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**Партийно-политическая трансформация
сербии на рубеже XX-XXI вв.: исторический
аспект**

**The party-political transformation of serbia at
the turn of the XX-XXI centuries: a historical
aspect**

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Аннотация. Данная статья исследует процесс партийно-политической трансформации в Сербии на рубеже XX-XXI веков с исторической перспективы. Авторы анализируют основные этапы развития политической системы Сербии, начиная с конца XX века и до настоящего времени. В статье подробно рассматриваются факторы, которые повлияли на трансформацию политической системы Сербии. Особое внимание уделяется историческим событиям, таким как распад Социалистической Федеративной Республики Югославии, война на Балканах и последующая политическая нестабильность в регионе. Авторы анализируют роль различных политических партий и движений в этом процессе, а также их влияние на формирование новой политической системы. Помимо этого, рассматриваются изменения в политической культуре Сербии, которые сопровождали процесс трансформации. Авторы обращают внимание на изменение предпочтений и ценностей избирателей, а также на роль СМИ и социальных сетей в формировании общественного мнения. В заключение, авторы делают выводы о том, что партийно-политическая трансформация Сербии на рубеже XX-XXI веков была сложным и многогранным процессом, который был сопряжен с историческими событиями и изменениями в политической культуре. Они также указывают на необходимость дальнейших исследований в этой области и возможные последствия для политической системы Сербии в будущем.

Ключевые слова: Сербия, партийно-политическая трансформация, исторический аспект, политическая система, политические партии, политическая культура

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Abstract. This article examines the process of party-political transformation in Serbia at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries from a historical perspective. The authors analyze the main stages of the development of the Serbian political system, starting from the end of the 20th century and up to the present. The article examines in detail the factors that influenced the transformation of Serbia's political system. Special attention is paid to historical events such as the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the war in the Balkans and the subsequent political instability in the region. The authors analyze the role of various political parties and movements in this process, as well as their influence on the formation of a new political system. In addition, the changes in the political culture of Serbia that accompanied the transformation process are considered. The authors draw attention to the changing preferences and values of voters, as well as the role of the media and social networks in shaping public opinion. In conclusion, the authors

conclude that the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries was a complex and multifaceted process that was associated with historical events and changes in political culture. They also point to the need for further research in this area and possible implications for Serbia's political system in the future.

Keywords: Serbia, party-political transformation, historical aspect, political system, political parties, political culture

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Introduction. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Serbia experienced significant transformations in the political sphere, largely determined by its party dynamics. The historical context of this process is important for understanding the modern political reality of the country. In this article we will look at the evolution of the Serbian party system over two centuries, starting from key historical events and trends that shaped its modern appearance.

The problems of the genesis and development of the modern Yugoslav crisis have been studied by domestic and foreign researchers, but most of the works have a political science and journalistic orientation. However, the post-conflict development of the region throughout the 2000s remains poorly studied, both in Russia and abroad. More serious studies are of a narrow country nature, focusing on the political development of individual republics, such as Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro. Thus, research into the genesis and development of the modern Yugoslav crisis continues, and different points of view and approaches are presented in the scientific literature. It is important to continue to analyze events and processes in the region to better understand and solve problems associated with it. Serbia faced challenges on the way to integration into European structures, which was reflected in the party and political scene of the country. Political parties were forced to adapt to new requirements and standards imposed on candidate countries for membership of the European Union. One of the key topics of research is the analysis of the role of parties in the formation of the political system of Serbia. Political parties have played and continue to play an important role in determining the course of the country's development and developing strategies to solve internal and external problems. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, a new party system emerged in Serbia, characterized by plurality and fragmentation. The Communist Party was dissolved and replaced by a heterogeneous group of democratic, nationalist and socialist organizations. The democratic opposition, united in the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), achieved power in the 1990 elections. However, President Slobodan Milosevic, who formed the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), soon concentrated power in his own hands. During Milosevic's reign, Serbia experienced wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to international isolation and economic crisis. The Kosovo War broke out in 1998, leading to NATO bombing and the ouster of Milosevic as president in 2000. After the overthrow of Milosevic, a period of democratic reforms and integration with the West began in Serbia. The democratic opposition formed a coalition government and adopted a new constitution that enshrined fundamental rights and freedoms. Serbia became a candidate for membership in the European Union and joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

Materials and research methods. Methodology includes methods such as:

1. Interpretation and analysis of historical sources: research of official documents, publications, statistical data, memoirs and other documents related to the history of party and political life in Serbia.
2. Contextual analysis: consideration of events, trends and problems in the historical context of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries.
3. Comparative method: comparison of various political parties and movements, their strategies, ideologies and influence on public life in Serbia.

4. Historiographical analysis: review of existing studies, theories and approaches to the study of the party system in Serbia and their critical analysis.
5. Empirical analysis: use of statistics, surveys, interviews and other empirical methods to analyze changes and trends in party politics in Serbia.
6. Use of qualitative and quantitative research methods: including analysis of qualitative data (texts, documents) and quantitative data (statistics, numerical indicators).
7. Historical synthesis: bringing together the information received into a general picture of the development of the party-political system of Serbia at the turn of two centuries.

Works of domestic researchers such as B.A. Shmelev and others, consider the historical roots of the crisis and the problems of Yugoslav statehood and the economy that led to the conflict. Certain aspects of the crisis were analyzed in the works of M.S. Kashuby, N.V. Vasilyeva, E.Yu. Guskova, B.A. Shmeleva, S.A. Romanenko, V.V. Chebana, M.Yu. Martynov and others [7]. The literature also widely analyzes the problem of external factors that influenced the deepening of the Yugoslav crisis and especially the Bosnian crisis.

The complexity of the topic and the broad chronological scope of the study, as well as the ambiguity of assessments of the causes of the collapse of the SFRY and the Yugoslav crisis, created the need to use a large number of sources and a significant amount of scientific literature. The historiography of this issue is important for analyzing the formation of new relations between the former republics of the SFRY. The historiography of this topic is an important tool for analyzing the formation of new relations between the former republics of the SFRY. The processes taking place in the post-Yugoslav space are of keen interest to historians and publicists. There is a wide range of points of view on the causes of the crisis, the responsibility of the parties to the conflict, the methods and results of a peaceful settlement, and the opinions of specialists on the same problem almost always contradict each other. The works of domestic specialists such as K, Yu. A. Pisarev and Kulikova N.V. [2].

They examine the historical roots of the crisis and the problems of Yugoslav statehood and economics that led to the uncontrollable conflict.

In the works of A.S. Botyanovsky, V.N. Vinogradova, V.K. Volkova, A.V. Fenenko Volkov V.K. The tragedy of Yugoslavia and others examines the steps of the international community, the UN, the European Union and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to resolve the conflict. A comprehensive and objective study of the political space of the modern post-Yugoslav region, as well as the study of the problems of Yugoslav federalism, was also comprehensively studied in the works of E.G. Ponomareva [10]. The monograph by E. G. Ponomareva is the only representative of Russian science dedicated to the transformation of the post-Yugoslav political space. This study introduces the reader to a political science analysis of the connection between the historical heritage of the Balkan peoples, modernization processes and existing problems of transformation of the political and party system. In the works of most Russian researchers, such as E.Yu. Glushko [3] carried out an in-depth analysis of the features of the ethnic structure and political problems of the Balkan region during the years of the SFRY.

Domestic scientific literature also contains a significant number of works touching on the internal causes and problems of the collapse of the SFRY. Works of S.A. Romanenko, A.A. Yazkova and P. Kandel [12] are based on an integrated approach to the study of the causes of the collapse of Yugoslavia, paying special attention to political, economic and ethno-confessional factors.

However, the works of Western researchers, especially American ones, are often biased. Western historiography and media materials often place the blame for conflicts solely on the Serbian side, justifying this with the historical "aggressive essence" of Serbian nationalism. Research by American scientists such as F. Friedman, R. Remington, J. Allcock and M. Glennie [17] relies mainly on materials from the Western press, which only increases their bias.

Currently, after the change of regimes in many republics of the former SFRY and gradual democratization, there is a certain turn from a one-sided interpretation of events to the presentation of the positions of all conflicting parties. The work of researcher of the Yugoslav conflict Sabrina

P. Ramet deserves special attention [26], which, despite bias in judgment, still tries to consider all aspects of the reasons for the collapse of the SFRY and explores the positions of various parties to the conflict. An example of a comprehensive study of the situation in the region is the monograph of the American researcher R. Kaplan [25], which examines the Yugoslav crisis through the prism of the historical development of the Balkan peoples and presents it as a result of the systemic crisis of the Yugoslav state itself and the inability of regional ethnic elites to make concessions in order to preserve peace and stability.

The study and analysis of the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries is a complex and multifaceted task that requires turning to general theoretical developments in the field of political systems. In the works of such authors as K. von Boime, R. Dahl, S. Lipset, V. Merkel, G. O'Donnell, A. Åslund, K. Offe, D. Powell, L. Pye, D. Rustow, F.B. Ryuta, A. Touraine, S. Huntington, S. Eisenstadt, considerable attention is paid to the main problems of political science, theory and philosophy of politics.

Regarding research in the field of typology of party systems, the work of the Italian political scientist G. Sartori [12] and his classification of seven types of party systems occupy a special place. Important in this work is the analysis of the characteristics of various party systems, such as systems with a dominant party, an atomized party system, a system of extreme pluralism, as well as the concept of "coalition and blackmail potential".

Despite the significant contribution of foreign authors to the study of political systems, it is also necessary to note the importance of the work of domestic researchers in this field. The works of K. S. Gadzhiev, T. A. Alekseeva, A. I. Solovyov [6] made a significant contribution to the study of general problems of political science and political systems.

The development of integration processes in Europe and the transformation of the internal political situation in Eastern European states were studied in the works of scientists from the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences, such as Yu.S. Borko and V.G. Shemyatenkova. Collective monographs devoted to this issue, such as "Power - society - reforms: Central and South-Eastern Europe. Second half of the 20th century" [1] "History of anti-communist revolutions of the late 20th century: Central and South-Eastern Europe" [13], as well as a collection of articles by the Center for Scientific Information Research of Global and Regional Problems of the INION RAS "Political leaders and reform strategies in Eastern Europe" is an important contribution to this study" [9].

The role of international organizations, in particular the European Union, in resolving the Yugoslav crisis has been examined in detail in domestic science. Work by E. Yu. Guskova "History of the Yugoslav crisis (1990 - 2000)" [4] and her publications concerning Serbian issues and US, Russian and EU activities in the Balkans are significant studies in the field. Works by V.K. Volkov and K.V. Nikiforov [8]. Between also focuses on the origins of the crisis and collapse of Yugoslavia, the role of the international community in resolving the situation and the formation of a new Serbian statehood.

Serbia's choice of a European perspective, its implementation and Russia's role in this process are discussed in the works of S. Romanenko, A. Ulunyan and P. Kandel [7]. Of particular value is the candidate's dissertation of V.S. Glushko, which highlights the direct role of the European Union in resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Research by European authors, such as J. Gow [18], concerning the anti-crisis policy of the EU and the international community in the 90s of the 20th century, represents a significant contribution to this area. The authors consider the main reasons for the failure of EU peace initiatives in the former Yugoslavia to be the lack of unity of European leaders and the lack of support for peace initiatives from the United States. It is also very important to note the contribution of scientists from the former Yugoslavia, such as Deian Jovic [19], to the study of this issue. Their research allows us to more adequately assess the transformation of the political system of Serbia at the turn of the 20th - 21st centuries in connection with the political processes in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the 80s and early 90s of the 20th century.

Research on the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries is not limited to the works of Serbian scientists at the present stage of research. The study "Party Politics and the Party System" by Vladimir Goati is dedicated to the broader process of democratization in Serbia after the rule of Milosevic, with an emphasis on the role of political parties in this transformation. It examines the challenges that parties face in adapting to new political conditions, as well as the impact of party politics on democratic consolidation [24].

The work is entitled "Parties and the Serbian Party System and European Integration" by Slavisa Orlović - This study examines the transformation of the party system in Serbia, in particular the transition from the dominant one-party system under former President Slobodan Milosevic to a more competitive multi-party system. It analyzes the factors that contributed to this transformation and its implications for democratic governance [28]. Article "Party identification in Serbia during the period 1990–2020. Godine" from the author Miroslav Perišić explores the history of transformations of the party system in Serbia. The author analyzes the influence of the party system and its changes on the political life of Serbia. The article is of interest to researchers of politics and history of the country [23].

In the book "Tradition and Transformation. Historical heritage and national identities in Serbia in the 20th century - III" Dr. Momčila Mitrović analyzes the historical heritage and national identities in Serbia in the 20th century. The author explores issues of cultural heritage and the formation of identities of the modern Serbian nation [14].

The book "Politički identitet Srbije u globalnom i regionalnom kontekstu" was published by Prof. dr. Vesna Knežević-Prediš and is a collection of articles devoted to the political identity of Serbia in a global and regional context. The book will be of interest to policy researchers, as well as anyone interested in contemporary challenges and trends in Serbian politics [25]. The works of Serbian researchers provide a valuable comparative perspective on the party-political transformation of Serbia. They complement the European and domestic discourse on this issue, expanding the understanding of the historical and political context, as well as the influence of external factors on the political development of Serbia. The works of European, domestic and American researchers taken together provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexity and nuances of this historically significant process.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, significant changes took place in the political life of Serbia, which influenced its party and political transformation. Researchers are studying the genesis and development of the modern Yugoslav crisis, which has become the subject of attention of both domestic and foreign experts. However, the main attention in research is paid to the political science and journalistic aspects of the problem. The post-conflict development of the region throughout the 2000s remains little studied both within the country and outside its borders. Despite this, some serious research has focused on the political development of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The complexity of the topic, the broad chronological scope of the study, as well as the ambiguity of assessments of the causes of the collapse of the SFRY and the Yugoslav crisis require the involvement of a large number of sources and scientific literature.

The historiography of the modern process of normalization of relations between the former republics of the SFRY leaves many questions. When analyzing the formation of new relations, it is necessary to take into account the problem of the collapse of Yugoslavia. Historians and publicists show a keen interest in the processes taking place in the post-Yugoslav space.

The diversity of points of view on the causes of the crisis, the responsibility of the parties to the conflict, and methods of peaceful resolution makes the topic even more relevant. Experts' opinions on these issues often differ, reflecting the complexity and multifaceted nature of the problem. Important for research are the works of famous domestic researchers, such as V. N. Vinogradov, V. K. Volkov, V. Klimenko, N. V. Kulikova, I. I. Leshilovskaya, Yu. A. Pisarev, L. V. Tyagunenkov, A. A. Yazkova, B. A. Shmelev [2]. They examine the historical roots of the crisis and make an important contribution to understanding the complex processes taking place in the region.

Serbia, as one of the key countries of the former Yugoslavia, faced serious challenges on the way to political stability and economic development. After the collapse of the SFRY and the Yugoslav crisis, the country faced the task of transitioning to democratic principles and integration into European structures. Research on the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries allows us to better understand the dynamics of changes in the political life of the country and its role in regional and world politics. Analysis of the development of political parties opens up new horizons for research and understanding of the complex processes taking place in modern Serbia. Summarizing the above works and studies, we can conclude that it is difficult to study the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries. This process requires taking into account general theoretical developments in the field of political systems, analysis of the historical heritage and the relationship with political processes within the SFRY. The works of domestic and foreign researchers, as well as the work of scientists from the former Yugoslavia, are an important basis for a deeper understanding of this problem. The party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries was a complex and multifaceted process. Political parties sought to adapt to new realities and changes in society. Different ideologies and approaches competed for influence and voter support.

The post-conflict transformation of Serbia was a complex and multifaceted process, influenced by both internal and external factors. The country has come a long way from international isolation to a candidate for the European Union. However, modern Serbia continues to face a number of political and economic challenges, including divisions along ethnic lines, questions of historical memory and tensions with Kosovo. Serbia's role in the regional context also remains uncertain as the country seeks to balance relations with the West and Russia.

Thus, the party-political transformation of Serbia at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries is an interesting and relevant topic for research, which requires further study and analysis. The interaction and relationship of political parties with society and government structures play an important role in the formation of the political culture and stability of the country.

The study of the famous expert on international terrorism Bodanski [16] analyzed the progress of the conflict resolution in Bosnia and Herzegovina, showing the initial bias of decisions made by international organizations. An extensive analysis of the Islamic aspect is given. The author warns that the intervention of international troops in BiH poses a threat, including to the West itself. Questions about the mythologization of the Yugoslav crisis are increasingly being raised in Western media and scientific literature. However, usually. There are many cases where Western journalists who read the "Serbian legend" and spoke about one-sided coverage of events in the Balkans fell into disgrace. The positions of the Italian historian M. Paretti [20] and the Canadian journalist S. Taylor stand out against the background of the prevailing opinion in European and American society on the issues of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the vulnerability of one side to ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. In particular, M. Paretti, based on facts, accuses the Western powers of "deliberate inaction" in the process of the collapse of the SFRY. Studying the roots of the problem and the reasons for the collapse of the SFRY, one cannot ignore a whole layer of research in the literature of Yugoslavia on the path of both the introduction of the mass market and the development of authoritarian socialism (D. Voinich, 3 Pjanic, N. Korosic, G. Nikic, K. Strahinich, B. Horvath [29]). National problems, which prevailed throughout the history of Yugoslavia, have repeatedly been the subject of study by Yugoslav scientists Causes. The works of I. Banac, S. Terezic, and R. Petrovich are devoted to the collapse of the SFRY and the national question in Yugoslavia [15]. The problem of nationalism is considered mainly in the works of A. Pakovic, D. Pantic, D. Janich [22]. The political crisis in Yugoslavia, the transformation of the country's political system and Yugoslav federalism in general are devoted to the works of D. Jovic, S. Samardzic, M. Djordjevic, A. Fir [18]. Here, as in Russia, there are a number of complex positions on the question of possible ways to change the status of Yugoslavia, as well as the need for its preservation. In the Slavic space there was a difference in "ideas" regarding the role of external and internal things. Proponents of the concept of the decisive role of external factors are

mainly Serbian researchers. Let us note the main monograph by V. Djuretic, as well as the works of M. Ekmečić, P. Jakšić, M. Jovanovic, I. Marković [5]. Some aspects of Western anti-crisis technologies and national interests are presented in the studies of I. Minin and M. Tsrnborniya. [20].

Research results and their discussion. Researchers increasingly emphasize the need for a careful study of ethno-political processes in Yugoslavia, as they had a significant impact on the course and results of the conflict. Understanding the historical roots and motivations of different ethnic groups helps develop effective strategies to resolve conflict and build peaceful coexistence. One of the key aspects of Yugoslavia's post-conflict development is the process of national reconciliation and cooperation between different ethnic groups. This process requires not only political will and effort on the part of leaders, but also the active participation of public organizations, media, educational institutions and international partners. Of particular importance is the interaction of political parties and public organizations in the process of post-conflict development. The participation of civil society in dialogue, peace initiatives and projects to promote national reconciliation plays an important role in creating the conditions for sustainable peace and justice. Partnerships with international organizations and states are also a key element of successful post-conflict development. Support from the international community helps build trust between parties to conflict, ensure respect for human rights and promote economic and social recovery.

Conclusion. Thus, research on the party-political transformation of Serbia and other countries of the former Yugoslavia plays an important role in understanding the complex processes of post-conflict development in the region. Active interaction between political parties, public organizations, international partners and civil society contributes to strengthening peace, stability and prosperity in the Balkans. Special attention is paid to the economic recovery and development of the region. To ensure sustainable development, it is necessary to overcome the consequences of war destruction, create a favorable investment climate, promote the development of small and medium-sized businesses, and introduce innovative technologies.

An important aspect of post-conflict development is also the restoration of the legal order and institutional mechanisms. This includes reforms in the fields of justice, law enforcement, administration and local government.

The role of the international community in supporting the post-conflict development of Yugoslavia is also extremely important. This includes financial assistance, expert support for reforms, participation in peacekeeping operations and assistance in the process of integration of countries in the region into European and world structures. In the context of studying the post-conflict development of Yugoslavia, significant attention is also paid to the social aspects of the reconstruction of the region. This includes working on the reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, promoting the psychological rehabilitation of war victims, and supporting socially vulnerable groups. One of the main steps in the post-conflict development process is to support the participation of youth and women in various areas of public life. This helps strengthen democracy, promotes the inclusion of diverse population groups in the decision-making process, and contributes to the creation of sustainable development for the region as a whole. In addition, an important component of post-conflict development is also the promotion of intercultural dialogue and increasing tolerance in society. This helps overcome interethnic and religious contradictions, strengthens social solidarity and promotes the establishment of peaceful relations between different ethnic groups. Finally, in the process of post-conflict development, it is necessary to pay attention to such issues as the protection of human rights, the fight against corruption, the development of civil society and the creation of conditions for citizen participation in decision-making at all levels of government.

In general, the study and analysis of the post-conflict development of Yugoslavia requires an integrated approach and consideration of various aspects, including social, economic, political and cultural factors. Continuing scientific research in this area will make it possible to effectively solve complex problems associated with the development of the region after the conflict. The

Serbian political system has gone through a number of changes and transformations, reflecting complex socio-political processes in the country. An important point was the transition to a multi-party system and the establishment of democratic institutions. Serbia's post-conflict transformation took place in a complex regional context. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, new independent states emerged, such as Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Macedonia. Ethnic conflicts and territorial disputes broke out between some of these states. Regional instability complicated the process of reconciliation and normalization of relations between the former republics. Serbia found itself at the center of many of these conflicts and faced accusations of war crimes during the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international community has played a significant role in Serbia's post-conflict development. After the Yugoslav wars, the UN and NATO launched peacekeeping operations in the region. The European Union and the United States provided political and economic support to Serbia in the process of democratization and European integration.

After the overthrow of Milosevic, Serbia's foreign policy was focused on integration with the West. The country has signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union and has expressed interest in joining NATO. However, in recent years, Serbia has also sought to strengthen ties with Russia, which is seen as a strategic partner in the fields of energy, security and trade. The rapprochement with Russia has caused concern in the West, which seeks to maintain its influence in the region. Serbia finds itself in a difficult position trying to balance relations with two major world powers.

Today, Serbia faces a number of political and economic challenges. The country remains divided over issues of nationality, ethnicity and historical memory. Corruption and organized crime remain serious problems. Serbia also faces tensions with Kosovo, which declared independence in 2008. Serbia does not recognize the independence of Kosovo and seeks to resolve the status of the region through dialogue and negotiations. In addition to internal problems, Serbia faces a number of external challenges. The country is at the epicenter of international relations between the West and Russia. It must skillfully maneuver between these two forces, defending its interests and maintaining stability in the region.

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