



Why did Yugoslavia disintegrate ?

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Beginnings – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes



- state concept among the South Slavic intelligentsia - 1918 collapse of Austria-Hungary at the end of World War I (October 1918 – National Council in Zagreb, then December 1918 – State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes - Belgrade)
- However, the first idea – 17th century – Croat writers and philosophers (South Slavic rebirth) and also Thomislav Bacurin – “Načertanije” (Frantisek Zach) - Belgrade
- In 1848 – first plan created – Secret Belgrade Circle – close to the ruling government – South Slavic Federation
- The two most conscious Yugoslavian tribes – Croats and Serbs - lay down the foundation of their political future

The foundation – the rules

1. The Yugoslavs will form a Yugoslavian state headed by one leader – a king. The position will be hereditary.
2. The Yugoslavs are divided into 3 Yugoslav tribes: the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes.
3. Every tribe will have: complete autonomy before the legislature
4. The king will have a ministry composed of the most capable of all tribes. At the national assembly, all three tribes will be represented equally. Armed forces will also be represented equally.
5. Each tribe will be given the opportunity to educate its people in its own dialect, and the Serbian language and the Cyrillic alphabet will be accepted for the administration and literature.
6. The Eastern Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church will be on an equal footing.
7. All other areas refer to the Bulgarian tribe.
8. The tribes will help each other with the liberation of their shared land from foreign invaders.
9. Each Yugoslav tribe will preserve its ethnic name, but to foreign affairs they will all be Yugoslavs, and their state Yugoslavia.



First years

- Peter I of Serbia
- Recognized as a state at the 1922 Conference of Ambassadors in Paris
- 1929 - new name - Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Stages

- invasion by the Axis powers - 6 April 1941
- 1943 - Democratic Federal Yugoslavia - Partisan resistance
- 1944, King Peter II(exiled) – legitimate government
- November 1945 - monarchy abolished - communist government - new name: the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
- New territories of Istria, Rijeka, and Zadar from Italy
- Partisan leader - Josip Broz Tito - PM and president from 1944 until 1980
- 1963 – new name again : Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).



Counties of Croatia

1. Istria County	10. Pozega and Slavonia County
2. Rijeka County	11. Virovitica and Podravina County
3. Zadar County	12. Osijek and Baranja County
4. Primorsko-Gorje County	13. Sisak and Moslavina County
5. Zagreb County	14. Slavonski Brod and Posavina County
6. Međimurje County	15. Vukovar and Srijem County
7. Krapina-Zagorje County	16. Lika and Senj County
8. Karlovac County	17. Zadar County
9. Varaždin County	18. Sibenik and Knin County
	19. Split and Dalmatia County
	20. Dubrovnik and Neretva County
	21. The City of Zagreb



Arguments of disintegration

1. Cultural and confessional differences – Longue durée

- Three major monotheistic religions
- Intersection of previous large multinational empires
- George Kennan – the hatred comes from a past of tribal existence ('aggressive nationalism')
- many ingredients to "civilizational" identity - history, language, tradition, culture, religion – religion was the most important – it mobilizes(mobilized) people
- Differences in people not in regions – rural-urban division – revenge of the countryside
- Ideological differences – communist partisans and royalists(Chetniks)
- What once united them, now became a source of minor differences narcissism



2. Clashes of empires

Dennison Rusinow

- Ottoman Empire and their religious division aspect
- Border areas that fought in the 90s – the same regional lines of conflict that had multi-ethnic population (Bosnia, military frontlines of Croatia and Kosovo)

Gale Stokes

redrawing of state borders onto ethnic lines - the final working out of a long European tradition of violent ethnic homogenization

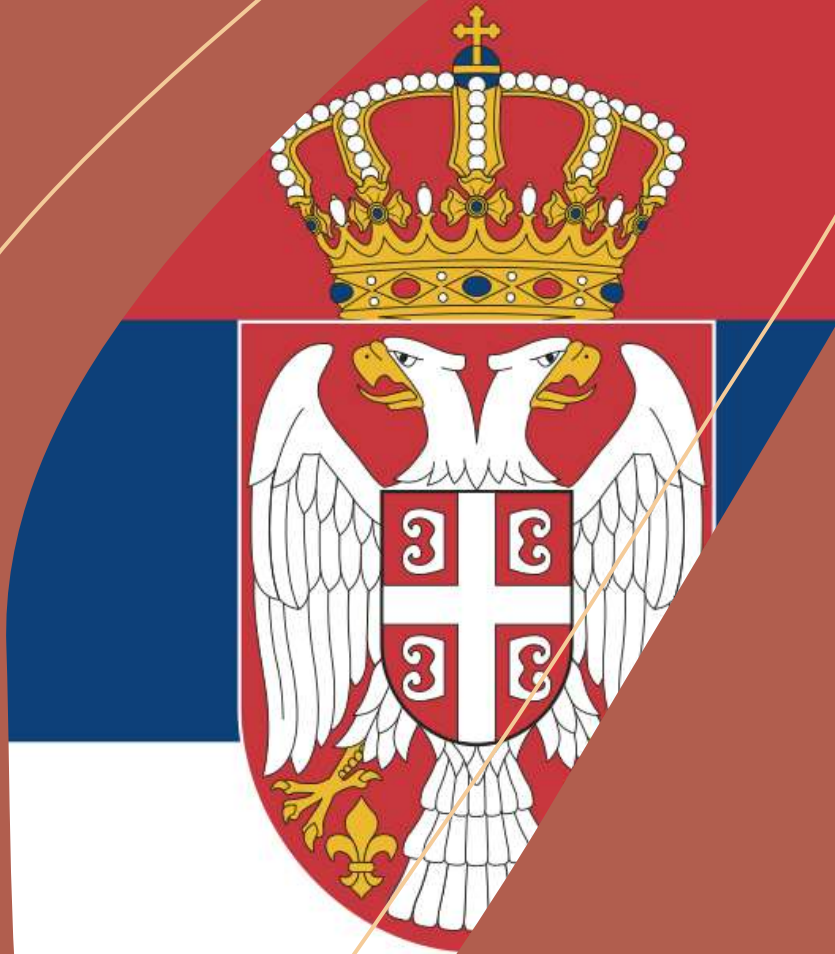
19th century nationalism - reaction against the multinational empires – became an inspiration of Balkan national uprisings and state-building projects

3. Ideology factors – Ivo Banac

- Since the beginning – Serbia was a ‘bigger’ player than the others, even the first written idea of the state (Greater Serbia)
- Assimilation and expansion - didn’t consider the other two as equal
- Even in 1918 – Serbian elites were looking forward to a future expansion
- 1987 – Slobodan Milosevic – his communist party resembled more to the Radical party before war than to the other communist parties around Yugoslavia
- The other two felt threatened and thus started a defensive ideology against Serbia’s desire of expansion



3. Ideology factors – Serbian POV



- 1915 - Treaty of London - the Allies propose to Serbia a future 'Greater Serbia' and they reject - that means that their nationalist feeling was put aside in order to let the Yugoslav state take place
- Also, they blame Croats for their anti-Serbian Catholicism and the influence of the Austro-Hungarian rule - Croats only wanted to insure a future Croat unity within the empire and further, an independent state
- Aleksandar Pavković - there is a fundamental similarity between Serbian and Croatian national ideology - they both wanted a state BUT these states overlapped
- The only possibility to overcome these nationalistic desires of each, was to compensate with a bigger and stronger idea of 'Yugoslavism' by the elites, which never happened

What is a Yugoslav ?

- illustrated by the self-definition of a former Yugoslav diplomat - "a Dalmatian from Dubrovnik, a Belgrader, a Croat– and therefore a Yugoslav."

Southern slavs separating



Western slavs separating



4. Socialism in Yugoslavia

- Transformation into a confederation(late 60s)
- Constitution of 1974 also removed the federal decision-making processes and focused on the federal units as sovereign entities (acting de facto as states)
- Instead of centralizing their hatred to a weakened center, they started to grow resentment against each other(the federal subjects)
- After Tito's death and without the Partisans, Yugoslavia became an ideological community again



5. Economy in Yugoslavia

- After WWII, the Soviet five-year plans were implemented and also massive voluntary work for reconstruction was seen
- a mixture of a planned socialist economy and a market socialist economy: workers were entitled to a certain share of their profits
- 50s and 60s – Youth work actions - roads, railways, public buildings, industrial infrastructure - organized on the local, republic, and federal levels by the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia
- significant growth in education, heavy industry was developed, the countryside was electrified, factories were nationalized
- 1980s – after 2 decades(59 – 79) of economic growth, from 1979 to 1989 there is actually zero growth of per capita income

5. Economy in Yugoslavia

Late 70s - globalization, interdependency - the true weaknesses of the socialists(not only Yugoslavia) started to be visible(low efficiency, lack of technological dynamism, low adaptability)

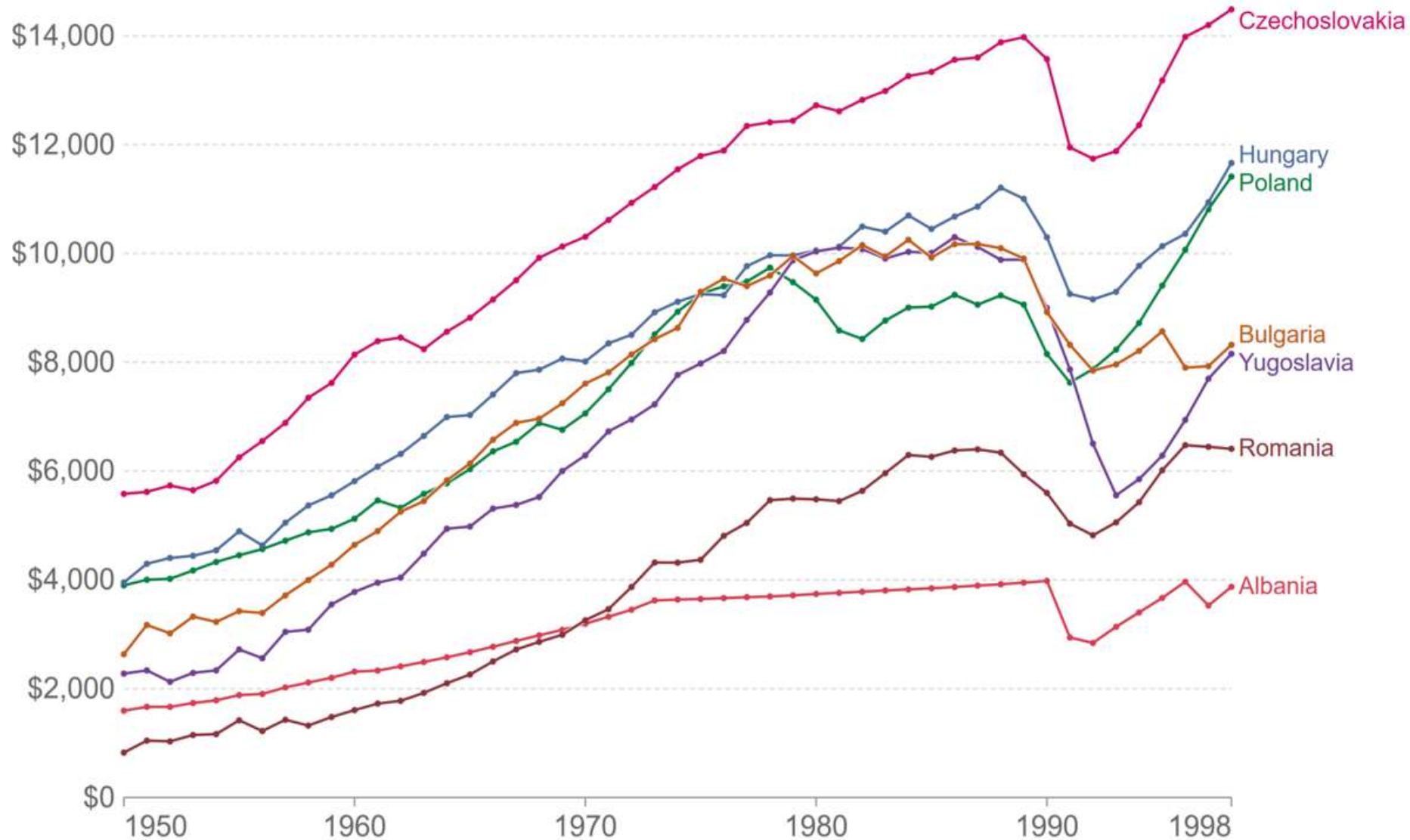
In order to adapt, reforms needed to be implemented BUT

- The federal subjects were not interested anymore in helping "Yugoslavia's economy"
- Every federation had different views and wishes(one of them being to support themselves) and not exchange
- All the political scheme should have been changed(at this point, impossible)
- With the Soviet Union collapsing, they decided not to send money anymore to Yugoslavia, so the West also stopped sending
- Yugoslavia needed money so they sought loans (IMF), but loans are given with the insurance of payback + interest, so nobody wanted to give money to them



GDP per capita, 1950 to 1998

GDP per capita adjusted for price changes over time (inflation) and price differences between countries – it is measured in international-\$ in 2011 prices.



5.

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70s' Oil crisis

- foreign debt grew at an annual rate of 20%
- 1980s - fuel limitations (40 liters per car per month), limitation of car usage to every other day, based on the last digit on the license plate
- severe limitations on import of goods and paying of a deposit upon leaving the country (mostly to go shopping), to be returned in a year
- shortages of coffee, chocolate and washing powder
- power cuts



Collapse of the economy

Year	Debt	Inflation	GDP(billion US\$)	Unemployment
1954	\$400 million	-	-	-
1965	\$1.2 billion	34.6%	-	6.6%
1971	\$3.177 billion	-	15.8(20.11%)	6.7%
1973	\$4.7 billion	20%	21.5(21.86%)	9.1%
1980	\$18.9 billion	27%	70(27%)	13.8%
1982	\$20 billion	40%	62.8(31.85%)	14.4%
1987	\$21.961 billion	167%	84.6(25.96%)	16.1%

6. Political and Intellectual Agency

- 1987 – Slobodan Milosevic comes to power with an ideology of “let’s make Greater Serbia happen” (famous speech in Kosovo Polje)
- All minorities accepted except one, the Albanians in Kosovo (protests since the beginning of the 80s)
- Because of migration within the country, now Serbians formed small minorities all around Yugoslavia, so a Greater Serbia would include also these territories that were de facto in other countries
- Louis Sell – 2002 biography of Milosevic – believes that he is the one to blame for the imminent collapse
- Lenard Cohen -1993 Broken Bonds – we cannot blame a single man for the disintegration of a whole country, when other factors were already present



6. Political and Intellectual Agency

- Dejan Jović believes that “many of those whose actions in the end brought about the disintegration had a completely opposite motive: to save Yugoslavia, not to destroy it.”
- In the evidence brought at the ICJFY, no written document or testimonies showed clearly that Milosevic was to blame directly for the disintegration
- Milosevic had a secretive political approach, taking decisions mostly in his house with his wife, Mira Markovic

Why was it so violent ?

- the perpetual sentiment of the other nations that Serbia wanted to dominate
- The migration of the people in Yugoslavia created big minority communities all over the map, not respecting the established lines
- Politicians focusing the speeches on the insignificant differences rather than what unified them in the first place





Opinions of Yugoslavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenians)

- Serbian person : "An economically strong, independent and neutral state in the Balkans did not suit the great world powers. There are military, economic and political reasons to break up that country into small, weak states, which will have to depend on the big ones and serve them in various ways."
- Croat person: "Yugoslavia was a powerful industrial, military and economic power with a great social, health and obligation system. What was the benefit to Germany, Britain or America? None. Now they all benefit..."

Opinions of Yugoslavs(Serbs, Croats and Slovenians)

- Slovene person: we didn't have any region outside of Slovenia with minorities, we were far from the epicenter(Belgrade) and we felt more support from the west that we bordered(Italy, Austria). We had that nuclear power plant that was feared by the Yugoslav army and they wanted to destroy it, so Austria also pressured Belgrade to let us go peacefully. We didn't feel as connected to the other Yugoslavs and we thought we can manage ourselves better.



Conclusions

- No main reason, but a homogenous combination of all
- Since the beginning, Serbia wanted more for themselves
- Tito's death
- The fall of the Soviet Union
- The surpassing of border lines in huge numbers to other areas
- The inequality of the regions

Thank you for your attention!

