Economic inequality and Nationalism

Relationship between the discourse of Nation and the National and economic reforms in Yugoslavia

Case Study: Serbia

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1. Introduction

Equity is as a concept based on the principle of distributive justice with aim of reducing unequal opportunities for less privileged social groups. Poverty is not itself a violation of human rights. However, government action or inaction leading to creation and extending of poverty and marginalization, often reflect violations of human rights.\(^1\) Weaknesses in the social security system in Serbia, the limited ability of governments to increase public expenditure for the alleviation of poverty, and the high levels of unemployment have led to a drastic increase in poverty during the transition period and following the various wars and conflicts in the region.\(^2\) The consequences of economic inequality are many and profound. Rise in inequality is typical to transition economies.\(^3\)

According to Raj Patel, market society makes its own culture and ideas about human nature and social order.\(^4\) John Stuart Mill believed that social sciences could use an abstract model to make assumptions about people\(^5\) and Becker claimed in *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior* in 1976 that the economic approach provides a useful framework for understanding all human behavior, where the starting point was that everyone’s goal is to maximize their profit and satisfaction without any limitations.\(^6\) However, this behavior is common for societies and social structures that in the essence of their system, don't value or reward cooperation and sharing. And, as Patel explained, the shaping element is the system that surrounds the act of exchange.\(^7\)

In order to connect the concept of nationalism and economic reforms, first chapter will guide the reader through the background and put it into the context. Following, the terms of nation, nationalism and ethnicity will be defined through prisms of different authors and approaches.

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These approaches will be grouped in the next chapter, forming a theoretical framework chapter. After defining the basics, the reader will be introduced to the nation building process in the Balkans. The part related to the economic reforms will depict some of the main challenges for the governments from the 1960s, like providing the financial institutions that they were able to control the economic politics of certain republics, especially republic’s political classes that were used to ensure the social peace through economic compromises with the workers. As the following section, nation discourse and national in literature, political and media sphere, will argue that what had been present in literature, political and media discourse from 1965 - 2000, has become an integral and more importantly, institutionalized element of the new state. The development of Serbian national consciousness within the socialist Yugoslavia from 1965 to 1986 will examine the formation process of Serbian national identity within the former socialist state and ten years after the dissolution of this country. I will deal with discourses of the nation and the national by using the method of historical text analysis in literature. The exact starting point of the research in terms of the historical period will also be defined throughout the research itself. Roughly, this will be around the year of economic reforms in 1965. Even though one may find traces of what Latinka Perovic calls Serbian “romantic historiography”8 already in some pieces such as Dobrica Cosic's novel Koreni (1954, eng. Roots) or Deobe (1961, eng. Divisions). In the following section, I will research forms of Serbian national and nation discourse in the academic, political and media sphere. The starting point of this, second referential part of the research, will be the famous Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts published in Serbian daily newspapers “Vecernje Novosti” in 1986. Already next year, the “eight session” of the Serbian branch of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was held. This session was significant because it represented, together with the Memorandum, the milestone for Serbian nationalism and its penetration from literature into political and media discourse. Both political and media discourse from 1986 to the end of 1990's, with the support of “national intelligentsia” was almost monolithic with regards to national narratives. Until the end of 1980's several important events for my research took place, such as the well-known speech of Slobodan Milosevic in Kosovo where he, for the first time publicly, announced the

8 Milos Perovic, Revisionism and Nationalism: Preispitivanje proslosti i istorijski revizionizam (eng. Questioning the Past and Historical Revisionism) (Belgrade, 2014), 32.
possibility of war, by saying that Serbs are again, “in battles and facing the new ones”. Since the beginning of wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, one may map progressively increasing presence of nationalist discourse in media and political sphere. With regards to political discourse, Serbian case shows that both government and opposition significantly contributed to its promotion. Some oppositional parties were nominally orientated against the war, but not against the national project.

Taking into consideration that national identity and nationalism are not purely political, and trying not to simplify the factors that led to fallout of the state, I will try to research the history of Yugoslavia in relation to economic reforms and the discourse in literature and media.

1.1. Background and contextualization

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the consequences of economic system, putting economic inequality in a relation with ethno-nationalism. The time frame this thesis will focus on is the period from the 1960s until the end of the 1990s. The case study that will be used is the fallout of Yugoslavia, focusing on Serbia. Most analysis turn to ethno-nationalism and deep-rooted hate. However, this master thesis will take into consideration some other variables, like the economic reforms and the role of the media, literature and political elites that followed.

The main hypothesis is that the implementation of the economic reforms that were introduced during transition weakened the previous economic system in Yugoslavia and that these reforms went hand in hand with the rise of nationalism in the media and literature caused the rise of nationalistic discourse in different parts of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav experience with regards to the discourse of the national will be divided into several sections. The year of 1965 may be the year when the economic roots of nationalism can be traced. With the brief overview of the 1965 economic reform and its impact on the rise of nationalism in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia and among the Serbs all around former Yugoslavia, in the first section of my research I will focus on mapping the beginning of the national spirit (re)awakening of the Serbs in former Yugoslavia. The second era to be researched in the context of Serbian national discourse is the period from 1986 until the year
of 2000. This period covers the war and the first couple of years following the war when the nation – state, a super–structure of national identity, was about to be build.

Taking into consideration that national identity and nationalism are not purely political, and trying not to simplify the factors that led to fallout of the state, I will try to research the history of Yugoslavia not from the war to the past, but from the possible factors and options starting from the 80s – why some were political forced and the others rejected. Solidarity of the workers movement in the 80s shows that people were joining together regardless of the nationality with a goal to fight for economic safety, not narrowly identifying themselves with a certain nation but with the federation. There are several cases that will be used to research these links. One of these is the strike at the Labin factory and Borovo factory. Croatians and Serbs had good relations in these workers strikes, and the one at Borovo factory became a symbol of united labor strike. Because of this, and some several more cases, I believe more research is needed to be able to see the roots of ethno-nationalism and connect it to the political and economic aspect.

1.2. The research question/s

As it is stated above, this thesis will try to put nationalism in a relation with the economy. The main hypothesis is that the implementation of the neo liberal economic reforms that went hand in hand with the nationalistic discourse in the media and literature caused the rise of nationalism in different parts of Yugoslavia. The most important unit around which I will define the main research is the question of neoliberal reforms and its effects on the nation and the national discourse through media and literature in former Yugoslavia. This is going to be a research on the consequences of those variables in Yugoslavia and the rise of ethno-nationalism in Serbia, and with that respect, the main research question will be:

‘’What is the relation between the economic reforms, politics, literature and media on the rise of nationalism in Yugoslavia before the fallout?’’

Additional questions: How did economic reforms in the 1960s affect the rise of nationalism? How did media, literature discourse and the political elite affect the rise of nationalism?
Political leaders used and even initiated the rise of nationalism as a mean to achieve personal power. In the process, through their use of symbols, the media, and propaganda to instill fear in their own populations, they created a culture that permitted massive violations of human rights. When nationalist politicians did talk about protecting human rights, they invariably limited the scope of their concern to the people that fell within their particular ethnic or national group, which is a bit of a paradox since it empowers and limits at the same time. When it comes to the protection of human rights, the media served as a double-edged sword. On one hand, numerous politicians in the Balkans have used the media to instigate nationalist violence simply in order to further their own ambitions which led directly to serious human rights abuses.
2. Literature review

2.1. Nation and Nationalism

‘‘(...) In fact, nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state.’’

There are various approaches to the study of nationalism that will be described more in detail in the following sections.

‘‘To understand the concept of nation-building, one needs to have some definition of what a nation is. Early conceptions of nation defined it as a group or race of people who shared history, traditions, and culture, sometimes religion, and usually language. The people of a nation generally share a common national identity, and part of nation-building is the building of that common identity. Some distinguish between an ethnic nation, based in (the social construction of) race or ethnicity, and a civic nation, based in common identity and loyalty to a set of political ideas and institutions, and the linkage of citizenship to nationality.’’

Gellner\(^9\) claims that agrarian societies don't have a necessity for the existence of “nation” in the modern sense of the word. On the other hand, an industrial society that is built on markets (not on local markets as the agrarian society) needs better ways of communication. And for example, Bowles\(^12\) believes that preferences have an internal cause or origin and can be

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influenced by various institutions. According to Alberto Alesina and Eliana La Ferrara research, productivity increases in an industrial society with more homogenization relative to an agrarian one.\(^\text{13}\)

Another important author in this field is Walker Connor with his famous journal article from 1980, *Nationalism and Political Illegitimacy*. Connor defines nationalism by identification to the nation and not to the state. According to him:

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(...) the nation is a group of people with a shared common ancestral myth or common culture that allows them to mobilize through appeals to a relationship.**\(^\text{14}\)
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Connor concludes by suggesting three levels of legitimacy (regime, government, and state) that account for the persistence of multinational states in a national era.\(^\text{15}\)

Although the theories in Anglo Saxon literature generally don’t see nationalism as something positive or negative, Danilo Kis’s view is not value-neutral:

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(...) nationalism is thus, in the first place, negativity; nationalism is a negative spiritual category because it thrives on denial and by denial. We are not what they are. We are the positive pole, they the negative. Our values, national, nationalist, have no function except in relation to the nationalism of those others: we are nationalist, but they are even more so; we slit throats (when we must) but they do too and more; we are drunkards, they are alcoholics; our history is proper only in relation to theirs; our language is purely in relation to theirs. Nationalism lives by relativism.**\(^\text{16}\)
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Anthony D. Smith's *National Identity* perceives the concept of national identity as a collective cultural phenomenon. He connects the questions of national identity to those of ethnic identity. According to Smith, a nation is a:

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“* (…) named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties for all members.”*17

2.2. Nationalism and ethnicity

Ethnicity is a very important concept and a phenomenon, especially in politics. Different theoretical approaches tend to explain it differently. For example, to Connor,18 Horowitz19 and Shils20, ethnicity represents an emotion based on the sense of belonging to a certain group. Geertz21 and Smith22 describe ethnicity as a net of significant symbols. Anderson23, Barth24 and Royce25 perceive ethnicity as being constructed by the society and as a decision of a choice that is to be made.

Ethnic groups did indeed exist during the Middle Ages but they were not related to the political aspect of the ethnic identity, meaning that people were not aware of that aspect. Some of the first work and research was done by Emerson, Deutsch, Kohn, Shafer and Hayes. However, these classic studies of nationalism don't include the concept of ethnicity in their studies about nationalism. And according to Wolf, the concept of ethnicity is an inviolable part of nationalism26. Two key works published in the late 1960s challenged conventional academic thought regarding ethnic identity.

One of the most important authors that must be mentioned is Connor Walker. Connor created the expression *ethnonationalism* in 1973, and within his research of nationalism and

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20 Edward Shils, “'Primordial, personal, sacred, and civil ties’”. *British Journal of Sociology* 8 (1957): 130-145.
ethnicity, determined that first can't pulled apart from the latter. Considering his background in political sciences, it is not surprising that his research was centered around the concept of power which was solidified through the state. Connor believed that nationalism should be related to ethnicity and not to loyalty to the state.

"With the term nationalism thus pre-empted, scholars have felt compelled to offer a substitute to describe loyalty to the nation. Regionalism, parochialism, primordialism, ethnic complementarity, and tribalism are among those that have been advanced." According to Connor Walker, the element that differentiates the nation from the ethnic group is self-awareness. This is understandable considering that Connor researched the concept of nationalism in the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th century and during that time there was a huge reliance in the significance of the national self-determination. Connor describes ethnicity as unbreakably connected to nationalism and therefore defines the term ethnonationalism. This, for Connor, is the essence of ethnonationalism and is the driving force behind expressions of nationalist feeling. It has also become known as the primordial view of nationalism which will be mentioned in the following section.

The second, a must-be-mentioned author and the one who more important for this thesis, is Anthony Smith. Even though Smith comes from a sociology background and therefore, had a slightly different focus than the one Connor had, he focused his study on the concept of politicization. He agreed that nationalism can't be detached from ethnicity, but he opposed that self-awareness of an ethnic group is the element that differentiates nation from an ethnic group or that is something that is ingrained among the individuals of that ethnic group. On the other hand, Smith argued that this self-consciousness and common ethnic identity is actually inflicted by the elite and intellectuals of those ethnic groups and serves as a political mean and an instrument. He claimed that the concept of politicization is what turns an ethnic group into a nation where the key elements are equal citizenship-rights and vertical economic integration.

28 Walker Connor, "Nation-building or nation-destroying?", World Politics 24, no. 3 (1972): 319-55.
‘‘(...) in order to forge a "nation" today, it is vital to create and crystallize ethnic components, the lack of which is likely to constitute a serious impediment to "nation-building."’’

The expression that Smith has brought into the play was ethnic nationalism, not perceived as a version of nationalism, but to emphasize the link between ethnicity and nationalism and the ethnicity as the core of nationalism, at the same time taking into account the politicization.

Although having some parts in common, compared to Connor's definition of ethnonationalism, Smith's term of ethnic nationalism is more adequate and broad. Smith reflected on more factors that Connor did, including the definition of difference between ethnic and territorial nationalisms (based on colonial rule). Smith also explained the triple movement in Eastern Europe that led the ethnic groups to become nations.

Brendan O’Leary emphasizes that Gellner and Connor don't believe that a multi-national state as such is able to control ethnonational violence. After conducting a qualitative and quantitative analysis, O’Leary concluded if there is a national or ethnic group that is demographically, culturally and electorally dominant, there is a greater chance for political stability. Federal and consociation arrangements can sometimes alleviate the greatest abuses of ethnonational violence, Canada, Belgium and Switzerland being the best examples. Paul Gilroy agrees that a nation is a constructed concept through:

‘‘(...) elaborate cultural, ideological, and political processes which culminate in feeling of connectedness to other national subjects and the idea of a national interest that transcends the supposedly petty divisions of class, region, dialect or caste.’’

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35 Paul Gilroy, *Small acts: thoughts on the politics of black cultures* (Serpent's Tail, 1993), 49.
Ethnicity is molded by geopolitics. John Coakley’s researched the connection between religion and nationalism and explores the ways in which religion provides organizational, ideological and political support for nationalist mobilization.36

2.3. Theories of ethnicity

Ethnicity and nationality are widely researched in the academic world. These theoretical approaches to ethnicity are: primordialism, instrumentalism, materialism and constructionism. The evolution of these approaches is closely linked to the development of theories underpinning thought in the social sciences37: from cultural evolutionism, through structural functionalism, to conflict theories, and postmodernism.38 The definition of the ethnic conflict on which this research will rely on is a conflict where at least one group defines its goals exclusively in ethnic terms and in which the fault-line of confrontation is one of ethnic variation.39

2.3.1. The primordialist approach to ethnicity

The primordialist approach to ethnicity was usual until the 1970s. To classic primordialists, ethnic identity is inherent, non-changing and perpetual. According to this approach, a person born in a certain ethnic group is culturally defined by that group.40 Although, Van Evera pointed out that ethnic identities are not stamped on our genes, but once formed, groups tend strongly to endure.41 Ethnic identity is perceived as a need for finding the purpose and belonging.42

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This theoretical approach also implies that the irreconcilable differences because of cultural
gaps that cause fear, conflict and ultimately, violence.\textsuperscript{43} This argument is known as the
ancient hatreds argument that is commonly used in the case of the Balkans, meaning that
cultural differences between ethnic groups were the only cause of the ethnic violence that
followed.

2.3.2. The instrumentalist approach to ethnicity

In Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of cultural difference, Barth pointed out that the main characteristic of an ethnic group are not the cultural aspects of that culture, but the perceived boundaries based on group membership criteria.\textsuperscript{44} Claiming that membership criteria can change over time, he questioned the primordialist approach according to which ethnic groups have inherent cultural traits.\textsuperscript{45} Barth himself didn't research the birth of the ethnic groups, like other authors with this theoretical approach.\textsuperscript{46} Some of them claim that modernization or state policies have a big part in creating ethnic groups, describing them as a recent concept and phenomena. Anderson\textsuperscript{47} and Gellner\textsuperscript{48} perceive ethnic identity as continuing and long-lasting once created.

Cohen Abner pointed out that political elites, on certain occasions, generate and take advantage of the belonging to an ethnic group to attract more voters and supporters.\textsuperscript{49} His research was the ground stone for the future research with an instrumentalist theoretical approach. The works that followed were focused on emphasizing that political and intellectual elites construct or exploit ethnic tensions to be able to gain more power, authority, or defend against group threats. Authors with this viewpoint were Fearon and Laitin\textsuperscript{50} and

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{43} Nicholas Sambanis, “Do ethnic and nonethnic Civil Wars have the same causes? A theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)”, \textit{Journal of Conflict Resolution} 45 (2001): 263.
\bibitem{44} F. Barth, \textit{Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of cultural difference} (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).
\bibitem{45} Ibid.
\bibitem{46} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
Kaufmann.\textsuperscript{51} However, Fearon claimed that manipulation by the political or intellectual elites or their thrive to gain economic benefits are not the cause of ethnic conflicts and that rational ‘power-conserving’ elite strategies alone are not sufficient enough to explain the complexity of this phenomenon.\textsuperscript{52} And according to Ruane and Todd, the feelings of belonging and mass sentiments related to the ethnic identity are used a mean to mobilize the participation of great number of people in these ethnic conflicts.\textsuperscript{53} Some authors combined primordial approach and instrumentalism. Laitin claims that culture has both a restraining primordial feature\textsuperscript{54} as a flexible and constructed element, the concept which is more explained by Fearon.\textsuperscript{55} Scott described ethnic identities as primordial but their relative importance as constructed.\textsuperscript{56}

This approach defines ethnicity as a strategic basis for coalitions that are looking for a larger share of scarce economic or political power and as a mean for gaining resources by a few individuals\textsuperscript{57}, arguing that parties use the ethnicity to gain the economic and political power. Collier pointed out that many ethnic conflicts and civil wars happen because of the opportunities that the primary commodity predation wishes to gain.\textsuperscript{58}

2.3.3. The materialist approach to ethnicity

Concerning the materialist theoretical approach to ethnicity, research in this sub-field not as nearly as vast as the ones regarding primordialism and instrumentalism. Mainly based on Marxist theories, Michael Hechter,\textsuperscript{59} perceives ethnicity as a secondary effect or byproduct of class relations.\textsuperscript{60} These theories were widely criticized. Among most scholars,

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\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{59} M. Hechter, ‘’Group Formation and the Cultural Division of Labour’’, \textit{American Journal of Sociology} 84, no. 2 (1978): 293–318.
\textsuperscript{60}Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
there is a general recognition that ethnicity is not a product of class relations and that there is no one-to-one relationship between the two categories.\textsuperscript{61}

2.3.4. The constructionist approach to ethnicity

This approach changed the focus from defining ethnicity to the process of its construction. The constructionist approach finds its base in the instrumentalist theories, perceiving ethnicity as a social construct.\textsuperscript{62} Here, ethnicity is fluid, endlessly and ongoingly being constructed through social interaction, by both elites and ordinary people.\textsuperscript{63} According to Wimmer the ethnic identity is created using various means, including conquest, colonization or immigration.\textsuperscript{64} As Chandra pointed out, ethnic identity emerges from social, economic and political processes.\textsuperscript{65} Furthermore, Brass and some other authors with a constructivist approach, claim that each society has a historically constructed narrative that political elites use for manipulation to gain more power.\textsuperscript{66}

Constructivist theoretical approach depicts identity as a social category differentiated by the orders of membership or socially accepted behavior that is expected in certain circumstances.\textsuperscript{67,68} Ferejohn claims that that these social categories are not natural or fixed because the social discourses are the concept that causes the creation of identity.\textsuperscript{69}

Another significant author for my research is Kaufman. Kaufman emphasized the part that plays the language, history, symbols and culture regarding the initiation, creation and giving strength to ethnic conflicts:

\textsuperscript{62} Grace Paley, ‘‘The Loudest Voice’’, \textit{in Crossing Cultures} (Boston: Allyn and Bacon,1998), 199-204.
\textsuperscript{66} P.R. Brass, \textit{The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India} (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).
\textsuperscript{67} James Fearon and David Laitin, ‘‘Explaining Interethnic Cooperation’’, \textit{American Political Science Review} 90, no. 4 (1996): 715-735.
\textsuperscript{68} James Fearon and Daid Laitin, ‘‘Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War’’, \textit{American Political Science Review} 97, no. 1 (2003): 75–90.
‘’ (...) the most dangerous symbols used in ethnic wars are myths that justify political domination over a (...) territory, which may have been lost in the past and myths of past atrocities that can be used to justify fears of future genocide.’’

According to Jemma, ethnicity changes through the interaction among different ethnic groups and the purpose of ethnicity is to enhance and maintain social discrepancies for specific aims set by the elite. Weir continues by claiming that ethnic conflict represents a result of certain events and processes in history which directly impact the relationship among ethnic groups, generating malice between them and thereby explains the politicization of ethnic identities produced by different factors that are changing and creating the conditions for ethnic violence.

However, regardless of the belief that ethnic identities are constructed, the constructivist theoretical approach taken by Smith also argues that these identities could become internalized and institutionalized in a way that they have a deep meaning for a certain ethnic group, and produce the same emotions that primordial identities would because ethnic groups tend to share a persisting sense of common interests and identity based on these shared historical experiences, valued cultural traits, beliefs, religion, language and shared territory or homeland.

2.3.5. Chosen approach

Instrumentalist contribution to this thesis is in the explanations of the reasons why some individuals take part in ethnic violence although when they are not personally convinced but still continue to follow the mass, arguing that ethnic mobilization is a coordination game in which it is rational to cooperate as long as you see others cooperating. Georg Lukacs once pointed out that one of the ways in which the bourgeoisie tries to prevent

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workers achieving coherent class consciousness is by “binding the individual members of those classes as single individuals, as mere ‘citizens’, to an abstract state reigning over and above them”. But it cannot be an abstract state, it has to be a very concrete, particular state founded on a sense of common identity. For the working class, nationalism arises from two sources. One is from the spontaneous search for a form of collective identity with which to overcome the alienation of capitalist society. Fearon claimed that manipulation by the political or intellectual elites or their thrive to gain economic benefits are not the cause of ethnic conflicts and that rational ‘power-conserving’ elite strategies alone are not sufficient enough to explain the complexity of this phenomenon.

However, since the constructivist theoretical approach integrates multiple dimensions, this will be the main framework on which this master thesis will rely on. The constructivist approach focuses on the probable causes and sources of ethnic conflict, by researching historical events and processes to display the effects of the socio-economic and political environment has on the birth of ethnic violence. The emphasis on the role of elite manipulation, the socio-economic and political environment makes it important for this master thesis. Furthermore, the role of language, history, symbols and culture, for constructivists, is significant in instigating and sustaining ethnic rivalry which will be the theoretical framework used for the research of discourse of nationalism in literature and politics.

I’ll rely on Anthony Smith’s definition of ethnic nationalism that is underlined above. He agreed that nationalism can't be detached from ethnicity, but he opposed that self-awareness of an ethnic group is the element that differentiates nation from an ethnic group or that is something that is ingrained among the individuals of that ethnic group. On the other hand, Smith argued that this self-consciousness and common ethnic identity is inflicted by the elite and intellectuals of those ethnic groups and serves as a political mean and an instrument.

He claimed that the concept of politicization is what turns an ethnic group into a nation where the key elements are equal citizenship-rights and vertical economic integration. Chandra

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pointed out that ethnic identity emerges from social, economic and political processes.\textsuperscript{79} According to Chandra, these ethnic conflicts are caused by the goals of political leaders for political or economic gains or a deliberate manipulation based on a rational decision to spark or encourage ethnic violence.\textsuperscript{80} Brass and some other authors with a constructivist approach, claim that each society has a historically constructed narrative that political elites use for manipulation to gain more power.\textsuperscript{81}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{81} P.R. Brass, \textit{The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India} (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).
\end{flushright}
3. Historical background

3.1. The nation-building process in the Balkans

“Perhaps the central question in our understanding of nationalism is the role of the past in the creation of the present.”

Although Bagehot believed that nations are old as history, the concept of the nation has actually been an indivisible part of modern European history. Until the 19th century, national identity was more of a presumption than a social reality. The 19th century in Europe was marked by national movements, revolutions, socialist uprisings, repression, and many wars which gave rise to the nations we recognize today. To make nations into self-conscious communities, a common language and a common culture had to be created. Scholars, writers, and artists worked for decades on this demanding task.

“(…) there is something misleading about this accepted use of the word ‘nationalism’. It always seems to locate nationalism on the periphery. Separatists are often to be found in the outer regions of states; the extremists lurk on the margins of political life in established democracies, usually shunned by the sensible politicians of the centre. The guerrilla figures, seeking to establish their new homelands, operate in conditions where existing structures of state have collapsed, typically at a distance from the established centres of the West. From the perspective of Paris, peripherally placed on the edge of Europe. All these factors combine to make nationalism not merely an exotic force, but a peripheral one. In consequence, those in established nations – at the centre of things – are led to see nationalism as the property of others, not of ‘us’… This is where the accepted view becomes misleading: it overlooks the nationalism of the West’s nation-states. In a world of nation-states, nationalism cannot be confined to the peripheries. That might be conceded, but still it might be objected that nationalism only strikes the established nation-states on special occasions. Crises, such as the Falklands or Gulf Wars, infect a sore spot, causing

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bodily fevers: the symptoms are an inflamed rhetoric and an outbreak of ensigns. But the irruption soon dies down; the temperature passes; the flags are rolled up; and, then, it is business as usual."

French Revolution led to a change in politics and constitution of France and showed some of the first elements of nationalism. These events in France had impact on other cities in Europe. In Western and parts of Central Europe industrial production grew and ideas of national unity in early-nineteenth-century Europe were closely linked to the ideology of liberalism. For the new middle classes; freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law were the bases of idea of liberalism. Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote about this topic in his essay *About the origin of inequality among men*. According to him, when people live in immense societies, the rise of division of labor can lead to sentiments of entitlement and deprivation, to vanity and feeling worthless, to conflicts of interest. The popular slogan during the French revolution, ‘’Freedom Equality Fraternity’’ is a portrayal of that.

Hroch's comparative studies of small European national movements are very valuable regarding the study of national movements. Hroch represented three stages of the history of national movements. According to these phases, the first stage was the nineteenth-century in Europe, and it was completely cultural without any political or national insinuations. Second stage includes the political campaign for the idea of national. Third stage is the stage in which the nationalist programmes are gaining mass support. Example of Ireland shows us that this can happen before the emergence of the state and that it can often happen as a result of that emergence.

Adrian Hastings claims that England is a perfect example of a nation and a nation-state that was showing national elements even during the pre- Enlightenment era, with the highest strength of the nationalist element during and after the late sixteenth century and that this

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process had a great influence of the national history of England's neighbors. According to Liah Greenfeld:

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"The birth of the English nation was not the birth of a nation, it was the birth of the nations, the birth of nationalism."
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From the beginning of the sixteenth until the twentieth century, the rulers of England and France undertook the process of homogenization by convincing culturally distinguishing populations in each country's Celtic regions to assimilate to their own culture. This was an example of a culturally inclusive *state-building nationalism*, where the ruler consciously tries to make a multicultural population culturally homogeneous out of geopolitical reasons, to secure borders from potential threats. The case of Spanish *Reconquista* is an example of cultural unification by removing culturally foreign populations. These attempts can cause the rise of *peripheral nationalism*, when a culturally distinguishing population is resisting to be assimilated, for example in Scotland and Catalonia. On the other hand, nineteenth-century in Germany and Italy is the perfect example of *unification nationalism*, where there is culturally exclusive assimilation of politically divided but culturally homogeneous territory into one state.

In Europe, linguistic homogenization was a necessity for the creation of the nation a social and cultural whole. This homogenization in most cases started by establishing a common language. Considering the Slavic languages, a written language was already preexisting. However, this written language was old-fashioned and inappropriate for a number of uses so it needed to be enriched and modernized. Several Balkan languages were mainly restricted to religious texts and in those cases the modern national language had to be based on the dialects spoken by the population. Standardization of languages through dictionaries and grammar books didn't start until the end of the 18th century. After this process, the languages had to be advocated by cultural and patriotic associations. These associations subsidized the publications of books and newspapers in the new national languages which also had to be

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90 Ibid, 16.
91 Ibid, 17.
taught in schools. Standardization of language was accomplished in the different European nations at different rates depending on their educational programs and their economic modernization. This fabrication of languages is still ongoing in the former Yugoslavian states, especially the case of the Montenegrin, Serbian and Croat languages. On the other hand, national history underlines the events and ideal historical figures lay down guidelines and examples for potential challenges. This helps in forming a collective memory which is diffused through the schooling system and literary and artistic works. The historical novel was introduced by Walter Scott at the beginning of the 19th century and it has been an efficient way of spreading an emotional appreciation of national history and identification with its heroes throughout the population.\textsuperscript{92} The birth and expansion of the concept of nation is connected to the industrial revolution and modern capitalism. But Anthony D. Smith stresses the leading role played by artists and writers in the cultural process of nation-building, claiming that it is the intellectuals and the artists who created the “language” of the nation, who constructed its symbolic and material heritage, and gave it its form and mobilizing strength.\textsuperscript{93} According to Ernest Renan, this perception of common heritage as being absolute is the reason people have a desire to live in a nation, defining the nation as: “a soul, a spiritual principle”.\textsuperscript{94}

“Now the 'nation is not, of course, an eternal category, but was the product of a long and complicated process of historical development in Europe. For our purposes, let us define it at the outset as a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness (...) three ties stand out as irreplaceable: (1) a 'memory' of some common past, treated as a 'destiny' of the group - or at least of its core constituents; (2) a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of

\textsuperscript{92}http://www.counterfire.org/articles/history/18528-transforming-the-past-walter-scott-and-the-historical-novel
\textsuperscript{93} Anthony D. Smith, \textit{National Identity} (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994).
\textsuperscript{94} Ernest Renan, “'Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation?’” (Conference Faite en Sorbonne, March 1882, Paris: Calmann Levy, 1882).
social communication within the group than beyond it; (3) a conception of the
equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society.”

In order to explain the violence and human rights abuses of the late twentieth century Balkans, many modern politicians have pointed to the existence of “ancient ethnic hatred” between the various groups, taking the primordialist approach. However, if we take a look on history, for example from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries the Balkan peoples defined their identity through reference to economic and religious factors far more than any concept of ethnicity. By the nineteenth century a class of Slavic urban shopkeepers and artisans had developed. In the nineteenth century, the economic changes and the emergence of a Slavic middle class began to allow the various ethnic groups to begin to form an idea of national cohesion and allowed for the development of a more ethnically-oriented conception of identity. And to get just a glimpse of the inter-ethnic composition of the Balkan states, one need only consider the presence of Hungarians in Transylvania (Romania) and in Vojvodina (Serbia); the Romanian-speaking Moldavians in Moldovo (or Bessarabia, historically contested by Romania); the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Greece; the Greeks in Northern Epirus (Albania); the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria; the Turks in Bulgaria.

Until the 19th century, relationship between the Serbs and the Croats was mainly based on the desire for unity. Yugoslavia presented a mixture of different ethnic nations, backed up by a system that was built to deal and support these differences. During the Yugoslavian time, the authorities have put a lot of efforts in declining the differences that existed between different nationalities. Many authors believe that the citizens didn't develop in fully a Yugoslavian identity. In 1991, only 6.6% of citizens declared themselves as being Yugoslavian, and most of these people the children of “mixed” marriages. Furthermore, big percentage of Yugoslavians of different ethnicity lived within one of the other’s “national” territory.

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According to Andrei Simic, a modern nation has a standard ethical code, a moral field, that gives guidance to its inhabitants about what is good and socially acceptable behavior. Simic claims that different nations have different ‘‘moral fields’’, and that mutual behavior between nations represents the ‘‘amoral’’ realm. This theory is significant because another author, Ramet, applied Simic’s concept to the Yugoslavian case. Ramet believes that the Yugoslavian case had a lot of ethnic diversity (the mythology of the partisans, or the projects for worker participation in management) and that it couldn't hold for too long and that the regime didn't succeed in making a common, standard moral field in which all the Yugoslavs would be included. Remet claims that moral fields were concurrent with ethnic communities, increasing the risks of political disintegration.

Other authors, for example Wachtel, believes that the cause of the war was in the conflicts between country and town, not between ethnic or national groups.

‘‘It was to my mind the successful challenge to any supranational Yugoslav vision by particularistic nationalist ideals that drove the country to destruction and led to the rise of figures such as Milosevic and Tudjman, rather than the other way around.’’

The cause of nationalism of the Balkans is a consequence of many different factors, as well as the fall out of Yugoslavia itself. Although this thesis will only focus on economic factors, I believe that other factors should be mentioned as well. History of this region is marked by different ethnic groups living together, Ottoman heritage and the more recent Europeanization, afflicted by poverty without fully developed civil society in which individuals would be able to rely on a legal system, affected by corruption and bribery and followed by an incomplete modernization. Some of the factors are the conflicts between traditional indigenous cultures, the gap between rural and urban populations, the interweaving of internal political conflicts and international meddling, or the political

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manipulation of the population by the political elites. This turbulent history of the Balkans has led to the development of harsh ethnic contrasts.

Some authors went pretty far in their claims about nationalism in the Balkans. One of them is George Kennan, a diplomat from the United States and a historian. Kennan claims that nationalism in the Balkans ‘drew on deeper traits of character inherited, presumably, from a distant tribal past... and so it remains today.\footnote{George F. Kennan, \textit{Other Balkan Wars: Inquiry in Retrospect with a New Introduction and Reflections on the Present Conflict} (Washington: Carnegie Endowment, 1993), 7.} This added to propaganda and prejudices about the Balkans, especially Kaplan's best seller book \textit{Balkan Ghosts}, where he states that Nazism can claim Balkan origins,\footnote{R. D. Kaplan, \textit{Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History} (New York, 1994), xxiii.} describing Serbia as primitive that the West knows best through the characters of Dostoyevsky.\footnote{Ibid, xvi.} Some other authors, for example, Holbrooke, doesn't blame Serbs, Croats or Bosnians, but the political elite (Ratko Mladic, Radovan Karadzic, Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic) and their hysterical nationalism.\footnote{R. Holbrooke, \textit{To End a War} (New York, 1998), 366-68.}

Furthermore, number of authors claim that the building of a nation usually happens when an entity or a state is endangered either by war or uprisings within the entity itself. Countries started to invest in nation-building Right from the beginning of the 19th century. And according to Tilly\footnote{C. Tilly, ‘‘Reflections on the History of European State-Making’’, in \textit{The Formation of National States in Western Europe}, ed. C. Tilly (Princeton University Press, 1975).} and Besley and Persson, foreign conflicts are perceived as a great factor of state-building, which the Balkans was surrounded with.\footnote{T. Besley and T. Persson. ‘‘State Capacity, Conflict, and Development’’, \textit{Econometrica}, 78 (2010), 1-34.}

After decades spent in socialist Yugoslavia, peoples of Yugoslavia led by their national elites have taken a step towards the national (re)constitution. This process came to its culmination in the end of 1980's and early 1990's. With new geo - strategic motions, the fall of the Berlin Wall and dissolution of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia was facing a new political reality both externally and within its own borders. In spite of Yugoslavia not being a part of the Warsaw Pact but being among the leading states of the Non – Aligned Movement, the disappearance of the Soviet bloc had a strong effect on internal political dynamic in Yugoslavia. Under such
circumstances this “passive national conscience” transformed into pro-active nationalist politics.

3.2. Economic reforms in Yugoslavia from 1960s

The beginning of the 1960s in communist regime in Yugoslavia marked the start of the process of political and economic liberalization which was accelerated with the economic reform in 1965 and removal of Aleksandar Rankovic, the vice president of Yugoslavia, in 1966. This resulted in weakening clamp of the political elites and police surveillance of the society, which all led to more freedom in the media and cultural institutions. The 1960s were the political and economic crossroad for Yugoslavian federation. First phase of industrialization that was based on state interventionism was finished. However, this form of Yugoslavian economy was not competitive and couldn't keep up with the economic trends of the rest of the world. Self-governing system that was supposed to lower the state interventions, increase the economic autonomy and strengthen the economic mechanisms failed to achieve the given goals in reality.

We also must take into the account that private capital existed in Yugoslavia. The Tito clique admits that although the law allows private owners to employ a maximum of five workers each, there are some who employ ten or twenty times as many and even some who employ "five to six hundred workers.108 And the annual turnover of some private enterprises was over 100 million dinars.109

In 1951 the Tito and his representatives decided to quit the process of the agricultural collectivization and to start to dismiss the farmers' working co-operatives, which was not a socialist move. These co-operatives decreased from over 6,900 in 1950 to a little more than 1,200 at the end of 1953, and to 147 in 1960 and the Yugoslav countryside was gradually being swamped with of individual economy. The base for these decisions was the government statement that collectivization wasn't profitable nor it added to the economic value.110 The political elite claimed that that the collectivization would lead to the increase

in poverty in the rural areas\textsuperscript{111} and by this, they were promoting that the agriculture in Yugoslavia should be based on the free competition of economic forces.\textsuperscript{112} This regulation encouraged the emerging capitalism in the countryside, by promoting the free trade and changing the right of possession of the land. Slavko Komar gave a statement in 1959 that poorer farmer's households with less than 5 hectares of land each, which constitute 70 per cent of all peasant households, owned only 43 per cent of all privately-owned land and that about 10 per cent of the farmer's households are bought or sold land every year, where the majority of the sellers were the poorer households.\textsuperscript{113} Also, Komar stated in 1962 that some farmer's households became big and that the profit they make doesn't come from their own work but from illegitimate trade, from ownership of more than the allowed maximum size of the land, false inclusion of their family members, occupation or suppression of the public land and by taking advantage of the poor members of the farmer's community by cultivating their land for them.\textsuperscript{114} This resulted in Yugoslav rural areas being dominated by the exploiting class and the increasing gap between the city and the countryside. The policies that encouraged capitalistic free competition and market trade went hand in hand with Tito's declaration:

``Competition at home will be beneficial to our ordinary people, the consumers … competition, the seeking of profits, speculation and the like'' because "they play a positive role in promoting the initiative of the producers, their collective, the communes, etc.''	extsuperscript{\textsuperscript{115}}

Furthermore, the transition towards the bank system as main source of financing the economy as well as the usage of bank loans and credits accelerated the shift toward capitalism. In the case of loans, regulations meant that whoever is able to pay back the loan within the shortest time frame and with the highest interest rate will have a priority in getting the loan. This

\textsuperscript{111} Vladimir Bakaric, Speech at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Belgrade, Arhiv Jugoslavije, 1952).
\textsuperscript{112} Edvard Kardelj, ‘’On Some Problems of Our Policy in the Villages’’, Komunist, Belgrade, No. 4 (1953).
\textsuperscript{113} Slavko Komar, ‘’Some Problems Concerning the Countryside and the Peasant Households,’’ Socializam, No. 5 (1962).
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Vladimir Bakaric, Report to the Fourth Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia (Belgrade, Arhiv Jugoslavije, April 7, 1959).
represents an example to use the competition as the usual method of allocating investment credits.116

However, the sudden economic growth during the 1950s was mainly based on the generous economic help from the West. In the 1960s, this generous aid was significantly lowered which was also followed by previous debts that had to be paid back. Furthermore, 1961 was the year of economic stagnation, which manifested in lower employment rates, huge export-import deficit and with difficulties in paying back the foreign loans. The economic crisis became a political problem, and the attempts to partially resolve this situation with the economic reform in 1961 were not successful. Economy remained to be unstable, followed by chronical illiquidity and problems regarding the foreign trade deficits. Economic reform anticipated further decentralization and liberalization of the economic system which led to first more serious conflict within the Yugoslavian political party, and after to political liquidation of Milovan Djilas in 1954. The first time that different points of view on future economic and political organization of Yugoslavia manifested and were exchanged, was on the meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1962.117 Two sides and opinions crystalized. One side was led by the politicians from more developed regions in Slovenia and Croatia and was opting for the development of market economy and decentralization of the political system. The other side was represented by one part of communists from Serbia who were voting for higher centralization and greater influence by the federal government on the political and the economic system.118

The discussions about the economic reforms mainly took place within a closed narrow circle of economic experts and politicians until 1964. However, the gravity of economic problems and the strikes that started to be more and more frequent in 1964 forced the government to open these discussions about the economic reforms and the economic future of the country to the public.

Although the Constitution from 1963, the same as Constitutional law from 1953, was supposed to be a transition towards the development of self-governing relations, it actually

laid out the basic legal frame for the increased liberalization of the economy and autonomy of individual companies in relation to the state, meaning for the economic reforms that followed. In the beginning of 1964, all contributions to the social investment funds were cancelled and the recourses were transferred to the banks, which became the main source of financing, or giving loans, to the economy.\textsuperscript{119} However, the question of artificial price and course creation was still not solved, which was making the functioning of the market quite difficult, especially with the inflation in the background.\textsuperscript{120} After the Constitution in 1974, the political elites expanded and confirmed their protected position.

The cause of these changes was the great social transition during the fifteen years of the after-war period. The rural and economically left behind Yugoslavia from the beginning of the 1960s reached the level of a developed and relatively industrialized country. From 1954 until 1961, the annual economic growth was 12%. Until 1971, around five and a half million people left the countryside to start to work in the cities, and the agricultural production was increased for 60% compared to the period before the Second World War, which all led to the change in the social structure of the society and the governing structures.\textsuperscript{121}

The biggest obstacle for the future reforms was the attitude of one part of the political structure, that traditionally represented a more conservative side of the Yugoslavian society. Therefore, these political representatives tried to slow down or even stop this transition process out of fear that the decentralization would diminish the influence of the Party. That's the reason why before the beginning of the implementation of the radical economic reforms, some ground floor should have been laid down for the conservative members of the Party. The turning point happened during the Eight Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in December 1964. The formal political consensus was made within the Party itself for the future detailed economic reforms that were planned for the following year. However, instead of an unprecedented support, the outcome was a strong opposition and the conflict between the supporters of the reforms and the opposed ones. The economic measures that were supposed to solve the economic problems were part of the law package and the

\textsuperscript{120} Milorad Simic, "Bankarski sistem Jugoslavije", \textit{Medjunarodna politika} 410 (1967): 26-27.
\textsuperscript{121} Dusan Bilandzic, \textit{Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, Glavni procesi 1918-1985} (Zagreb, 1985), 234.
regulation measures that were approved on the Second assembly of all the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on the 17th of June in 1965. This represented one of the strongest attempts of the revitalization of the Yugoslavian economy.\textsuperscript{122}

The 1980s in Yugoslavia is a decade that was faced with the economic crisis which has its origins in the stagnation period in the 1970s. The debt and the loans that Yugoslavia had agreed on with the MMF and the World Bank, which amounted to 19.3 milliard US dollars in 1979\textsuperscript{123}, had to be reprogrammed already in 1983.\textsuperscript{124} In the period from 1983 until 1990, the country paid back over 30 milliards US dollars of debt to the foreign investors.\textsuperscript{125} Aside from this struggle with debts and loans, Yugoslavia was also fighting with the inflation and lowered production. At the same time, MMF was laying out new conditions for the future loans which were mainly related to restrictive monetary and fiscal politics, liberalization of import and prices, cancelling subventions for production and export, etc. However, the implementation of these measures was difficult because of workers discontent by the MMF demands.

 Strikes in 1980s were some of the most populous ones. Jake Lowinger\textsuperscript{126} did a vast research on workers strikes in Yugoslavia during this period of time. The first strikes were mainly motivated by the decrease in the standard of living and the purchasing power, reaching their peak in 1986 when a high inflation\textsuperscript{127} was faces with the political intentions to implement the measures that included even the attempts of freezing the salaries. In spring in 1987, a 33-day strike organized by the mine workers took place in Labin. It's important to emphasize that these mine workers were an ethnically mixed group and that the ethnic tensions were not present at all during the strike,\textsuperscript{128} on the contrary, the workers were united. Lowinger was

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surprised how this ethnically mixed group got support from entire Yugoslavia, although the narrative about the ethnic conflicts was present in media and literature during that time. Strike started when a group of eighty-five workers stopped working on April 8th in 1987, demanding the pay out of their salaries that were late. On April 20th, the management offered the workers an increase of 18.3% of their salaries. However, the workers denied this offer. Instead, they demanded a 100% increase for all the workers that worked in production, followed by an extra increase of 50%, the solution of the housing problems of the workers and a compensation by the union for all the lost hours during the strike.\textsuperscript{129} Within a month, the number of the workers in strike had grown from eighty-five to around one thousand.\textsuperscript{130} The economic crisis influenced the more frequent strikes all throughout the country. After the strike in Labin, workers continued to join together regardless of the ethnicity, to fight against the economic and political path Yugoslavia was on, mainly aimed against the policies of economic \textit{shock therapy} promoted by the International Monetary Fund. These policies demanded a decrease in wages, closing of the companies that were not profitable, and a reorganization of social relationships within the workplace. After Tito's death in 1980, economic experts were accountable mainly to the IMF. Workers were used on relatively high salaries and a lifestyle that was similar to the one in Western Europe.\textsuperscript{131} That's the reason why they were the most endangered ones by the economic reforms.

The part related to the economic reforms depicts the main challenge for the governments in the 1980s, like providing the financial institutions that they were able to control the economic politics of certain republics, especially republic’s political classes that were used to ensure the social peace through economic compromises with the workers. The tense relation between the center and the republics was partially a consequence of federal efforts in stopping these compromises, in order to prove that they were holding to the agreements made with the MMF. The profitability of the self-running system was falling and the distribution mechanism that was ensuring the political stability was endangered. Milosevic used the economic problems caused by the reforms to speed up the “anti-burocracy revolution”. The main blame for the rise of nationalism can be put on the political elites. Speaking from the

\textsuperscript{129}Lowinger, ‘’Economic Reform And The ‘Double Movement’ In Yugoslavia’’, 84.
\textsuperscript{130}Ibid, 84.
\textsuperscript{131}Ibid, 82.
perspective of Serbo-Croatian relations, the leaders of these two national movements, who were aiming for the identification with a certain national unity, Franjo Tudman in Croatia and Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, played a critical role. The separation of the joined market and formation of the separate regulation bodies was a fertile ground for new leaders of nationalistic movements which were portrayed to the masses as movements of hope, prosperity and liberation. In the last round of the reforms, the changes led by Jeffrey Sachs were a shock therapy, perhaps not being as much the cause of the crisis as much it was a failure in overcoming it.

3.3. Economic inequality and consequences of neoliberalism

I’ll rely on Harman’ theory that argues that nationalism is the necessary ideological corollary of capitalism and on David Harvey notion that “the neoliberal state needs nationalism of a certain sort to survive”. The capitalist class in its constituent parts has a continuing need to retain territorial home bases for their operations. Capitalism is based on competition, but capitalists want competition to take place on their terms; they do not want to suffer the consequences if they lose. In one sense then, they want a state to ensure that they are protected from these consequences – in other words, they require from a state more than simply providing an infrastructure; they need it to ensure that effects of competition are experienced as far as possible by someone else.

Neoliberalism is based on the increase of competition through deregulation and the liberalization of domestic markets, through privatization and by limiting the government influence on the economy. Since 1980s, there has been a powerful and general tendency towards neoliberalism, which can also be seen in the previous chapter in case of Yugoslavia.

The positive effects of neoliberalism like the expansion of global trade and its influence on decrease in poverty, foreign direct investment as a way to transfer technology and know-how to developing economies will not be discussed. This thesis will focus on the aspects of the

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neoliberalism that didn't give the anticipated results. This refers to the increased inequality and the costs of this inequality, which damages the sustainability of growth.

According to Maurice Obstfeld, there are potential advantages of the capital and financial liberalization. Developing economies with little capital can borrow to finance investment and advocate their economic growth with no high increases in their own saving. However, Obstfeld also emphasized the dangers of the opening to foreign financial markets and concluded that this two-sided coin of positive and negative sides is inevitable in the practice.\textsuperscript{136}

Ghosh, Ostry, and Qureshi underline that the growth benefits are debatable and unknown and that the costs of increased economic unpredictability and crisis frequency are more obvious. Since 1980, there have been about 150 episodes of surges in capital inflows in more than 50 emerging market economies and about 20 percent of the time, these episodes end in a financial crisis\textsuperscript{137}. Furthermore, Ostry, Berg, and Tsangarides emphasize that this growing inequality caused by financial openness can underprice the growth, and highlight the existing proof that inequality can notably lead to the lower amount and the strength of growth.\textsuperscript{138,139}

However, maybe the most dangerous consequence of neoliberalism is not the economic crises it has caused, but the political crisis. According to James C. Davies, the revolutions were caused not by the state of extreme poverty, but by the increase in prosperity, or to be more precise, if or when that prosperity suddenly comes to an end. Davies states that this will lead to the revolution because the citizens would feel that they were being cheated by the political elites\textsuperscript{140}. Also, Samuel Huntington concluded that sudden and fast economic growth has a tendency to, in the short period of time, go hand-in-hand with an increasing pattern of income distribution which altogether leads to higher dissatisfaction.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{138} Jonathan D. Ostry, “‘We Do Not Have to Live with the Scourge of Inequality,’” \textit{Financial Times} (2014)
\textsuperscript{139} Jonathan D. Ostry, Andrew Berg, and Charalampos Tsangarides, “‘Redistribution, Inequality, and Growth,’” \textit{Washington: International Monetary Fund, IMF Staff Discussion Note 14/02} (2014).
In the late 1980s, Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson underlined that increased income inequality causes a significant increase in the chances of domestic political violence.\(^\text{142}\) Later on, they have concluded based on their research the changes regarding the policies that resulted in greater income inequality and that had lowered the state protections for the poor in Third World countries had started a series of political protests, from the 1970s until the present times.\(^\text{143}\) And according to Anthony Harriott similarly, the increase in inequality leads to an increase in conflict and crime.\(^\text{144}\)

Even a number of neoclassical economists started to question the benefits of neoliberalism and the cogency and the quality of the hypothesis that inequality influences growth in a positive way. Some of the authors highlighted that in poor societies it can have a contra effect, actually accelerating the forming of the physical capital but at the same time hold back the forming of the human capital formation, which represents a key condition for growth in poor countries.\(^\text{145}\) Furthermore, some of the more recent research shows that it creates an uncertain policy environment and political instability, along with holding back the fixed capital formation.\(^\text{146}\)

Unfortunately, the consequences of neoliberalism on the income and the distribution of wealth had not caught too much attention. Still, today it is broadly believed that the state was the institutional framework that surfaced together with capitalism, and that the nation was the identity that mounting up next to it. The nation-state is perceived as the political articulation of the modern capitalism. Schopflin\(^\text{147}\) and Wimmer\(^\text{148}\) argue that nationalism contributed to breakdown of the State Socialist systems in Europe around 1989-90 by creating social exclusion.

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Also, according to *Diversionary Nationalism and Economic Inequality and the Formation of National Pride*\(^\text{149}\) by Frederick Solt, greater economic inequality leads to the states generating more nationalism as a diversion that discourages their citizens from recognizing economic inequality and mobilizing against it. Solt researches how economic inequality is related to nationalism. This finding is an important contribution to understanding the political consequences of economic inequality. This author used multilevel analyses using survey data on nationalist sentiments in countries around the world over a quarter century and data on economic inequality from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database. The evidence presented by this study supports this theory: across the countries and over time, here economic inequality is greater, nationalist sentiments are substantially more widespread.

Another important implication of the analyses presented above is that growing economic inequality may increase ethnic conflict. Nationalism then works to divert attention from inequality, so many citizens neither realize the extent of inequality nor demand redistributive policies.

The *Ethnic Stratification and Economic Inequality around the World The End of Exploitation and Exclusion* by Max Haller and Anja Eder researches economic inequalities in the present world and the reasons and causes of these inequalities, exploring the interaction between economic stratification and ethnic differentiation. These two authors conducted a systematic examination of the interaction between class structures, social stratification and ethnic differentiation, portraying a typology of patterns of ethnic stratification. The main focus is on changes in the global economy and its complex impact within nations, making it relevant to my topic. Furthermore, this book emphasizes the ethnic divisions and ethnic exploitation in global patterns of inequality.

Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* from 1944 is also worthy of attention. Polanyi gave an explanation of the process, how fascism develops as a result of taking the market out of the social relations and its release from social limitations.

3.4. Social equality in Yugoslavia 1960-1990

The aim of this chapter is to describe the process and the mechanisms of connecting nationalism with the strikes and Yugoslavian working class and to try to define the key turning points in this process.

Equality was the central part of ideology in Yugoslavia. However, according to the research that was carried out by social scientists, including Allcock, Popovic and Sekulic, show that the social inequality was existing before the fall out of the federation and that it had an increasing trend. This criticism and the focus on the failure of the system started to catch the attention of scholars especially from 1960s onwards.

Milovan Djilas was one of the first ones that pointed out and raised the question of the political abuse of privileges conducted by the members of the party itself in famous articles published in a daily news magazine called Borba. Furthermore, the main topic of the meeting of the Yugoslav Sociological Association in 1966 was Socialism and Changes in the Class Structure. After the gathering came to an end, the reports were published in the journal called Sociologija, signaling the raising social inequalities in Yugoslavia.

Many studies that had been done from the 1960s until the early 1990s show great social inequalities, especially pointed out by numerous sociologists in Yugoslavia. Also, Allcock emphasized that private individual entrepreneurs were earning one of the biggest salaries in the country by the end of 1980s. Although the workers unions and other organizations were present, industrial workers were continuously being provided with insufficient or

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151 M. V. Popovic, Drustvene nejednakosti – sociolosko istrazivanje u Beogradu (Belgrade:Institut za socioloska istrazivanja, 1987).
152 D. Sekulic, ‘’Putevi i stranputice stambene politike,’’ Sociologija 38, no. 3 (1986), 347–71.
inadequate representation, and they were less and less included in the formal mechanisms of self-management.\textsuperscript{158}

According to Zupanov,\textsuperscript{159} Popovic,\textsuperscript{160} Lazic,\textsuperscript{161} and Sekelj,\textsuperscript{162} these inequalities regarding the class structure were connected to the wider picture of the 1980s crises of the federation and the system it was built on, also affected by the inadequacy in the political and economic sphere. However, these were not the only two spheres characterized by inequalities. Education, especially at the university level, was also according to the research expressing high inequalities,\textsuperscript{163} followed by access to political power within the League of Yugoslav Communists,\textsuperscript{164} as well as economic development\textsuperscript{165} and the housing.\textsuperscript{166}

A great number of sociologists and political scientists in Yugoslavia considered that the social inequalities are on the rise from 1970s and especially 1980s.\textsuperscript{167} Research that was carried out by Popovic in the 1980s in the area of Belgrade showed that 60.7\% of citizens believed and felt that Yugoslavian society is based on class.\textsuperscript{168} Another study by Popovic that is connected to this one and which was carried out a bit later in the 1980s shows the increase in this percentage, stating that 67\% of citizens feel that Yugoslavia is a society based on class.\textsuperscript{169} Pantic conducted a study in 1977 which concluded that the lower classes of the social system are more liable and open to conservatism and nationalism\textsuperscript{170}. However, the concepts

\textsuperscript{159} J. Zupanov, \textit{Marginalije o društvenoj krizi} (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 1983).
\textsuperscript{161} M. Lazic, \textit{U susret zatvorenom društvu?} (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1987).
\textsuperscript{168} M. V. Popovic, \textit{Drustvene nejednakosti – sociološko istraživanje u Beogradu}. (Belgrade: Institut za sociološkaistraživanja, Filozofskog fakultet u Beogradu, 1987), 381.
of nationalism and ethnicity were quite marginal and treated with a little attention until the late 1980s, when the nationalist political mobilization was on the rise.\textsuperscript{171} The idea of the social class and social inequalities was believed to be connected the endurability of the Milošević regime and political divisions in Serbia by many authors in Yugoslavia. One of them was Brankovic, who has pointed out that with the political pluralization on the territory of Serbia from 1989 until 1990, the political orientation of citizens was to a certain extent:

\textit{“}(...) socially determined … by membership of economic, professional and status groups.\textit{”} \textsuperscript{172}

The \textit{Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution} in Serbia and Montenegro followed by many strikes by the workers all throughout Yugoslavia in the 1980s turned focus to social class and inequality in academic research.\textsuperscript{173} This decade in Yugoslavia had one the highest rate of strike activity in Europe.\textsuperscript{174} In his research about the Yugoslavian workers movement and ethnonationalism in the 1980s, Lowinger pointed out that it is crucial for the future research to study the link between workers movement and ethnonational mobilization.\textsuperscript{175} Because of all the economic difficulties, the workers of more successful factories saw the cause of their problems in less successful factories, which led to stratification of the working-class due to non-existing official body through which they could define their common interests.\textsuperscript{176}

The symbol of the working-class fight is the strike at Borovo factory in 1988.\textsuperscript{177} Because of this and many other strikes, where workers fought for the social equality regardless of their ethnicity, the roots of ethnonationalism should be researched more and connected to the economic and political aspect. As Lowinger underlined, the cause of ethnonationalism has

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\textsuperscript{175} Lowinger, “Economic Reform And The ‘Double Movement’ In Yugoslavia”, 136.
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\textsuperscript{176} Music, “Yugoslavia: Workers’ state management as paradigm,” 172–90.
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\textsuperscript{177} Lowinger, “Economic Reform And The ‘Double Movement’ In Yugoslavia”, 92.
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two grounds, the political and economic one. Firstly, the political elites tried to increase their power under the pretense of democratization of the society. Secondly, the rising power of these political elites was happening in the moment when Yugoslavian economy was under the impact of the strong reforms by MMF which were leading directly to capitalism.\footnote{Lowinger, "Economic Reform And The ‘Double Movement’ In Yugoslavia," 12-16.}

Vladisavljevic emphasizes that the Anti-bureaucratic revolution had nationalist elements, but also was a social movement with a socio-economic focus targeting for greater political participation of the workers and the responsibility of the political elites.\footnote{N. Vladisavljevic, "The break-up of Yugoslavia: The role of popular politics," in New perspectives on Yugoslavia. Key Issues and Controversies, ed. D. Djokic and J. Ker-Lindsay (Routledge: London and New York, 2011), 156.}

In The Spirit of Capitalism, Liah Greenfeld asserts the centrality of nationalism in industrializing and advancing the major world powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

``(…) nationalism necessarily promotes the type of social structure which the modern economy needs to develop. Being inherently egalitarian, nationalism has as one of its central cultural consequences an open-or class-system of stratification, which allows for social mobility, makes labor free, and dramatically expands the sphere of operation of market forces.``\footnote{Liah Greenfeld, The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 23.}

Greenfeld also claims that the motivation behind the growth-oriented economy was nationalism, as a form of collective consciousness, considering the power of nationalism to attract masses of people to an endless race for national prestige and by doing so, nationalism brought into being the phenomenon of economic competitiveness.\footnote{Ibid, 473.}

In Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality Christopher McAll shows that, in the context of competitive labor markets where the boundaries between ethnic groups can be viewed in terms of ethnicity, social relations can easily degenerate into ethnic conflict.\footnote{Christopher McAll, Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).}

Furthermore, an important conclusion was high lightened by Vetta. She claims that nationalism was appealing to different classes of society, not because of a pre-existing
national identity, but because the upper class saw it as a mean to keep the political and economic power and the lower class as a way for inclusion and participation which was endangered by liberal transformation.\textsuperscript{183}

4. Analysis

I will argue that what had been present in literature, political, academic and media discourse during 1965 - 2000, has become integral and more importantly, institutionalized element of the new state. The development of Serbian national consciousness within the socialist Yugoslavia from 1965 to 1986 will examine the formation process of Serbian national identity within the former socialist state and ten years after the dissolution of this country. I will deal with discourses of the nation and the national by using the method of the historical textual analysis. I will interpret the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in books, media and politics.184

4.1. National and nation discourse in Literature

Literature represents and introduces the nation through the narratives of the story it tells. This can be done through description of the crucial moment in history that highlights the nation or through emphasizing the concept of national identity. Literature is one of the main means for the creation of a nation. Timothy Brennan researched the link between the novel and nationalism, stating that:

‘‘Nations (…) are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role.’’185

Brennan acknowledged literature as one of the most influential factors on the creation of national identity. Furthermore, Salman Rushdie came to a conclusion that the plot of the story through a novel build its self-up to the climax of:

‘‘ (…) to the self-image of the nation moving through history towards its manifest destiny.186

As we already established, nationalism was rapidly increasing in Yugoslavia, including Serbia in the 1980s. Cigar pointed out that the Serbian intellectuals were one of the first ones

that decides to take action in constructing and building up the nationalist agenda in the beginning of 1980s. Crucial moment was the Serbian Memorandum in 1986, where the preliminary version was made by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. The issue with this document was that it was an approval of the idea of Greater Serbia, which was popular before the World War II before it was silenced by the victory of Communism. It promoted the territorial unity of the Serbian people in a single Serbian national state, describing it as a historic and a democratic right. ⁵⁸⁷

4.1.1. National and nation discourse in Literature 1965 – 1986

Starting from the beginning of the 1960s, Yugoslavian literature found itself in a close relation to politics due to unaccomplished ideals from this period of time and because this was the years during which the base for the following political pluralism and national independence was made. ⁵⁸⁸ 1967 was the year of Croatian spring, ⁵⁸⁹ and on the other side, one group of Serbian authors were asking for the replacement of the Latinic alphabet on Televizija Beograd with the Cyrillic one and that the official language and letter was Serbian in Serbian schools in every part of Yugoslavia. ⁵⁹⁰ Dragan Zunić pointed out that there is a strong link between Serbian literature and the construction of the Serbian national consciousness in the period from 1985 until 1995 and that writers through their narratives have a vast impact on this process of forming the national consciousness. ⁵⁹¹

Danilo Kis condemned writers with a national narrative and he was uncertain that literature in Yugoslavia will ever be free from the political influence and that it would remain a mean for national mobilization. ⁵⁹²

‘‘Nationalism is moreover, and not only in the etymological sense, the people. Writers know this best. That’s why every writer who declares that he writes “about the people

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⁵⁸⁷ Norman Cigar, ‘‘Genocide in Bosnia,’’ in The Preparatory Phase: Paving the Road to Genocide (Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 23.
⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, 10.
⁵⁹⁰ Stipe Suvar, Bijela knjiga - Orginalni dokument Centra CK SKH za informiranje i propagandu (Savez komunista Hrvatske, Centar CK SKH za informiranje i propagandu, 1984), 15.
⁵⁹¹ Dragan Zunic, A Sociological dimension of the controversy over nationalism in Serbian literature (Faculty of Philosophy, Nis, 1998).
and for the people,” who claims to surrender his individual voice to the higher interest of the nation, should be suspected of nationalism (…) Nationalism is first and foremost paranoia. Collective and individual paranoia (…) If, in the framework of a social order, an individual is not able to “express himself,” because the order in question is not congenial and does not stimulate him as an individual, in other words does not allow him to assume an entity of his own, he is obliged to search for this entity outside identity and outside the so-called social structure. Thus, he becomes a member of a pseudo-masonic group which seems to pose problems of epochal importance as its goals and objectives; the survival and prestige of a nation or nations, the preservation of tradition and the nation’s sacrosanct values – folkloric, philosophical, ethical, literary, et cetera.’’\textsuperscript{193}

The starting point of the research in terms of the historical period is four years before the year of economic reforms in 1965 even though we can find indications of broad production of literature about Serbian supranational identity from the prehistory to the present day, or what Latinka Perovic calls Serbian “romantic historiography”\textsuperscript{194} already in some pieces such as Dobrica Cosic's novel Koreni (1954, eng. Roots) or Deobe (1961, eng. Divisions). After the first novel of his, Daleko je sunce (eng. The sun is far away) which is considered to be a communist piece, the following two Koreni and Deobe are already giving the wide panorama of Serbian life from the mid-19th century to the World War II. Even though his more offensive, later acknowledged nationalism still hadn't took its place, Cosic showed a deep respect towards Serbian tradition and tried to build up the new myth of Serbian culture and identity\textsuperscript{195}.

He was considered to be the father of a nation, although he hadn't created it, but he did turn it into nationalism. Cosic was one of the first one that represented Serbian nation as a victim, being betrayed by other Yugoslavian nations and the whole world. One of the characters in his novel Vreme smrti (eng. Time of Death) loudly shouts that Europe is our deadly enemy.\textsuperscript{195} Deobe are at the same time a social, war and a psychological novel which tries to integrate a

\textsuperscript{194} Perovic, “Revisionism and Nationalism,” in Preispitivanje proslosti i istorijski revizionizam (Belgrade, 2014), 32.
\textsuperscript{195} Dobrica Cosic, Vreme smrti (Beograd: Prosveta, 1972)
complex national phenomenon that Cosic finds in deep rooted past and tradition. To explain the "Cetnik" movement, Cosic selected his characters based on their social background and nationality, building stereotypes during this process. In Deobe, his character Uros Babovic represents rich Serbian society hungry for more money and power introducing us to the traditional, rural, origins of the movement, Bata Pavlovic the political and intellectual elite lost in its ideology, Mladen Rakic is the symbol of a young and educated Serbia in a form of a heavy nationalist with hate towards communism, and an ex-Yugoslavian officer, Kosta Cvetic represents an unhappy and poor society, unsatisfied with the social structure and life in general. In the opening chapter Cosic introduces us with the Cetnik movement:

"Your bones have long turned grey and—they are silent. That must mean that you are dead. But we meet in dreams. We meet everywhere. I hear you. Every morning the newspaper speaks of you, of killing, of war. There are many of you around. You sharpen your knives. And you use your knives everywhere where freedom stands tall." 196

Character of Mladen Rakic joins the national, although Cosic defines it as a patriotic cause, and at that moment in the novel the character concludes that:

"(...) one must leave this place [Belgrade], save oneself, save one’s consciousness, one’s ideals, one’s soul. One must go to Serbia, authentic, peasant, true Serbia. There the war must begin. It is this Serbia which the communists want to inflame and destroy." 197

By this description, Cosic is increasing the already existing gap between the city and the countryside in Yugoslavia, aside from the main motives of the book being war, knife, freedom etc. The most worrying thing is that this book is still today, a mandatory reading in mandatory education in Serbia. Thematic of Cosic's work showed how he was furthering from the unity that communism was promoting and leaning towards the brotherhood of distinct national identities.


The most striking elements of Serbian national awakening in the literature may be found much later, in the 1980's. Among the first novels expressing clearly the nationalist sentiment in the 1980's (mainly through victimization of the nation) is Vuk Draskovic's Noz (eng. The Knife) from 1982. Unlike Draskovic's Noz which addressed Muslim and Serbian identity, sending a strong nationalist message (that Bosnian Muslims are actually “Islamized” Serbs), some other novels from the 1980's such as Dobrica Cosic's Gresnik (eng: The Sinner) focused upon ideological conflict within socialism, clearly dismissing Stalinist heritage. Nevertheless, one may very clearly see the difference between for instance, Danilo Kis's Grobnica za Borisa Davidovica (eng: A tomb for Boris Davidovic) from 1976 and later Cosic's novels such as Gresnik or Otpadnik (eng: The Apostate). Both authors were writing about individuals confronting Stalinist terror and inquisition, but the later did it in the form of hidden ethnic nationalism, and the former from the perspective of the civic freedoms, against Stalinism. One more novel to be mentioned from the era of the mid 1980's is Danko Popovic's Knjiga o Milutinu (eng: The Book about Milutin), where the author tendentiously used motives such as “blood and land”, “faith and nation”, “the great past” and alike.

Vuk Draskovic with his novel the Noz (Knife) was probably the most powerful and persuasive person in constructing stereotypes and nationalism. The main plot of the novel is happening during the World War II and is filled with building hatred towards other ethnic and religious groups. In the novel, characters with Muslim background are depicted as deceitful and disloyal, without emotion or pity and deliberately cruel murderers. Furthermore, Draskovic denies the subsistence of the Muslim community as a legitimate one. Draskovic didn't stop here, he also emphasized the threat of Muslim religion in his writings and speeches:

‘‘(…) fury of offensive and intolerant Islam in Bosnia, Kosovo, the Sandzak, and Herzegovina….at] the vampire-like resurgence of the tradition of the Shariah, and...the strategy of jihad with the goal of creating an Islamic state in the Balkans.’’198

198 Norman Cigar, ‘‘Genocide in Bosnia,’’ in The Preparatory Phase: Paving the Road to Genocide (Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 25.
The main character in Draskovic's novel, an orphan called Alija Osmanovic, had believed his entire life that his parents were killed by the Serbs and was raised as a Bosnian Muslim. After he realized who his real parents were, Alija encounters the hard truth that his ethnic roots were Serbian and that the family who adopted him was the one that murdered his biological parents. Draskovic depicts his mental state after this realization with motives like injustice, revenge and an identity crisis. According to Draskovic, the Serbs only kill when they are forced to do it or like the book shows, out of revenge, and by this justifying the violence, revenge and aggression.

This one-sided novel that presents Serbs as the only and innocent victims of the war and the Muslims as the killers and sadist is a celebration and a blessing of a knife as a mean with which the Serbs should revenge for the long century torture by the neighbors. The darkest parts of the novel are the ones depicting the sadistic killings of Serbian peasants by the Muslims, purposely emphasizing the names of the victims as Serbian and the names of the murderers as Muslim ones. With the myth of Serbian innocence and Croatian and Muslim guilt, Draskovic's was creating the national tension and the desire for revenge among one part of Serbian community. Because according to the author, the crimes done by the Serbs and the crimes committed on the Serbs differ in a very important fact, where the Serbs only kill when they are forced and victimized and the other ethnic groups kill because they, sadistic by nature, see the Serbs as the enemies. The selective manipulation of the word knife had effect on the rising hate towards the neighbors, preparing the Serbs to use the knife against the demonized enemy.

*The Knife* represents one of the main grounds for the development of Serbian nationalist ideology. The novel made the public relive the memories of the World War II in Bosnia, pointing out the unresolved relations with the neighboring countries which were presented as murderers, and to encourage resentment. The most dangerous ideology potential of Draskovic's work was the narrative about the Muslim community as being Turks, degrading an ethnical community and justifying the revenge. The book finishes with a scene where a young ex-Osmanovic and now a Serbian hears the church bells where the sound is depicted as: ‘'Knife, knife, knife!’’ Less than a decade later, this sound became the march of the
Serbian paramilitary formations, and the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement was no one else but the creator of this line, teacher of Chetnik movement, Draskovic himself.

Although he sabotaged the knockdown of Milosevic's regime in 2000, Draskovic returned to politics after the assassination of the prime minister Zoran Djindjic as a minister of foreign affairs, a function he had during 1998 and 1999. Draskovic is still active as a writer. He described his newest book, *Isusovi memoari*,¹⁹⁹ as a novel that continues where the *Knife* has stopped.

*Knife* by Drašković is just one of the novels with the same thematic in the 1980 and 1990, the psychosis of fear and revengefulness was developed by other writers and poets like Radovan Karadžić²⁰⁰ and Vojislav Lubarda.²⁰¹ Novels written by Lubarda is also focusing on the life of the Serbian community in Bosnia, next to a Muslim community. By describing the suffering that Serbian peasants went through during the Ottoman empire, Lubarda is putting the historical guilt on today's Muslim Bosnians and they become the ones that should be destroyed in order for the justice to be satisfied.

Another important novel in this period of time is *A Time of Death* by Dobrica Cosic. The plot is about a relation between a father and his son, *Vukasin* and *Ivan Katic*. The prologue of the book brings us the news about the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne Franz Ferninand in Sarajevo, the ultimatum given to Serbia by Austro-Hungarian Empire and the response by the Serbian government, the war that started with the attack on Serbia with description how the first bullets were fired at Serbian soldiers, of the first grenades thrown at Belgrade, of the first destroyed Serbian houses and churches, raping and killing of the Serbian women, children and the elderly. The Serbian ethnicity and the nation is emphasized throughout the novel that describes the historical suffering and killings of the Serbs during the World War I. The Serbian nation is represented by the masses of soldiers that died for the

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country, wounded that were dying in the hospitals and the masses of people that were withdrawing through the mountains.

The father Vukasin, after schooling in Europe, came to a realization that the same Europe that Serbia had so many expectations from, is only looking after its own interests and that Serbia is alone in the occurring war, depicting Serbia as a victim. His son Ivan decides to join the war. Through the conversations between the father and the son we can see the opposing opinions about the concept of brotherhood and unity of the neighboring counties. The narrative leans toward the impossibility of such unity, underlining the differences between Serbs and Croatians that will always prevail. For example, the conversation about the unity between two characters, Radic and the priest named Bozidar, insinuate that the cultural or political unity is an invention pushed on the common people by the intellectuals and an unrealistic vision. Another character, General Misic, points out how the true Serbian values lay in the common people, farmers and workers, not the intellectuals. Cosic dramatizes even more when General Misic describes the long century of suffering, making a clear distinction between us and them (other nations, Croatia):

‘‘ At Valjevo we gave our lives for Paris and the French; on the Kolubara we defended the Dardenelles for the English; at Milovac we shed our blood for the Russians and the Ukraine. And on Bacinac we've perished at the hands of our Croatian brothers, giving our lives for their freedom.’’

Another author that has to be mentioned is Danko Popovic and his book Knjiga o Milutinu (eng. Book about Milutin). The plot is told through the monologue by Milutin who was taken into prison after the World War II because he was accused of being a Russian sympathizer and a rich farmer, although he was only an owner of a small and not rich at all farm. The monologue describes his life as a peasant, family losses during the war, and the attempts to save his son who dies in the World War II, underlining how Serbia gave up its own interests for the benefit of the other countries that were highly non-thankful for these acts. Same as Cosic, he increases the gap between the intellectuals and the common people, questioning

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202 Cosic, A Time of Death, 43.
203 Cosic, A Time of Death, 125.
the idea of the unity by disapproving of one of his characters, a village teacher. Popovic also victimizes Serbs and makes a strong distinction between us and them, which is seen in the part where Milutin finds about the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, after which he states:

‘’I don't like this empty heroing of them Bosnians. killing off princes and their wives. and afterwards hiding their asses so our peasants have to pay the piper, ain't that it? (...) but I don't believe in no Slavs (...) I hear, our brothers, but my brother already died for some our brother.’’

Popovic also touches the topic of Croatian fascist organization Ustase during the World War II. This book is also one-sided, describing Serbs as the victims and justifying the politics that was conducted by the political elites during the war in 1990s.

According to Cigar, Draskovic, Cosic and Popovic were not the only ones that had this narrow-minded and, as Danilo Kis would describe it, a paranoid view, since there were other academics that were crusading against Islam from 1980s. These writers, backed up with academic and political eloquence had a great impact on the rising antagonism towards the Muslim community, especially because these writers were actually quite often appearing in the media. Furthermore, authors that have considerably contributed to the construction of these stereotypes, including Draskovic, Radulovic and Cosic were well-known and notable among the same political elite that was supporting the ethnic cleaning in the 1990s.

Their political careers oscillated from being the critics of the Milosevic's regime to being one of his biggest supporters and admirers. These writers were the mask cover of the parliamentary democracy in Serbia and the safest mechanism for Milosevic's manipulation of the masses. Also, the served as a mean for the implementation of the nationalistic and Chetnik's ideology. The main myth that these novels narrate is the one about the poor victimized Serbia and its enemies that work together in order to stop its progress.

Because of this, Cosic and Draskovic will be mentioned in the following chapter, the national and nation discourse in the political and media sphere.

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204 Danko Popovic, Knjiga o Milutinu (Belgrade, 1986), 6-7.
205 Norman Cigar, ‘‘Genocide in Bosnia,’’ in The Preparatory Phase: Paving the Road to Genocide (Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 27.
4.2. National and nation discourse in the political and media sphere

The rising fear in Serbia was accelerated by the state-controlled media. According to Thompson, one of regions where the state-controlled media helped the mobilization and the ethnic cleaning most disastrously is Yugoslavia.206 The media content significantly changed from the 1970s until the 1990s, with a trend of more domestic news in regard to the international one, with the raising hardship to present the domestic news in a non-subjective or politically bias way.207 Violence occurred simultaneously with the obscene broadcasts.208

In the following section, I will research forms of Serbian national and nation discourse in the political and media sphere. The starting point of this, second referential part of the research, will be the famous Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts published in Serbian daily newspapers Vecernje Novosti in 1986. Already next year on 23rd of September the Eight session of the Serbian branch of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was held. This session was significant because it represented, together with the Memorandum, the milestone for Serbian nationalism and its penetration from literature into political and the media discourse. The leading characters of this session was Milosevic and the people that wanted to modify the Constitution and to terminate the power of the Kosovo and Vojvodina provinces. This was the introduction to the antibureaucratic revolution, that started in 1988 with the goal to position the political supporters of Milosevic at the crucial political positions in the provinces mentioned above, was finished with the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. This way, the changes of the Constitution could be supported within the provinces. Rakovic declared an uprising of the Serb people at the event.209 The process of ethnic mobilization was supported by the media discourse, especially the daily newspapers called Politika, that was one the main means of advertising the national revolution and making

207 Ibid.
Milosevic's regime more strong and solid.\textsuperscript{210} The shaping and the usage of the news by the political elites had a great impact on the formation of the public opinion, where Belgrade TV was continuously supporting Milosevic's regime, filled with hate towards the neighboring nations.\textsuperscript{211}

As Kellow and Leslie pointed out, the ideology can attract the supporters only through the media that is used as a tool to reach the ordinary citizens.\textsuperscript{212} Furthermore, research has shown that at the level of an individual, personal victimization is linked to the decline of the collective guilt\textsuperscript{213} and that the media and the political speeches shape and pass on the narrow-sided political messages about the collective guilt and victimhood.\textsuperscript{214} The media was the political tool under the control of the political elites, spreading the hate and aggression and adding to the mass scale violence.\textsuperscript{215} The fall-out of Yugoslavia was also guided by the these hateful broadcasted messages.\textsuperscript{216}

Sofos pointed out that the media had a huge role in the process of losing cohesion and ethnic division in Yugoslavia in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{217}

Both political and media discourse from 1986 to the end of 1990's, with the support of “national intelligentsia” was almost monolithic with regards to national narratives. Until the end of 1980's several important events for my research took place, such as the well-known speech of Slobodan Milosevic in Kosovo where he, for the first time publicly, announced

\textsuperscript{210} Aleksandar Nenadovic, Rade Veljanovski, Snjezana Milivojevic and Zoran M. Markovic, “'Trauma and Catharsis,'” in The Road to War in Serbia, (ed.) N. Popov (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).
\textsuperscript{214} Mark Thompson, Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina (London: Article 19, International Centre against Censorship, 1994).
\textsuperscript{215} Mark Thompson, Forging War.
\textsuperscript{216} Ibid.
the possibility of war, by saying that Serbs are again, “in battles and facing the new ones”. Since the beginning of wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, one may map progressively increasing presence of nationalist discourse in media and political sphere. With regards to political discourse, Serbian case shows that both government and opposition significantly contributed to its promotion. Some oppositional parties were nominally orientated against the war, but not against the national project. Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement was for instance highly nationalist and monarchy orientated. They held the protest against Milosevic in March of 1991, but at the same time covering it with Serbian nationalist symbols and against the red star. Some others, such as Zoran Djindjic's, democratic Party balanced between civic and ethnic nationalism. Not to mention Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party which was also in opposition during the war, but its most extremist ethnic nationalism became integral part of the government already in the late 1990's. Both political and media discourse from 1986 to the end of 1990's, with the support of “national intelligentsia” was almost monolithic with regards to national narratives.

Cosic was one of the first ones that represented Serbs as the eternal victim and righteous ones, betrayed and cheated on by the brother nations in Yugoslavia and by the rest of the world. Cosic used the term *victim* as a mean for the mobilization of Serbian people for the fight to unite all the Serbs in one single state. His nationalism impacted the making of Slobodan Milosevic and the SANU memorandum which Cosic was indirectly creating and supporting. His ideology has its roots in the Battle of Kosovo and he is the inventor of the famous line: “'Kosovo je srce Srbije” (eng. “'Kosovo is the heart of Serbia”). Even in 1964, he praised the chief of Secret Police in Yugoslavia, Slobodan Perezic after his death, who was often connected with various crimes, assassinations and nationalism, describing him as a “'hero on a steel horse’” - heroic death of a Serbian hero (and he died in a black Mercedes).²¹⁸ In the beginning of March 1992 in Sarajevo, on the Congress of Serbian intellectuals, the message that Cosic had sent was:

‘Divide yourself people, separate from one another in order to live like human beings.’\textsuperscript{219} Cosic is also the author of the phrase: ‘‘Srbi pobedju u ratu, a gube u miru’’ (eng. Serbs win in the war, and loose during the peace).\textsuperscript{220} The same way he did in literature, Cosic also emphasized the concepts of death and suffering of the Serbs, bravery and Serbs being righteous in the political and in the media sphere. There was an attempt by Cosic through media and politics to resuscitate the myth about the Kosovo battle and the Serbian hardship that has been present since 1398. This was a very useful mean for mobilization that Milosevic used in 1989, during the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle.\textsuperscript{221} The main narratives used about the event were betrayal, victims, suffering. In 1989, Milosevic declared how Serbia will become whole again and how the Serbians living on the Croatian and Bosnian territory are seriously at risk.\textsuperscript{222} Media was backing up the political discourse. The newspapers headlines were highlighting the same narratives of betrayal, victims, suffering, being in danger, enemies committing crimes like rape, murder and robbery of the Serbian population (the ethnicity of the enemies was specially underlined - Albanians, Croatians, Bosnian Muslims). What was highly emphasized was how all these crimes committed on the Serbs were hadn't received a penalty or sanction, leaving a lot of room for manipulation and justification of the revenge by the Serbs as a retribution for transgression.\textsuperscript{223} The anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, that actually celebrated the unification of Serbia attracted over a million people. In front of all these attendees, Milosevic stated that:

‘‘(…) six centuries later, we are again in battle and facing new battles. They are still not armed battles, but even battles of that kind cannot be ruled out. Regardless of how they are fought, however, the battles cannot be won without determination, courage and devotion.’’\textsuperscript{224}


\textsuperscript{220} Latinka Perovic, Dominanta i neželjena elita, (Beograd: Dan Graf, 2015), 53-55.

\textsuperscript{221} Radmila Radic, '‘The Church and the Serbian Question’’, in The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis, 247-274.

\textsuperscript{222} Olga Zirojevic, ‘‘Kosovo in the Collective Memory,’’ in The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis.

\textsuperscript{223} Ivan Jankovic, ‘‘Kosovo Knot: Untie or Cut’’, in The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis, 63.

\textsuperscript{224} Olga Zirojević, „Kosovo in the Collective Memory”.
Revenge was frequently used on the television:

‘‘In this war, we must take revenge for Jasenovac, Golubnjača and all other mass graves containing Serb victims.’’\(^{225}\)

Television and the other media instruments was laying the ground floor for the war that followed, through reminders of the terror of the previous wars by dehumanizing the neighboring nationalities and calling them by disrespectful names from the past, where all Croatians were called Ustase, all Serbians Chetniks and all the Muslims were referred to as Turks.\(^{226}\) This process started before the war in Yugoslavia, with the media announcing the rise of the Ustasa movement in Croatia, the awakening of the Islamic Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1991, politically controlled media kept reminding of the past horrors against Serbs in Croatia in the World War II, in the \emph{Addition to the news} section that ran after the main news every day.\(^{227}\)

Politika was one of the most respected and esteemed daily newspapers in Serbia making it a perfect tool of the Milosevic's regime. The editorial called \emph{Odjeci i reagovanja} (eng. \emph{Echoes and Reactions}) focused its attention on the narrative of victimized Serbia throughout history until today, all presented by respectable and notable journalists, writers and academics.\(^{228}\)

For example, \emph{Politika} was emphasizing the genocide and the Ustasha movement:

‘‘Genocide (...) was committed in World War II in Croatia (...) by Ustasha against Serbs, Jews and Roma. No one can resurrect those who died at Jasenovac, Staro Sajmiste, Jadovno and in other extermination camps and prisons, and it will take just a small gesture of goodwill (...) to prove once again that the Croatian authorities do not accept the ideology of genocide.’’\(^{229}\)

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\(^{225}\) Mirko Jovic, \emph{Pogledi (Viewpoints)}, 29 November-13 December 1991.

\(^{226}\) Omer Bartov, \emph{Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide and Modern Identity} (Oxford University Press, 2000), 140.

\(^{227}\) In 1991, the ‘‘Addition to the news’’ was, together with the news, lasting up to 150 minutes.

\(^{228}\) Aljosa Mimic and Rabina Vucetic, ‘‘Vreme kada je narod govorio’’ (eng. Time when people spoke out) (\emph{Politika} – ‘‘Odjeci i reagovanja’’, July 1988- March 1991, Humanitarian Law Center, 2001)

\(^{229}\) Dr Stojan Adasevic, \emph{Politika}, 5 March 1990.
The myth of the Ustasha movement is born again. This must worry all Yugoslavs irrespective of their ethnicity, religion or political opinion (...) Repetition of 1941 is not possible, however, bloodletting is (...)**230

First channel Radio-Television Belgrade and a programme it aired, the Croatian Serbs, hosted of the Serb National Council for Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, Ilija Petrovic who stated that:

“’The Serbs of Serbia know very little what the Ustasha ideology means (...) They should know that it is based on a very simple calculation that a third of Serbs should be killed, a third converted to Catholicism and a third deported.’”

First channel of the Radio-Television Belgrade also aired Vuk Draskovic's speech in Novi Pazar as a part of the Evening News in September 1990:

“’ He who wants to be Turkish, may be Turkish, but everyone (...) who walks this (...) land and holds a Turkish, Albanian or Ustasha banner, any other but the Serb banner, will be left both without the banner and the arm (...)”**231

De la Brosse pointed out that Milosevic started with the attempts to take control over the media in the late 1980s, a process which was completed by 1991.232 The mentioning of the Jasenovac was frequently used in September 1990, during the memorial for the victims of the concentration camp. A speech by Radovan Karadzic, that was aired by the Television Belgrade, was underlining how the authorities in Croatia have tried to stop this memorial from happening and that Serbs need to get ready for defense:

“’ The aim of the Croatian separatist movements is to split the Serbian people. But what they all must know is that to attack the Knin Serbs and the other Serbs in Croatia, will inevitably provoke the reaction of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbs living in other areas. Croatian politicians claim that Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs in Croatia because the roads are better there. We are aware that roads leading to Serbia

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230 Dara Slobotka-Peles, Politika, 22 May 1990.

231 Lazar Lalic, Tri TV godine u Srbiji (eng. Three Television Years in Serbia) (Nezavisni sindikat medija, Belgrade, 1995), 17.

232 Renaud de la Brosse, Political Propaganda and the Plan to Create ’A State For All Serbs: Consequences of using media for ultra-nationalist ends (ICTY, 2003), 34-35.
have not been built, but now we know the reason why: to make it possible for Croatian politicians to say that Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina are geographically close and that Bosnia and Serbia are far apart. But Bosnia and Serbia are not far apart.”

Another politician from Serbian Renewal Movement, Brana Crncevic stated that:

“The Serbia which traded Serbs from other parts of Yugoslavia is no more. This is a Serbia which takes care of all Serbs living in this country and outside it (...) It is high time Serbs understood that they need not do only what is just but also what is useful to them (...) No Yugoslavia, federated or confederated, can be made at the expense of the Serbs any longer.”

This type of journalism and the news was the dominant one throughout the war as well. The Serbs were depicted as victims, associating the enemy neighbors with the conflicts from the past, Ustasha and the Turks. All this helped in the process of dehumanization of the other ethnic groups that Serbs were in conflict with. The same way, the media was also a mean to justify the atrocities and the goals of the war, by presenting it as liberating and defensive because of the jihad that was led by the Muslim population. Headlines with statements like “Zvornik liberated” by Serbian military published in Politika in 1992 backed up this narrative. Speech by General Veljko Kadijevic of the Serbian military referred to these violent war actions in Vukovar as liberation of the Ustasa's:

“Alongside this, provocations against Croatian Serbs multiplied. The World War II Ustashe methods were "enriched" with new inventions (...) Logically, the entire Serbian nation, particularly Croatian Serbs and JNA soldiers reacted.”

Another general, Zivota Panic described Serbs as being seriously at risk, which was published in Tanjug (State news agency) in 1992, depicting them as the ones who have to

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233 Lazar Lalic, Tri TV godine u Srbiji, 18, 106-107 and 111-112.
234 Ibid, 63-64.
236 page six of Politika (10 April 1992)
defend themselves in order to liberate their homes, depicting them as the ones who have to defend themselves in order to liberate their homes.

In 1988, Noam Chomsky\textsuperscript{239} showed the process of how the mass media produces and shapes the collective thought and consent for the benefit of an established order, a dominant economic direction or institutional or private interests. Chomsky pointed out how throughout history, all the political changes to the extreme right were always followed by the rise of a violent capitalism combined with the complete destruction of any notion of social or communism.

5. Limitations of the study

Regarding methodology, the limitation of the text analysis lays in its descriptive nature. This method can depict what is in the text, however, it may have difficulties to show the reasons for the pattern which is our focus. Furthermore, the analysis is limited by the availability of the sources and material. The analyzed trends and patterns for example in media do not necessarily need to be the realistic and correct presentation of reality and the correlation and the effect that literature and economics have on the rise of nationalism is complicated by itself. Also, the concept of national and ethnicity among the Serbs hasn't been analyzed by socio-psychological studies and therefore, the vast impact of literature in Serbia hasn't been generally acknowledged among in the academia world.

The question of the existence of identities is still not completely revealed. Instrumentalist theoretical approach attempted to explain it with political manipulation of ethnicity, but still doesn't explains the reason for the success of this manipulation. One of the key limitations of this study is the implicit link between the economic inequality and nationalism led by elites. Finlayson\textsuperscript{240} has pointed out that it is usually simply assumed that ethnic bonds imply emotion because of their nature. However, there are not many explanations of the phenomena why ethnic bonds are more powerful than for example, the economic motives.

Miroslav Hroch pointed out that the researches are not able to explain to main problems and causes of nationalism, mainly due to numberless gaps in data that would be help in conducting a more in-depth analysis. He underlines:

‘’ In this sense, all defensible conclusions still remain no more than partial findings, and all ‘theories’ should be taken as projects for further research.’’\textsuperscript{241}


6. Conclusions

As shown in the literature review, great number of authors concluded that there is a strong correlation between economic inequality caused by neoliberalism and the rise of nationalism. Or, according to Harman’s theory, nationalism is the necessary ideology of capitalism. Growing economic inequality may increase ethnic conflict and in the context of competitive labor markets where the boundaries between ethnic groups can be viewed in terms of ethnicity, social relations can easily degenerate into ethnic conflict. Nationalism diverts attention from inequality, so many citizens don't realize the extent of inequality nor demand redistributive policies. As Jake Lowinger pointed out in his dissertation Economic Reform and the Double Movement in Yugoslavia: An Analysis of Labour Unrest and Ethno-Nationalism in the 1980s, we must consider economics, class conflicts and political elites when it comes to ethno nationalism. The starting point of Lowinger's explanation of the fallout of Yugoslavia was taking into account different economic and social element, attempting to discover the roots of the ethno nationalism. This thesis tried to integrate economics, literature and media (dominated by political elites) when it comes to ethno nationalism.

The first part of the thesis tried to depict how nationalism thrives on inequality. The second part focuses on the role of media and literature in the creation of ethnonationalism. Serbia had all the necessary conditions for the rise of nationalism. Serbian ethnic nationalism had its roots in different spheres and processes. Economic reforms set the ground for the ethnic mobilization in literature and media that followed. The power of words is strong. Writers have great accountability for the future because their lines and narratives carry danger that might inspire masses to hate. Reporting and writing about the past events, especially those related to ethnic conflicts, has to be free from prejudices, national bias and complex of being a victim that depict one nation as innocent and the others as villains. The historical text analysis shows that this was not the case with literature and media in Yugoslavia. Selective usage of words like knife and revenge portrays quite the opposite. The war novels were a perfect mean to spread the nationalist feelings. Ethnic mobilization was based on historical

\[^{242}\text{Jake Lowinger, ‘‘Economic reform and the 'double movement' in Yugoslavia: An analysis of labor unrest and ethno-nationalism in the 1980s’’ (Ph.D., The Johns Hopkins University, 2009), 233.}\]
wars and the horrors among the Serbs during World War II and the threats of rising nationalism in Croatia and among the Muslims in Bosnia. Nationalism was used to strengthen the power of Milosevic's party, which was promoting the unification of the Serbian people in a new Serbian state. The international community’s response to the Yugoslav crisis additionally contributed to the spreading of nationalism in Serbia. The government set up a complete control over the news, pointing out what is right and wrong. The myth of victimized Serbs was a constant narrative in Serbian television. Powerful propaganda launched by the strictly controlled media and the nationalist intellectual elite, significantly contributed to stoking the fear and aggression that led to the outbreak of the bloody wars in the Balkans.

This thesis tried to describe the break-up of Yugoslavia in relation to economic reforms and literature and media, perceiving it as a political, economic, as well as a cultural project. Economic reforms were the trigger. This trigger was used by politically influenced media and literature to spread and feed the ethnic hatred and use it as a mobilization tool.

Many people still believe in the truthiness of theses myths that added to the brutal fall out of Yugoslavia. Cosic's books are still part of mandatory literature in high schools in Serbia and Vuk Draskovic's book are still being published, economic inequalities are still rising, which still influences the potential for ethnic hatred. If this narrative and the myths are not broken, they can lead to new failures and conflicts.


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Annex Three: Declaration

MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Dunja Popovic hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “(title)”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I declare that the written (printed and bound) and the electronic copy of the submitted MA thesis are identical.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed …………………………………………..

Date ……………1.8.2017……………………………………