Yugoslavia After Milosevic: Tentative Hope

Introduction

October 5, 2000, was a day of reckoning for the people of Yugoslavia and their long-serving president, Slobodan Milosevic. Only two weeks before, Milosevic had suffered a humiliating defeat in the country's presidential elections. In power since 1987, Milosevic was the leader of one of the last continuous communist states in Eastern Europe, having survived the waves of popular revolt that had driven other leaders out of office over the past decade. The winner in the election was a relative unknown, Vojislav Kostunica, who led his hastily organized Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) to victory. But when the results were announced, Milosevic's election commission refused to acknowledge that Kostunica had won a majority of the votes and insisted that a run-off election be held in two weeks. Milosevic's high-handed attempt to retain power after he had been decisively defeated was too much for the people of Yugoslavia, who immediately began a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience designed to force him to resign. Students and middle-class citizens took to the streets in Belgrade, while the miners at the country's Kolubara coal mines paralyzed the country's electric power system with a mass strike. On October 5, as huge crowds gathered outside the parliament buildings in Belgrade, it was evident that the people's demands were finally going to be met.

During his years in power, Milosevic was no stranger to conflict or opposition, whether inside or outside Serbia. He had risen to office by inflaming Serbian nationalist feelings, first against the Albanian population in Kosovo and later against Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims after Yugoslavia disintegrated in the early 1990s. His heavy-handed and corrupt regime in Belgrade had made him many enemies inside Serbia itself, and waves of demonstrations had shaken his regime in 1997. But the wily Milosevic had been able to hang on to power by cynically manipulating Serbian nationalism and its sense of resentment against victimization and injustice, real or imagined. He had also played his power-hungry and divisive opponents off against each other, while at the same time maintaining the loyalty of the armed forces and his feared secret police. When NATO initiated its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia as a result of his repression in Kosovo in April 1999, Milosevic appealed to his people for unity in the face of external aggression. For a while he appeared to succeed. But the destructive effects of the bombing, coupled with the grinding poverty and economic crisis stemming from severe international trade sanctions, finally proved too much for most Yugoslavs to bear. They could see no end to their suffering and isolation from the rest of Europe while Milosevic remained in power. They wanted a change and were determined that he would no longer deny it to them. When the end did come for Milosevic's regime, it was surprisingly peaceful, and even anticlimactic. There were scenes of popular anger and heroism, captured by the waiting international media as the unarmed crowds defied the police guarding the parliament buildings. But it soon became clear that the military no longer had any stomach for protecting Milosevic if it meant turning their guns on their own people. As has happened so many times in history, the fatal moment for an unpopular regime arrived when its own armed forces lay down their weapons and deserted to the opposition. Realizing the game was up, Milosevic appeared on national television, calmly congratulating Kostunica...
on his victory and announcing his resignation as president. As for Kostunica, the new president accepted his predecessor's statement with good will and pledged to the nation that the transfer of power would be conducted peacefully. This course of events was hardly what many outside observers had predicted. There was widespread speculation that Milosevic would meet a bloody end at the hands of his infuriated subjects, similar to that meted out to Nicolae Ceaucescu, the hated Romanian tyrant, who was shot dead along with his wife after being overthrown in 1989. Milosevic is an indicted war criminal, wanted by the United Nations International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague for alleged crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo. But the new government in Belgrade to date shows no interest in extraditing him for trial. Kostunica, as a Serbian nationalist, is also reluctant to consider any change in Kosovo's status as part of the Yugoslav federation, despite the desire of the region's Albanian majority for full independence. Milosevic has been re-elected leader of his party and it may prove very difficult for the new government to oust him and his cronies from their positions of political and economic influence. But despite these lingering after-effects of the dark years of Milosevic's rule in Yugoslavia, most people are optimistic that their turn to democracy may finally mean economic improvement, peace with their neighbours, and the country's long-awaited reintegration into Europe. A Special Note This is the 10th report News in Review has produced on Yugoslavia, and as such serves as a historical summation of events in that critical area of the world. Please see the index at the end of this resource guide for a list of comprehensive video and resource materials dealing with the situation as it has developed since 1991.

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A Democratic Revolution

The massive popular uprising that toppled Slobodan Milosevic in Yugoslavia was the focus of considerable attention from the world's news media. Broadcast crews from the CBC and other networks were in Belgrade on October 5, 2000, when huge crowds converged on the parliament buildings, the state television station, and other strongholds of the Milosevic regime. Many observers were expecting a violent clash between the demonstrators and the army and security forces. There was also a widespread belief that the popular fury against the hated ruler might lead to Milosevic's death, or at least his flight from the country into exile. Only some of this came to pass. Before viewing this News in Review report, read the following (excerpted) statements by CBC's Carol Off and quotes by Yugoslavs interviewed by her in which they comment on their view of the impact of Milosevic on their country. Each quote has one theme word highlighted with bold text. As you watch the report, look for visual images that, in your opinion, best represent the theme expressed in the quote. Present your findings to the class.

1. "We were the victims, more than anyone, of ethnic cleansing in the final score. . . . Secondly, we went through 10 years of sanctions when our lives became almost unbearable. When you compare that to the ordeals of other ethnic groups in the Balkans, you can easily see that their destiny and their hardships were, to some extent, less than ours." - Milan Soltic, new mayor of Belgrade

2. "Sarajevo, a city destroyed by nearly four years of siege. Snipers targeted children. The Serb general Radko Mladic ordered it to be bombed to the edge of madness. Vukovar in Croatia, its inhabitants murdered and the city destroyed. Srebrenica, more than 7000 killed, the worst massacre in Europe in 50 years. Crimes committed ostensibly to protect Serbs from their enemies. In the days after the fall of Milosevic, the people I talked to here didn't want to think about these wars. Milosevic is to blame for everything. His biggest crime is he has humiliated his people in the eyes of the world" - CBC reporter Carol Off

3. "What all of us have lost is our dignity-and really, we're not dignified citizens. We lost our chance to become European citizens, as we should be. We lost our chance to be people living at the end of the 20th century. We lived in medieval times." - Radovan Kuprus, Belgrade journalist

4. "[The Serbs] have to acknowledge what they already know publicly. You know, that we are responsible for the crimes and the society . . . must also come to grips with the fact that Milosevic was elected President twice, that there was no real rebellion against his policies, or against his defeats. Most of the intellectual elite were against him." - Sonia Bezerko, Serbian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights

5. "If we take too much energy and too much concentration of the population toward the issue of Milosevic, then we're going to be in danger of not focusing on the real economic, social, international, and political improvement of this country. So we don't want Milosevic to remain the focus of our national attention." - Milan
Soltic, Mayor of Belgrade

6. "Ten years of economic hardship in Yugoslavia. People in the middle of Europe, pushing their cars to the gas pumps, lining up to buy bread, and Milosevic spent the country's funds on wars, and the West imposed brutal sanctions. Serbs want Milosevic pilloried and punished for this, but not at a war crimes tribunal." - CBC reporter Carol Off

7. "Milosevic would go back to live with his neighbours, the neighbours who will judge him, if you understand me. Only the worst thing that could happen to him is to be alone, to be somewhere on the fifth floor and to go to the shop. I don't think he would survive to go out of the building." - Gigana Gavrilovic, student of English, Belgrade University

8. "It's time to come and open the file . . . merely to confront who was supporting all this. At this moment, it's very important that this regime is over and I think time has a crucial role for each of these institutions, for each individual, to reflect on responsibility and goals. After all, Milosevic was and is our mirror." - Sonia Bezerko, Serbian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights

In Full View
During a second viewing, pay close attention to the images of violence and conflict, including the anti-Milosevic demonstrations in Belgrade and the scenes of warfare and destruction in Bosnia and Kosovo. Then form small groups and discuss the effects you think these media images have on shaping public opinion in Canada and other countries toward recent events in Yugoslavia.

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The "Last Revolution"

"Milosevic is a nationalist by miscalculation, in that the political strategy which he seems to have expected might have delivered all of Yugoslavia into his hands turned out to be the one weapon which could be most effectively utilized by others to frustrate his aims." - John B. Allcock, Explaining Yugoslavia

"If the Solidarity revolution in Poland was the beginning of the end of communism, this was the end of the end of communism. It was the last of a 20-year chain of new-style, Central and East European revolutions, each learning from the previous one but also adding new ingredients and variations." - Timothy Garton Ash, The Last Revolution

Spontaneity and Solidarity

The democratic revolution in Serbia that overthrew the regime of Slobodan Milosevic has been called the "last revolution" to sweep through Eastern Europe since the fall of communism in 1989. Milosevic was the only ruler remaining in the region who had held power from the communist era, and his end seemed to many observers to represent the final chapter in this area's dramatic and difficult transition to democracy. Like the revolutions that toppled the governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania, the events in Belgrade on October 5, 2000, appeared to happen spontaneously, as great masses of people descended upon the seats of government power and challenged the repressive apparatus of the state. At a crucial moment, the armed forces and police who had once formed the central pillars in the regime's stability, decided to join forces with the demonstrators and no longer provide military support for rulers who had clearly lost the confidence of those they claimed to rule.

A Unique Revolution

But the revolution that brought Milosevic down also revealed some significant differences between Yugoslavia and the other countries of Eastern Europe. Consider how the following points contrast with other revolutions the world and the Balkans have seen and how they put Yugoslavia's recent difficult experience into a different perspective. Unlike the other communist rulers of Eastern Europe, Slobodan Milosevic was not technically speaking a dictator-and his regime was not really totalitarian-even though it is widely believed that he did order his military forces to commit terrible war crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo, and his misguided policies resulted in humiliating military setbacks and serious hardship for his own people. But ever since the beginning of his period in power, Yugoslavia had a multiparty political system and reasonably free elections. Even Milosevic's wife, Mirjana, headed her own rival left-wing party to her husband's ruling Socialists. While much of the mass media, including state television, were firmly under Milosevic's control, independent stations like Belgrade's famous B-92 were permitted to broadcast news and information quite critical of the regime. Opposition parties could organize and hold rallies, and many of their members were elected to positions in local governments, including Belgrade itself. Milosevic truly believed he could win a free election for a new term as president of Yugoslavia when he called the vote in July 2000. What he failed to appreciate was the depth and determination of public opposition to him. He also did not expect the country's
notoriously fragmented and divisive opposition to succeed in uniting into an impressive, 18-party front called the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS). In addition, he was surprised that this group was able to select as its leader not one of the previously discredited opposition chiefs, but the little-known and widely respected Vojislav Kostunica, a law professor with scant political experience but strong credentials as an uncorrupted anti-communist Serbian nationalist. While lacking the charisma and passion of his fellow opposition leaders, Kostunica appealed to many Serbs because of his serious, undramatic, reliable style. As one journalist said, "I want a boring president. And I want to live in a boring country."

Discussion
1. What qualities do you associate with the term dictator? Based on your reading of the above information passage and your viewing of the video, to what extent do you think Milosevic qualifies as a dictator?

2. Canadians sometimes say that their country's history, politics, and leaders are "boring." Why do you think people in Yugoslavia would share the view of the Belgrade journalist who said he wants to live in a boring country with a boring president?

Yugoslavia's revolution was mainly non-violent and "self limiting." After the results of the September 24, 2000, election were announced, it was clear that the opposition to Milosevic had won a big victory. But it soon became apparent that Milosevic was not ready to concede, and that he would try to force a run-off round of voting between him and Kostunica, hoping that he could win a narrow victory against his main rival. This was too much for most people, who now saw that the only way to ensure the transition to a new leadership was by non-violent political protest. The DOS, along with other groups such as the powerful student organization Otpor and the unionized workers at the Kolubara coal mines, made it clear that they would mobilize masses of citizens in the streets of Belgrade if Milosevic did not resign by October 5. Like the workers in Poland before them whose Solidarity trade union had brought down that country's communist regime, the miners played a key role in the events leading to Milosevic's downfall. By staging a mass strike, they effectively shut down the country's electrical power grid, causing a nation-wide blackout. When the head of the armed forces, General Pavkovic, offered to double the miners' wages if they went back to work, they refused, demanding instead that the election results be honoured. On October 5, people from all over Serbia were streaming into Belgrade in the thousands. They used bulldozers, earthmovers, and heavy-duty trucks to demolish the roadblocks the police had built to stop them. Among them were ex-soldiers-veterans of Milosevic's futile wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, who had once taken up arms on his behalf, but were now determined to oust him, by force if necessary. The protesters' main targets were the Yugoslav federal parliament buildings and the state television broadcast center. Of the two, the television station was probably the more important. Throughout his period in power, Milosevic had relied on television to deliver his version of events to the Yugoslav people. Once the broadcast centre was taken, it was then possible for Kostunica to appear on national television, greeting his people with the statement "Good evening, liberated Serbia." Shortly afterward, Milosevic himself issued a televised statement, graciously resigning as president and wishing his successor well. The revolution had occurred in a remarkably non-violent manner, and the transfer of power from Milosevic to Kostunica seemed more like an election night change of government in a Western democracy than a militant opposition's overthrow of a repressive regime. Revelection was the term some observers coined to describe what had happened in Yugoslavia during September and October 2000.

Discussion
1. What were the main events that led to the overthrow of the Milosevic regime in Yugoslavia in October 2000?

2. In what ways were the events in Yugoslavia both similar to and different from those that resulted in the overthrow of the communist regimes in other Eastern European countries in the fall of 1989?
Milosevic was as much the victim as the instigator of the nationalism he inflamed. During his years in power, Milosevic was frequently depicted in the Western media as being an extreme Serbian nationalist bent on carving a "greater Serbia" out of the ruins of Yugoslavia, which had collapsed into bloody conflict after 1991. From the beginning, he appeared to give no regard to the tragic consequences for either his own people or those he attacked. In 1991 he launched his forces into disastrous wars against the breakaway republics of Slovenia and Croatia, then backed the Serb minority in Bosnia's murderous civil conflict from 1992 to 1995, later made a cynical peace with his erstwhile enemies—Croatia's Franjo Tudjman and Bosnia's Alija Izetbegovic at Dayton in 1995—and finally orchestrated a mass campaign of repression against the Albanian population of Kosovo, leading to the NATO bombing of his country and his ignominious defeat. But there is some evidence to indicate that Milosevic himself was as much a prisoner of nationalism as he was its violent practitioner and apostle. He started his career as a loyal apparatchik in Marshall Josip Broz Tito's ruling Yugoslav League of Communists, and always backed its policy of strict opposition to ethnic nationalism, and its promotion of "Brotherhood and Unity" of all Yugoslav citizens, irrespective of their backgrounds. When he was first dispatched to Kosovo in April 1987 to deal with serious conflict there between the ruling Albanian majority and the Serb minority, he made a strong appeal to his fellow Serbs in the region to try to co-operate with their Albanian neighbours. But after he was cornered by an angry Serbian mob, demanding that the government in Belgrade intervene militarily on its behalf, he made the famous statement "No one should dare to beat you," which was later presented as a signal for Serbs to rise against those who were threatening them. After his experience in Kosovo in 1987, Milosevic was quick to seize the opportunity to manipulate angry crowds inflamed by nationalist feelings to gain control of the Communist Party leaderships in Montenegro and Vojvodina, two regions that, like Kosovo, were under Serbian authority. He now had four of the eight votes of the collective Yugoslav presidency established by Tito under his control, and was able to pursue his goal of strengthening his own position in the government, even if it meant the breakup of the country he had once so loyally served. In 1989, when he struck against the Albanians in Kosovo, removing their right to self-government, the Communist authorities in other parts of Yugoslavia, like Slovenia and Croatia, looked the other way and began to make their own plans for eventual secession, a move Milosevic welcomed. Milosevic was quite ready to accept the breakup of Yugoslavia if that meant a greater role for himself as the strongman of a "greater Serbia." In order to pursue this goal, he joined forces with traditionalist and militantly anti-communist Serbian minorities in the border area of Croatia known as the krajina (frontier), in Bosnia, and in Kosovo. His conflicts in these areas in 1991, 1992-95, and 1999 all involved the defence of these embattled minorities against the real or alleged aggression of the majority group. In each case, his policy proved disastrous, both for the Serbs of these regions and for his own political position. Croatia and Serbia fought each other to a bloody standstill in 1991, and in 1995, taking advantage of NATO's strikes on Serb military positions in Bosnia, the Croat army drove the Serb population from the krajina, an area they had inhabited since medieval times. This was the greatest single example of "ethnic cleansing" to occur in the Yugoslav civil war, but was largely ignored by the Western media. Finally, in 1999, Milosevic's military actions in Kosovo in support of local Serbs against the guerrilla forces of the Albanian-backed Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) provoked NATO to begin its destructive bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, and led to the loss of Kosovo. After this string of defeats, Milosevic's fellow citizens in Serbia itself could only conclude that his policies had led to the very opposite of the vision of national greatness he had tantalized them with in his demagogic speeches and television broadcasts. They finally rose up against him, and removed him from power. Slobodan Milosevic was and is undeniably a politician of great skill and intelligence, and in some ways is the victim of the Balkan tragedy as well as one of its major perpetrators. Had he chosen to do so, he could probably have used his considerable political gifts to refashion a new Yugoslavia based on a series of compromises with the various republics that would have fostered greater democracy and legitimacy for the Communist Party while preserving the federal state, and escaping the cycle of bloody violence that was to follow. He might have even risen to the highest position
of power in such a regime. But he chose instead the fatal embrace of a narrow version of ethnically based, aggressive nationalism in pursuit of his own ambitions, and betrayed the Yugoslav Communist principle of pan-ethnic unity in a federal republic he had once espoused, which had kept the country together and at peace from 1945 to 1991. In the end this gigantic miscalculation proved to be his own undoing, while in addition contributing to the destruction of every region of this once great country, not least his own Serbia.

**Discussion**

1. What do you associate with the term ethnic nationalism? Does this exist in Canada? Why would ethnic nationalism be seen as a divisive force in a country composed of people from different ethnic backgrounds?

2. Why did Milosevic choose to exploit Serbian nationalism after he came to power in 1987? In what ways did his choice prove fatal, both for himself and his country?

3. Describe in your own words what might be referred to as Slobodan Milosevic's tragic flaw.

4. In your opinion, is Milosevic a tragic hero, a villain, or something else? What can be learned from his downfall?

5. Why, for historical and future reasons, is it important to understand the unique nature of "the last revolution"?

**Follow-up Activity**

Write a 300-word editorial in which you summarize the role you believe Slobodan Milosevic has played in the history of Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and the world.

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A New Era in the Balkans?

The fall of Slobodan Milosevic appears to some observers to mark not only the end of a dark period in the recent history of the Balkans, but also the beginning of a new era of peace, stability, reconciliation, and economic renewal. Milosevic appealed to ethnic nationalism as a means of consolidating his hold on power, as some political leaders in the region still do. This policy led to a series of bloody civil conflicts, most notably in Bosnia and Kosovo, wars that destroyed Yugoslavia and cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. It also created considerable instability in Eastern Europe, and frequently threatened to trigger a larger war in the region that might have involved outside powers, with potentially disastrous consequences. However, with the relatively peaceful transfer of power accomplished in what remains of Yugoslavia, there is a mood of hope and optimism that the worst period of bloodshed and destruction may be over for the Balkans and their peoples. But how much evidence is there for this hope?

Unresolved Issues

Below are some of the outstanding issues remaining to be resolved before the region may be able to turn the corner on its recent violent past and reintegrate into the wider European and global communities. Form small groups and discuss each of the points, focusing on the "Projections" questions. Extrapolate in order to suggest the implications and ramifications of the key points. Present your findings to the class.

ISSUE ONE: Challenges Ahead for Yugoslavia after Milosevic

(a) The end of Yugoslavia's isolation from Europe
(b) Removing his corrupt allies from positions of influence
(c) Milosevic's re-election as head of his party and his remaining an active political force in Yugoslavia
(d) The ongoing factionalism and struggle for power by various groups
(e) Elections
(f) Restoring the economy, the infrastructure, housing, and industry following NATO's bombing. Many people, especially the elderly and others on fixed incomes, have been barely surviving. Even essential items like sugar, milk, and cooking oil have been in short supply for those unable to purchase them on the black market at inflated prices.
(g) Continuing ethnic tensions in and the uncertain political future of neighbouring Kosovo and Montenegro, the latter an area inhabited by a Slavic people closely related to the Serbs but jealous of their territorial autonomy. Also, in the northern province of Vojvodina, the ethnic Hungarian population remained restive under what it felt to be repressive Serbian domination. Projections Discuss measures you think Yugoslavia's new leaders will have to take if they are going to deal successfully with the many problems they now face.

ISSUE TWO: The Fate of Kosovo

(a) The NATO-imposed interim administration in Kosovo, which has encouraged the Albanian majority to re-establish their authority and persecute the dwindling Serb minority
(b) Kosovo's formal status (still technically part of Yugoslavia; Kostunica is a Serbian nationalist)
(c) The Kosovo elections of October 2000 in which Ibrahim Rugova's moderate nationalists defeated extremist parties

Projections Discuss
how the unsettled political dynamics in Kosovo may have an impact on political events in Yugoslavia. How could the issue of Serbian minority rights in Kosovo be resolved?

ISSUE THREE: Bosnia's Ongoing Problems (a) The UN-brokered division of Bosnia into a Serb-dominated sector and a jointly administered Croat-Muslim zone (b) Bosnia's first president, Alija Izetbegovic (a Muslim), since the murderous war there aroused considerable suspicion for its insistence on promoting Muslim interests over those of Croat or Serb residents and encouraging the activities of extreme Islamic fundamentalists who had arrived in Bosnia from the Middle East (c) After Izetbegovic's retirement ethnically based Serb, Muslim, and Croat groups won the most seats in new elections. (d) The European Union (EU) is quickly tiring of its role as Bosnia's economic lifeline, and wants political leaders there to rise to the challenge of overcoming their ethnic divisions and working together to rebuild the country and establish some degree of political stability. Projections How will Bosnia’s current political status affect Yugoslavia? How might it involve Yugoslavia, or outside organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, or the European Union?

ISSUE FOUR: An Effective International War-crimes Tribunal (a) Kostunica's indication that extraditing Milosevic to stand trial in The Hague is a low priority for him (b) Kostunica's awareness, on the other hand, that his co-operation in this matter will be an important precondition for Yugoslavia's economic and diplomatic reintegration into the European Union, and the resumption of foreign aid, especially from the United States (c) The renewed hope internationally that Yugoslavia and Croatia, no longer ruled by hardline nationalist leaders who authorized the use of brutal force in the pursuit of their ethnic goals, will be more co-operative with UN officials who want to begin the investigation of alleged war criminals (d) The fact that there are literally thousands of people in the different countries that once formed Yugoslavia who committed terrible crimes during the bloody civil wars that followed its disintegration in 1991 (e) The fact that realistically only those who actually led the armed forces or authorized mass killings like the massacre of 5000 civilians at Srebenica in June 1995 can be expected to stand trial. Others, who performed more minor roles, may be able to win pardons in exchange for admitting their guilt.

Projections
After the fall of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994, the new government of Nelson Mandela appointed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, to investigate the brutalities committed by all sides in that country’s violent struggle. There have even been proposals that Mandela be invited to Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Croatia to lend his support to such a commission there. Is this a good plan? How effective might such outside help be, especially from a country whose history differs significantly from Yugoslavia’s?

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Examine the list below of recently published books dealing with events in Yugoslavia since 1991. What does this list tell you about the importance to the world of Yugoslavia? How do the titles themselves suggest the issues? These sources could be consulted for the activities in the next section of this resource guide or they could be used to assign a book review.

- Akhavan, Payam, and Robert Howse, eds., Yugoslavia, the Former and Future: Reflections by Scholars from the Region
- Alcock, John B., Explaining Yugoslavia
- Anzulovic, Branimir, Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide
- Bennett, Christopher, Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course, and Consequence
- Cohen, Leonard J., Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition
- Crnobrnja, Mihailo, The Yugoslav Drama
- Denitch, Bogdan, Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia
- Dragnich, Alex N., Yugoslavia's Disintegration and the Struggle for Truth
- Glenny, Misha, The Fall of Yugoslavia
- Lampe, John R., Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country
- Malcolm, Noel, Bosnia: A Short History
- Meier, Victor, Yugoslavia: A History of its Demise
- Popov, Nebosa, ed., The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis
- Ramet, Sabrina P., Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the War for Kosovo
- Rezun, Miron, Europe and the War in the Balkans: Toward a New Yugoslav Identity
- Silber, Laura, and Allan Little, The Death of Yugoslavia
- Spencer, Christopher, Former Yugoslavia: Background to Crisis
- Thomas, Robert, Serbia under Milosevic: Politics in the 1990s
- Thompson, Mark, A Paper House: The Ending of Yugoslavia
- Thompson, Mark, Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Udovicki, Jasmina, and James B. Ridgeway, eds., Burn this House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia
- West, Richard, Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia
- Woodward, Susan L., Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War
- Zametica, John, The Yugoslav Conflict
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Discussion, Research, and Essay Questions

1. Using an atlas, prepare a display of maps outlining the territorial changes that have occurred in Yugoslavia from the country’s creation in 1918, its re-establishment in 1945, and its breakup in 1991. How many new countries have emerged in this area?

2. Using an almanac, encyclopedia, Web sites, or other sources, prepare a profile of Yugoslavia or one of the other countries in the area, and display it on a chart or storyboard. Record the following information. Geography: location, area, coastline, climate, environment, terrain, land use, capital and other major cities; People: population, nationality, age structure, population growth rate, ethnic groups, languages, religions, birth and death rate, infant mortality, life expectancy; Government: leaders, type of government, administrative divisions, national holidays; Economy: overview, GDP, industries, unemployment, agriculture, natural resources; Finance and Trade: currency, international reserves, defence expenditures, exports and imports; Communications and Transportation: newspapers, televisions, telephones, vehicles, roads, railways, airports. Information on Yugoslavia can be obtained from the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 17 Blackburn Ave., Ottawa ON K1N 8A2, Tel: (613) 233-6289, Fax: (613) 233-7850, or by accessing the government’s Web site at http://gov.yu.

3. Find out more about one of the following figures who played a major role in the Yugoslav and Balkan conflicts since 1991: Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, Alija Izetbegovic, Radovan Karadjic, Ibrahim Rugova. Prepare an oral report for the class.

4. Using one or more of the resources listed on the previous page of this resource guide and/or News in Review sources, prepare a background report on one of the following topics: (a) the break-up of Yugoslavia, (b) the Bosnian war, (c) the conflict in Kosovo, (d) the struggle for democracy in Serbia, (e) future prospects for the region.

5. Find out more about the United Nations International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague and its activities in bringing alleged war criminals to trial. How effective do you think this organization has been so far in dealing with those responsible for war crimes in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and other global conflict zones?
Using both the print and non-print material from various issues of News in Review, teachers and students can create comprehensive, thematic modules that are excellent for research purposes, independent assignments, and small group study. We recommend the stories indicated below for the universal issues they represent and for the archival and historic material they contain.

"Yugoslavia: The Powder Keg of Europe," September 1991
"Albania: Descent into Anarchy," May 1997
"Kosovo: Repeating History?" November 1998
"The Battle for Kosovo: NATO Hits Yugoslavia," April 1999
"The Kosovo Special," May 1999