

THE BALKANS
IN OUR TIME

By

Robert Lee Wolff

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, Massachusetts

1974

CONTENTS

Author's Note: July 1973	xvii
Preface to the 1956 Edition	xix
PART I. BEFORE 1939	
1 The Purpose and Scope of This Book	3
2 The Scene: A Description of the Balkan Countries	10
1. <i>Geography: the Land</i>	10
2. <i>The Impact of Geography on History</i>	18
3 The Characters, in the Order of Their Appearance: The Peoples of the Balkans	25
1. <i>Illyrians and Albanians</i>	25
2. <i>Thracians, Dacians, Romans, Rumanians, and Vlachs</i>	31
3. <i>Asians and Slavs</i>	37
4. <i>Minorities: Magyars, Germans, Jews, Turks</i>	41
4 The Legacy of Dead Empires: From the Fourth Century to the Eighteenth	50
1. <i>Byzantium</i>	50
BYZANTIUM AND THE BULGARIANS • BYZANTIUM AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC WEST • BYZANTIUM AND THE SERBS	
2. <i>The Ottoman Empire</i>	55
THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE • THE TURKISH ADVANCE IN EUROPE • OTTOMAN INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO BYZANTINE INSTI- TUTIONS: THE ROLE OF THE BALKAN PEOPLES • WEAKNESS AND DECLINE	
3. <i>The Subject Peoples</i>	61
THE GREEKS • PHANARIOT INFLUENCE AND RULE IN THE PRINCIPALI- TIES • SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO • BULGARIA • CONDITIONS IN THE BALKANS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE PEOPLE	
4. <i>The Habsburg Regions. Croatia and Ragusa</i>	67
5 National Awakening and the Achievement of Independ- ence: From the Eighteenth Century through World War I	69
1. <i>Austrians, Russians, and the Subject Peoples, 1683-1791</i>	69
2. <i>National Consciousness</i>	71

3. *The South-Slav Movement toward Liberty, 1804-1875* 74
4. *The Freeing of Rumania* 79
5. *The Freeing of Bulgaria* 82
6. *From the Congress of Berlin to the Formation of the Balkan League (1878-1912)* 85
7. *The Albanian National Awakening* 91
8. *The Balkan Wars and the Albanian Frontiers* 92
9. *Croatia and Bosnia to 1914* 95
10. *The First World War and the Territorial Settlements* 97

6 From the First World War to the Second

101

1. *Social Structure and Political Expression* 101
 THE RULING GROUPS AND THEIR POLITICAL PARTIES • THE PEASANTS AND THE "PEASANT" PARTIES: RUMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA • THE WORKERS AND THE MARXIST PARTIES: YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA, RUMANIA • POLITICAL FORMATIONS OF THE RIGHT: THE IRON GUARD, THE USTASHA MOVEMENT, IMRO, SLOVENE CLERICALS
2. *Internal Politics* 120
 YUGOSLAVIA • RUMANIA • BULGARIA • ALBANIA
3. *Balkan Territorial Issues* 143
 TRANSYLVANIA • BESSARABIA • MACEDONIA • KOSSOVO • "NORTHERN EPIRUS" • ISTRIA • CARINTHIA • VOYVODINA
4. *The Little Entente and the Balkan Entente* 157

7 The Balkan Economy

159

1. *Small Holdings and "Land Reform"* 161
2. *Diversification, Communications, Irrigation, Education* 165
3. *Coöperation* 170
4. *Collectivization* 176
5. *Emigration, Industrialization* 179
6. *Conclusion* 187

PART II. SINCE 1939

8 The War Years

191

1. *From the Outbreak of War to the German Attack on the USSR. September 1939-June 1941* 191
 THE FRAGMENTATION OF RUMANIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES • MUSSOLINI'S FAILURE IN GREECE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES
2. *Occupation and Resistance (1): Yugoslavia and Albania, Spring 1941-Winter 1943* 201
 THE DISMEMBERMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA • RESISTANCE IN YUGOSLAVIA: MIHAILOVICH AND TITO • PARTISAN OPERATIONS AND ALLIED POLICY;

- AVNOJ • SLOVENIA, MONTENEGRO, MACEDONIA • ALBANIA • CONCLUSION
3. *Occupation and Resistance (2): Yugoslavia and Albania from the end of 1943 to the liberation of southeast Europe in the fall of 1944* 223
- TITO AND STALIN • THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, THE ALLIES, AND THE RESISTANCE • THE ATTACK ON DRVAR, THE TITO-SHUBASHICH NEGOTIATIONS, THE PROBLEM OF SERBIA • TITO AND CHURCHILL • THE LAST PHASE OF THE FIGHTING • ALBANIA
4. *The Axis Balkan Satellites in the War, June 1941–September 1944* 234
- RUMANIA • BULGARIA
5. *The Great Powers and Southeast Europe* 248
- THE MILITARY DECISIONS • THE POLITICAL DECISIONS, DECEMBER 1941–SPRING 1944 • CHURCHILL IN MOSCOW, OCTOBER 1944: THE “PERCENTAGES AGREEMENT” • THE GREEK CIVIL WAR AND THE YALTA MEETING

9 The Communists Take Over: Balkan Politics from the Fall of 1944 to June 1948

267

1. *Politics at Home* 267

YUGOSLAVIA: THE CONSTITUTIONAL STEPS BY WHICH THE COMMUNIST VICTORY WAS ENSURED. THE YUGOSLAV SOVIET-MODEL POLICE STATE; THE CASES OF MIHAILOVICH AND DRAGOLYUB YOVANOVICH AND OTHERS. ZHUYOVICH AND HEBRANG: A CLUE • ALBANIA: THE COMMUNISTS FOLLOW THE YUGOSLAV MODEL. INTERNAL FACTION IN THE ALBANIAN PARTY. STALIN, TITO, AND HOXHA • RUMANIA: RETURN OF THE MUSCOVITES. THE COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN FOR POWER: ITS INSTRUMENTS AND COURSE, FALL 1944–END OF FEBRUARY 1945. VYSHINSKY INTERVENES. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS: THE COMPROMISE OF DECEMBER 1945. THE ELECTIONS OF 1946. DESTRUCTION OF THE OPPOSITION AND BIRTH OF THE RPR. THE PATRAȘCANU CASE • BULGARIA: THE PURGE. COMMUNIST TACTICS TO THE ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1945. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS TO MARCH 1946. THE COMMUNISTS WEAKEN ZVENO AND REMOVE THE MONARCHY. PETKOV'S RESISTANCE AND HIS FATE. END OF ORGANIZED OPPOSITION, AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

2. *Politics Abroad: Yugoslav Ambitions* 304

ISTRIA AND CARINTHIA. THE INCIDENT OF THE AMERICAN AIRPLANES. THE ITALIAN PEACE TREATY AND THE END OF THE “FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE.” YUGOSLAV CLAIMS TO CARINTHIA • MACEDONIA. THE IMPACT OF THE NEW GREEK CIVIL WAR. THE BLEED AGREEMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. TITO, DIMITROV, AND STALIN • THE CORFU CHANNEL CASE.

10 The Communists Take Over: The Economy of the Balkan Countries from the Fall of 1944 to June 1948 323

1. *Yugoslavia* 323
 WAR DAMAGE AND UNRRA ASSISTANCE • CURRENCY REFORM • "LAND REFORM" AND COLLECTIVIZATION • THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND AGRICULTURE • COMPULSORY DELIVERIES • NATIONALIZATION • INDUSTRIALIZATION AND INVESTMENT • RAW MATERIAL OUTPUT: GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS • POWER, CHEMICALS, TRANSPORT, PUBLIC WORKS • CONSUMER GOODS FOR EXPORT • SOURCES OF CAPITAL: THE CITIZEN, REPARATIONS, FOREIGN TRADE • "JOINT COMPANIES" • WAGES AND PRICES
2. *Albania* 338
 WAR DAMAGE AND UNRRA ASSISTANCE • "LAND REFORM" • YUGOSLAV ASSISTANCE AND "MIXED COMPANIES"
3. *Bulgaria* 341
 ADVANTAGES OVER THE OTHER BALKAN STATES • COLLECTIVIZATION AND AGRICULTURAL PLANNING • THE TWO YEAR PLAN AND INDUSTRIALIZATION • NATIONALIZATION AND PLAN-FULFILLMENT • FOREIGN TRADE
4. *Rumania* 344
 SOVIET DRAINING OF THE ECONOMY • THE OIL INDUSTRY AND THE "SOVROMS" • THE TATARESCU MEMORANDUM, NATIONALIZATION, AND PLANNING • PRODUCTION (RECOVERY) • INFLATION AND CURRENCY REFORM • "LAND REFORM" • FOREIGN TRADE

II The Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute 352

1. *The Background of the Break* 352
 SOVIET PENETRATION OF YUGOSLAV AGENCIES • SOVIET DOMINEERING • PRELIMINARY INCIDENTS • THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MARCH-MAY 1948
2. *The Break Itself* 363
 THE COMINFORM RESOLUTION • THE YUGOSLAV FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS • THE YOVANOVICH CASE • THE DANUBE CONFERENCE
3. *Pressures on Yugoslavia and Yugoslav Counterpressures* 367
 ALBANIA DENOUNCES THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS • THE FORMS OF PRESSURE TAKE SHAPE: TO THE END OF 1948 • POLITICAL WARFARE: SPONSORSHIP OF COMINFORMIST YUGOSLAVS ABROAD; THE WHITE RUSSIANS; HARASSMENT OF TITOITES ABROAD • ECONOMIC PRESSURES: THE SOVIET TRADE TREATY; THE COMECON; FAILURES OF DELIVERIES; SEVERANCE OF TRADE RELATIONS; LIQUIDATION OF THE "JOINT COMPANIES" • MILITARY PRESSURES: ESPIONAGE AND TERRORISM, FRONTIER INCIDENTS • THE YUGOSLAV COUNTERMEASURES: THE CLOSING OF THE GREEK FRONTIER AND THE NEW POLICY IN MACEDONIA; TRIESTE

4. "Titoism" in the satellites 377

GENERAL REMARKS • GOMULKA • XOXE • RAJK • THE COMINFORM STATES DENOUNCE THEIR TREATIES OF ALLIANCE; SPECIAL CASE OF THE ALBANIAN TREATY • KOSTOV • FINAL REMARKS

12 Yugoslavia Since the Break with the Cominform

391

1. Internal Politics 391

IDEOLOGICAL SOUL-SEARCHING AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE • REFORM OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT. NEW HERESY: THE DJILAS CASE • THE COURTS

2. Foreign Relations 410

WITH THE WEST. THE UNITED STATES SEES AND USES ITS OPPORTUNITY: TRADE AND AID AND MILITARY SUPPORT. GREECE, TURKEY, AND YUGOSLAVIA: THE BALKAN PACT AND MILITARY ALLIANCE. TRIESTE: THE PERSISTENT LIABILITY • WITH THE SOVIET BLOC. CONTINUATION OF PRESSURES IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. THE DANUBE COMMISSION AND THE FIRST SIGNS OF *détente*. THE TENSION EASES • WITH THE SOCIALISTS AND NEUTRALISTS. INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTERS OF TITO. BURMA, INDIA, INDONESIA

3. The Economy 429

AGRICULTURE: FAILURE OF COLLECTIVIZATION • INDUSTRY: OVER-AMBITIOUS PLANNING, LIMITED ADVANCE • FINANCE: THE BUDGET • WAGES AND PRICES • FOREIGN TRADE

13 Political Life in the Balkan Satellites since 1948

449

1. Rumania 449

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. PEOPLE'S COUNCILS, "PEOPLE'S JURORS," REDISTRICTING, ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER 1950. THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF 1952. THE "AUTONOMOUS MAGYAR REGION." THE CONSTITUTION RATIFIED, ELECTIONS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1952, FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND OF DECEMBER 1953, FOR THE SOVIETS • MINORITY POLICIES. MAGYARS, GERMANS, TARTARS, UKRAINIANS, ARMENIANS; THE "MOLDAVIAN" CAMPAIGN AND "SLAVONIZATION"; SERBS AND CROATS; JEWS • THE INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL. THE MILITIA, DEPORTATIONS, AND CONTROL OF MOVEMENT. YOUTH AND PARAMILITARY GROUPS, THE ARMY. TRIALS • INTERNAL SHIFTS AND REORGANIZATIONS. FURTHER COMMUNIST CONSOLIDATION IN 1949. MINISTRIES DIVIDED. PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. THE PURGE OF SPRING 1952. 1953: THE PURGE SUBSIDES, MINISTRIES ARE COMBINED, "COLLEGIALITY" AND REFORM OF THE PARTY; THE PATRAȘCANU TRIAL • FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. Bulgaria 474

THE RECORD OF THE 1946 SOBRANIE; REDISTRICTING, REGIONAL SOVIETS, ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER 1949, DECEMBER 1952, AND DECEMBER 1953 • THE BREAK WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE SHIPKOV CASE • THE TURKS. THE PARTY AND ITS INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL; THE KOSTOVITE PURGE. MULTIPLICATION OF MINISTRIES. THE CHERNOKOLEV CASE. THE

SOVIET "EXPERTS," DOSO, TERPESHEV AND YUGOV. LAW ON REFUGEES AND ITS MODIFICATION • THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT • FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. *Albania* 489

ELECTIONS • PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. MULTIPLICATION OF MINISTRIES; THE PENAL CODE. 1953-1954: COMBINATION OF MINISTRIES. NEW PARTY STATUTE. SHEHU REPLACES HOXHA. INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL. THE RUSSIANS. TRIALS • FOREIGN RELATIONS

14 The Balkan Satellite Economies since 1948

497

1. *Rumania. The plans and published evidence* 497

AGRICULTURE. COLLECTIVIZATION AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL POLICIES, AND THEIR RESULTS; THE NEW COURSE OF AUGUST 1953; PLANTING POLICIES AND YIELDS; IRRIGATION AND THE DOBRUDJA FORESTATION PROJECT • INDUSTRY: FORCED DRAFT EXPANSION, PLAN-FULFILLMENT, THE NEW COURSE. ELECTRIFICATION, THE DANUBE-BLACK SEA CANAL, OIL, COAL, IRON AND STEEL, MACHINE-INDUSTRY, OTHERS; TRANSPORT; THE SOV-ROMS MULTIPLY • FINANCE. THE CURRENCY "REFORMS" OF 1952 AND 1954; THE BUDGET: WAGES, PRICES, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING; FOREIGN TRADE

2. *Bulgaria. The plans and results* 523

AGRICULTURE. COLLECTIVIZATION AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND THEIR RESULTS; THE NEW COURSE OF SEPTEMBER 1953; PLANTING POLICIES AND YIELDS; THE DOBRUDJA PROJECT • INDUSTRY: ELECTRIFICATION, COAL, IRON AND STEEL, MACHINE INDUSTRY, OTHERS; TRANSPORT; INDUSTRIAL MANPOWER • FINANCE. THE CURRENCY "REFORM" OF MAY 1952; THE BUDGET; STATE LOANS; WAGES, PRICES, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING; FOREIGN TRADE

3. *Albania. The plans and the results* 541

AGRICULTURE: COLLECTIVIZATION; OTHER AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND THEIR RESULTS; THE NEW COURSE; PLANTING POLICIES AND YIELDS • INDUSTRY: OIL AND MINERALS, ELECTRIFICATION, LIGHT INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT • FINANCE: THE BUDGET; STATE LOANS; WAGES, PRICES, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING; FOREIGN TRADE

15 The Soul and the Mind

550

1. *Religion: General Remarks* 550

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH: YUGOSLAVIA, RUMANIA, BULGARIA, ALBANIA • THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND UNIATE CHURCHES: YUGOSLAVIA, RUMANIA, ALBANIA, BULGARIA • PROTESTANTS: BULGARIA AND RUMANIA • MUSLIMS: YUGOSLAVIA, ALBANIA • CONCLUSION

2. *Education and Scholarship: General Remarks* 568

ILLITERACY • THE PRESS AND THE RADIO • THE SCHOOLS AND TEXT-BOOKS • SCHOLARLY RESEARCH • STATE PRIZES

3. *Culture* 576

COMMUNIST ART AND LITERATURE • THE THEATER • LITERARY CRITICISM • FILMS • THE "FRIENDSHIP" SOCIETIES

4. *The Yugoslav Exception* 580

Epilogue: July 1955	582
Afterword: The Balkans in 1973	588
Appendix Useful Works in Western Languages	614
Index	623

MAPS

The Italo-Yugoslav Boundary Before 1939	153
Yugoslavia During World War II	202
Proposals for Istrian Boundary, 1947	308
Free Territory of Trieste	313