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The Beginning of Serbian Mobilization in Kosovo and Rise of Nationalism

Kosova'da Sırp Seferberliğinin Başlangıcı ve Milliyetçiliğin Yükselişi

Abstract

The Kosovo Albanian student demonstrations of 1981 have been used as an alibi for Serbian nationalism to strengthen its ranks in Kosovo. The rise of Serbian nationalism started several years ago, but its first appearance occurred at "Francuka 7" Street, in Belgrade, Republic of Serbia, where the seat of Serbia's Writers' League (henceforth: SWL) was located. This seat released clear instructions for the mobilizing actions of Serbs in Kosovo and further. The construction of various ideas was supported also by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (henceforth: SASA) and by the Serbian Orthodox Church (henceforth: SOC). This would become like a three leafed flower (SWL-SASA-SOC) whose intoxicating smell affected many Serbian minds. Therefore, the paper "The beginning of Serbian mobilization in Kosovo and rise of nationalism", aims to elaborate the factors that influenced the beginning of rise of the Serbian nationalism, its organization and escalation, and consequences deriving from it.

Key words: Mobilization, Orthodox Church, nationalism. Dobrica Cosic, Bozur, etc.

Öz

1981'deki Kosovalı Arnavut öğrenci gösterileri (1981 arnavut baharı), Kosova'daki Sırp milliyetçiliğinin saflarını güçlendirmesi için bir mazeret olarak kullanıldı. Sırp milliyetçiliğinin inşaatı, Sırbistan Yazarlar Birliği'nin genel merkezinin bulunduğu "Francuska 7", Belgrad, Sırbistan Cumhuriyeti, caddesinde yıllar önce başlamıştı. Buradan, Kosova'daki Sırp'ların seferberlik eylemleri için net talimatlar veriliyordu. Çeşitli fikirlerin inşası Sırp Bilim ve Sanat Akademisi (bundan böyle: SASA) ve Sırp Ortodoks Kilisesi (bundan böyle: SOC) tarafından da onaylanıyordu. Bu, pek çok Sırp'ların zihinlerini etkileyecek, sarhoş edici kokusuyla, üç yapraklı çiçeğe (SWL-SASA-SOC) dönüşecekti. Bu nedenle, "Kosova'da Sırp seferberliğinin başlangıcı ve milliyetçiliğin yükselişi" makalesi, Sırp milliyetçiliğinin başlangıcını, örgütlenmesini ve tırmanmasını etkileyen faktörleri ve bundan kaynaklanan sonuçları incelemeye amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Seferberlik, Ortodoks Kilisesi, milliyetçilik. Dobrica Cosic, "Bozur".

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Introduction

After the Albanian demonstrations of March 1981, a fire that engulfed an annex of the Serbian Patriarchate complex in Peja on the night of 15 March 1981, increased further the tensions in Belgrade. Although the building was located far from the Patriarchate and lacked any architectural value, the public opinion in Serbia described the event as an act of Albanian “irredentist”, regardless that the investigation findings confirmed that the fire was caused by a gap in electrical system.¹

The two events mentioned above marks the beginning of the open mobilization of Serbian nationalism, who throughout the seventh decade of the twentieth century latently had resisted to federal and republican leadership, particularly regarding the issues concerning Kosovo. In fact, these events activated the renewal of the identity policy based on the recycling the myth about Kosovo that had begun in Serbia after Tito’s death (1980), and which primarily was only a project of Serbian nationalists about the Serbian culture and Orthodox Church, attracting thus a prominent part of the informal opposition to Serbian communist regime.²

The cultural and literary institutions of Serbia marked the initial mobilisation of Serbian nationalism. As the well-known Serbian academician Milorad Ekmecic said - if the seat of Czech national movement was a café shop in Prague during the nineteenth century – then in case of Serbia the seat would surely be the Writer’s League, on the street Francuska 7. During the 1980’ being surrounded by brandy and tobacco smoke the Greater Serbia appeared in their minds. Numerous plans to achieve such a goal were elaborated on the ceiling of this seat.³

Their dissatisfaction with the legal position of Serbia and other issues of national character, which had been accumulated mainly during the years 1970, found an expression in the new circumstances that had arisen after Tito’s death. Thus, in 1981, less than a year after Tito’s death, Gojko Dogo wrote a collection of poems entitled “Vumena vremena” (Wolly Times). But, because of its insulting content regarding the socialist revolution and Tito, was withdrawn from its publication and destroyed later.⁴

The writers were followed by academicians. At the same time academician Dobrica Cosic and the group around him came up with the magazine “Javnost”. The magazine aimed to serve as a tool to draft a new political platform. The editorial board of this magazine consisted of well-known people from Serbian science, known for their nationalism and opposition to the communist system regarding the constitutional changes of 1968-1974, such as Ljuba Tadic (editor in chief), Dobrica Cosic, Dusan Boskovic (philosopher), Nebojsa Popov, Zoran Djindjic, etc. But this magazine was banned and never published.⁵

In addition to SWL and SASA the death of Tito marked a new era even for the Serbian Orthodox Church. Now the SOC aimed to gain its role in society which “had been abducted unjustly and violently”. During the years 1980 three theologians were distinguished by their activities. They were young and reputable monks, lecturers at the Faculty of Theology and were called Justinians⁶.

- 1 Vickers Miranda, *Midis Serbëve Dhe Shqiptarëve* (Tiranë: Toena, 2004), 242-243; Јевтић Атанасије, *Страдања Срба На Косову и Метохији Од 1941. До 1990. Године* (Приштина: Јединство, 1990), https://www.rastko.rs/kosovo/istorija/stradanje_srba/index_c.html.
- 2 Čolović Ivan, “Tako je govorio Milošević,” accessed May 10, 2018, <https://pescanik.net/tako-je-govorilo-milosevic/>.
- 3 Tomaniq Millorad, *Kisha Serbe Në Luftë Dhe Luftërat Brenda* (Shkoder: Camaj-Pipaj, 2006), 14.
- 4 Tomaniq Millorad, 14-15.
- 5 Biserko Sonja, *Kovanje Antijugoslovenske Zavere*, Knjiga 1 (Beograd: Helsinski odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2006), 106.
- 6 Justinian were called students of Justin Popovic, a Serbian theologist; Popovic was expelled from the University of Belgrade; he was sent to Monastery of Qelija, near Valjevo, where he was held in kind of a

Amfilofije Radovic, Irinej Bulatovic and Atanasije Jeftic, due to their open anti-communist and nationalist stance, as well as because of their extraordinary activities in the field of writing, were admitted to Serbia Writer Association in January 1985.⁷ This was a unique case in the Yugoslavia's scientific section. Their admission marked a reconciliation of national interest opinions and putting them in service or in coordinated cooperation in achieving common goals of nationalist character.

Following these issues, the building at "Francuska 7" became an address where all main players of 1980's events were gathered. This union marked the Three leafed Serbian flower (SWL-SASA-SOC), whose intoxicating fragrance influenced a large number of Serbian minds.⁸

In order to express their nationalist views freely, a lift up on restriction on free expression, which had been installed by the Yugoslav communist regime, was needed. Protests and reactions against the Yugoslavia's policy against writers and political dissidents started. The University of Belgrade (particularly the Faculty of Law and Philosophy), SASA, Social Sciences Institutes, Writer's Associations, etc., became seats of a free opinion and resistance. The demand for rehabilitation of political prisoners was increasingly emphasized in public.⁹ All those efforts resulted in establishment of the Council for protection of Free Thought and Expression, which consisted of 23 intellectuals, 12 of whom were academicians. This led to amendment of the Criminal Code, respectively the annulment of Article 133 which sanctioned the verbal conflict.¹⁰

The annulment of this article, whereas promoted the freedom of expression, indeed only facilitated the expression of Serbian nationalist tendencies. Scientific, academician and journalist section begun to publish various articles containing the theme of Serbian revival, which later was accompanied by an anti-Albanian propaganda. The "Knjiga o Milutinu" (Book about Milutin), which reflected the "tragic fate" of Serbian people and its meaning for abandonment of "Yugoslav illusions", may be considered as a powerful statement towards a new isolation of Serbs. Through several novels dedicated to his hometown in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the World War II, Vuk Draskovic (one of the main oppositional leaders later) elaborated the tragic legacy on the genocide against Serbs conducted by the Independent Croatian State. At the end, "Gresnik" and "Optadnik", works of Dobrica Cosic, the most politically influential of these authors, mocked the internationalist illusions of the pre-war Serbian communists, who based on Comintern instructions facilitated the establishment of an anti-Serbian regime in post-war Yugoslavia.¹¹

These were clear warnings about the concept that these forces pursued, which was based on the historical right of a Serbian state, whereas Yugoslavia was perceived as a strategic mistake of Serbs.

Contrary to the nationalist mobilisation in Serbia, the mobilisation of Kosovo Serbs took place mainly as a reaction to changes in the political context and within the political environment that was not entirely favourable for local groups of this community.¹² The Kosovo Serbs were mainly mobilised through two organizations: "Otpor" (Resistance) and "Bozur" (Peony).^{13*} These

semi internment, see further: Tomaniq Millorad, 16.

7 Tomaniq Millorad, 16.

8 Tomaniq Millorad, 16.

9 Cvetković Srđan, "Traže Ujedinjenje Albanskih Zemalja," August 20, 2018.

10 Biserko Sonja, "Srpska Elita i Realizacija Srpskog Nacionalnog Programa" (Zbornik radova sa naučne i stručne rasprave o knjizi "Bosanski Rat" Dobrice Čosića, Sarajevo, 2012), 105-106.

11 Vujacic Veljko, "Serbian Nationalism, Slobodan Milosevic and the Origins of the Yugoslav War," *The Harriman Review* 8, no. 4 (n.d.), <https://studylib.net/doc/8550754/serbian-nationalism--slobodan-milosevic-and-the-origins-o...f>, 4.

12 Pavlović Momčilo, "Kosovo under Autonomy 1974-1990," Research Team 1, n.d., <https://www.cla.purdue.edu/si/Team1Reporte.pdf>, 31.

13 This pre-political and pre-institutional organization had a tremendous impact, due to the great support from the highest instances in Belgrade. These organizations became an important factor in the realization of the scenarios prepared by Milosevic. So, in a way, Milosevic himself was dependent on them. Bozur,

names were not unintentional: while the first one pretends the resistance against the displacement and protection of national identity, the second one symbolizes the shed of Serbian blood during the Battle of Kosovo in the year 1389. According to Serb belief, peony flowers were exclusively white until the battle of Kosovo, when red peonies grow on the soil wet with the blood of Serbian heroes.¹⁴ This was a clear message about the “blood that the Serbs shed for Kosovo”, in defence of the Christian civilization from the Islamic civilization, which at the same time claimed the historical and legal right over the land of Kosovo.

The real mobilization of Kosovo Serbs was observed in 1982 when a group of Serbs begun to react against “perfidious pressures from state positions”, whereas Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje was their seat. The early nucleus of this group consisted of Miroslav Soljevic, Kosta Bulatovic and Boshko Budimirovic. They and their supporters organized meetings, mainly with local Socialist League, to present their concerns. Conclusions deriving from these meetings were addressed to provincial, republican and federal level. This group was consolidated and turned into power in 1985, incorporating in its organization Zoran Grujic, university lecturer and Dusan Ristic, a former senior official in Kosovo. The organization of Serbs was implemented in all areas they lived in Kosovo.¹⁵

The primary purpose Kosovo Serb organization was to stop the displacement of Serbs and the return of those who had been displaced, and therefore supported the party policy of 1981 to stop the displacement of Serbs. In fact, these were only official claims of their demands, while the real goal was not to tolerate anything Albanian, and if possible, to change the demographic structure of Kosovo. Miroslav Soljevic emphasized that Kosovo Albanian population was divided into “Albanci” and “Shiptari”. With the first he claimed the emigrants from Albania who settled in Kosovo in 1941, who had to be deported, while with the second, although an offensive name, were considered autochthonous Albanians. He went even further, making divisions on religious grounds, dividing “Albanci” and “Shiptari” into Muslims and Catholics, and that of these groups only “Shiptari” Catholics could be trusted.¹⁶ In this way, the expulsion of unfaithful measures would resolve or facilitate the resolution of the Kosovo issue. This was a sufficient indication of the true intentions of this political grouping.

During this period, the phase of organization, the manifestation of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism was done through slogans, letters and pamphlets, which often were anonymous; also some letters from chetnik organizations called Serbs “to rise up for a liberation war...”¹⁷

But this group was relatively small and powerless in Kosovo, so their demands could not be realized without the political support from Serbia. Claiming that the republican and federal circles were not aware of the true situation in Kosovo, this group, using the mediation of Serbs who had previously moved to Serbia, managed to establish contacts with Serbian political circles, achieving to meet privately then the President of Serbia, Nikola Ljubicic in 1983.¹⁸

The group’s efforts begun to take a turn for worse when they managed to establish contacts with national circles in Serbia, who gave instructions on how to work and present themselves.¹⁹ Of

although retaining its supra-party character, remained a cohesive political force of Kosovo Serbs. Bozur had the program and the statute of the organization, which contained 35 points. Its essence is related to the necessity of changing the national structure of Kosovo and its Serbification.

- 14 “Božur u Tradiciji Srba,” accessed May 10, 2018, <https://www.bastabalkana.com/2016/03/bozur-u-tradiciji-srba-crveno-cvece-natopljeno-junackom-krvlju/>.
- 15 Pavlović Momčilo, “Kosovo under Autonomy 1974-1990,” 31-33.
- 16 Zarić Zorica, “Ko Je Ovaj Čovek? Miroslav Šolević,” accessed July 4, 2018, <http://arhiva.glas-javnosti.rs/arhiva/2002/06/30/srpski/T02062902.shtml>.
- 17 Политика, March 20, 1986, 7.
- 18 Pavlović Momčilo, “Kosovo under Autonomy 1974-1990, 31-33.”
- 19 “Intervistë e Rrahman Morinë, Sekretar Krahinor i Punëve Të Brendshme, Në “Politika,” March 20, 1986, 7.

a particular interest was meeting with Dobrica Cosic, politically expelled from Communist Party in 1968 because he opposed the policy towards Kosovo. Cosic supported their claims and suggested them to use all legal remedies for complain. The Petition of October 1985 was the main act of this group. The Petition with nationalist tones was signed initially by 76 individuals: “*This is our land. If Kosovo and Metohija was not a Serbian land, then we have no land*”. In the late fall of 1985 this Petition was signed by 2.016 Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins”.²⁰

This Petition was drafted by journalists of Duga magazine Rajko and Danica Djurdjevic, supplemented by Dobrica Cosic and monk Atanasije Jetic, regardless that Kosta Bulatovic pretends to have drafted it. This Petition was addressed to republican and federal assembly, to Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and to other state institutions. This 15-point petition described the plight of Serbs and explained how this situation could be improved.

The “Petition 2016” marks the number of people that signed the original document, and after being published in newspapers this document was signed by more than 40.000 other people.²¹

Besides describing the position of Serbs in Kosovo, as were usual words about pressure, beatings, rapes, etc., the Petition included 15 claims; bellow are listed most important ones:

- A guaranty to enforce basic human rights in accordance to SFRY Constitution and other international provisions, rights that were “denied”;
- Republic of Serbia should obtain a similar statehood status as other republics in Yugoslavia;
- To discharge from republican and provincial institutions Albanian chauvinists, which were carrying on an uprising in Kosovo and to place them in front of justice;
- To reveal the names of people who drafted a genocide against Serbs in Kosovo;
- To terminate the permission of migrants from Albania who came in Kosovo in 1941;
- To cancel all agreements about the selling of Serbs property in Kosovo.²²

But, anyway, the core of this Petition laid on the following paragraph: “*About 200.000 people were displaced from Kosovo during the past 20 years and more than 700 settlements were ethnically cleansed, and the displacement continues at the same pace. Kosovo and Metohija are becoming ethnically cleansed and the aggression go beyond the provincial borders,*²³ *therefore this is a call to federal and republican bodies to take needed measures*”. But, at the same time the Petition also threatened the federal and republican bodies: “*If the Yugoslav and republican leadership was not prepared to accomplish their state and party duties, at least they should not obstruct organizing of our self-defence for freedom, honour and dignity*”.²⁴

The above-cited paragraph marks the most sensitive official or unofficial point of Serbs, because the displacement of Serbs from Kosovo and change of its demographic structure means nothing less than loosing of Kosovo, therefore the “efficient measures” would prevent it.

According to Bulatovic, who in his declarations always found reasons to attack Albanian communist leaders for unfair treatment of Serbs and their demands, the communist party leadership in Pristina had stressed that the Petition was a political pamphlet of its kind with hostile content, directed against the policy of Yugoslavian Communist Party.²⁵

The support that Kosovo Serb group found in Belgrade and the medial effect of their claims facilitated a further approach of this group with nationalist circles in Serbia. The Petition was

20 Clark Howard, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 17.

21 Stefanović Andrej, *Antibirokratska Revolucija* (Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka, 2011), 10.

22 “Илустрована Политика,” March 4, 1986, 12.

23 Biserko Sonja, *Kovanje Antijugoslovenske Zavery*, 113.

24 Meier Viktor, *Yugoslavia a History of Its Demise* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 70.

25 “Илустрована Политика,” March 4, 1986, 12.

published in “Knjizevne Novine” on 15 January 1986.²⁶ Furthermore, in January 1986 about 200 intellectuals from Belgrade signed another petition in support to Kosovo Serbs, whereas the WLS organized several meetings about the same topic.²⁷ There was not a doubt about the influence of Dobrica Cosic regarding the last petition. The most famous intellectuals that signed this petition included: Antonije Isakovic, Kosta Cavoski, Vojislav Costunica, Nebojsa Popov, Mihailo Djuric, Zagorka Golubovic, etc.²⁸

In March 1986, following a three day debate about situation and books about Kosovo, attended even by representatives of SOC, a new alliance between the intellectuals, radical groups within the Communist League of Serbia and some other politicians, was formed. These groups described themselves as the “opposition to the regime” and objected the failure to implement measures to protect Serbs in Kosovo.²⁹

By the first half of 1986 the above-mentioned alliance commenced to abuse the Serb movement in Kosovo, aiming thus to accomplish common goals. Thus, the first step includes the event when Kosta Bulatovic officially promoted the Kosovo Serb movement at the hall of SWL on 2 March 1986.³⁰ The location when the promotion was organized indicates a strong proof that Kosovo Serb movement passed under control of nationalist circles of Serbia, while on the other hand Dobrica Cosic advised them about steps to follow. “I told them that tomorrow, as they can, they should go to Dusan Ckrebic, chairman of Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He has to admit you. Lie down in front of his door”.³¹

Throughout the 1986 the Fushe Kosove/Kosovo Polje group, including newly joined Bogdan Kecman worked on union of local groups into a political force. Each activist took a responsibility regarding specific regions in Kosovo and worked to strengthen links between activists, recruitment of new activists and finding of supporters related to their initiative. Prior to this the Fushe Kosove/Kosovo Polje group managed to mobilize small groups of activists to demonstrate in an outside of Kosovo. Complaints included the lack of protection by rule of law institutions, inequality in public sector, and so on, gradually evolving towards the constitutional issue. The demonstrator claimed that Kosovo should go under control of republican authorities of Serbia if provincial institutions fail to protect Serbs of Kosovo.³² The mobilization of various groups within this community was inspired, organized, and coordinated by officials of the Milosevic regime or by Serbian nationalist intellectuals, or both. In fact, it was a basic mobilization.³³

Pushing forward its claims this group besides protests managed to travel to Belgrade in order to meet republican and federal officials. Through their appearance and physical pressure they aimed to warn the federal and republican officials about the situation in Kosovo, particularly when by the end of February 1986 the Federal Executive Council had planned to discuss about the issue of displacements of Serbs from Kosovo.³⁴

Following this strategy more than one hundred of Kosovo Serbs arrived in Belgrade on 26 February 1986. This marks first demonstration of Kosovo Serbs in Belgrade against the “pressures

26 Vickers Miranda, *Midis Serbëve Dhe Shqiptarëve*, 270.

27 Pavlović Momčilo, “Kosovo under Autonomy 1974-1990.”, 36.

28 Biserko Sonja, “Srpska Elita i Realizacija Srpskog Nacionalnog Programa.”, 106.

29 Pešić Vesna, *Ethnic Mobilization in Serbia* (MIRICO: Human and Minority Rights in the Life Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts, 2007), <http://www.eurac.edu/en/research/autonomies/minrig/Documents/Mirico/Serbia%20Report%20WEB.pdf>, 10.

30 Dragović Rade, “Osma Sednica CK KP Srbije,” n.d., http://www.novosti.rs/dodatni_sadržaj/clanci.119.html:686773-Terror-nad-Srbima-na-Kosovu.

31 Biserko Sonja, *Kovanje Antijugoslovenske Zavere*, 111.

32 Pavlović Momčilo, “Kosovo under Autonomy 1974-1990.”, 34.

33 Pavlović Momčilo., 34.

34 “НИН,” March 2, 1986, 29.

from Albanians”. These Serbs in a violent manner entered into the building of Federal Parliament.³⁵ Later the workers of “Uljanik” and “Borovo” enterprises, joined them. According to Miroslav Soljevic, the plan for entrance of Kosovo Serbs into Parliament was achieved by consent of Miodrag Trifunovic, then the head of Federative Council.³⁶

Certainly, it was a secretly arranged act with the purpose to make pressure on federal bodies, particularly in the eve of the Federal Executive Council meeting, and to inform the Yugoslavian people about the awkward positions of Serbs in Kosovo. At the same time, the mentioned act paved the way for conversion of this issue from a Yugoslavian to a Serbian problem.

According to media in Serbia, who supportively observed the activities of Kosovo Serbs, they (Kosovo Serbs) had threatened with a collective displacement if the federal authorities would not take any actions regarding the claims mentioned in the Petition. Also, Serbian topics or complaints were repeated about displacement, sale of property, violence by Albanians, beatings and rapes, inefficiency of the security organs, but also emphasizes that the Albanian flag hinders them during weddings or the construction of houses. Furthermore, Kosovo Serbs repeated their complaints about displacement, sale of estate property, violence caused by Albanians, beatings and rapes, failure of rule of law authorities, but also emphasized that the Albanian flag during the parties hinders them, or they have been hindered by construction of Albanian houses.³⁷

Besides to consolidation as a movement, the second quarter of 1986 highlighted the aggressiveness of the movement. On 2 April 1986 Kosta Bulatovic has been arrested and charged with a “Hostile propaganda”. About 20.000 Serbs gathered in front of his house in Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje. It was a very fragile situation.³⁸ The arrest of Bulatovic was considered as a provocation to Serbs because it happened on the same day with the anniversary of League of Prizren.³⁹ The Kosovo Serbs protested throughout Kosovo. However, this was just a prank because in Albanian historiography the League of Prizren was not established in April but in June. Bulatovic was released. But, to calm the situation down, Ivan Stambolic, then the chairman of Central Committee of Serbia Communist League and later the chairman of Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency, visited Fushe Kosove/Kosovo Polje. He tried to calm the situation among Serbs by using the usual communist rhetoric which opposed Serbian nationalism. This visit did not bring what the Kosovo Serbs wanted, and according to them “the incidents continued, the displacement of Serbs continued with perhaps higher intensity”.⁴⁰

In fact, the Serbian movement was interested to find a leader that would push forward the Serbian issue. According to Soljevic: “Ivan Stambolic had a chance to become a leader of Serbs, but he didn’t use this opportunity. For another year long we got revolted, we shouted, got pushed, faced injustices, pressures, but anyway nothing achieved...”⁴¹

During the period July-November 1986 the Kosovo Serb movement exercised a special pressure on federal institutions through their presence in Belgrade and by organization of various political events.⁴²

35 “НИИ.”

36 Ast Slobodanka, “Miroslav Šolević: Režim Nas Je Iskoristio,” *Vreme*, September 18, 1999; Vickers Miranda, *Midis Serbëve Dhe Shqiptarëve*, 270.

37 “Илустрована Политика,” March 4, 1986, 12.

38 Dragović Rade, “Osma Sednica CK KP Srbije.”

39 The League of Prizren was an [Albanian](#) political organization officially founded on June 10, 1878 in the old town of [Prizren](#), in the [Kosovo Vilayet](#) of the [Ottoman Empire](#), and suppressed in 1881. The main aims of the League was to establish an Albanian autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire in Balkans and to struggle in arms to defend the wholeness of the territories of Albania.

40 Stefanović Andrej, *Antibirokratska Revolucija*, 10-11.

41 Ast Slobodanka, “Miroslav Šolević: Režim Nas Je Iskoristio.”

42 Dragović Rade, “Osma Sednica CK KP Srbije.”

The pressure of Kosovo Serbs was continuous and persistent. It was intensified during the first half of 1987, respectively in June, when the ninth meeting of Central Committee of Communist League of Yugoslavia was planned. This meeting had to elaborate the ideological-political issues in the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province. While preparing this meeting the Federal Secretary Office during the May-June received some information from Kosovo Internal Affairs Office and from Serbia Internal Affairs Office about possible appearance in Belgrade of a number of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins or their gatherings in some points in Kosovo in the eve of above-mentioned meeting. Another daily report released by Kosovo Internal Affairs Office, of 8 June 1987, included the propaganda on local Serbs for a massive travel to Belgrade. It was said that Kosta Bulatovic was visiting villages in Gilani neighbourhood in support of the above-mentioned goal.⁴³ The first representatives of Serbs arrived in Belgrade on 22 June. It was decided that a gathering of Kosovo Serbs in Belgrade to happen on 26 June, at the same day when the Central Committee of Yugoslavian Communist League will start its meeting. According to news of 26 June 1987 a large number of Serbs and Montenegrins arrived in Belgrade using the railway line Prizren-Belgrade. While staying at the railway station they have been recorded by TV Belgrade journalist, by Ranko Milosavljevic- newspaper "Politika", newspaper Routers, etc. Some people that arrived in Belgrade had declared in front of media that they come in Belgrade to support the Yugoslavian Communist League to solve "the Kosovo issue properly". They said they were decisive to stay in Belgrade until the meeting of Central Committee League of Yugoslavia ended.⁴⁴

Furthermore, on the same day while staying at the park "Pionir" the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins were visited by Vojislav Seselj, writers Milan Komnenic and Miodrag Bulatovic. At about 14:00 hrs a delegation of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins that had a talk with federal officials came back to the park. Miroslav Soljevic informed gathered people that he was satisfied with the talks and later an official statement will be released. Regardless this positive attitude, during the evening hours another delegation was formed to talk with federal bodies. This talks ended before the midnight. But, no one from delegation wanted to address to 1000 gathered people to inform them about the result of the talks. Kosta Bulatovic and Miroslav Soljevic argued about who should address them. As no one wanted to address to gathered people, Jovica Vuckovic from Belgrade, member of a delegation, did it. He, among other things, ironically stressed that during the talks "it was said that destructive elements were within the citizens of Kosovo" and that the federal officials asked gathered people to leave. At the end he added: "They do not have the power to listen us and they asked us to leave in order to avoid serious incidents".⁴⁵

The chronological description of the events and the stay in the park indicates that the group of Serbs and Montenegrins was abused by Soljevic and Bulatovic. They both, supported by some other activists, mobilized Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and sent them to Belgrade in order to make pressures on federal bodies.

Conclusion

The mobilisation of Serbs started right after the Tito's death when higher scientific, literary and theological institutions begun to initiate a cause for protection of Serbs against the Albanian "genocide". Such a cause was accepted as real by provincial, republican and federal political levels. The nationalist hysteria of Serbs will become a determinant factor for raise of extreme figures on the power in Serbia. Such a case was Milosevic – the man who caused and directed the crime and genocide in Yugoslavia.

43 "Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Fondi: Centralni Komitet Komunistički Lige, Škatla 872-KOSOVO," n.d.

44 "Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Fondi: Centralni Komitet Komunistički Lige, Škatla 872-KOSOVO."

45 "Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Fondi: Centralni Komitet Komunistički Lige, Škatla 872-KOSOVO."

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