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James Pettifer

Balkan Historiography – Ranke and his Legacy

The existence of the Montenegrins, so long precarious, was beginning to acquire stability: the prolonged conflict between the Balkan mountain and the Porte was attracting the attention of Civilised Europe ... blessings were showered on the heroic mountaineers by their Christian neighbours.

*Leopold von Ranke History of Servia
(1829)*

In addressing this question it is necessary to think clearly about how the history of the Montenegrin region and people was written in the past, and how it has been seen and understood both inside and outside Montenegro. It is a truism to say that until the twentieth century most Balkan history was oral, in societies where mass literacy was not achieved in most places until after the Second World War. In countries like Bulgaria and Serbia where in the nineteenth century there had been greater progress in establishing a modern national primary education system, oral tradition nevertheless still played (and plays) a very major part.

It is clear that the major external cultural relationship between the emerging history of Serbia and Montenegro in the first period of nation building in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was with German-speaking central Europe,

Milan Milenkovic

The Kosovo Case as a Matryoshka Doll: Why did Russia withdraw its troops from Kosovo?

Abstract: The aim of this article is to explain the reasons for the Russian troop withdrawal from Kosovo in 2003. The analysis starts with the incident at Slatina airport at the end of NATO airstrikes of Yugoslavia in June 1999, and its consequences on Russia-NATO relations. The article also points out the changes that occurred in Russian foreign and security policy (including the war in Chechnya 1999) that were conditioned and impacted by the 1999 Kosovo crisis. Colossal political changes that occurred on the global scale in terms of 9/11 effects on Russian-USA relations, the decisive influence of NATO in the region of SEE, democratic changes in Serbia in 2000, and an overall “cooling” of relations between Moscow and Belgrade are taken into account as the reasons for Russia’s military withdrawal from the Balkans and from the KFOR mission in Kosovo.

Key words: Russia, Russian troops, Kosovo, FR Yugoslavia, NATO.

General Background of International Aspects of the Kosovo and Metohia Problem

The NATO military action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) ended on 9 June 1999, after 78 days of airstrikes. The legal foundation for ending the airstrikes and conflict in Kosovo was established in UN SC Resolution 1244, ratified by the United Nations’ Security Council (SC). The res-

Mitja Velikonja

Anti-Holidays? Celebrating former Yugoslav holidays in present-day Slovenia

Instead of an Introduction

On 25 May 2012, the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia sent a circular to all kindergartens, elementary, musical and secondary schools in which it was said that the *glorification of the symbols of the totalitarian regime was completely unacceptable*.¹ The reason was an in-house invitation to the annual trade union meeting in an elementary school in Ptuj that was supposed to be decorated with the images of *Tito's youth relay baton, memories of the late Yugoslavia, memories of "good old times" and Tito*.

I take this incident as a starting point not only for this particular study, but also for a deliberation on the wider cultural and deeper ideological components of holidays as a social phenomenon. The administrative body of the newly established state reacted sharply against the planned commemoration of a former national holiday in school which is by far the most important "ideological apparatus of the state." This is the purest, paradigmatic, textbook example of the hegemonic struggle for time, a confrontation of antagonistic constructions of periodizations and celebrations that lie at the very foundation of every ideological imaginary.

1 Ideological syntagms and expressions are rendered in *italics* and quoted word for word, including spelling mistakes and awkward style.

Matvey Lomonosov

Illyrianism Bosnian Style Balkan antiquity in contemporary national mythology and identity construction among the Bosniaks

Illyrianism in Bosnian style: Balkan antiquity in contemporary national mythology and identity construction among the Bosniaks

Abstract: Historical myths are often used in construction and negotiation of communal, namely ethnic and national, identity. It is particularly the case in the Balkans. One of the most outspoken historical narratives here is the Illyrian myth, which connects the origins of various Balkan ethnic/national groups with ancient Illyrian tribes. Unlike many authors maintain, Balkan Illyrianism has been evident not only among the Croats, but also among the Serbs, Slovenes, and Albanians. Similarly, political and intellectual elites of the Bosnian Muslims have traced the pedigree of their “nation” back to the Illyrians. The interest in the ancient non-Roman history of Bosnian lands and the issue of pre-Roman-Slavic continuity emerged during the times of Communism, when the history of the socialist republic was being constructed. After the declaration of independence the spokesmen of Bosniak nation started to resort to Illyrian myth more and more aiming to foster a particular identity of their co-nationals and to promote Bosnia and Herzegovina as a rightfully Bosniak nation-state within the country and abroad.

Keywords: Illyrian myth, Historical mythology, National Identity, Bosnia, Ethnic relations

Tahir Mahmutefendić

Economic Recovery in South-East European Transition Countries in 2010?

The recovery in South-East European transition economies in 2010 was slow and uneven, with some countries, such as Bulgaria, Croatia Montenegro and Romania recording negative growth rates of GDP well into the year. The main reason for sluggish economic activity was a stagnant private demand, caused by two factors. First, unemployment, already high before the crisis, increased with a time-lag even when economies were technically out of the recession. Second, private credit growth was stagnant and in some countries even shrinking. In addition, many countries were not able to exploit the rebound in world export. While during the recession the income elasticity of the demand for exports was stronger than the price elasticity during the recovery the latter was more important to exporters. Countries with floating exchange rates, such as Serbia, were able to depreciate their currencies and make their export more competitive, unlike the countries with fixed exchange rates, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria, which run the currency board.

Although international capital flows somewhat resumed in 2010 they were far below the pre-crisis levels. A mitigating factor, which helped a mild recovery, was the resumption in remittances, which was particularly strong in FYR Macedonia.

This article will analyze in detail economic performance in South-East European economies in 2010. The first section is dedicated to the global economic performance in 2010. The second section deals with the recovery in the European Union. The

Biographies of our Authors

Matvey Lomonosov holds an MA in History from Perm State University (Russia), an MSc in International Relations from Tirana University (Albania), and an MA in Nationalism Studies from CEU (Hungary). He has worked as a guest-lecturer at Tirana. Currently he is a doctoral student in the Department of European studies at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint-Petersburg) and in the Department of History at Tirana University. He has published articles on Balkan national mythology in Russia, Albania, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Ukraine.

Tahir Mahmutefendić was born in 1956 in Tuzla, Yugoslavia, now Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1959 his family moved to Sarajevo, where he finished his education in 1978, gaining a first class honours from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Sarajevo, where he subsequently worked as a lecturer in Political Economics and Finance from 1980 to 1992. He published numerous articles in various Yugoslav Journals, mainly in the field of international finance. In 1987, he earned a master's degree in International Economics from Belgrade University. In 1992 he came to London as a visiting research fellow at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES). Due to the war, he was never able to return to Sarajevo, and this has had a major impact on his academic career. In 1995, however, he submitted his doctoral thesis to the University of Belgrade, where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Currently he is an independent researcher in London.

Milan Milenković is a member of the Diplomatic Forum in Belgrade and an associate of the Belgrade Center for Security Policy. He holds an MA in International Relations from the University of Bologna and the Saint Petersburg State University (Interdisciplinary Research Studies on Eastern Europe – MIREES programme). He also graduated in International Relations from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and at the Department for Advanced Undergraduate Studies of the Belgrade Open School. He has published in the journals *Evrodija-*

log and Southeastern Europe, and on the websites of *TransConflict* and the *Belgrade Center for Security Policy*. His fields of interests are: Serbia's European integration, the foreign policy of Serbia, Serbian-Russian relations, Russian foreign policy, post-communist transition in CEE, and the history of the European Union.

James Pettifer was educated at King's School, Worcester, and Hertford College, Oxford. His academic work includes *The Turkish Labyrinth: Atatürk and the new Islam* (1997; Greek edn, 1998), *Bulgaria* (1998; Greek edn, 2003), *The New Macedonian Question* (1999), *Kosova Express: A journey in wartime* (2005; Albanian edn, 2006). Pettifer has also co-authored, with Miranda Vickers, *The Albanian Question: Reshaping the Balkans* (2007; Albanian edn, 2007), and *Albania: From anarchy to a Balkan identity* (1997; Albanian, Greek, and Serbian edns, 1998). In the media, he has reported for *The Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and he is a regular broadcaster and commentator on the Balkan countries on both radio and television. He was a Senior Associate Member of St Antony's College, Oxford, from 1993 to 1996 and a Visiting Professor in the Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki. He is currently teaching Balkan history at St Cross College, Oxford and in the Oxford University History Faculty.

Mitja Velikonja is a Professor of Cultural Studies and head of the Center for Cultural and Religious Studies at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. The main areas of his research include Central-European and Balkan political ideologies, subcultures and urban cultures, collective memory and post-socialist nostalgia. His last monographs are *Titostalgia – A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz* (Ljubljana, 2008), *Eurosis – A Critique of the New Eurocentrism* (Ljubljana, 2005), and *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (TAMU Press; 2003). Together with Vj. Perica he is the co-author of the book in Serbian *Nebeska Jugoslavija: Interakcija političkih mitologija i popkulture* (Belgrade, 2012). He has been a visiting professor at Jagiellonian University in Krakow (2002 and 2003), at Columbia University in New York (2009), a Fulbright visiting researcher at Rosemont College in Philadelphia (2004/2005), and a research fellow at The Netherlands Institute of Advanced Studies in Wassenaar (2012).