

TEACHING MODERN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN HISTORY
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

WORKBOOK 2

Nations and States in Southeast Europe



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Alternative Educational Materials

Nations and States in Southeast Europe

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WORKBOOK 2

Nations and States in Southeast Europe

Edited by

MIRELA-LUMINIȚA MURGESCU

Series editor

CHRISTINA KOULOURI

SECOND EDITION

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Introduction

Nations are one of the basic constituents of modern Europe and also of significant parts of the non-European world. Since the 19th century, the force of nationalist ideologies has shaped the actions of large groups of people and also the functioning of states. Southeast Europe is not an exception in this respect. During the 19th century, five nation-states emerged in the region. Some were entirely new states, established in territories which had previously been under direct Ottoman rule: Serbia (the struggle for liberation started in 1804, statehood was obtained gradually between 1815 and 1830 and it became formally independent in 1878), Greece (the struggle for liberation started in 1821 and its independence was obtained in 1830), and Bulgaria (anti-Ottoman rebellion occurred in 1876, statehood was obtained in 1878, and its independence in 1908). Others emerged from Christian vassal-states of the Ottoman Empire, such as Romania (created through the union of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, it became independent in 1877/1878) and Montenegro (an autonomous territory ruled by prince-bishops since the 18th century, it was transformed into a hereditary principality in 1852 and it obtained its independence in 1878). Two other nation-states emerged in the early 20th century: Albania in 1912/1913, as a consequence of the Balkan Wars, and Turkey in the context of the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I (it was a *de facto* national government since 1919, and was proclaimed the Republic of Turkey in 1923). Cyprus, a British Crown colony, became an independent state in 1960, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 brought about the emergence of several new states: Slovenia, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbia and Montenegro formed a federation, which was reorganised in 2002. In 2006, Serbia and Montenegro separated into two independent states.

Of course, nation-states were, and still are, not the only form of statehood in Southeast Europe. Multi-national empires and other forms of multiethnic states have also existed, while various nations have lived for long time spans without having their own state. Nevertheless, the complex relationship between nations and states shaped the history of the region, and nation-states became one of the basic features of Southeast Europe. In spite of the fact that these nation-states are relatively recent in comparison to some other European states such as France, Spain or Britain (it is noteworthy, however, that both Serbia and Greece emerged as nation-states before Italy or Germany), their endangered existence and the ensuing national conflicts that occurred are considered to be crucial to the whole historical evolution of Southeast Europe during the last two centuries.

For most people living in Southeast Europe, the ethnically defined nation-state has become the 'normal' form of state organisation. People were taught to identify themselves with 'their' nation, and to fight for the establishment/defence of their nation-state. Because the Southeast European nation-states have emerged quite recently, both historians and politicians have tried to enhance their legitimacy by connecting them to ancient and/or medieval states, which would thus provide an 'anteriority' argument (i.e. 'we were chronologically the first ones...') in the ideological competition with actual or potential rival nations. Under these circumstances, the whole history of each people has often been considered as being basically a struggle for national ideals, which has led teleologically to the achievement of the nation-state. All historical moments, characters, and processes were evaluated according to their contribution to the fulfilment of the national ideal. Such distorted historical master-narratives were used to build up national cohesion and to bolster the attempt to modernise society. The record of these modernising efforts combines significant successes and utter failures, and the Southeast European nation-states have to take the responsibility for all the items included in this historical balance-sheet. Nevertheless, it is obvious that historical narratives were also sometimes misused in order to

mobilise the people against the various internal and/or external enemies, whether real or simply imaginary. As proven by the recent experience of ex-Yugoslavia, such a political misuse of history has been instrumental in the commencement of wars and cycles of hatred among the various nations and ethnic groups.

Nationalism studies have progressed significantly in recent times. Historians and social scientists have investigated both the structural components of the nation-states, and their historical evolution. Several theories on the nature of nations and nationalism have been formulated; ranging from essentialist ethno-centrism to constructivist approaches, which argue that nations are only mental constructs 'invented', rather recently. Although this continues to be the subject of vigorous debate, there is a growing consensus among scholars that 'nations' and national identities are not 'eternal entities', but historically evolved phenomena, which have emerged in particular historical contexts and are subject, over time, to evolutions, discontinuities, episodes of construction, de-construction and re-construction. Modern nationalisms have often used older ethnic sensibilities and symbols, added new meanings to them, combined them with new elements, and put them in new mental and ideological frameworks. In this respect, modern nations are indeed, as it has been formulated by Benedict Anderson, 'imagined communities' (please note that 'imagined' does not mean 'fictitious'). This pattern is not particular to Southeast Europe. It is a common feature of the modern world.

Besides this basic consensus on the 'creation' of modern nations, historians have debated and acquired fresh knowledge on the general patterns and the features which have shaped the various nation-states. In the particular case of Southeast Europe, nation-states emerged rather late compared with some other parts of Europe. Long and complicated liberation struggles had to be fought either against surviving multi-national empires, or against rival nation-states. Therefore, forms of nationalism predated the creation of nation-states. Nevertheless, these older sets of national values did not suffice for the functioning of the new states and, as a result, the new political and cultural elites undertook efforts to model their citizens based on nationalistic values. Such an effort of state-led nation-building was not a Southeast European particularity. On the contrary, such policies had already been undertaken earlier and even more ruthlessly in parts of Western Europe. Eugen Weber's celebrated book *Peasants into Frenchmen* demonstrates that, even in France, most of the rural population began to define itself in national terms only during the 19th century, under the impact of primary education, of compulsory military service, and of modern communications.

The relationship between nations and religions proved to be particularly complicated. For large numbers of Southeast Europeans, religious affiliation was and remained crucial, as was the case with Orthodoxy for the Greeks and the Serbians, or with Catholicism for the Croats. For others, such as the Albanians, religion was less important, and the nation encompassed people with various religious affiliations without major difficulties. Other specific problems, for example, the relationship between nations and linguistic identities, are also briefly discussed in this Workbook.

The basic aim of this Workbook is to provide both teachers and pupils with historical evidence which could help them to understand better the complexity of the relationship between nations and states in Southeast Europe. In order to keep the Workbook within reasonable limits, and to provide a user-friendly tool for teachers, pupils and scholars, we nevertheless had to decide on the priorities. We decided to focus mainly on the creation of nation-states, on issues of nation-building, on national ideologies and on some of the conflicts fostered by nationalism. These options, in regard to content, also influenced the chronological limits in the search for relevant sources. This Workbook focuses mainly on the 19th century, but we have nevertheless decided to include several historical sources on the pre-1800 Enlightenment and on Southeast European echoes of the French Revolution, which were instrumental in the rise of national movements in Southeast Europe. We have also included a number of historical sources from the 20th century, with the aim of documenting the rise of new nation-states, the new evolution in the relations between nations and states, the contribution of nationalism in the unfolding of several conflicts, and also some of the constituents of the trend to overcome nationalism.

Nonetheless, we have tried to avoid overlapping with the other Workbooks included in this project, which deal in depth and detail with the Balkan Wars and with World War II. For the post World War II period, we focused mainly on former Yugoslavia and on the conflicts which led to the emergence of new ex-Yugoslav nation-states in the 1990s. We are aware that aspects in the evolution of 20th century nationalisms are under-represented or missing entirely. The most significant absences concern the zenith of nationalist ideologies and discrimination in the interwar period, or the specific brands of Yugoslav, Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian national-Communisms. The complexity of these topics would have required the inclusion of a large number of additional sources. Having taken into consideration the fact that this Workbook was already too long in comparison with the other three in the project, we decided to leave these topics for another separate undertaking.

We hope that bringing evidence from all the Southeast European countries will also fill a gap in the mutual knowledge between the people in this region. Indeed, most of the Southeast European peoples have learned more about their own nation and about the “major” nations of the (Western) world, and have hence neglected or have received only biased information about their neighbours. Through the materials included in this Workbook, we intend to encourage teachers and pupils to compare the history of their own country with that of other Southeast European countries, to discover both common patterns and elements which were specific to some countries, or to some historic periods, and to understand the complexity of historical change. Obviously, we could not include materials from all countries on all aspects of the relationship between nations and states during the last two centuries. We had to make choices, some of them determined by the availability of relevant sources, others determined by the effort to keep a certain balance and to allow all of the Southeast European nations and states to be represented in the Workbook. In spite of all our efforts, we are aware that some readers might still feel that we should have also included other texts. If this is the case, this Workbook will have achieved one of its aims, that of encouraging teachers, pupils and also professional historians to devote a fresh look at the complexities of the historical relationship between nations and states in Southeast Europe.

We are convinced that a more balanced and evidence-grounded vision of the history of the Southeast European nation-states will help new generations to be more tolerant towards other nations and/or ethnic groups, and more open towards contemporary evolutions. It is up to them, and up to us, to make informed rational choices among the various alternatives, and to adapt to the challenges of the emerging historical processes, which are already shaping the new relationships between individuals, communities, nation-states, supra-national organisations and institutions.

Chronology

Year	Event
1762	Paisiy Hiledarski writes the <i>Slav-Bulgarian History</i> , through which he appeals for national self-awareness.
1768-1774	Russian-Ottoman war; Greek revolt encouraged by Russia (1770-74).
1797	Draft constitution of the 'Hellenic Republic' written by Rigas Velestinlis.
1797	French occupation of Venice; division of Venetian territories between France and the Habsburgs through the Treaty of Campo Formio: the Habsburgs occupy Dalmatia, while France acquires the Ionian Islands (French rule till 1799).
1800-1807	'The Ionian Republic', vassal state of the Ottoman Empire; British occupation in 1807, and then a British protectorate until 1864.
1804-1813	First Serbian Revolt, led by Karadjordje; suppressed by the Ottomans.
1805-1813	Large parts of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slovenia under the rule of Napoleon (Illyrian provinces); after Napoleon's defeat, these territories are restored as Austrian provinces.
1806-1812	Russian-Ottoman war; through the peace Treaty of Bucharest, eastern Moldavia (Bessarabia) is annexed by Russia.
1814	Creation in Odessa of the secret society 'Filiki Etairia' (Friendly Society), with the goal of liberating Greece from the Ottomans.
1815	Second Serbian Revolt, led by Milosh Obrenovic; in December 1815 the sultan recognises Milosh as supreme knez of the Serbs in the Belgrade pachalik.
1821	Wallachian revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu; Greek revolution starting with the invasion of Moldavia by a small Greek army led by Alexandros Ypsilanti, followed by a rebellion spreading from the Peloponnese to other areas.
1822	The Greek National Assembly at Epidaurus proclaims the Hellenic Republic and votes on the first Greek constitution.
1826	Sultan Mahmud II liquidates the janissaries, and thus clears the way for reforms in the Ottoman Empire.
1827	Britain, France and Russia openly support the Greeks; an allied fleet defeats the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet at Navarino.
1828-1829	Russian-Ottoman war; the Russians occupy Moldavia and Wallachia.
1829	Peace treaty at Adrianople (Edirne); Serbia is recognised as vassal principality, with Milosh Obrenovich as prince; Wallachia and Moldavia remain under Ottoman suzerainty, but are also placed under Russian protection.
1830	London Protocol-Greece is declared an independent monarchy, under the joint guarantee of Britain, France and Russia.

Year	Event
1831-1832	The Organic Regulations, adopted in Wallachia and Moldavia under Russian supervision; 'conservative modernisation', preserves the power of the princes and of the boyars.
1832	The Convention of London establishes the boundaries of the Greek state and decides that Otto, second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, should become hereditary King of Greece.
1834	Athens replaces Nafplion as capital city of Greece.
1835	Serbian Constitution (sanctioned by the sultan in 1838); limits the power of the prince in favour of an elected senate.
1837	Foundation of the University of Athens and the Archaeological Society.
1839	Hatt-I sherif of Gülhane; official start of the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire.
1841	Foundation of the National Bank of Greece.
1843-1844	Greece becomes a constitutional monarchy with introduction of almost universal male suffrage.
1830-1848	Period of intense nationalistic movements in the Austrian Empire, with special emphasis on the struggle to obtain official status for the national languages; within this framework, the Croatian National Revival (Illyrian Movement) struggles for the Croatian language (officialised in 1847) and for an autonomous Croatia in the Austrian Empire, while in Transylvania the Romanians clash with the Hungarians on national grounds.
1848-1849	Revolutions throughout Europe, including the Austrian Empire and the Romanian Principalities; the revolutionaries combine political, social and national demands; national divisions generate conflicts between the Hungarian, Croat and Romanian revolutionaries; the revolutions are heavily suppressed by the Ottomans and Austrians who are supported by Russia.
1850	Autocephaly of the Greek Church, (already declared in 1833), is granted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1852	Danilo I Petrovic (1851-1860) transforms Montenegro from a bishopric to a secular principality and begins a programme of modernisation.
1853-1856	Crimean War; Russia defeated by the combined forces of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, France and Sardinia; through the peace Treaty of Paris, Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia are placed under the collective protection of the Great Powers.
1858	Convention of Paris; the Great Powers reorganise Moldavia and Wallachia as separate states, but under the common label United Principalities.
1859	Double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia; gradual institutional unification of the two Principalities until 1862; establishment of the modern Romanian state.
1860	Foundation of the University of Iași (followed in 1864 by the University of Bucharest).

Year	Event
1862	A revolution forces Otto I to leave Greece.
1863	The Danish Prince George of Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg is elected to become King George I (1863-1913) in Greece; a new Constitution (1864) makes the people subjects of the Crown and the sovereign state; the Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by Great Britain. Massive secularisation of church properties in Romania; conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1866	Alexandru Ioan Cuza is forced to abdicate; the German prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becomes prince of Romania (1866-1914, king from 1881); the Constitution of 1866 establishes the constitutional monarchy and guarantees civil rights and liberties, but establishes a restrictive census (property) based voting system.
1867	Dualistic agreement: establishment of Austria-Hungary; Slovenia and the Bukovina remain parts of Austria, while Transylvania and Croatia are integrated into the kingdom of Hungary; through a special agreement (1868), Croatia keeps a certain degree of autonomy within Hungary; nevertheless, Hungarian centralism and assimilation policies generate widespread dissatisfaction among the Romanians and the Croats.
1869	The Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee, headed by Lyuben Karavelov, is established in Romania.
1870	Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate through an Ottoman decree; the Bulgarians obtain an ecclesiastical organisation separate from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, although not yet a separate state.
1872	Anti-nationalist decision of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, which condemns the definition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to ethnicity as schismatic.
1875	Anti-Ottoman uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina; beginning of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878.
1876	April uprising of the Bulgarians, fiercely suppressed by the Ottomans; Serbia and Montenegro declare war on the Ottoman Empire, but are defeated; mounting international pressure and internal turbulence lead the Ottoman authorities to issue the first Ottoman Constitution, which grants full and equal rights to all Ottoman subjects, but also declares the empire to be "an indivisible whole".
1877	The Central Committee for the Defence of the rights of the Albanian People is created in Istanbul. Russia declares war on the Ottoman Empire, and invades Bulgaria; Romania proclaims itself independent and joins the Russians; after remarkable resistance, the Ottoman army is defeated at Plevna.

Year	Event
1878	<p>Peace Treaty of San Stefano (3 March); after intervention by Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, the congress of Berlin concludes with a new peace treaty (1 July): Romania, Serbia and Montenegro are recognised as independent states; Bulgaria is divided into the vassal principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia; Romania receives Dobrudja in exchange for southern Bessarabia, surrendered to Russia; Serbia and Montenegro also receive modest territorial increases; Bosnia-Herzegovina is placed under Austrian-Hungarian administration; through a separate Ottoman-British convention, Cyprus is put under British rule (4 June 1878).</p> <p>Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) suspends the Constitution of December 1876, dissolves the Parliament, and rules autocratically until 1908.</p> <p>Albanian League of Prizren formulates the national programme.</p>
1879	The Turnovo Constitution in Bulgaria establishes a constitutional monarchy; first prince: Alexander of Battenberg (1879-1886).
1880	Foundation of the National Bank of Romania.
1881	Thessaly and the Arta region of Epirus ceded to Greece by the Ottoman Empire, according to Berlin Treaty.
1885	Union of Eastern Rumelia with the Bulgarian Principality; the attempt by Serbia to obtain compensation is defeated in a Serbian-Bulgarian war (1885-1886).
1886	Political crisis in Bulgaria; Prince Alexander of Battenberg abdicates; Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.
1887	The Bulgarians elect Ferdinand of Saxa-Coburg-Gotha as prince (1887-1918).
1893	Creation of the IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation).
1896	First international Olympic Games in Athens.
1903	<p>Coup in Serbia; King Alexander I Obrenovic and his family are killed; Peter I Karadjordjevic (1903-1921) becomes king; increasing nationalist orientation of Serbian policy.</p> <p>Ilinden uprising in Macedonia defeated by Ottomans.</p>
1907	Serious peasant rebellion in Romania.
1908	Young Turk revolution in the Ottoman Empire; the Constitution of 1876 is restored and elections are organised for the Ottoman Parliament; Bulgaria proclaims itself independent; Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina ('Bosnian crisis' with Serbia and Russia).
1911-1912	Italian-Ottoman war; Italy conquers the Dodecanese Islands (as well as Libya).
1912-1913	Balkan Wars; the Ottoman Empire loses most of its European territories to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro; Albania is proclaimed independent (28 November 1912); Macedonia is divided between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece; Southern Dobrudja is annexed by Romania from Bulgaria.

Year	Event
1914	Prince William of Wied accepts the throne as King of Albania offered by the Great Powers.
1915	The beginning of the forced deportation of all Ottoman Armenians (April). On 6 October 1915, Vincent Bryce, speaking in the House of Lords, said that "around 800,000" Armenians were also estimated to have been massacred in the process. Since then the question of genocide has been a subject of controversy, especially in Turkey.
1914-1918	World War I; the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by Serbian nationalists in Sarajevo becomes the pretext for the war; with the exception of Albania, which was nevertheless occupied, all Southeast European states participated in the war: Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire (from 1914) and Bulgaria (from 1915) on the side of the Central Powers; Serbia, Montenegro (from 1914), Romania (from 1916) and Greece (from 1917, in spite of the opposition of King Constantine) on the side of the Entente.
1917	The Serbian government and the (mainly emigrant) Croatian Governmental London Committee agree, in the Corfu Declaration, to build a common Yugoslav state.
1917-1918	Within the context of the Russian Revolution, a democratic republic is proclaimed in Bessarabia, and the Assembly votes in favour of union with Romania (27 March 1918).
1918	Collapse of the Central Powers; capitulation of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire; disintegration of Austria-Hungary; the Romanians of Bukovina and Transylvania join Romania; the southern parts of former Austria-Hungary are proclaimed a State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs; Vojvodina and Sirmium join Serbia; the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs decide to unite with Serbia in forming the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1919-1920	Peace conference in Paris; the Treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (with Austria), Neuilly (with Bulgaria) and Trianon (with Hungary) establish new frontiers in Southeast Europe; the Banat is divided between Romania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; western Thrace is surrendered by Bulgaria to Greece; Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, later also Bulgaria and Turkey have to sign special treaties safeguarding the rights of the national minorities within their boundaries.
1919	Greek invasion of western Asia Minor (Smyrna), authorised by France, Britain and US as a counterweight to Italian expansion in the region; attempts of the Kurds and Armenians to establish their own nation-states; beginning of the Turkish national resistance in Asia Minor; leader: Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later named Atatürk).
1920	Peace Treaty of Sevres; Sultan Mehmed VI accepts the practical disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (loss of the Arab Lands, of Armenia and of Thrace; referendum in Smyrna after five years of Greek administration; option for independence for Kurdistan; spheres of influence for Great Britain, France and Italy in Asia Minor); the Turkish nationalists refuse to accept the treaty and crush the Armenians and the Kurds.
1922	Turkish victory over the Greek army; Turkish troops take control of Smyrna/Izmir, Constantinople/Istanbul and eastern Thrace.

Year	Event
1923	Peace Treaty at Lausanne; compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Demise of the Ottoman Empire and official proclamation of the Republic of Turkey; Stambuliski and Agrarians are massacred in Bulgaria.
1924	Abolition of monarchy and establishment of the First Greek Republic.
1928	Croat political leader Stjepan Radic killed during a session of the Yugoslav Parliament in Belgrade by a Serbian nationalist deputy from Montenegro.
1929	The New York Stock exchange crashes. Global depression and economic crisis. Balkan economies resolve to their own economic resources in a system of greater state interventionism.
1934	Alexander of Yugoslavia is murdered in Marseilles, along with French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou by a member of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization with the aid of Croatian Ustasha nationalists.
1939	Albania occupied by Italy.
1939-1945	World War II; in 1940 Romania loses Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union, southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, and northern Transylvania to Hungary (the latter recovered in 1944); in 1941 Yugoslavia and Greece are occupied by the Axis powers; an "Independent State of Croatia" is formed as the puppet fascist state on the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (until 1945); partisan movements in Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania; Bulgaria and Romania are allied to the Axis powers against the United Nations, and in 1944 are occupied by the Soviet army; at the end of the war, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia come under communist control, while Greece and Turkey do not.
1943-1946	Yugoslavia is reorganised as a federation of 6 republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina, both as parts of Serbia); according to the Constitution of 1946 federal leadership is very strong, and additionally strengthened by the crucial role of the centralised Yugoslav Communist Party (since 1952, League of Communists of Yugoslavia).
1946-1949	Greek civil war
1950	Informal referendum of the Greek Cypriots demanding union with Greece; the British refuse.
1955	Beginning of the armed anti-British struggle in Cyprus.
1958	Serious inter-ethnic violence in Cyprus
1959	Agreements between Britain, Greece and Turkey regarding the establishment of an independent state of Cyprus, shared by Greek and Turkish Cypriots.
1960	Establishment of independent Republic of Cyprus.

Year	Event
1963	New federal constitution in Yugoslavia; increased responsibilities for the republics, as well as separation of party and state offices; relative liberalisation and strengthening of republican officials allows for an upsurge of nationalism, especially in Kosovo and Croatia ('Croatian Spring'), which is suppressed by Tito in 1972. Inter-ethnic violence in Cyprus leads to withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from government.
1967	The Colonels' Dictatorship in Greece.
1974	New Yugoslav constitution; more autonomy for Yugoslav republics.
1974	Greek military coup in Cyprus, aimed at union with Greece; occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish troops. Restoration of democracy in Greece.
1980	Death of Tito; the economy deteriorates; in spite of a rotation system, the legitimacy of the federal institutions in Yugoslavia gradually diminishes.
1981	Greece becomes a member of the European Community.
1983	Proclamation of a 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', recognised only by Turkey, condemned by UN Security Council Resolution.
1987	Slobodan Milosevic comes to power in Serbia.
1989	Fall of communism in Eastern Europe; peaceful replacement of Todor Jivkov in Bulgaria, and violent revolution in Romania; establishment of democratic multi-party political systems and transition to market economies.
1991-1992	Dissolution of Yugoslavia; establishment of independent nation-states: Slovenia, Croatia (in 1991); Bosnia/Herzegovina, FYR of Macedonia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in 1992.
1991	Transition to a multi-party political system in Albania. Dissolution of the Soviet Union; Bessarabia becomes independent (Republic of Moldova). Reorganisation of the European Community into the European Union (Treaty of Maastricht).
1991-1995	War between Serbs and Croats in Croatia with heavy involvement of the Yugoslav army.
1992-1995	War in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with heavy involvement of the Yugoslav army, and later of Serbia.
1994-1999	Decisions of the European Union to begin accession negotiations with the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.
1995	Dayton/Paris agreements on Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1996	Romanian-Hungarian treaty, fostering the improvement of both inter-state and inter-ethnic relations.

Year	Event
1998	War in Kosovo between the (Albanian) Kosovo Liberation Army and the Yugoslav army.
1999	NATO war against Yugoslavia; President Slobodan Milosevic forced to surrender Kosovo, which is placed under the administration of the United Nations.
2000	Successful revolution in Yugoslavia against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic; beginning of the transition to a democratic political system.
2000-2001	Armed conflict between security forces of the FYR of Macedonia and NLA (National Liberation Army). Under international mediation, an agreement ends the warfare and the constitution is changed, safeguarding the rights of the Albanians and the other minorities in the FY Republic of Macedonia (2001).
2002	Provisional agreement between Serbia and Montenegro, establishing a provisional continuation of the Federation, with the possibility of separation after three years.
2003	First free communication between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus since 1974, as a result of the opening of the Green Line that divided them.
2004	Referendum in Cyprus regarding the Annan Plan of reunification; approved by the Turkish Cypriots, but rejected by the Greek Cypriots. Slovenia and Cyprus (effectively only including areas under Greek Cypriot control) join the European Union; Bulgaria and Romania are scheduled for 2007; Croatia begins accession negotiations.
2005	Croatia and Turkey start accession negotiations with the EU.
2006	Montenegro becomes independent, separating from Serbia; the FYR of Macedonia becomes a candidate country for EU membership.
2007	Bulgaria and Romania join the EU.
2008	Kosovo declares independence; the Serbian Assembly annuls the decision for independence issued by the Kosovo Assembly.

Map 1: Emergence of the Modern Balkan States (1804-1862)



