

THE REVIVAL OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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Abstract

With the establishment of Yugoslavia as a state that consisted of several nations such as Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Albanians, Macedonians and Serbs, there will constantly be attempts to dominate other nations. For Serbia, the Yugoslav state will only be a tool for Serbian domination, which, in turn, stimulated Croatian national opposition. Nationalism will come to the fore mostly from the years 1844 with the infamous "Nacertania" program until the end of the Second World War. Serbian nationalism will also be emphasized during Tito's leadership, with the program of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1986 and its implementation by Slobodan Milosevic. The Serbs never stopped these forms of war even with the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo and the Albanians who lived in other territories in the former Yugoslavia, but they managed to adapt them, depending on the political currents in the world, and continued the ethnocide that can be taken as an example of a flagrant application of silent fascism that acted in the institutional framework, without any serious reaction from the outside.

Keywords: nations, nationalism, war, institutional, Serbs, etc.

1. Introduction

Nationalism is a multidisciplinary doctrine, which originated in Europe since the French Revolution (as a result of Industrialism and the Enlightenment), where it played an important role in the formation of nations in Western Europe. This influence spread more widely in other countries, especially in the Balkans when the process of creating nations began towards the end of the 19th century, such as the formation of the Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian nations etc. It can be said that no modern social phenomenon in social theory has attracted the attention of researchers more than the nation and its related issues: myths of common origin, nationalism, clashes between nationalisms, inter-national hatreds, the myth of ethnicity, the myth on the common language, the myth on the common history, these have not only attracted the attention of researchers, but have influenced them to spread throughout the world, where they have caused many conflicts between peoples.

The nationalism that spread in Western Europe as a result of economic-social development and that influenced the creation of nation-states, while the Balkans was an occupied territory under the hooves of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary and indirectly under the occupation of Tsarist Russia, this influenced the spread of the liberation war for the creation of national states and the emancipation of these nations. This influence caused the Balkans to become a source of conflicts since 19th century, although the conflicts in the Balkans were open from earlier, but from this time they took on another dimension, as Urs Altermatt says: for fear of losing their ultimate identity, they quarreled against each other, built ethno-nationalist fortresses and used cultural differences, as a pretext to raise walls against foreigners. (Altermatt, 2002)

The national language was the foundation of the national awakening, accompanied by efforts for a national church, the only exceptional case were the Albanians, who, divided into three different faiths, strongly supported their nationalism in the common Albanian language. The

process was strongly supported by the reconstruction of a common collective memory for the nationalities in the Balkans. Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian intellectuals began to evoke the glory of the historical past, the glorification of popular heroes, to awaken the feelings and national consciousness of their peoples.

2. Historical overview of Serbian nationalism

In this paper we will talk about Serbian nationalism, especially at the beginning we will present an overview of the infamous "Načertania" program from 1844 until the end of the Second World War. Whereas, in the second part, we will present Yugoslav nationalism during Tito's leadership, especially Serbian nationalism with the program of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1986 and its implementation by S. Milosevic.

I. Garashanin, the compiler of the "Holy Serbian Doctrine", prepared the platform in the infamous work "Načertanje" of 1844, which was based on the program of extermination and expulsion of Albanians by force from their lands. Descendants of Garashanin such as Pashiqi, king Nicholas, Čubrillovic, Andriqi, Rankoviqi, Mugosha, Tempo, Jovici, Qosic, Trajkovic, Milosevic and many others. The Serbs never stopped these forms of war with the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo and the Albanians in other territories in the former Yugoslavia, but they managed to adapt them, depending on the political currents in the world, and continued the ethnocide, which can be taken as the most blatant example of the application of silent fascism that acted institutionally, without any serious reaction from the outside.

This policy was managed to be carried forward by the minister of the interior, Ranković, who took as a pretext the action for the "accumulation of weapons", through which action thousands of Albanians were killed and imprisoned. These actions were allowed until Tito fulfilled the plan and declared: "this behavior towards the Albanians was done without his knowledge, and the mentioned Serbian minister was removed from his position, since he had been guilty that during that period they had been unjustly imprisoned as well many Croats and Bosniaks but no Serbs. (Docutte, R. S. Thaçi Hamdi, 2004)

After this event, Serbia was considered guilty for everything that had happened in Tito's Yugoslavia, from this period a new era began for other republics that were given equal rights that could go as far as secession, while the provinces were given an equal position in the federation, but without the right to secede. With this, Albanians gained the right to influence political and economic development. This influenced Serbian nationalism not to come out publicly, but to work to eliminate this constitution, because they thought that Serbia lost all its rights.

This is best observed in the Blue Book, a summary of the "Doctrine of Serbian Signs" as it was called, published in Belgrade after the changes in the Federal Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The blue book was prepared by the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Serbia, while the book has been free for citizens since 1977. With this book, the doctrine "argued" the dismissal of all the rights that Kosovo and the Albanians had acquired from the Constitution of three years ago. So, this book also foresaw the taking of the rights of the Albanians or the autonomy that was previously given to the two provinces. Serbia wanted a constitution, which would enable her to dominate all republics and provinces in Yugoslavia, and then realize the second plan of Greater Serbia, this blind hegemonic desire led Serbia to war with other republics and in the end with Kosovo. (Docutte, R. S. Thaçi Hamdi, 2004)

This is best shown by the death of Tito, after which Serbian nationalism began to appear, through which a new infamous political figure appeared, this S. Milosevic who would later receive the epithet "Butcher of the Balkans", this he achieved his goal by taking advantage of the internal and external needs of the Serbian people.

Seeing this dangerous policy of the Serbs, all the peoples in Yugoslavia began to disagree with this prevailing situation, but this was best seen by the Albanians in Yugoslavia, especially in Kosovo. Economic development stagnated, an action which caused great dissatisfaction, then the demonstrations of 1981 followed, with the request for the status of the Republic for Kosovo. Serbian politics did not stop working, especially the Serbian academic circles, when a great support began, especially for the then leader S. Milosevic, therefore, this is where the construction of their dream for complete domination began. Milosevic "used the historical and political ties of the Serbian Church with the government and with the "blessing" of church leaders by swearing to protect the Serbian people and the church from abuse and threats from others. (Docutte, R. S. Thaçi Hamdi, 2004)

On the other hand, the political and academic circles did not stop working, issuing plans to secure power in Yugoslavia, this is best shown by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts with the infamous memorandum.

3. Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts of 1968

The issue of political responsibility: The memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which was published in 1986, unofficially made the news where Serbian nationalism and expansionist policies towards other peoples who lived in the state of Yugoslavia will be clearly seen. The memorandum foresaw several segments of life, allegedly that the Serbs are the most oppressed people in Yugoslavia, with this began the propaganda allegedly for "physical, political, legal and cultural genocide against the Serbian population in Kosovo and Metohija and that this was the most serious defeat of Serbia". (Kodi, 2003) here the situation of the Serbs in Croatia and the other parts of Yugoslavia is mentioned, suggesting that the Serbs are the most vulnerable. We can say that the memorandum is a compilation of opinions and publications throughout the years on the Serbian issue.

For description of Serbian nationalism during that time, it is best shown by the language used "at the time of nationalism, it was considered a slowly acting poison, a poison which over time poisons almost all people" (Kodi, 2003), with this we can say that language played a key role in the mental and emotional preparation of crimes. The language influenced Serbian nationalism to once again appear on the scene after several decades of silence that took place after the fall of Ranković.

In this memorandum, several cases are mentioned, which the Serbs consider serious and as an exercise against the Serbs, such as: the demonstrations of 1981, some local murders, the case of Martinović, etc. The memorandum provided for several economic, political and cultural aspects. From the economic point of view, a broad overview of the economic development in Yugoslavia is made, here the economic underdevelopment of some regions in Serbia, which had remained the most backward in Yugoslavia, is presented. The Yugoslav constitution of 1974 is blamed for this economic backwardness with this constitution the transformation from federation to confederation took place.

The attitude of Serbian academics was that "eleven years were enough to notice the great difficulties, which are consequences of confederalization in the social order, for which the constitution was also at the center of criticism of the political system" (Kodi, 2003).

With this, Serbian nationalists say that the cause of this situation was the policy of the 70s. XX. To arouse nationalism, Serbian academics used some hyperbolized "facts" saying that the Serbs are the only people who do not have their own state, and it has even narrowed by separating its two provinces from Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Based on these, Serbian academics designed the official map of Greater Serbia that was blessed by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which included large parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro (the latter had come under Serbian tutelage with the so-called

"yogurt revolution"), of course, the territories of Vojvodina and Kosovo were also included here (Docutte, R. S. Thaçi Hamdi, 2004). With this memorandum that was presented by Serbian academics, the entire Yugoslav political spectrum was shocked. This memorandum was supported with the greatest desire by S. Milosevic, while "the truth about the Kosovo issue contributed to his transformation into a demagogic political leader" (Malcolm, 2001).

Another contribution to his rise was given by his speech in Fushë Kosovë, where he said: "No one dares to beat you!" (Malcolm, 2001), this influenced S. Milosevic to become the spiritual leader of the Serbs.

The rise of Milosevic caused many problems that led to the devouring of Yugoslav power, when in 1989 Kosovo's autonomy was removed, and towards 1990 to realize the plan of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts which led to the beginning of the war in Croatia, Bosnia and finally in Kosovo (in 1998-1999). The memorandum and the leadership of S. Milosevic influenced the dissolution of Yugoslavia, while the leader who started the implementation of the memorandum was accused by the Hague Tribunal of war crimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

4. Conclusion

This paper, which talks about Serbian nationalism, makes clear that the Serbian people were only interested in territories, every project presented by Serbian political and academic figures has become a legitimization of violence with the sole purpose of territorial gains.

The Serbian nationalism that was presented with the "Načertanie" project was seen as claiming a great Serbia, while all the subsequent projects of Vasa Čubrilović, Ivo Andrić, the Blue Book and finally the Memorandum of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Serbia, it is clearly understood that they are interested in the issue of Medieval Serbia, especially Kosovo since they consider it as the holy land of Serbia.

The inclusion of Albanians in Yugoslavia had a negative impact on the local population, state violence was applied to Albanians, especially during the Ranković period, while after the 1960s Albanians gained some rights with the Constitution of 1974, which lasted until 1989. .

This period is known as the period of extinction of nationalisms in Yugoslavia, but in reality it was the silence of nationalisms, especially the Serbian one, which appeared after the death of Tito.

Serbian nationalism appeared on the scene with the 1986 memorandum, which clearly stated Serbia's intentions for the territories of neighboring states. A characteristic of this Serbian nationalism after the death of Tito, is the appearance on the political stage of S. Milosevic, who supported him and rose as the spiritual leader of the Serbian people, precisely from this nationalism, receiving the blessing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, with the promise that would return the lands of medieval Serbia. This occupying policy of unbridled Serbian nationalism led to the beginning of the war in the former Yugoslav republics as in Slovenia, then in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and finally in Kosovo, during these wars Serbian nationalism led by Milosevic (the Butcher of the Balkans- as many world diplomats will name it) caused numerous casualties among the civilian population, caused destruction of cities, violence, state genocide on the aforementioned countries.

The guilt for the crimes committed belongs to the Serbian people, because it was state violence, and the Serbian Orthodox Church must also be punished, because it has blessed the violence on the civilian population for decades. This is best expressed by Urs Altermatt when he says: "Undoubtedly, there is no other place in Europe where religion and ethnicity are so strongly connected to each other than what happens among the southern Slavs in the Balkans" (Altermatt, 2002).

This connection is that, with the acceptance of Christianity, the Serbs have gone from a primitive people to a civilized people, and religion has played a major role in the formation of the Serbian nation. Based on all this, we can conclude that the Serbs lack a moral code, which would stop the violence that has been practiced on other people for centuries.

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