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Minorities in the Balkans. State Policy and Interethnic Relations (1804–2004), ed. Dušan T. Bataković. Belgrade: Institute for Balkans Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2011, pp. 364.

Reviewed by Vladislav Lilić*

The edited volume *Minorities in the Balkans* published by the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, offers a wide historical overview of various interrelations of the Balkan peoples and of diverse state policies aimed at arranging these relations within the Balkan nation-states over the past two centuries. Most Balkan nation-states emerged during the nineteenth century, and the territorial and ethnic reorganisation of the region is still under way. Therefore, the object of analysis in this volume, namely the official policies of the Balkan nation-states towards ethnic, national, religious and other minorities, has not just significantly marked the political and social history of the region but is a deep-rooted potential source of instability and conflict.

The territory of the modern Balkan nation-states emerging in the nineteenth-century had been controlled by two once mighty empires, the Ottoman and the Habsburg. They both embodied a mixture of different ethnic groups but pursued divergent policies to define and regulate the status of minorities within their borders. On the one hand, the Dual Monarchy was regularly perceived as a *prison of nations*, while, on the other, stood the multicultural *millet system*, under which numerous confessional communities of the Ottoman Empire ruled themselves to a certain extent. The ethnic and religious mosaic in the territories of the two empires, created by numerous voluntary or forced population movements, could not cease to exist after the demise of *foreign rule*. The Balkan population was often ethnically mixed, and regardless of where new administrative, national lines were laid, substantial minorities of other nations remained on the *wrong side* of the border.

However, even before the formation of nation-states in the Balkans, according to M. Hroch, a usually non-linear process of transformation of previous tribal, ethnic and ethno-religious groups into nations had been taking place. The development of national consciousness of an ethnic group undergoes three phases. In phase A, some members of the group start to explore the group's history. This is, as noted by Dimitrije Djordjević, to justify the revolutionary awakening of the nation-state and legalise its inclusion in the community of modern nations. In phase B, there occurs mass mobilisation for the purpose of raising national awareness. In final phase C, wider social groups begin to share a common national identity as a separate, principal value.

Such processes are long-lasting. Uniform national identity stabilises only after decades of transformation. Coherent and consistent historical narratives are being produced to bind the discontinuity of individual experiences. Such continual narratives, present and developed in the vast majority of modern European nations, serve to facilitate the merging of different local groups of identities into a dominant, national one. This is not a specific, exclusive feature of the Balkan political experience.

Nonetheless, an exclusive, ethno-centric version of emerging nationalisms was indeed present in the Balkans from the

* MA student of International Politics, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

nineteenth century onwards. These nationalisms brought not only the feelings of national uniqueness and impetus for resistance in the face of powerful foreign invaders, but also national exclusiveness, localism and the denial of values held by others. In the words of D. Djordjević, the vision of the demise of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires could come forth only in dreams of national revolutionaries, and Balkan nationalisms followed the European political mainstream embodied in the principle *one nation —one state*. In the Balkans, the implementation of this formula was not simple, and it often resulted in tragic divisions, desultory development, conflicts and religiously and ethnically motivated crimes. Although the national factor contained elements of cultural, social, economic and political emancipation, it continues to cast a long shadow on contemporary Balkan minority issues.

Bearing that in mind, the texts assembled in *Minorities in the Balkans*, given either in English or French, analyse the rationale behind official minority policies in the period from 1804 to 2004 and their (un)intended consequences. Catherine Horel offers arguments to support the claim that development of Austrian-Hungarian federalism after 1867 was *impossible*. The reasons were institutional development after the *Ausgleich*, and the rise of national consciousness of various ethnic minorities within the Dual Monarchy. Numerous minority groups designed different national projects of struggle for autonomy or independence, while dominant groups pursued their own visions of Austria-Hungary's future political development. That of Austria involved the dominance of the Habsburg dynasty, whereas the Hungarians held on to the previously attained political rights and privileges. In such circumstances, federalisation of the Monarchy indeed proved impossible.

An excellent group of contributions arose from academic and research interest in the status of minorities in the Ottoman Empire. Bernard Lory concisely addresses the Aromanian national question (which seemingly was of marginal interest to the Ottomans) and concludes that in some situations widespread corruption hindered any attempt to formalise minority rights, but also could help in particular cases where one minority group found itself endangered. At the local and provincial levels, arbitrariness and corruption unfolded endlessly, thus preventing, according to Lory, every attempt to introduce a uniform imperial minority policy in the Ottoman Empire.

Danko Taboroši describes the nineteenth-century processes of Circassian settlement in the Balkans, in Kosovo in particular, after their expulsion from the north-western Caucaus following the Russian invasion. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, most of them withdrew to Anatolia. Furthermore, the recent interethnic conflicts in Kosovo reduced their numbers even further. Today, only a tiny group survives in the contested southern Serbian province as the last community in the Balkans.

The historical origins of the Serbian-Albanian conflict in Kosovo and Metohija during the communist dictatorship and the realities of mass exodus of the Kosovo Serbs following the war of 1999 is examined in two articles by Dušan T. Bataković. He shows how shifts in state policy can cause a dramatic and long-term change in status from a majority to a minority population, which, amidst a mixture of communist and nationalist ideologies, leads to escalating interethnic conflicts. In this sense, equally important is Harun Hasani's article on the Goranies, a Muslim Slav, Serbian-speaking community in the southernmost area of Kosovo and Metohija. Hasani analyses the intolerance toward non-Albanians in the Ko-

sovo province and the aggressive attempts to force Muslim Albanian identity on the Muslim Slav Goranies.

Two studies take a look at the history of minority policies and issues in Romania. Traian Sandu deals with interwar Romania, the question of national identity and nationalism, and the question of national integration from an international perspective, while Ruxandra Ivan examines the minority policies in Romania under the communist regime, the solutions offered by the official ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and reconsiders the issue of Romanian-Hungarian conflict in Transylvania.

Mladenka Ivanković revisits the history of the Jewish population in the pre-1941 Kingdom of Yugoslavia, their position in Yugoslav society and its legal framework. It is stressed that the Jewish community had always been *on good terms* with the pre-1914 Serbian kingdom and that such state of affairs continued in interwar Yugoslavia. This conclusion is made by putting the issue in a broader European context. In addition to this analysis, the author focuses both on the tragedy of the Yugoslav Jewish community during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944, when eighty percent of the Yugoslav Jews, or 60,000 people, were killed) and its place under the new communist regime (until 1953), when many members of the Jewish community contributed to the post-war recosntruction of Yugoslavia.

The history of Bulgarian minority policies is addressed by Blagovest Njagulov and Evgenia Kalinova. Njagulov follows the Bulgarian national integration and nation-building process in the pre-1945 period, and further focuses on the minority questions in Bulgaria after 1878. Kalinova examines the history of the Turkish minority question in Bulgaria, underlining concepts of interethnic tolerance and human rights as highly important in surpassing restrictions imposed upon minority groups by national legislation.

Vojislav G. Pavlović addresses the birth of the concept of *minorities* in the Balkans. He concludes that, as Serbian national consciousness rose and the institution-building process commenced in nineteenth-century Serbia, the main mechanisms of dealing with minority issues were migration at first, then integration and assimilation. This was common to all newly-born nation-states in the Balkans that pursued the *Megali Idea* concept or exclusive national programs. Similarly, Slobodan G. Markovich compares the experience of the ethnically quite homogenous Kingdom of Serbia with the multiethnic composition of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941). As the national question of pre-1914 Serbia was resolved, the Serbian political elites did not understand the difficulties arising from the belief that the Yugoslav idea could provide a basis for constructing a new state and national identity. Yugoslavism, or the notion of *one people – three tribes (names)*, proved to be incompatible both with the antagonistic stance of non-Slav minorities of interwar Yugoslavia and with the populist Croatian movement.

The historical devolution of the Serbian question in Croatia is examined by Gordana Krivokapić-Jović. She traces the substantial long-standing presence and often tragic fate of Serbs in Croatia. The Serbs in Croatia had struggled for equal rights in the Habsburg era and enjoyed equal rights only during the Yugoslav kingdom, only to become victims of genocide by the pro-Nazi Ustasha regime in Hitler's satellite Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945), which encompassed the Serbs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem and Baranja as well. Their post-war reconciliation with Croats was enabled by their being granted the status of constitutional nation in Croatia in the federal framework of communist Yugoslavia, only to be reduced to minority status by Franjo Tudjman's regime, leading to their

eventual persecution and mass expulsion during the wars of Yugoslav succession (1991–1995).

Katrin Boeckh analyses the compromises in the minority policies of communist Yugoslavia in 1945–1980. She claims that, as the experiment of *Yugoslavism* failed to consolidate the fragile political system of the first Yugoslavia, the communist elites in 1945 adopted the Marxist-Leninist solution, namely, the Soviet federal model. And from then on, if national feelings arose in Yugoslavia, it was necessarily due to the remnants of civil society and its ideological products, such as alleged Serbian unitarism and nationalism. Grave compromises that were made, such as granting collective without political rights, resulted in the appalling disintegration of Yugoslavia after the death of the communist dictator J. B. Tito, the last factor of ideological cohesion.

Finally, Vojislav Stanovčić offers an elaborate text on democracy in multiethnic societies. He underlines the importance of the rule of law, separation of powers, dispersion of power, pluralistic civil society and democratic political culture as prerequisites for truly democratic rule in multiethnic societies. Furthermore, he concludes that in multinational political entities, simple majority rule has to be reshaped and strengthened with institutions of consociational democracy.

Overall, national questions, or minority questions, still continue to burden relations among the neighbouring states of the Balkan region. Even though some of these have already become full members of the European Union, the standards of promotion and protection of minority rights are far from being thoroughly implemented. Besides, various legacies of the past and many unresolved (even unaddressed) issues will continue to set the minority questions on the top of the Balkan political agenda. It is a fact that mono-ethnic nation-states in the Balkans are non-existent. Contemporaries are, therefore, facing a dilemma: should they search for institutional arrangements that can enable and enhance peaceful and progressive coexistence or should they continue promoting models of domination over minority groups, which often involve outbursts of ethnic or religious hatred, pogroms, or forced assimilation? The *Minorities in the Balkans* not only assesses the failure of former Balkan minority policies, but expresses a clear message that what is needed is a sustained commitment to nurturing tolerance and diversity as fundamental democratic principles and widely held social values.

Robert M. Hayden, *From Yugoslavia to the Western Balkans: Studies of a European Disunion, 1991–2011*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 406.

Reviewed by Miroslav Svirčević*

The new book by Robert M. Hayden, professor of anthropology, law and international affairs, and director of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, makes a significant contribution to the knowledge and unbiased understanding of the Yugoslav crisis and its various aspects. Its particular merit is that the research into phenomena is done across disciplinary perspectives (law, political science, anthropology, philosophy and ethics, psychology, sociology). Based on fact, Hayden's well-argued discussion largely explains the causes of the

* Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade