

⇒ 論 説 ⇐

Comparison of National Identity in the Former Yugoslavia and Japan: Consideration on Causes of Ethnicity Conflicts in the 1990s

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Abstract

People simultaneously have several kind of identity such as personal identity, social identity, collective identity, etc. hierarchically. With historical development, people can have transnational identities. In the case of Finish people, for example, they are 'Nordic people', 'people in the Baltic Sea', 'EU citizen', etc. The former Yugoslavia, a multi-national state, conducted an experiment to create a nation 'Yugoslav', which should have risen above ethnicity. Unfortunately, however, this experiment has failed.

In my opinion, the causes of the ethnicity conflicts in the former Yugoslavia should not be exclusively ascribed to the religious and ethnicity cleavages. Such cleavages do not necessarily result in ethnicity conflicts. In the world there are many multi-national states where serious ethnicity conflicts have not occurred. Among various factors, economic ones are most important in the Yugoslav case. In this connection, I would like to draw attention to Professor Ken'ichi Ohno's proposition.

Japan has been regarded as an island country where a single nation 'Japanese' live. However, this view belongs to a myth. In old times a part of the ancestors came from northern continent, and another part came from south to the Japan islands. Still now differences remain in languages, life style, etc. Although the standard Japanese is spoken in official lives, broadcast and instruction in schools, a variety of dialects is spoken in daily lives. Their differences are very big. If they are counted as peculiar languages, more than 10 languages are spoken in Japan. With a fierce civil war in 1868 as the last one, fortunately enough, Japan has not had a civil war. Since then Japanese people have shared many hardships as well as happy experiences and have gradually fortified identity 'Japanese'.

Keywords

National identity, ethnicity conflicts, former Yugoslavia, Japan, Ohno's proposition

1. Introduction

People simultaneously have several kind of identity such as personal identity, social identity, collective identity, etc. hierarchically. With historical development, people can have transnational identities. In the case of Finish people, for example, they are 'Nordic people', 'people in the Baltic Sea', 'EU citizen', etc. The former Yugoslavia, a multi-national state, conducted an experiment to create a nation 'Yugoslav', which should have risen above ethnicity. Unfortunately, however, this experiment has failed. In this paper I will compare the national identity in the former Yugoslavia and that in Japan.

2. Ohno's Proposition

In my opinion, the causes of the ethnicity conflicts in the former Yugoslavia should not be exclusively ascribed to the religious and ethnic cleavages. Such cleavages do not necessarily result in ethnicity conflicts. In the world there are many multi-national countries where serious ethnicity conflicts have not occurred. Switzerland, Canada, etc. are good examples for it. Among the various factors, economic ones are most important in the Yugoslav case. In this connection, I would like to draw attention to Professor Ken'ichi Ohno's proposition. His proposition is as follows:

In the case when plural ethnic groups subjectively feel that they have positive benefits or negative damages in common, 'ethnic boundaries' of their groups would gradually become obscure, their fusion would proceed, and ethnicity conflicts would not occur. This is especially evident when two groups feel more benefits than proportional (the case of synergistic effects) by cooperation. On the contrary, in a situation where plural ethnic groups struggle for a limited pie hostile feelings would be generated between the both and 'ethnic boundaries' would be actualized. At this moment, they would have fallen into a self-sustaining feedback in which, on the one hand, internal consciousness of kind and hatred towards the other groups would be fortified through tension, and on the other hand, an intentionally formed asymmetric perception ('we' are good and peaceful, and 'they' are evil and militant, and so on) further heighten the tension. In this case, ethnicity conflicts would escalate at an increasing tempo (Ohno, 1996, p.256).

3. A Short History of Japan and Identity of Japanese

3.1. Unification of the country

Japan has been regarded an island country where a single nation 'Japanese' live. However, this view belongs to a myth. In old times a part of the ancestors came from northern continent, and another part came from south to the Japan islands. Still now differences remain in languages, life style, etc. Although the standard Japanese is spoken in official lives, broadcast and instruction in schools, a variety of dialects is spoken in daily lives. Their differences are very big. If they are counted as peculiar languages, more than 10 languages are spoken in Japan. Other than Japanese people, there live ethnic minorities such as Ainus, Koreans, Chinese, etc. within Japan.

In Japan there was an era of civil wars in the 16th century. Nobunaga Oda tried to unify Japan by force. His effort was succeeded by Hideyoshi Toyotomi. Finally Ieyasu Tokugawa completed the unification of Japan. In 1603 Ieyasu Tokugawa founded the Tokugawa Regime in Edo (present Tokyo). At that time Emperor had no power but authority. In order to shut out the influence of Christianity and the European countries, Japan completed measures to enforce its national isolation policy in 1639. Exceptionally only Netherlands was allowed to trade with Japan through the port of Nagasaki. The Edo era was long-lasting peaceful period. In 1853, however, American vessels led by Commodore Matthew Perry visited Japan suddenly and brought a letter of the US President, requesting Japan to open the country. Next year the Tokugawa Regime was obliged to conclude the "Treaty of Peace and Amity", establishing formal diplomatic relations between Japan and the USA. Within five years, Japan had signed similar treaties with other western countries. In the course of the opening the country, it became revealed that the Tokugawa Regime became very fragile. Several domains which had complaint with the Tokugawa Regime stood up with the Emperor's authority on the top and took action against the Regime. Confrontation between the both became intensified leading to the collapse of the Tokugawa regime in 1868. This was the Meiji Restoration, in which power has shifted from the Tokugawa Regime to the Emperor. Young politicians from Choshu (present Yamaguchi Prefecture) and Satsuma (present Kagoshima Prefecture) seized real power.

It should be noted that the Meiji Restoration entailed a civil war. Boshin war (1867-1869) lasted for one and half years. There were fierce battles between 'Kangun' (official army with borrowed authority of the Emperor) and domains which supported the Tokugawa Regime. Finally, the latter were defeated. Only devastated lands remained.

In the second half of the 19th century there was a danger that Japan might become a colony of Western powers. It was imperative for Japan to avoid this. The Meiji new government

promoted development of capitalism from above. At the same time numerous active private business emerged. At that time there was a famous slogan 'Wakon Yosai', which means Japanese spirit with western technologies. In that way, Japanese people were very eager to absorb western technologies and develop the economy. Another words expressed by a famous novelist Ryotaro Shiba (1923-1996) is symbolical of the atmosphere at the end of the Meiji era. 'Saka no ue no kumo' (= 'A cloud beyond a slope') meant people's desire to catch up the West in the Meiji era. The most important challenge of Japan was to catch up the West. In order to accomplish this, first of all, the Japanese Government had to liquidate unequal treaties concluded with the West countries. By paying a great deal of effort Japan have succeeded in revising these treaties. Meanwhile, Japan fought against China in 1894 and won the war. Next year Japan annexed Taiwan. Japan was becoming a big power in the East Asia and annexed Korea in 1910. Japanese people became confident in themselves.

3.2. Japan's Big Mistakes

But something was wrong. What was wrong? Japan proceeded on a way to militarism. In my opinion, one of the biggest problems consisted in the Meiji Constitution. According to the Constitution, Japan was a highly centralized country with Emperor's absolute power. The Parliament could not control armed forces which were under the control of Emperor. Under the pretext of "Emperor's controlling power" leaders of the armed forces often refused opinions of the Parliament and sometimes even Prime Minister's opinions. Thus armed forces have run away without control. This led to Sino-Japan 15-year war, which began in 1931. Then Japan tried to extend its sphere of influence to the Southeastern Asia. It was an idea of the construction of 'Prosperity-Sharing Area of the Great East Asia' that justified the Japan's military operation. However, the idea presupposed Japan's superior position in that area, and therefore this was obviously Japan's invasion over the Southeast Asia for the purpose of securing natural resources. Soon Japan came into opposition to the USA, Great Britain and Netherlands, etc. If we took into consideration an overwhelming gap between Japan and the West in the economic and technological power it would be reckless to fight against these countries (Morimoto, 2005). Nevertheless, Japan drifted into the war on the USA. A system of irresponsibility prevailed among the ruling strata. Mass media followed the Government led by armed forces. There were politicians and intellectuals who opposed wars, but they were completely suppressed. Since a majority of people was manipulated by propaganda by the armed forces and mass media they became captives of parochial nationalism. Warlike people sometimes put pressure on the Government (Yomiuri, 2006). Some navy men were well informed about the West and had rational mindsets. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, for example, opposed war against the USA and

Great Britain. Even he followed the policies decide above, once he was appointed to Commander-in-Chief of the United Fleet. Unfortunately, his temperament of soldier exceeded his rational mindset. He counted on diplomatic solution of the conflicts. In order to have advantage in diplomacy he planned the pearl harbor attack and translated it into action on December 8, 1941. That was the beginning of the war against the USA and Great Britain. He thought that Japan could fight against the USA militarily at best for a year. Against Yamamoto's anticipation, the war prolonged. Around 1943 the war situation became disadvantageous to Japan. In 1944 Foreign Minister advised the Emperor to begin negotiations for an end to the war, the Emperor rejected it, requesting further efforts in the front of the Southeast Asia in order to terminate the war with favorable results. Although the real power rested with the armed forces, the Emperor could not avoid his responsibility. In 1945 when defeat seemed certain Japan would not give up. During Potsdam Conference (July 17-August 2) by heads of the USA, Great Britain and the USSR the Potsdam Declaration was issued on July 26. The Declaration, which was a joint announcement by heads of the USA, Great Britain and Republic of China, outlined the terms of surrender for Japan: Eradication of Japanese militarism, democratization of Japan and establishment of the freedom of speech, religion and thought, and the basic human rights. However, the Japanese Government stuck to the protection of 'Kokutai' (fundamental character of the state, i.e., the Emperor system). Japan did not accept the Declaration soon but one-sidedly counted on the Soviet Union's mediation and wasted a time. Such useless delay in cease-fire resulted in further loss of a great many lives. Atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9), and the Soviet Union participated in the war (August 9). Although some leaders of the armed forces insisted a do-or-die resistance, finally the Emperor himself decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration. The Emperor announced the end of the war on August 15, 1945. It was only the Emperor that had power to stop this war. Since he had such big power, he should have used the power in avoiding the war. We should not forget that also in neighboring countries so many precious lives were lost by Japan's invasion.

3.3. Reconstruction of Japan

Japan has lost its overseas territory, which entailed the repatriation of many people. A quarter of the national wealth was reduced to ashes. Most of workers who worked at major munitions factories were fired as soon as the war ended. A large crowd of demobilized soldiers and people repatriated from overseas appeared on the labor market. There were so many people who had no house to live in, etc.

After the war Japan pledged the international community that the country would make a fresh start as a peace-loving country. Article 7 of the new Constitution proclaims that Japanese

people renounce war for ever and that possession of armed forces shall be forbidden. World opinion called for the Emperor to account, but finally the Emperor system was preserved with reduced position to only a symbol of the country. Because Mr. Joseph Grew, former US Ambassador to Japan, recommended the US Government to utilize Japanese people's strong admiration for the Emperor for the occupation policy and his advice was adopted. Main leaders in the wartime were indicted and judged at the Tokyo international tribunal, and some of them were executed. Leading figures who have cooperated with the war have expelled from official posts. Later, however, with changes of situation in the East Asia such as the beginning of the Cold War and the ascendancy of communists in China, the US policy toward Japan has changed. Namely, it turned from the policy of eradication of hotbeds of militarism and emasculation of industrial power to the policy of making Japan a bulwark against communism. Although previously Japan's armaments were denied, now the USA requests Japan rearmaments and reinforcement of its military power. Leading figures who have been expelled from public posts were now released from the expulsion and some of them returned to the political scene². In contrast to Germany, such a change in the US policy has blurred problems of the war responsibility, which in turn has made it difficult to have true reconciliation among people in the East Asia³.

There remain problems mentioned above, but Japan concluded the Peace Treaty at San Francisco Conference in 1951, and Japan regained its independence in 1952. Although very poor, people were liberated from the militaristic suppression, and they made desperate efforts for their subsistence like economic animals. Japan concentrated its energies on its economic recovery and development. Owing to the line giving priority to the economy, Japan has been able to keep its military expenditure at about 1% of GDP and succeed in attaining the economic growth.

² For example, Shinsuke Kishi was Minister of Tojo Government when Japan declared war against the USA, and as a member of the Cabinet he signed the declaration. After the war he was imprisoned as a war criminal. Owing to a change in the US policy toward Japan, he was released and allowed to return to the political scene. Finally he succeeded in becoming Prime Minister in 1957. Mr. Shinzo Abe, the newly-inaugurated Prime Minister after Mr. Koizumi, is his grandson. Mr. Abe admires his grandfather.

³ In 1978 suddenly Yasukuni Shrine (Tokyo) enshrined A-class war criminals together. Mr. Jun'ichiro Koizumi made an official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine after his inauguration to the Prime Minister in 2001. This behavior repelled China, Korea and other Asian countries. Especially China's repulsion has been very severe. Because in 1972 when China concluded Peace Treaty with Japan, the Chinese Government renounced Chinese claim for compensation on the ground that Japan's war criminals should be blamed and that they should be distinguished from Japanese people who were also victimized by the Japanese militarism as Chinese people. The Chinese leadership persuaded Chinese people in that way. Mr. Koizumi's official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine means a serious behavior which loses face of the Chinese leadership. In spite of repeated protests from government of China, Korea, etc., Mr. Koizumi dared to make an official visit every year because he attaches more importance to his promises to the Japan Association of the families of war bereaved. With this problem as the biggest obstacle, communication at the top level has been very difficult for the past several years. Political leaders in Japan should draw lessons from history of the European integration.

With a fierce civil war in 1868 as the last one, fortunately enough, Japan has not had a civil war. Since then Japanese people have shared many hardships as well as happy experiences and have gradually fortified identity 'Japanese'.

4. Case of the Former Yugoslavia

4.1. Formation of Unitary Country

Aside from ethnic minorities (Albanians, Turks, Italians, Hungarian, etc.) the former Yugoslavia was a country composed mainly of the Southern Slavs. There has been linguistic similarity. From historical and cultural point of view it lay across the Central Europe and the South Eastern Europe (the Balkans). Northern part was under the rule and influence of the Habsburg Empire. Southern part was under the rule and influence of the Ottoman Turkey. Consequently, there have been historical, cultural and religious differences between the north and the south within a country.

In the 1830s the 'Illyria Movement' was promoted by Ljudevit Gai (Croatia). It gave influence to intellectuals such as Vuk Karadzic (Serbia) and Kopitar (Slovenia). In the 1840's a movement for 'Yugoslav' (South Slavs) began. A representative leader was Catholic bishop Strosmeier (Croatia).

In 1918 owing to the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovenians and Croats got an opportunity to escape from its rule and founded a country together with Serbians. In the negotiation for establishing the statehood representatives of Croats and Slovenians argued for a federal state while a representative of Serbs argued for a unitary state. During the negotiation, however, the navy of Italy, which had not surrendered yet, made an assault on a Croatian port. There was no way for Croats and Slovenians but to rely on Serbia which attained its independence decades earlier and had a certain level of military power. In this way 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians' was formed quickly. This was a first Yugoslavia, but it was with Serbia as its center. Although they gained independence, Croats and Slovenians became disappointed soon. Croats and Slovenians had complaint. A famous Slovenian writer Ivan Cankar wrote:

By blood we are brother; by language cousins; but by culture, which is the fruit of the separate upbringing of several centuries – there we are less familiar to one another than one of our Upper Carniolian peasants to a Tiroler (quoted from Anton Bebler, 1998, pp.136-137).

When Nazis Germany made an invasion upon the first Yugoslavia in 1941 Hitler made

a full use of discord between Croats and Serbs. The first Yugoslavia fell into utter confusion by ethnicity conflicts. Numerous people were killed during the war. Unfortunately, however, the number of people who were killed in the ethnicity conflicts exceeds the number of people who were killed by foreign armed forces.

4.2. Second Yugoslavia

It is Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia that led people to surmount ethnicity conflicts and fight against foreign invaders. Yugoslavia was reconstructed, but it was done on the road to socialism. This was the second Yugoslavia. Unifying factors include the common experience of the liberation war which remained in people's memory for a good while after the war, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) which has united various nationalities by the idea of self-management.

The leadership of the LCY attached importance to friendship among nationalities in the former Yugoslavia, especially friendship between Serbs and Croats because the older generations of the both nationalities have had bitter experiences of fighting against each other. It seemed that the policy was successful. I would like to describe an episode. I have witnessed an impressive scene in October 1986 when I visited Zagreb as a member of a Japanese study group for field survey of self-management. There used to be a kind of sisterhood relationship between a local community in the center of Zagreb, Croatia and a local community in Nis, Serbia. At that time scores of young men and ladies from Nis have made a short visit to Zagreb. They have stayed at Croatian families for a few days, and they were about to leave Zagreb for Nis. There was a farewell ceremony in a hall at the meeting place of the local community, and we attended the ceremony. When all the participants went out of the hall after the ceremony buses were waiting. Young men and ladies from Serbia went on buses. Almost all the Serbian guests were on board of the buses, but a young couple was still outside, embracing tightly each other. They met each other and fell in love while the Serbian group visited Zagreb. I do not remember which was a Serb. Anyway, they repeated kisses and would not separate. A bus driver sounded the horn, and people around them urged to go on board, but still they would not separate. After the bus horn sounded for several times finally they reluctantly separated, and one of the couple went on board. While they were exchanging words of farewell the buses started.

At that time, I was not able to anticipate that a tragic situation would emerge five years later in which the former Yugoslavia would disintegrate and nationalities would fight against each other. Causes of the disintegration of the federal state should be ascribed to, firstly, the economic crisis, and secondly, changes in the international environment.

4.3. Economic Crisis

Causes of the economic crisis can be summarized as follows: The country pursued an industrialization with an emphasis on heavy and chemical industries in the 1970s. At the enterprise level, workers were inclined to distribute a large part of the gross income to personal incomes (wages) and joint consumption. Consequently, only a small part of the gross income left for savings. Nevertheless, enterprises had a strong desire to invest and they continued ambitious equipment investment relying on financial resources from the outside such as borrowing from domestic and foreign banks. There were defects in the financial system and loosening of financial discipline of financial institutions that were designed to serve self-managed enterprises. In the 1974 Constitution banks were placed as financial organizations which ought to serve self-managed enterprises. Banks were established by self-managed enterprises. The highest organ of banks was the bank assembly. The latter was composed of delegates who were sent by self-managed enterprises, founding members of the bank. Local political circles, although no political party other than LCY existed, had a big influence in the election of the bank directors, likewise, exerted an important influence on the bank management. Self-managed enterprises owed banks a large amount of debt and local political circles were interested in financing self-managed enterprises for the purpose of development of the regional economy. These facts meant that banks were actually managed by big debtors. Owing to a change in the credit system in 1972, self-managed enterprise became able to borrow funds easily in foreign countries. Consequently, the accumulated external debts increased from US\$ 4 billion to US\$ 20 billion in the early 1980. In short, the rapid economic development in the 1970s was based on loose economic operation which was inherent in such a self-managed economy. In addition, the regime of the 1974 Constitution, which was accompanied by 'contractual economy', and unexpected tendencies for disintegration at both enterprises level and the Federation level, etc., further aggravated the loose economic operation. The events exacerbated the economic crisis in the former Yugoslavia (Koyama, 1996; Koyama 2003).

4.4. Changes in the international environment.

With the passage of nearly 50 years since World War II, which was a unifying experiences for the nationalities of the former Yugoslavia who fought for the liberation of their country, the international environment has drastically changed. For example, Gorbachev, who promoted Perestroika, practically abandoned the principle of limited sovereignty (the so-called Brezhnev doctrine) in 1988, and subsequently from 1989 to 1990 socialism collapsed in East European countries one after another. Thus the Yalta regime had collapsed and the cold war

came to an end. Also disappearing was the menace of the Soviet Union, a factor which had united nationalities in the former Yugoslavia into a single country (Remember the expulsion of the former Yugoslavia from the Cominform in 1948, the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the suppression of reform in Czechoslovakia in 1968, etc). In addition, the fear of German and Italian expansionism, which was traditionally a great menace to the former Yugoslavia came to an end. And the EC was pursuing a further integration. Such changes in the international environment stimulated northern nationalities' desire for independence. Anton Bebler, a Slovenian political scientist, writes:

The end of the Cold War made the previous deep political, ideological and military gap along Slovenia's Western and Northern borders with Italy and Austria politically obsolete and economically harmful. The Slovenes were the most exposed and sensitive within the former Yugoslavia to the demonstration effect of the West's growing affluence, its economic liberalism and political democracy (Beber, 1998, p.138).

In the former Yugoslavia self-managed enterprises had considerable power, and consequently, though incomplete, a mechanism of market economy functioned. The development of a market economy would necessarily require a multi-party system which would reflect diversified interests in the society. As for the multi-party system, Milovan Djilas brought up the problem as early as 1954, but he lost his position and was later imprisoned. This is a futile talk based on hindsight, but in my opinion, in order to avoid the disintegration of the Federation there should have been democratic parties organized across Republics and Provinces. However, Tito's view of socialism was rather Bolshevik, and therefore it was impossible in his regime.

The former Yugoslavia was developing with a comparatively high growth rate until the late 1970s. As long as the economy was developing satisfactorily, the various nationalities within the former Yugoslavia lived together happily. The rapid economic development was based on loose economic operation which was inherent in the self-managed economy. The loose economic operation led to a sharp increase in the accumulated external debt. In the early 1980s the economy began to stagnate and was mired in crisis during the mid-1980s. The LCY has failed to produce any effective solutions for overcoming the economic crisis. This is why the LCY, which had functioned to bind the various Republics and nationalities into a country, gradually lost its prestige. Conflicts of interests among the Republics became reflected in the LCY itself.

4.5. Ethnicity Conflicts

It is the Kosovo problem that triggered conflicts among the Republics first. With economic discontents as a catalyst, ethnicity conflicts became evident and were further

aggravated in the course of the economic crisis. President Tito, a charismatic leader, died in May 1980. The next year, in March and April, revolts occurred in Kosovo. After the suppression of revolts in 1981, the Albanian's discontent struck inwards. Increasing violence toward Slavic minorities and plundering occurred. Scores of thousands of Slavic minorities were obliged to escape from this Province in the following years. Many people in Serbia proper became irritated by the fact that although Kosovo was a part of the Republic of Serbia, the Serbian authorities could not protect their brethren within Kosovo. Notwithstanding the fact that speeches and behavior which aimed at instigating inter-ethnicity hatred were strictly prohibited by the regime of the 1974 Constitution, 'ethnicity' came to be used politically at first in Serbia, and later in other Republics.

By inspiring people with an all-consuming Serbian nationalism Slobodan Milosevic distinguished himself in the League of Communists of Serbia and became Party President of Serbia in 1986. His biggest mistake is that he stirred up Serbian nationalism. This repelled people in other Republics. Any appeals to strengthen the federal state were taken as claim to strengthen Serbia's power. The centrifugal force exceeded the centripetal force in the former Yugoslavia, leading to the disintegration of the Federation in 1991 and the subsequent fierce ethnicity conflicts.

5. Conclusion

The first half of the Ohno's proposition holds true for the case of Japan, especially after World War II. At present, however, Japanese people are required to reinforce their identity as Asian people. The second half of the Ohno's proposition holds true for the case of the former Yugoslavia, especially during the period from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.

When we consider the future of Serbia, postwar Japan's experiences seem to be suggestive. I am afraid that I might make an insulting remark, but I would like to say that people in Serbia should start from the fact that the country was defeated. The former Yugoslavia with Serbia as its dominant Republic has already disintegrated. And recently, even its closest Republic Montenegro has become independent. In my opinion, the situation in Serbia is quite similar to that in Japan immediately after World War II. Differences consist in the following points: Firstly, in the case of Japan there was an absolute authority such as General Headquarter of the Allied Forces (Occupation Army), and therefore public order was maintained to a certain extent while present Serbia lacks it. Secondly, there is of course a difference in time. The main energy resources were coal and petroleum at the time immediately after World War II. At present the main energy resources are petroleum and atomic energy, and moreover advanced

information-communication technology, which did not exist immediately after World War II, is now widespread. Other than these points there are many points in common. Their territories have been decreased. Both countries were severely damaged by wars. Japan had unemployment on a massive scale, and similarly Serbia has the same problem now, etc. In our time, however, the size of a country's territory has nothing to do with its national power, which is supported by its international competitiveness. The most important is ability to create things whether those are hard (material) or soft (immaterial). It is necessary for Serbian people to break off parochial nationalism and dedicate themselves to reconstruction and development of the economy as Japanese people did before. Serbian people should pursue the country's development in the enlarged Europe. For this purpose, it is necessary to foster the European identity among them.

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