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ЈУГОСЛОВЕНИТЕ

JUGOSLAVIJA //

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// JUGOSLOVANI

PUBLISHER







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**P U B L I S H E R**

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**JUGOSLAVIJA / JUGOSLOVENITE**

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**PUBLISHER**

This publication is a narration based in true events.

Black and white photographs were taken between 1945 and 1992.  
The places and the people depicted are the visible parts of a country that no longer exists.

Colour photographs are the result of a photographic road trip survey looking for the remains of Yugoslavia in 2015.

Postcards. Out of respect for the events, they have been included to describe as they occurred.





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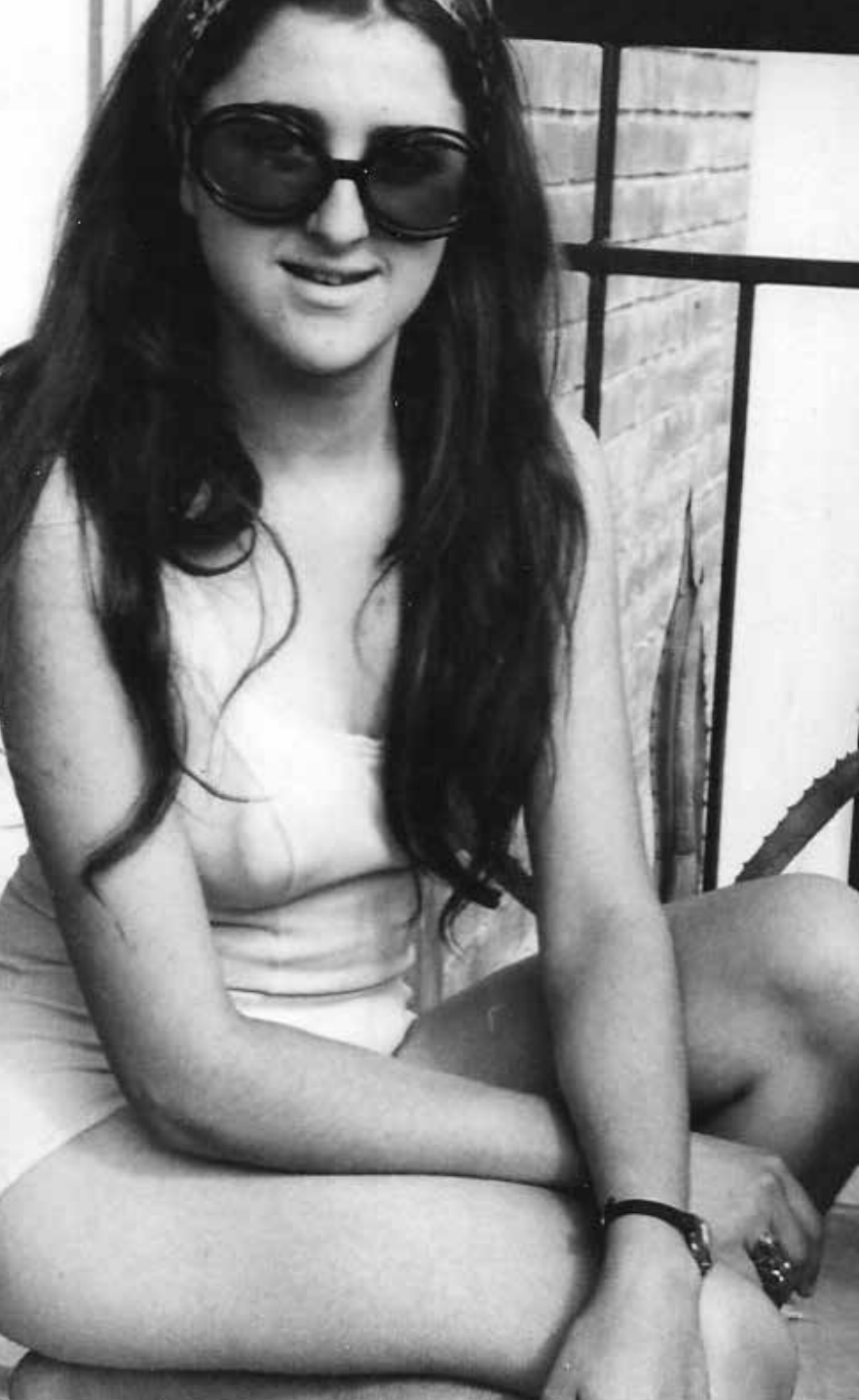


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СУП ВУКОВАР









**POLITICKA SKOLA SKJ  
"JOSIP BROZ TITO"**







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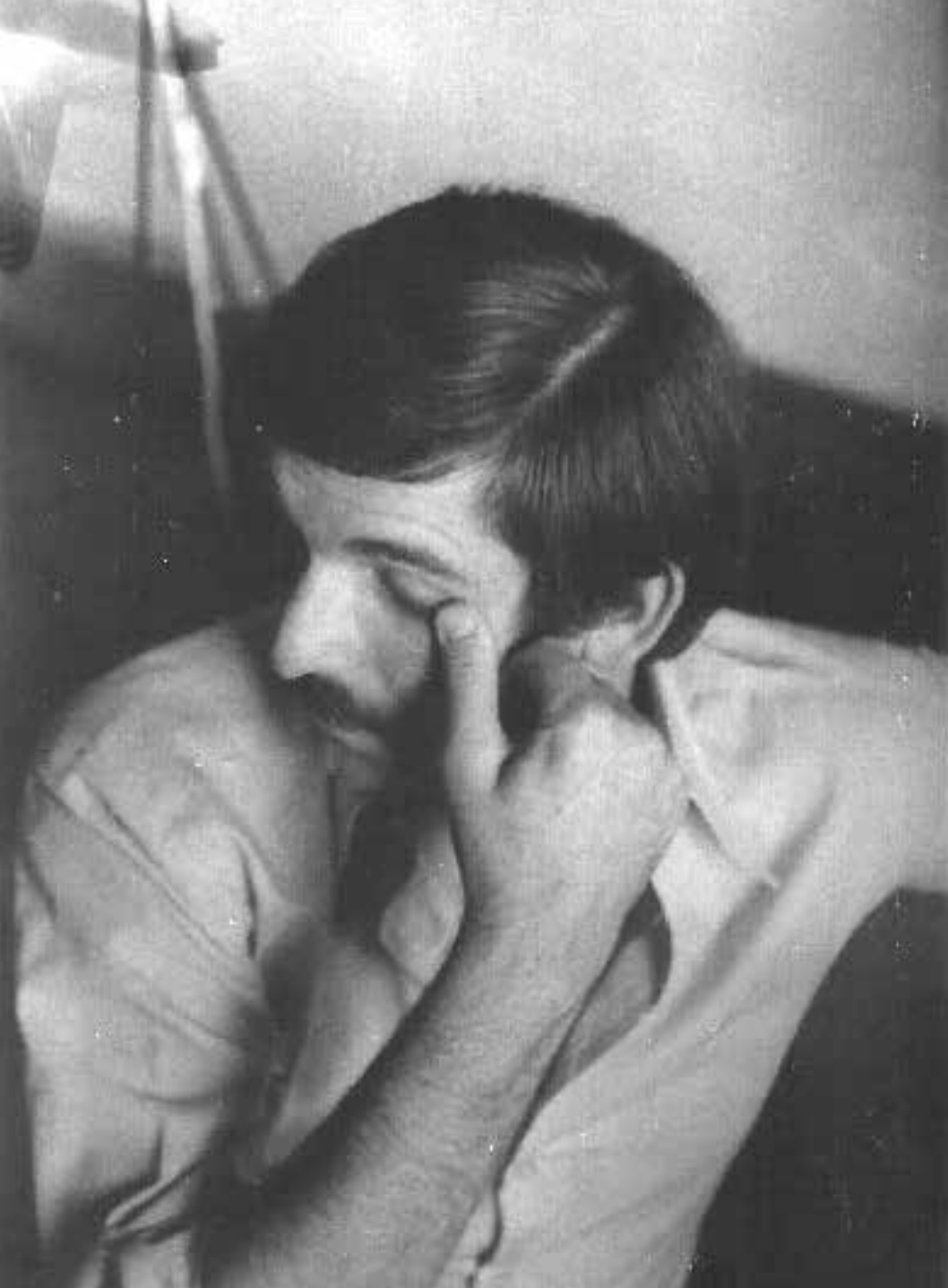
















































**ЮЖА ЗВОНИМИР**  
**ЗВОЧКО**

рођен у Сремским 1936г.  
погибну на радном месту  
у БИАНА-КОСОВО 19-III-1964

**СПОМЕНИК ПОЖИЖУ**  
**РОДИТЕЉИ БРАТ И**  
**СЕСТРА**

























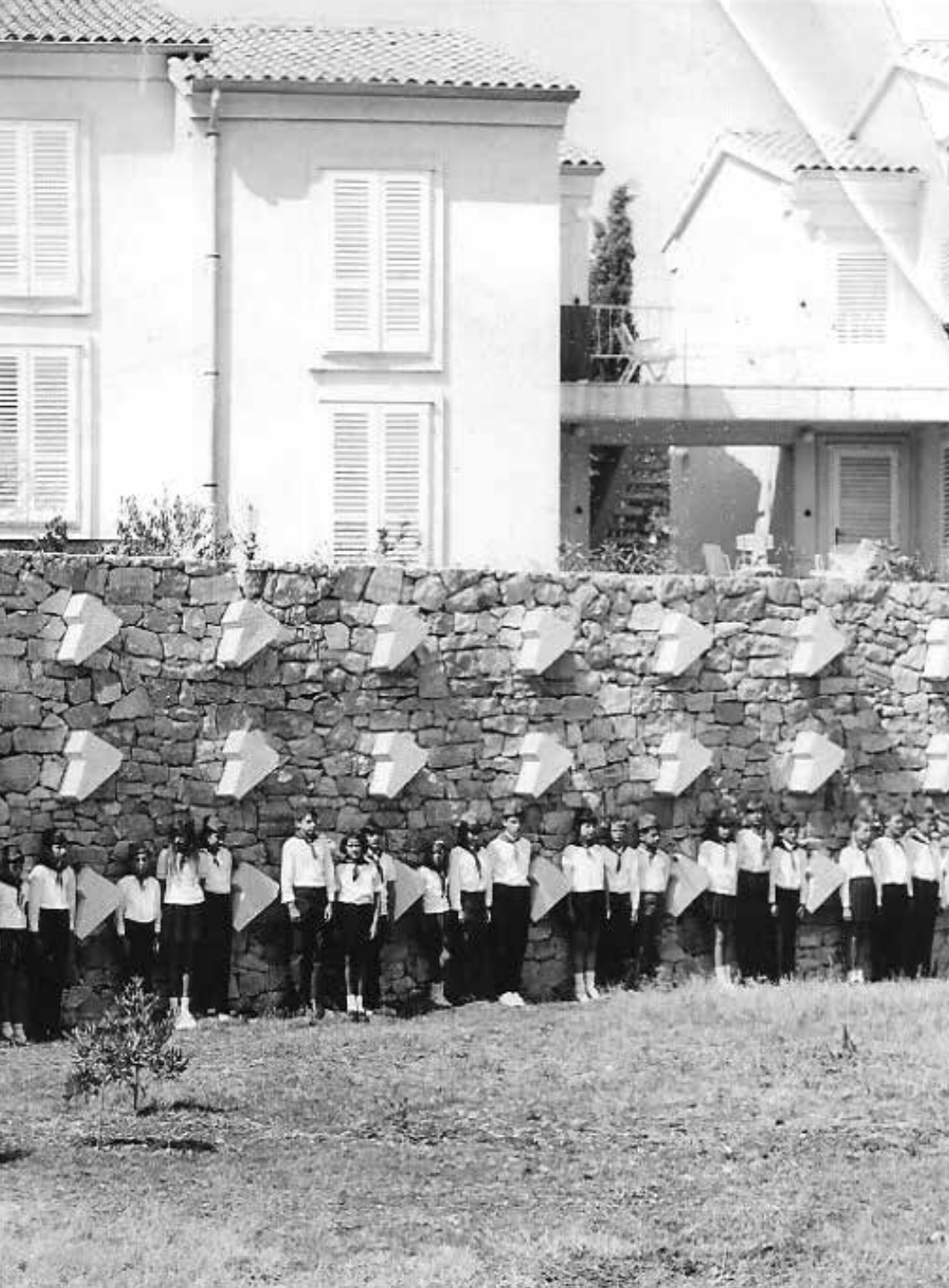














































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WOMEN'S UNION  
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*prodajni centar koteks*

















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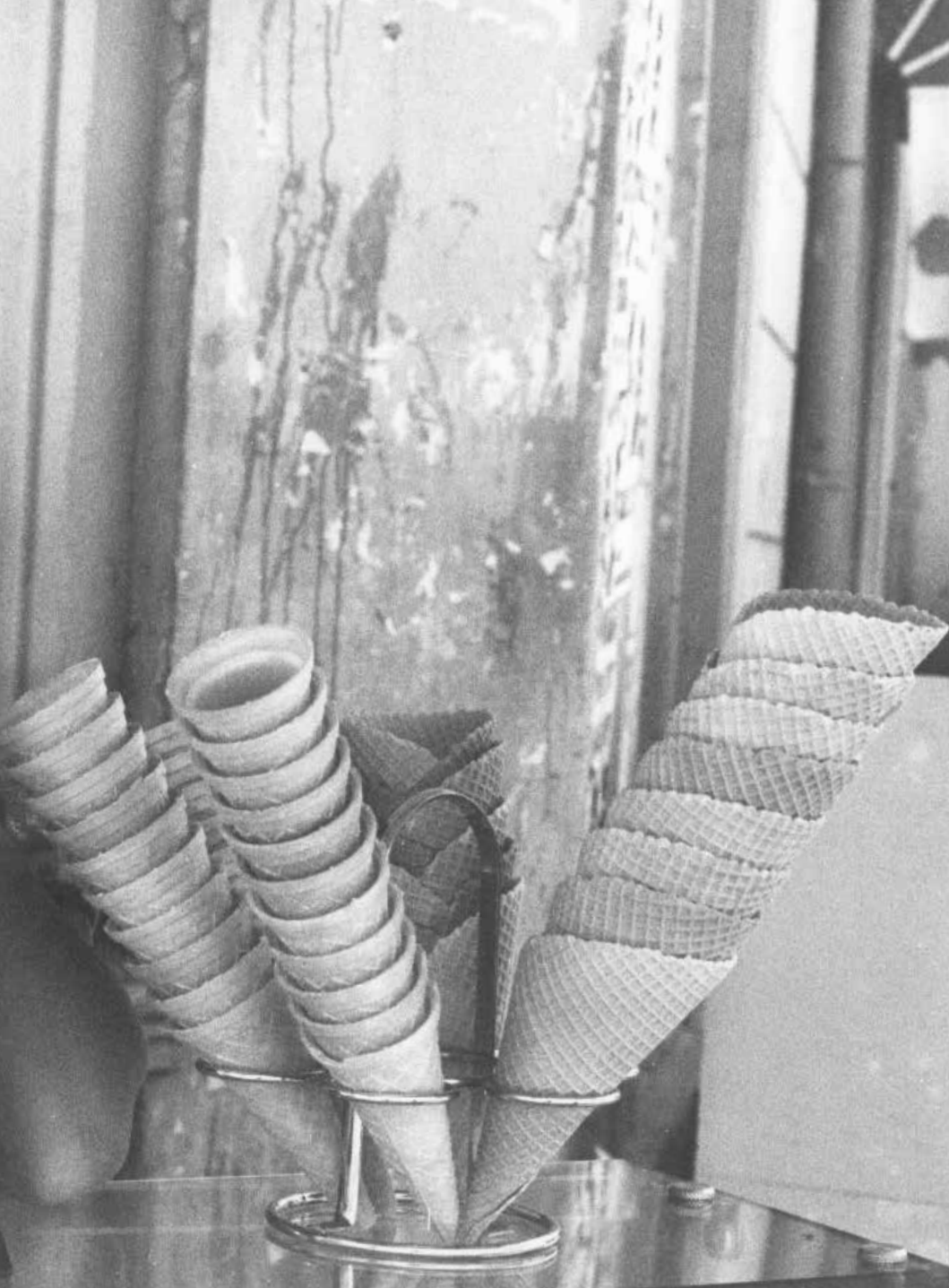
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ВЕЛИКИ КОРНЕТ 4500.000  
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МАЛИ КОРНЕТ 800.000  
(ПРАЗАН)

 **Marlboro**

































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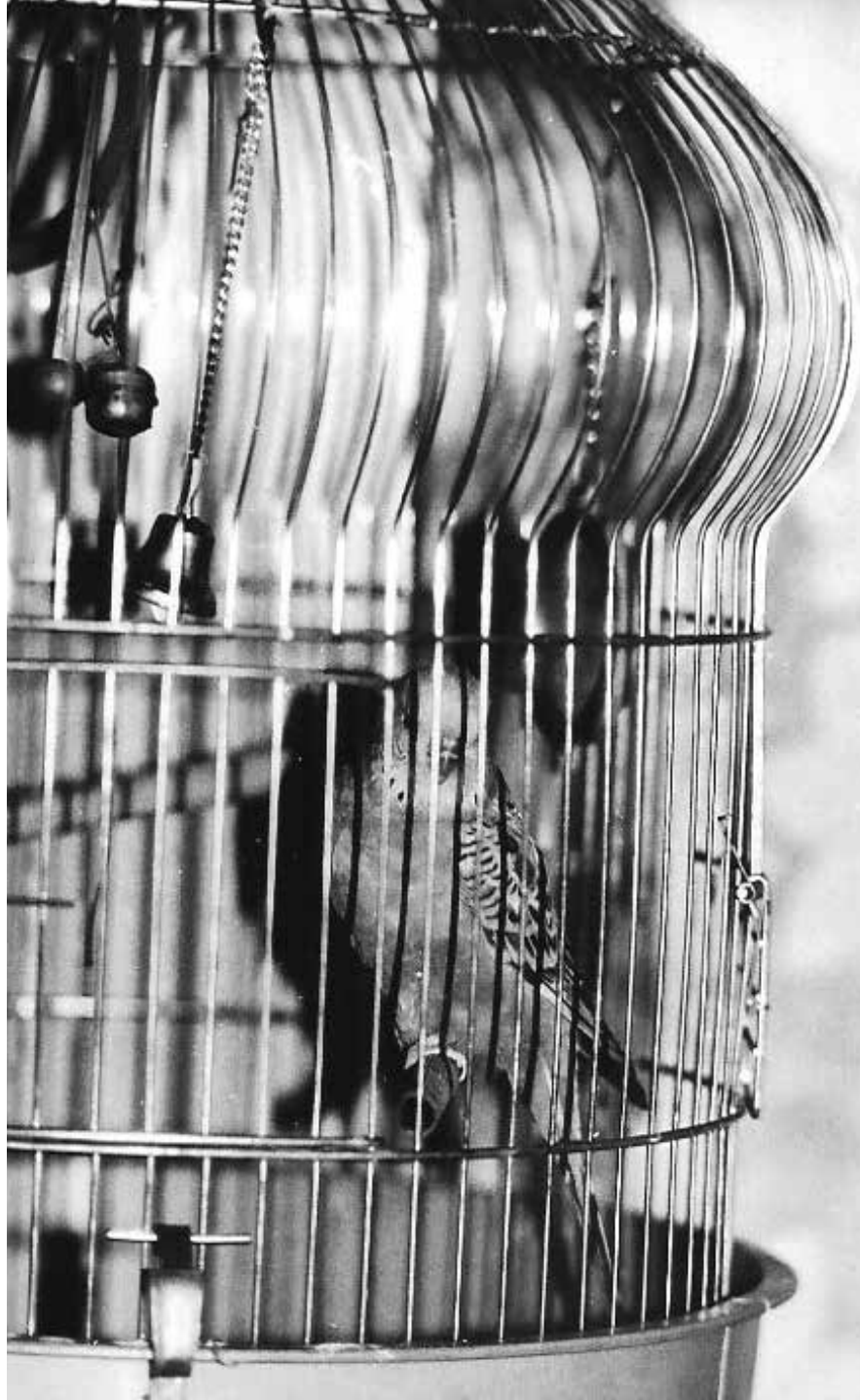
Gradani i građanke

Pravom sudbinom, a ne sudom  
Naš, koji je u srcu i podlazi  
Naša i naša su sreća









































ORIGINAL

























Тайм

1 рубль

АЗУЛЫЙ

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УШУ ХИГИЗЕНУ





















































































































































































































































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KI JE PROSTOTI ODPEL

BOJCI IN BRATA  
BOJNOVA MOŠKA DRU  
DUMBERA 18. 1945















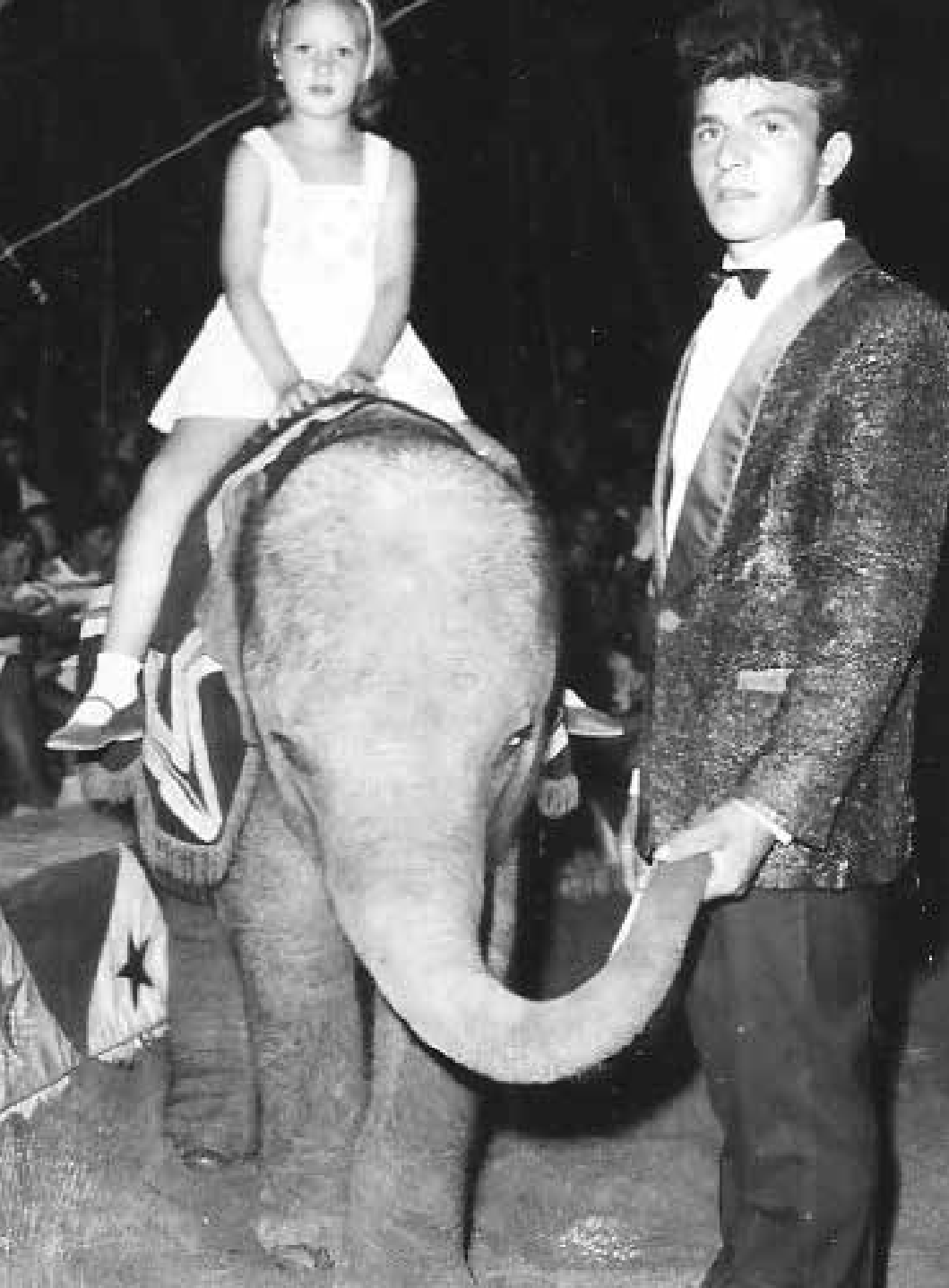






























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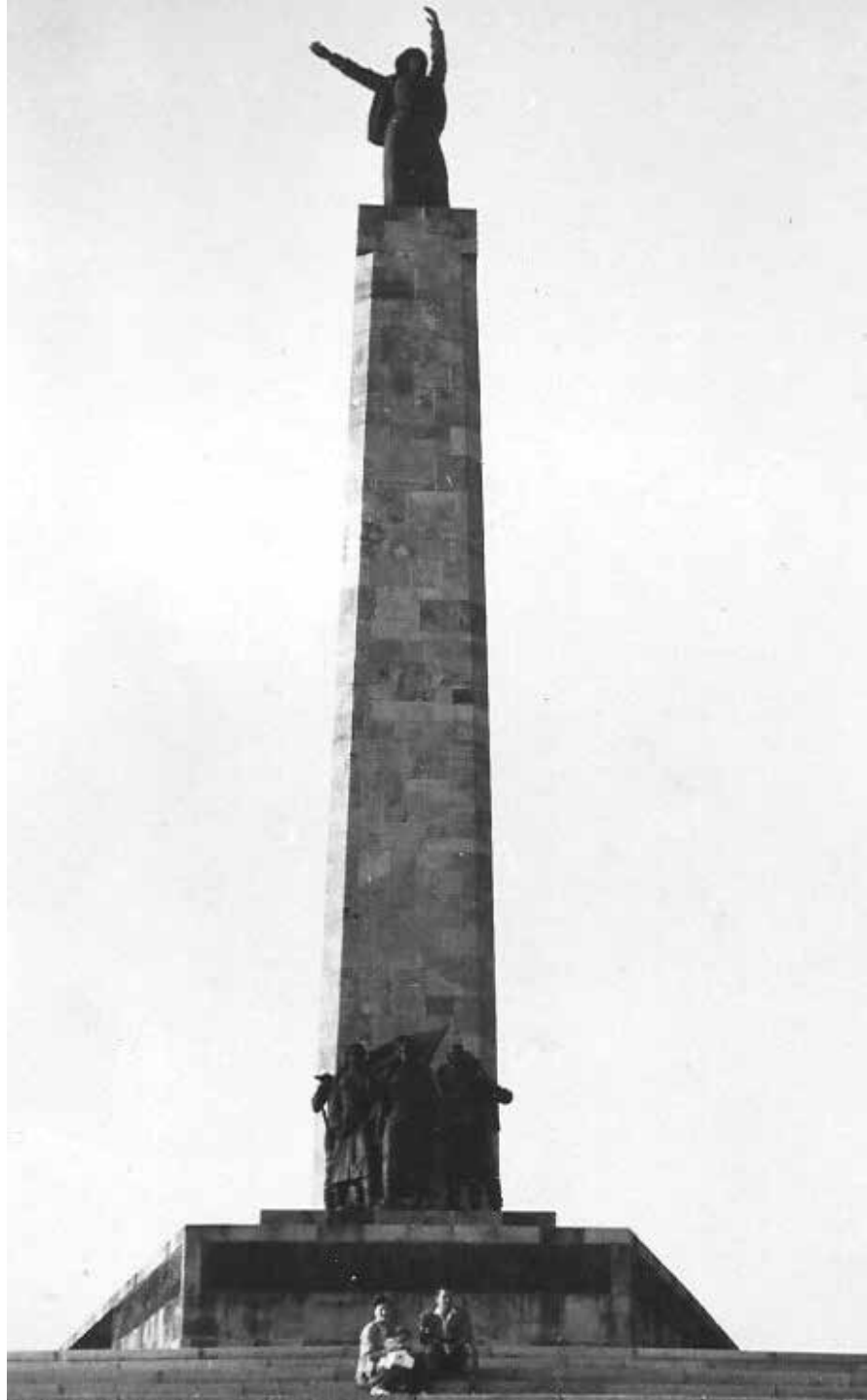
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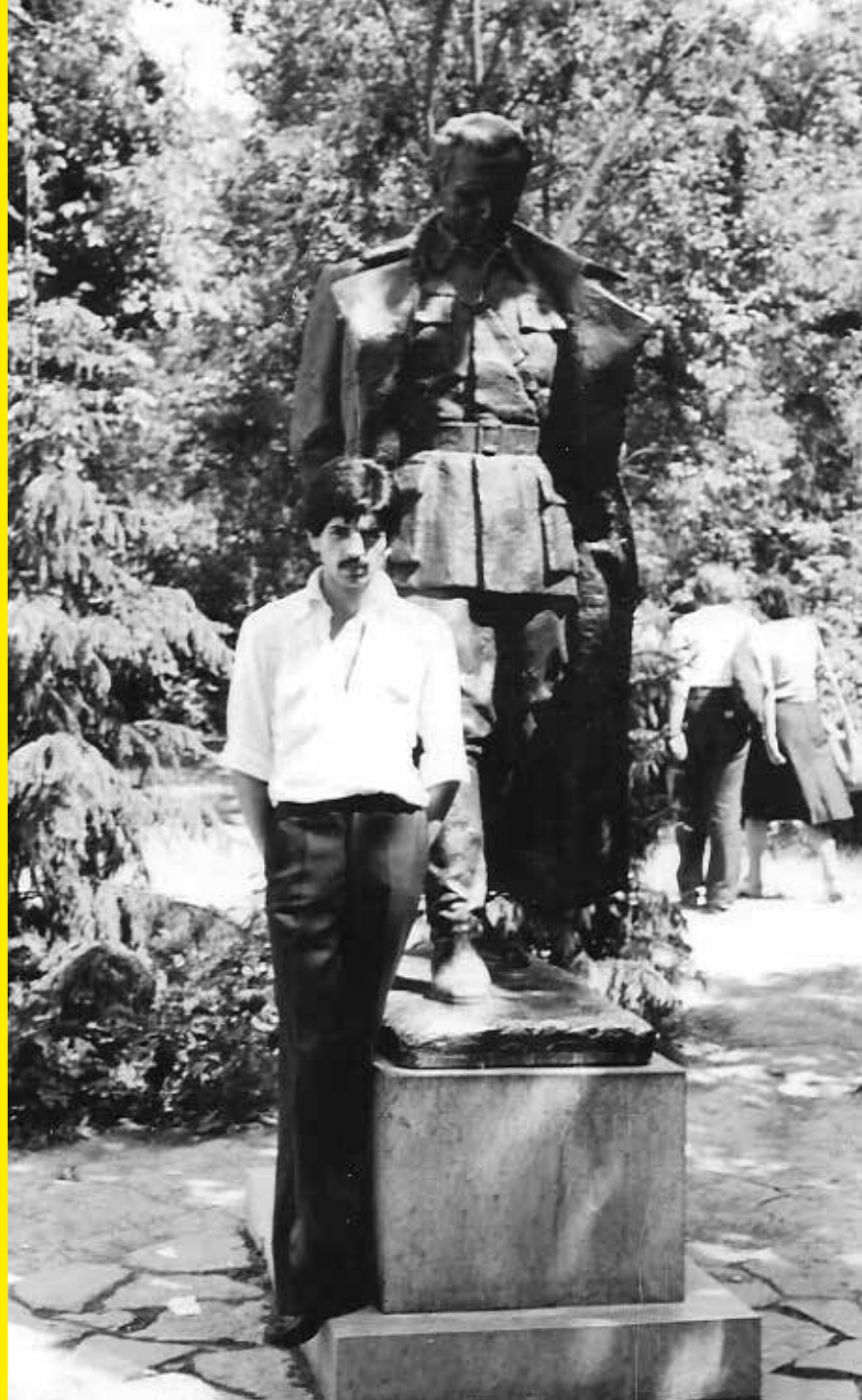
























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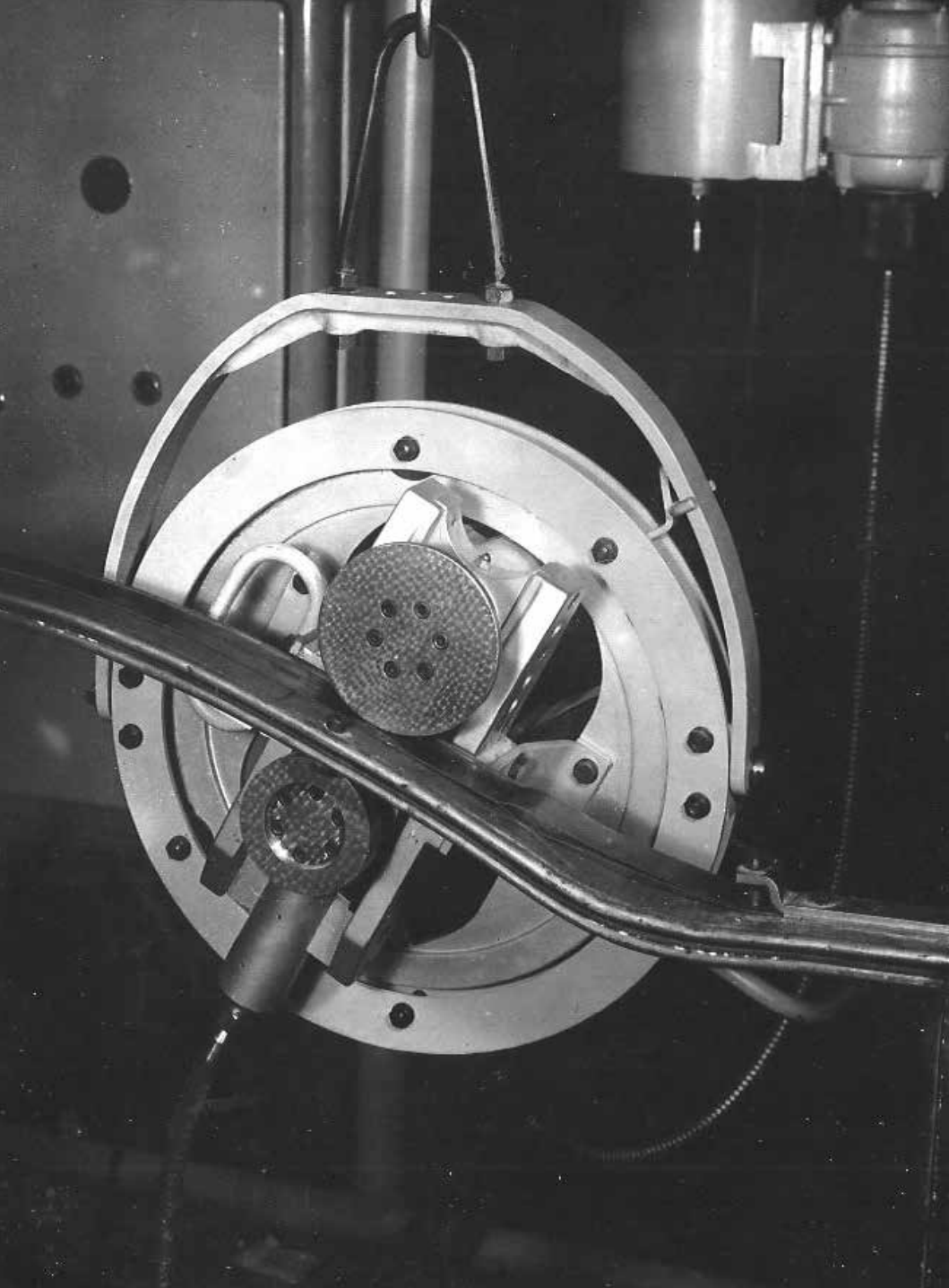
































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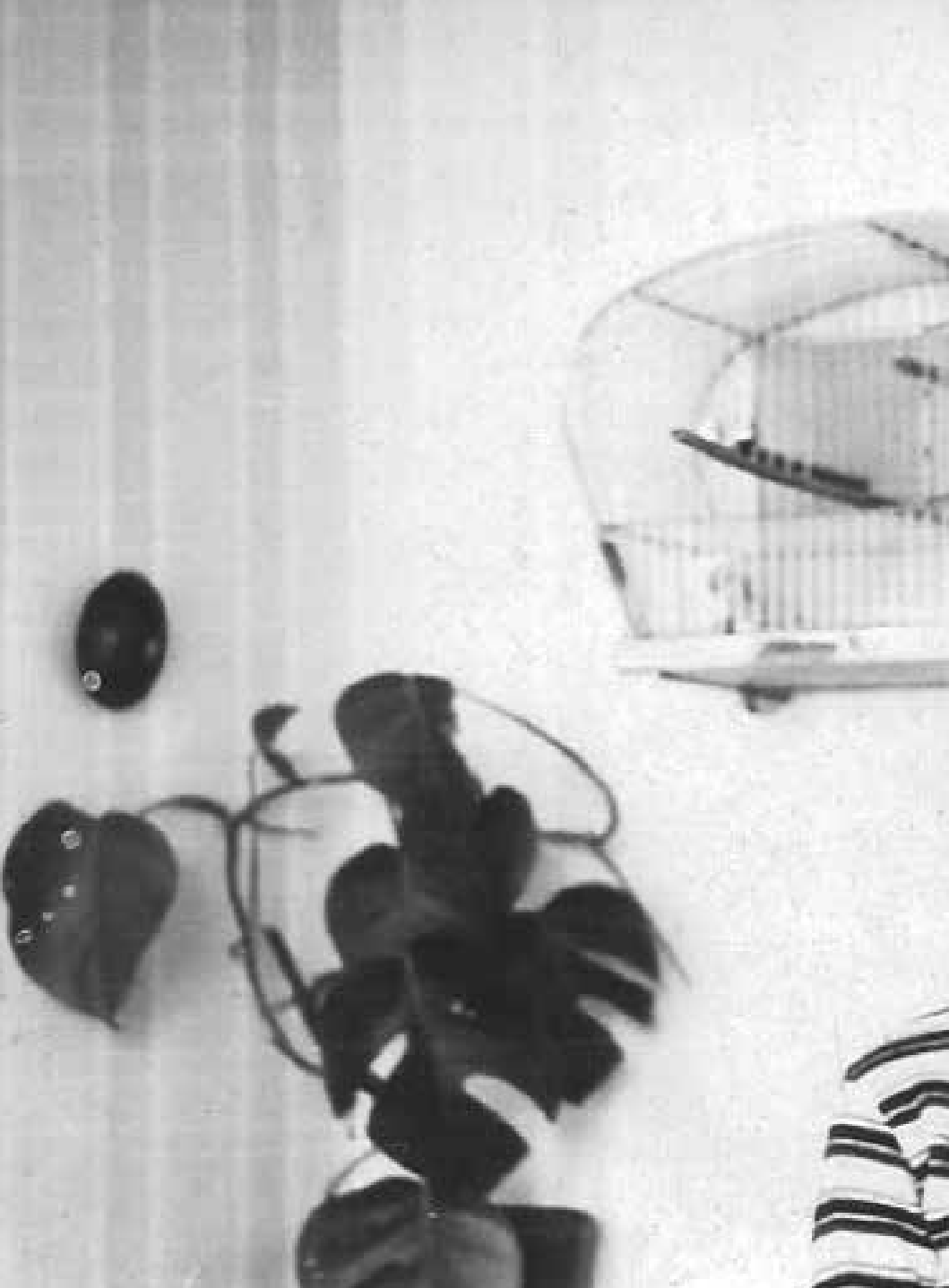










































































































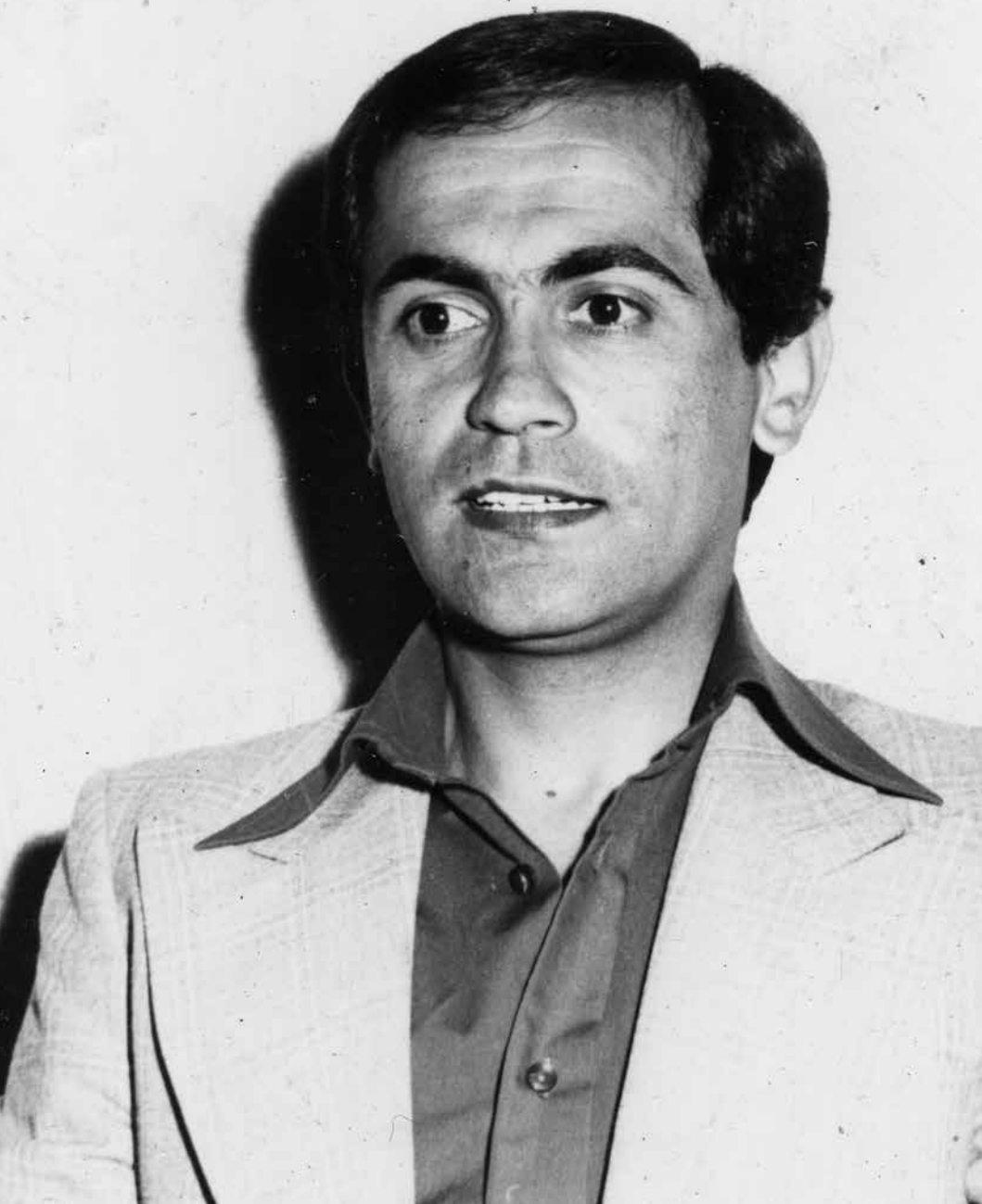






















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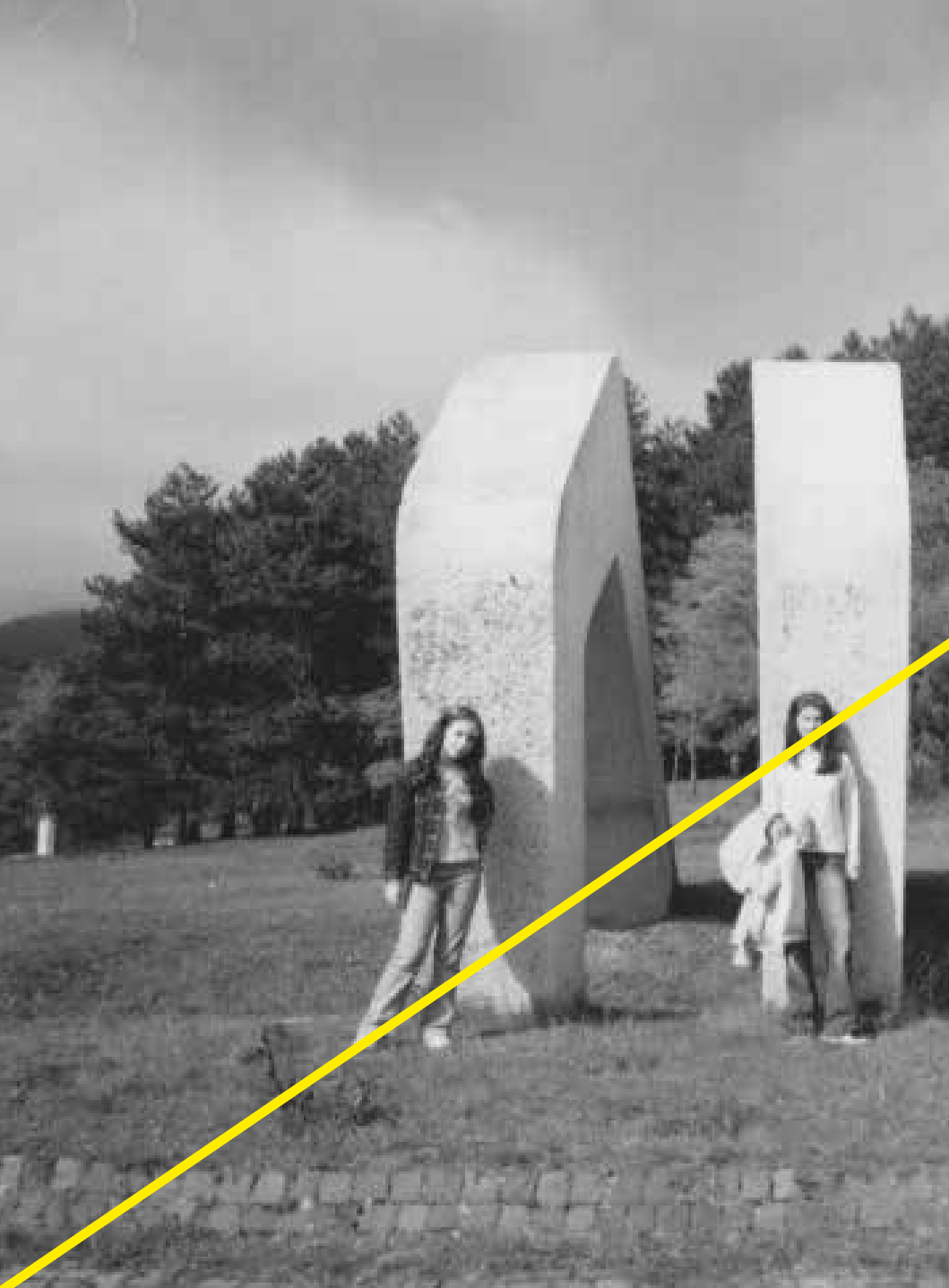


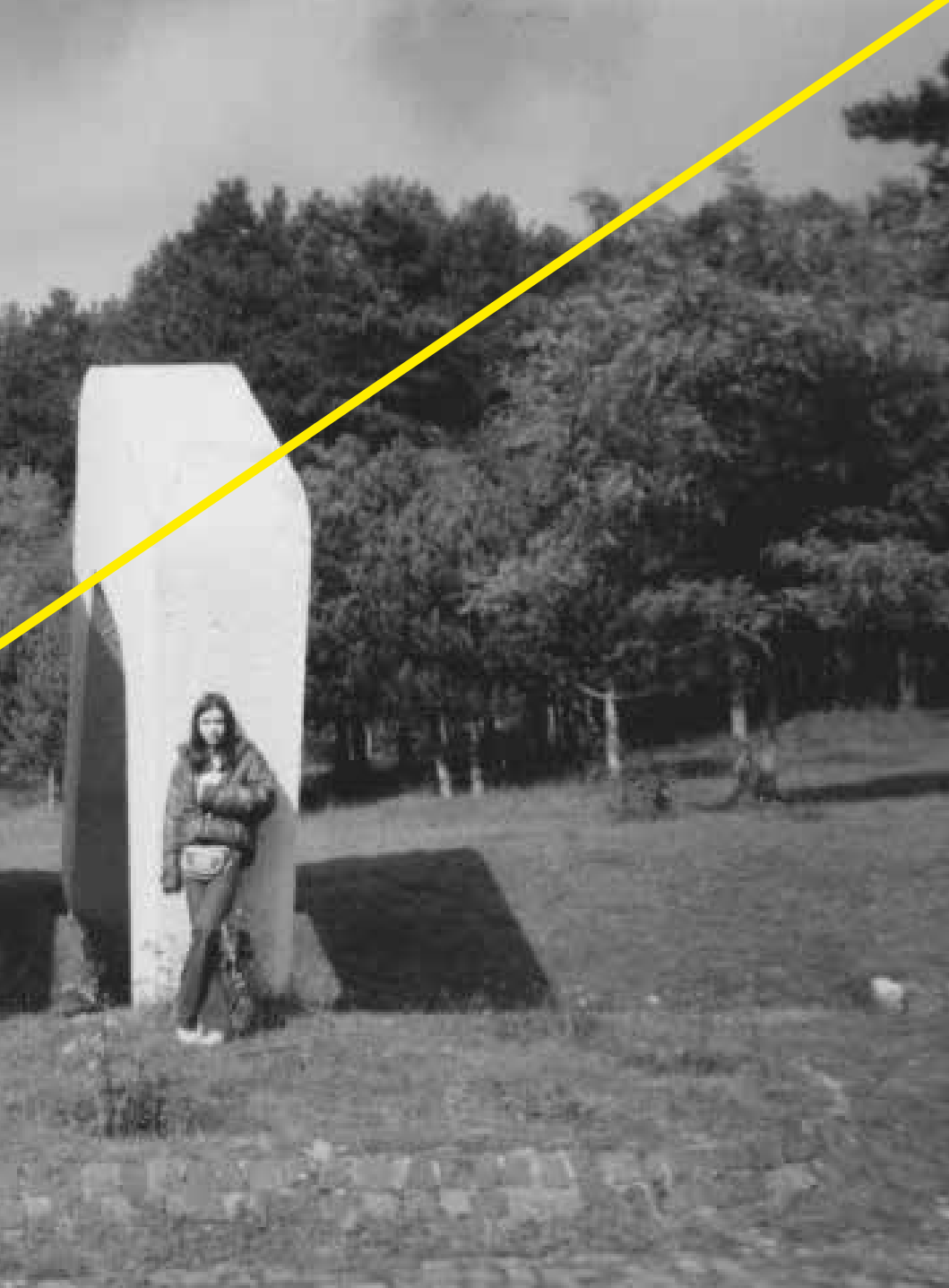














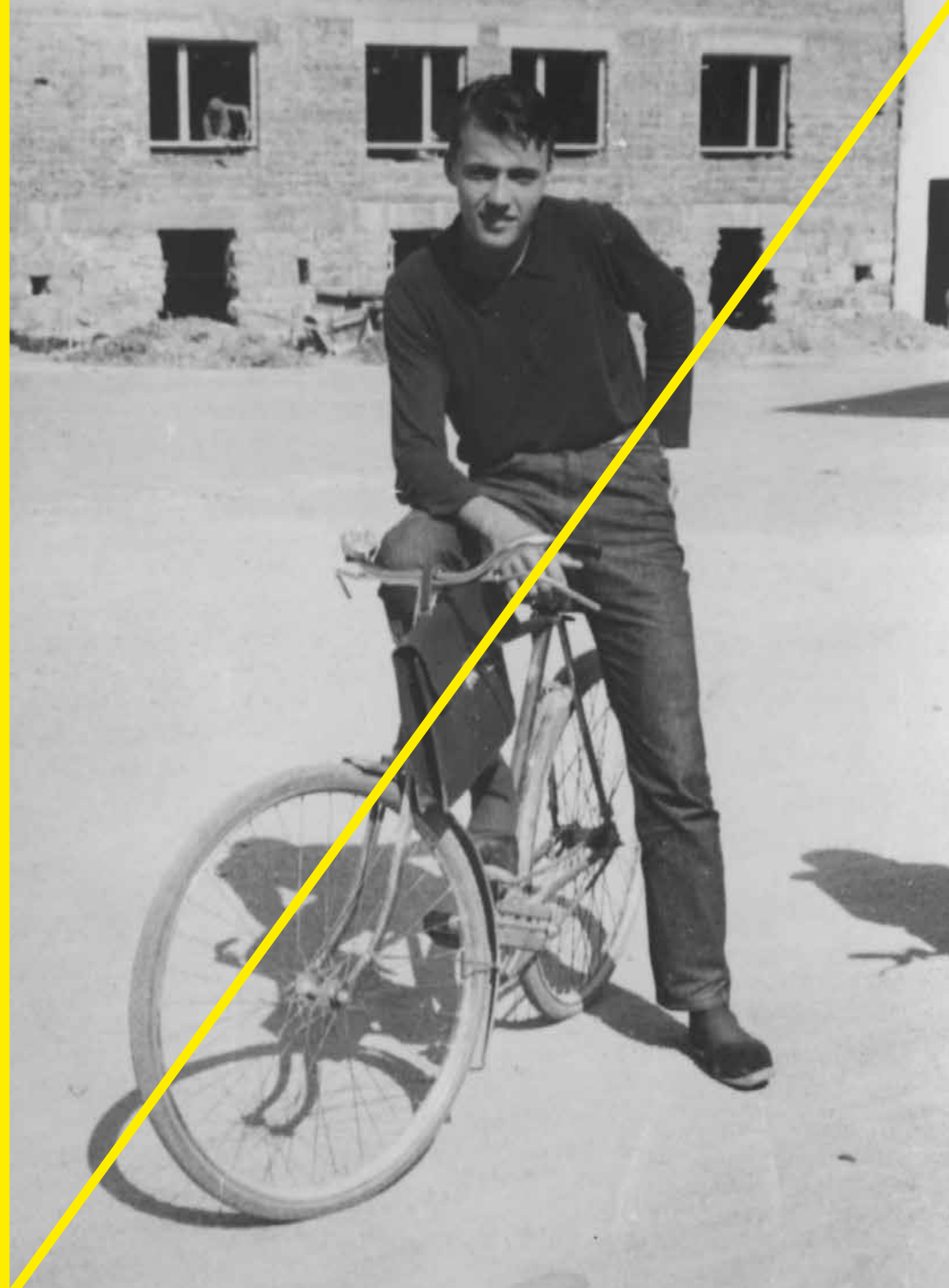


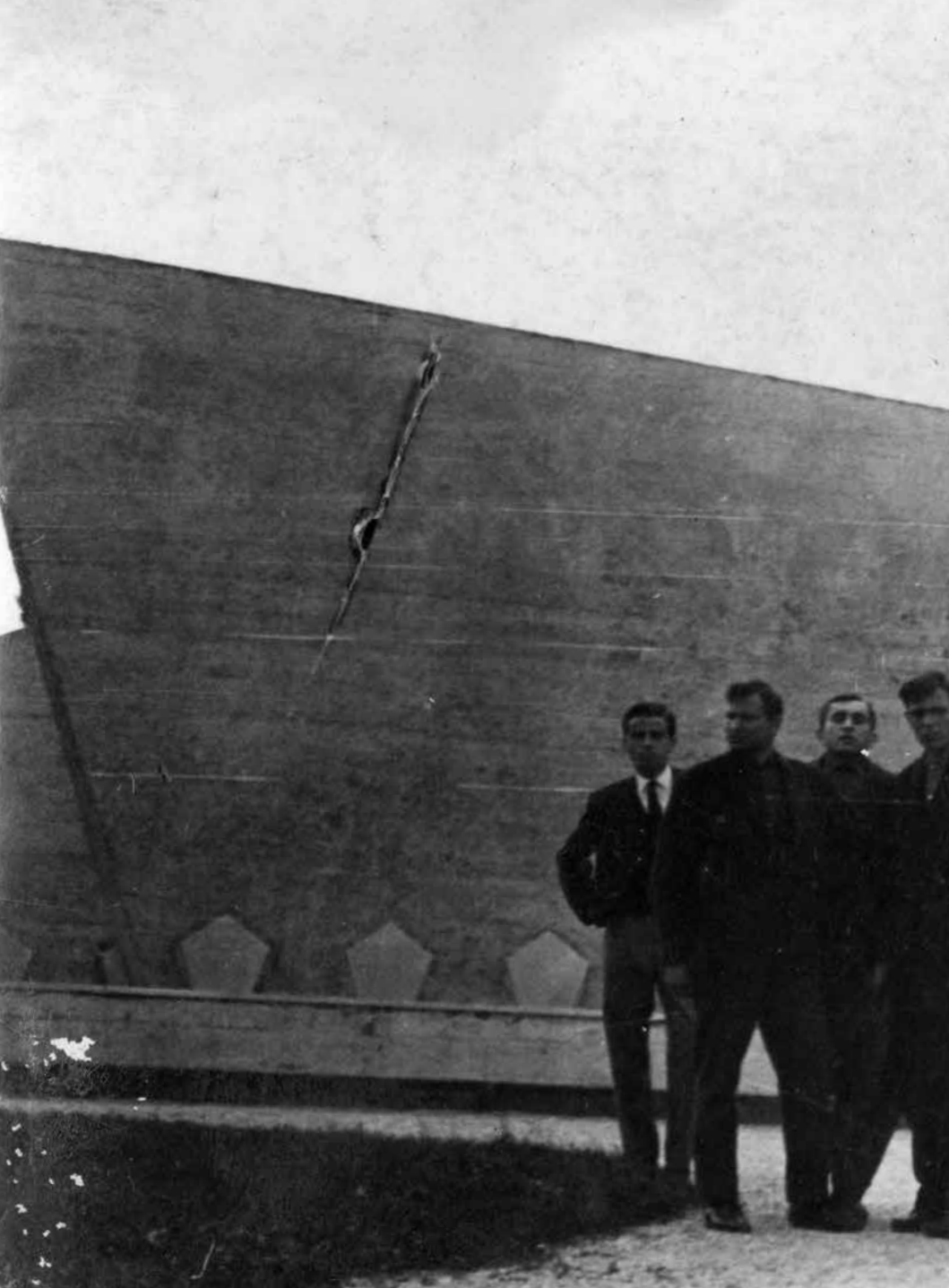






























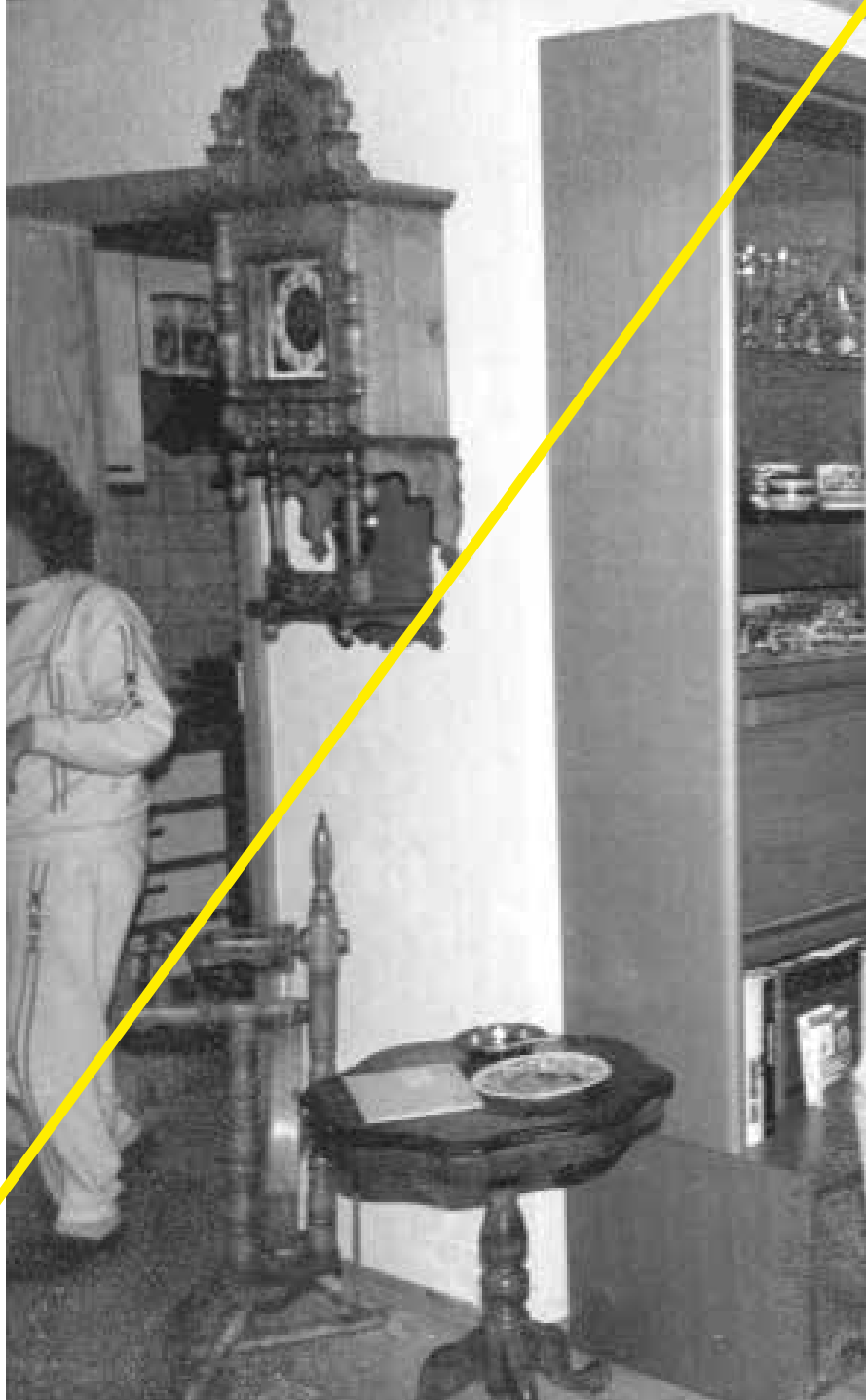




















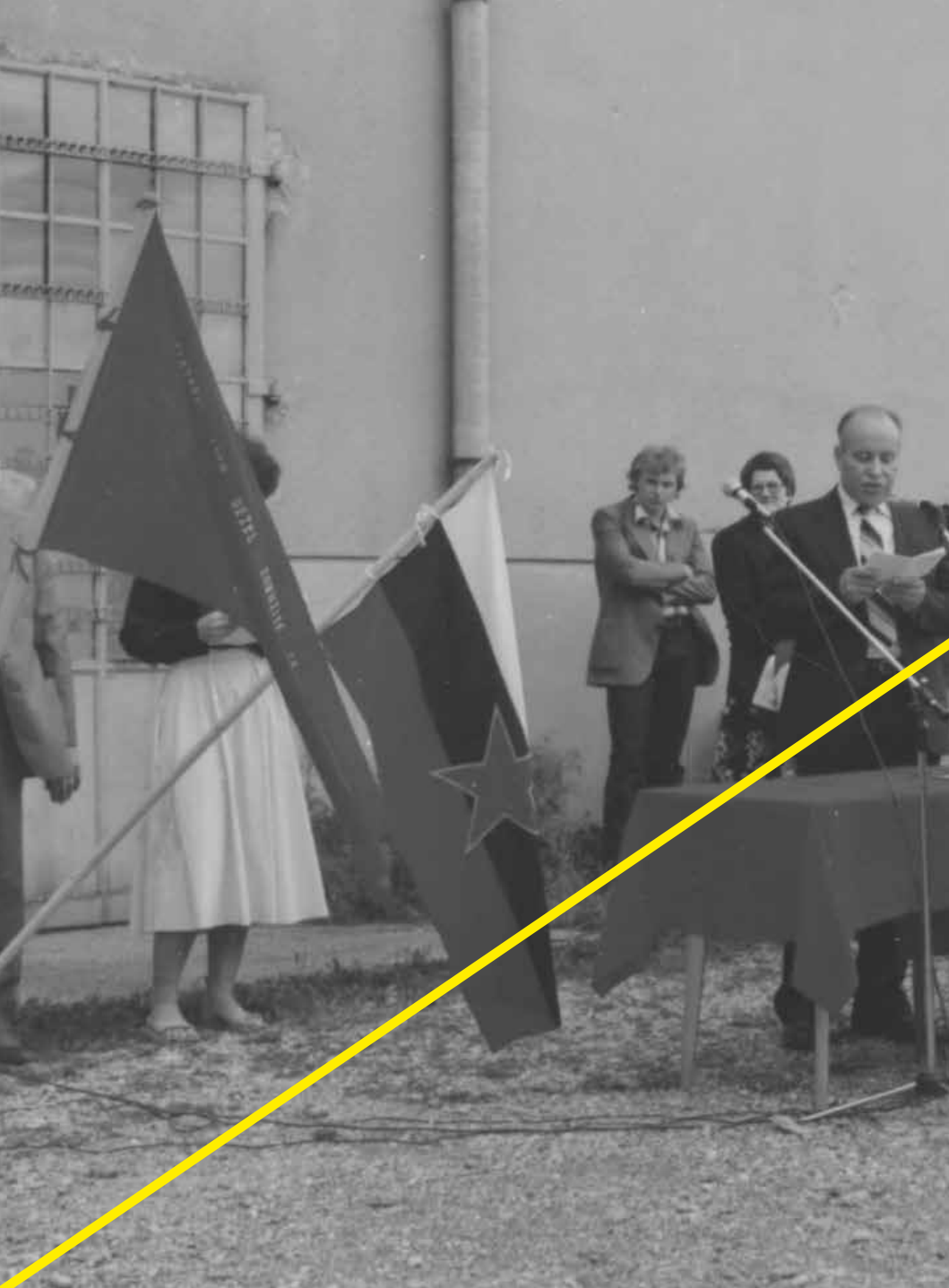






















HUP · Risnjak ·

**MOTEL ZAGREB**

ENTRÉ - ULAZ











































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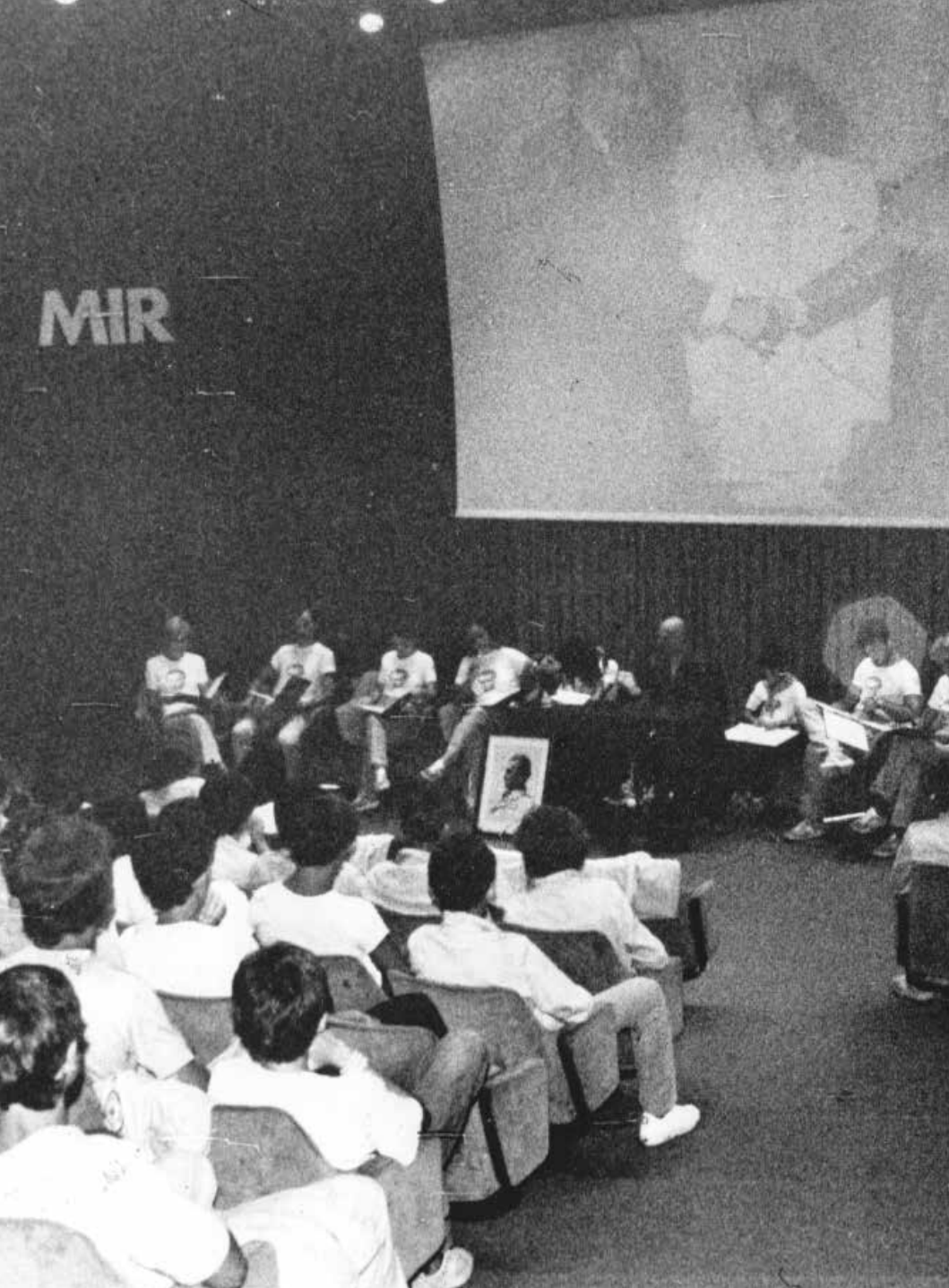








MIR





























































## Index of photographs

Postcard (*P*)

Road trip photograph (*RT*)

Colour photograph (*Ph*)

Others (+)

Information: (*i*)

Estimated date : (*d*)

Text in the back of the photograph

[dates, names, locations, etc.]: (*b*)

Text inside the photograph: (*t*)

Estimated location: (*l*)

### Cover:

**10 / 11:** (*d*) 1961 (*i*) Josip Broz

"Tito" proceeds to the opening of the Gredelica - Skopje part of the *Brotherhood and Unity* Highway.

**12:**

>

**13:**

**14:**

**15 / 16:**

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**20:**

> (*P*) (*l*) From: Belgrade, Serbia. To:

Gospić, Croatia. (*t*) XXX

**21 / 22:** (*i*) May Day parade.

**23:** (*l*) Branko's bridge (Belgrade, Serbia).

**24 / 25:**

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**49:** (*d*) ca. 1975.

**77 / 78:** (*l*) The birth house of Josip Broz "Tito" (Kumrovec, Croatia).

**96:** (*l*) Path to Martyrdom (Zagreb, Croatia). (*i*) Located in Dotršćina Memorial Park, opened to commemorate the dead of an estimated 7,000 civilians executed and buried in this location by German and Ustaše forces from 1941 to 1945. Author: Vojin Bakić, sculptor. Year: 1968.

**112 / 113:** (*l*) Monument to the Fallen

Soldiers (Postira, Brač island, Croatia).

(*i*) This monument complex was destroyed due to the construction of a hotel complex in the 2000's. Author: Budimir Pervan, architect.

**118 / 119:** (*l*) Monument to Executed Students and Professors (Kragujevac, Serbia). (*i*) Located in the "Kragujevac October" Memorial Park, this monument commemorates the execution of high school students and their teachers committed by German forces on 21 October, 1941. On that day, 2,796 people were shot as reprisal. Author: Miodrag Živković, sculptor. Year: 1963.

**126:** (*l*) Stjepan Filipović monument (Valjevo, Serbia). (*i*) Stjepan Filipović was a Yugoslav partisan who was captured and executed in 1942 in Valjevo. A photo of him taken shortly before his execution became a symbol of resistance, when he raised his arms and shouted "Smrt fašizmu, sloboda narodu!" [Death to fascism, freedom to the people!]. Author: Vojin Bakic, sculptor. Year: 1960.

**133:**

**140:**  
**166:** (*b*) During their stay in Ljubljana, the students of the Political School of the SKJ, Josip Broz Tito, laid a bouquet of flowers on the grave of their friend Edvard Kardelj. In the pictures, a moment after laying the flowers.

**178 / 179:**

**181:**

**216:** (*l*) Monument to the Fallen Krajišnici (Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina). (*i*) This monument commemorates the fallen Bosnian Krajina partisans during the World War II. Author: Antun Augustinčić. Year: 1961.

**223:** (*l*) Monument to the Revolution (Kozara National Park, Bosnia and Herzegovina). (*i*) This monument

is located in the area of the Kozara Offensive of 1942. A combination of Axis forces fought the partisans, who got defeated resulting in heavy losses. Around 60,000 civilians got involved in the battles, once captured many of them were sent to the Jasenovac concentration camp. These battles became an integral part of Yugoslav postwar mythology, which celebrated the courage and martyrdom of outnumbered and outgunned partisans and civilians. Author: Dušan Džamonja, sculptor. Year: 1972.

**237 / 238:** (*l*) Avala Tower (Belgrade, Serbia). (*i*) Designed as telecommunications tower, it was the only tower in the world to have an equilateral triangle as its cross section, and one of very few towers not perched directly into the ground, but standing on its legs. Authors: Uglješa Bogunović and Slobodan Janjić, architects, and Milan Krstić, engineer. Year: 1965, destroyed on 29 April 1999, during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. Reopened in 2010. Height: 204.68 meters.

**262:** (*l*) The boos are: *Tito's Last Battle* (1981) and *It was an honour to live with Tito* (1981).

**276 / 277:** (*l*) The Battle of Sutjeska Memorial Monument Complex in the Valley of Heroes (Tjentište, Bosnia and Herzegovina). (*i*) This monument commemorates the partisans dead in the last battle of Operation "Schwarz" of 1943. After several battles, a combination of Axis forces encircled the partisans in the valley of the Sutjeska river, who succeeded in breaking out across the river through the enemy lines towards eastern Bosnia after losing a third of their forces. The battle marked a turning point toward partisan control of Yugoslavia, and became an integral part of the Yugoslav postwar

mythology, celebrating the self-sacrifice, extreme suffering and moral firmness of the partisans. Author:

Miodrag Živković, sculptor. Year: 1971.

**297 / 298:**

**300 / 301:** *(I)* Ilinden Memorial (Kruševo, North Macedonia). *(I)*

This monument commemorates the resistance fighters who took part in the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 against the Ottoman Empire, while also remembering the partisan resistance during WWII. Another reason behind the creation of this monument was the "Macedonian Question", that involved Bulgaria and, specially, Greece over the culture and heritage behind the use of the term "Macedonia" as an ethnic identifier. Known also as Makedonium, this monument was one of the most significant of these "political projects" to solidify Macedonia's cultural and historical claim. Authors: Jordan Grabuloski and Iskra Grabuloska, architects. Year: 1974.

**306:** *(I)* Belgrade Fortress (Serbia).

*(I)* Located on top of the 125.5 meter high ending ridge of the Šumadija geological bar, overlooks the confluence of the Sava river into the Danube. Year: It was destroyed and rebuilt numerous times during a long period of time from the 2nd to the 18th century.

**316:**

**321:** *(I)* Monument to freedom (Iriški Venac, Fruška gora mountain, Serbia).

*(I)* Constructed in the memory of the partisan resistance in occupied Vojvodina during WWII. Author: Sreten Stojanović, sculptor. Year: 1951.

**336:**

**343:**

**404 / 405:**

**410 / 411:**

**500 / 501:** *(I)* House of Flowers (Belgrade, Serbia). *(I)* It was built as a

winter garden with areas for work and rest of Tito, who was buried here in May 1980 following his personal wish. His third wife, Jovanka Broz, was also buried here after her dead in 2013. Author: Stjepan Kralj. Year: 1975.

**505:**

**510 / 511:**

**518 / 519:** *(I)* Memorial ossuary (Varaždin, Croatia). *(I)* Built to commemorate the Yugoslavian national heroes, unknown partisans and victims of fascism during the WWII.

**524 / 525:** *(I)* Tito's Square (Velenje, Slovenia). *(I)* Tho photograph shows the statue of Tito on the western edge of the square. The creation of this project was funded largely with donations made by local individuals from across the Šalek Valley. After Tito's dead the town was renamed as Titovo Velenje, but it was changed back to the previous one in 1990. Author: based off the original 1948 Tito statue by sculptor Antun Augustinčić, this version was carried out by his assistants Vladimir Herljević and Ivan Pavić. Year: 1977.

**530:** *(I)* Monument to the Fallen Soldiers of the Kosmaj Partisan Detachment (Kosmaj Mountain Park, Serbia). *(I)* Next to the monument there is a stone mark with the inscription: "On July 2, 1941, the Kosmaj-Posavina partisan detachment was formed at this place. Already at the end of July, two new Kosmajski and Posavski were formed from this detachment. During all 4 years of the war, the libertarian rifle did not stop firing here at the gates of Belgrade. 5,820 fighters and partisan associates fell for freedom, including 3,411 young men and women. Sixteen fighters were declared national heroes." Authors: Vojin Stojić, sculptor, and Gradimir Medaković,

architect. Year: 1971.

**564:**

**585:**

**425 / 426:** *(b)* 27.01.1979

**528:** *(t)* Happy New Year 1962.























## Timeline

### Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFJ, 1943-1945)

#### 1943

29 November, the provisional state DFJ was established in the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), the deliberative and legislative body presided by Ivan Ribar. The National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (NKOJ), the executive body, was elected with Josip Broz "Tito" as Prime Minister.

#### 1944

7 February, The name "Democratic Federal Yugoslavia" and the five torch emblem were officially adopted. The torches represented the brotherhood and unity of the five Yugoslav nations (Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia).

#### 13 May, the Department for People's Protection (OZNA) was founded.

11 April, Tito, Milovan Đilas, and Joseph Vissarionovich "Stalin" met in Moscow to discuss events and theorize about post-war Europe. During the meeting, Stalin mentioned: "This war is not as in the past; whoever occupies a territory also imposes his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach. It cannot be otherwise. If now there is not a communist government in Paris, this is only because Russia has no an army which can reach Paris in 1945."

16 June, the Treaty of Vis was signed between Tito and the prime minister of Yugoslav government-in-exile Ivan Šubašić. This and the following

agreements were designed to create a coalition government in post-World War II (WWII) Yugoslavia composed of representatives of the NKOJ and the government-in-exile.

24 November, the Belgrade Offensive ended, a combination of Partisan, Red Army and Bulgarian forces regain the city from the German army.

#### 1945

7 March, the temporary government of the DFJ is formed in Belgrade. Acting as Head of state, King Peter II empowered his Regency Council to form a common temporary government with the NKOJ, following the Tito-Šubašić Agreements. Tito was nominated as Prime Minister of the post-WWII government of Yugoslavia.

20 March, the Partisans launched a general offensive in the Mostar-Višegrad-Drina sector. With large swaths of Bosnian, Croatian and Slovenian countryside already under partisan control, the final operations consisted in connecting these territories and capturing major cities and roads.

8 May, the German government surrendered unconditionally and the WWII in Europe officially ended. During the war, Yugoslavia loose more than one million of its inhabitants (about 7% of the population), mostly civilians; and the material damage was assessed at 47 billion USD (1945). In the weeks after, the partisans continued to face resistance from anti-partisan forces who were attempting to retreat to Austria. On 15 May, a large column of the Croatian Home Guard, Ustaše and the remnants of the Serbian State Guard,

and the Serbian Volunteer Corps, arrived at the southern Austrian border near the town of Bleiburg. The representatives of the Independent State of Croatia attempted to negotiate a surrender to the British under the terms of the Geneva Convention but were ignored. Most of the people in the column were turned over to the Yugoslav government and executed the 22 May.

25 May, first Tito's relay baton initiated by Josif Prohaska, a teacher physical education at the Kragujevac Gymnasium and a former member of the Falcon Association. 12,500 children take part in the first race, which covers 9,000 kilometres and also came with 15,000 signatures from young people in the region of Šumadija. The original relay ended in Zagreb, but the decision was soon made to switch the starting point to Tito's home village, Kumrovec and the finish line to the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade. This started the mass celebration of Tito's birthday, which was celebrated, from then on, as an annual event on 25 May (his real birthday was on 7 May, but he changed it to the 25th to commemorate the day he escaped the attack of a combination of Axis forces at Drvar in 1944 during the Operation "Rösselsprung").

11 November, parliamentary election. Due to an opposition boycott, the governing People's Front of Yugoslavia (NOF), dominated by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ), was the only organisation to participate. With 88.57% turnout, the NOF officially claimed 90.48% of the vote.

### Federal People's Republic of

## Yugoslavia (FNRJ, 1945-1963)

29 November, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Proclamation of the FNRJ. The new Constitution changed the official name of the country and the monarchy was abolished. Tito served as prime minister, and Ivan Ribar was elected President of the Presidency of the People's Assembly. The state became a federation of six republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia), including the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija). The organization of the country was based on so-called democratic centralism, modelled according to the 1936 USSR Constitution. The Constitution came into effect at its promulgation, on 31 January 1946.

The 1946 Constitution established the People's Militia Directorate, the People's Militia Command, the Public Security Directorate and the State Security Directorate within the General Federal Ministry of the Interior. The UDBA was created by translating parts of the UN from the JNA to the General-Federal MUP. Military organization, uniform and uniforms were retained. The 1953 constitutional reforms led to significant changes. Instead of the existing ministries, secretariats were formed: the Federal Secretariat of the Interior and the Republic Secretariats for the Interior. As part of the demilitarization of the Federal Secretariat, the UDBA ceased to be a militarily organized, uniformed service, and its KNOJ operational forces were abolished, and the KNOJ's tasks were divided between the JNA and People's Militia border

units. In the People's Militia, the ranks whose designation was changed were retained, the militiamen were allowed to wear civilian suits outside the service, and official numbers were introduced on the nickel-plated belt buckle. The equipment and weapons were very diverse, because the militia was equipped with trophy weapons or equipment from Allied aid. [2]

### 1946

1 April, the first youth work brigades were organized. The 92 kilometres long Brcko-Banovici railway was built in seven months by over 60,000 youths from Yugoslavia and 1,000 from abroad. The FNRJ also closely followed the Stalinist Soviet model of economic development in this early period. In particular, the public works of that period organized by the government managed to rebuild and even improve the Yugoslav infrastructure with little cost to the state.

28 June, the Committee for Cinematography of the SFRJ was founded. Aleksandar Vučo was placed in charge of it and outlined a manifesto that Yugoslav films were to adhere to. The four points of this manifesto are key to understanding the development of the genre of the Partisan war film: 1. Films should be based on the principles of socialist realism, avoid abstract experimentation, and offer clear effective communication. 2. Films should serve heuristic and propagandistic purposes with a deeper understanding of the revolutionary struggle, a deep collective bond in meeting the challenges of creating a new socialist state. 3. The cinema of the Soviet Union offered the best prospect for

illuminating the path which Yugoslav cinema should follow. 4. Film work itself should be fashioned on collectivist rather than individualistic principles. The Committee initiated regional directions for all six republics, each was to found a film studio, a cinema network, and all were to work cooperatively with the state on the import and export of films. The first and the largest of those was Avala Film, located in Belgrade, which was founded on 15 July 1946.

10 June, beginning of the Belgrade Process, the trial of General Dragoljub Mihailović and a group of 22 other indictees from the Chetniks, the government in exile and the Government of National Salvation for treason and war crimes. Mihailović and 8 other accused were executed on 17 July 1946. In 2004, the National Assembly of Serbia passed a new law that equalized the Chetniks and Partisans as equivalent anti-fascists. In 2015, a Serbian court rehabilitated Mihailović and overturned his conviction, ruling that it was a communist political show trial that was fundamentally and inherently unfair.

9 August, the Yugoslav Air Force shot down a US Army Air Force transport over northern Yugoslavia (Slovenia).

### 1947

10 February, the FNRJ signed the Treaty of Peace with Italy in Paris, obtaining the Adriatic islands of Cres, Lošinj, Lastovo and Palagruža; of Istria south of the river Mirna; of the enclave territory of Zadar in Dalmatia; of the city of Rijeka and most of the region known as the Slovenian Littoral to Yugoslavia. In the same treaty, the city of Trieste and the north-western

part of Istria, were incorporated in the Free Territory of Trieste. It was dissolved de facto and divided between Italy and the FNRJ in 1954. In the treaty the war reparations to be paid by the German allies were also defined (in 1947 prices): 360 million USD from Italy, 100 million USD from Hungary, and 25 million USD from Bulgaria. There was no peace treaty signed with Germany nor was the total amount of Yugoslavia's war damages determined by a bilateral or multilateral agreement.

1 April, Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) commenced operations.

### 1948

20 March, the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and France made a proposal to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to revise the peace agreement with Italy regarding the Free Territory of Trieste, which was to be joined to Italy. The FNRJ submitted an official protest.

28 June, in a unanimous resolution, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform, also known as Informbiro in Yugoslavia) exposed the KPJ for "a departure from Marxism-Leninism positions of the working class and breaking with the theory of classes and class struggle, defaming and discrediting the USSR, no inner democracy, elections and self-criticism inside the Party, cultivating military methods of leadership similar to the methods advocated in his day by Trotsky, showing that the leaders of KPJ have taken a stand unworthy of communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the imperialist powers behaving toward

the USSR in the same manner as they behave to the bourgeois states." Although it was presented by both sides as an ideological dispute, this resolution exemplified the confrontation between Stalin and Tito, which had been ongoing for several months, product of a geopolitical struggle in the Balkans that also involved Albania, Bulgaria, and the communist insurgency in Greece, which the FNRJ supported and the USSR opposed.

21-28 July, Fifth Congress of the KPJ, with the main topic of the "Resolution of the Informbiro." The Congress gave political support to the Central Committee (CK) in "defending the independence" of Yugoslavia. The decision was made unanimously, by which the unity of the party was "confirmed." The Congress also promulgated the "Resolution on the position of the KPJ towards Cominform," which concluded that decisions of Cominform were inaccurate and unjust, but it was emphasized that the CK should do everything to overcome the conflict. This break with the USSR caused significant economic difficulties for the FNRJ as the country relied on trade with the USSR and its allies. Economic pressures within the country led to reforms that would ultimately result in the introduction of socialist self-management and increased decentralisation of the country through constitutional amendments formalising the reforms. The United States saw the rift between the USSR and the FNRJ as an opportunity during the Cold War to fragment the Eastern Bloc further and, consequently, provided economic and military aid, loans, and diplomatic support to the FNRJ. This

era is known as Informbiro period.

### 1949

9 July, a prison and labour camp was opened in the Goli Otok uninhabited island, located next to Sveti Grgur island, which held a similar camp for females and military since 1950. After the 1948 Tito-Stalin confrontation the KPJ, the JNA and the **State Security Administration** were purged of those who sided with the Cominform. From 1949 to 1958, an estimated of 16,288 people were "administratively directed to socially useful work," approximately the half of them were imprisoned in Goli Otok which around 450 did not survive. The prison was in operation until 30 December 1988 and completely abandoned in 1989.

### 1950

27 June, a law was passed formally regulating workers' self-management. Workers' councils became the primary body controlling production and the distribution of income, influence the policies of the factories in which they worked, sharing a portion of any surplus revenue. However, the government still played a decisive role in the organization of the work and the companies. Self-management was a political and social alternative to Stalinist centralism and state property.

27 July, opening of the first section of the Brotherhood and Unity Highway between Zagreb and Belgrade. It was constructed with the effort of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and volunteer youth work brigades.

### 1951

6 January, the governments of USA and FNRJ signed an agreement regarding the supply of foodstuffs



in accordance with the provisions of the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Assistance Act of 1950. The USA began inching closer to Tito, supporting his regime in order to ensure that the FNRJ would remain out of the USSR's orbit. So, on 14 November, President Harry S. Truman asked Congress to approve military and economic aid to Yugoslavia.

16 January, the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Serbia passed a law banning the wearing of the veil and ferace.

2-7 November, Sixth Congress of the KPJ. The aim of the Congress was to determine the policy of the party following the Tito-Stalin split and the rapprochement with the United States. The KPJ declared its intention to reform its role in the society, shifting from a simple leadership to an educational role influencing the work of communists at all levels of the political life and society. In particular, the move would reduce the central role played by the state bureaucracy. In order to make the change visible, the KPJ changed its name to League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ).

1952

20 July, during the football tournament at the Summer Olympics held in Helsinki (Finland), the USSR and Yugoslavia coincided in the first round. Before the match, both Tito and Stalin sent telegrams to their national teams, which showed just how important it was for the two head of states. Yugoslavia led 5-1, but a USSR comeback in the last 15 minutes resulted in a 5-5 draw. No goals were scored in the extra time, and so the two teams had to play a rematch two days later, were

Yugoslavia won by 3-1. The defeat hit the USSR football hard, the coach Boris Arkadiev was stripped of his Merited Master of Sports of the USSR title, but it was reinstated back in 1955.

29 November, the Archbishop of Zagreb, Aloysius Viktor Stepinac, appeared in a list by Pope Pius XII of cardinals to be appointed in 1953. The SFRJ cut diplomatic relations with the Vatican, accusing it of interfering in internal state affairs. In 1946 Stepinac had been put on trial and eventually found guilty of collaboration with the occupation forces, relations with the Ustaše regime, having chaplains in the Ustaše army as religious agitators, forced conversions of Serb Orthodox to Catholicism at gunpoint and high treason against the Yugoslav government.

1953

28 February, the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between FNRJ, Greece and Turkey, known as the Balkan Pact, was signed. The treaty was to act as a deterrence against USSR expansion in the Balkans. It provided for the eventual creation of a joint military staff for the three countries. At the time Turkey and Greece were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), therefore, the Balkan Pact allowed the FNRJ to associate itself with NATO indirectly, even though the Yugoslav government negated such an affiliation.

13 January, a new Constitutional Law of the FNRJ amends the 1946 Constitution, reflecting the economic and political changes that took place after the break with the USSR. FNRJ was defined as a socialist democratic federal state of sovereign and equal

peoples. Self-management was pronounced the foundational model of the social and economic order. The dichotomous principle of separation of powers was abandoned, until then, the existing highest executive bodies, the Presidium of the National Assembly of the FNRJ and the Government of the FNRJ, were replaced by two executive bodies of the Federal National Assembly: the President of the Republic and the Federal Executive Council (SIV). The President of the Republic was also the President of the SIV. Tito was offered to this position, moving from Prime Minister to President on 14 January, subsequently he was re-elected on 29 January 1954 and 19 April 1958.

11 October, the official newspaper of the SKJ, *Borba* [Struggle], published the first of 18 articles by Milovan Đilas (ten more were planned but they were stopped by the government). The articles held that the resolutions of the Sixth Congress did not go sufficiently far, calling for greater democratization of Yugoslav political life and attacking the over-bureaucratic system in favour of a shift away from central planning towards more economic autonomy. The last article, *Anatomy of a Morality*, published on 7 January 1954 in *Nova Misao* [New Thought] magazine, criticized the lavish life of the new elite of the country, many of them former partisans. **Đilas was widely regarded as Tito's possible successor, on 25 December 1953 he became President of the Federal Assembly of the FNRJ. As consequence of the articles he only held office until 16 January 1954.**

26 August, Zavodi Crveni Zastava [Red Flag Factories] automobile production was established. The

origin of the factory dates back in 1851, when the Army Technical Institute started a cannon foundry in Kragujevac (Serbia). By the late 1930s the company had expanded into automobile production supplying Ford designed trucks to the Yugoslav Army until WWII reached Yugoslavia. Zastava continued producing vehicles in spring 1953, producing Willys-Overland Jeeps. However, the negotiations collapsed because Willys-Overland wanted 6% of profits but refused to send in its experts or to assist Zastava with setting up its assembly lines. At that time, a referendum was called in the factory to direct production to the automobile industry, that 96% of employees supported. Zastava issued a public tender, that was replied by Alfa Romeo (Italy), Austin (UK), Delahaye (France), Fiat (Italy), Renault (France) and Rover (UK), each company sent sample automobiles to be tested by Zastava in October and November. On 12 August 1954, Zastava signed a cooperation agreement with Fiat, It was decided to award the contract to Fiat because they offered two different car models (the 1400 and 1900), a one-and-a-half-ton transport truck, a tractor, and a jeeplike military vehicle called the Campagnola at a price of 350 million ITL (1953), which Zastava would pay for through future parts and machine purchases from Fiat. From this agreement the most produced car were: Zastava 750 "Fića", a version of Fiat 600, with 923,487 produced from 18 October 1955 through 18 November 1985. Zastava Skala, a version of Fiat 128, with 1,273,532 produced from 15 October 1971 through 21 November 2008. Zastava Korla, a version of Fiat 127 and 128, exported to foreign markets as Yugo 45, with 794,428

produced from 28 November 1980 through 11 November 2008. In the early 1990s, Zastava was affected greatly by the Balkan Crisis. The factory production became unstable because of a problem with supplies. Exports were impossible during those years, because of trade sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia. As a result, its cars disappeared from most foreign markets after 1992. The last Zastava was produced on 21 November 2008, subsequently the company was renamed Fiat Automobili Srbija.

#### 1954

16-17 January, Third Plenum of the CK SKJ. The articles of Milovan Đilas were condemned, and the author was rejected as the bearer of antisocialist workings, accused of violation of party discipline, revisionism, "Bernsteinism," social democratic deviations, and bourgeois liberalism. Đilas was relieved of all duties in the SKJ and later arrested and sentenced to prison for two years. The removal of Đilas was interpreted as a prerequisite for improvement of relations with the USSR. Months later, Yugoslav leadership commended policies introduced by Stalin's immediate successor Georgy Malenkov.

10 December, the Novi Sad Agreement was signed by 25 **Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin** writers and linguists. The main conclusions are that the national language of the **Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins** is a single language (known as serbo-croatian) with two pronunciations, ijekavian and ekavian. The Latin and Cyrillic scripts have the same status; therefore both Serbs and Croats are expected to learn both alphabets, which will be accomplished primarily by schooling.

**Matica hrvatska and Matica srpska** institutions will cooperate in the compiling of a joint orthographic manual, a production of a new dictionary of the joint language and the creation of a unified terminology.

#### 1955

24 January, criminal proceedings were initiated against Milovan Đilas because of an interview he had given to *The New York Times*, in which he criticized the leading party officials and indicated the need for an opposition. He was given an 18 month suspended sentence, but then in December 1956 he was sentenced to three years of imprisonment for his article *Storms in Eastern Europe* supporting the Hungarian revolutionaries and criticising Yugoslav apparent neutrality during the Hungarian Uprising. In October 1957, seven years of imprisonment were added to his sentence because of the book *The New Class*, a critique of the communist elite. He got an additional five years in prison in 1962 because of the book *Conversations with Stalin*, recounting his disappointment following his repeated confrontations with the USSR regime.

26 May-2 June, Nikolai Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, visited the FNRJ. During the visit the Belgrade declaration was signed, giving an end to the Informbiro period. It granted to the socialist countries the right to interpret Marxism in a different way, and formally established equal relations between the socialist states and the USSR itself. In this way, the FNRJ and the USSR agreed to rebuild

their relations on new grounds. Tito found out that he could maximise his negotiating power by keeping out of alliances with the USA and the USSR. In any case, on 4 November 1956 the limits of this agreement became evident when the USSR intervened in Hungary; this was followed by a new Soviet campaign against Tito, which held the FNRJ government responsible for the Hungarian insurrection.

### 1956

19 July, the Brioni Declaration was signed by heads of governments of India, Egypt and the FNRJ. One of the quotations within the Declaration is "Peace can not be achieved with separation, but with the aspiration towards collective security in global terms and expansion of freedom, as well as terminating the domination of one country over another." These principles, agreed at the Bandung Conference (Indonesia) became the fundamental principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

7 September, RTV Zagreb began broadcasting, followed by RTV Belgrade and RTV Ljubljana in 1958, RTV Skopje in 1964, RTV Sarajevo in 1969, RTV Titograd in 1971, and RTV Pristina and RTV Novi Sad in 1975. They were part of the Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT), the programme was based on the principle that every station broadcasted their own and the other Yugoslav stations as well. Because of its complex structure and multicultural character, this programme was unique in the world.

### 1957

25 May 1957, on Tito's initiative Tito's relay race was renamed as relay of youth, and Tito's birthday, May 25th,

was declared the Day of Youth and declared national holiday. The central event of the celebration was held at JNA stadium. It included mass performances and the ceremonial deliver of the baton to Tito. Instead of several major relay batons, in the new ceremony Tito received only one, federal baton, made by Yugoslav artists, and it became a symbol of all other local relay batons.

### 1958

13-16 January, miner strike in Trbovlje (Slovenia). It was first acknowledged workers' strike in Yugoslavia after WWII. The main reason were the inadequate salaries, resulting from the difference between the centrally imposed price of coal and the costs of extraction in the Slovenian mines, higher than in the other Yugoslav mines. The political evaluation of the strike by the government opened a discussion about the relation between the republics and the federation, as well as about the mutual relations of the republics. This issue became a permanent feature of the Yugoslav domestic policy. In the following years, strikes were tolerated as an indication of problems to be resolved, but the role of trade unions continued to be one of transmission of instructions from government to workers, they did not initiate strikes but were expected to convince workers to go back to work.

### 1958

17 April, opening of the Universal and International Exhibition of Brussels (Expo 58). The pavilion of Yugoslavia, designed by the architect Vjenčeslav Richter, and filled with modernist art, was praised for its elegance and simplicity and was awarded a Gold Medal. Richter originally proposed

to suspend the whole structure from a giant cable-stayed mast. When that proved too difficult, he devised a tension column consisting of six steel arches supported by a pre-stressed cable, which stood in front of the pavilion as a visual marker and symbolized Yugoslavia's six constituent republics.

After the end of Expo 58, it was sold and reconstructed as a high school in Wevelgem (Belgium), where it still stands.

### 1961

28 February, Tito begun a 72 day journey to Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. During that time many African countries were going through the process of decolonization and Tito aimed to invite them to participate to the First Non-Aligned Movement Conference in Belgrade. The FNRJ openly supported anti-colonial movements in African countries and official Yugoslav politics promoted anti-imperialist, anticolonial and anti-racist attitudes, which were compatible with the Yugoslavian ideas of brotherhood and unity.

### Añadir casas y envío de armas a africa

1-6 September, the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade. A declaration insisting on refraining from war as a means to solving international contentions was passed. It also included the politics of peaceful coexistence and the promotion of the importance of non-alignment as an alternative to the bloc division of the world, which endangered world peace.

The FNRJ positioned itself as a leader and founder of the Non-Aligned Movement; this remained a permanent determinant of its international politics.

10 December, Ivo Andrić was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature by the Swedish Academy of Sciences for his novel *The Bridge on the Drina* (1945).

## 1962

April 9, *Surogat* (1961), directed by Dušan Vukotić, was awarded the Academy Awards for the Best Animated Short Film.

16 June, Yugoslavia lost 1-0 against Chile in the FIFA World Cup in Chile, obtaining a fourth place, the best in its history.

## 1963

### **Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ, 1963-1992)**

7 April, a new constitution is promulgated, the official name of the country was changed, been defined as a "federal state of voluntarily united and equal peoples on a socialist democratic union" based on the authority of the working people and self-management, which was supposed to mark the aspiration towards the Marxist ideal of the withering away of the state. The emblem of the country also changed its content, adding a sixth torch that symbolized the six united republics within the federation. The constituent republics are now denominated as Socialist Republics (SR),

Kosovo and Metohija was elevated to the level of a province, getting broader powers in the areas of judiciary, economy and social policy.

New changes were introduced for the government, the office President of the Republic was separated from that of the President of the SIV, and its members were now elected from amongst the Assembly members, paying attention to keep an ethnic balance. The principle of rotation was introduced in the leading state and political offices. It was also determined that the president should be elected to a four-year term of office and that the same person could be elected a maximum of two consecutive terms. However, article 220 established that no limitation of tenure of office of President of the Republic shall apply to Tito.

26 July, a 6.1 magnitude earthquake occurred in Skopje, which killed over 1,070 people, injured around 3,500 and left more than 200,000 homeless. About 80% of the city was destroyed.

24 August, Khrushchev remarked in his speech in Yugoslavia, "I once said, 'We will bury you,' and I got into trouble with it. Of course we will not bury you with a shovel. Your own working class will bury you,"[10] a reference to the Marxist saying, "The proletariat is the undertaker of capitalism" (in the Russian translation of Marx, the word "undertaker" is translated as a "grave digger," Russian: ) based on the concluding statement in Chapter 1 of the Communist Manifesto: "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable". In his memoirs, Khrushchev stated that "enemy propaganda picked up the slogan and blew it all out of proportion".[11]

## 1964

7-13 December, Eighth Congress of the SKJ, on it, for the first time, the national issue of economic causes of inequalities between the federative republics was raised, establishing a connection between the bureaucratic centralism, "big state hegemony" and nationalism. Yugoslavian emphasis on "brotherhood and unity" and the "equality of nations" were brought into question. It was the official exemplification of the process of alteration of relations between the federal state and the republics, resulting in a fundamental transformation of the federation.

## 1965

24 July, an economy reform was introduced oriented to promote a decentralized system. An important goal of this new framework was to allow enterprises to keep a larger share of their earned income, much of which was previously paid to the government. The five major components of the reform were: lower taxes; limited state control of investment allocations; removal of price controls and large adjustments to product prices, to bring domestic prices closer to world price levels; devaluation of the dinar and reduction of customs duties and export subsidies; and permission and credit for peasant landowners to buy farm machinery. Alongside certain betterments, standards of living suffered since citizens' expenditures grew by 35% due to overall price raise, leading to a higher social inequality and unemployment, as well as the mass emigration of workers.

20 October, opening of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. The Plan of the Central Zone of New

Belgrade from 1960 determined the appearance of this area, with an emphasis by the administration to develop the future metropolis. In the plan, it was included the construction of several museums besides the Modern Art that were never constructed: the Museum of Yugoslav Art, the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Revolution (construction started, never finished), the Military Museum, and the opera.

### 1966

1 January, the first revaluation of the dinar took place, at a ratio of 100 "old" Yugoslavian dinars to 1 "new" Yugoslavian dinar (YUD). The revalued currency was initially pegged to the USD at a rate of 12.50 YUD to 1 USD. In late 1971, this was revised to 17 YUD to 1 USD. Following the "Nixon shock" (that cancelled the direct international convertibility of the USD to gold), Yugoslavia adopted a market exchange rate system. A foreign exchange market was established in Belgrade in which only banks could participate; setting the exchange rates for the entire country. This allowed the YUD to fluctuate more or less freely. Under this system, the exchange rate reached about 29 YUD to 1 USD in 1981, 127 YUD to 1 USD in 1984, and 457 YUD to 1 USD in 1987.

1 July, as result of the Fourth Plenum of the CK SKJ, known as the "Brioni plenum," Aleksandar Ranković, Vice President of the SFRJ had to resign under accusations of "bureaucratic-dogmatic opposition to the development of socialist self-government, pursuing a policy of national inequality and abusing his positions in the security service." The official reason was the "wiretapping affair," in June several

wiretapping devices were found in Tito's residence. The **State Security Administration (UDBA)** and Ranković, as a long-term Minister of the Interior and organizer of the **UDBA**, bore the main blame. Ranković belonged to the circle that opposed reforms, e.g. democratization and decentralization of society. In the period after the Seventh Congress of the SKJ (22-26 April 1958) a rift began within the CK SKJ over the future of the Yugoslav federation, some advocated the gradual transformation of the federation into a confederation, and others for the strengthening of federal power. In the following years the decentralized current got prominent as it was reflected in the approval of the Constitution of the SFRJ in 1963 and the conclusions of the Eighth Congress of the SKJ in 1964, when the "reform course" was established and criticism of unitarism was voiced. In the period after the Brioni plenum, a large number of supporters of Ranković were removed from political life by dismissal and retirement.

### 1967

17 March, the **Matica Hrvatska's** board of directors published the Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language in the Zagreb-based weekly newspaper *Telegram*, criticising the imposition of the Serbian as "state language" in the mass media and administration, and proposing the equality of the Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovenian languages in the Constitution. Both the Declaration and the proposal were condemned by the SKJ as acts of nationalism.

2 December, the Declaration on Relations between SFRJ and the European Economic Community

(EEC) was signed, which determined the future economic cooperation. Yugoslavia was the first of the socialist states to sign this type of document.

### 1968

2 June, beginning of the university student protests in Belgrade. On the evening of that day the events "Caravan of Friendship '68" and "The Microphone is Yours" were scheduled to be held in the open air, bringing together the youth work brigades and the students of the city. In those days, there were active brigades working in New Belgrade. The weather forecast had announced that it would rain, so the organizers got concerned about the safety of their electronic equipment and decided to shift the entire program to the movie hall at the nearby Workers' University. Due to the limited number of seats only the brigade members were informed of the venue change and had the priority of entering the event. When students, nevertheless, tried to enter the hall, the event was interrupted and there was a general fight between the brigades and the students that the local security did not manage to contain. Soon, about 40 **militiamen** arrived, which came into open conflict with the students in an attempt to establish order. The news spread quickly throughout Studentski Grad [Student City] where the hall was located, causing the whole neighbourhood to rise up. Outnumbered, militia retreated. Later that day, students started to hold debates and speeches about political and social changes and how to do it, "Down with the Red Bourgeoisie" was one of their mottos. The next day the biggest fights happened when the students, marching in direction to city

centre, reached an underpass that was tacitly marked as a border that students were not allowed to cross on the way to the old part of the city. Nikola Bugarčić, chief of the Belgrade militia (and president of the Red Star Football Club), issued an order to the police that students must not pass at any cost. The students demanded to enter in Belgrade, while the politicians insisted that a student delegation be formed to go to the SIV for negotiations, and that demonstrations should not be allowed in any way. At noon, while the negotiations were still going on, the militia started a sudden attack with batons followed by tear gas. While retreating towards Studentski Grad, the students threw stones at the militia, who pulled out their guns, often firing. As the news spread, protests also broke out in other capitals of Yugoslav republics (Sarajevo, Zagreb and Ljubljana). After seven days of strike, Tito gradually stopped the protests by giving in to some of the students' demands and saying that "students are right" during a televised speech on 9 June. In the following years the students leaders of the protests were imprisoned and the critical professors were fired from university and SKJ posts. The demands of the students were: "The rapid solution of the employment problem facing new university graduates, most of whom have to go abroad if they want to find any sort of employment. The suppression of the great inequalities in Yugoslavia. The establishment of real democracy and self-management relations. The immediate release of all arrested students. The resignation of Bugarčić. Convene the Parliament to discuss the demands of students. The resignation of the directors of all Belgrade newspapers, radio and

television for having deliberately falsified the events on the 2 June."

12 October, the Federal Republic of Germany and the SFRJ signed an agreement to allow the recruitment of Yugoslavian "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiter*) for the industrial sector and jobs that required few qualifications.

26 December, Amendments VII-XIX, to the Constitution renamed the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija into the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo. Together with the SAP of Vojvodina, were granted the right to adopt their own constitutional laws, although they did not have the features of federal units like republics. The term "national minorities" was replaced by the term "ethnic groups" and their equality with the peoples of Yugoslavia was guaranteed. At the same time, the provincial leadership in the SAP of Vojvodina was also striving to expand its autonomy. These tendencies were supported by the federal leadership, primarily among cadres from Croatia and Slovenia, who saw the strengthening of provincial autonomies as a means of weakening the position of Serbia.

#### 1969

31 July, Road affair. For a long time, the SR Slovenia had been planning a motorway from Šentilj to Nova Gorica and Koper. The project was based on the fact that more than 94% of Yugoslav traffic passed through the SR Slovenia, but it received only 3.4% of the available money from the Federal Road Fund. The construction of the motorway was going to be partly financed by the SR Slovenia and a loan by the International Bank

for Reconstruction and Development. The republics could not borrow international loans on their own, and the proposal was sent to the SIV, were once obtained the loan, it was decided to use it in other road sections: Belgrade-Novı Sad, Sarajevo-Zenica, Peja-Pristina-Niš and Bar-Ulcinj. The government of the SR Slovenia sent protest letter to the SIV, requesting that their demands be reconsidered, and announcing a discussion on this topic in the SR Slovenian Parliament. At the same time, protests and street demonstrations started in forty municipalities interested in building the highway. Subsequently, a wide-ranging debate began on who had the last word in the country in allocating investment, and about the status and degree of autonomy of the individual federal republics. Finally, the construction of the highway began in 1970, and after two years of construction work the first section was opened.

#### 1970

21 January, a session of the Executive Bureau of the CK SKJ was held. Emphasis was placed on the willingness of the Serbian leadership to deal with Serbian nationalism, which was expressed in two forms: unitarianism (imposing Serbian hegemony over Yugoslavia) and separatism (advocating a Greater Serbia).

31 January, the Mass-Movement (MASPOK), also known as Croatian Spring, was on the rise. The economic reform of 1965 decentralised the economy from the central government, and the political orientation was more liberal after the fall of Aleksandar Ranković. On 15 January, at the Tenth Plenum of the

CK of the League of Communists of Croatia (SKH) signalled that discussion of national issues will be or grievances would no longer be prohibited or even discouraged, during the Plenum, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, president of SKH, spoke about the rapid and successful economic and social progress of the SR Croatia, with a higher per capita income (PCI), industrial productivity, revenues from foreign tourism and international traffic above the Yugoslav average. Concluding that: "We believe that independence, sovereignty and progress of Croatia and the Croatian people are possible only within, that the optimal development of Croatia is optimal for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole." MASPOK aimed towards the legitimization of Croatian national identity, seeking the betterment of its position within the federation, demanding the recognition of the Croatian language as the official language and insisting on the specific nature of the Croats and their culture and civilization differenced from the other ethnic groups and ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia. In the politics, they demanded a separate national Croatian bank and currency, a Croatian army (independent of the JNA) and a Croatian representative in the United Nations. During 1971, thousands of students in Zagreb demonstrated advocating for these goals, blocking the university and calling for a general strike. The government reacted with political and militia repression: there were numerous arrests and prison sentences against student leaders and teachers who participated in the MASPOK. 1-2 December 1971, during the Twenty-first Meeting of the Presidency of the SKJ in Karadorđevo, a large-scale purge

was launched against the SKH members who had supported the movement. During the meeting Tito told to the leadership of SKH: "I am very angry [...]. Croatia is the key problem in our country in terms of the frenzy of nationalism. There is that in all republics, but it is the worst with you now." According to Tito, legitimate demands should very well be discussed, but not blackmailed through nationalist mobilizations.

30 September-2 October, Richard Nixon, President of the USA, visited the SFRJ. During the reception prepared in Zagreb, Nixon exclaimed: "Long live Croatia! Long live Yugoslavia!"

1972

26 January, JAT Flight 367 exploded while on route from Stockholm to Belgrade. The aircraft broke into 3 pieces and spun out of control, crashing near the village of Srbská Kamenice (Czechoslovakia, now the Czech Republic). Of the 28 on board 27 died, only Vesna Vulović, crew member survived the explosion and a fell of approximately 10,160 meters. According to the air safety investigators her survival was due the fact that she got pinned by a food cart in the tail of the aircraft, falling to the ground on a heavily wooded, snow-covered hillside that cushioned the impact. After the accident she became a popular person, and continued working for JAT holding a desk job until 1990, when got fired for speaking out against Slobodan Milošević (President of the Presidency of the SR Serbia) and participating in demonstrations against his government. The causes of the accident remain unsolved, the SFRJ authorities suspected that

Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (a Croatian émigré terrorist group formed in Australia) were to blame. In the following years, the Czechoslovak Civil Aviation Authority attributed the explosion to a briefcase bomb. The next day of the accident, 27 January, a man, describing himself as a Croatian nationalist, called the Swedish newspaper *Kvällsposten* and claimed responsibility for the bombing of the flight. Also, the same day, Croatian terrorists were suspected of placing a bomb that exploded on a train in transit from Vienna to Zagreb. Between 1962 and 1982, Croatian nationalists carried out 128 terror attacks against Yugoslavian civilian and military targets.

15 February, a bus with Muslim pilgrims returns to the SFRJ from Middle East, it was the beginning of the smallpox (*variola major*) epidemic. By mid-May, the outbreak was contained and the country returned to normal life. During the epidemic, 175 people contracted smallpox and 35 died.

Spring (exact date not available), the JNA air force pilots Suad Hamzić and Stipić Dušan flying a NL-12 encountered a round bright object flying over them during a routine reconnaissance flight in the area of Lika (Croatia). They approach to it up to 14,000 meters at Mach 1.6 but the object was flying much higher and faster than them. Its presence was confirmed by the Regional Flight Control Channel (ObKL) radar.

26 October, clashes with the supporters of liberal economic and political reforms led to the "purge of liberals" in the League of Communists of Serbia (SKS), branded as "anarcho-

liberal,” elitists, and technocrats. Reformist communists in other parts of the country shared the Serbian liberals’ concern over the “increasingly bureaucratized control of society.” The CK SKJ responded purging reform-prone elements in all the republics, after 1972 over 6,000 people lost their jobs in the fields of politics, economy, media and cultural institutions, been replaced by ideologically like-minded workers.

### 1973

16-19 April, Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, visited the SFRJ. After a meeting with Tito in Brioni, they reached an agreement for the “payment of the compensation of the victims of the German Nazi regime,” approved the 16 November. By this agreement, the SFRJ received a loan of 700 million DEM (1973) with an interest rate of 2% on a term of 30 years. Taking into account the loan of the 300 million DEM approved in 1972 and disbursed in 1973, the total capital aid was 1 billion DEM. After the collapse of SFRJ the repayment of the loan was divided among the newly formed states and, after partial reprogramming, is still being repaid by most of them in installments.

### 1974

21 February, a new constitution is promulgated in the SFRJ. On it, Yugoslavia is defined as a federal state community of “voluntarily united nations and their Socialist Republics.” The republics declared their own statehood through which the willingly united nations and nationalities exercised their rights, including the “right to self-determination until secession.” The Constitution introduced the consensus among republics and provinces in decision-

making, including the power to amend the Constitution. The right to self-determination and secession was legalised, but it remained unclear whether this right belonged to the peoples or to republics. In terms of state organization, the provinces within the SR Serbia (SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo) received even greater rights than they had before, obtaining direct representation in the Presidency of the SFRY. Their territory could not be changed without the decision of the Provincial Assembly, and the provincial authorities even had the right to veto the decisions of the authorities in the SR Serbia. The federal state moved closer to becoming a confederation because all decisions, including constitutional change, were only possible by means of republic and province consensus. The Constitution defined more exhaustively and clearly the self-management as the main feature of the economic system and the basic form of organisation of working people and citizens.

30 August, Zagreb train disaster. The accident occurred when all nine cars from a passenger train travelling from Belgrade to Dortmund derailed. A subsequent investigation showed that instead of entering to the main station at the speed limit of 40 km/h, the train was travelling at a speed of 104 km/h. 153 people died, mainly *gastarbiters* returning to Germany after holiday. The engineer was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, and his assistant to eight years. The court upheld their fatigue due to spending 52 hours working as a mitigating circumstance.

### 1975

30 March, beginning of construction of the Krško Nuclear Power Plant in

the SR Slovenia. It was constructed by Westinghouse (USA), based upon the power plant being constructed in Angra (Brazil). Krško was connected to the power grid on 2 October 1981 and went into commercial operation on 15 January 1983.

10 November, Treaty of Osimo, signed by the SFRJ and the Italian Republic to definitively divide the Free Territory of Trieste between the two states.

### 1977

22 April, the Assembly of the SFRJ established *Hej, Slaveni* [Hey, Slavs] as the temporary anthem of Yugoslavia. It only became official in 1988, with a special amendment to the Constitution. Previously, in the 1974 Constitution, it was declared that “The SFRJ has an anthem,” but its name was not mentioned. Its lyrics were first written in 1834 under the title *Hej, Slováci* [Hey, Slovaks] by Samuel Tomášik, because the German language was heard more often on the streets of Prague than in Czech. Tomášik soon changed the verses to include all Slavs and *Hey, Slavs* became a very famous song that supported pan-Slavic nationalism. Its melody is based on *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego* [Dąbrowski’s Mazurka] from 1820, by an unknown composer (arranged by Kazimierz Sikorski), which has also been the national anthem of Poland since 1926. The Yugoslav variation has a slower tempo, is more accentuated, and does not repeat the last four lines but the last two.

### 1979

15 April, a 6.9 magnitude earthquake occurred in Montenegro. Over 450 villages were razed to the ground and the main cities were damaged. 101



people died in Montenegro and 35 in Albania, and over 100,000 were left homeless.

3-9 September, the Sixth Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Havana. It was Tito's last important diplomatic feat. He was successful in averting Fidel Castro from sealing the Non-Aligned Movement to the USSR. Castro and Tito had two opposing and fundamentally incompatible visions for the movement's future.

Tito saw nonalignment as an absolute "bloc-free" concept, in which member countries should be genuinely independent of both the USA and the USSR. But Castro used his chairmanship of the summit to push the alliance to adopt a more pro-USSR approach and advocated for the embrace of what he called "natural allies." **To prevent this, Tito had travelled to nonaligned countries throughout Asia and Africa to speak with their governments.** He and his allies in the west worried that the USSR would find a way to destabilize Yugoslavia, by dividing the nonaligned countries into factions or by transforming the movement into an instrument of USSR foreign policy. However, in 24 December 1979, the USSR intervened in Afghanistan's civil war. At the time, Afghanistan was also an active member of the Nonaligned Movement. At the United Nations, from the Nonaligned members the votes were 56 to 9, with 26 abstaining, to condemn the USSR.

## 1980

4 May 1980, Tito's death. A seven-day long national mourning was announced. According to the Constitution, the role of collective head of state was given to the Presidency of the SFRJ, lead by

Lazar Koliševski, as first chair. The government consisted of nine members, eight were representatives of federal units (six republics and two provinces), and the ninth was the president of the Presidency of the CK SKJ (until 1988). The President of the Presidency, who had only procedural powers, was elected each year (always from a different federal unit). The term of office of the members of the Presidency was five years.

8 May, Tito was buried in the House of Flowers, one of the residential buildings where he lived and worked during the last days of his life. The funeral was attended by 80 state and 60 party delegations of the highest rank, making it one of the largest state funerals of the 20th century.

10 June, a group of 60 writers, poets and public intellectuals from the RS of Slovenia signed a petition demanding the establishing a space of free intellectual debate, which would include the right to political criticism. The petition also demands the right to establish a new independent journal for intellectual discussion.

## 1981

11 March, beginning of riots in Kosovo. Mass student demonstrations started leading to clashes with the militia. The protest began by students in Pristina demanding for better conditions in their canteen. Initially, only slogans of a social nature were shouted, and then slogans indicating the position of Kosovo in Yugoslavia were started ("Trepca works, Belgrade is being built"). Dissatisfaction was particularly pronounced at the University of Pristina, whose 20,000 students made up about 10% of the city's population. Most of the students were

ethnically Albanians, e.g. enrolled in Albanian studies, literature and other social sciences, which made their employment quite questionable in the conditions of the economic crisis. A large number of teachers, as well as textbooks, were from the then People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where the Stalinist regime of Enver Hoxha was in power. Therefore, it was characteristic of the protest organizers that they ideologically belonged to the extreme left, rejecting the existing system of SFRJ not only because of the unequal position of Kosovo Albanians in relation to the constituent peoples of Yugoslavia, but also because of the Yugoslav system of self-governing socialism represented the "revisionist" to Marxism-Leninism of the Albanian type. The provincial authorities responded by sending militia against the students during the night. Several dozen students were detained and the provincial leadership condemned the protests at an extraordinary meeting. The crisis seemed to be over. The 26 March a new escalation of protests occurred when the Youth Relay arrived in Kosovo. Students initially demanded that their imprisoned colleagues be released, other people began to join and the slogans changed supporting "Kosovo Republic" and and "Freedom, Unity, Democracy." The SFRJ Presidency described the protests, as well as their slogan, as a "threat to Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and sovereignty," so the state of emergency was declared in Kosovo and the JNA was sent to reestablish the order. The riots were calmed down by mass arrests and trials of protesters with 226 students and workers sentenced to prison, while a purge was carried out at the University of Pristina.

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Following the 1981 riots in Kosovo, which the League of Communists of Kosovo declared to be a product of Albanian nationalism, Serbia reacted by a desire to reduce the power of the Albanians in the province, and promoted a campaign claiming that Serbs were being pushed out of the province primarily by the growing Albanian population and not the state of the economy.

24 June 1981, an apparition of the Virgin Mary was reported in Međugorje (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

1982

16 May, Milka Planinc became the President of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRJ. She was the first woman in Yugoslavia elected to such a high office.

17 October, because of the bad economic situation and the country's debts, new economic measures were introduced. Among others, the possibility to buy petrol with coupons (40 litres per month for private vehicles and 300 litres for taxi drivers) and a deposit for leaving the country.

Añadir más?

1983

23 April, the Slovenian music group Laibach played a concert at Music Biennale Zagreb during which they presented images of partisans and Tito alongside porn clips. The concert was halted by militia and the group escorted onto a train for the SR Slovenia. This created a media scandal and Laibach issued a statement explaining its methodology as a "provocative interdisciplinary action" applied to ideological and

historical trauma encouraged "... critical awareness" in those exposed, and explained itself in terms of modernist conceptual art practices and referenced amongst others the work of Nam June Paik, Robert Rauschenberg and John Cage. Laibach was involved in the Neue Slowenische Kunst [New Slovenian Art] art movement.

23 March, Alija Izetbegović got arrested. He was accused and condemned for carrying out "pan-Islamic activities." In his *Islamic Declaration* of 1970 Izetbegović raises the impossibility of coexistence between Islam and the secular institutions of Yugoslavia, and postulates the Islamic republic as the ideal form of state for a future independent Bosnia. He calls for the seizure of power by Muslim militants in the regions where they are "morally and numerically superior" in order to "destroy existing non-Islamic power" and build an "Islamic power."

20 July, the Presidency of SFRJ accepts a report by Milan Kučan which states that the right of the Serbian nation to create its own state is not fulfilled owing to the autonomy of the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

December (dated January 1984), designed by Voja Antonić, the science magazine *Galaksija* published a entire do-it-yourself diagrams and instructions for building a personal computer. His idea was to design a "people's machine" that could be built at home for a fraction of the cost of a imported computer.

1984

8-19 February, the Fourteenth Winter

Olympics were held in Sarajevo. This was the biggest sports event in the SFRJ. Belgrade had planned to host the Summer Olympics in 1948 (bid planned but not submitted), 1992 (fourth place) and 1996 (sixth place).

1986

28 May, Slobodan Milošević is elected to the position of President of the CK SKS.

24 September, excerpts from the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, e.g. documents analysing the status of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia, were issued in the newspaper *Vecernje Novosti*. It gave voice to controversial views on the state of the nation and argued for a fundamental reorganization of the state. The main theme was that Yugoslavia's constitutional structure discriminated against the Serbs, and that decentralisation was leading to the disintegration of the SFRJ. It claimed that Serbia's development was eroded by support for other parts of the federation. The memorandum was officially denounced both by the government of the SFRJ, and the government of the SR Serbia for "inciting nationalism." The President of the Presidency of Serbia, Ivan Stambolić, stated "It is a deadly chauvinist war manifest for Serbist commissars."

1987

20 February, the literary magazine *Nova revija* publishes *Contributions to the Slovenian National Program*, a collection of sixteen articles in favour of an independent and democratic Slovenia.

28 February, the poster and relay

baton design, created for the celebration of Youth Day, provoked a scandal. Novi Kolektivizam [New Collectivism], a branch of Neue Slowenische Kunst, won the official competition with a poster design that was a reproduction of Richard Klein's artwork *The Third Reich - Allegory of Heroism* (1936), where the symbols of eagle, swastika and flag were replaced with a peace dove, the emblem and the SFRJ flag. **The collective aimed to shine a light on the hypocrisy of Tito's personality cult.** When the source of the work was revealed, the artists were prosecuted on suspicion of instigating anti-state propaganda. **This was followed by another open call, and it was also the last year that the relay baton race was held.**

**24 April, Milošević addressed about Kosovo to a crowd of 15,000 Serbs and Montenegrins, telling them: "You will not be beaten." Later that evening, RTV Belgrade airs the speech. Stambolić later remarks that after watching the speech he has seen "the end of Yugoslavia."**

15 August, an article was published *Borba* accusing Agrokomerc, a food company based in SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, of issuing nearly 900 million USD (1987) in worthless unsecured promissory notes to 63 banks. The "Agrokomerc affair" led to political destabilization in the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina and inflation increase in the SFRJ.

2-3 September, a JNA soldier of Albanian nationality, kills four other JNA soldiers and wounds seven others. During the funeral Albanian-owned shops are attacked by mobs.

23-24 September, Eighth Plenary Session of the CK SKS, Milošević's handling of the Kosovo situation divided the SKS. One group pro-Dragiša Pavlović (leader of the Belgrade Communist Party) and pro-Stambolić favouring negotiations with the Albanian leaders, and a second group pro-Milošević demanding quick and rapid action to end the "Kosovo problem." The session ended with Pavlović expelled from the party and Stambolić weakened, resigning under pressure from Milošević's supporters a few days later. Stambolić mysteriously disappeared on 25 August 2000, still during the rule of Milošević. On 28 March 2003, the police revealed that he was murdered on Fruška Gora (Serbia) by eight Special Operations Unit officers. +++

**By 1987, controlled the two most influential media: RTV Belgrade and Politika media group. By 1989, Milošević controlled 95% of the media, and editorial purges had been carried out in RTV Belgrade and the influential liberal newsmagazine Nin.**

## 1988

12 February, a committee of Serbian academics demands the creation of a "Serbian Autonomous Oblast" in the territory of SR Bosnia and Herzegovina and SR Croatia.

12 May, the Slovenian Peasant Union is formed in a mass meeting in Ljubljana. It was the first openly non-Communist political association in the SFRJ. This event is usually considered as the beginning of the Slovenian Spring.

15 May, the Federal Secretary of People's Defence of Yugoslavia, Admiral Branko Mamula, was

replaced by Veljko Kadijević. Mamula and some JNA generals considered Milošević not the most suitable person to implement the JNA's plans to reunite the country, and that he should be removed if SFRJ was to be preserved.

30 June, the JBTZ trial, it was a political trial held in a military court in the SR Slovenia. The defendants, Janez Janša, Ivan Borštnar, David Tasić and Franci Zavrl, were for "betraying military secrets", after being involved in writing and publishing articles critical of the JNA. The trial sparked great uproar in Slovenia, and was an important event for the organization and development of the liberal democratic opposition in the republic. In 1987, *Mladina* weekly magazine increasingly attacked the JNA and its leadership. When they realized that the Slovenian government would not initiate proceedings against the journal, then they decided to do so.

5 October, 100,000 people demonstrates in Novi Sad (the capital of Vojvodina) against the government of Vojvodina beginning of the anti-bureaucratic revolution, also known as the "Yogurt Revolution" because the protesters threw stones and cups of yogurt at party officials who wanted to calm the situation. In order to secure control over the disputed territories Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro, the Serbian government launched "rallies of truth," later named the anti-bureaucratic revolution, due to the alleged "atrocities in Kosovo and what was portrayed as bureaucratic corruption and betrayal of the population."

6 October, after the JNA refuses to

disperse the crowd or protect the parliament building in Novi Sad, the entire parliament of Vojvodina resigns and is replaced with politicians loyal to Milošević. The events were condemned by the communist governments of the SR Slovenia and SR Croatia.

10 October, Raif Dizdarević, president of SFRJ, warns that the crisis in Yugoslavia might lead to "extraordinary conditions." The President declares that the demonstrations against Communist Party leaders in various sections of the country are "negative events" which can lead to "unpredictable consequences."

November, the number of Presidency members is reduced to 8; the Presidency position for the president of the Presidium of the SKJ is abolished.

17 November, in an attempt to appease the SR Serbia government, Azem Vllasi and Kaqusha Jashari (respectively, former and current President of the SKK) resigned in party positions being replaced by pro-Milošević Rrahman Morina, Hysamedin Azemi and Ali Shukriu. Later, that day 3,000 miners from Trepča marched to Pristina, others joined the march, which swelled to almost 300,000 people in total. Their requests were to retain Kosovo's status as an autonomous province.

18 November, the "Brotherhood and unity" rally held in Belgrade as an integral part of the "anti-bureaucratic revolution." According to RTV Belgrade it gathered about a million people (according to other media, few hundred thousands) from all parts of

Serbia, they could arrive by organized transport in public and factory buses. During his speech, Milošević said: "We will win the battle for Kosovo regardless of the obstacles placed in front of us in the country and abroad. So, we will win regardless of the uniting of our enemies from abroad and those in the country. And that this nation will win the battle for freedom, is a fact well-known even to the Turkish and German conquerors." The same day, about 100,000 Kosovo Albanians, marched through Pristina against Milošević's politics and the removal of provincial leaders.

31 December, the President of the Federal Executive Council, Branko Mikulić, resigns after a no-confidence vote in the Federal Assembly. The country was facing a foreign debt reaching 21 billion USD (1988), a 15% unemployment rate and a 250% rate of inflation.

### 1989

10 January, over 100,000 protesters gather in Titograd to protest the regional government of Montenegro. Members resign the next day; the new leadership consists of Momir Bulatović, Milo Đukanović and Svetozar Marović, strongly allied with Milošević. The basic features of the anti-bureaucratic revolution were organized mass gatherings that were presented as spontaneous, with slogans announcing the next actions of the political elite, and instrumentalized media, primarily the daily *Politika*.

20 February, about 1,350 Trepča miners began an underground hunger strike. As the National Assembly of Serbia was preparing constitutional changes that would

have formally reduced the level of provincial autonomy, the miners demanded the preservation of the region's autonomous status and the resignation of pro-Milošević politicians of Kosovo. Milošević prepared a plan that would allow him to send police reinforcements to Kosovo, but his plan didn't have the majority vote needed by the other members of the [federal Presidency of Yugoslavia](#). Stipe Šušar negotiated with the miners as a representative of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The end of the strike came on 27 February with the resignation of Morina, Azemi and Shukriu. At evening, the Presidency of the SFRJ met and decided on "special measures" for Kosovo that effectively instituted an unrestricted state of emergency. The same day, the [Slovenian Committee for human Rights](#) called for a demonstration in Ljubljana to express sympathy with the miners and protest against the actions of the Serbian authorities for "repressing Albanians in Kosovo." Milan Kučan, President of the League of Communists of Slovenia (SKS), stated, "Yugoslavia is being defended in the Trepča mine. the situation in Kosovo shows that people are no longer living together but increasingly against each other." This attitude was criticized by *Mladina* magazine, publishing that the "hypocritical identification of Slovenes with Kosovo Albanians, " noting that "pluralism in Slovenia is being introduced via ethnic populism." Making reference to the fact that Slovenia had sought to curb its contributions to the development aid targeting poorer regions, including Kosovo. The broadcast of the demonstration in Ljubljana was postponed in Serbia until the 22:30 news. By then, a new mass rally was

organized in Belgrade for the next morning.

28 February, in response against the Slovenian actions a protest was organized in Belgrade requesting the cancellation of the resignation of Morina, Shukriu and Azemi, and the arrest of Vllasi. According to RTV Belgrade it gathered about 300,000 people, while according to other media there were between 30,000 and 50,000 people. Milošević addressed the gathered: "Soon, all the names will be known publicly, and I want to tell you that the ones who manipulated people in order to achieve political goals against Yugoslavia, will be punished and arrested." Under the pressure of the demonstration Milošević moved the federal leadership to reinstate Morina and the "arrest and prosecution of the organizers of the Kosovo events." Milošević responded to the demonstrators "I can't hear you well, but we will arrest those responsible including those who have used the workers! In the name of the leadership of the SR Serbia, I promise this!"

1 March, after the Belgrade rally, Milošević ultimately demanded to the government allow him to use force to quell the insurgency in Kosovo. Vllasi and around 240 prominent Kosovo Albanians were detained, apparently selected based on their anti-Milošević sentiment.

23 March, the Kosovo Parliament adopted constitutional amendments for the effective revocation of the region's autonomy. The parliament of Kosovo was surrounded by tanks and the Serbian militia and the deputies were brought in to vote. Most of the Albanian deputies abstained in

order to invalidate the process as a two-thirds majority was required for constitutional amendments, however, the amendments were declared passed. The region's provincial status was not formally abolished as Milošević needed its vote to gain influence in the The Presidency of the SFRJ.

28 March, amendments to the Constitution of the SR Serbia, prohibiting provinces from vetoing constitutional changes in Serbia and by limiting their legislative, administrative and judicial authority, which they exercised according to the 1974 Constitution. As consequence, Vojvodina and Kosovo have autonomy abolished, but retain a seat in the presidency of Yugoslavia. The proclamation set off clashes on the streets of Kosovo and Metohija.

29 November, last induction ceremony of the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, with the generation born in 1982. First-graders took the oath as Pioneers, "inheritors of the historic decisions made on that date in 1943 and the guarantors of their continued meaning as foundational principles of the state" in order to promote "continuity between generations" and to connect "connected children to the memory of the Partisan struggle and the creation of the state itself." They received a blue cap named "titovka", a red scarf, and a red Pioneer booklet. Other events were held at schools, including assemblies, academies, readings, recitals and performances.

6 May, Yugoslavia won the Eurovision Song Contest With the song *Rock Me* by the group Riva.

8 May, Milošević becomes President

of the Presidency of the SR Serbia.

28 June, Gazimestan speech, it was given on by Milošević to around 2,000,000 people, it was the centrepiece of a day-long event to mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo: "I think that it makes sense to say this here in Kosovo, where disunity that once upon a time tragically pushed Serbia back for centuries and endangered it, and where renewed unity may advance it and may return dignity to it. Such awareness about mutual relations constitutes an elementary necessity for Yugoslavia, too, for its fate is in the joined hands of all its peoples. Six centuries later, now, we are being again engaged in battles and are facing battles. They are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet. However, regardless of what kind of battles they are, they cannot be won without resolve, bravery, and sacrifice, without the noble qualities that were present here in the field of Kosovo in the days past. Our chief battle now concerns implementing the economic, political, cultural, and general social prosperity, finding a quicker and more successful approach to a civilization in which people will live in the 21<sup>st</sup> century." <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/spch-kosovo1989.htm>

17 September, against federal warnings the SR Slovenia amended its Constitution in the name of greater autonomy and the right to secede from the SFRJ. The term "Socialist" was dropped from the republic's official name, and provisions enabling free elections were established.

1 December, "Action North." A large Serbian "truth rally" in Ljubljana was announced for that day (when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed) with an attempt to overthrow Slovenian leadership because of its opposition to Serb centralist policy. However, the SR Slovenia banned the rally and, in line with this decision, SR Croatia declares that it will not allow people from the SR Serbia and SR Montenegro travelling to the demonstration to cross its territory. Slovene police forces prevented that the several hundred supporters that could arrive from meeting in Ljubljana. The next day, a boycott of Slovenian products began in Serbia, and many companies were terminating business contracts with Slovenian partners.

26 December, the Parliament of the SR Serbia ordered the National Bank of Yugoslavia to issue 1.8 billion USD (1989) worth of new money without any backing.

## 1990

1 January, because of the inflation a new dinar (YUN) was issued at a rate of 10000 YUD = 1 YUN.

20-22 January, the Fourteenth Extraordinary Congress of the SKJ was held in Belgrade. The SKS and its allied branches from Montenegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo, supported a more centralized SKJ and SFRJ within a unitarian political framework (one man - one vote"). On the other side, Slovenian delegates advocated for a confederation system in the SKJ and the SFRJ, organized with a multiparty election. The Serbian proposals were accepted by a majority vote EXPLICAR. As reaction, a delegation of Slovenian delegates

left the congress CUANTOS?. When Milošević asked what it would take to recommence the meeting, the Croatian delegation remarked "the Slovene delegation", and that if the meeting was going to follow they also would leave the proceedings. When attempts were made, the Croatian delegation were true to their word, and they too left, joined by the delegations of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Milan Pančevski (President of the SKJ) called the day's proceedings to a close, and an adjournment for the following day, however, this did not happen, and the congress was never recalled. Thus, the congress marked the actual dissolution of the SKJ.

8 April, the first multiparty elections were held in the Republic of Slovenia. The oppositional party coalition (DEMOS) won, and Lojze Peterle became the Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia. On 23 December 1991 A new constitution of was adopted by the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. On 6 December 1992 presidential elections were held, Milan Kučan, last President of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, was elected President as an independent candidate, with the support of the former League of Communists of Slovenia (renamed as Party of Democratic Renewal).

22-23 April, the first multiparty parliamentary elections were held in the SR Croatia. The Croatian Democratic Union won, and Franjo Tuđman became the President of the Presidency of the SR Croatia. After election, on 25 July, the term "Socialist" is dropped from the republic's official name. Seeking

to unify support for Croatia's independence, Tuđman advocated for a national reconciliation between Ustaše and Partisans. This led to a revival of Ustaše following the independence, e.g. streets were renamed to carry the name of Ustaše leaders, such as Mile Budak and Jure Francetić.

13 June, the first meeting of the Serbian opposition was held in Belgrade, under the parole "Serbia seeks Freedom." Approximately 50,000 people took part in the protest organized against Milošević's regime and state media. Oppositional parties sought the first free elections before the passing of the new Constitution. There were clashes between the police and demonstrators in front of Television Belgrade.

17 August, "Log revolution." The Serbian Autonomous Oblast of Krajina was self-proclaimed within Croatia and its inhabitants began blockading roads connecting Dalmatia to the rest of the country with logs. High economic damage was done to Croatian tourism, since it was timed during the summer holiday season and severing land ties to the popular tourist region of Dalmatia. Between August 1990 and May 1991 over two hundred armed incidents involving Croatian Serbs and Croatian militia? police? were reported.

28 September, a new constitution was promulgated in the Republic of Serbia. In the new Constitution the term "Socialist" is dropped from the republic's official name and Kosovo and Metohija returned to be named Province of Kosovo and, together with Vojvodina, got autonomy revoked confirming the 28 March 1989

decision. **Protestas?**

11 November, the first multiparty elections were held in the SR Macedonia. The once ruling communist party took a reformist direction and renamed itself League of Communists of Macedonia – Party for Democratic Change won, and Kiro Gligorov became the President of the Presidency of the SR Macedonia. On 16 April 1991 the parliament promulgated a constitutional amendment removing “Socialist” from the republic’s official name (it was officially established on 7 June).

18 November, the first multiparty elections were held in the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina. These elections were won by the so-called “national parties:” the Bosnian Party of Democratic Action, the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the elections, these three parties reached an agreement to distribute the government along the ethnic lines: the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a Bosniak (Alija Izetbegović), the President of the Presidency of the People’s Assembly was a Bosnian Serb (Momčilo Krajišnik) and the President of the Executive Council was a Bosnian Croat (Jure Pelivan). This anti-communist coalition remained until the beginning of the conflicts in 1992.

9 December, the first multiparty elections were held in the SR Montenegro. The League of Communists of Montenegro won, which will change its name in 22 June 1991 to the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro. Momir

Bulatović kept his position as President of the Presidency of the SR Montenegro. On 2 August 1991, the term “Socialist” is dropped from the republic’s official name.

**Nueva constitución?**

9 December, the first multiparty elections were held in the Republic of Serbia. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) won. The party was formed on 17 July with the unification of the SKS and the Socialist Union of the Working People of Serbia. Milošević kept his position as President of the Republic of Serbia.

23 December, Slovenia held an independence referendum: “Should the Republic of Slovenia become an independent and sovereign state?” Both the ruling centre-right coalition and the left-wing opposition supported the referendum and called on voters to support Slovenian independence. On 26 December the results of the referendum were officially proclaimed, with 93.2% turnout, 88.5% of voters approved the referendum in favour of independence. On 25 June 1991 the Basic Constitutional Charter on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia was passed and independence was declared the following day, leading to the Ten-Day War between the JNA and the Slovenian Territorial Defence.

1991

**9 March, Trg Republike - The first great rally of the Serbian Opposition Because of the refusal of the TV Belgrade to broadcast the denial of the Serbian Renewal Movement. Vuk Drašković made a rally of the Serbian Opposition at Trg Republike, with the**

main request for resignation of the director and four editors of the state TV station. The Opposition leaders addressed the gathered citizens from the balcony of the National Theatre, while the police on horses tried to disperse the demonstrators. Later, they used water-cannons, beat the demonstrators, while two people got killed: Branislav Milinović (demonstrator) and Nedeljko Kosović (policeman). The tanks appeared in the streets of the capital. The work of the independent stations B92 and NTV Studio B was prohibited. In his statement on the TV Belgrade he called the demonstrators “the powers of chaos and insanity”. (according to the report of the TV Belgrade only a few thousand “hooligans” were present, while according to the independent media, the number was over 50,000)

25 March, Karadorđevo meeting. The presidents of the Yugoslav federal states Croatia and Serbia, Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević. Although the exact topics of conversation were never fully announced to the public and are still a secret today (talks took place without any witnesses or transcript), the meeting became controversial in following years. Several ex-Yugoslav politicians have claimed that Tuđman and Milošević had discussed and agreed to the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines. In the following years Tuđman and Milošević met 47 more times.

15 May, the Croatian National Guard (ZNG) is established. Preparations for the ZNG began on 12 April. Its formation as a police force with military capability was considered

necessary by Croatian authorities after March clashes in Pakrac and at Plitvice Lakes and the possibility of further confrontation with the JNA. The JNA considered the ZNG a paramilitary organization since it was illegal to establish a separate military in a constituent republic.

19 May, Croatia held an independence referendum: "Do you believe that the Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent state, which guarantees cultural autonomy and all civil rights to Serbs and members of other nationalities in Croatia, should enter into an alliance of sovereign states with other republics (according to the proposal by the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia for the resolution of the Yugoslav state crisis)?" and "Do you believe that the Republic of Croatia should remain part of Yugoslavia as a united federal state (according to the proposal by the Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro for the resolution of the Yugoslav state crisis)?" With 83% turnout, 93% of voters approved the referendum in favour of independence. Subsequently, Croatian government declared independence and the dissolution of its association with the SFRJ on 25 June, **but it introduced a three-month moratorium on the decision when urged to do so by the EEC and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe through the Brioni Agreement. On 8 October the Croatian Parliament severed all remaining ties with the SFRJ.** The war in Croatia escalated during the moratorium, the JNA initially tried to keep Croatia within the SFRJ by occupying all its territory. After this failed, Serb forces established the self-proclaimed proto-state

Republic of Serbian Krajina within Croatia. In 1992, the countries of the EEC granted Croatia diplomatic recognition and it was admitted to the United Nations.

8 September, Macedonia held an independence referendum: "Are you in favour of a sovereign and independent state of Macedonia with the right to enter a future union of sovereign states of Yugoslavia?" **With 75.7% turnout, 96.4% of voters approved the referendum in favour of independence.** On 25 September, the Declaration of Independence was promulgated by the Macedonian Parliament, followed by the promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia on 17 November.

3 October, the four Montenegrin and Serbian members, including Kosovo and Vojvodina, of the Presidency of the SFRJ assumed the right to act as the provisional Presidency and to give orders to the JNA, a decision accepted by the **General Staff.** Though the Presidency of Yugoslavia was the supreme commander of the armed forces and in command of Yugoslav People's Army, some task from presidency could be given through secretary of defence. Secretary of defense was officer with highest military rank that could command armed forces of Yugoslavia including Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense. While President of Yugoslavia was in function he was, under the constitution, the supreme commander of armed forces that includes YPA and TO and he could also pass some of his duties as supreme commander to secretary of defense. They had the power to give highest military ranks, such as general

or admiral, and to promote or relieve of duty the highest military officers. Secretary of defense was in charge of Yugoslav People's Army. Chief of Staff of Yugoslav People's Army in case that Secretary of defense was prevented or absent to fulfill his function was formally his deputy who could take command of armed forces. In 1987, under decree of Presidency of Yugoslavia, General Staff of YPA was renamed into General Staff of Armed forces of Yugoslavia thus giving effectively command of YPA and TO to one military body in order to effectively command with armed forces in case of war according to law of "All-peoples defense" from 1982.

10 November, a referendum was held in the parts of the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina with a significant Serb population: to Serbs it asked "Do you agree with the decision of Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina of 24 October 1991, that the Serbian people should remain in a common Yugoslav state with Serbia, Montenegro, the SAO Krajina, SAO Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, and with others who have come out for remaining?" and to non-Serbs it asked "Are you agreed that Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an equal republic, should remain in a common state of Yugoslavia with all others who take this position?" With 85% turnout, 98% of voters approved the referendum in favour to remain within the SFRJ.

1992

9 January, the Bosnian Serb assembly promulgated a declaration on the Proclamation of the Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On 28 February 1992, the Constitution of the Serbian



Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) was promulgated. On it was declared that the state's territory included Serb autonomous regions, municipalities, and other Serbian ethnic entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (including regions described as "places in which the Serbian people remained in the minority due to the genocide conducted against them during WWII"), and it was declared to be a part of the federal Yugoslav state.

21 February, Kiro Gligorov and the JNA reached an agreement for their peaceful withdrawal from the territory of the Republic of Macedonia until 15 April 1992.

15 January, the EEC recognizes the republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

29 February and 1 March, the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina held an independence referendum: "Are you for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state of equal citizens, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Muslims, Serbs, Croats and members of other peoples living in it?" With 63.4% turnout, 99.7% of voters approved the referendum in favour of independence. The referendum was strongly favoured by Bosniak and Bosnian Croat voters while Bosnian Serbs boycotted it or were prevented from participating on it by Bosnian Serb authorities.

After independence the country was renamed to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On 3 March, the government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared the independence, being ratified by the parliament. Violence broke out in many places during and after the referendum. On 6 April the United

States and the EEC recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state.

That day? 7 April? Radovan Karadžić became its first president.

Bosnian Serb leaders declared independence of Republika Srpska, and laying siege to Sarajevo which marked the start of the Bosnian War.

1 March, the Republic of Montenegro held an independence referendum: "Are you in favor of Montenegro, as a sovereign republic, continuing to live in a common state - Yugoslavia, fully equal to other republics that wish the same?" With 66.04% turnout, 95.96% of voters approved the referendum in favour to remain within the SFRJ.

April, beginning of the hyperinflation, one of the highest in world economic history. New currencies were introduced to diminish it: 1 July 1992: 10 YUN = 1 YUR. 1 October 1993: 1,000,000 YUR = 1 YUO. 1 January 1994: 1,000,000,000 YUO = 1 YUG. 22 July 1994: 12,000,000 YUG = 1 YUM. Thus: 120,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 YUD from April 1992 correspond to 1 YUM from 22 July 1994.

2 April, after a referendum Titograd returned to its previous name Podgorica.

27 April, the federal Council of the SFRJ Parliament promulgated the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ), which was made of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro. A declaration was passed stating that the new state was a continuation of the international and political subjectivity of the SFRJ. To

make this continuity visible, the new flag kept the colours, only removing the red five-pointed star.

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LD:

ISBN:

Printed and bounded in XXX

First printing XXX







