Market in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Oslobođenje, archive of Oslobođenja.



The Arizona Market, locally better known as the "Corridor", is located about 15 km from the town of Brčko. The story of the market started when the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended and the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in November 1995. Following a decision by the IFOR international peace-keeping forces, an area of waste land near the then demarcation line in the Brčko area was designated as a demilitarised meeting point. Shortly after the area had been cleared of mines, market stalls popped up one after another and trade started between two sides which until recently had been warring. Many stories about smuggling, prostitution and other criminal activities are associated with the Arizona market which is a hub for the "grey economy". In 2001, the Brčko District government decided to regulate the market and called an international public tender for the construction of a new one, which opened in 2004.

#### IV-18. The February 2001 economic crisis and “Turkey’s Transition to a Strong Economy Programme”



*Nobody allows the IMF to intervene in our internal affairs...  
Because in fact they don't need to ask us.*

Oran, vol. 2, p. 217.



The three-party coalition government under Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, comprising the Democratic Left Party (*Demokratik Sol Parti* – DSP) of Bülent Ecevit, the National Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* – MHP) of Devlet Bahçeli and the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi* – ANAP) of Mesut Yılmaz, had to deal with the negative consequences of the 1998 Asian crisis, which were compounded by the material damage caused by the August 1999 Marmara earthquake (11-20 billion USD according to estimates). Thus, in November 1999, Turkey signed a stand-by agreement with the IMF and initiated a pegged exchange regime supported by a structural reform programme. However, populism and rampant corruption among the political class hindered many of the structural reforms →

promised to the IMF. Starting in the winter of 2000-2001, the Turkish Central Bank struggled to keep the exchange rate steady as its USD reserves dwindled. In February 2001, a heated discussion between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit triggered a crisis of political confidence and a run on the Turkish lira that day, which led to a massive 40% devaluation. To deal with the crisis, the government called on Kemal Derviş, the renowned Turkish economist and World Bank vice-president responsible for the Middle East and North Africa region, to return to Turkey and assume the position of Minister of the Economy with wide-ranging powers in order to initiate a reform programme. Derviş accepted the offer, and during his ministry “Turkey’s Transition to a Strong Economy Programme” was launched. Based on a series of austerity measures, legal adjustments and establishment of autonomous bodies to regulate the economy, the programme was considered a total success. However, the implementation of tough structural reforms cost the governing coalition parties their entire political capital. In the November 2002 elections, aided by the rule according to which parties needed 10% of the total vote to enter Parliament, AKP swept the established centre right- and left-wing parties out of power and commenced its hegemony over Turkish politics. As a result of the programme and the favourable conjuncture of Turkey’s candidacy to the EU as well as the post-9/11 era liquidity of the early 2000s, Turkey enjoyed a steady and strong growth rate weathering both the negative effects of the 2008 financial meltdown and later instability in the region after the Arab Spring. There has been an ongoing discussion about who should take credit for the economic success of the country: while pro-government pundits argue that it was AKP and Erdoğan who should be praised for the country’s economic performance, opposition figures suggest that AKP and Erdoğan only reaped the benefits of a structural reform programme, the most politically dangerous parts of which had been carried out by the previous government.



How does the cartoonist perceive the role and involvement of the IMF in state economies? Can you find other examples? Discuss how a poor financial situation can undermine the sovereignty of a country.



#### IV-19. Greece joining the eurozone in 2001. Prime Minister Simitis shows the first euro banknotes



Greece adopted the euro in 2001. In the photo, Prime Minister Simitis shows the first euro banknotes. During his first term in office (1996-2000) Prime Minister Kostas Simitis, who had succeeded Andreas Papandreou as leader of PASOK, set as his main objective that Greece joins the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) of the EU. This was seen as essential for ensuring Greece's position in Europe and worldwide. To this effect and under the central banner of modernisation, the Simitis government embarked on a series of measures designed to develop and stabilise the economy.



ΕΡΑ/ΑΠΕ-ΜΠΕ/ΜΙΛΟΣ ΒΙΚΑΝΣΚΙ.

#### IV-20. The road to the Greek economic crisis

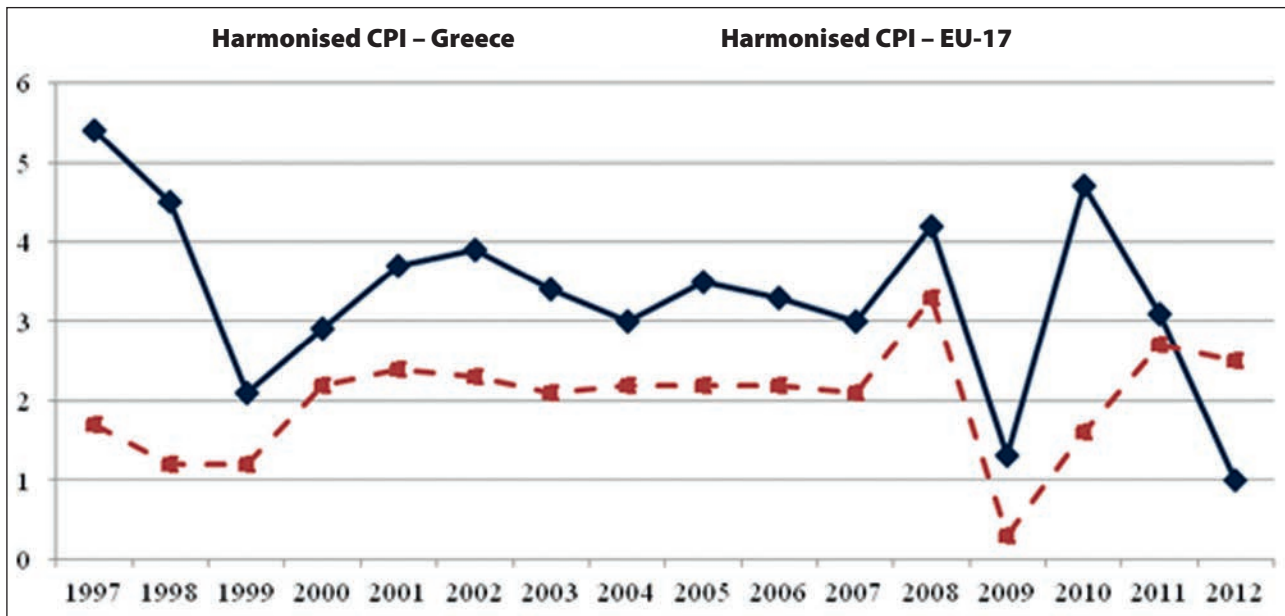


As the new millennium dawned, the Greek economy began to experience ever worsening financial imbalances which, coupled with the global financial crisis, led to the economic crisis of 2009-2010. Although until 2007 Greece recorded a higher average growth rate than its partners in the EU-15, it also witnessed alarmingly high increases in its current account deficit which skyrocketed in 2007 and 2008. Furthermore, a relaxation of fiscal discipline was already evident by the early 2000s. The primary surpluses achieved in the 1990s shrank and soon turned into primary deficits. In particular, there was a marked decline in tax revenue. Finally, the attempt by the minister of Labour to reform the national insurance system in 2001 failed, as did efforts to reform the national health service a year later. After 2006 public finances worsened further, and by 2009 the public sector deficit had spiralled out of control. At the same time, both inflation rates and nominal unit labour costs showed small but systematic divergences from those of other eurozone countries, which undermined the competitiveness of Greek products. The sources below present data on inflation, public sector deficit and current account deficit.

##### A. Inflation in Greece and the EU-17. Annual changes in Consumer Price Index



The graph shows that inflation rates in Greece diverged from those of its partners in the EU-17 in the years leading to the financial crisis. This was due chiefly to domestic inflationary factors: excess consumption and investment demand, nominal unit labour costs increases (with wages growing faster than productivity) and opportunistic increases in profit margins. By 2007-2008, the Greek economy was seriously "overheated": production and supply could not keep up with demand.



CPI = Consumer Price Index

Eurostat data in C. Iordanoglou, "Μετεμφυλιακή οικονομική ιστορία της Ελλάδας" [Economic history of post-civil war Greece], unpublished manuscript, Athens.



The Consumer Price Index (CPI) shows how the current price level of a given basket of goods and services has changed relative to the price level of the same goods and services

prevailing at some specified point in the past. It reflects the changes in the cost of living. (<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/consumer-price-index-CPI.html>, accessed on 21.06.2016).

#### B. Total Public Sector Deficit and Primary Surplus or Deficit as a percentage of GDP, 1999-2009

Year	Total Public Sector Deficit as % of GDP	Primary Public Surplus (+) or Deficit (-) as % of GDP
1999	- 3.1	+ 4.3
2000	- 3.7	+ 3.7
2001	- 4.5	+ 2.0
2002	- 4.9	+ 0.7
2003	- 5.7	- 0.7
2004	- 7.6	- 2.6
2005	- 5.5	- 1.0
2006	- 5.9	- 1.5
2007	- 6.7	- 2.2
2008	- 10.2	- 5.4
2009	- 15.2	- 10.1

European Economy, Statistical Annex, Spring 2014 and Autumn 2015.



Total Public Sector Deficit (surplus) is the difference between the Revenues of the General Government Minus its Total

Expenditures. Primary Deficit (surplus) is the General Government Revenues minus its Expenditures excluding interest payments.

### C. Current Account Deficit as a percentage of GDP, 1999-2009

Year	Current Account deficit as % of GDP	Year	Current Account deficit as % of GDP
1999	- 5.6 %	2005	- 7.6 %
2000	- 7.8 %	2006	- 11.4 %
2001	- 7.2 %	2007	- 14.6 %
2002	- 6.5 %	2008	- 14.9 %
2003	- 6.5 %	2009	- 11.2 %
2004	- 5.8 %		

Bank of Greece and OECD.



The current account represents the end result of all the current transactions of a country with rest of the world. It is the difference between the country's current receipts (from all sources) coming from abroad minus all the current payments that this country has to make to the outside world. If payments are

greater than receipts, the country has a Current Account Deficit. The deficit has to be financed by some sort of external borrowing: Either through the inflow of foreign capital (such as foreign direct investment, inflows for the purchase of domestic bonds, shares and real estate) or through loans from foreign institutions.

### IV-21. Introduction of the euro in Montenegro



Montenegro's only indigenous national currency was the perper which was in use from 1906 until 1918. From then onwards, Montenegro, as part of Yugoslavia, used the Yugoslav dinar and it was not until November 1999 that it changed its currency and introduced the German mark. The mark was replaced by the euro in 2002, even though Montenegro was neither an independent state nor a member of the European Union. The European Central Bank did not have any objections to the unilateral introduction of the euro as Montenegro's official currency, but the European Commission expressed its dissatisfaction about the

matter several times, and the country's Agreement on Stabilisation and Association with the EU stated that the unilateral introduction of the euro was unacceptable. Nevertheless, the Commission did not dispute the use of the euro in Montenegro because of the small scope of the country's economy in relation to the eurozone: there is no danger of it threatening the stability of the euro. In December 2010, Montenegro became a candidate for EU membership and the final decision on the use of the euro will be resolved through the accession negotiations.



### A. The Law on the Central Bank of Montenegro, 2 November 2000

Article 1 – The Central Bank is an independent organisation of the Republic of Montenegro and it is solely responsible for monetary policy, and the establishment and maintenance of a healthy banking system and effective payment transactions in the Republic.

The monetary policy of the Central Bank is based on the DEM /German Mark/ as the monetary unit, as the means of payment and the currency of the reserve, until the introduction of the Euro.

Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro, no. 52/2000, 3 November 2000, p. 497.

### B. The Council of the Central Bank of Montenegro decides on the procedure for conversion to the euro, 27 December 2001

Instructions on the manner and procedure for conversion from the DEM and other currencies to the EURO

[...] 3. Physical and natural entities may convert DEM and other currencies to the EURO in banks which have been approved by the Central Bank of Montenegro and with the Central Bank of Montenegro, as follows:

- citizens of Montenegro can do the conversion in banks and at the Central Bank.
- persons who are not citizens of the Republic of Montenegro can do the conversion in banks.

4. A person may, without opening a bank account, convert up to 10,000 DEM or other currency in the same counter-value.

5. Bank accounts in DEM and other currencies will be automatically converted on 1 January 2002, without commission.

6. The conversion will be carried out according to an exchange rate fixed by the European Central Bank.

7. The Central Bank shall convert DEM in the period between 1 January 2002 and 30 June 2002.

Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro, number 64/2001, 29 December 2001, p. 659.

## IV-22. The euro in Slovenia, 2007



Translation: Step back just a little bit more!

Delo newspaper archives.



On 1 January 2007, Slovenia was the first country from the former Eastern Bloc to join the eurozone. Not everyone, however, was in favour of adopting the euro. By doing so, Slovenia was entitled to have its euro coins carry Slovene national symbols. As happened with the vouchers introduced in 1991, Slovenia again caused frictions with Austria by putting the Prince's Stone on the two-cent coin.



**1.** Is the author of the cartoon for or against adopting the euro? Give arguments for your answer.

**2.** Compare with doc. I-21. Why do you think that Slovenia decided twice to introduce a symbol disputed by Austria?

## ▶ IV.4. DEMOGRAPHY AND MIGRATION

### IV-23. Total Fertility Rate by Country in 2000-2009

Country	Year									
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Bulgaria	1.27	1.24	1.21	1.23	1.29	1.31	1.38	1.42	1.48	1.57
Czech Republic	1.14	1.15	1.17	1.18	1.23	1.28	1.33	1.44	1.50	1.49
Germany	1.38	:	:	1.30	1.40	1.30	1.34	1.37	1.38	1.35
Ireland	1.90	1.96	1.98	1.98	1.95	1.88	1.91	2.03	2.10	2.00
Greece	1.27	1.25	1.27	1.29	1.31	:	1.38	1.42	1.51	1.52
Spain	1.23	1.24	1.26	1.31	1.33	1.35	1.36	1.39	1.46	1.39
France	1.89	1.90	1.88	1.89	1.92	1.94	2.01	1.98	2.01	1.99
Italy	1.26	1.25	1.27	1.29	1.33	1.32	1.35	1.37	1.42	1.41
Cyprus	1.60	1.60	1.50	1.50	1.49	1.40	:	1.39	1.46	1.51
Hungary	1.33	1.31	1.31	1.28	1.29	1.32	1.35	1.32	1.35	1.33
Austria	1.36	1.33	1.40	1.38	1.42	1.41	1.41	1.38	1.41	1.39
Poland	1.37	1.32	1.25	1.22	1.23	1.24	1.27	1.31	1.39	1.40
Portugal	1.56	1.46	1.47	1.44	1.40	1.41	1.36	1.34	1.37	1.32
Romania	1.30	1.20	1.30	1.30	1.30	1.30	1.31	1.29	1.35	1.37
Slovenia	1.26	1.21	1.21	1.20	1.25	1.26	1.32	1.38	1.53	1.53
United Kingdom	1.84	1.63	:	:	1.77	1.79	1.85	1.90	1.96	1.94
Norway	1.85	1.78	1.75	1.80	1.83	1.84	1.90	1.90	1.96	1.98
Turkey	2.27	2.25	2.24	2.22	2.21	2.19	2.18	2.15	2.14	2.12
Russia	1.21	1.25	1.30	1.31	1.33	1.29	1.30	1.41	1.49	1.54

<http://alternativi.unwe.bg/alternativi/br49/03.pdf>, accessed on 21.06.2016.



Explain what the total fertility rate is. Compare the statistical data given for each country

in the table and discover trends, similarities and differences.

#### IV-24. Decrease in birth rate in Romania (1989-2006)

Year	Rate of natural increase (per 1,000 inhabitants)
1989	5.5
1992	-0.2
1999	-1.4
2002	-2.5
2006	-1.8

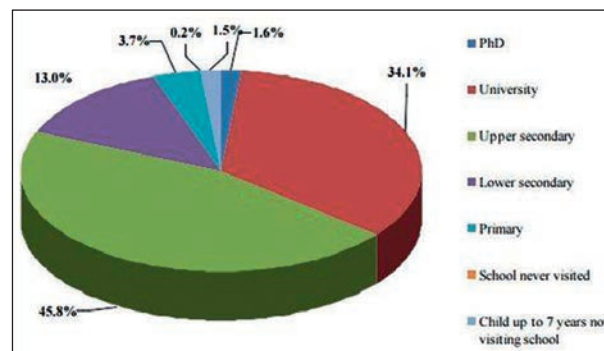
Statistics Annual of Romania, 1990, p. 51; Statistics Annual of Romania, 2000, pp. 52-54, 64-65; Statistics Annual of Romania, 2007, pp. 40, 52-53.

#### IV-25. International migration of Bulgarians



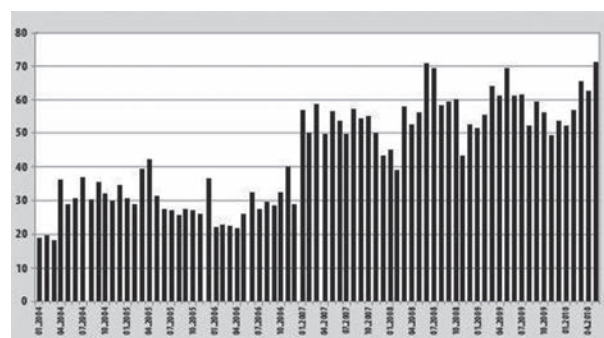
Migration of Bulgarians abroad before and after 1989, driven by economic, political or other factors, can be illustrated not only by the estimates of the number of emigrants (see vol.1, ch. VI-2), but also by the data on individuals or groups returning home (see also vol.1, VI-3, VI-5). According to the official statistics, within the period 1980-2011, 233,463 persons exchanged their current address abroad for an address in Bulgaria. 91.9% of them were Bulgarian citizens who returned to Bulgaria after a stay abroad. Nearly 73% of them resided abroad between one and five years, 17.1% – six to ten years and 7.2% – more than 11 years. 57.5% of the total number were male. Highest is the share of Bulgarian citizens who stayed in the Russian Federation (16.1%), followed by persons who returned from Spain (9.3%), Germany (9.2%), Greece (9.1%), etc. Before 1989, there was large-scale seasonal migration of Bulgarian workers to the USSR. After the radical economic and social changes, mass emigration followed to Western Europe, the USA and Canada. Seasonal economic migrations continued, this time to Western Europe, Turkey and Greece. It is estimated that approximately two million Bulgarian citizens (mostly educated and active, as shown in doc. IV-26) have temporarily or permanently settled abroad after 1989. As in most East European countries, this emigration had a significant influence on overall negative demographic tendencies. In 1989 the population of Bulgaria was approaching nine million, in 2001 it was 7,973,671, and in 2011 it had dropped to 7,364,570. Graph IV-26 gives us official data on emigrants' financial support for their families or relatives that stayed in Bulgaria, and investments in the national economy.

#### IV-26. Structure of Bulgarian citizens who stayed abroad, by education (2011)



[http://www.nsi.bg/census2011/PDOCS2/Census2011final\\_en.pdf](http://www.nsi.bg/census2011/PDOCS2/Census2011final_en.pdf), accessed on 21.06.2016.

#### IV-27. Money transfers to Bulgaria from Bulgarians living permanently abroad, in millions of euros per month



Bulgarian National Bank.  
<http://www.nsi.bg/sites/default/files/files/pressreleases/Census2011final.pdf>, accessed on 21.06.2016.

#### IV-28. Influx of migrants and refugees to Greece, 1998



As the new millennium dawned, Greece increasingly changed from a country "exporting" people to one hosting thousands of economic migrants from former communist countries in Europe (see table in IV-28A), as well as refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. With reference to the Greeks' own history as refugees and migrants, the graffiti on an Athenian wall encapsulates the ambivalence of the host society towards the newcomers.



### A. Nationality of migrants who have been granted a Greek “white card”

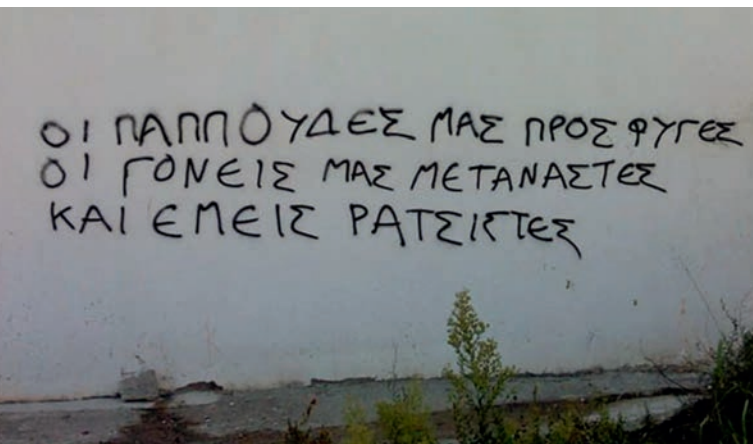
Country of origin	% of total
Albania	65.00
Bulgaria	6.80
Romania	4.60
Pakistan	2.90
Georgia	2.00
India	1.70
Egypt	1.70
Philippines	1.40
Moldavia	1.20
Other countries (with a percentage below 1.00)	7.80

(Grand total: 371,641) *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού 1770-2000*  
[History of Modern Hellenism], 2003, vol. 10, p. 329.

### B. A graffiti in Athens condemning racism towards migrants



The graffiti refers to Greek refugees coming to Greece from Turkey in 1923 and to Greek migration to the industrialised West in the post-war era.



Translation: Our grandparents were refugees, our parents were migrants, and we are racists.

[http://www.logiosermis.net/2012/03/blog-post\\_5655.html#](http://www.logiosermis.net/2012/03/blog-post_5655.html#).  
VRkWtl6wccQ, accessed on 21.06.2016.



1. Read the key and the source IV-28: How do you understand this graffiti? Why is it important for Greeks (and all countries) to be reminded of and understand the history of previous generations in order to fight racism and xenophobia?
2. Prepare a project based on art representations (literature, films, photos, graffiti, music) referring to migration and refugees in your country and the Southeast European countries.

### IV-29. Excerpt from a biographical interview with a Bulgarian emigrant about integration abroad

*You start, get to some point, and then start all over again...*

Interview with Şukran, born 1975, estate agent from Razgrad

It seems that our people, just like all Bulgarians, have to start all over again and again, wherever they go. Regardless of whether they are Bulgarian, Turkish, or Gypsy. Some will go to Belgium, others to Spain, and still others to the Netherlands – but all of them have to start all over again. They return after running out of everything there, and then go to Turkey where they start all over again; they return from Turkey and then go to another country, constantly moving from country to country and looking for a better life. For example, in Spain we have many friends who go there to pick oranges, they stay there until the season ends and then start all over again – they go to France to pick grapes or whatever. Recently, a lot of people have been going to Cyprus to work as cooks or assistant cooks, as chambermaids in hotels, and so on. And they start all over again. You start, get to some point, and then start all over again. But many people from Bulgaria, friends and acquaintances of ours, have now remained in Belgium – they are determined to live in Belgium and have obtained the necessary documents. At least 40-50% of those who left have bought flats and houses on loans and are determined that their children will go to school [...] People in Belgium let children live out their childhood and care a lot about children. Life is easier and children like it there. And then, they have the advantage of studying one, two, three languages, and many many other advantages. Everything is very well-

organised – social services, the labour market, GPs. The money we spend on medicines in Bulgaria is too much – I lived in Belgium for ten years and I never had to pay such an amount of money for my child for healthcare as my child had health insurance.

This interview was conducted in 2008 under the MICROCON [A Micro Level Analysis of Violent Conflict] research programme.

#### IV-30. Romanian immigrants in Paris

“We were 70 people from our village, we left in the winter of ‘97”, says Pop Toader, the son of Pițoaie from the village of Târșolț, Țara Oașului, who has been working for 15 years as a house painter in Paris. “We all crossed the border one night in a van. We were standing, like in a slaughterhouse, so as to have enough room. It was January, and we were afraid that we would freeze there, but we ran out of air. We were lighting the cigarette lighter and there was no fire. We were almost dead. I bowed and I lifted a neighbour of mine on my back, two of the others held him and he scratched in with a knife till he made a hole. That was our luck. Otherwise we wouldn’t have gotten to Paris alive. Do you think getting there was a relief? This was more difficult than the fleeing. At least up to there we had been guided by some other people, but there? Get off and go, deal with it yourself! Go where? What direction? You don’t speak the language; no one is waiting for you. You have no plan. That’s how it was in the beginning.” [...]

Cotroș doesn’t speak the language very well, not even after 17 years of work in Paris. And he has no problem with it. He even tells, laughing, how he went to see a doctor who gave him some eye drops; but as he did not understand very well what he was told, he drank them. And after all, what would he need French for? His direct boss is his younger son, who has just turned 23 and owns a small building work company that does quite well; he works 10 hours a day with a team of people coming from Oaș, he spends his Sundays with family or he is invited to his village neighbours, settled down, just like him, in Paris. For him the adventure is over already. Cotroș is part of the avant-garde of the labour migration from Romania. After communism fell, when the system of centralised production in Romania collapsed and work opportunities in the country disappeared, the first inhabitants of the village of Certeze forced their way across the border, searching for work. Cotroș was one of them. After them, in just a few years, a huge percentage of the active population from Țara Oașului slipped out, illegally. After several

attempts to find work in different countries of Europe, most of them grouped, at the beginning of the 1990s, in France, in Paris. [...] the only thing Cotroș still wants is to go back home. He will stay some more years “to gather the necessary years for retirement” and he’ll go back to Certeze, where he dreams to set up a pheasant farm. [...]

Fragments from the stories collected in the project entitled “Mândrieșibeton” [Pride and Concrete]; <http://www.mandriesibeton.ro/povestea.php>, accessed on 28.03.2014.

#### IV-31. North-Epirotes (members of the Greek minority) migrating from South Albania to Greece



The novel narrates the history of a Greek family from Northern Epirus/Southern Albania from 1943 to the early 1990s. In the brief extract that follows, a member of the family recounts their first days in Greece following the opening of the borders.

Two brothers from the village went to find their father, as was living in Filiati. They’d been toddlers when the border’d been fixed. Their father’d been a pedlar and’d got cut off. We went along, we thought it something to meet a local. He’d had a shop now, their father – we took them one by one. What a sight that was. They’d everything there you’ve ever dreamt of. Electrical goods, clothes, fruit and vegetables of every kind. Your eyes couldn’t get their fill. The lads found their father, they hugged each other fit to choke. Passers-by were weeping, the very stones shed tears.

We went round the shops a bit – they’d turn their noses up at leks. Eventide we gathered again at the pitch. Thousands of us there, not space for a leaf to drop. They’d set up a soup-kitchen. We joined the line, but this one’d get double, that mother’d not be able, many got nothing at all. We started shouting, but they’d got police outside, with clubs and shields. They banged on the railings with their clubs. We wet ourselves.

We went out looking for a wage. A man took us to his field—all thicket. We put our backs into it, we cleared it off. The man gave us some money, our first. We bought chocolates, I could never have enough. We gave one to the boy, he stood.

Dimitriou, 2000, pp. 68-9.



Study documents IV-27, IV-28, IV-29 and IV-30 carefully. Then build a circle of chairs in class. The central one, the “hot chair”, hosts for 3 minutes a pupil narrating his/her personal story as an immigrant, representing a group of pupils: why he/she decided to leave his/her country, what was his/her

destination and plan, what were his/her fears and expectations, what he/she met, how he/she feels about the future. Try to empathise with the above stories and bring more to class. Connect this task with the current refugee crisis (Middle East, Europe) and the financial crisis of the South (Greece).

## IV-32. Albanian immigrants in Greek Cinema



The film *See You* (original title *Mirupafshim/Kalή Αντάμωση*, 1997, dir. Christos Voupouras & Giorgos Korras) centres on the relationship between a left-wing Greek professor and three illegal economic migrants from Albania whom he puts up. As a result of his bonding with them, he will come into conflict with his close relatives and friends who see

the migrants with suspicion and display signs of racist conduct. In order to acquaint himself with their lives, the professor will visit Albania but will soon be disappointed. The film constitutes a travelogue of the hero's attempts to understand and gradually become conscious of the migrants' otherness in a milieu that is mostly concerned with their economic exploitation.



Private collection of film director Ch. Voupouras.



1. Divide the class into five groups. Each one has to deal with how arts and media re-present the immigration problem (literature, visual arts, theatre, cinema, TV).

2. Prepare a project researching causes and con-

sequences in people's migration, both for the countries of origin and of destination, focusing on Southeast Europe. Discuss about identities, borders and passports of all kinds. Start with the sources of chapter IV.3.



## ► IV.5. SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND MINORITIES

### IV-33. Turkish attitudes to minorities

#### A. A caricature about different reactions to the same news



Translation: Turks in Bulgaria enter the Parliament; Kurdish MPs enter the Turkish Parliament.

Oran, 2008, p. 14.

#### B. The Kurdish population in Turkey and the burning of Kurdish villages

In 1998, a Turkish Grand National Assembly research commission chaired by Seyyit Haşim Haşimi (Diyarbakır MP of the Virtue Party led by Mr. Erbakan) submitted its report to parliament. This report, Parliament Research Commission Report 10/25 on the problems of citizens who had to migrate as a result of evacuation of settlements in Eastern and Southeastern Turkey, pointed out that as of June 1995 at least 3,000 villages had been subjected to compulsory evacuation by the state authorities due to security reasons in their combat

with the PKK. These evacuations had affected more than 311,000 people as of July 1995, and government steps for people's return to their homes under the "Return to Village Initiative" had made little progress.

Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da Boşaltılan Yerleşim Birimleri Nedeniyle Göç Eden Yurttaşlarımızın Sorunlarının Araştırılarak Alınması Gereken Tedbirlerin Tespit Edilmesi Amacıyla Kurulan Meclis Araştırması Komisyonu Raporu (10/25), Dönem 20 Yasama Yılı 3 (1998). [Parliament Research Commission Report on the Diagnosis of Problems and Suggestion of Remedies for the Problems encountered by our Citizens Who had to Migrate as a Result of Settlement Evacuations in Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia] <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/sirasayi/donem20/yil01/ss532.pdf>, accessed on 28.05. 2016.



The 1980s was a critical time for both Bulgarian Turks and for Kurds in Turkey. Ankara was concerned about the creation of a Kurdish "triangle" between Iraq, Iran and Turkey while the Kurdish national movement was radicalised (see vol.1, III-23). As a result, Turkey followed a repressive policy involving forced displacements of rural Kurdish populations. On the other hand, the repressive policy of Sofia led to the "Big Excursion" of Bulgarian Turks (vol. 1, VI-3). However, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), which was the party representing the Turks in Bulgaria (founded in 1990), won 7.6% of the vote and 24 seats in the 240-seat parliament in the parliamentary elections of 1991, provoking fierce reactions by Bulgarian nationalist parties. In Turkey, in parallel to the guerrilla war carried out by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê*, PKK), a Kurdish political movement emerged; thanks to its alliance with Erdal İnönü's party (SHP), a significant number of Kurdish MPs entered the Turkish parliament after the elections of 1991.



1. Observe the caricature and describe what the Turkish reactions in the two situations are. Read the key and compare it with the key of source III-39. Why do you think Turkish reactions were different in the case of Kurds on the one hand and of Bulgarian Turks on the other? Compare the Turkish reaction to



Turkish minority MPs entering the Bulgarian parliament, with the Bulgarian nationalist reaction as expressed by the motto “No Turks in Parliament”.

2. Discuss the political representation of minorities in national parliaments. Are there minority parties in your country? Are they represented in parliament?

#### IV-34. Strategy for Development of Services for Children and Families in Sliven Roma Municipality, 2001–2003

Sliven Municipality is home to one of the largest Roma communities in Bulgaria. According to data from the Sliven Territorial Statistical Office, as of 1 March 2001 the Roma population in the district numbered 29,698 people. Of them, 6,206 were registered at the Sliven Labour Office, that is approximately 45% of all unemployed were Roma. Their real number, however, is much higher.

Because of their serious material difficulties, the social-psychological climate in many of those at-risk families is also poor. Coping with the crisis is more difficult for ill, single, and unemployed parents. The victims of this situation are most often children – they cannot go to kindergarten; Roma children lack motivation to study and obtain education. The Roma’s low social competence and inability to distribute their budgets make it impossible to plan their children’s future. The financial difficulties of families very often lead to abandonment and institutionalisation of children.

The majority of Roma on the territory of Sliven Municipality have other specific problems, too. Very early motherhood is especially common among the Roma population. The Civil Registration and Administrative Services Department of Sliven Municipality has reported a case of a 12-year-old girl giving birth to a child. Slightly over half of all babies born in the first half of 2001 are fatherless; most of them were born to mothers with a Roma ethno-cultural identity. As those children are at very high risk of being abandoned, it is necessary to introduce sexual education and family planning among the Roma.

According to data from the Ministry of Education and Science’s Education Inspectorate in Sliven, the number of school drop-outs is very low – 30 children. However, the total number of Roma children of compulsory school age who do not attend school is alarmingly high – 641.

The provision of assistance to this large at-risk group is regulated by the Regulations for Implementation of the Social Assistance Act (RISAA). Depending on project grants and available financial resources, the Bulgarian Red Cross provides free lunch during school days for children from socially-disadvantaged families. In the different school years, the number of children using this service has rarely exceeded 100 for the whole city.

[www.mlsp.government.bg](http://www.mlsp.government.bg), accessed on 21.10.2015.

#### IV-35. The Šuto Orizari Roma municipality in Skopje

##### A. Coat of arms of the Šuto Orizari Roma municipality



The municipality of Šuto Orizari (Šutka), where the majority of the inhabitants are ethnic Roma, is the first municipality in Europe where Romas have local self-government, i.e. with a Roma mayor and administration. Located in the northern part of the city of Skopje, the municipality was founded in 1996 as one of the 10 municipalities on the territory of the city.

##### B. A street in Šuto Orizari



Photographer Vanco Dzambaski.

#### IV-36. Relative wealth and poverty in Southeast Europe

**GDP per capita  
(Purchasing Power Parity, US\$), 2005**

Switzerland	35,600
France	30,400
Greece	23,400
Slovenia	22,300
Poland	13,800
Croatia	13,000
Bulgaria	9,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7,000
Albania	5,300
Philippines	5,100
Armenia	5,000

ESI (European Stability Initiative); [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=311&film\\_ID=3&slide\\_ID=30](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=311&film_ID=3&slide_ID=30), accessed on 14.07.2016.

#### IV-37. The “Empire of Minor Beggars” in Tirana. About 200 children have divided between them areas of begging: traffic lights, crossroads and hotels

Poverty and millions in the “empire of beggars”. The life running onto sidewalks and traffic lights dives into the dirt and grime of the street, but there both usual and unusual facts also flourish. Games and work, tricks, deceit, lunch, gambling, drugs, theft, etc., even though to an extent different from that of common people, are experienced every day by street children. Work at traffic lights or under the subordination of others is long and tiresome. But profits are not lacking. Trade conducted with extended hands is similar to the business of big dealers. It is sometimes successful and sometimes not, but there is always something left. Someone, a good-hearted person, or anyone else for some other purpose, gives money enough even for a piece of chewing gum. Among the hundreds of children begging along the street there is always an older person, probably a parent, brother or someone unknown who every day reaps profits in different ways. Zones of influence between the beggars are already divided. The most

powerful beggars have taken “the lion’s share”, namely Tirana city centre. The others work at crossroads and the major roads alongside them. Jealousy is the same among beggars, but they nevertheless know how to respect the limits determined by their patrons. For one of the patrons, the beggars reveal that she is a millionaire and has even helped poorer families on her neighbourhood. Thus, torn 100-hundred banknotes and millions hidden under the dusty clothes circulate among street children to end up in other hands.

##### Division of zones

Over 200 street children performing the beggar’s “profession” in Tirana are aware – if so it can be called – that their work is allowed only in previously determined zones. The capital’s luxury hotels, “Tirana International”, “Dajti”, and “Rogner”, the traffic lights near “Skënderbej”, the numerous kiosks of the former “Rinia” park, as well as bus stops within the same area, are some of the points where children beg all day long. Meanwhile, other parts of the “Tirana e Madhe” zone are less preferred by these children. The limits of Tirana centre are determined by patrons, often old women, who use their children as money “suckers” in the most profitable parts of the square. Two zones are considered to be the biggest ones where the dividing limits are defined. As such, the main zone is the street after the Ministry of Defence. The relevant part above it, up to the train station, is the most populated zone and is in the possession of one woman. The lower part as far as the Presidency area belongs mainly to teenage beggars together with their parents. At the traffic lights, small beggars take advantage of the red light and clean car windscreens. Very often people stretch out their hands from lowered windows with banknotes, but as the beggars admit, there are also cases when people spit at them from their cars and insult them with humiliating words. Meanwhile, in the hotels, foreigners constitute the most desirable “prey”. Bars and street corners are proper places where beggars usually wait for the pity of anyone passing by. But compared to the points mentioned above, they are less profitable. [...]

*Koha Jone* newspaper, 17 January 1997.



What is the task that street children have to accomplish? Who defines the limits of their area of work? Why are so many children left on their own to become beggars? What is the state doing to face up to the problem? How is it connected to the poverty of the country?



**IV-38. Women trafficking in Bulgaria**



18 OCTOBER: European Day against HUMAN TRAFFICKING. Anti-human trafficking campaign poster of the Centre for Community Support – Dupnitsa (Southwestern Bulgaria).

[http://dupnitsa1.sonikstart.eu/public\\_html/%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BF%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%8F-3-%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%84%D0%B8%D0%BA-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%85%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0/](http://dupnitsa1.sonikstart.eu/public_html/%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BF%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%8F-3-%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%84%D0%B8%D0%BA-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%85%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0/), accessed on 21.06.2016.



Trafficking is a major problem that emerged shockingly on a large scale after the collapse of former communist countries. Why are there so many young girls unprotected and exploited by mafia networks? What is the state doing to confront the problem? How is it connected to the poverty of the countries of origin? What is the responsibility of wealthier countries in the West?

### IV-39. *Namus* (honour) murders of women in Turkey

In Turkey, a woman's chastity remains the most important control mechanism over female freedom. Such social institutions as the family, the courts, and cultural traditions constitute the backbone of this control mechanism. Female chastity in modern Turkish society is embodied in the concept of *namus*, family honour that exists in varying degrees in other Mediterranean societies. *Namus* can be roughly translated as virtue or sexual purity. [...]

One aspect of sexual purity for women is that premarital and extramarital affairs are strictly forbidden. The basic difference between Turkish society and European societies is that in Turkey these activities are not personal, but involve state authority. The state in Turkey is a party to women's sexual activities reflecting society's values vis-à-vis women's sexual purity. For example, married women caught in the act of infidelity receive jail sentences; single women caught with a married man may be subject to virginity tests to determine whether sexual intercourse has occurred; girls under state control, such as at state schools, orphanages, and mental hospitals, may be required to undergo virginity tests. [...]

*Namus* can only be cleansed – because it has been dirtied by the woman – by blood; so the woman has to be killed by one of the male members of the family. *Namus* murders are commonplace in Turkey, especially among groups of lower socio-economic status. They are quite separate and distinct from crimes of passion. A striking example of such a “cleansing process” took place in Southeast Turkey in April 1996 when a 13-year-old girl ran away from home and her 14-year-old cousin was ordered by the family to cleanse the family honour by killing her. In court, the judge sentenced the murderer cousin to only 2 1/2 years in prison because of the traditions of the region where the incident took place.

Müftüler-Bac, 1999, pp. 303–315.



1. Compare doc. IV-38 and IV-39 and discuss the place of women in Southeast European societies. Find examples of women in your country who have been successful in politics, art or media in the last twenty years.

2. Split the classroom into two groups and discuss women's emancipation: one group will present arguments in favour of women's sexual emancipation and self-determination based on the Western model of human rights; the second group will defend traditional practices claiming a “moral” sexual behaviour.

### IV-40. “The Christmas gifts of the Powers That Be”, 2005



The following article listed the “Christmas gifts” of the then coalition government of “socialists” in Bulgaria: higher prices for all goods and services, poor and dirty hospitals, low pensions. At the same time members of parliament would receive new cars and furniture for their houses, bought with taxpayers' money.

Strangely enough, whenever Socialists come to power in Bulgaria, the wheel of history turns back. The Zhan Videnov government sent us rolling down the hill we were climbing up, and we found ourselves back at square one – at the start of the transition, only now we were poor and depressed. Before that, Lukanov's winter had refreshed our older compatriots' memories of the rationing system and the hungry years of World War II. [...]

A week before Christmas, it is exactly four months since [Bulgarian Socialist Party leader Sergei] Stanishev and his Party comrades took over the steering wheel of government. In those four months, they managed to cook up a whole lot of nasty Christmas gifts for the public, so it's no surprise that the mood in the country is bleak and that if it weren't for the calendar date, perhaps no one would have remembered that this is supposed to be a time for celebration. But then, the powers that be will be celebrating and having fun at Christmas parties. And enjoying the generous gifts they have made to themselves. [...]

The fuel price hike already sent the cost of all goods and services soaring in September. If the forecast that a

kilo of pork will cost 15 leva around Christmas comes true, then pork chops will become nothing short of a luxury.

A special Christmas gift was presented to the electorate by Health Minister Radoslav Gaidarski. [...] In a typical bureaucratic move, Gaidarski appropriated the right to personally authorise costly surgical operations. With which he practically stopped surgery. De facto, he stripped experts of the right to judge and decide how to treat their patients.

A modest gift will duly be made by Social Minister Emilia Maslarova, too. [...] The pensions of people in the third age will rise by just 5% as of January. For Christmas, however, they will receive a bonus of some 50-odd leva so that they, too, can partake in the festivities. At the same time, the wages of public sector employees will be raised by a whole 6% – a small but big-hearted gift from Maslarova. Young mothers should also be happy, considering that child benefits have “gone up” by two leva per month. [...]

So much for the Christmas gifts for the people, piled under the big government Christmas tree. [...] But then, some 20 days ago all of us taxpayers made a gift of 25 new armoured limousines to the powers that be. The National Service for Protection bought 15 Mercedes S-class and 10 BMWs for 2,170,000 leva. They will be delivered around 20 December.

Dafinova, *Монитор* [Monitor], 19 December 2005.



1. What are the measures taken that are characterised as “gifts” here?
2. Identify references to history and explain how they are used.

## IV-41. Romania’s poverty

### A. Research data on poverty

[...] Application of the three poverty thresholds to the distribution of families in accordance with declared net income resulted in the findings that, out of the total population of the country, the following could be considered poor:

–9.9 million persons (42%) in the variant “minimum level of decent living”

–7.1 million persons (30%) in the variant “minimum level for transition period”

–3.1 million persons (13%) in the variant “subsistence level”

Out of the total number of families, 42% live in conditions that do not meet the criteria for a minimum level of decent living.

Out of the total number of families, 31% are unable to satisfy fundamental needs at the minimum level of living established for a period of transition.

Out of the total number of families, 16% live in increased poverty, being unable to ensure the minimum conditions of subsistence. [...]

In the case of retired persons with public social insurance, half of them are in severe conditions of poverty, without benefiting from minimum subsistence conditions.

Families of two retired persons present a poverty rate slightly lower (27% in the variant of the minimum level of subsistence and 38% in the variant of minimum living in the period of transition) compared to single persons.

The poverty rate in the rural environment is lower in the same types of families, due to the fact that a significant part of food consumption is covered by their own production. [...]

Puwak, 1992, pp. 267-268.

### B. Subjective estimation of the poverty condition

[...] according to the subjective poverty threshold, over 85% of the families of employed people would live in poverty, while according to the minimum level of decent living, the percentage would be 42.5%. [...]

Besides the estimation of the number of the poor according to well-defined poverty thresholds, it is particularly important to know the proportion of those who assess themselves as living in poverty (regardless of their situation under or above a given poverty limit in reality).

Results of research showed that 48.8% of respondents considered they lived in poverty.

Comparing this “subjective rate” of poverty to the one resulting from the application in the research of the variant “minimum level of decent living”, which was 42%, one can see that though the former is, as expected, higher, the difference is not such as to distort conclusions. The subjective estimation of the poverty condition is more accentuated among single persons (60.6%) and families with 3 or 4 children (60-70%). Differences of self-assessment as a poor person can also be found in accordance with the socio-professional category, this estimation being more frequent, as expected, among families with unemployed persons (62.5%) and those of retired persons (56.7%).



According to the type of dwelling, about 60% of the families that are state tenants living in flats considered they lived in poverty, as did 63% of the families that are state tenants living in houses. Besides, widows/widowers (68%) and the divorced persons (70%) assess themselves more frequently as living in poverty, while amongst unmarried persons this assessment is less frequent (38%) [...]

Viorel, 1992, pp. 292-293.

#### IV-42. The first shopping mall in post-communist Romania, 1999



Cristina Mihai, *Cum arăta o deschidere de mall la finalul anilor '90, povești și fotografii de la prima deschidere a unui centru comercial modern* [How a mall opening looked like at the end of the '90s]; stories and photos from the first opening of a modern shopping centre, <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Real-Estate/176395/cum-arata-un-mall-acum-15-ani-povesti-si-fotografii-de-la-prima-deschidere-de-centru-comercial-de-lanoi.html>, accessed on 22.11.2015.



The Turkish investment group spent \$45 million on fitting out the mall (September 1999, Bucharest Mall).

#### IV-43. BTC City in Ljubljana



Due to political circumstances, consumerism established itself in Slovenia somewhat later than in Western Europe. The largest growth in mass consumerism thus took place in the 1990s, when global brands started arriving in Slovenia. They appeared in new and developing shopping centres offering not only consumer choice but also alternative ways of spending free time. The early shopping centres in Slovenia appeared in 1993 as the so-called Public Warehouses (in Slovene: Javna Skladišča). From these the largest consumer district in Slovenia, known as BTC City, developed. In 2003, 18 million people visited the place. However, with the expansion of shopping centres throughout Slovenia small shops and businesses that used to be extremely popular, became practically non-existent between 1995 and 2000, except in smaller towns.



Public Warehouses in 1960; BTC City Archives.



BTC City in 2015; BTC City Archives.



1. Compare poverty rates as described by doc. IV-41 with data on Roma in your country.
2. Compare poverty rates as described by source IV-41 with consumerism as pictured by source IV-42. Discuss the contradiction between "subjective" poverty and aggressive consumerism which characterises the

transitional phase after the collapse of communist regimes.

3. Compare growing consumerism in Slovenia and Romania as illustrated by shopping malls with the state market situation before 1990. Use examples from volume 1.









## CHAPTER V: CULTURE

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## ► INTRODUCTION

In terms of culture, both in the narrowest sense (literature, theatre, film and music) and broadest sense (lifestyle, ethnological characteristics, food, clothing, housing culture, leisure time and religion) Southeast Europe is one of the most diverse regions in Europe. Modernism had for the most part already been introduced rapidly into the traditional, predominantly agrarian communities by socialism; in the non-socialist countries, modernisation took on a different form (for example, the establishment of modern-day Turkey in Atatürk's time) and had a different chronology. The processes of separation of the church from the state, women's emancipation, electrification and industrialisation, as well as a way of life oriented towards Western-style consumption, have in many ways altered the social appearance of the region – naturally, in different ways from country to country. Most of the time, this process has been merely superficial rather than profound. In more open societies, an important role was played by the media, and the most decisive one by television. Although some people in Yugoslavia denied the existence of a common culture, in hindsight it does appear that one existed, at least in music (so-called “Yugo-rock” and “turbo-folk”, which were popular all over the country) but also in film, and partly in theatre and literature, and most of all in sports (e.g. basketball and soccer).

This was also evident after the end of the 1990s war, when “Yugoslav” music revived in popularity and the “Yugoslav” music stars they once shared started performing live in all parts of former Yugoslavia. In the period before the war broke out and throughout its duration, Yugoslav popular culture acquired distinctly national (i.e. nationalist) characteristics, with the media turning one nation against another, and fans, especially, soccer fans, playing an even more negative role in spreading hatred. These groups continue to foster nationalism and fascist ideas (for example, those of the Ustasha and the Chetniks) to this day.

After 1990, we can see some common features both in the post-communist and other Southeast European countries, two of which are very conspicuous. One is the sharp rise in the expression of religious feeling

and religious influence on public life, especially in education, public morality and culture. This applies particularly to the three major religions: Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic. In post-communist countries, religious institutions have reappeared as important public and political actors. Religious holidays, which had been banned in the past, have been given a prominent role in public life. In post-communist countries, this was a reaction to previously-enforced atheism. In Yugoslavia, religion played an important role in the 1990s war and afterwards, the influence of religion in all of the new states increased. In Greece and Cyprus, the Orthodox Church traditionally had a strong role, a predominant one in some spheres of social life, and in Turkey the religious factor has intensified with the rise of politically conservative Islam. Turkey, in particular, has used religious institutions in order to increase its influence among Balkan Muslim populations.

Another common feature is the expansion of globalisation. This took place through electronic media, especially television (satellite and cable), as well as computers and mobile phones. This has resulted in the creation of unusual cultural blends, which are on the one hand based on globalised patterns of behaviour, especially in fashion, styles of living, food, music, and ways of spending one's free time, and on the other hand, are marked by a return to traditionalism, religious and national customs, coupled with prejudices against everything that is different. Western (mostly American) customs (Valentine's Day, Halloween) have been added to traditional holidays and celebrations, under the influence of the media which have been promoting systematic consumerism dominated by retail chains and advertising.

Some common characteristics of the region can be seen in music and dance, which are based on traditions (the Balkan countries have brought regional melodies in what was before the exclusively Western European Song Contest). In the field of sports, some regional competitions have been set up. After 2001, for example, the Adriatic basketball league was introduced, which mainly includes countries of

the former Yugoslavia. Two countries in the region – Yugoslavia in the socialist era in 1984 and Greece in 2004 – also hosted the Olympic Games (Yugoslavia the Winter Games and Greece the Summer Games). In both cases, their organisation was associated with many public controversies.

In the narrowest sense of culture, some film directors from the region gained European and international prominence (in the 1990s, the Yugoslav wars were a particularly popular theme, and before that, the Turkish and Greek dictatorships) and world-wide fame was also achieved by some composers, and male and female singers. In the field of literature, Turkish author Orhan Pamuk was the fourth writer from the region to receive the Nobel prize. In addition, the end of the Cold War opened the borders for more intensive cultural contacts between neighbouring countries: novels by Balkan authors have been translated into regional languages, while joint literary events and

awards were instituted (such as the Balkanika Literary Award).

Chapter V comprises sources which reflect the variety and controversies of contemporary cultural life in the era of globalisation. More than ever before in human history, people communicate across borders and are informed about any event happening at the most remote edges of the globe. Cultural patterns circulate fast from one country to another, fashions and tastes change quickly, technological developments affect how we live, how we work and how we entertain ourselves – especially the younger generations. The velocity of changes however meets reactions, fears and traditionalist revivals. Students will be asked to reflect on the deceptive contradiction, observed in Southeast Europe, between Western-oriented mass consumerism and technological innovation on the one hand and religious expression and traditional music on the other.



## ► V.1. NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND COMMUNICATION

### V-1. Intergenerational learning in Slovenia



In the second half of the 1990s there was a rapid development in mobile telephony. By 2000, more than one million people in Slovenia had started using mobile phones, and the number is still rising. The new technologies are especially important for the older generation who need to learn how to use them. Therefore, several initiatives emerged in Slovenia that stimulate intergenerational learning. One of them is Project Symbiosis (in Slovene: Projekt Simbioza), in which secondary school students teach the elderly how to use mobile phones and the Internet.



Photographer Aleš Černicev, Archive of *Delo* newspaper.

### V-2. Young IT professionals' views on their generation in Bulgaria



The following is an excerpt from a paper by Orlin Spasov which arose from anthropological observations of young people (aged from 18-30 years) from Sofia on the Internet. The excerpt shows the self-image of this new IT-generation. The respondents describe themselves as well-informed, apolitical and focused on the future.

An important element of the self-perception of young IT professionals in Bulgaria is the belief that they are self-made experts. This is true even for those who

hold university degrees in IT and related fields. They all think that modern technologies are not taught adequately at Bulgarian universities, and that there is a drastic disconnect between what is taught and what is required in the workplace. After starting work, most often while still at university, people employed in the IT sector are usually required to undergo several months of additional hands-on training.

Thus, university education in the IT sector is gradually giving way to self-education. [...]

Young IT professionals are clearly aware that they hold a privileged position among their peers. That is why when they discuss their generation, they sometimes speak from the position of a somewhat superior status. They define their generation as a generation of the transition in Bulgaria. They spent all their teen years in that period. The prevalent opinion is that this generation has suffered from the transition. According to the young IT professionals, this explains why many of their peers vote "against" and why very few are politically active. Many of them are environmentally-minded, but they are focused on the environment, not on the politics of environmental protection; that is why they only spontaneously join environmental campaigns and are not systematic in their support. Although they are not members of any organisations, they are assumed to have social and political views which, however, are not systematic. Young IT professionals think that their generation is too introverted and incapable of expressing itself politically. Young people are well-informed but insufficiently communicative and they cannot communicate their problems to the public.

As a whole, the present young generation in Bulgaria is thought to be pragmatic and consumer-oriented. At the same time, it is not seen as strongly motivated for change. Young people are happy with the status quo and they are not for radical change; they are definitely passive. Still, they are clearly aware of the changes after Bulgaria's EU accession. More and more young people have growing opportunities for mobility and access to financing from EU funds.

Young IT professionals think that their generation does not consist of idealists. They believe that their parents were more idealistic and intellectual than young people today. Money and possessions are the new idols of the young generation. Now lifestyle is of key importance and it is replacing the old ideals. Sports are important even for those who use drugs and alcohol. Drugs are cheap and easily accessible, and

marijuana use is common. Leisure activities are more important than work. Against this background, many young people are not satisfied with their professions, which they think are not creative enough.

Spasov, 2009, pp. 46, 56.



1. Discuss the way that the new Communication Technology was approached as in the cases of Slovenia and Bulgaria, according to the previous sources. How is its use affecting the attitude of young people towards the self, the common good, and the connection with society in both cases? What is happening in your country?

2. What, according to your opinion, is the meaning of the following sentence: "Young IT professionals think that their generation does not consist of idealists. They believe that their parents were more idealistic and intellectual than young people today. Money and possessions are the new idols of the young generation. Now lifestyle is of key importance and it is replacing the old ideals"? How is this connected to the transition process of the country from one political system to another?

### V-3. Cable TV in Slovenia



The first cable systems in Yugoslavia were developed in 1983 in preparation for the Olympic Games in Sarajevo in 1984. First connections for cable television in Slovenia were set up in the middle of the 1980s by amateur electricians. First commercial connection was set up in Ruše (north-east Slovenia) in 1985, to which 3,000 households were connected. More populated areas followed afterwards. By 1988, there were approximately 50,000 subscribers connected to the cable network. The number of lines particularly grew after 1991 and, by the end of the millennium, there were about a quarter of a million households connected to the network, i.e. 40% of all households. Thus, Slovenia ranked in the upper 50 per cent of European countries regarding cable connection coverage. The first satellite dishes appeared at the beginning of the 1980s; however, by setting up these dishes, residential buildings became small cable operators. With the emergence of cable network providers, the percentage of private satellite dishes became insignificant.

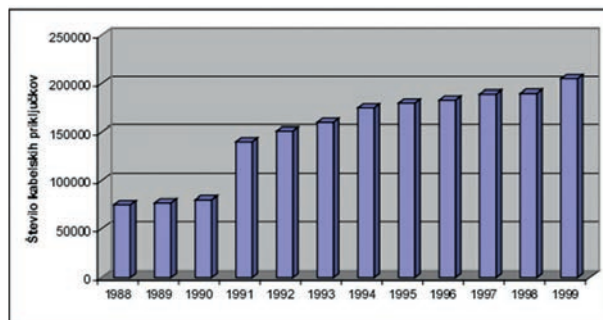


Tabela 1: Kabljski priključki v Sloveniji v obdobju 1988 – 1999

Translation: Table 1: Cable connections in Slovenia between 1988 and 1999. Table by Milan Perko and Dr. Matjaž Debevc, Perko and Debevc, 2001, p. 2.

### V-4. Demonstrations for Radio 101, on 21 November 1996, in Zagreb's main square



Radio 101 in Croatia started broadcasting in 1984 as the first alternative radio station in Croatia, run by the official Youth Union and being critical of the communist regime. In the 1990s, Radio 101 became a vocal critic of the Tuđman regime, which tried to shut it down in 1996 by revoking its broadcasting license in favour of a new radio station. This provoked massive demonstrations in Zagreb, which were among the biggest protests against the Tuđman regime. A banner with the logo of Radio 101 can be seen hanging from the balcony in the background. Protesters are holding candles. Tuđman responded by making accusations against "Yugo-communist remnants" who associated with "black, green and yellow devils" against "Croatian freedom and independence". After the collapse of the communist regime, Radio 101 was bought from the Youth Union by some of its journalists.



MY POWER STATION

Radio 101 logo.



Radio 101 Archives.

### V-5. Radio B92 (Serbia)



Radio B92 logo.



The Belgrade radio station B92 originally went on air in 1989. During the wars of the 1990s, B92 was one of the very few sources of news not controlled by the Milošević regime. B92 was shut down four times. The government took over the station in 1999 during the NATO bombing but the B92 team continued broadcasting in borrowed studios as B2-92. In a dawn raid in May 2000, government troops seized all the equipment, but Internet broadcasting from secret studios continued until after the ousting of Milošević in October 2000, when the two stations were unified. It has continued as a combined music and news radio station since then. TV B92 began work in October 2000.

### V-6. Satellite dishes in Kosovo 1992-1999



Radio Priština started work shortly after World War II in 1945 in Prizren and then moved to Priština. Priština Television (TVP) started its programmes in 1974 and was the first TV station broadcasting in the Albanian language in Kosovo. Radio-Television Priština was closed down by the



Serbian government in 1990 on charges that it had become the spokesman for "Albanian nationalism and separatism". Based on the Constitutional Declaration of July 1991, Kosovo Albanians established their own independent political institutions which Serbia called "parallel institutions". Representatives of these institutions concluded an agreement with Radio Zagreb to use its satellite network to put out a news broadcast in Albanian with a duration of 7 minutes. In 1992 the Kosovo government-in-exile reached an agreement with Albanian Radio Television-RTSH, to set up the Information Department of Kosovo, so as to broadcast news by satellite in Albanian. For this reason, Albanian citizens of Kosovo started to buy satellite dishes to follow news programmes. Within a short time, almost every house in Priština, other urban centres and villages in Kosovo had installed satellite dishes on balconies, roofs and other parts of houses.



Agjencioni Shtetëror i Arkivave të Kosovës, Fondi Fotografikë.  
[State Archives Agency of Kosovo].



1. Study the sources (texts, photos and the graphics). Then try to explain:

The attitude of citizens towards the free and alternative means of communication (satellite broadcasting, radio broadcasting, cable TV), taking into consideration authoritarian regimes policies of controlling information and communication.

2. Discuss in which regions of your country and in which parts of your city there are satellite dishes. Who owns them? For what reasons?



## ► V.2. RELIGION

### V-7. Revival of religion in Serbia



According to research conducted by sociologists studying religion, the profile of believers in Serbia changed between the 1980s and the late 1990s. Between 1999 and 2010, not only was this trend confirmed, but religiosity in Serbia continued to increase. With the political changes in October 2000, not only did the Serbian Orthodox Church, as the predominant religious institution in Serbia, hold its own, but strengthened its position in society. In July 2001, religious instruction was introduced in elementary and secondary schools. The Faculty of Theology once again became part of the University of Belgrade and priests returned to the professional army. Church property which had been nationalised after WWII was restored to the church or compensation was paid. The presence of clergymen at public events and of the political elite at religious gatherings was acknowledged and given media coverage. Not only did the trend of religious self-identification increase between 1999 and 2010, traditional observances connected with the church and religion also increased, though by far smaller percentages.

#### What is your attitude towards religion? Are you personally (%)

	1999	2010
Religious	59	78
Undecided and indifferent	21	4
Not religious	19	14

#### Traditional attachment to the church and religion (%)

	1999	2010
Baptizing children	84	87
The celebration of religious holidays	87	92
Church burials	86	87

Radisavljević-Čiparižović, 2011, pp. 25-43.

### V-8. The first post-communist Law of Education in Romania, 1995: religion as a compulsory subject



The law confirmed the existence of post-communist practices that were already in force: reduction of compulsory education to 8 years, depoliticisation of education, teaching religion in schools, the existence of private educational institutions, collection of taxes even within the public education system (theoretically free of charge), development of education for national ethnic minorities, etc.

Art. 3 (1) Education aims at achieving the educational ideal based on [...] the values of democracy and [...] contributes to the preservation of national identity. [...]

Art. 4. (2) Education guarantees the cultivation of love for the country, for the historical past and for the traditions of the Romanian people [...]

Art. 6. Compulsory general education includes 8 grades. Attendance at compulsory education ends at the age of 16.

Art. 7. (1) Public education is free of charge.

Art. 9. (1) Elementary, middle, secondary and vocational curricula include religion as a school subject. In elementary education religion is a compulsory subject, in middle school education it is optional, and in secondary and vocational education it is non-compulsory. The pupil, with the consent of parents or legal guardians, chooses which religion and denomination to study. [...]

Art. 11. (1) Education is not subject to aims and doctrines promoted by parties or other political groups.

Art. 14. Educational alternatives can be organised within the public and private education system, based on their assessment and validation by the Ministry of Education.

Art. 15 (3) Privatisation of educational institutions and units is forbidden.

Art. 103 (1) Private education is an alternative or supplement to public education.

Art. 104 (1) Private education is consistent with law if:

- It is organised and works on non-profit principles.
- It is organised on non-discriminatory principles and rejects non-democratic, xenophobic, chauvinistic and racist ideas, trends and attitudes.

c) Observes national standards.

Art. 120 (3) In the curricula and textbooks of universal history and history of the Romanians, the history and traditions of the national ethnic minorities from Romania will be reflected.

(4) In middle school education, upon request, the history and traditions of national ethnic minorities will be included as a school subject, in their native language. The curricula and the textbooks for this subject are approved by the Ministry of Education.

Law no. 84, 24 July 1995, published in the Official Gazette, no. 167, 31 July 1995, pp. 1-17.



1. How would you explain what compulsory education is? List some reasons why states are interested in the education of young generations.
2. Which were the basic principles and aims of education in Romania in 1995?
3. Compare Articles 3, 4 and 120. Do you think they contradict each other?
4. Is religion a compulsory subject in your country?

## V-9. The Monument to the Holy Mother of God, Haskovo, Bulgaria, built in 2003



Built on the initiative of the city government, this statue is representative for the proliferation of religious symbols all over the region (huge crosses on hills, new, taller minarets, bigger new religious buildings, etc.). Given the different levels of religious expression in the societies in Southeast Europe, the erection of this particular monument, facing the border with Turkey, was prompted mostly by nationalist, rather

than religious zeal. Haskovo is situated in Southeast Bulgaria, a region with a significant Turkish minority, and the monument is supposed to deter any foreign interference. A purely nationalistic display would have been unacceptable; a religious one could be accommodated. The monument has been certified by the Guinness Book of World Records as the tallest statue of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in the world.



[http://www.peika.bg/statia/5\\_lyubopitni\\_fakta\\_za\\_Haskovo\\_koito\\_ne\\_znaete\\_la\\_i.83441.html](http://www.peika.bg/statia/5_lyubopitni_fakta_za_Haskovo_koito_ne_znaete_la_i.83441.html), accessed on 2.07.2016.

## V-10. Roman Catholic cross on Hum hill, Mostar



The biggest cross in Bosnia and Herzegovina is located on Hum hill in Mostar. The 33-metre cross, called the Millennium Cross, was built to symbolise a jubilee – 2,000 years of Christianity. Its height, 33 metres, represents the age of Jesus at the time of his crucifixion. The cross can be seen from every part of Mostar. Since Muslims (Bosniaks) perceive the Hum hill cross in Mostar as a provocation, various portals from time to time launch actions for its removal.



Tomislav Milicevic Private Collection, January 2014.



1. Monumental religious symbols, such as the statue of the Virgin Mary or the Roman Catholic cross in the previous sources, depict new attitudes towards religion after the collapse of communist regimes. Can you explain the necessity for this kind of public statement?

2. Discuss the subject of religious identity as part of national identity (use also documents V-7 and V-8).

## V-11. Declaration of the Bosniak Assembly, Sarajevo, 27 September 1993



At the height of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first All-Bosniak Assembly which established the political sovereignty of



the Muslim nation was held on 27 September 1993, at Sarajevo's Holiday Inn Hotel, attended by 377 assemblymen and 80 deputies from numerous towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as representatives of diplomatic, military and cultural life. After rejecting the Owen–Stoltenberg peace plan, the Bosniak Assembly decided to restore the “historic and national name of Bosniaks” to the Muslim people. By rejecting the peace plan and adopting the term Bosniak, as a clear expression of political sovereignty, a message was sent to the international community and to the members of the Muslim nation. For the majority of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this meant the end of writing their ethnicity with a capital M (for Muslim) and replacing it with the term Bosniak.

Bosniaks,

It has been 115 years since Bosniaks gathered in the harem of the Beg Mosque to discuss the defence of their country in the summer of 1878, and we are gathered once again, under our national name and glorious tradition, in the interest of our country, our state and people.

Aware of the historical importance of the timing of our gathering and the challenges facing us, we are determined to restore to our people its historic and national name of Bosniak, and thus firmly bind ourselves to our state of Bosnia, and its law and state, our Bosnian language and our overall historical religious tradition.

In the spirit of our restored name and confirmed identity, we hereby state that we regard our homeland of Bosnia as a free and democratic community, which will cherish and strengthen the centuries-old efforts towards tolerance and mutual respect of all the peoples and traditions living in it. We invite our overall history to bear witness to this.

In order to continue and strengthen the work already launched to confirm our national being, its place and mission in the world we live in and affirm its national and statehood institutions, we hereby decide that the Bosniak assembly will continue its work in future. The assembly will be a place where all Bosniaks will come to discuss all significant aspects of life of the Bosniak people and our state in an atmosphere of freedom of thought, respect for different convictions and with utmost competence and responsibility, and set the course for our national efforts.

May Allah be our witness about our honest intentions and provide us with support.

Musić, 1995, p. 38.



## V-12. Church pilgrimages in Slovenia



After Slovenia declared its independence in 1991, church pilgrimages began to receive greater attention in the media. The Archbishop of Ljubljana and Slovene Metropolitan acquired much greater public authority. The most popular pilgrimage of the year takes place on Assumption Day when thousands of pilgrims arrive in the town of Brezje, site of a national shrine to the Virgin Mary. The Archbishop's speech at this ceremony has always attracted public attention, either due to the relationship between state and church during the period before the signing of the Concordat between the Holy See and Slovenia in 2004, or due to the moral views of clerical dignitaries. Archbishop Franc Rode, for example, launched the topic of increased liberal atheism, which he alleges is undermining the foundations of Slovene society.

### Liberal atheism is the culprit

Around eight thousand people in Brezje – Dr. Rode: The media is taking it out on the Church – the Slovene nation is introverted, depressed and torn

Brezje – during the holy mass at yesterday's celebration of Assumption Day as well as the anniversary of the consecration of the Slovene nation to the Virgin Mary in Brezje, the Archbishop of Ljubljana and Metropolitan, Dr. Franc Rode, said that liberal atheism was governing our lands, and that a loss of faith is the reason for a decrease in child births and an increase in abortions, suicides, drug abuse and unrestrained sexuality. [...]

"Our public space has been taken over [...] by an ideology of atheistic messianism. Instead of the former Marxism, we are now governed by liberal atheism. This may best be seen in the public media, especially in print. They should be critically observing the functioning of the government, but instead they are attacking the Church in order to morally discredit it and take away its status among the people. At this point, perhaps, this is the darkest, most short-sighted and the most harmful thing in our country. Since religious people are completely unequal in this field, we have nothing else to do but to be critical and not be fooled by false information, mean imputations and biased displays of facts. [...]"

Felc, Delo, 16 August 1999, p.1.



Why do you think atheism – either Marxist or liberal – is considered the culprit for all the bad things happening in Slovenia, according to the Archbishop of Ljubljana? How are Marxist and liberal atheism defined? What is the difference? Discuss.

## V-13. Religion in Albania



The Albanian population is divided into three main religious groups. The largest, Muslim, community is further divided into Sunni Muslims and Bektashi Muslims, with the latter being a heterodox sect. There are still no accurate official statistics on religious affiliation. Pre-World War II statistics show approximately 70% Muslim, 20% Orthodox and 10% Roman Catholic. They do not take into consideration later generations of Albanians, some of whom have "a highly distinct atheist sense", while many more, the children of mixed marriages, have no specific religious affiliation. This is the consequence of communist rule from 1944 to 1990 under which all religious institutions were closed in 1967, transforming Albania into the "only atheist country in the world". After the fall of the communist regime in 1990, religious communities were re-established. In July 1991, the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople appointed Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos, a former Emeritus Professor of Theology in Athens University, as Head of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania. Archbishop Yannoulatos made an important contribution to the revival of Orthodox Church institutions, and the Church also engaged in social and cultural activities. Certain segments of the Albanian Orthodox community originally opposed the appointment of Yannoulatos, claiming that a Greek national should not lead the Albanian Church hierarchy, and there has been consistent opposition to him from some Albanians of other religious communities.

### A. Declaration by the Albanian Orthodox Church

THE AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH  
OF ALBANIA  
Rr. E Kavajës No. 151, Tirana. Tel 234117  
DECLARATION

We acclaim with joy and hope the Stabilisation and Association Agreement signed these days between

Albania and the European Union and we would like to congratulate its proponents.

However, in contrast to these developments, in recent weeks we are hearing extremist and nationalistic calls which are trying to undermine, with ungrounded accusations and distorted stories, Orthodox clerics and the Orthodox Church in general and its Archbishop in particular. Referring to the funeral rites administered by an Orthodox priest in Permet during the exhumation of Greek soldiers, some politicians asked persistently (with no logic whatsoever) for the removal of the Orthodox Archbishop. Incompetent persons, known or unknown, who are part of other religious communities or who have no religion at all, persist in meddling in the internal affairs of the Orthodox Church, even pretending to have the competence to determine its leadership. This interference in its internal affairs undermines the peaceful coexistence between the religious communities which has so far been to the credit of Albania in the international arena; and this has been a strong point of support for the endorsement of the Association and Stabilisation Agreement.

Believers and clerics protest decisively against the unjust and fabricated noise which specific circles use in their attempts to harm Orthodoxy and its leadership. In all these years, Archbishop Anastasios, after restoring and reviving completely the Church, with his presence and activity, with the messages of love, hope and honesty, reconciliation and peace, with his inter-religious activity and with the social programmes he initiated (in the fields of care, health, education, agriculture development, culture, etc.), has opened thousands of new jobs and has come to the aid of people of whatever religious affiliation. He has made an outstanding contribution over these years to the development of Albanian society and its integration into the European family.

The Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania continues to accomplish its creative work by showing respect to all, but at the same time demands that all respect its institutions and independence, as provided for in the Constitution of the Republic of Albania.

Tirana, 16 June 2006

Holy Synod, Orthodox Clerics and the Clerical-Lay Council

**B. Durrës, the second city of Albania. The mosque in the town's main square, a sign of the revival of religion in post-communist Albania**



Photographer Roland Tasho.

### C. One of the visits of Mother Theresa in Albania



Mother Theresa was born Anjeze Gonxhe Bojaxhiu on 26 August 1910 in Skopje into a Catholic Albanian family. She died on 5 September 1997 in Calcutta, India. She was a Catholic humanist and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 for her humanitarian activity across the world. In 2003 she was beatified by the Vatican. While her religion was outlawed in Albania, she could not visit her relatives: her first visit took place in 1989 as the communist regime of Ramiz Alia started to undertake liberalising reforms. After the regime's fall in 1990, Mother Theresa established a network of missionaries in Albania. She and the renowned writer Ismail Kadare became reference points and symbols for post-communist Albania, at a time when the country once considered "an isolated communist castle" was seeking a new affirmation of its identity, a process often described as a "return to Europe". Mother Theresa, as an important identity symbol, became the focus of debate between Albanian and Macedonian nationalists, who demanded an "exclusive national identity" for her, portraying her either as an Albanian or as a Macedonian, in their definition.



Photographer Petrit Kumi.



Why do you think reactions based on nationalist attitudes try to determine or frame the presence and activity of religious authorities or leaders such as Archbishop Anastasios and Mother Theresa?

### V-14. Muslims without a mosque in Slovenia



The central prayer at the Kodeljevo sports hall, Ljubljana, mark the beginning of the Muslim holiday Eid al-Adha, 2008.

Photo: Tamino Petelinsek/STA.



Even in the 1960s there were some initiatives to build a mosque in Ljubljana. However, the city and state authorities avoided the construction of it, and even today the issue of an appropriate place of worship for Muslims remains unresolved, so that Slovenia's Muslim community has to perform its rituals in small chapels. During the more important holidays, the Muslim community has to rent a sports hall where its members can pray.



Why do you think that some countries such as Slovenia (or Greece) still deny or delay permission for the presence of a mosque in their capital cities where significant Muslim populations live? Discuss the topic.

### V-15. The independent church of Montenegro



In 1920, the Montenegrin metropolitanate entered the framework of a unified church organization in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Ideas about the separation of the Orthodox Church in Montenegro from the framework of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) appeared immediately after World War II, but were not realised. In the 1990s, the idea that there should be one Orthodox Church in Montenegro was supported by the political leadership of Montenegro. The Montenegrin Orthodox Church was formed or "restored" on 31 October 1993. Its seat is in Cetinje. In

→



1996, Archimandrite Miraš Dedeić was elected head of the MOC under the name Metropolitan Mihailo. On the other hand, the Metropolitanate of Montenegro and the Littoral (as a bishopric of the SOC), headed by Metropolitan Amfilohije Radović, owns huge assets in Montenegro and has very good relations with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Montenegrin Orthodox Church, which is not recognised by other Orthodox churches, has a small number of believers and survives mainly due to state patronage and support from certain political parties. For years the MOC and SOC live in parallel and in constant dispute.

### A. Interview with the Metropolitan of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church (CPC) Mihailo

"It was the most difficult at the very beginning when the Montenegrin Orthodox Church was restored in 1993, when Bishop Antonije was there. The pressure gradually abated, but we were anathemised the whole time, we were 'schismatics'. However, we worked on that, and in 2000 we were officially recognised and registered by the state of Montenegro... After the full restoration of statehood, for the first time we were a part of the budget of Montenegro, and so now we receive a certain amount of money like the other religious communities in Montenegro... On the matter of autocephaly of the Montenegrin Church, it has been autocephalous since 1766, which means that it has practically been independent for nearly 300 years. During that time, it has not been under the jurisdiction of any one east European Orthodox Church... The Montenegrin Church later suffered the most from the hand of the Serbian Orthodox Church. [...]. The highest legal act – the Constitution of Montenegro of 1905 – defined the Montenegrin Orthodox Church as autocephalous. [...] I said this to the responsible persons in our authorities – if you want to stabilise Montenegro as a state, you have to resolve the matter of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church. If you plan to give the property of the CPC to the Serbian Orthodox Church, that would mean that Montenegro is a Serbian state, making Montenegrins the subjects of others.

Favourably inclined towards the Montenegrin Church are Milo Đukanović, Ranko Krivokapić and their associates. [...] I was in Vukovar three times because an unprecedented crime was committed there. I felt the need to pay my respects to those victims, as well as because of everything that happened around Dubrovnik... I was also in Srebrenica, as the first Orthodox bishop from Europe."

*Lučindan*, number 37, 2010, pp. 2-5.

### B. The burning of a Yule log in Montenegro by Metropolitan Amfilohije, 2002



Photo: Savo Prelevic (Vijesti-Montenegro).



The Yule log, Yule clog, or Christmas block, is a specially selected log burnt on a hearth as a Christmas tradition in a number of countries in Europe. The origin of the folk custom is unclear. Numerous scholars have observed that, like other traditions associated with Yule (such as the Yule boar), the custom may ultimately derive from Germanic paganism.



Follow the thoughts and attitudes of Metropolitan Mihailo.

1. What are the basic and most important arguments defending the Autocephalous Church of Montenegro? Are they religious, historical or political arguments? What is the role of religion and church in a modern state?
2. What is the meaning of the statement "My position is that churches should be opened to all priests serving the believers. Let them all come there. The Montenegrin churches will not be closed to Serbian priests or to Catholic priests"? How do you understand it as a statement?
3. "I was in Vukovar three times because an unprecedented crime had been committed there. I felt the need to pay my respects to those victims, as well as because of everything that happened around Dubrovnik... I was also in Srebrenica, as the first Orthodox bishop from Europe": Why do you think Metropolitan Mihailo refers to these places? What happened there? How is this statement connected with the previous one (see question 2)?

## V-16. Introduction of religion as a school subject in Romania



In the post-war period, the expression of religious feeling became a symbol of opposition to the communist regime, which propagated atheism and imposed the laicisation of public life. Even the spark of the December 1989 Revolution started from the solidarity shown by inhabitants of Timișoara (regardless of their ethnicity or denomination) against the persecution of the Hungarian Protestant pastor László Tőkés. From the very beginning, the new leaders of the country (National Salvation Front) associated themselves with the symbols and rituals of the Romanian Orthodox Church, thus encouraging a fast, spectacular re-legitimation of the institution that had subsisted in the shade of the communist dictatorship. In the context of growing popular and political support, the Orthodox Church initiated changes in the national curricula, at a time when only deletions were accepted (political education, paramilitary training, excessive technological education, etc.), along with a return to those textbooks of national history used up to the 1940s.

### A. How to cross yourself properly, saying: "In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen"



*The ABC of the Little Christian*, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1992, pp. 9, 37.

## B. Teaching advice for the teaching of religion in school

What happened in the 45 years of communist, materialist-atheistic dictatorship? [...] A lack of meaning of human existence, with attempts to replace that lack by different hybrids: ideology, political idolatry, a false scientific vision or pseudo-spiritual practices (e.g. transcendental meditation). A moral decay in all areas of society. But [...] the Divine [...] cannot be annihilated. That is why in the days of 16-22 December 1989, it was especially the young people who had been subjected to atheization, who brought out into the light, from their depths [...], the purest endorsement of the divine sacrifice.

*Îndrumări metodologice...*, 1990, pp. 3, 9.

### C. How Vasilică was punished for wanting to destroy a swallows' nest

*Be kind to all creatures.* Children are kind to animals and birds. They are God's creatures. God loves them. He feeds and cares about them. But Vasilică is a bad boy. He tortures animals. One day he wanted to destroy a swallows' nest, but something bad happened. He climbed a ladder. He wanted to seize the nest but did not manage to. The ladder slipped and Vasilică fell. The whole summer he lay in a hospital bed. The swallows sing happily! They thank God for having defended them from Vasilică!

Saucă, 1992, p. 37.





What is the context and style of the Romanian textbook of religion (document V-16.A)? Is the subject about religious education in general or can one detect religious preaching (proselytism)? Discuss this, also taking into consideration document C.

## V-17. The identity card issue in Greece



In May 2000 the Minister of Justice in the socialist government of Kostas Simitis announced that, in accordance with Law 2472/1997 for the protection of personal data, the hitherto mandatory inclusion of one's religious faith on identity cards would be ended. This met with vehement opposition from the Church hierarchy and conservative circles in society. The charismatic and populist Christodoulos, Archbishop of Athens, spearheaded the campaign, organising mass rallies and collecting numerous signatures for a referendum on the issue. His efforts came to nothing.

### A. Collection of signatures

Επώνυμο	
Όνομα	
Όνομα Πατρός	
Αдрес ή Κατοικία	
Αριθμός Ταυτότητας	
Υπογραφή	

Private collection.

## B. The Holy Synod calling for a referendum to decide on whether to record or not record one's religion on identity cards

HELLENIC REPUBLIC  
HOLY SYNOD  
OF THE CHURCH OF GREECE  
COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES  
FOR THE HOLDING OF A REFERENDUM

I desire the activation of article 44 of the current Constitution for the holding of a referendum so that I, as a Greek citizen, express my view on whether to record or not record one's religion on identity cards.

My request is also based on articles 1/paragraphs 2 & 3, 5/paragraph 1, 13/paragraph 1, and article 25/paragraphs 1 & 2 of my Country's Constitution, as well as on the Convention of Human Rights (articles 9 & 10) and on the right of individual self-determination.



The Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church invokes the Greek Constitution as well as the Convention of Human Rights on the right of individual self-determination when referring to the option of Greek citizens on having their religion stated on identity cards. Why, according to your opinion, do they think it was important for people to declare their religion in public? What kind of document is an ID card? Is the faith and religious orientation issue a private or a public affair, or both? Discuss, taking into consideration extreme expressions of religious faith.

## V-18. Religion and identities: Excerpts from Romanian Law no. 489/2006 with regard to religious freedom and the general status of religions



The law avoided proclaiming in an explicit manner the effective and indisputable omnipresence of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the country, guaranteeing the possibility of public manifestation for any other religions or denominations able to meet a series of conditions of representativeness. Nevertheless, there was a perception of discrimination in the case of some minority groups that could not mobilise enough resources to comply with the legal conditions (Jehovah's witnesses, for instance), or of



some institutions that were not given back the assets confiscated by the communist regime (the Eastern rite Catholic Church). That discrimination was considered to be the result of negotiations between the representatives of the “historical” religions (Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants), who indeed stated that they were content with the text of the law. Criticism came especially from the USA and from the representatives of denominations that had been ignored or persecuted by the communist regime (neo-Protestants, Baha’i), an attitude that had been inherited by officials of the post-communist authorities.

**Art. 1. – (1)** The Romanian State observes and guarantees the fundamental right to liberty of thought, conscience and religion for every person on Romanian territory, under the Constitution and the international treaties to which Romania is a party. [...]

**Art. 2. – (1)** Freedom of religion includes any person’s right to have or to adopt a religion, to manifest it individually or collectively, in public or in private, by specific practices and rituals, including through religious education, as well as the freedom to preserve or to change one’s religious faith.

**(2)** The freedom to manifest one’s religion cannot be subject to restrictions other than the ones stipulated by the law and representing necessary measures in a democratic society for public security, protection of public order, of health or morality or for the protection of fundamental human rights and liberties. [...]

**Art. 7. – (1)** The Romanian State acknowledges the spiritual, educational, social-charitable, cultural, social partnership role of the denominations, as well as their status as actors of social peace.

**(2)** The Romanian state acknowledges the important role of the Romanian Orthodox Church and of the other churches and denominations recognised in Romania’s national history and in the life of Romanian society.

**Art. 8. – (1)** Acknowledged denominations are legal entities of public utility. They are organised and operate under the Constitution provisions and under the present law, in an autonomous way, according to their own regulations or canonical codes.[...]

**Art. 9. – (1)** There is no state religion in Romania; the state is neutral in relation to any religious faith or atheistic ideology.

**(2)** Denominations are equal before the law and the public authorities. The state, through its authorities, shall not promote or favour the granting of privileges or

the creation of discrimination towards any denomination. [...]

**(4)** The Romanian state, through public competent authorities, supports the spiritual-cultural and social activity carried out abroad by the denominations acknowledged in Romania.

**Art. 10. – (1)** Expenditures for the maintenance of denominations and of their activities shall be covered primarily from the denominations’ own income, created and administered as per their regulations.

Law no. 489/2006, published in the Official Gazette, Part I, no. 11, 18 January 2007, pp. 2-3.

## V-19. The headscarf controversy in Turkey



The headscarf controversy in schools and public institutions dates back to a regulation issued in 1984, in the wake of the military coup of 12 September 1980. Though the military transferred power to civilian government after the 1983 elections, it continued to exert influence through the office of the Presidency occupied by the leader of the 1980 coup, Kenan Evren, as well as through the powerful National Security Council. The regulation banning the headscarf in universities and public institutions remained in effect for 30 years, but was most strictly implemented in the aftermath of the military intervention on 28 February 1998 that brought down the Welfare Party-led coalition and vowed to “combat reactionary Islamism”. At the time AKP came to power in 2002, the ban was still in effect. It was then gradually relaxed, first by the Board of Higher Education in a 2008 decree that allowed female students with headscarves unimpeded access to universities. This decree was followed by the democratisation package of October 2013, which changed Article 5 of the dress code for public servants, thereby removing restrictions on wearing the headscarf in public institutions except for the military, police and legal courts. In the Turkish Great National Assembly, the first attempt at introducing a female MP with a headscarf by the Virtue Party in 1999 resulted in the expulsion of that MP (Merve Kavakçı) from the parliament. However, shortly after the lifting of the headscarf ban in public institutions, on 31 October 2013, four AKP MPs entered the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) general assembly wearing their headscarves and received no negative reaction from the opposition.

### “Headscarves should be free in Universities”

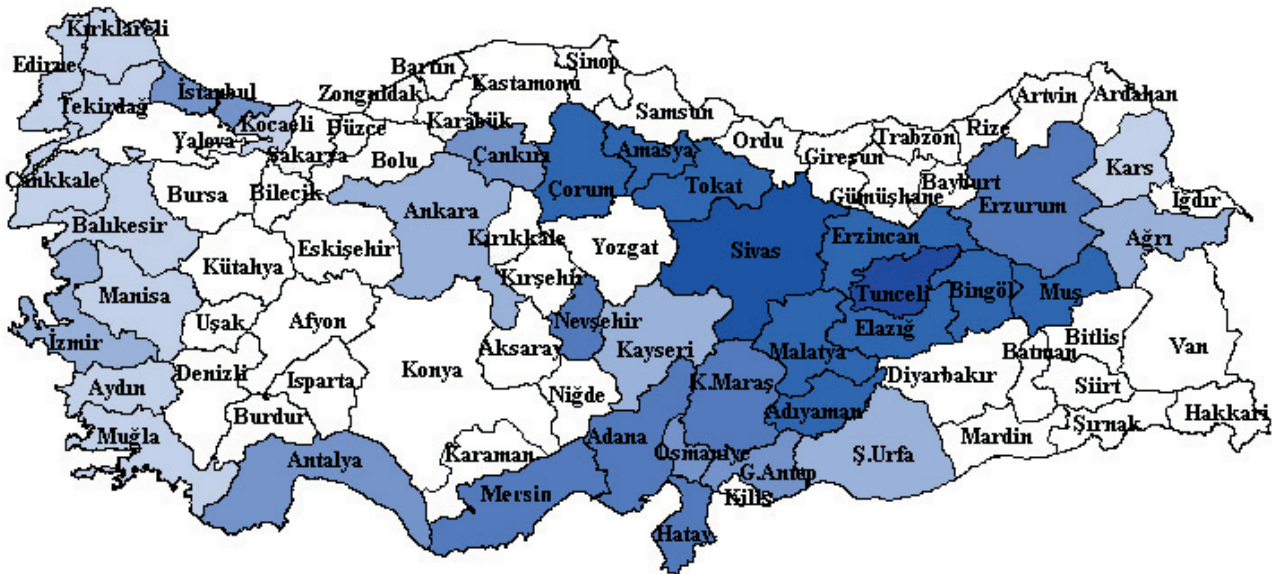
Joost Lagendijk, co-chair of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Commission, in a panel organised by the Turkish Institute in Utrecht titled “Modernisation and Democratisation in Turkey”, said that the abolition of the headscarf ban did not contradict EU principles. Citing his home country Netherlands and Britain as examples, Lagendijk said:

“Both sides should strive to find a common ground on the issue and lead to a general liberalisation of the environment, and accept the fact that university

students are adults who can decide for themselves.” Lagendijk also expressed support for the ongoing preparations for a new constitution in Turkey saying “The European Parliament supports the new constitutional debate in Turkey. All these ideologically charged issues on which Turkey loses time and energy will hopefully be resolved with a new constitution.”

“Lagendijk: Tüban Üniversite Serbest Olmalı” [Lagendijk: Headscarves should be free in Universities], NTV, 4 February 2008, <http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/434324.asp>, accessed on 1.07.2016.

### V-20. Map of Alevi population in Turkey



<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alevism>, accessed on 23.12.2015.



Turkey's Alevi population (about 15% of the total) constitutes the largest non-Sunni religious community in the country. In the 1970s, Alevi youth sided en masse with the radical left, while the Alevi community was targeted by the ultra-right nationalist organisation Grey Wolves. One of the bloodiest attacks against Alevi activists,

known as the “Maraş massacre”, took place in the city of Kahramanmaraş in December 1978. On the map, Turkish provinces with a higher rate of Alevis are shown here in shades of blue (with the darker ones such as Tunceli and Sivas having more than 90%), whereas the white ones indicate a lower rate of Alevis (less than 10%).

### V-21. Nedko Solakov's Top Secret



European contemporary artist Nedko Solakov has produced a wide variety of drawings, paintings, performances, and installations in which he uses humour and absurdity to critically question art institutions and practices, as well as

societal norms and expectations. In a seminal piece and cathartic act of disclosure, titled *Top Secret* (1989), Solakov filled a small chest with cards detailing his collaborations with the Bulgarian secret police as a youth. Reacting to the controversy that arose over the



work and the shocking confession it contained, Solakov wrote, "Only he or she who can overcome his or her fears can be a true artist". <https://www.artsy.net/artist/nedko-solakov>, accessed on 21.10.2015). It was exactly this work that made him extremely popular. It is now in the collection of the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven.

### A conversation with Nedko Solakov

This work [*The Chameleon*, February 1990] was commissioned by the Central Committee of the Komsomol from The City as from a trendy avant-garde group; they gave us money for materials. Initially, we intended to decorate some wooden planks with the now redundant Komsomol membership cards (the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, commonly known as Komsomol, was being transformed into the Bulgarian Democratic Youth), bright red from the outside and blue inside, and display them in front of the National Palace of Culture in Sofia. Then I came up with the idea of making a silhouette of the chameleon. The membership cards became red scales on its skin, and every time "the wind of change" blew they opened and showed their light-blue insides (the colour of the

opposition, the Union of Democratic Forces/SDS). This became a true happening. People began bringing their own Komsomol cards, which at that time were still a very serious identity document, and we nailed them onto the body of the chameleon. [...]

*Top Secret*, created between December 1989 and February 1990, consists of an index box, filled with a series of cards detailing the artist's youthful collaboration with the Bulgarian state security, which he stopped in 1983. In Bulgaria, 25 years after the changeover, the official files remain closed, and there are no publicly known documents on the artist's collaboration. The work caused great controversy when it was first exhibited in the spring of 1990, at the height of the political changes to the long-standing communist rule. This self-disclosing gesture as an artistic project is still unique in the context of post-communist Europe, and since its appearance, *Top Secret* has become an icon of its time. A 40-minute long video, which shows the artist rereading the index box's contents, was shot in his studio in Sofia in 2007.

Vassileva, pp. 280, 286.

[The author of the text about *Top Secret* is Lachezar Boyadzhiev, another famous Bulgarian artist.]

## V-22. Balkan Santa

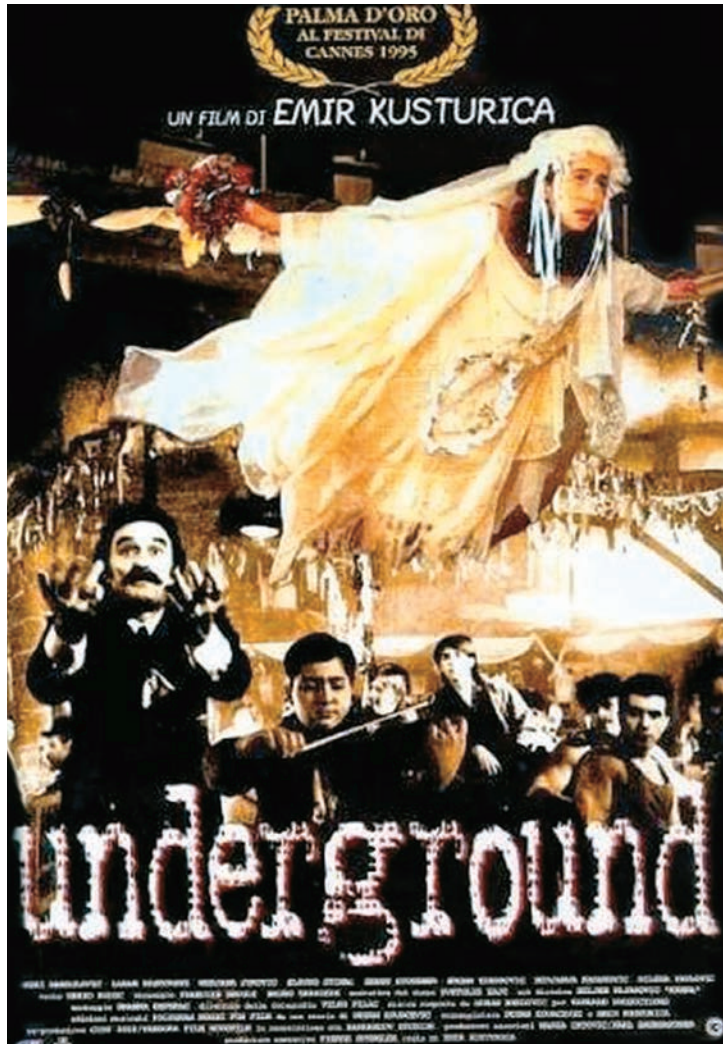


Bulgarian Turks during Christmas in the town of Ardino, Southern Rhodopes, 2007. Photo by Alexei Kalionski.



### ► V.3. CINEMA, THEATRE AND MUSIC

#### V-23. Golden Palm for Kusturica's *Underground*



<http://www.kustu.com/w2/en:underground>,  
accessed on 3.07.2016.



*Underground* (also known as "Once there was a country") by Emir Kusturica won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1995 and was also nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. The epic story of two friends is used to portray the history of Yugoslavia from the beginning of World War II until the beginning of the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s. The story in brief: 1941. Belgrade. Communist



activist Marko lets his friend Blacky enter the Party. But Germany invades Yugoslavia and the two friends will share their time between acts of resistance and very profitable trafficking. They will also share the beautiful Natalija, an actress whom a Nazi officer is "protecting". During the conflict, Marko will arrange to lock up Blacky and his clan in the basement of a house in Belgrade. Thus he will be able to keep Natalija solely for himself. In 1945, he will keep silent about the fact that the country is free. But one day, the slaves will leave the basement and find their country devastated by civil war.

#### V-24. Bosnian film *No Man's Land* by Danis Tanović won the Oscar for the Best Foreign Language Film in 2001



*No Man's Land* is a film about two wounded soldiers, a Bosniak and a Bosnian Serb. They are caught between their lines in no man's land, in a struggle for survival. The two soldiers confront each other in a trench, where they wait for the dark.



*Oslobođenje*, year LIX, issue 19804, Sarajevo, 6.04.2002, p. 5.



The theme of the film *No Man's Land* is the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. This war, however, is still not a part of history lessons. Why do you think it is more difficult to teach about this topic than discuss about it in popular culture?

## V-25. Turbo-folk Music. A concert by Svetlana Ceca Ražnatović (widow of Arkan) in Belgrade (Ušće) in front of about 120,000 people, 17 June 2006



Turbo-folk is a musical genre strongly rooted in commercial folk and neo-folk music which was very popular throughout the entire SFRY and the Balkans as a whole. Singer Lepa Brena paved the way for the rise of turbo-folk, but the greatest increase in its popularity came in the 1990s, from the time of civil wars and economic sanctions against Serbia.



Arkan (Željko Ražnatović) was commander of a paramilitary force in the Yugoslav wars. He was indicted for crimes against humanity but was assassinated in 2000, before he could be tried.



Toronto Novine.

## V-26. Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis in Skopje



After the Interim accord was signed between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 1995, the world-renowned Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis conducted his symphony "Zorba the Greek" in the National Theatre in Skopje (1997). The concert was considered the event of the year, both artistically and politically. President of the Republic Kiro Gligorov and almost the country's entire political leadership, as well as many prominent intellectuals, attended the concert. A Greek delegation of 200 representatives of political parties, members of parliament, university professors, businessmen and artists, travelled to Skopje. During his stay there, Theodorakis visited the tomb of Jeorgios Zorbas (the name is written on the tomb) buried in Skopje cemetery in 1943. There is a short documentary on the event by Greek TV: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RfmlOpTa2pw>, accessed on 3.07.2016.



Documentary "Searching for Zorbas"; ERT S.A. Archive.

## V-27. Unkovski's "Orestes" in Epidaurus, 2008



Slobodan Unkovski was born in 1948 in Skopje. He graduated as a director in 1971 from the Film, Theatre and Television Academy in Belgrade. From 1996 to 1998 he served as Minister of Culture in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. "Orestes" (2008) is the third production by

Unkovski in Greek after "The Fourth Sister" by Glovacki and "King Lear" by Shakespeare (2005), both in the National Theatre in Athens. "Orestes" was performed at Epidaurus in August 2008 and in many theatres across Greece (in total, 27 performances and more than 23,000 spectators).





Private collection (Slobodan Unkovski's archive).



Culture might signal a different path for the relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Can you find other cultural exchanges? Do you think that a

“diplomacy of culture” could be an alternative approach to common grounds for resolving tense and conflicting situations between two countries or is it not important? Discuss.

## V-28. Balkanika Literary Award and “Balkan literature”



Following the end of the Cold War, a number of state and private bodies undertook to fund the translation of Balkan works of literature in Southeast European languages. The aim of such initiatives was to acquaint readers with Balkan literature and to promote mutual understanding, given that during the Cold War era such translations were few and far between. In 1995 seven publishing houses, one each from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, FYR Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Turkey, set up the Balkanika Litetary Award. The award is presented annually to a Balkan author

whose work has appeared not earlier than two years prior to it being nominated. Save the publisher from the recipient's country of origin, all other publishers are required to translate the award-winning work into their own language. The first recipient of the award in 1996 was David Albahari from Serbia. Subsequent recipients include Anton Donchev and Zdravka Evtimova from Bulgaria, Nikos Bakolas and Maro Douka from Greece, Ismael Kadare from Albania, Aleksandar Prokopiev and Venko Andonovski from FYR Macedonia, and Tahsin Yücel and Nedim Gürsel from Turkey.



### A. Anton Donchev (Bulgaria)

In the Balkans there exist acute differences, both in terms of politics and as far as the development of societies is concerned, which keep us at a distance. Specifically, in former socialist countries the self-esteem of their citizens is particularly low and they find themselves in a state of bewilderment. Thus, we cannot define, even in a few words, the term Balkan Literature. What we ought to bear in mind is that all of us constitute an aggregate. We are like an orchestra, wherein each and every one of us must be first-class so that the end result is also first-class.

### B. David Albahari (Serbia)

We can conceptualise Balkan Literature only as a geographical term. There exist differences both among nations and among literary genres. Meetings like the one that took place in Athens [recently] do not generate a uniform literature – that would be unmistakably flattening – but help us to understand each other better. They allow every literary genre to influence one another. And in the current circumstances, interactions of this kind can be particularly fertile.

### C. Nedim Gürsel (Turkey)

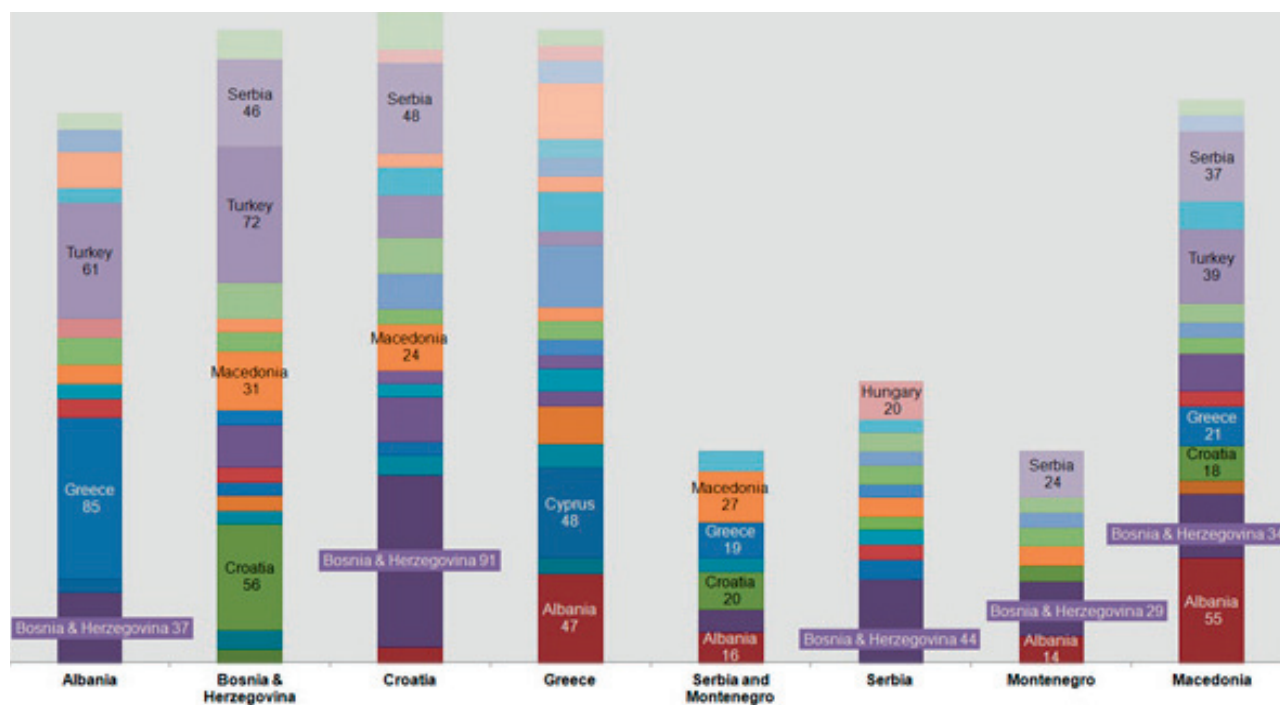
There are many Balkan Literatures, and I think a good starting point in classifying them is to think of History. There are those who gaze at the past and enrich their creative writing with historical material, and those who concern themselves with the present. The idea of the Balkanika Literary Award is very positive because it brings authors in contact, especially at a time when our area grapples with conflicts.

*To Vima newspaper, 6 December 1999, p. 57.*



Split the class into groups, each group representing one country of Southeast Europe. Students of each group are asked to prepare a list with the name of the authors of their chosen country and their works (not only of Literature), which have been translated in the students' mother tongue in the last five years. Each group selects one or two books of the country they study and discuss the content of the book(s) in class.

## V-29. The Eurovision Song Contest



**Who voted for who in the 'Balkan bloc' 2003-2011**  
**Addition of top scores only (12, 10, 8 and 7 points)**

[www.euronews.com/2012/05/21/eurovision-the-great-voting-conspiracy](http://www.euronews.com/2012/05/21/eurovision-the-great-voting-conspiracy), accessed on 3.07.2016.



Participating in the Eurovision Song Contest became an expression of national sovereignty for the newly independent states of former Yugoslavia. In 1993, Slovenia, Croatia, BiH, together with Romania and some other Eastern European Countries entered the competition as independent countries for the first time, while Serbia performed under the Yugoslav flag for the last time. FYR Macedonia initially entered the competition in 1996, whereas Serbia and Montenegro performed as one in 2004 and 2005, and since 2007 each has performed independently. Albania made its debut in 2004. From

among the Southeastern European countries, the so-called Balkan bloc of voting has emerged. Within the Balkan bloc there are visible links between Greece and Cyprus, FYR Macedonia and Albania, as well as within the countries of former Yugoslavia. First of the independent states of former Yugoslavia to win the Eurovision Song competition was Serbia in 2007 with the song "Molitva" (Prayer) performed by Marija Šerifović. In 2004, the BBC pointed out that "As is traditional with the Eurovision Song Contest, neighbours often voted for each other, with the Balkan countries giving each other a major share of the votes."



Do you think that in popular cultural events such as the Eurovision Song Contest there is

space for expressing nationalistic attitudes? Have you ever voted at such an event? Discuss.

## ► V.4. SPORT AND OLYMPIC GAMES

### V-30. Olympic Games in Athens, 2004

The 2004 Summer Olympic Games (the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad) were held in Athens from 13 to 29 August. Under the motto "Welcome Home", they were hailed by the IOC president as "unforgettable, dream games". The Games were considered a success both as regards their organisation and the number

of participating National Olympic Committees as well as by their television ratings. Despite criticism from certain quarters, the Greek public was by and large favourably disposed, considering them a new national achievement directly related to the country's image worldwide.

#### A. The Games' opening ceremony

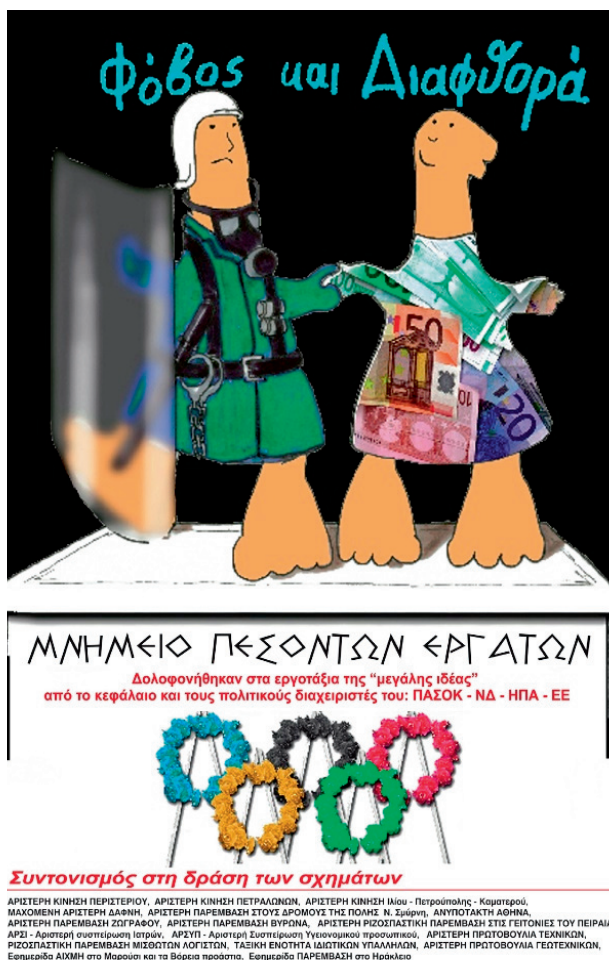


Action Images, Thomas Chrisohoidis.



Directed by choreographer Dimitris Papaioannou, the opening ceremony of the Games underlined the association of contemporary Greece with the ancient Greek civilisation as the birthplace of world civilisation (and of the Olympic Games). It also reproduced the main idea of Greek national historiography that there is continuity from pre-historic times to the present.

## B. Reactions to the 2004 Olympic Games



Translation:

Fear and Corruption / Tomb of the unknown workers / They were murdered at the construction sites of the "great idea" by capitalism and its political managers: PASOK, New Democracy, the US and the EU.

<https://ektostonteixon.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/aixmh-afisa-sintonistikou2.jpg>, accessed on 3.07.2016.



However, lurking behind the glossy façade of the opening ceremony, the pristine condition of recently constructed venues and the overall organisational success of the games were multiple issues: a budget that had gone considerably over initial estimates, doping charges against leading Greek athletes, financial irregularities associated with the improvement of the city's infrastructure, a dozen or so "white elephants", installations the maintenance of which has been hugely costly, etc. The poster V-30B was produced by a number of left-wing organisations with no parliamentary representation and citizens' movements. It has the Games' two mascots, Athena and Phoebus, dressed as "Fear" and "Corruption".



1. Study the verbal and visual context and describe the above poster. How are the two mascot figures dressed up? What do they represent? What are the Olympic circles transformed into? How can you detect the political ideology of the producers? Connect the message of the poster with the financial collapse of Greece after 2010.

2. Has your country ever organised an international sports event? If yes, find the posters of the event and analyse their symbols. Explain what the criteria of choosing one or the other symbol are and how they connect to the country's image. Do research on the topic: *Were there reactions against holding the event and by whom? What were the arguments of the opponents?*

## V-31. Jadran Basketball League in former Yugoslavia



The Adriatic League was established in 2001 and comprised several clubs from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, or countries which used to be parts of the former Yugoslavia. Next year, clubs from Serbia also joined in. The league is an excellent example of cooperation (in sports) between countries which had been at war, just a few years ago.



**BASKETBALL** – Founding assembly of clubs of the new regional league held in Zagreb  
Adriatic League Starts on 29 September. Cibona VIP plays in Podgorica  
[...]

The Adriatic league club assemblies have also yielded a second-instance body which will be called the Jury of Appeals. [...] This body will work as a three-member chamber where President Lorbek will be joined by two others from clubs which are not in dispute. Referees at the competition will be from participating states, but the country from which Budućnost comes will only be represented by Montenegrin referees. Just as in the Euro League, there will be three referees at each game.  
[...]

Jadranska liga – document 1 (Jutarnji list, 4.07.2001)

### V-32. Sportsmen as heroes



Croatia's best tennis player Goran Ivanišević won the Wimbledon championship in 2001. As a national hero, he was given a spectacular welcome in his native town of Split.

A banner with "Goran, Split loves you" written on it was hung above the stage on Split harbour where around 150,000 people gathered at a celebration of a magnitude rarely seen in the history of Croatian sport. Many sports victories have been celebrated in Split, but everyone you ask will say "This was the party of all parties". No one has rallied as many fans as Goran Ivanišević. [...]

The number of visitors on the websites of Croatian television and Hinet broke all records on Tuesday. Fans from all over the world wanted to watch the celebration in Split live, and at the same time to send e-mails asking for a T-shirt with the image of the Zec / Rabbit/ and the inscription "I am a genius", no matter what the cost [...]

Četvrtak, www.monitor.hr, 12.07.2001.

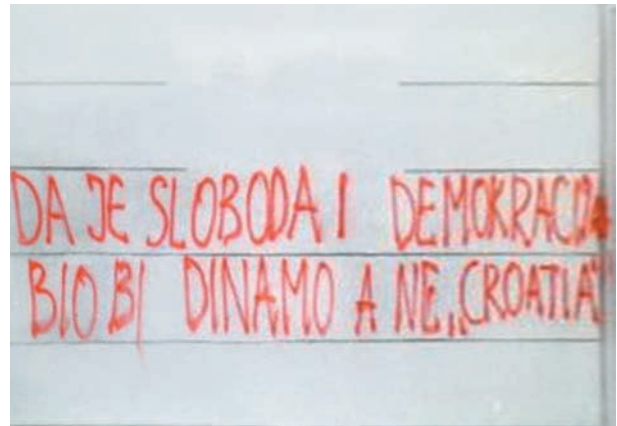
### V-33. Graffiti "Bad blue boys" in Zagreb



At the initiative of Croatian President Tuđman, Dinamo soccer club changed its name several times since the name Dinamo was considered



overly communist. In 2003, the club's name was changed to Croatia, which resulted in great dissatisfaction among Dinamo fans who demanded that the club be given back its old name. It was renamed Dinamo only after Tuđman's death in 2000.



Translation: If there were freedom and democracy - It would be called Dinamo not Croatia.

Private collection.



Use the information in the key to explain the text of the graffiti. Why does the graffiti connect the naming of a soccer club with freedom and democracy?

### V-34. Traditional wrestling in the town of Asenovgrad, Northern Rhodopes, Bulgaria, 2008



Oil wrestling (*Yağlı Güreş* in Turkish, *pehlivanski borbi* in Bulgarian) has been a traditional sport since early Ottoman times. Before each bout, the wrestlers pour olive oil over their entire bodies, and the matches take place in an open grassy field or on carpets, with the contestants naked except for trousers made of leather which extend to just below the knee. These tournaments are popular among Muslims in Southeast Europe, often with participation of non-Muslim wrestlers and local public from all communities.



Photo by Kremena Yordanova.



**1.** In what way can sports either contribute to bringing people together or cultivate animosity and antagonism, fueling nationalistic attitudes and reactions? Find examples of both cases and discuss the fragile balance between a gentle fight and a vulgar clash.

**2.** Discuss the relation between hooliganism and nationalism. Find examples from your country of football matches where fans have used violence over national symbols. Compare with the cases presented by II-2 in chapter II.





## CHAPTER VI: WAYS OF REMEMBERING

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## ► INTRODUCTION

A school history textbook usually ends within the time limit set by the description of a given historical period. Yet, a history lesson cannot ignore the ways we remember and memorialise this historical past. It is important for history students to comprehend that the views a society holds of the past change, and that such views are dependent on the given present. These readings of the past through the prism of the present are reproduced and disseminated mainly by state institutions, such as the educational system and museums. They constitute hegemonic narratives, which tend to marginalise other opposing or alternative readings.

Schematically speaking, there exist two types of collective memory: the “official memory”, which as a rule is identified with the memory of the nation-state; and “marginal” and alternative memories, which are usually hushed up by the “official memory” and in some instances collide with the latter. Instances of collision between “official” and “unofficial” memory are much more evident in the field of education, as the school is the institution par excellence wherein youngsters partake in socialisation and the transmission of dominant societal values. Much too often, however, what is taught in schools is in stark contrast to the social and cultural reality of the classroom. How is a school textbook on national history perceived by pupils of a multicultural classroom where many competing communities of memory coexist? And how detached and “neutral” can a history lesson be in a post-traumatic environment?

Chapter VI seeks to present aspects of various types of memory, though the emphasis is mainly on the official and dominant memory as it was reconfigured in the wake of the end of the Cold War. In the whole of Europe, revision of the history of the period 1939–1989 commenced after 1990. In the former communist countries, it was not confined to state symbols or historiography. It included all Realms of Memory (“lieux de mémoire”), to use a well-known term coined by the French historian Pierre Nora. Monuments were razed to the ground and new ones were erected; national anniversaries were abolished and new ones were established; new traditions were “invented”; old heroes were demonised and new ones took their place. In the post-1990 period, the memory of both communism and the Second World War was revised.

The new political approach towards ex-communist regimes consisted mainly in condemning the crimes of totalitarian communist regimes and equating Communism with Nazism. The turning point was *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* edited in 1997 by Stéphane Courtois (first edition in French), which compared Communism with Nazism at the level of numbers of victims and methods of mass extermination. The book provoked both support and criticism and has been widely debated. In ex-communist countries, the *Black Book* was used to justify the process of “double victimisation” i.e. the memory of WWII was revised in order for those countries (Baltic states, Poland) to present themselves as victims of both Nazism and Communism. That attitude was finally formulated as part of the European political agenda in January 2006, when the Council of Europe adopted Resolution 1481 which condemns “the massive human rights violations committed by totalitarian communist regimes”. In 2008, the European Parliament also established the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Stalinism and Nazism, known as Black Ribbon day: this is observed on 23 August (the anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact) as the day of international remembrance for victims of Stalinism, Nazism and Fascism.

Societies were also divided as far as the memory of the Cold War is concerned. Indeed, “memory wars” have been a constant feature in Balkan countries throughout this period, which has been termed the “memory boom” and stretches from the third quarter of the twentieth century to today: there have been momentous public controversies, fierce disputes and ongoing debates, and even violent confrontations related mostly to the traumatic historical experiences of the twentieth century such as world wars, genocides, expulsion of populations, major displacements and civil wars. In the case of the memory of the Cold War, we have been witnessing a current of “communist nostalgia” in countries where the so-called “transition” to a market economy has been traumatic and destructive for some social groups. “Yugo-nostalgia” has also appeared in some former Yugoslav Republics as a reaction to the “lost paradise” of “brotherhood and unity”.

Chapters VI.1 and VI.2 connect and partly overlap with each other, at least in the case of the former

communist countries. The reason for this is because, after 1945, readings and interpretations of the Second World War were contingent upon the political and ideological precepts of the regime that prevailed in each country. In the case of Greece, for example, the defeat of the communists in the civil war of 1946-1949 resulted in an official history that concealed communist resistance to the Axis occupation. Only in 1982, and under a socialist government, were the “national resistance” and the anti-Axis activities of left-wing organisations officially recognised by the state. By contrast, in the countries of the Eastern Bloc, the ruling Communist Parties employed official commemoration of the communist resistance as the launching pad for their new regimes, with the establishment of a series of monuments and rituals. The regimes of countries which were more dependent on the Soviet Union, such as Bulgaria and Romania, dedicated monuments to the Red Army and the Soviet soldier, who was ascribed the role of “liberator” from the German occupiers.

In the case of Yugoslavia, the founding component of official memory was the National Liberation Struggle, which was equated with a socialist revolution. Led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the partisan resistance movement fought from 1941 to 1945 against the occupying forces of Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary as well as against domestic collaborators, such as the Ustasha and Chetniks. Thus, through the commemoration of the National Liberation Struggle, Tito’s Yugoslavia also settled its accounts with its “internal” ideological and political enemies.

In the post-1989 period, revision of the memory of the communist era went hand in hand with that of the memory of the Second World War, and it has thus been difficult to separate the two sections. Chapters VI.1 and VI.2 should therefore be studied in parallel so that pupils understand that revision of the dominant interpretation of Occupation and Resistance after the end of the Cold War depends primarily on the will to revise the communist interpretation of these. A result of such a revision, with potentially dangerous consequences, has been the negation of the anti-fascist character of the Partisan resistance and an attempt to equate Nazi crimes with those committed by the Partisans.

Of course the situation was further complicated by the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s, where an ideological and political quarrel coalesced with ethnic conflict. In

post-1990 Croatia, the process of coming to terms with the communist past was intertwined with a radical rejection of Yugoslavia. For Croatian nationalists, both Yugoslav states – pre- and post-World War II – were essentially anti-Croat entities that were created only to secure Serbian domination. Likewise in Serbia, the wars of 1991-1995 revived memories of the Ustasha regime and these were instrumentalised in the new conflict. The Yugoslav Wars produced new dead, new heroes and new traumatic memories, which merged with old ones and to a large extent determined them. Monuments that had existed for many decades, such as the eternal flame in Sarajevo, acquired a new meaning and symbolism. At the same time, new monuments were erected to honour the memory of those who died, mostly civilians, in the wars of the 1990s. Chapter VI.3 presents such examples and invites pupils to think about the meanings of heroism and trauma.

Chapter VI.4 seeks to show how memory or oblivion can be employed so that those who are divided by the past can attain reconciliation. It is important to understand how people relate to monuments and sites, how sites of memory are involved centrally in the politics of memory and oblivion, and how restoration policies have been connected with reconciliation processes. Wars have often targeted monuments (mainly of a religious character) symbolising the “other”, a fact that has resulted in the destruction or vandalism of some and the (re)construction of others (see here chapter II.7). On the other hand, many sites such as destroyed villages, synagogues, mosques and churches, cemeteries, and monuments commemorating “heroes” and “martyrs” represent a contested landscape of cultural heritage, fought over by various memory groups and states. The restoration of religious monuments (mosques and churches) in Cyprus that had fallen victims to intercommunal violence and the Turkish invasion allows us, through an initiative undertaken by civil society, to commence a discussion on the destruction of cultural heritage through ethnic hatred and the responsibility that citizens have to protect and maintain this heritage.

Overall, chapter VI seeks to offer pupils the opportunity to think critically about the “flammable” and toxic past by looking at the ways we remember it. The aim is not for each community to fall back on its trauma, but to recognise the trauma of the other. Only then can the attempt at reconciliation be transformed into a peace-building process.

## ▶ VI.1. ERASING AND REVISING THE COMMUNIST PAST

### VI-1. Moving Tito's statue in Užice, Serbia, 1991



The monument to Josip Broz Tito, a 4.75 m high bronze statue, the work of renowned sculptor Frano Kršinić, was erected on Partisans' Square in Titovo Užice in 1961. Three decades later, on 28 August 1991, the monument was removed and taken to the yard of the Užice National Museum. This act complied

with the "Recommendation for the removal from the names of cities, squares, streets, educational and cultural institutions of the names of those individuals responsible for the enormous injustices committed against the Serbian people" adopted by the Serbian Parliament on 24 July 1991.



Milos Cvetkovic Private Collection.

### VI-2. Demolished monuments of the NOB (People's Liberation Struggle) in Croatia

An estimated 6,000 monuments, busts, sculptures and memorial plaques to events and persons from the National Liberation Movement of Croatia and Yugoslavia were made in Croatia between 1945 and 1990. Exactly 2,964 memorials (731 monuments and 2,233 other memorials) have been destroyed or damaged,

mostly in the period between 1990 and 2000. Around 400 anti-fascist memorials of lesser artistic value were restored by 2012 as well as several important monuments (the monument to inmates of Jadovno, the "Call to Uprising" in Bjelovar, the monument to the Croatian People's Uprising in Srb, etc.).

Hrženjak, 2002, p. XII.



### VI-3. Toppling of the big statue of Enver Hoxha by protesters in Tirana, 20 February 1991



Photographer Roland Tasho.



This act symbolised the fall of the communist regime in Albania. A few days earlier, the students of Tirana University had gone on hunger strike asking for the removal of the name "Enver Hoxha" from Tirana State University.

### VI-4. Demolition of Dimitrov's mausoleum, 1999

#### A. A photo of the demolition



<http://www.chudesa.net>, accessed on 21.10.2015.

#### B. A description of the construction and destruction of the monument

It all began on 2 July 1949, when Georgi Dimitrov, "the leader and teacher" of the Bulgarian people, died in Moscow. On the very next day, 3 July, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party decided that his body was to be embalmed and displayed in a mausoleum like that of Lenin. The Soviet example had to be followed even when it came to the burials of leaders. The architectural design of the building was elaborated overnight, and construction work started on the morning of 4 July. It was carried out by the Labour Service Corps. The building was completed in five days and nights. According to different data, up to six conscripts died during the construction. The embalmed corpse was transported from Moscow along with a special sarcophagus and other equipment, and laid to rest in the tomb on 10 July. From that day on, right up to the "last" 9 September in 1989, Sofia residents had to dutifully parade on every official holiday past the Mausoleum, under the gaze of the leaders of the communist regime standing on the tribune. Thus, the tomb of Georgi Dimitrov turned from being an ordinary cult building into the place most hated by Sofia residents. A visit to the Mausoleum was also a compulsory part of the tour programme for groups from the rest of the country, organised by trade unions. Then came 10

November 1989. Multi-coloured banners were waved on the tribune and the building itself was covered in graffiti. Some were of anti-communist slogans, but most were of teen symbols. On 18 July 1990 the Andrei Lukanov government removed Dimitrov's corpse from its "desecrated" resting place and buried it in Sofia's Central Cemetery. This is when the true battle for the fate of the building began. The defenders of its right to exist came up with all sorts of ideas about conversion – ranging from an art gallery or pantheon of Sofia residents killed in the wars to a disco club. The debate on the future of the Mausoleum went on for a whole nine years. Ultimately, the view that prevailed was that, no matter in what form, if the concrete cube was left in the centre of Sofia it would remain

a symbol of totalitarianism and a place for nostalgic communist meetings and rallies. That is why it had to be demolished. The demolition process itself proved to be quite embarrassing for the demolishers. It took seven days – longer than the time it had taken to build the Mausoleum. The first blast went off at 2:37 pm on 21 August 1999. The last debris were removed from the site in the late afternoon of 27 August. It turned out that in 1957 and 1978 the building had been additionally reinforced and redesigned to double as a nuclear-proof shelter. But this purely technical gaffe was also quickly forgotten. Nowadays the site of the Mausoleum is simply part of the public garden in front of the National Theatre.

Стандарт [Standart], 19 August 2003.

### VI-5. The statue of the Soviet soldier disappears in Iași



<http://www.ziaruldeiasi.ro/stiri/ostasul-sovietic-care-fuse-se-transformat-in-mihai-viteazul-reapare-in-copou-85941.html>, accessed on 15.02.2016.





The “Soviet soldier” in Iași was placed in the residential area of the city to commemorate the Red Army as “liberator of Romania from fascism”. After the fall of the communist regime, many similar monuments were desecrated or destroyed. The “Soviet soldier” was moved to Eternitatea, the main cemetery of the city, and then it completely disappeared. In fact, the statue was taken away to be melted down and it then became part of the composition of a new statue, made in 2002 in the memory of the Romanian Prince Mihai Viteazul [Michael the Brave], the hero who had achieved the first unification, in 1600, of all the Romanian provinces. The disappearance of the original statue from Eternitatea cemetery was revealed by the Russian Ambassador who had come to lay a wreath; this turned into a diplomatic incident between the two countries in 2007.

## VI-6. Renaming the main street in Ljubljana from Tito Street into Dunajska (Vienna) Street



Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana.



After the fall of communism, many streets, squares, schools and even military barracks were renamed. This trend continued periodically until the present day, in tune with the political climate of the moment. The photograph shows street signs for the central street in Ljubljana, which was renamed from *Titova cesta* (Tito Street) to *Dunajska cesta* (Vienna Street) in one part and *Slovenska cesta* (Slovenia Street) in the other.

## VI-7. The Croatian Constitution, 1997

### CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

The millennial national identity of the Croatian nation and the continuity of its statehood, confirmed by the course of its entire historical experience in various political forms and by the perpetuation and development of the state-building idea grounded in the historical right of the Croatian nation to full sovereignty, has manifested itself:

- in the formation of the Croatian principalities in the seventh century;
- in the independent medieval state of Croatia established in the ninth century;
- in the Kingdom of the Croats established in the tenth century;
- in the preservation of the attributes of statehood under the Croatian-Hungarian personal union;
- in the independent and sovereign decision of the Croatian Parliament in 1527 to elect a king from the Habsburg Dynasty;
- in the independent and sovereign decision of the Croatian Parliament to ratify the Pragmatic Sanction in 1712;
- in the conclusions of the Croatian Parliament of 1848 regarding the restoration of the integrity of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia under the authority of the ban (viceroy), rooted in the historical, national and natural right of the Croatian nation;
- in the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868 regulating relations between the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia and the Kingdom of Hungary, resting on the legal traditions of both states and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1712;
- in the decision of the Croatian Parliament of 29 October 1918 to sever all constitutional ties between Croatia and Austria-Hungary, and the simultaneous accession of independent Croatia, invoking its historical and natural national rights, to the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, proclaimed in the former territory of the Habsburg Empire;
- in the fact that the Croatian Parliament never ratified the decision made by the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs to unite with Serbia and Montenegro in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1 December 1918), subsequently proclaimed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (3 October 1929);
- in the establishment of the Banate of Croatia in 1939, which restored Croatian state autonomy within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia;



– in the establishment of the foundations of state sovereignty during the course of the Second World War, as expressed in the decision of the Territorial Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia (1943) in opposition to proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia (1941), and then in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Croatia (1947) and in all subsequent constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (1963-1990), at the historic turning-point characterized by the rejection of the communist system and changes in the international order in Europe, in the first democratic elections (1990), the Croatian nation reaffirmed, by its freely expressed will, its millennial statehood; – in the new Constitution of the Republic of Croatia (1990) and the victory of the Croatian nation and Croatia's defenders in the just, legitimate and defensive war of liberation, the Homeland War (1991-1995), wherein the Croatian nation demonstrated its resolve and readiness to establish and preserve the Republic of Croatia as an independent and autonomous, sovereign and democratic state.

<http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske>,  
accessed on 21.10.2015.

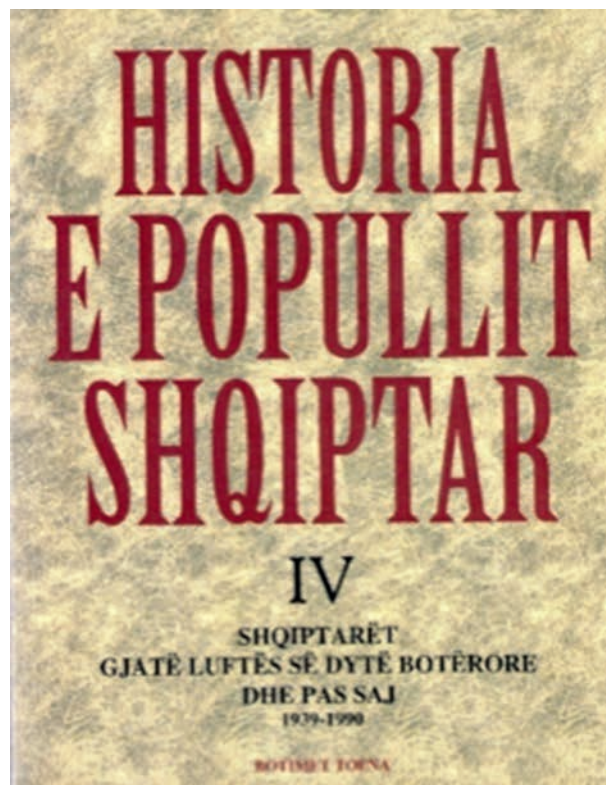
### VI-8. The History of the Albanian People: a new version of national history (2002-2008)



The *History of the Albanian People*, in four volumes, is a publication of the Academy of Sciences of Albania in cooperation with "Toena" Publishing House. This publication is a collective work by members of different background of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, including historians, archaeologists, linguists, etc. Work on the publication started in 2002 and ended in 2008. The division into four volumes was thematic: The first volume covers the period from antiquity to 1830, the period of Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire, and focuses especially on the "start of the national movement". The second volume covers the period of the Albanian national movement until the creation of the Albanian state (1830-1912). The third volume covers the history of the Albanian state from the proclamation of independence until the Italian invasion of the country (1912-1939). The fourth volume covers the history of the country starting from the end of the Second World War, the establishment of the communist regime until the fall of the communists from power (1944-1990). This history book is the "official

→

version" of the history of Albania and represents the history of Albanians seen from an evolutionary point of view and in a linear progression.



### VI-9. The memory of communism in Romania: fragments from history textbooks, 1997, 1999



All the history textbooks after 1989 reflected the anti-communist view of post-war history, minimizing or denying the positive aspects of the period, which still nourish the nostalgia of wide segments of society. Even when they mention some developments which are clearly impressive, at least quantitatively, such as those relating to urban planning, industrialisation, increase in life expectancy, development of forms of social and health care or of access to education, the authors always underline the deficiencies and inferiorities in relation to Western standards of living. Opposition to the communist system was retroactively exaggerated, implying that it had been a massive phenomenon.

### A. Period of communist dictatorship (1945-1989)

Communist dictatorship led to deep modifications in people's lives, influencing their way of thinking and behaving. In villages *collectivisation* started. As they had no property any more, many of the village inhabitants came to cities to work in factories. Forced industrialisation caused mass departures from villages and accelerated the ageing of the population. In the cities, standardised housing estates for the workers were built, deprived of any personal feature.

The destruction of villages and the demolition of houses, historical edifices and churches that took place under the Ceaușescu regime, together with its disregard for the environment, created for Romania the image of an isolated and underdeveloped country.

Liviu et al, 1997, p. 95.

### B. Collaborationism

In a climate of terror, fear and personal insecurity, many people were forced to collaborate with the regime, either out of opportunism or dread of punishment. Collaborationism was a form of neutralising an individual and of non-violent cohabitation with the prevailing evil. The individual, controlled by the Party, did what he or she was requested to at the workplace and in society.

There was also a type of collaborationism desired especially by certain intellectuals who had occupied specific positions in the old regime and who quickly '*reoriented*' towards the Communist Party, becoming its devoted servants [...] There was an adaptability to the evil climate existing in society, and this was a characteristic adopted throughout society simply in order to survive. The big mass of people opposed the regime in a non-spectacular fashion. A tacit, silent collective resistance existed in the period 1945-1989.

Scurtu et al, 1999, pp. 149-150.

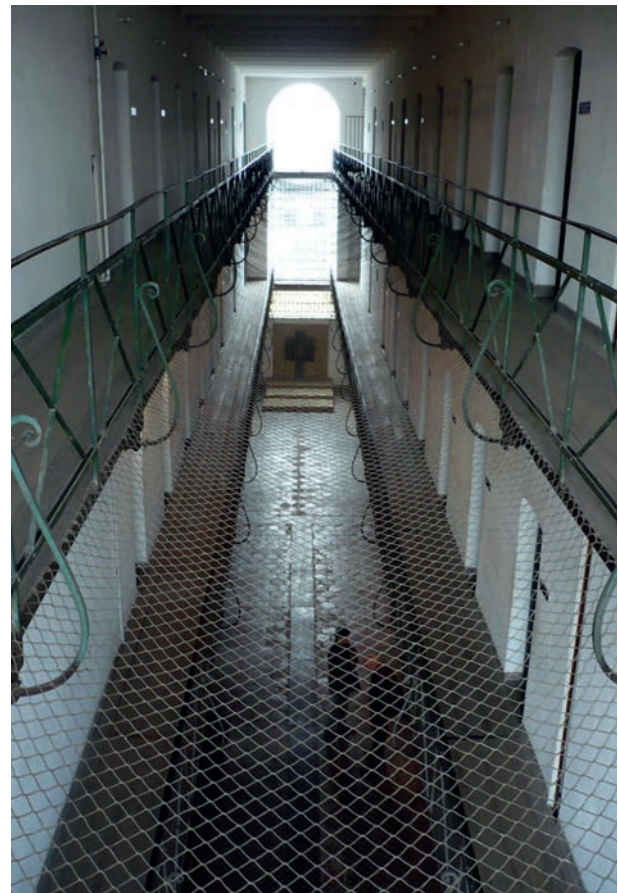
## VI-10. The Sighet Memorial of communist repression in Romania



In 1993, poet Ana Blandiana (a former anti-communist dissident) presented to the Council of Europe a project to transform the former prison of Sighet into a Memorial to the Victims of Communism and Resistance. Sighet is an emblematic place on the map of communist repression in Romania.



Here were detained over one hundred dignitaries from all over the country (former ministers, Academy members, economists, military, historians, journalists, politicians), as well as 45-50 Eastern-rite Catholic and Roman-Catholic bishops and priests. For this reason, it was also called the "prison of the dignitaries". In 1995, the Council of Europe took the Sighet Memorial under its aegis and in 1998 nominated it among the most important places of memory preservation of the continent, alongside the Auschwitz Museum and the Normandy Memorial for Peace. The first rooms of the museum were inaugurated in June 1997. In the Area for Silence and Prayer, designed by architect Radu Mihailescu, the names of over 8,000 persons who died in the prisons and labour camps of the communist period are written on the walls.



[http://sighet.ro/?page\\_id=557](http://sighet.ro/?page_id=557), accessed on 17.06.2015,  
and [http://www.memorialsighet.ro/index.php/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=103&lang=ro](http://www.memorialsighet.ro/index.php/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=103&lang=ro), accessed on 29.03.2015



## VI-11. Post-communist nostalgia

### A. Yugo-nostalgia: The Fejst Pub in Slovenia



Photo archive of Darja Kerec.



Although the term “Yugo-nostalgic” was first used as a derogatory term in Croatia during the 1990s, so-called “Yugo-nostalgia”, i.e. nostalgia evoking the memory of socialist Yugoslavia or “Tito’s Yugoslavia”, started to pop up in earnest at the turn of the 21st century. Experts in cultural studies explain that the majority of Yugo-nostalgic fans do not really wish to reconnect to or restore the previous regime, but try to reconstruct the cultural experiences which they shared with friends and fellow-citizens based on the memory of selected details rather than on nationality and religion. Many sociologists consider Yugo-nostalgia to be an ambiguous concept that has different meanings for different people: among younger generations, a rather small percentage of the population, this mostly relates to a fascination about anything Yugoslav that their parents told them. Among the elderly, a bigger percentage of the population, it mostly involves nostalgia for the popular culture of former Yugoslavia.



In a pub called the Fejst Pub in the coal-mining town of Zagorje in the centre of Slovenia, symbols connected with the idea of Yugo-nostalgia are displayed on the walls. Can you recognise some of them? Discuss.

### B. *It was nice, it was good, we had money: an interview with Florentina Ichim*

The only condition back then: you could not go abroad. Well, you had everything you needed... food, drinks, clothes, shoes, a house and a living, you could enjoy vacations at home too, even if you could not see foreign countries [...] They were made in Romania, but good things. [...] as far as I’m concerned, I don’t like these times, this regime. Even if there is freedom, even if you can say anything anywhere. It’s all talking and seeing, nothing else. ‘Cause you can’t buy anything now [...] under Ceaușescu in one year you could buy a car and furniture [...] I could afford it with my salary. My husband earned his, I earned mine. With my salary we paid the instalments. [...] The day we received our salaries, we could get dressed [buy clothes], pay off the debts and still have money. We barely touched my husband’s salary. It went into the CEC [state bank] instead.

It was beautiful. And as I’ve said, I have no joy now. Back then I had all the reasons to be joyful [...] I’ve told you we had money to buy them all [...] *Free Europe and Voice of America* were shouting that people were dying of starvation. No one died of starvation. I think it’s now, if we think a bit, that people are dying of starvation [...] Under Ceaușescu, I haven’t heard of it. [...] my fridge was full – and I had two fridges – packed out with meat. I had provisions



for two months. Now, if you look in the fridge all I have is a package of bones. The so-called democracy. 'Cause this is not democracy [...] But now you work and have no money. [...] it wasn't like that before. If you graduated from a faculty, your place was guaranteed. You graduated and today or tomorrow you were hired. Now, you attend a faculty or two, nobody's interested [...]. Or you had no house, they gave you a house. You had no job, they gave you a job. [...] And that was a good thing".

Lungu, 2003, pp. 127-128, 146, 162-163, 178.



The book by sociologist Dan Lungu was one of the first to draw the attention of the public and of specialists in the history of communism to the reality of nostalgia for communism. The interview quoted above inspired him to write a very successful novel, *Sunt o babă comunistă* (2007) [I'm an Old Communist Hag], which was translated into 11 languages and then made into a film.

### C. Commemoration of Ceaușescu's birthday, 2003

About 100 people were present yesterday at Nicolae Ceaușescu's grave in the Military Cemetery of Ghencea. They were commemorating 85 years since the former chief of state was born, on 26 January 1918, in Scornicești. Around 11 am, a delegation of the Romanian Workers' Party laid, a wreath on Ceaușescu's grave. Some of those present made speeches, recited poems, lit candles and handed out posters with Ceaușescu's portrait.

*Curierul Național*, 27 January 2003.



1. Read document VI-11B and compare it with document IV-7 in chapter IV.1. Make a list of the advantages of the communist regime according to the two testimonies. Why do you think these people are nostalgic towards the previous regime?
2. Read document VI-11C. Do you think that the commemoration of Ceaușescu's birthday is a marginal or a mainstream activity? Explain why. Try to find similar evidence of the posthumous cult of other dictators.

### VI-12. The Bulgarian film *Granitza* (Border, 1994)



<http://drugotokino.bg/content/10-nai-uspeshni-blgarski-filmasled-1990-na-19-ia-sofiya-film-fest>, accessed on 1.07.2016.



With its brutal, iconoclastic take on Bulgaria's recent past, this film, directed by Ilian Simeonov and Hristian Nochev, immediately provoked intense debate and even attempts to stop it from being broadcast on Bulgarian National Television. It nevertheless won the award for Best First Film at the Golden Rose Bulgarian Feature Film Festival in 1994. The film is set in a small border post in the 1970s. The border guards (conscripts doing mandatory military service), commanded by the Captain (Naum Shopov), must obey his orders, thus turning into victims of the System. The soldiers can choose between two options: becoming heroes and earning home leave by killing people who are trying to flee across the border, or becoming traitors by refusing to obey the rules of the System by shooting those border "violators".



1. Movies often raise controversial issues from the past or present. Use your knowledge of Bulgarian history to answer following question: Why do you think that this movie was controversial in Bulgaria in 1994? Would this movie have been controversial in your country as well?
2. This movie raises questions of heroism and patriotism. Discuss what it means to be a hero and/or a patriot when a person is faced with the difficult decision whether to obey orders which might contradict universal human values or one's own system of values.

## ▶ VI.2. REVISING THE MEMORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### VI-13. Lukov March: Procession for a pro-Nazi general, 2006



<http://www.lukovmarsh.info/category/%D1%81%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BA%D0%B8/>, accessed on 1.07.2016.



The Lukov March is an annual torchlight procession in honour of a Bulgarian army general known for his pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic activities during WWII. It is considered to be the most important public event for young Bulgarian nationalists. The first Lukov March was held in 2003, but it has an interesting history and origin, being one of the multiple nationalist initiatives from the transition period when, parallel with the democratic changes, there were various battles over the memory of the recent and distant past. The Lukov March was initiated by the Bulgarian National Union (BNU), a far-right youth organisation, and joined by other nationalist formations in the following years. The BNU has won some popularity among certain youth groups because of its military and “patriotic moral code”. It has a “humanitarian corps” and a sports organisation whose uniform – military-style black trousers and beige shirt – evokes direct associations with Hitler’s stormtroopers. The BNU has been involved in many anti-communist protests, in actions against the Bulgarian Roma community, against the 2008 Gay Pride Parade in Sofia, and others.

In 2010 the civic initiative “People Against Racism” staged the first protest or anti-fascist action against

the Lukov March, handing in a protest letter to the Sofia Municipal Council. In 2013 the first anti-Lukov March was organised as a non-partisan event uniting all protesters against the instances of racial, ethnic, xenophobic and gender discrimination in Bulgarian society.

This, however, is not to say that until then far-right, nationalist and aggressively anti-communist discourse had monopolised accounts of the past. Parallel with some radical-right organisations, an alternative political representation and media appeared, albeit slowly, in Bulgaria after the 1990s. They included left-wing, anti-fascist groups and formations which had a real influence on youth culture. Thus, Indymedia Bulgaria, which defines itself as a supporter of radical-left ideas and anti-capitalist views, was founded in 2003-4. In addition to declaring itself against Bulgaria’s NATO membership, it covers environmental protests and publishes announcements of anarchist events. Another left-wing organization is Priziv (Appeal), a movement of students and pupils founded in 2008, which is appealing for changes to the educational system such as provision of free textbooks and subsidies for meals at schools and universities.



## VI-14. The Partisan Cemetery in Mostar before 1992



The Partisan cemetery in Mostar was built in 1965 in memory of all citizens of Mostar who died in the National Liberation Struggle. It was the work of famous architect Bogdan Bogdanović. The cemetery had 810 tombstones in the form of tree stumps – a symbol of youth prematurely terminated. The cemetery was devastated during the war of 1992-1995 but in 2006 was declared a National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Picture by Ćirli Ćiro Raič.

## VI-15. Destroyed monuments of the Second World War in Serbia

Most of the 650 monuments, fountains and plaques which were erected in Serbia as memorials to the National Liberation Struggle are still in their original places. Although some have been damaged and others show visible signs of deterioration, they were not desecrated or destroyed as was the practice in some neighbouring countries. In the early 1990s, the Society of Conservationists of Serbia adopted the standpoint that there should be no destruction of the monuments to WWII and socialism, as well as those built in the post-war period. A bigger problem than

the removal of certain monuments for political reasons was inadequate maintenance and upkeep. Another problem was that bronze and brass monuments were often stolen, ending up as scrap metal on waste dumps or being sold off by scavengers for secondary raw material for recycling. All monuments, not just those devoted to WWII, are often targeted by vandals and right-wing extremists. In Niš in August 2011, neo-Nazis ("Serbian Action" – SA) covered monuments to partisan heroes with black plastic bags and wrote graffiti about "communist crimes".

### Šumarice Memorial Park, Kragujevac, "Eternal Flame" monument twice destroyed



Archives of Spomen-park "Kragujevački oktobar".





The mass killings in Kragujevac on 21 October 1941 represent one of the biggest crimes committed by the German Army in World War II. Most of those executed were Serbs, but there were also Jews, Roma, Muslims, Macedonians, Slovenes and members of other nationalities. In three days, 2,794 men and women were killed: there were only 62 survivors. Some 300 of the victims were young men and secondary school pupils, and there were also 40 children between the ages of 12 and 15, mostly Roma. After the war, in 1953, the site of the first killings was turned into a memorial park: ten of the

tumuli were decorated with artistic monuments, one of them being called “Monument to killed pupils and teachers”. The “eternal flame of freedom” monument was installed in 1978. The Šumarice Memorial Park has been repeatedly plundered in recent years, e.g. statues of small deer were stolen and melted down in a local foundry. The park is also missing 18 busts from the alley of national heroes which disappeared a few years ago. Desecration of monuments in Serbia, i.e. theft of bronze or other parts of value on the black market, is a frequent occurrence in parallel with the deepening financial crisis.

## VI-16. The Eternal Flame in Sarajevo



The Eternal Flame memorial, located in the city centre, has become a prominent symbol of Sarajevo. The original text, written in 1946, reads as follows:

*With courage and the jointly spilled blood of the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian Brigades of the Glorious Yugoslav National Army; with the joint efforts and sacrifices of Sarajevo patriots, Serbs, Muslims and Croats, Sarajevo, the capital of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was liberated on 6 April 1945. Eternal glory and gratitude to the fallen heroes of the liberation of Sarajevo and our homeland, on the first anniversary of its liberation – a grateful Sarajevo.*

In 1981, the text was amended to read as follows:

*With courage and the jointly spilled blood of the fighters of the 2nd, 3rd and 5th Corps of the Yugoslav Army and the Assault Groups of the Sarajevo National Liberation Movement, Sarajevo was liberated on 6 April 1945.*

With this amendment there is no mention of the three peoples – Serbs, Muslims and Croats, or the Bosnia-Herzegovinian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian brigades.

Not long after that, in February 1990, when Yugoslavia was heading for disintegration, national parties were being formed and preparations were underway for multi-party elections, the text on the memorial plaque was again changed to read as follows:

*Eternal glory and gratitude to the liberators of the city – fighters of the national liberation war. On the first anniversary of the liberation of Sarajevo.*

The flame was extinguished during the siege of Sarajevo. In a way, the monument and its extinguished flame symbolised, during the most difficult period in the history of Sarajevo, the fate of the city, i.e. an attempt to put out all life in the city. The flame was re-lit on New Year's Eve 1999, after the gas bill had been paid.



Photo by Vera Katz.



Use your knowledge of the history of socialist Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and explain how in this particular case the present affects interpretations of the past.

## VI-17. Memory wars around Jasenovac concentration camp



Stone Flower monument in Jasenovac, Bogdan Bogdanović, 1966.

Property of: JUSP /Public Institution Memorial Site/ Jasenovac.  
<http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=5904>,  
 accessed on 1.07.2016.



Jasenovac concentration camp, established in the Independent State of Croatia during World War II, was the biggest extermination camp on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Its victims were mainly Serbs, Roma, Jews and Croatian anti-fascists. The exact number of those who perished in the camp was never established because the camp's archives were destroyed and because of later political manipulations. During the communist regime, totals of between 600,000 and 700,000 victims were bandied about. However, during the 1990s wars in the former Yugoslavia, each side used differing totals for its own



purposes, with Serbia often stating the figure to be about one million, while Croatia minimised the number to around 30,000 or less. Using demographic and statistical methods and making a list of names, researchers have estimated the number of persons killed in the camp as between 60,000 and 80,000. Jasenovac camp was razed to the ground in April 1945 by the Ustasha after the last inmates' revolt. The central monument at the site – the Stone Flower, symbolising the indestructibility of life, the work of architect Bogdan Bogdanović – was erected in 1966. Following the establishment of new states, the memorial complex was territorially distributed among them, as a result of which the memorial areas in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) offer differing views about the camp. The concept of the new museum, which was opened in 2006, also raised heated debates. The intention of the authors of the new concept was to offer a modern and more personal memory of the victims, but critics find fault with the fact that it does not explain the ideology in the name of which the killings were perpetrated, and obscures the horrors and monstrous atrocities which were committed. Annual commemorations, held on the anniversary of the inmates' revolt in April 1945, continue to cause controversy, occasionally aggravating relations between Serbia and Croatia, and provoking debates on the Croatian political scene.

## VI-18. Law on the equalization of Chetniks and Partisans



On 21 December 2004 the Serbian Assembly adopted amendments to the Law on the Rights of Veterans, Disabled Veterans and Their Family Members, thereby equating the rights of members of the Chetnik and Partisan movements. A proposal by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) was upheld by 176 deputies, while 24 deputies voted against it. The Law was adopted by means of an urgent procedure, with the explanation that it was based on a historical truth and that it was necessary to equate the rights of all those who fought against the occupiers, Fascists and Nazis. Only deputies of the Socialist Party of Serbia and Social Democratic Party voted against the new law.

## LAW ON THE RIGHTS OF VETERANS, DISABLED VETERANS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS

Article 2. Soldiers of the People's Liberation War (hereinafter: NOR soldiers) in the terms of this law shall be considered persons who joined the people's liberation war prior to 1 January 1944 (men), or prior to 1 January 1945 (women), if the time they spent in the people's liberation war until 15 May 1945 is counted as accelerated years of service according to regulations on workers' pension and disability insurance. [...] The status of NOR soldier in terms of this law and with respect to the rights established by this law, shall also be enjoyed by members of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland and the Ravna Gora Movement, between 17 April 1941 until 15 May 1945. [...]

Article 3. Pursuant to this law, disabled veterans and persons who are entitled to family disability allowance, other than persons who have been granted this according to valid regulations which determine the basic rights of disabled veterans and families of fallen soldiers, also include disabled veterans and families of fallen members of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland and the Ravna Gora Movement. The Ravna Gora Commemorative Medal 1941 is hereby established and persons who joined detachments of the Ravna Gora Movement or the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland in the period between 17 April 1941 and 1 December 1941 are entitled to it. Pursuant to the rights established by this law, its holders are equated with the holders of the Partisan Commemorative Medal 1941. [...]

*Official Gazette of the SRS (Socialist Republic of Serbia), no. 54/89 and Official Gazette of the RS (Republic of Serbia), no. 17/2004.*



The Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), founded as a political party in March 1990 in Belgrade, and headed by the writer Vuk Draskovic, has been advocating for the establishment of parliamentary monarchy under the Karađorđević dynasty, the rehabilitation of Draza Mihailović and all the victims of the Communist system, and Serbia's entry in the European Union and NATO. SPO's symbol is a raised hand with three fingers. SPO spearheaded mounting anti-government protests in the '90s. In 1998 after the outbreak of the conflict in Kosovo, SPO entered the so-called "Government of national unity" and remained during the NATO bombing, till July 1999. SPO intensified criticism of Milošević regime after having left the coalition government, which led to the two assassination attempts on Vuk Drasković.

## VI-19. Recognition of National Resistance during the Axis occupation in Greece, 1982



Extracts from Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's speech in the Greek Parliament on 17 August 1982. The draft law on the recognition of the National Resistance acknowledged a number of left-wing organisations that had fought against the Axis during the triple occupation (German, Italian and Bulgarian) of the country and which hitherto had been proscribed because of their left-wing political orientation. It also provided for the allocation of state pensions to individuals who could verify their participation in the Resistance.

With today's discussion on the bill that recognises the uniform National Resistance of the Greek people we chose to pay tribute to those who fell so that we are free today.

We could of course have chosen any date, because during those dark years of slavery every day, in every town and in every village of our fatherland, was linked with the history of our National Resistance against the fascist [and] Nazi occupation. A Resistance, spontaneous or organised, on a mass or an individual level, but at any rate uniform. A Resistance that constitutes a true epopee in Modern Greek history, the natural sequence to the Legendary Albanian Epic.

In the maelstrom of the schism that followed, these [things] were forgotten. History was falsified. Greece – we all know it – was the only country in Europe that did not pay out, until now, its own debt to the Resistance, despite the fact that it was the only country that substantially resisted the occupation [forces].

We did not come here today in order to judge, even more so to divide. The main aim of the bill is national unity. For sure, even after so many years, it is our duty to offer our gratitude to those who struggled. For sure, even after so many years, it is our duty to pay tribute to those who were forgotten, to those who were barred, to those who were persecuted.

We can give again to our People their national memory and this, I think, is the greatest offer [we can make]. A memory that is necessary both for the self-awareness of our people and for the unity of our nation.

Botsiou (ed.), 2010, pp. 620-621.





Study carefully the two previous sources. Serbia and Greece have made decisions on restoring the status of certain groups which were banned from official national memory

or about which silence was kept for different reasons. Find similarities and differences in the two cases. Compare the rationale and try to understand how attitudes change with time. Discuss.

## ▶ VI.3. REMEMBERING RECENT WARS

### VI-20. The Sarajevo Roses

#### A. The story of the Sarajevo Roses

In the words of Nedžad Kurto, the idea to create the Sarajevo Roses came from the notion of collective suffering. In his opinion, every site in Sarajevo represented the suffering of the people who had decided to stay in Sarajevo, and suffering was an integral part of everyone's life during the siege of the city. The lives of the people there were committed to waiting in queues for bread or water on a daily basis. Therefore, the Sarajevo Roses represented not only a commemoration of those that died, but also of all those who devoted their lives to the suffering of living in Sarajevo. In that sense the Roses seem to commemorate the siege, human suffering and, even more importantly, their helplessness to do anything to stop any suffering, while marking the concrete traces of death. [...]

The idea of creating the Roses occurred to Nedžad Kurto after the massacre that took place in the Markale market place in February 1994 [...] Kurto explained that he did not want to make some grandiose, "socio-realistic" monument that would merely talk about the place. He wanted rather to show how explosions happened on the ground while people were lying on it or trying to hide from the shell that had fallen. In Kurto's perception the ground itself therefore had a very symbolic meaning and the commemorative object needed to be located at ground level. [...]

Kurto's opinion is that the Roses have only documentary significance and can therefore disappear at any point as it is not necessary to maintain them regularly. [...] He has emphasized that the intention was to discreetly attract the attention of those who already knew what these sites were about and that the Roses should be noticed by individuals at random.

Junuzović, 2006, pp. 240-243.

#### B. One of the reconstructed Sarajevo Roses



Photo by Vera Katz.

### VI-21. Genocide in Srebrenica

#### A. Srebrenica Flower – symbol of compassion and reminders



www.pinterest.com, accessed on 21.10.2015.

## B. The Srebrenica- Potočari Memorial and Cemetery with over 8,000 tombstones



FENA News Agency.

### VI-22. Srđan Aleksić, a modern hero



Srđan Aleksić was born in Trebinje (Bosnia and Herzegovina) on 9 May 1966, a Serb by ethnicity. He was a soldier of the Army of Republika Srpska and was killed while defending his fellow-citizen Alen Glavović (a Bosniak) from other members of the Army of Republika Srpska at Trebinje market on 27 January 1993. In his obituary, Srđan's father Rade wrote: "He died carrying out his duty as a human being". Some towns have streets and squares named after him in memory of his courageous and humane deed.



"Hero of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, eternal peace and glory be unto him". Srđan Aleksić 1966 – 1993

[www.prozor-x.com](http://www.prozor-x.com), accessed on 15.10.2015.





Comment on the words of Srđan Aleksić's father: "He died carrying out his duty as a human being". How did Srđan's act contribute to the definition of a hero?

## VI-23. A text in memoriam of Josip Jović, the first victim of the war



On Easter Sunday 1991, an armed clash broke out between Croatian police and local Serbian militia in Plitvice. On that occasion, Croatian policeman Josip Jović was killed: he is regarded as the first Croat victim of the War of Croatian Independence (Homeland War).

In memoriam  
Josip Jović

The first anniversary of the death of Josip Jović, a young and brave Croatian fighter, will be on Tuesday, 31 March 1992. Josip Jović was the first Croatian fighter who died for a free and independent Croatia and, as a result, he is the personification of other known and unknown fallen defenders of the Homeland in this brutal war of conquest for Greater Serbia.

Even then, in profound pain and bowed in grief over the grave of Josip Jović, we vowed to liberate every inch of Croatian soil, not suspecting at the time the depth of the precipice over which Croatia was hovering, how difficult and taxing the journey would be, and how many thousands of coffins would follow Josip's on this journey to freedom, democracy and independence.

The unprecedented aggression against Croatia, all the horrors of destruction, persecution, torture and killings, the daily images of mutilated bodies and long, mournful funeral processions have, unfortunately, reduced many fallen Croatian fighters and civilians to just another number, without a name. This is a mistake we have made and which we must put right. [...]

It is our duty to persevere to the end on the path upon which we have embarked, first by liberating all parts of our Homeland and expelling the Serbo-Chetnik occupier, and then, through spiritual and material reconstruction strengthening Croatia as a democratic country with the rule of law since that was the wish and legacy of all those killed. [...]

The Main Board of the HNS (Croatian People's Party) proposes to all regional associations and branches of the

HNS that, to the best of their abilities, they order and attend a holy mass on 31 March 1992 (Tuesday) throughout Croatia, wherever they live, as a sign of gratitude and sympathetic spirit with all those who have perished, and in the memory of Josip Jović, and to pray for Peace, Good, and all those who have perished in this war of liberation of our homeland, for an independent state of Croatia.

Presidency of the Croatian People's Party

*Vjesnik*, 31 March 1992.



In memoriam is a text or a speech given in memory of someone who has died. How much can you learn about Josip Jović in this obituary? What do you think is the main purpose of this text?

## VI-24. Monument to the NATO bombing of Belgrade's main TV station (erected by families of the victims) with the epitaph "Why?"



Photo by Radmila Radić.



## VI-25. Monument in Belgrade's Tašmajdan Park to Milica Rakić, a little girl who was killed in the 1999 NATO bombardment



Photo by Radmila Radić.



A monument with the epitaph “We were just children” was erected in 2000 in memory of the 79 child victims of the NATO bombing of the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), on the first anniversary of the bombing. The design was by sculptor Ostoja Balkanski and the sculpture, with the image of little Milica, was made free of charge at the Jeremić foundry.



Use your knowledge of the NATO bombing of Serbia and comment on the epitaphs on two monuments erected in honour of civilian victims: *Why?* and *We were just children*. How do they point to the absurdity of the war?

## ▶ VI.4. RECONCILIATION THROUGH RESTORING OR DESTROYING MEMORIES

### VI-26. Burning of security files, 1989 (Greece)



In VI-26A is the front page of the Athenian daily *Ta Nea* with a photograph showing the burning of some 17 million files that the security services had held since the interwar period on citizens with left-wing political beliefs. The decision to destroy the files was taken by a coalition government of the Right and the Left, the first of its

kind in the country's history. It was a symbolic move that marked the end of civil war legacies. On the same day, parliament voted in a law that equated the communist fighters of the DSE (Democratic Army of Greece) with the soldiers of the National Army. The decision to burn the files met with the opposition of both historians and archivists.

**A. Front-page of an Athenian daily newspaper, 30 August 1989**



Headlines: Yesterday in Parliament formally/ THEY BURNED/ the past, but... /the present is full of fires / Tensions between Papandreou and Florakis /15 MILLION FILES ON FIRE

**B. Sixty historians signed a public petition against the burning**

In late twentieth-century Europe, when all nations confront their recent History with sobriety, Greece seeks to ignore its own. The government's decision to destroy the files deprives our History of yet one more of its sources. The composure and objectivity necessary in confronting History is substituted with a convenient political symbolism. [In other words], it imposes a solution that does not differ from those that have led to the systematic destruction of our modern archives and monuments.

*Ta Nea [Ta Nea] newspaper, 28 August 1989.*



1. What are the pro and contra arguments for destroying or preserving the files which security services kept on citizens?

2. Walk in the shoes of a citizen who was persecuted in the past due to his/her political beliefs, and in those of a historian.

3. Compare the petition signed by Greek historians with the one signed by Serb historians (doc. II-51): Can you find similar arguments? Were these appeals successful or not? Explain why.

4. Discuss about the public role of the historian.

**VI-27. The Old Bridge in Mostar**



The Old Bridge was originally built by architect Hajrudin between the years 1557 and 1566, in the Ottoman period. However, in the 1990s war, it became a symbol of the conflict between Bosniaks and Croats in this town. First, it was damaged by the Serbs' army and the Yugoslav People's Army, and on 10 November 1993 it was completely destroyed by the Croatian Defence Council (the Army of Bosnian Croats). General Slobodan Praljak was accused of demolishing the Old Bridge at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia; he was convicted to 20 years in prison. The bridge was rebuilt in 2004 with the contribution of an international scientific committee established by UNESCO. After renovation, it was added to the World Heritage List of UNESCO and is considered to be a symbol of "reconciliation, international cooperation and the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious communities".





Postcard: Panorama of Mostar, by "Slovo" Blagaj-Mostar.

## VI-28. Restoring monuments in Cyprus after 2004: the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage



In April 2008, the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the United Nations, agreed to the establishment of several technical committees including the Committee on Cultural Heritage "dedicated to the recognition, promotion and protection of the rich and diverse cultural heritage of the island". The Committee, the work of which is funded by the UN and the EU, holds that the "protection of cultural heritage is an integral part of the ongoing process of broadening areas of cooperation" between the two communities. Its mandate includes the provision of "a mutually acceptable mechanism for the

implementation of practical measures for the proper preservation, physical protection and restoration" of monuments that have been damaged or are in danger of being damaged. Numerous monuments, mostly churches and mosques that had been damaged either during the air raids of 1974 or because of negligence and deliberate plundering by smugglers of antiquities, especially in the north of the island, have been restored to date. In 2015, Takis Hadjidemetriou and Ali Tuncay, the respective Greek and Turkish Cypriot heads of the Committee, were awarded the European Citizen prize for their work in preserving the island's cultural heritage.



**A. Restoration works at the monastery of Apostle Andreas, a pilgrimage centre in the Karpas peninsula, at the northeastern extremity of Cyprus**



CAN (Cyprus Agency News) Archive –Katia Christodoulou.

**B. The Mosque at Evretou (Paphos district) in the southern part of the island also restored at the initiative of the TCCH**



CAN (Cyprus Agency News) Archive –Katia Christodoulou.



1. What was the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage? What does the phrase “dedicated to the recognition, promotion and protection of the rich and diverse cultural heritage of the island” mean? What was the importance of the above mentioned agreement and what was the message given to the two communities of the island? Discuss the issue bearing in mind the destruction of cultural heritage in Syria today.

2. In the first case (VI-26) historical documents were destroyed with the argument that only oblivion brings reconciliation. In the second case (VI-27 and 28) historical heritage is restored and preserved with the argument that we need to know and remember the past in order to achieve reconciliation. Split the students in two groups and ask them to debate the issue. Each group should search for examples from other countries.

## ▶ OVERALL QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

### PART A



Use documents VI-1, VI-3, VI-4 and VI-6, and answer the following questions:

1. These examples talk about the memory of three communist leaders – Enver Hohxa, Josip Broz Tito and Georgi Dimitrov. Find information about them and write short biographies of them.
2. What is the symbolic meaning of street names, monuments or mausoleums? Why do societies name streets after important people or erect monuments?
3. Compare these cases and find similarities and differences.

4. Read the story about the demolition of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov and list at least three reasons for the demolition. Which one do you hold as most important?

5. What do we do with monuments or street names which refer to an understanding of the past that society no longer shares, especially if they are connected with painful or traumatic memories of the past? Do you think there is an alternative to removal or demolition?

### PART B



1. Use documents VI-14, VI-15 and VI-5. These three case studies concern the culture of remembrance of World War II in Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Serbia and Romania. Look at the three monuments shown on the photographs, read the keys and fill in the following table.

	Partisan cemetery in Mostar	Memorial park Šumarice	Soviet soldier in Iași
When and why was the monument erected?			
Describe it – shape, form, symbols, inscriptions etc.			
When was the monument demolished/destroyed?			
Reasons why the monument was destroyed/demolished?			

2. Compare what happened with the monuments and memorials erected to commemorate the National Liberation Struggle in Croatia and in Serbia. Why have many of them been demolished, damaged or left

derelict? Do you agree with the following assertion: "The treatment of NLS monuments and memorials in post-communist Croatia and Serbia points to a divided memory about World War II in both countries"?

### PART C

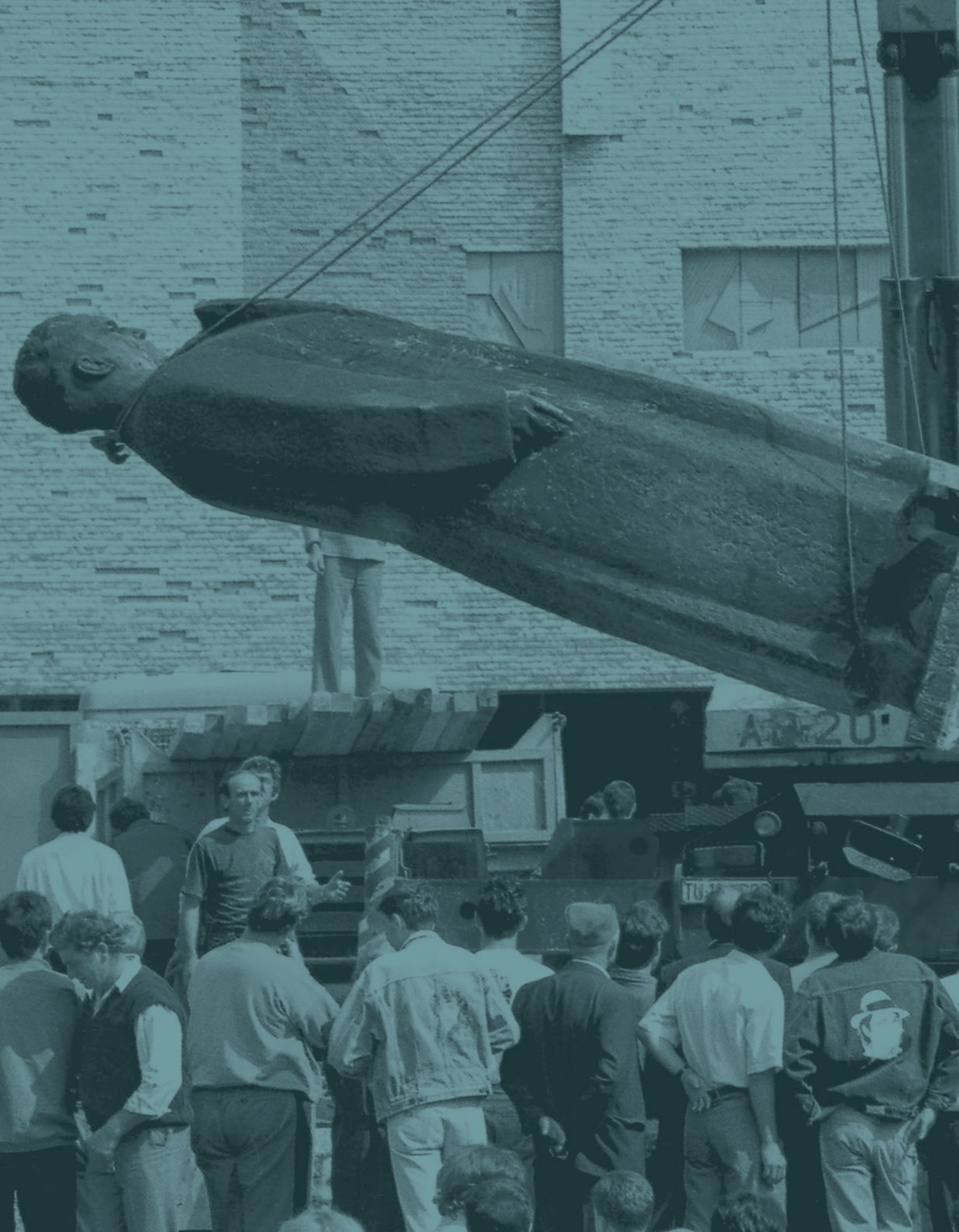


1. Use documents VI-7, VI-8 and VI-9. All these case studies represent attempts to make official histories. How would you explain this term (*official history* or *official version of history*)? Conclude from these examples: Who are actors (who is "entitled" to shape and make such histories), and who are recipients of these official versions of history?

What is their purpose? What are the means for dissemination of such official versions of history?

2. Do you think that *official history* is equal to the "historical truth"? Is it possible to have different, but equally valid versions of history? What makes one history more plausible than other? Discuss sources, evidence, knowledge, methods, research.







Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1944	January	27 End of German siege of Leningrad.	
	January – April		Massive Allied air strikes on Sofia (since November 1943); a quarter of the city's buildings destroyed or damaged, more than 2,000 dead.
	March		10 The Political Committee for National Liberation (PEEA) is formed by the National Liberation Front (EAM) as a parallel administration to the official Greek government in Cairo.
	May	9 Soviet troops liberate Sevastopol.	11-20 The Lebanon Conference: the Greek Government of National Unity is formed with the participation of EAM ministers.
	June	6 D-Day, the Second Front is opened with the Allied landings in Normandy.	1 New royalist government in Bulgaria headed by Ivan Bagryanov. 16 First agreement between the communist leadership of Yugoslavia under Tito and the prime minister of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, Ivan Šubašić; the future of the monarchy to be decided by a referendum, Chetniks to be definitely excluded from participating in any post-war government.
	June-July	The Red Army destroys the German Army Group Centre in Byelorussia.	
	August	15 Allied landings in southern France. 25 Paris is liberated.	23 Coup d'état in Romania, following the advance of the Soviet Third Ukrainian Front. King Mihai, supported by a coalition of the major parties and the communists, arrest Ion Antonescu and his government. 26 Bulgarian Prime Minister Bagryanov proclaims neutrality and attempts to negotiate with the Western Allies in Ankara and Cairo.
	September	3 Brussels is liberated. 19 Armistice between Finland and the Allies. 25 The Allies break through the German defensive Gothic Line in Italy.	2 A government of pro-Russian parties, led by Konstantin Muraviev, is established in Bulgaria; on 5 September the Soviet Union declares war on Bulgaria and invades the country on 8 September; the same day Muraviev's government declares war on Germany. 9 Communist takeover in Bulgaria; Fatherland Front coalition government led by Kimon Georgiev dominated by communists.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1944	September		<b>26</b> Varkiza Agreement signed between the Greek government of National Unity, the British forces and the main resistance organisations in a climate of mutual suspicion; all resistance forces to be placed under British control; ELAS troops are prohibited in the Greater Athens area.
	October	<p><b>2</b> The German army crushes the Warsaw uprising organised by the Polish Home Army (non-communist). Soviet forces stationed near the city do not interfere.</p> <p><b>9</b> Churchill-Stalin "Percentages Agreement" in Moscow on spheres of influence in Eastern Europe.</p>	<p><b>8</b> Bulgaria undertakes military operations against German forces in Yugoslavia; as part of the Third Ukrainian Front, Bulgarian army units fight in Hungary and reach Austria at the end of the Second World War.</p> <p><b>12</b> The German army leaves Athens.</p> <p><b>20</b> Belgrade is liberated by the Red Army and Yugoslav Partisans.</p> <p><b>23</b> Establishment of Provisional Government of Albania led by Enver Hoxha; on 29 November the country is liberated from the Germans.</p> <p><b>25</b> Soviet and Romanian forces drive out the Hungarian army from Transylvania.</p>
	October 1944 – February 1945	US forces return to the Philippines and defeat the Japanese.	
	December		<b>3</b> Demonstration organised by EAM in Athens ends in bloodshed; armed clashes between EAM-ELAS (National People's Liberation Army) and Greek government forces backed by the British begin.
	December 1944 – January 1945	German counteroffensive in the Ardennes fails.	
1945	January	<p><b>17</b> Warsaw is liberated by the Red Army.</p> <p><b>20</b> Hungary signs armistice with the Allies.</p>	About 70,000 ethnic Germans from Romania are deported to the Soviet Union.
	February	<p><b>4-11</b> Yalta Conference.</p> <p><b>13-15</b> Allied forces bomb Dresden.</p> <p><b>19</b> US troops land on Iwo Jima.</p>	<p><b>12</b> Varkiza agreement provides for the disarmament of ELAS.</p> <p><b>23</b> Turkey declares war on Germany and Japan.</p>
	March	<p><b>3</b> Finland declares war on Germany.</p> <p><b>22-23</b> Allies cross the Rhine.</p>	<p><b>1</b> United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) undertakes to provide Greece with essential relief and rehabilitation supplies.</p> <p><b>6</b> Coalition government of Petru Groza is imposed by the Soviets in Romania.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1945	March		UNRRA programme for the reconstruction of agriculture, industry and transport in Yugoslavia launched.
	April	<p><b>1</b> US army landing on Okinawa.</p> <p><b>12</b> US President Franklin D. Roosevelt dies; Harry S. Truman succeeds him.</p> <p><b>25</b> US and Soviet troops meet at the Elbe River near Torgau.</p> <p><b>28</b> Benito Mussolini is executed by Italian Partisans.</p> <p><b>30</b> Adolf Hitler commits suicide.</p>	<b>28</b> US recognises Tito's Provisional Yugoslav Government, comprising the Communist Party, the Croatian Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.
	May	<p><b>2</b> Capitulation of Nazi defenders of Berlin; Soviet army in full control of the city.</p> <p><b>7</b> Capitulation of Germany.</p>	<p><b>2</b> Yugoslav Partisan Army units enter Trieste; conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia.</p> <p><b>15</b> End of war in Yugoslavia; defeat of a retreating column of Germans and collaborationists by Yugoslav Partisans at Poljana, Slovenia, one of the last battles of the Second World War in Europe; around 100,000 NDH (Independent State of Croatia), Slovene and Chetnik soldiers surrender at Bleiburg, Austria; beginning of mass executions and inhumane marches back to Yugoslavia.</p>
	June	<p><b>5</b> The Allies divide Germany into four zones of occupation.</p> <p><b>26</b> Charter establishing the United Nations (UN) signed by representatives of fifty countries.</p>	
	July	<p>Following the stunning electoral victory of the Labour Party, Clement Attlee becomes prime minister (1945-51) and replaces Winston Churchill in the meetings of the of the "Big Three" (the US, the Soviet Union and Britain).</p> <p><b>17 July – 2 August</b> Potsdam Conference.</p>	
	August	<p><b>6</b> US drop atomic bomb on Hiroshima.</p> <p><b>8</b> The Soviet Union declares war on Japan.</p> <p><b>9</b> US drop atomic bomb on Nagasaki.</p>	
	September	<b>2</b> Capitulation of Japan.	<b>7</b> Legalisation of the political opposition in Bulgaria.
	October		<b>19-25</b> Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece become members of the UN.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1945	November		<p><b>11</b> Elections in Yugoslavia; the National Front led by Tito wins 90% of votes cast; the National Assembly abolishes the monarchy.</p>
1946	January	<p><b>1</b> Emperor Hirohito of Japan announces he is not a god; in November a new constitution is proclaimed.</p>	<p>The first grammar of Macedonian language is endorsed as a school textbook in the People's Republic of Macedonia.</p> <p>The Democrat Party is formed in Turkey, marking the establishment of a multi-party system.</p> <p><b>11</b> The National Assembly in Tirana proclaims the People's Republic of Albania.</p> <p><b>31</b> First Constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.</p>
	February	<p>US diplomat George F. Kennan proposes a strategy of "containment" vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, which later becomes part of the Truman Doctrine.</p>	
	March	<p><b>5</b> Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri: An "Iron Curtain" has descended across Europe.</p>	<p><b>31</b> First post-war elections in Greece; right-wing landslide, the left-wing and the communists abstain.</p>
	April	<p><b>5</b> Soviet Union agrees to withdraw the Red Army from Iran.</p> <p><b>17</b> Syria proclaims its independence from France.</p>	
	May	<p><b>9</b> King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy abdicates and is replaced by his son Umberto II; on 2 June the monarchy is abolished by a referendum; following parliamentary elections, a coalition government is established by the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists.</p> <p><b>26</b> Communists win parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia; coalition government formed with communist leader Klement Gottwald as prime minister; Edvard Beneš and Jan Masaryk continue as president of the republic and foreign minister, respectively.</p>	
	June	<p><b>3</b> International tribunal in Tokyo puts on trial Japanese war criminals.</p>	<p><b>1</b> Former Romanian dictator Ion Antonescu executed.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1946	July	4 Philippines gain independence from US.	5 Dragoljub Mihailović, leader of the Chetniks during WWII, is sentenced to death for "crimes against the National Liberation Movement".  9 Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between Albania and Yugoslavia signed in Tirana.
	July-October	Paris Peace Conference.	
	September		1 The General Headquarters of Partisans renamed Democratic Army of Greece (DSE, communist). Beginning of civil war.  1 Referendum on constitutional question records a majority (68%) for King George II, who returns to Greece on 27 September.  8 Referendum in Bulgaria approves the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic by a wide majority (85%).
	October	16 Ten Nazi leaders are hanged shortly after the conclusion of the first Nuremberg Trials.	27 Communist-dominated Fatherland Front in Bulgaria wins a landslide in elections; on 23 November Georgi Dimitrov becomes prime minister.
	November		19 First post-war elections in Romania lead to a communist-dominated Parliament; Romanian women exercise their right to vote for the first time.
	November-December	The first General Conference of UNESCO.	
	December		7 Nationalisation of private property in Yugoslavia (completed in 1948).
1947	February	Voice of America radio station starts broadcasting to the Soviet Union.  10 Paris Peace Treaties formally ending the Second World War signed with Finland, Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.	Dodecanese Islands ceded to Greece; Makronisos concentration camp established for the "rehabilitation" of communists and left-wing sympathisers.
	March	Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China resume civil war.  12 Before a joint session of Congress, US president delivers his speech on the Truman Doctrine.	
	April		1 Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) founded.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1947	June	<b>5</b> Speech by Secretary of State George C. Marshall at Harvard University proclaiming a plan for rebuilding post-war Europe.	<b>20</b> June US-Greek Agreement provides for the establishment of the American Mission for Aid to Greece (AMAG).
	July		<b>30 July–1 August</b> Bled Agreements concluded, a further step towards a Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation.
	August	<b>15</b> End of British rule in India, a major phase of the decolonisation process in South and Southeast Asia.	
	August – September		Nikola Petkov, the leader of BANU (anti-communist), is put on trial, sentenced to death and executed, while his Union is banned.
	September	COMINFORM (1947-1956) established as the successor of the Communist International.	
	December	Bell Labs in New Jersey invent the transistor.	Talks on including Albania in a future federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. <b>4</b> Grand National Assembly in Sofia promulgates the first constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (PRB) and votes a series of laws on the nationalisation of private industrial and mining enterprises and on the establishment of state monopoly over banking affairs. <b>27</b> Greek emergency decree outlaws the KKE (Communist Party of Greece) and its affiliates. <b>30</b> King Mihai is forced to abdicate and leave Romania.
1948	February	<b>25</b> Communist coup in Czechoslovakia; the communist takeover of Eastern Europe is completed.	<b>26</b> Marshall Plan provides for \$694 million of economic aid to Greece.
	April		<b>13</b> Establishment of the People's Republic of Romania.
	May	<b>14</b> Establishment of the State of Israel; coalition of neighbouring Arab forces attack the new state; the first Arab-Israeli war ends in February 1949.	



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1948	June	Soviet blockade of West Berlin aiming at withdrawal of the western Allies from their sectors of occupation in the city; the plan is thwarted by a massive airlift to supply the western zone.	<b>28</b> Yugoslavia is expelled from the COMINFORM, a development that confirms the Tito-Stalin split.
	July		<b>4</b> Turkey becomes a recipient of aid under the Marshall Plan; over \$400 million reach the country by 1952.
	October – November		End of the anti-communist opposition in Bulgaria, pro-communist BANU acknowledged as part of a decorative political pluralism together with the Fatherland Front.
	October 1948 – May 1949		Some 32,000 Bulgarian Jews (three-quarters of the total) emigrate to Israel.
	November	<b>12</b> Former Japanese Prime Minister Hideki Tojo is sentenced to death for war crimes by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.	
	December	<b>10</b> UN General Assembly in Paris proclaims the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.	<b>18–25</b> 5th Congress of Bulgarian Workers' Party; the party changes its name to Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and proclaims radical economic and social reforms.
1949	January	COMECON founded by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania; Albania joined a month later (but ceased taking an active part in 1961), followed by the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1950, Mongolia in 1962, Cuba in 1972, and Vietnam in 1978; Yugoslavia became an associate member in 1964.	
	April	<b>4</b> The US, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal set up the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).	<b>24</b> The University of Cyril and Methodius founded in Skopje. <b>27</b> Opening of the Belene labour camp, the largest concentration camp in Bulgaria.
	May	<b>5</b> The Statute of the Council of Europe is signed by ten countries in London. <b>23</b> The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is founded; it comprises the occupation zones of the Western Allies.	The first consignments of tractors under the Marshall Plan arrive in Turkey. <b>25</b> The first penicillin factory starts operating in Zemun; Yugoslavia becomes the fourth country in the world that produces penicillin.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1949	July		<p>Opening of the Goli Island concentration camp; it came to symbolise the severe purges and political repression of early Tito's Yugoslavia.</p> <p><b>2</b> Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov dies.</p> <p><b>10</b> In the wake of the KKE's siding with the Soviet Union in the Tito-Stalin split, Yugoslavia closes its frontiers with Greece, disrupting the main supply lines of the DSE.</p>
	August	<b>29</b> Test explosion of a Soviet atomic bomb; end of US nuclear monopoly.	<b>30</b> Greek National Army defeats the bulk of DSE forces in western Macedonia; end of civil war in Greece.
	October	<p><b>1</b> Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong declares the creation of the People's Republic of China.</p> <p><b>7</b> The GDR is founded; it comprises the Soviet occupation zone.</p>	
	November	<b>2</b> The Netherlands recognise Indonesia as a sovereign state.	
1950	January		<b>15</b> The Orthodox Church of Cyprus organises among Greek Cypriots a "referendum" on <i>Enosis</i> (union) with Greece; 95.7% vote in favour.
	February	<b>9</b> Senator Joseph McCarthy "reveals" that the US government "is infested with communists"; large-scale "witch hunt" of intellectuals and other "suspects" follows in the 1950s, called McCarthyism.	
	March		<b>5</b> Twenty nine parties contest parliamentary elections in Greece; the Right loses majority in Parliament, which is now controlled by a heterogeneous Centre.
	May	<b>9</b> Declaration by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on the creation of a European Coal and Steel Community (established in 1951 by France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg); a major step towards European integration.	<b>14</b> The Democrat Party wins the first multi-party elections in Turkey; Celal Bayar becomes president and Adnan Menderes prime minister.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1950	June	<p><b>17</b> First ever kidney transplant operation carried out in Chicago.</p> <p><b>25</b> The armed forces of communist North Korea invade South Korea; beginning of the Korean War (1950-1953).</p>	<p>The first section of the highway Brotherhood and Unity between Zagreb and Belgrade is completed.</p> <p><b>26</b> Yugoslav National Assembly passes the Worker's Self-Management Act.</p>
	July	Radio Free Europe starts broadcasting.	Turkish Parliament lifts the ban on the use of Arabic in the call to prayer; the government decides to send Turkish troops to fight in the Korean War as part of the US-led UN coalition; in October compulsory religious instruction is introduced.
	October	Chinese army occupies the <i>de facto</i> sovereign state of Tibet; following an uprising against Chinese rule, in 1959 the 14th Dalai Lama goes into exile to India.	Agreement between the US and Yugoslavia provides for American humanitarian and military aid.
	November	China enters Korean War; US President Truman threatens Mao with atom bomb.	
1951	February		<b>14</b> Secretary of State Dean Acheson declares that in case of an attack on Yugoslavia, the US will respond as in the case of Korea.
	June	First commercial computer enters service in the US.	
	July		<b>25</b> Law against defaming Atatürk passed in Turkey.
	September	<p><b>1</b> Pacific Security Treaty (ANZUS Pact) signed in San Francisco between Australia, New Zealand, and the US.</p> <p><b>8</b> Treaty of San Francisco ends the state of war between Japan and 47 Second World War Allies (not signed by most countries allied with the Soviet Union), and concludes the US occupation; the same day a US-Japanese security treaty is concluded.</p>	
1952	February		<b>18</b> Greece and Turkey join NATO.
	May	<p><b>2</b> Airliner <i>Comet</i> with 36 passengers on board flies from London to Johannesburg, inaugurating the first scheduled jet airliner passenger service.</p> <p><b>26</b> Britain announces it has an atomic bomb.</p>	<b>28</b> Women's suffrage established in Greece.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1952	November		<p><b>2-7</b> The Communist Party of Yugoslavia changes its name into League of Communists of Yugoslavia.</p> <p><b>16</b> Parliamentary elections in Greece result in overwhelming majority for the Greek Rally headed by Marshal Papagos and modelled on de Gaulle's <i>Rassemblement du Peuple Français</i>.</p>
1953	January	<b>20</b> Dwight D. Eisenhower becomes US President.	<b>20</b> First woman elected in Greece's parliament.
	February	<b>28</b> Cambridge University scientists James Watson and Frances Crick announce that they have determined the double-helix structure of DNA; in 1962 they jointly received with Maurice Wilkins the Nobel Prize in Physiology.	<b>28</b> Agreement on friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey signed in Ankara.
	March	<b>5</b> Death of Stalin; collective leadership until February 1955 when Nikita Khrushchev becomes the new leader of the Soviet Union.	
	May	<b>29</b> Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay reach the summit of Mount Everest, the highest point on earth.	<b>10</b> Restoration of Bulgarian Patriarchate.
	June	Uprising in the GDR against the regime and Soviet occupation.	
	July	<b>27</b> Korean Armistice Agreement establishes the demarcation line along the 38th parallel.	
	December		Public celebration of Christmas banned in Yugoslavia.
1954	January	<b>21</b> The first nuclear-powered submarine, <i>USS Nautilus</i> , launched.	Milovan Đilas, a prominent Yugoslav communist and critic of the existing system, expelled from the Party and, later arrested; sentenced to 13 years of imprisonment in 1962 (released in 1966).
	March	<p><b>22</b> The first shopping mall opens in Southfield, Michigan.</p> <p><b>31</b> The Soviet Union offers to join NATO.</p>	
	April	<b>25</b> Bell Labs unveil the first solar battery.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1954	May	<b>7</b> Surrender of French garrison at Dien Bien Phu in Northwest Vietnam, followed by withdrawal of French colonial forces from Indochina and division of the country along the 17th parallel.	
	June		Opening of the Friendship Bridge over the Danube; designed by Soviet engineers, it connects the Bulgarian city of Ruse with the Romanian city of Giurgiu.
	August		Greece submits to the UN appeal for self-determination of Cypriots. <b>10</b> Treaty of alliance, political co-operation and reciprocal assistance between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia (Balkan Pact).
	September	The US, Britain, France, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan form the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).	
	October		<b>5</b> London Memorandum on Free Territory of Trieste concluded; Zone A, including Trieste, ceded to Italy, Zone B to Yugoslavia (Croatia and Slovenia).
	December		<b>8</b> Novi Sad Agreement on the Serbo-Croatian language.  Petar Guberina of the University of Zagreb publishes his principles on the Verbo-Tonal Method for the rehabilitation of deaf children; it has been applied in more than 70 countries.
1955	February–November	Founding of the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO or Baghdad Pact) by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Britain.	
	March	<b>15</b> Vienna Treaty; Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the US restore Austria's independence.	
	April	Representatives of 29 non-aligned states from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East participate in a conference held in Bandung, Indonesia.  <b>18</b> Hungarian communist leader Imre Nagy forced to resign as prime minister.	<b>1</b> National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) begins its armed struggle against British colonial rule, aiming at the island's union ( <i>Enosis</i> ) with Greece.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1955	May	<p><b>9</b> Federal Republic of Germany joins NATO.</p> <p><b>14</b> The Warsaw Treaty Organisation (Warsaw Pact) is established by the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania; the GDR joins in 1956.</p>	<p><b>26</b> Nikita Khrushchev visits Yugoslavia; beginning of the normalisation of relations between the two countries.</p>
	July		<p><b>18-19</b> Josip Broz Tito, Jawaharlal Nehru and Gamal Abdel Nasser meet at Brijuni, Croatia, and establish the Non-Aligned Movement.</p> <p><b>27</b> Israeli airliner with 51 passengers and 7 crew members on board is shot down in Bulgarian air space.</p>
	September		<p><b>6-7</b> Pogrom against Greek minority in Istanbul.</p>
	December		<p><b>14</b> Albania, Bulgaria and Romania become members of the UN.</p>
1956	January		<p><b>3</b> Konstantinos Karamanlis renames the Greek Rally as the National Radical Union (ERE) and secures a majority in the elections of 19 February, amidst accusations of a biased electoral system.</p>
	February	Nikita Khrushchev denounces Stalinism at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).	
	April		<p><b>2-6</b> Following Khrushchev's de-stalinisation, BCP denounces at its plenum Stalinism and Valko Chervenkov's personality cult; Todor Zhivkov becomes undisputed leader of Bulgaria until 1989.</p>
	May	<p><b>24</b> First Eurovision Song Contest in Lugano, Italy.</p>	<p><b>15</b> Zagreb Television starts broadcasting.</p>
	June		Tito visits Romania; normalisation of Romanian-Yugoslav relations.
	July – November	Following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by President Nasser, Britain, France and Israel attack Egypt.	
	October – November	Mass demonstrations in Hungary calling for democratisation; Imre Nagy becomes prime minister and promises free elections; Soviet troops crush the Hungarian Uprising.	



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1957	January	<b>5</b> January President Dwight D. Eisenhower announces the Eisenhower Doctrine, a further development of the main US Cold War strategy on the "containment" of the Soviet Union.	
	March	<b>25</b> France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg conclude the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC).	
	October	<b>4</b> The Soviet Union launches the first artificial satellite, Sputnik 1; new phase of the arms race and Cold War tensions; beginning of the "space race".	Tirana State University, the first higher education institution in Albania, is founded.
	December		<b>26</b> BCP Politburo resolution calling for the reinforcement and improvement of propaganda on atheism; arrests of Orthodox priests, following previous persecutions and trials of Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant clerics.
1958	March	<b>12</b> British Empire Day is renamed Commonwealth Day.	
	April	<b>4</b> First march against nuclear weapons in England.	
	May		Soviet troops begin their withdrawal from Romanian territory.  During the Cannes Film Festival, French critics Georges Sadoul and Marcel Martin coin the term "Zagreb School of Animated Film"; in the following two decades, the school will produce some 400 films and will be awarded numerous international prizes.  <b>11</b> The United Democratic Left (EDA) becomes the official opposition with a 24% share of votes cast in parliamentary elections in Greece.
	June	<b>16</b> Imre Nagy is executed because of his liberal reforms (1953–55) and his role during the Hungarian Uprising of 1956.	<b>2-7</b> BCP Seventh Congress attended by Nikita Khrushchev; proclamation of "the victory of the socialist system" in Bulgaria with more than 92% of arable land included in cooperative farms; plans for forced industrialisation, with priority on heavy industry, and "intensification of agriculture".

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1958	September	5 First colour video recording on magnetic tape is presented in Charlotte, USA.	
	November		29 Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT, Belgrade) starts broadcasting.
1959	January	2 Cuban revolutionary forces enter Havana.	
	February		Zurich and London agreements between Britain, Greece and Turkey provide for Cyprus becoming an independent republic within the British Commonwealth.
	March	24 One of the first solid integrated circuits, or microchips, is introduced at the Institute of Radio Engineers' annual trade show in New York; this device becomes the basic element of the revolutionary inventions such as the handheld calculator, the PC, the cell phone, the Internet and anything involving digital technology.	
	April		The movie <i>Stars</i> , a GDR-Bulgarian co-production directed by Konrad Wolf, is awarded the Grand Prize of the Jury at the Cannes Film Festival.
	November		1 First television broadcast in Bulgaria.
1960	January	23 The bathyscaphe <i>Trieste</i> with the explorers Jacques Piccard and Don Walsh on board reaches the bottom of the Mariana Trench, the deepest point of the world ocean.	
	January – November	"The year of Africa": seventeen countries proclaim independence from French, Belgian, British and Italian colonial rule.	
	February	Beginning of the mass protests for civil rights of the Afro-Americans.	
	May	9 US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approves the world's first commercially produced contraceptive pill, granting greater opportunities for women's reproductive freedom and family planning; the "pill" becomes one of the symbols of the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s.	27 Military coup in Turkey; General Cemal Gürsel becomes President.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1960	June		Albania declares its support of China against the USSR at a meeting of communist parties in Bucharest.
	August		<b>16</b> Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus; the new state becomes a member of the UN, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Council of Europe (in May 1961).
1961	January	<b>20</b> John F. Kennedy becomes US President.	
	April	<b>12</b> Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human being to travel into space. <b>13</b> UN General Assembly condemns racial segregation (apartheid) in South-Africa.	<b>19</b> Greek composer Manos Hadjidakis receives the Oscar of best original score for Jules Dassin's <i>Never on Sunday</i> .
	May	<b>28</b> Seventy-eight years after its maiden journey, the Orient Express makes its last trip from Paris to Bucharest.	
	June	<b>23</b> The Antarctic Treaty enters into force, providing that the continent's resources will be used only for peaceful purposes and in international cooperation.	
	July		<b>9</b> Association agreement signed in Athens between Greece and the EEC.
	August	<b>13</b> The border between East and West Berlin is closed; construction of the Berlin Wall begins.	
	September		<b>1</b> Belgrade hosts the first summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. <b>16-17</b> Former Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and two of his ministers, who were arrested after the coup of 1960, are executed.
	October		<b>29</b> Karamanlis's ERE secures overall majority in parliamentary elections in Greece; result denounced by opposition parties as the outcome of "violence and fraud"; Georgios Papandreou, who has just established the Centre Union (EK), launches his "unyielding struggle".
	December		Yugoslav novelist and poet Ivo Andrić is awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1961	December		<p><b>7</b> According to the constitutional amendments following the 1960 coup, the National Security Council under the military's control is convened for the first time in Turkey.</p> <p><b>10</b> Albania interrupts diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.</p>
1962	February	<b>10</b> On a bridge connecting West with East Berlin, US pilot Gary Powers, whose U-2 spy plane was shot down in Soviet airspace in 1960, is exchanged for Rudolf Abel, a top KGB spy caught in the US.	
	March	<b>18</b> Peace agreement between France and the National Liberation Front brings to an end the seven-year Algerian War of Independence.	
	April		<p>Collectivisation in Romania completed.</p> <p><b>2</b> The birth of the 8th-million citizen of Bulgaria is proclaimed as a great success of the PRB's demographic policy.</p> <p><b>9</b> April Dušan Vukotić is the first non-American and first Croatian cartoonist to win an Oscar for the animated movie <i>Substitute</i>.</p>
	July		Greek government closes down the last remaining concentration camp in the country.
	October	Cuban Missile Crisis resolved; Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy agree on the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and US missiles from Turkey.	
	October – November	Sino-Indian war along the Himalayan border.	
1963	January	<b>11</b> First discotheque opens in Los Angeles.	
	March	<b>20</b> First Pop Art exhibition in New York.	
	April		<b>9</b> The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia adopts a new constitution and is renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
	May	<b>26</b> The Organisation of African Unity is founded.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1963	June	<p><b>16</b> Soviet cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova becomes the first woman to fly into space.</p> <p><b>20</b> The US and the Soviet Union agree to set up a "Hot Line" for direct communication in case of emergency.</p>	
	July		<b>26</b> Severe earthquake hits Skopje, killing more than 1,000 people and destroying roughly 65% of the city's buildings; the UN and some 90 countries provide aid in the aftermath of the disaster; Skopje dubbed "the city of world solidarity."
	August	<b>5</b> The US, Britain and the Soviet Union sign Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in Moscow.	
	September		<b>12</b> Ankara Association Agreement providing for the progressive establishment of a customs union between the EEC and Turkey and eventual membership.
	November	<b>22</b> John F. Kennedy assassinated in Dallas, Texas; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes US President.	
	December		<p><b>4</b> BCP Plenum discusses a proposal for Bulgaria becoming the Soviet Union's sixteenth republic.</p> <p>Greek poet Georgios Seferis awarded Nobel Prize in Literature.</p> <p>Inter-communal fighting in Cyprus, leading to the dispatch of a UN peace-keeping force (in March 1964), poisons Greco-Turkish relations for years to come.</p>
1964	February		<b>16</b> EK secures an overall majority in parliamentary elections in Greece.
	June	<b>12</b> Nelson Mandela and seven other activists of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa are sentenced to life imprisonment; Mandela spends 27 years and eight months in prison.	<b>6</b> US President Lyndon B. Johnson warns Turkish President İnönü against eventual military intervention in the ongoing crisis in Cyprus.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1964	August	<b>7</b> The Gulf of Tonkin US Congress Resolution becomes legal basis for further involvement of the US in the conflict between South and North Vietnam (backed by the Soviet Union and China).	
	October	<b>14</b> Leonid Brezhnev becomes leader of the Soviet Union. <b>16</b> Successful Chinese nuclear test; China becomes the fifth country with atomic weapons, together with the US, the Soviet Union, Britain and France.	
	December		<b>1</b> Ankara Association Agreement comes into force.
1965	March	First US combat troops arrive in Vietnam.	<b>19</b> Romanian communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej dies; Nicolae Ceaușescu succeeds him.
	July		<b>11-15</b> Constitutional clash with King Constantine II results in the resignation of Prime Minister Georgios Papandreou.
	October	<b>1</b> Indonesian army crushes communist coup against President Sukarno; General Mohammed Suharto launches a purge of Indonesian communists, killing thousands, and takes full power in 1967.	<b>27</b> Party of Justice led by Süleyman Demirel wins elections in Turkey with a 52.9% share of the vote.
	December		<b>27</b> BCP Central Committee resolution on "enforcement of the atheist propaganda and annihilation of the influence of religion on everyday life".
1966	January	<b>13</b> President Johnson appoints the first African-American cabinet member, Robert C. Weaver, as head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.	
	February		<b>23</b> First television broadcast in Greece.
	July		<b>1</b> Brijuni Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia marks the beginning of reforms and relative democratisation; abuses of the Secret Service heavily criticised.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1967	February		Enver Hoxha's speech against religious practices; closing down of religious sites and institutions; Albania becomes the only officially atheist country in the world.
	March		<b>3</b> Declaration on the name and position of the Croatian Language, approved by a majority of Croatian cultural and scientific institutions. It required an equal position of the Croatian language in the Yugoslav federation in all spheres of life. The Serbian Association of Writers disagrees with the Declaration; both sides are criticised by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.
	April		<b>21</b> Junior officers stage successful coup in Greece (Colonels' dictatorship).
	June	The Six Day War. Israel defeats Egypt, Jordan and Syria, and occupies the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Golan heights.	
	July		<b>19</b> The Macedonian Orthodox Church is proclaimed autocephalous; not recognised by the Serbian Patriarchate.
	August	<b>8</b> Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand form the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).	
	October	<b>9</b> Captured socialist revolutionary and guerrilla leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara executed in Bolivia.	
	December	<b>3</b> First successful human-to-human heart transplant performed by Christian Barnard and his team in South Africa.	<b>13</b> King Constantine II launches abortive counter-coup against the Greek junta; royal family flees into exile.
1968	January–October	Tet Offensive by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces in South Vietnam; the Vietnam War escalates over the coming years; mass peace protests in the US and all over the world.	
	January		<b>31</b> First television broadcast in Turkey.
	February		The events in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet position result in the split of the KKE into two: the mainstream-orthodox communist party and the Communist Party of the Interior, a broadly Euro-Communist formation.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1968	April	<b>4</b> US civil rights leader Martin Luther King assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.	
	May	Student protests in Paris escalate into a general strike across the country; one of the many mass “anti-system” youth demonstrations (“youth revolutions”) in the Western world (in Eastern Europe in Czechoslovakia and Poland).	French President Charles de Gaulle visits Romania.
	May 1968 – August 1973		Series of terrorist attacks in Yugoslavia attributed to Croat nationalists.
	June		<b>2</b> Student leftist demonstration against the “Red bourgeoisie” in Belgrade attacked by police.
	July	<b>1</b> Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty signed by major nuclear powers (save China and France) and a host of non-nuclear countries (save India and Pakistan, which would join the “nuclear club” in 1974 and 1983, respectively).	
	August	<b>20</b> Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia; end of Prague Spring.	<b>21</b> Ceaușescu condemns Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.
	September		Albania officially withdraws from the Warsaw Pact.
	November		Yugoslav police and army suppress the demonstrations of Albanians in Kosovo demanding a change of the status of the autonomous province into a republic.
1969	January	<b>20</b> Richard Nixon becomes US President.	
	February	<b>4</b> Founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the leading Palestinian guerrilla movement; terrorist anti-Israeli campaigns continue in the 1970s and '80s.	<b>16</b> Violent demonstration in Istanbul against the presence of the US Sixth Fleet in Turkish waters (“Bloody Sunday”).
	March	Armed clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops along the border river of Ussuri mark the peak of Soviet-Chinese conflict after the ideological split of the late 1950s–early '60s.	
	April	<b>7</b> Symbolic birth date of the Internet.	
	July	<b>20</b> US astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin become the first humans to walk on the Moon.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1969	November		<b>18</b> Law on the foundation of the University of Priština passed by the Assembly of the Socialist Province of Kosovo.
	December		<b>29</b> In the wake of Greece's certain expulsion, due to the regime's appalling human rights record, the junta withdraws from the Council of Europe; Greece is re-admitted on 28 November 1974.
1970	February		<b>3</b> The EEC freezes accession negotiations with Greece until the re-establishment of democratic rule in the country; the removal of tariff barriers and custom duties continues on schedule.
	April	<b>22</b> Earth Day celebrated in the US for the first time; millions of Americans participate in rallies, marches, and educational programmes, thus demonstrating growing public awareness of the world's environmental problems.	
	May		Yugoslavia wins the Basketball World Championship.
	October		Electrification of the whole country completed in Albania.
1971	January		The 10th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia condemns the "unitaristic politics" of some Croatian communists, marking the beginning of the "Croatian Spring", which will last until 1 December.
	March	<b>15</b> Chat rooms make their debut on the Internet.	<b>12</b> Army coup in Turkey puts an end to the government of Süleyman Demirel (1965-71); martial law in force in eleven provinces.
	June		<b>30</b> Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia amended; wider autonomy for Kosovo and Vojvodina within Serbia.
	November		Mass student demonstrations in Croatia; culmination of Croatian Spring.
	December	The third war between India and Pakistan leads to independence for Bangladesh (East Pakistan).	



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1972	January	<b>30</b> "Bloody Sunday": British Army opens fire at demonstrators in Derry, Northern Ireland, protesting mass arrests and imprisonments without trial of suspected supporters of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its campaign against Britain (26 unarmed civilians shot, 14 dead).	
	January 1972 – January 1975		The detention of 11 leading Croat intellectuals is followed by government and League of Communists purges, arrests and trials of students, professors and other dissidents all over Yugoslavia; measures taken against "liberals" and "nationalists/separatists" to handle the political crisis.
	February	US President Richard Nixon visits China; beginning of normalisation of relations between the two countries.	
	May		<b>6</b> Three student leaders hanged in Turkey.  The Iron Gate I Hydroelectric Power Station, the largest dam on the Danube and one of the largest power plants in Europe is officially opened; a joint Romanian-Yugoslav project (started in 1964).
	July	<b>21</b> "Bloody Friday": nine people killed and 130 injured in IRA bombings in Belfast.	
1973	January	Britain, Ireland and Denmark join the EEC.  Withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam; Paris Peace Conference (February-March).	
	May		<b>23</b> Abortive coup by navy officers against the Greek junta.
	June		<b>1</b> Greek junta deposes King Constantine II; phony referendum held under martial law establishes a "presidential parliamentary republic" (29 July).
	September	<b>11</b> Military coup against the Left government of President Salvador Allende in Chile establishes the authoritarian regime of General Augusto Pinochet.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1973	October	Arab-Israeli war: The Soviet Union sends military supplies to Egypt and Syria, and the US airlift weapons to Israel; subsequent US "shuttle diplomacy" leads to the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of March 1979.	<b>14</b> General elections in Turkey; unstable parliamentary regime and deepening political crises until 1980.
	November		<b>15–17</b> Student occupation of the Athens Polytechnic suppressed by the army.
1974	February	<b>13</b> Dissident author Alexander Solzhenitsyn expelled from the Soviet Union.	<b>21</b> The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia adopts a new constitution that strengthens the federal order and confirms the self-government of all working people as the essential feature of the path to socialism; the domination of the Communist Party in all spheres of social life is reinforced.
	April	<b>25</b> The long-standing authoritarian regime in Portugal comes to an end.	<b>29</b> The University of Montenegro founded.
	July – August		Coup in Cyprus against President Makarios organised by the Greek junta; Turkey invades Cyprus and occupies one-third of the island; collapse of military regime in Greece; Constantine Karamanlis returns to Greece from his self-imposed exile in Paris and heads a government of "national unity"; martial law lifted, political prisoners released, civil servants dismissed by the junta reinstated, the KKE legalised.
	August	<p><b>9</b> Richard Nixon resigns after impeachment proceedings following the Watergate scandal; Gerald Ford becomes US President.</p> <p><b>15</b> Reacting to the invasions and occupation in Cyprus, a group of Congressional Democrats, led by Dr John Brademas (D-Indiana), known for his consistent opposition to the Greek junta, demand an US arms embargo on Turkey. On 24 September, the House of Representatives votes 307 to 90 in favour of the embargo, as proposed by the Rosenthal/DuPont resolution. The House reaffirmed its position against Executive Branch pressure by 223 votes to 206 on 31 July 1975. Modified in October 1975, the embargo was finally lifted in August 1978, in the House by one vote.</p>	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1974	September	<b>4</b> The US and the GDR establish diplomatic relations.	<b>4</b> The first reactor of the Kozloduy nuclear power station in Bulgaria is put into operation; subsequently Bulgarian electricity exports become important for the Greek and Turkish economies.
	December		<b>8</b> Plebiscite with 69.2% majority abolishes monarchy in Greece.
1975	January – June	The independence of Angola and Mozambique marks the end of Portugal rule in a number of African colonies; civil wars in both countries between the Marxist governments and oppositional guerrilla forces, supported by the US and South Africa; Soviet military advisers and Cuban troops sent to Angola (1975) and Ethiopia (1977).	
	March–April	North Vietnamese Army invades the South; unification of the country as Socialist Republic of Vietnam.	
	June–July	UN conference on the status of women adopts the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace.	
	July	<b>17</b> The Soviet spacecraft <i>Soyuz</i> and the US spacecraft <i>Apollo</i> dock in space.	
	August	<b>1</b> The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe concludes with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act by all European countries (save Albania), the US and Canada.	
	November	<b>20</b> Death of Francisco Franco; beginning of the democratisation of Spain.	<b>10</b> Yugoslavia and Italy sign the Treaty of Osimo, finally settling the issue of the borders between Zones A and B of the former Free Territory of Trieste.
	December		<b>23</b> In its first attack, the leftist Greek terrorist organisation “November 17” murders a leading CIA official in Greece; it will assassinate another 22 people until 2002.
1976	March		Esma Redzepova Teodosievska, famous Roma singer, songwriter and humanitarian from Skopje, is crowned by the Indian Prime minister Indira Gandhi the “Queen of World Gypsy Music” at the first international Gypsy festival in Chandigarh, India.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1976	September	<b>9</b> Death of Mao Zedong; after 1978 Chinese communist leaders Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping adopt economic liberalisation (the "Four Modernisations") and launch the policy of the "Open Door" towards the West and Japan.	
1977	January	<b>20</b> Jimmy Carter becomes US President.	
	April-October	"German Autumn": the FRG leftist terrorist Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof Group) carries out a series of kidnappings and killings; in October it joins forces with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the hijacking of a Lufthansa aircraft.	
	May		<b>1</b> Police open fire on massive worker's demonstration in Istanbul, 34 dead.
	August		Thousands of Romanian miners on strike in Valea Jiului.
	September	<b>7</b> President Jimmy Carter and Omar Torrijos sign a treaty that provides for transferring the control of the Panama Canal from the US to Panama at the end of the twentieth century.	<b>7</b> "The Umbrella Murder": assassination of Bulgarian dissident Georgi Markov in London.
	October		<b>20</b> Decree of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers on "individual farms", aiming at "self-sufficiency of the population with fruit, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs and fish".
	November		<b>20</b> Parliamentary elections in Greece won by Karamanlis; Andreas Papandreu's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) becomes the official opposition.
1978	May	<b>9</b> Italian leftist terrorist group Red Brigades execute former Prime Minister Aldo Moro.	
	July		Albania's split with communist China; the country enters a period of isolation.
	October		Yugoslavia wins the Basketball World Championship.
	November		Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) established.
	December		<b>22</b> Pogroms against Alevis in Turkey.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1979	January	<b>7</b> Vietnamese Army enters Cambodia's capital, Phnom Penh; end of the genocidal Maoist regime of the Khmer Rouge; war between China and Vietnam (February-March).	
	January – February	The Islamic revolution in Iran.	
	March	<b>26</b> Israel-Egypt Peace treaty signed in Washington; a major achievement of US foreign policy.	
	May		<b>28</b> Treaty on Greece's accession to the EEC (as of 1 January 1981) signed in Athens.
	June	<b>17</b> US President Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT II) Treaty in Vienna.	
	July	Victory of the revolutionary Sandinista movement over the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, a close US ally; American financial and military aid to the anti-communist Contras guerrillas in Nicaragua and the violent dictatorial regime in El Salvador threatened by the Marxist FMNL Front.	
	December	Soviet troops invade Afghanistan; beginning of the devastating war with the Mujahideen guerrillas, supported by the US and its Islamic allies.	Greek poet Odysseas Elytis awarded Nobel Prize in Literature.
1980	May	<b>8</b> The World Health Organisation officially pronounces victory over smallpox, the only human infectious disease ever to be eradicated by a global immunisation campaign (started in 1967).	<b>4</b> Death of Tito. <b>5</b> Karamanlis elected president of the Greek Republic.
	19 July – 3 August	XXII Summer Olympic Games in Moscow; US-led boycott by 65 countries because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; some athletes from boycotting countries participate in the games under the Olympic Flag; the Soviet Union and 14 of its allies boycott the Los Angeles Summer Olympics Games of 1984.	
	August	The independent trade union Solidarity is formed in Poland as the major opposition force, following a series of strikes that paralysed the economy.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1980	August	<b>2</b> Explosion at Bologna central railway station, attributed to a neo-fascist group, kills 85 and injures 200; the worst non-airline related terrorist attack in Europe since the Second World War (until Islamic terrorist acts in Madrid in 2004).	
	September	Beginning of the Iran-Iraq war (until July 1988).	<b>12</b> Military coup in Turkey; establishment of the junta regime of General Kenan Evren (1980-83).  Greek film director Theodoros Angelopoulos awarded the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival for <i>Alexander the Great</i> .
1981	January	<b>20</b> Ronald Reagan becomes US President.	<b>1</b> Greece joins the EEC as tenth member.
	March – April		Mass demonstrations of Albanians in Kosovo; state of emergency in the province; clashes between local Albanians and Serbs throughout the 1980s.
	April	<b>12</b> The space shuttle <i>Columbia</i> is launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida, becoming the first re-usable manned spacecraft to travel into space.	
	October		<b>18</b> PASOK wins parliamentary elections in Greece.
	December	<b>13</b> Martial law declared in Poland; Solidarity outlawed.	
1982	January		The EEC suspends its agreements with Turkey.
	April		Ceaușescu's decision on the urgent payment of the country's foreign debt of \$11 billion is followed by severe austerity measures.
	April – June	Argentina and Britain go to war over the Falkland Islands; in 1983 the oppressive military regime in Argentina is replaced by civilian rule.	
	May		Turkish film director of Kurdish origin Yılmaz Güney awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for <i>Road</i> .
	November	<b>12</b> Yuri Andropov becomes leader of the Soviet Union.	



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1983	March	President Reagan publicly refers to the Soviet Union as an “evil empire” and announces the Strategic Defence Initiative, immediately dubbed the “Star Wars Initiative”.	
	August		<b>21</b> “Sarajevo Trial”: Bosnian Muslim intellectuals sentenced to imprisonment, among them Alija Izetbegović because of his Islamic Declaration.
	October	<b>25</b> Citing the threat posed to US nationals, President Reagan sends troops to the Caribbean island of Grenada; in a week the pro-Cuban Marxist government is overthrown.	<b>22</b> The use of Kurdish language banned in Turkey.
	November		<b>6</b> General elections in Turkey won by Motherland Party (ANAP); Turgut Özal becomes prime minister. <b>15</b> Proclamation of the independence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus; recognised only by Turkey.
1984	January		First nuclear power plant in Yugoslavia (joint Slovenian-Croatian project) starts operating in Krško.
	February	<b>13</b> Konstantin Chernenko becomes leader of the Soviet Union.	<b>8-19</b> XIV Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo.
	August		<b>15</b> The PKK resumes its armed struggle in Turkey, causing more than 40,000 deaths in the next fifteen years.
	October	A BBC news crew begins to report about the famine in Ethiopia (1983–85), one of the biggest humanitarian disasters of the second half of the twentieth century. <b>31</b> Indira Gandhi assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards in retribution for the events at the Golden Temple in Amritsar.	
	November		The Committee for the Defence of Freedom of Thought and Expression formed in Belgrade.
	November 1984 – February 1985		Mass-scale renaming campaign against Turkish minority in Bulgaria; beginning of the radical assimilation policy (“Revival Process”).

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1985	March	<p><b>11</b> Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the CPSU and leader of the Soviet Union; beginning of the policy of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring).</p> <p><b>15</b> First Internet domain name registered.</p>	
	April		<b>11</b> Enver Hoxha dies; Ramiz Alia elected as his successor.
	May		Yugoslav film director Emir Kusturica awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for <i>When Father was Away on Business</i> .
	July	<b>10</b> Flagship of environmental organisation Greenpeace, the <i>Rainbow Warrior</i> , sunk by French secret service agents in Auckland, New Zealand, in order to prevent a protest action against nuclear tests in French Polynesia.	
1986	January	Spain and Portugal join the EEC.	Slobodan Milošević becomes chairman of the Serbian Communist Party's Central Committee.
	April	<b>26</b> The world's worst nuclear accident occurs at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the Soviet Union.	
	September		<p>Publication of the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on political issues and the situation of Serbs in Yugoslavia.</p> <p><b>11</b> Greek-Bulgarian "Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation" providing for consultations when the security of either country is in danger; the highest point in the development of close bilateral relations after 1974, mutual enmity towards Turkey being an important factor.</p>
	October	Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev meet at Reykjavik.	Mikhail Gorbachev visits Bulgaria and asks for reforms.
1987	April		<b>14</b> Turkey applies for full membership of the EEC.
	May		Mikhail Gorbachev visits Romania; Ceaușescu rejects any talk of reforms.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1987	June	Twenty-one shoppers in a Barcelona supermarket are killed in the bloodiest terrorist attack of Basque separatist organisation Basque Country and Freedom (ETA).	<b>25</b> BCP Plenum formally affirms the policy of <i>perestroika</i> and the transition to democratic socialism and the market economy.
	July	<b>11</b> Matej Gašpar from Zagreb is chosen by the UN at birth as the five billionth human being on Earth.	
	August		<b>28</b> Greek government unilaterally ends state of war with Albania, in force since 1940. <b>30</b> Bulgarian athlete Stefka Kostadinova wins gold in the women's high jump at the World Championship in Athletics in Rome with a new world record, which still stands, of 2.09 metres.
	November		<b>15</b> Mass protest demonstration in Romanian city of Braşov.
	December	Beginning of the Palestinian Intifada; riots in Gaza Strip and the West Bank (until 1992). <b>8</b> The US and the Soviet Union sign in Washington an agreement on arms control, which reduces the number of nuclear weapons by one fifth.	
1988	March		<b>8</b> Committee for the protection of the city of Ruse from gas pollution formed in Bulgaria without official sanction.
	May	<b>15</b> Soviet troops begin their withdrawal from Afghanistan.	<b>13</b> Formation of the Slovene Farmers' Union, the first opposition party.
	October		<b>5–8</b> "Yogurt Revolution" in Vojvodina.
1989	January	<b>10</b> Cuban troops begin their withdrawal from Angola. <b>20</b> 1989 George H.W. Bush becomes US President.	<b>19</b> "Breakfast with Mitterrand": during his official visit to Bulgaria, the French President meets 12 Bulgarian dissident intellectuals.
	February	<b>6</b> Official Round Table talks between representatives of Solidarity and the Polish government begin in Warsaw, followed by free elections in June; in August Tadeusz Mazowiecki becomes the first non-communist prime minister in Eastern Europe after 1948.	<b>20–28</b> Strike of Albanian miners in Trepča, Kosovo, protesting against the dismissal of Azem Vlasi and other Albanian leaders.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1967	May		<p><b>6</b> Slobodan Milošević becomes President of Serbia.</p> <p><b>8</b> Slovene opposition publishes the May Declaration, a political programme demanding a multi-party system and a sovereign Slovene state.</p> <p><b>20</b> The Croatian Social-Liberal Party is founded as the first opposition party in Croatia.</p> <p><b>29</b> Todor Zhivkov calls for Turkey to open its borders; beginning of the mass emigration of Bulgarian Turks.</p>
	May– June	Thousands of demonstrators occupy Tiananmen Square in Beijing demanding greater democracy; protests crushed by the army.	
	June		<p><b>18</b> Parliamentary elections in Greece lead to the formation of a coalition government by conservatives and communists.</p> <p><b>28</b> Milošević speaks of future battles at a huge meeting commemorating 600 years of the historic Kosovo battle.</p>
	September	<p>Vietnamese troops withdraw from Cambodia.</p> <p><b>10</b> Hungary opens its borders with Austria; thousands of GDR citizens flee to the West.</p>	
	October	<b>23</b> Liberal communist government of Hungary adopts a new constitution allowing for a multi-party system.	<b>31</b> Turgut Özal elected president of Turkey; in December the ban on headscarves in universities is lifted.
	November	<b>9</b> Thousands of Germans bring down the Berlin Wall.	<p><b>10</b> BCP Plenum forces Todor Zhivkov to resign.</p> <p><b>18</b> The first public meeting with open political demands at Aleksander Nevsky Square in Sofia.</p>
	December	<p><b>3</b> President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev declare the end of the Cold War at the Malta Summit.</p> <p><b>5</b> Non-communist government established in Czechoslovakia after the “Velvet Revolution”; on 29 December dissident leader Vaclav Havel elected president.</p>	<p><b>7</b> The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) founded by eleven political organisations in Bulgaria as opposition to ruling communists.</p> <p><b>17</b> Romanian army and police open fire on thousands of anti-government protesters in Timișoara.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1989	December		<p><b>21</b> Meeting in Bucharest organised to support the regime, turns into a revolt; Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu run away from the capital, and the protests spread across the country.</p> <p><b>25</b> "Trial" and execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu.</p> <p><b>29</b> BCP Plenum declares the right of Bulgarian Muslims to restore their original names and condemns the "Revival Process" as "serious political mistake" of Todor Zhivkov's government.</p>
	January	<p><b>16</b> The Soviet Union sends troops to the Caucasus to intervene in the civil war between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.</p>	<p><b>20-22</b> 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade; withdrawal of Slovene and Croatian communists brings about the disintegration of the League.</p> <p><b>3 January - 15 May</b> Bulgarian Round Table: a series of negotiations on the transition to democracy and a market economy between the government and the opposition.</p> <p><b>28-29 January and 18-19 February</b> Violent intervention of coal miners against "intellectuals" and the authorities in Bucharest (the first and the second "Mineriad"); repeated on June, 13-15, to pull down the camp of the protesters in Piața Universității (University Square).</p>
	February	<p><b>11</b> Liberation of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), after 27 years in prison.</p> <p><b>12</b> Ottawa Conference. The reunification of Germany to be decided by "Two plus Four" negotiations (2: the GDR and the FRG; 4: the US, France, Britain, the Soviet Union).</p>	
1990	March	<p><b>11</b> The Lithuanian parliament votes for independence from the Soviet Union.</p> <p><b>11</b> Collapse of Pinochet regime in Chile. Pinochet transfers power to the democratically elected President Patricio Aylwin.</p> <p><b>14</b> The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic elects Mikhail S. Gorbachev its president.</p>	<p><b>19-21</b> Ethnic clashes in Târgu Mureș between Romanians and Hungarians.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1990	March	<p><b>19</b> Latvia's political opposition claims victory in the Republic's first free elections in 50 years.</p> <p><b>23</b> Cease-fire between president-elect Chamorro and Contras in Nicaragua overseen by international observers.</p>	
	April	<p><b>24</b> China and the Soviet Union sign a ten-year economic cooperation agreement.</p>	<p><b>3</b> The BCP officially changes its name to Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).</p> <p><b>8–22</b> First multi-party parliamentary elections in Slovenia won by the Democratic Opposition (DEMOS) coalition; Milan Kučan, leader of the reformed communists, becomes president.</p> <p><b>10</b> Law on Political Parties enacted in Bulgaria; in the following 20 years more than 400 parties officialised in courts.</p> <p><b>26</b> For the first time the celebration of Bajram is broadcasted by the public media of Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p><b>28</b> The first private bank established in Bulgaria.</p>
	April – May		<p>First multi-party elections in Croatia won by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ); Franjo Tuđman becomes president.</p>
	May	<p><b>29</b> Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian Federation.</p>	<p><b>6</b> "Podul de Flori peste Prut" (Flower Bridge over the Prut): at least 1.2 million Romanians cross the Prut River into the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic for the first time since the Second World War.</p> <p><b>13</b> Riots in Zagreb during a football match between Dinamo of Croatia and Crvena Zvezda of Serbia.</p> <p><b>15</b> The Supreme Command of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) decides the disarming of the Territorial Defence in Slovenia and the moving of all its weapons to JNA storage facilities; similar measures imposed by the JNA in Croatia (in February) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (in June), save for municipalities with a Serbian majority.</p> <p><b>16</b> Legendary miner Alija Sirotanović of the Breza mine in Bosnia and Herzegovina dies at a time when Yugoslavia, of which he was a symbol, disappears.</p>



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1990	May		<p><b>20</b> First free elections after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania won by the National Salvation Front led by Ion Iliescu (former communist leader and opponent of Nicolae Ceaușescu from the early 1970s onwards).</p> <p><b>26</b> The Party of Democratic Action (SDA) founded in Sarajevo under the leadership of Alija Izetbegović.</p>
	June	<p><b>3</b> Washington D.C. Summit: Presidents Bush and Gorbachev provide a basis for arms reduction treaties.</p>	<p><b>7</b> The Socialist Republic of Macedonia drops the adjective “socialist” from its official name.</p> <p><b>10-17</b> First democratic elections for 7th Grand National Assembly won by the BSP in Bulgaria. The UDF contests the results of elections. Beginning of a political crisis</p>
	July	<p><b>17</b> “Two plus Four” meeting in Paris: representatives from the GDR, the FRG, the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, with participants from the Polish government, agree to guarantee the existing Polish-German border along the Oder-Neisse River.</p>	<p>The “Embassy Crisis” in Albania: massive exodus of people entering Western embassies in Tirana.</p> <p><b>2</b> Kosovo MPs proclaim the “Republic of Kosovo” in front of the assembly building. The Kosovo Assembly is dissolved by the Serbian authorities on 5 July. Mass demonstrations follow.</p> <p><b>12</b> The Serbian Democratic Party is founded in Sarajevo under the leadership of Radovan Karadžić.</p> <p><b>25</b> Constitutional amendments adopted in Croatia. Serbs who live in Croatia adopt the Declaration of Sovereignty and Autonomy of Serbs and establish the Serbian National Council.</p>
	August	<p><b>2</b> Iraq invades Kuwait, seizing control of the oil-rich emirate.</p> <p><b>7</b> President Bush sends US troops to Saudi Arabia against a possible invasion by Iraq. The Gulf War begins.</p> <p><b>26</b> South Ossetia, a region of north central Georgia with a population of about 100,000, declares independence.</p>	<p><b>16-17</b> The Serbian National Council decides to organise a referendum. Serbs block roads with logs in Knin, Benkovac and Obrovac (Croatia). First clashes in Benkovac. Beginning of the so-called “log revolution” in Croatia.</p> <p><b>18</b> The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) founded in Sarajevo.</p>
	September		<p><b>3</b> General strike of Albanians in Kosovo.</p> <p><b>7</b> Kaçanik Constitution of the Kosovo Republic adopted.</p> <p><b>28</b> New constitution of the Republic of Serbia adopted. The provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina have only territorial autonomy.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1990	September		Referendum held in municipalities of Croatia with a Serbian majority; Serbs declare their autonomy.
	October	<b>3</b> The FRG and the GDR declare the Day of German Unity – unification after 45 years of division.	<b>3</b> Slovenia and Croatia present a plan on the confederation of Yugoslavia.
	November	<b>17</b> Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) signed.	<b>18</b> First multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina; national parties win. <b>25</b> First multi-party elections in the Republic of Macedonia. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) wins.
	December	<b>2</b> Reunited Germany holds its first general elections; Chancellor Kohl's alliance wins. <b>9</b> Lech Wałęsa, leader of the trade union Solidarity and of the strikes in the 1980s, is elected by general vote president of Poland. <b>17</b> The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic approves President Gorbachev's plan to revise the central authority; Eduard Shevardnadze resigns as foreign minister.	Privatisation begins in Bulgaria, while inflation has reached 500%. The first student protests at the University of Tirana. The Central Committee of the Labour Party of Albania concedes political pluralism. The Democratic Party, the first anti-communist party since the Second World War, is created. <b>8, 23</b> First multi-party elections in Serbia boycotted by Albanians. The Socialist Party of Serbia wins; Slobodan Milošević is elected president. <b>9</b> First multi-party elections in Montenegro won by the League of Communists of Montenegro, headed by Milo Đukanović. <b>21</b> Serbian Autonomous Oblast (SAO) of Krajina declared in Croatia. <b>22</b> "Christmas Constitution" voted by the Croatian Parliament provides for parliamentary democracy while stripping the Serbs of the status of constituent nation and defining them as a minority. <b>23</b> Referendum for independence in Slovenia; 88% vote for a sovereign Slovenia, seceding from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).
1991	January	<b>17 January - 27 February</b> The Gulf War/Operation Desert Storm. USA leads a large coalition of 34 states against Iraq in order to liberate Kuwait. Air strikes are followed by a ground campaign. Mass protests against Saddam Hussein in Iraq.	<b>8–10</b> Massive student protests (from November 1990) all over Greece culminate in the murder of a secondary school teacher during a sit-in by a member of the ruling party's youth organisation, leading to the resignation of the minister of education.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1991	January		<p><b>9</b> The SFRY Presidency issues an order to disband all irregular armed forces and return weapons having illegally entered the country. The Socialist Republics of Croatia and Slovenia refuse to implement this decision on their territory.</p> <p><b>12–19</b> First direct elections for president in Bulgaria won by Zhelu Zhelev.</p> <p><b>27</b> Kiro Gligorov becomes the first democratically-elected president of the Republic of Macedonia.</p> <p>The “Martin Špegelj Scandal” in Croatia; a television broadcast of a secretly recorded and biased film entitled <i>The truth about the arming of the HDZ in Croatia</i> was supposed to serve as the pretext for introducing a state of emergency and arresting Croatian Defence Minister Martin Špegelj.</p> <p>Turkey joins the Gulf War on the US side.</p>
	February	<p><b>25</b> The Warsaw Pact disbands its military and economic institutions.</p>	<p>Trial against Todor Zhivkov in Bulgaria. In September 1992 he will be sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, but will be acquitted in February 1996.</p> <p><b>20–26</b> The Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem founded.</p> <p><b>23</b> At its 11th Congress, the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina renamed into the Socialistic Democratic Alliance.</p>
	March		<p>The imposition of a state of emergency at a session of the SFRY Presidency in Belgrade is forestalled.</p> <p>The SFRY Presidency reaches an agreement to launch talks on the future of Yugoslavia. Five meetings are held, without result.</p> <p>After the first Gulf War, Turkey authorises the use of oral Kurdish in public.</p> <p><b>2–4</b> Clashes between Croatian police and local Serbs in Pakrac. The JNA intervenes for the first time between the warring parties.</p> <p><b>9</b> Opposition demonstrations in Belgrade against media control. Opposition leader Vuk Drašković imprisoned. Tanks in the streets of Belgrade.</p>



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1991	March		<p><b>19</b> Autonomous region of Krajina declares secession from Croatia and unification with what was left of Yugoslavia.</p> <p><b>22</b> First democratic elections in Albania. The Communist Party ceases to exist.</p> <p><b>25</b> Meeting of Milošević and Tuđman in Karadjordjevo, followed by another in Tikveš near Osijek on 15 April</p> <p><b>29-31</b> Clashes in Plitvice (Croatia). First Croatian policeman killed by rebel Serbs.</p>
	March – June	Apartheid is abolished in South Africa.	
	April	<b>9</b> Independence of Georgia.	<p>Tens of thousands of Kurds seek refuge in Turkey after their revolt in Iraq. Turgut Özal and François Mitterrand ask for the creation of a “protection zone” in a part of Iraqi Kurdistan.</p> <p><b>1-2</b> The Executive Council of the SAO Krajina passes a resolution incorporating it to the Republic of Serbia.</p> <p><b>5</b> Treaty on “Peace, Cooperation and Good Neighbourly Relations” signed between Romania and the Soviet Union.</p>
	May	Civil war in Somalia starts. The UN Security Council creates the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) to provide humanitarian relief and restore order. The UN peacekeeping forces will withdraw in 1995.	<p>The National Guard Corps (ZNG), the forerunner of the Croatian Army, is formed.</p> <p><b>12</b> Referendum in Krajina; 99% for secession from Croatia.</p> <p><b>19</b> In Croatia (without Krajina) referendum on secession from Yugoslavia (83.56% for an independent Croatia).</p>
	June	<b>28</b> Dissolution of COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).	<p><b>16</b> Second “Flower Bridge” across the border between Romania and Moldavia.</p> <p><b>25-26</b> Croatia and Slovenia adopt constitutional decisions on independence.</p> <p><b>26-27</b> Federal Executive Council overnight overturns the decision of the Slovenian and Croatian Parliament on secession from Yugoslavia and issues an order on taking control of border crossings. The JNA 13th Army Corps from Rijeka (Croatia) takes over border crossings with Italy in the littoral part of Slovenia without firing a single shot.</p> <p><b>27</b> The Ten-Day War for Slovenian independence begins.</p> <p><b>30</b> Yugoslavia wins the Basketball European Championship.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1991	July	<p><b>1</b> The Warsaw Pact is dissolved.</p> <p><b>31</b> US President George H.W. Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START 1) providing for the removal of 25-30% of their strategic nuclear warheads.</p>	<p><b>7</b> Brijuni Agreement between the EC Troika and representatives of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and the Federal Presidency. Slovenia and Croatia agree to suspend implementation of the declarations of independence, but not the declarations themselves. They also agree that Slovenian armed forces lift the blockade of JNA units and facilities, that the Slovenian territorial defence is demobilised and that all prisoners detained in connection with hostilities since 25 June 1991 shall be released forthwith.</p> <p><b>12</b> The Grand National Assembly adopts the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria.</p>
	July – December		<p>Armed conflicts in Croatia. A third of Croatian territory placed under the control of the army of the SAO Krajina, 700,000 Croats abandon their homes, Croatian cities bombed; most severe crimes were committed during the attacks against Dubrovnik and Vukovar.</p>
	August	<p><b>19–21</b> Coup against the Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. He is restored with the help of Russian Premier Boris Yeltsin and in the face of popular resistance.</p> <p><b>20</b> Independence of Estonia.</p> <p><b>21</b> Independence of Lithuania</p> <p><b>24</b> Independence of the Ukraine.</p> <p><b>25</b> Independence of Belarus.</p> <p><b>27</b> Independence of Moldavia.</p> <p><b>29</b> Independence of Azerbaijan.</p> <p><b>31</b> Independence of Uzbekistan and of Kirghizstan.</p>	
	September	<p><b>7</b> Peace Conference on Yugoslavia at the Hague chaired by Lord Carrington.</p> <p><b>21</b> Independence of Armenia.</p> <p><b>25</b> Resolution 713 on Yugoslavia, adopted by the UN Security Council, imposes arms embargo on the SFRY.</p>	<p>Killings of Serbian civilians in Sisak by Croatian military forces. Later killings of Serbs will spread in Gospić and Pakrac.</p> <p>The JNA becomes actively involved in the war against Croatia; it occupies Petrinja and Hrvatska Kostajnica, and launches an attack on Vukovar.</p> <p><b>8</b> Referendum on the independence of the Republic of Macedonia is carried by a large majority of citizens, although boycotted by ethnic Albanians.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1991	September		<b>26-30</b> Kosovo Albanians hold an unofficial referendum in which they vote overwhelmingly for secession from Serbia and independence.
	October	<p><b>23</b> Cambodia's four factions sign a peace agreement.</p> <p><b>27</b> Independence of Turkmenistan.</p>	<p>The Croatian Assembly severs all state and legally-binding relations with the SFRY.</p> <p><b>1</b> JNA and paramilitary units from Montenegro attack Dubrovnik.</p> <p><b>8</b> Slovenia introduces new currency, the <i>tolar</i>.</p> <p><b>20</b> Elections in Turkey lead to the formation of a coalition government between Demirel, leader of a new right-wing party, and Erdal İnönü, leader of a left-wing party (20 November 1991 to 25 June 1993).</p>
	November	<p>Geneva Accord between Tuđman, Milošević and Cyrus Vance (UN Secretary General's envoy) provides for cessation of armed clashes and for the withdrawal of the JNA from Croatia.</p> <p><b>1</b> Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev declares independence.</p> <p><b>5</b> China and Vietnam normalise diplomatic relations which had been minimal since a 1979 border conflict.</p> <p><b>27</b> UN Security Council resolution no. 721 provides for sending peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia.</p>	<p><b>9-10</b> Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina hold a referendum to remain in a joint state with Serbia, Montenegro, the SAO Krajina and the SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem.</p> <p><b>15</b> Works for the construction of an extended subway network in the Greek capital commence; first phase completed in December 1999 at an estimated cost of €2.2 billion.</p> <p><b>18</b> Fall of Vukovar; persecution and killings of the city's citizens and defenders by Serbian rebels and JNA troops. On the same day, massacre of the population of Škabrnja near Zadar by Serbian rebels.</p>
	December	<p><b>9-10</b> The European Council in the Hague drafts the Treaty on European Union (The Maastricht Treaty).</p> <p><b>13</b> Treaty on reconciliation, non-aggression and cooperation between South and North Korea.</p> <p><b>16</b> Independence of Kazakhstan.</p> <p><b>17</b> EU Council of Ministers decides to recognise the independence of all Yugoslav republics that accept the Declaration on Criteria for the recognition of new states.</p> <p><b>21</b> Representatives of 11 former Soviet Republics meet in Alma Ata and create the Commonwealth of Independent States.</p>	<p><b>6</b> Heavy bombardment of the old town of Dubrovnik by JNA made up mostly of Montenegrin troops.</p> <p><b>7</b> The Serbian family of Mihajlo Zec killed in Zagreb by Croatian Special Police Forces.</p> <p><b>8</b> First democratic constitution after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania; Romania is proclaimed a republic and a "national unitary" state.</p> <p><b>17</b> Greek objections to the request of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) that it is accorded international recognition under the name Republic of Macedonia (<i>Republika na Makedonija</i>) endorsed by the EU Council of Foreign Ministers.</p>



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1991	December	<p><b>23</b> Germany recognises the independence of Slovenia and Croatia.</p> <p><b>25</b> Gorbachev resigns. The Soviet Union ceases to exist. The following day, Russia is recognised by the EC. The Russian white, blue, and red flag replaces the hammer and sickle above the Kremlin.</p> <p><b>31</b> Cease-fire under the aegis of UN ends the civil war in El Salvador.</p>	<p><b>19</b> The SAO Krajina and the SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem unite and form the Republic of Serbian Krajina.</p> <p><b>20</b> Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Marković resigns.</p> <p><b>28</b> Re-interment with Christian rites in the First Cemetery in Athens of the KKE leader from 1931 to 1956 Nikos Zachariadis, attended by representatives of all mainstream political parties, marks the symbolic end of the Greek Civil War trauma.</p>
	January	<p><b>15</b> The European Community recognises the independence of Slovenia and Croatia.</p>	<p><b>2-3</b> Agreement on a plan for peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia (the Vance Plan) signed by F. Tuđman and S. Milošević. Four UN safe areas to be established, the JNA to withdraw from Croatia.</p> <p><b>9</b> The autonomous Republic of the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared.</p> <p><b>11-12</b> Unofficial referendum among ethnic Albanians in FYR Macedonia demonstrates wish for territorial autonomy.</p> <p><b>16</b> Bulgaria, soon followed by Turkey, recognises the Republic of Macedonia. Bulgarian president Zhelu Zhelev declares that the recognition of the state does not entail the recognition of the nation.</p> <p><b>16</b> Tried <i>in absentia</i>, former Greek prime minister Andreas Papandreou narrowly acquitted of all charges of breach of duty.</p>
1992	February	<p><b>7</b> The Maastricht Treaty or Treaty on European Union providing for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is signed.</p> <p><b>27</b> UN Security Council Resolution 743 establishes UNPROFOR (Protection Force) for the creation of three protected areas (UNPA) in Croatia.</p>	<p>Mass demonstrations in Greece against the use of the name "Macedonia" by FYR Macedonia.</p> <p><b>29 February – 2 March</b> Referendum on independence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most Muslims and Croats vote for independence, most Serbs abstain.</p>
	April	<p><b>26</b> Russia joins the International Monetary Fund (IMF).</p>	<p><b>3</b> The leader of the Albanian Democratic Party Sali Berisha elected president by the People's Assembly.</p> <p><b>6</b> The Council of Ministers of the European Community, followed one day later by the US, Austria and Croatia, recognise Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state. The war and the siege of Sarajevo begin.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1992	April		<p><b>8</b> The Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina changes its name to Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p><b>25</b> King Mihai I is permitted to visit Romania for the first time after his forced departure in 1947.</p> <p><b>27</b> The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising the federal states of Serbia and Montenegro, is created. Dobrica Ćosić becomes its first president.</p>
	May	<p><b>30</b> UN Security Council Resolution 757 imposes sanctions against the SFRY. Sanctions were broadened or mitigated on several occasions between 1992 and 1995.</p>	<p><b>3 &amp; 15</b> Attacks by Bosniak forces on withdrawing JNA convoys in Dobrovoljačka Street in Sarajevo and in Tuzla. A few dozen soldiers killed.</p> <p><b>7</b> Bulgaria becomes a member of the Council of Europe.</p> <p><b>22</b> Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina become members of the UN.</p> <p><b>24</b> Kosovo Albanians hold unofficial elections for an assembly and president of the "Republic of Kosovo".</p>
	June	<p><b>2</b> Danes reject the Maastricht Treaty in referendum. They will approve it in May 1993.</p> <p><b>3-14</b> UN Earth Summit on climate change in Rio de Janeiro.</p> <p><b>27</b> The European Council adopts a declaration on Yugoslavia in which it expresses its readiness to recognise the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia under a name which does not include the term "Macedonia". Because of Greek objections, the EU recognises the new republic only under the name Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, but individual member states use the name Republic of Macedonia.</p>	<p>Inflation in Serbia rises by 100% per month.</p> <p><b>19</b> Muslim-Croatian conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina starts.</p>
	June – July		Mass demonstrations against Milošević in Belgrade.
	July		<b>31</b> Greek parliament ratifies Treaty of Maastricht.
	August		<b>7-8</b> Greek government embarks on a programme of economic austerity and the privatisation of public utility companies, in line with the convergence criteria of the Treaty of Maastricht.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1992	September	<p>War breaks out between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh.</p> <p><b>15</b> The SFRY is excluded from the UN General Assembly.</p>	<p><b>27 September – 11 October</b> Legislative and presidential elections in Romania; Ion Iliescu and his Social Democracy in Romania Party (the former National Salvation Front), are re-elected for four more years.</p>
	October		Croatian forces break the siege of Dubrovnik and regain the south of Croatia.
	November		The General Secretary of the UN Boutros Boutros-Ghali presents a "Set of Ideas" for a settlement of the Cyprus Question, which is immediately rejected by the Turkish-Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş. Glafkos Clerides's victory in the presidential elections of February 1993 leads to its rejection by the Greek-Cypriots as well.
	December	<b>3</b> The first machine-generated SMS message sent in the UK (2G technology; second generation of mobile phones).	
1993	January	<p><b>1</b> Velvet Divorce: Czechoslovakia is dissolved; the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic are created.</p> <p><b>3</b> Treaty (START II) on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons signed in Moscow between the US and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).</p> <p><b>20</b> William J. Clinton (Democrat) begins his term as US president.</p>	<p>Croatian Army Operation Maslenica in the Zadar hinterland.</p> <p><b>7</b> Christmas massacre of Serbian civilians in Kravice by Bosniak forces.</p>
	February	Belgium takes first steps towards a federal state.	
	April	CERN (Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire) makes the World Wide Web available to the world free of charge.	<p><b>16</b> Massacre of Bosniak civilians by Croatian forces in Ahmići.</p> <p><b>17</b> Turgut Özal dies. Demirel becomes president in Turkey and is succeeded as prime minister by Tansu Çiller (25 June 1993–5 October 1995).</p>
	May	<b>25</b> UN Security Council Resolution 827 establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).	
	July		<b>2</b> Radical Islamists and right-wingers set fire to a hotel leading to the death of 37 intellectuals, mostly Alevis, in Sivas (Turkey).



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1993	August		<b>28</b> Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia proclaimed in Grude.
	September	<b>13</b> Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) signed. Palestinians formally recognise Israel, and enjoy the right to self-government in parts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank.	Croatian Army and Ministry of the Interior launch Operation Medak Pocket, regaining control over Gospić; war crimes committed against Serbian civilians; eleven Serbian villages destroyed. <b>27</b> The Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia proclaimed in Velika Kladuša.
	November	<b>1</b> In accordance with the Maastricht Treaty, the EC becomes the European Union (EU).	<b>8-9</b> Croatian Defence Council (Army of the Bosnian Croats) shells the Old Bridge in Mostar. <b>16</b> Greece and Cyprus conclude a common defence pact.
1994	January	Jerry Yang and David Filo create Yahoo!; it will be incorporated on 2 March 1995. <b>1</b> The North American Free Trade Treaty (ALENA), signed between the US, Canada and Mexico in December 1992, comes into force. <b>10-11</b> NATO launches its Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative to enhance stability and security in Europe, particularly among former Eastern Bloc countries.	<b>26</b> Romania signs the PfP framework document; subsequently, it participates in military and civil peacekeeping missions to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, Kuwait, Afghanistan and Iraq.
	January – June		Greece takes over the EU presidency.
	February		<b>5</b> The massacre at Markale market in Sarajevo; 68 civilians killed by Serbian bombing. <b>7</b> NATO air strikes on positions of Bosnian Serbs approved. <b>16</b> Greek government imposes trade embargo on FYR Macedonia objecting to the republic's name and its state symbols.
	March	<b>28</b> Right-wing and nationalist Freedom Alliance coalition scores an overwhelming electoral victory in Italy. In April media-tycoon Silvio Berlusconi becomes prime minister.	<b>31</b> The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is created (Washington Agreement); end of the war between Bosniaks and Croats.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1994	April	<b>15</b> Signed by 123 states, the Marrakesh Agreement establishes the World Trade Organisation (WTO), replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (in force since 1948).	<b>14</b> Greek parliament legislates on the confiscation of the former king's property in Greece and deprives him of his Greek citizenship. In November 2000 the European Court of Human Rights ruled that his human rights had been violated, and awarded him €12 million in compensation (in November 2002).
	April – July	Genocide in Rwanda. Mass slaughter of Tutsi by members of the Hutu majority government. Between half and one million Rwandans killed. The genocide was planned by members of the Hutu core political elite, ranks of the Rwandan army, the Gendarmerie, government-backed militias, as well as ordinary civilians. In November 1994 the UN Security Council establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). It will indict 95 and convict 61 individuals, before it is dissolved on 31 December 2015.	
	May	<b>10</b> Following the ANC's victory in the first democratic elections in the country's history, Nelson Mandela becomes president of South Africa.	
	July	<b>5</b> Amazon.com (American electronic commerce) founded by Jeff Bezos.	
	August	The IRA announces ceasefire in Northern Ireland.	<b>4</b> Contact group peace plan rejected by Bosnian Serbs. Milošević stops supporting Serbian leaders in Bosnia.
	September		<b>12</b> Film director Milčo Mančevski (FYR Macedonia) co-shares the Golden Lion award at the 51st Venice International Film Festival with <i>Before the Rain</i> .
	November	<b>27-28</b> Norway votes against EU membership.	
	December	<p><b>5-6</b> Budapest Summit. Fifty-two states establish the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which replaces the Commission on Cooperation and Security in Europe.</p> <p><b>11</b> First Chechen War starts. Russian troops invade Chechnya. The 20-month war claims the lives of some 30,000 people, including Chechnya's President Dudayev.</p>	<b>17</b> On the initiative of Albanian intellectuals and NGOs, "Tetovo State University" founded (illegally) in FYR Macedonia, provoking clashes and controversies. The authorities arrest its rector and sentence him to two and a half years of imprisonment. The university will be recognised by the state in 2004.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1995	January	1 Austria, Finland and Sweden become members of the EU.	30 Z-4 Peace Plan, which ensured a high degree of autonomy for the Serbs in Krajina, rejected by the Serbian side.
	February		1 Bulgaria becomes an associated member of the EU.
	March	26 Schengen Area: Abolition of border controls between seven EU member-states.	12 Alevi protests at Gazi (Istanbul) claims the lives of 25 people.
	May		1 Croatian army carries out Operation Flash ( <i>Bljesak</i> ) in Western Slavonia. 25 The Tuzla Gate massacre (Bosnia); Serbian shells kill 71 young people, wounding another 240. 28 Film director Emir Kusturica (Serbia and Montenegro) awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for <i>Underground</i> .
	June		21 <i>Pactul de la Snagov</i> (Snagov Agreement): all 14 political groups of the Romanian parliament sign a consensus document supporting a pro-European political agenda. 22 Romania submits official request to join EU.
	July		11 Under the command of Ratko Mladić, the army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina ( <i>Republika Srpska Krajina</i> ) massacres 8,000 men and boys in the "safe zone" of Srebrenica; defined as genocide by the UN Court of International Justice.
	August		4 Croatian Army Operation Storm ( <i>Oluja</i> ) commences; Croatia regains control over the Knin Krajina; 150,000 Serb refugees flee to Serbia; war crimes committed against civilians, mostly elderly people in some Serbian villages. 28 Massacre at the Sarajevo market; 43 dead and 81 wounded by Serbian shelling. 29 August - 14 September NATO bombing of Serbian positions in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.
	September		13 Interim Agreement between Greece and FYR Macedonia; Greek embargo is lifted.
	October		3 President of FYR Macedonia Kiro Gligorov survives a car bomb assassination badly wounded, losing his right eye.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1995	October – November		<b>October 25–November 5</b> The first Sarajevo Film Festival held in the city under siege.
	November	<b>4</b> Israeli Prime Minister and active supporter of the Middle East peace process Yitzhak Rabin assassinated in Tel Aviv by an Israeli religious extremist.	<b>12</b> The Erdut Agreement between the Croatian authorities and the Serbs of Eastern Slavonia provide for the reintegration of the region (including Baranja and Western Srijem) into the legal and state framework of Croatia. <b>22</b> End of sanctions against Serbia.
	December	<b>21</b> The Dayton Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina officially signed in Paris. End of the conflict.	
1996	January	Yasser Arafat elected president of the Palestinian National Authority.	The Customs Union between the EU and Turkey comes into force. <b>28–31</b> The “Imia Crisis” concerning uninhabited islets in the Aegean brings Greece and Turkey close to war; crisis resolved following US diplomatic intervention.
	February		Beginning of clashes in Kosovo. The first public appearance of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) will follow a year later. <b>29</b> The official end of the siege of Sarajevo proclaimed by the Bosnian government.
	April	<b>21</b> Olive Tree Alliance wins Italian general election. Former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi sentenced to eight years of imprisonment for corruption.	
	May	Strikes in Germany against austerity measures.	
	June		<b>28</b> After a severe political crisis in Turkey, the leader of the Islamist Welfare Party ( <i>Refah</i> ) Necmeddin Erbakan becomes prime minister and Tansu Çiller vice premier.
	July	<b>5</b> Dolly the cloned sheep is born.	
	August	The first mobile phone to enable wireless email and internet connection (the Nokia Communication mobile phone) hits the market. <b>31</b> Russia and Chechnya sign a peace deal freezing the issue of independence for five years but effectively recognising the autonomy of Chechnya.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1996	September	27 The Taliban enter Kabul, a development welcomed by the US.	The Roma municipality Šuto Orizari (commonly known as Šutka) established on the edge of Skopje, as one of the city's ten municipalities. It is the only municipality in Europe with a Roma mayor and with Roma as an official language.
	November		<p>3 The Susurluk scandal in Turkey exposes the close relationship between the security forces, the radical Right and organised crime.</p> <p>3 &amp; 17 Legislative and presidential elections won by the Romanian Democratic Convention, a right-wing coalition of parties under the leadership of Emil Constantinescu.</p> <p>17 Opposition parties in Serbia win local elections. Milošević does not acknowledge the results. Demonstrations will last for three months.</p>
	December	29 Peace treaty signed between the President of Guatemala and the country's guerrillas, bringing to an end a conflict that over a period of 36 years claimed the lives of more than 100,000 people (in addition to 40,000 who had "disappeared").	
1997	January	<p>1 Ghanaian diplomat Kofi Annan becomes the seventh Secretary-General of the UN; in 2001 he co-receives (with the UN) the Nobel Peace Prize.</p> <p>20 Bill Clinton starts his second term as US president.</p>	
	January – March		The collapse of 25 pyramid schemes in Albania provokes uncontained rioting, the fall of the government and a near civil war in which some 2,000 people are killed.
	February		28 "Post-modern" military coup in Turkey against Erbakan's coalition government; the National Security Council adopts a series of harsh anti-Islamist measures.
	May	27 Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security signed in Paris between NATO and the Russian Federation.	<p>22 The Constitutional Court forbids the use of the ethnic Albanian flag in FYR Macedonia.</p> <p>30 The former Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlos Westendorp appointed as the first High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.</p>

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1997	June	<b>17</b> Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Maastricht Treaty.	<b>15</b> Franjo Tuđman wins presidential elections in Croatia. <b>18</b> Military pressure and ultimatums force Turkish Prime Minister Erbakan to resign. <b>30</b> New government in Turkey headed by the leader of the Motherland Party Mesut Yılmaz (until November 1998).
	July	<b>1</b> Hong Kong, a British colony for 150 years, returned to China.	<b>8</b> Protests by ethnic Albanians in Tetovo and Gostivar in FYR Macedonia end in violent clashes with security forces. Three ethnic Albanians are killed and many others are arrested. The mayor of Gostivar Rifi Osmani sentenced almost to 14 years of imprisonment after being found guilty of inciting ethnic tensions. He is released two years later.
	August	<b>31</b> Diana, Princess of Wales, dies in a Paris car crash.	
	October		<b>5 &amp; 19</b> Elections in Montenegro; Milo Đukanović becomes President of Montenegro in January 1998.
	December	<b>11</b> Kyoto Protocol on global warming signed by 123 countries, including all 15 EU member-states. The US and the Russian Federation refuse to ratify the Protocol.	
1998	January		<b>16</b> The Constitutional Court of Turkey dissolves the Welfare Party and bans Erbakan from politics for five years.
	February		<b>28</b> War in Kosovo. It will last till 11 June 1999.
	March		<b>14</b> Greek <i>drachma</i> devalued by 14% in order to join the EU's exchange rate mechanism.
	April	<b>10</b> Good Friday Agreement signed in Belfast between Britain, the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland's Unionist and Republican parties.	
	May		<b>24</b> Greek director Theo Angelopoulos wins the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for <i>Eternity and a Day</i> .
	June	<b>1</b> The European Central Bank based in Frankfurt starts operating.	<b>22</b> Convertible mark becomes the official currency in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1998	June – July	<b>15 June-17 July</b> The International Criminal Court based in The Hague established at a UN meeting in Rome.	
	August		Disastrous forest fires hit Greece, threatening Athens and some of the country's most popular tourist areas.  Serbian civilians killed by Kosovo Liberation Army in the village of Klečka.
	September	<b>4</b> Google is founded in California.	
	December		<b>2</b> The leader of the nationalist Democratic Left Party (DLP) Bülent Ecevit forms a minority government in Turkey.  <b>7</b> NATO deploys strong contingent in FYR Macedonia to prevent a spill over of violence from Kosovo.
1999	January	<b>1</b> Single European currency (the euro) introduced in eleven of the fifteen EU member-states.	
	February		<b>16</b> PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan captured in Kenya; end of Kurdish armed struggle.
	March	<b>12</b> Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic join NATO.  <b>18</b> Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo (Rambouillet Accords) provide for NATO administration of Kosovo as an autonomous province within the SFRY; 30,000 NATO troops to maintain order in Kosovo. Kosovo Albanian, American and British delegations sign the Accords, while the Serbian and Russian delegations refuse. For many diplomats and other observers the Accords were the first step towards the NATO bombing of Serbia.	<b>23</b> The National Assembly of Serbia rejects the Rambouillet peace plan for Kosovo.  <b>27</b> NATO carries out large-scale air strikes against Serbia (and limited against Montenegro) until mid-June.
	April		<b>18</b> Legislative elections in Turkey. The DLP and the National Action Party of Devlet Bahçeli form a coalition government with Ecevit as prime minister.
	May		<b>4</b> Bulgarian air space opened for NATO operations in Yugoslavia.
	May – June		Romania opens three airports and its air space to NATO military aircrafts; in the Western part of the country, the first camp for refugees from former Yugoslavia is opened; public protests against the bombing of Serbia.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1999	June		<b>10</b> Kumanovo agreement signed; the SFRY Army to withdraw from Kosovo. End of NATO bombing of Serbia. Deployment of UN military forces. About 200,000 Serbian refugees flee to Serbia.
	August		<b>17</b> Major earthquake in the Eastern Marmara region of Turkey leaves over 18,000 dead, 44,000 injured and some 200,000 homeless.
	September		<b>7</b> Major earthquake in Athens leaves over 150 dead and injured and some 10,000 homeless.
	November	<b>30</b> Demonstrations against "globalisation" in Seattle.	
	December	<b>11</b> Helsinki Summit. The EU recognises Turkey as a candidate for full membership.	<b>10</b> Franjo Tuđman dies.
2000	January		<b>3</b> Parliamentary elections in Croatia won by a coalition led by the Social-Democrat Party, thus ending a decade of political domination by the HDZ.
	March	<b>20</b> Vladimir Putin, already acting as interim president of the Russian Federation following Yeltsin's resignation, is formally elected as president.	
	May	<b>24</b> Israel withdraws from Southern Lebanon, which it had occupied in 1978.	
	June		European Commission rules that Greece has satisfied the requirements for membership of the Economic and Monetary Union; Greece becomes the first EU member-state to be fined by the European Court of Justice for allowing the dumping of toxic waste in a stream bed in Western Crete.
	July	<b>11-25</b> Camp David Peace Summit on Middle East fails.	New legislation endorses the use of the Albanian language in higher education in FYR Macedonia.
	September	<b>28</b> Second Palestinian Intifada against Israel begins.	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2000	October		<p>Greek government legislates on removing religion from state identity cards, in the face of strong opposition from the Church of Greece and nationalist circles.</p> <p><b>5-7</b> Milošević loses in the presidential elections; demonstrations in Belgrade force him to concede defeat.</p>
	December	<b>7-11</b> EU Summit in Nice proclaims the Charter of Fundamental Rights.	
2001	January	<p><b>15</b> The free online encyclopaedia Wikipedia is launched.</p> <p><b>20</b> George W. Bush (Republican), son of former President George Bush, succeeds Clinton as US president.</p>	<b>1</b> Greece becomes the 12th EU member-state to join the Eurozone.
	February		<p>Croatian General Mirko Norac arrested on charges of war crimes.</p> <p>The economic crisis begins in Turkey.</p> <p><b>26</b> State security forces in FYR Macedonia and the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (UÇK) clash at the village of Tanuševeci. The conflict spreads across ethnic Albanian-populated regions, near the cities of Kumanovo and Tetovo. The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1345 condemning violence.</p>
	March	<p><b>1-2</b> The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) renamed as the African Union (AU) with 54 member-states.</p> <p><b>21</b> Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the EU and FYR Macedonia signed in Luxemburg.</p>	<b>25</b> Film director Danis Tanović's (Bosnia and Herzegovina) <i>No Man's Land</i> wins the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film.
	April		<b>10</b> Visa-free regime for Bulgarians in EU in force.
	May	The first pre-commercial trial network with 3G launched by NTT DoCoMo in Japan; first commercial 3G network launched on 1 October 2001.	
	June		<p><b>22</b> The Turkish constitutional court bans the Virtue Party (<i>Fazilet Partisi</i>).</p> <p><b>28</b> S. Milošević delivered to the UN War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague.</p>



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2001	August		<p><b>13</b> Ohrid Framework (Peace Agreement) signed by FYR Macedonia and ethnic Albanian parties. Sixteen constitutional amendments enhance the status of ethnic Albanians and other ethnic communities at a national and local level.</p> <p><b>14</b> The Justice and Development Party (AKP) formed in Turkey.</p>
	September	<p><b>11</b> (9/11) Attacks by the Islamic terrorist group Al-Qaeda against the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC, claimed the lives of 2,996 people (including the 19 hijackers) and caused at least \$10 billion of damages. The US launches its war against terrorism.</p> <p><b>17</b> China is admitted to the World Trade Organisation.</p>	
	October		<p>The War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague issues an indictment against Croatian Generals Ante Gotovina and Rahim Ademi; Ademi goes to the Hague voluntarily while Gotovina flees Croatia.</p> <p><b>3</b> The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) enacts the first harmonisation package to meet the Copenhagen criteria of EU membership.</p>
	December	<p><b>9</b> Taliban regime in Afghanistan collapses after two months of bombing by US aircraft and a campaign by NATO ground troops.</p>	
2002	January	<p>From January on Argentina goes bankrupt, having a national debt of \$132 billion. Recovery will start in 2004.</p> <p><b>1</b> The euro currency debuts in 12 EU member-states.</p>	
	February	<p><b>12</b> The trial of Slobodan Milošević on charges of crimes against humanity opens at the Hague.</p>	
	March	<p><b>22</b> US and Afghan troops start Operation Anaconda against remaining al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in Afghanistan.</p>	

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2002	April	<b>4</b> UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) Rebels and Angolan government sign a cease-fire ending 30 years of civil war.	<b>24</b> Bosnia and Herzegovina becomes a member of the Council of Europe.
	June – September		Fourteen members of the Greek terrorist organisation 17 November, which was responsible for 23 assassinations since late 1974, arrested and put on trial.
	September	The War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague takes over jurisdiction of five cases from FYR Macedonia, all related to the 2001 armed conflict between state security forces and the UÇK.	
	October	<b>23</b> Moscow Theatre Hostage Crisis: also known as the 2002 Nord-Ost siege by 40 to 50 armed Chechens demanding the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya.	
	November	<b>14</b> Jiang Zemin officially retires as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of China; he is succeeded by Hu Jintao.	<b>3</b> Elections in Turkey give absolute majority to the AKP of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
	December	<b>12-13</b> The Copenhagen Summit: Fifteen EU leaders reject Turkey's demand to set a date to begin negotiations for the country's eventual admission.	<b>12-13</b> Rejection of the Second Annan Plan by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership.
2003	January – June		Greece takes over the EU presidency.
	February	<b>5</b> US Secretary of State Collin Powell argues that Iraqi weapons of mass destruction pose an imminent threat to world security.	Croatia applies for EU membership. <b>4</b> In accordance with the Belgrade Agreement between Serbia and Montenegro (2002), concluded with the mediation of the EU, the two sides come to a new agreement on continued co-operation and decide to do away with the name Yugoslavia; the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro is created.
	March	<b>19</b> Second Gulf War. The US and Britain launch war against Iraq without UN Security Council Resolution. France, Germany and Russia oppose military intervention.	<b>1</b> The Turkish Parliament rejects the US request to open a second front in Southeast Turkey against Iraq; Turkish-American crisis. <b>12</b> Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić assassinated. <b>14</b> Tayyip Erdoğan becomes prime minister of Turkey.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2003	April	<b>29</b> The first Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas, sworn in.	The Turkish-Cypriot leadership lifts restrictions on crossing the island's dividing line (in place since 1974).
	May	<b>15</b> Nestor Kirchner elected president of Argentina, ending a period of political and economic crisis.	
	July		The TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly) votes the seventh harmonisation package, restricting the authority of the country's National Security Council.
	October		<b>29</b> The President of Turkey refuses to invite headscarf-wearing wives of AKP ministers and top officials to the official reception to mark the 80th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, sparking a row with the AKP-dominated TGNA.
	November		Attacks against the Jewish community and British targets in Istanbul, attributed to Al-Qaeda and radical Islamist Turks, claim the lives of 62 people. <b>23</b> The HDZ wins parliamentary elections in Croatia; Ivo Sanader becomes prime minister.
	December	<b>13</b> Saddam Hussein captured by American troops in Bagdad.	<b>14</b> Opposition led by Mehmet Ali Talat wins Turkish Cypriot elections.
2004	February	<b>4</b> The social networking service Facebook created by Mark Zuckerberg.	<b>15</b> Hamburg-born Turkish film director Fatih Akin wins the Golden Bear award at the Berlin International Film Festival for <i>Head-On</i> .
	March	<b>11</b> Terrorist attacks in Spain (known in Spain as 11-M). Coordinated bombings against Madrid railway network kill more than 200. Al-Qaeda assumes responsibility. <b>29</b> NATO formally admits seven new states: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.	
	April		Referendums held in Cyprus on the fifth version of the Annan Plan; Turkish Cypriots accept it while Greek Cypriots reject it.
	May	<b>1</b> Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia join the EU.	



Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2004	June		Croatia accorded the status of candidate country for EU membership.
	August		<b>13–29</b> Athens hosts the XXVIII Summer Olympic Games.
	September	<b>1–3</b> The Beslan school siege: Chechen terrorists take hostage about 1,200 schoolchildren and adults in Beslan, Russia; more than 330 die when the terrorists detonate explosives.	
	November	<b>2</b> George W. Bush returned to office as US president. <b>4</b> The US recognises the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name.	<b>24 November &amp; 12 December</b> Two-round parliamentary elections in Romania won by the right-wing coalition of Traian Băsescu.
	December	<b>26</b> Powerful tsunami devastates Southeast Asia, claiming the lives of 150,000 people.	
2005	February	<b>14</b> The video sharing site YouTube is launched.	
	March		The former interior minister of FYR Macedonia Ljube Boškoski is indicted by the ICTY for civilian killings in the village of Ljuboten, alongside policeman Johan Tarčulovski, and extradited to the Hague.
	May	Referendum in France rejects the proposed European Constitution.	
	July		<b>15</b> The Parliament of FYR Macedonia passes a law allowing the ethnic Albanian community to use its ethnic flag on public buildings in areas where it comprises the majority of the population.
	December		Greece and FYR Macedonia open an Office for Consular, Economic and Trade Relations in Bitola and a Consulate in Thessaloniki, respectively. However, the name issue remains an open problem.
2006	February		<b>18</b> Bosnian film director Jasmila Žbanić wins the Golden Bear award at the Berlin International Film Festival for <i>Grbavica</i> .
	March	Twitter, an online social networking service that enables users to send and read short messages, is created; it will be launched in July 2006	<b>11</b> Slobodan Milošević dies of a heart attack in his cell in the Hague. His four-year war-crimes trial had been nearing its completion.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2006	May		<b>21</b> Independence referendum in Montenegro approved, narrowly passing the 55% threshold. The result is recognised by the UN Security Council. The Assembly of the Republic of Montenegro makes a formal Declaration of Independence on 3 June.
	June		<b>5</b> Serbia makes a formal declaration of independence. After the dissolution of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, Serbia becomes the legal successor of the union, while Montenegro will re-apply for membership in international organisations.
	October		Turkish author Orhan Pamuk wins the Nobel Prize for Literature.
	November	<b>5</b> Saddam Hussein is charged with genocide by an Iraqi court for a campaign against Iraq's Kurdish population in 1988. He is sentenced to death and executed on 30 December.	
2007	January		<b>1</b> Bulgaria and Romania become members of the EU. <b>1</b> Slovenia introduces the euro.
	March	<b>26</b> Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams, the leaders of Northern Ireland's main Unionist and Republican parties, meet for the first time and agree to form a power-sharing administration in the region.	
	April		<b>16</b> The trial of Ljube Bošković and Johan Tarčulovski opens in the Hague. A year later, Bošković is acquitted, while Tarčulovski is sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment.
	May		<b>27</b> Romanian film director Cristian Mungiu awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival for <i>4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days</i> .
	December	<b>14</b> South Korean statesman Ban Ki-moon becomes the eighth Secretary-General of the UN.  Global economic downturn.	
	January – June		Slovenia takes over the EU presidency.
2008	January – June		

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
2008	February	<b>18</b> The US and a host of other states, including Britain, Germany and France, recognise Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state.	<p><b>17</b> After three months of negotiations between the EU, the Russian Federation and the US on the future of Kosovo end in stalemate, Kosovo's Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi declares independence from Serbia.</p> <p><b>21</b> A rally claiming "Kosovo is Serbia" is held in Belgrade, half a million people in the streets, the US Embassy burned in riots.</p>
	April		<p>Croatia invited to join NATO.</p> <p><b>2-4</b> NATO Summit in Bucharest is considered the most important international gathering that Romania has ever hosted; the summit is attended by 3,000 delegates from 26 NATO member states and 23 NATO partners.</p>
	May	<b>7</b> Dmitry Medvedev is elected President of the Russian Federation. Putin becomes prime minister.	
	June – December		Recession begins in Southeast Europe; SEE countries plunge into deep recession in 2009; most countries recover by 2010-1 and some of them re-enter into recession in 2012. Only Greece has a continuous recession from 2008-2013 and again in the second half of 2015.
	July		Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić arrested in Belgrade and sent to the UN War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague.
	August	<b>8-24</b> Beijing hosts the XXIX Summer Olympic Games.	
	December		<b>6</b> The killing of a high school student by a policeman in downtown Athens sparks a series of protests and demonstrations escalating in widespread rioting.





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