

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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Leonardo Artuković

Zagreb, September, 2021

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EUROPE**

Master's Thesis

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Zagreb, September, 2021

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SUMMARY AND KEYWORDS

This paper emphasizes the importance of characteristic leaders in post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Leadership is the influence and process of influencing people so that they rapidly and enthusiastically strive to achieve group goals. The most important leadership factor is the leader himself, who puts himself at the forefront to encourage others to achieve the set goals. Some of the characteristics of leaders are the ability to use power successfully and responsibly (without abuse), the ability to understand human beings have different motives, and the ability to inspire or stimulate motivation. Post-communism is the period of political and economic transformation or „transition“ in former communist states located in parts of Europe and Asia, in which new governments aimed to create free-market-oriented capitalist economies. Post-communism in Central and Eastern Europe came after the fall of the Berlin wall. This was the time when transitions occurred through Europe, behind the so-called *iron curtain*. In this paper, we have singled out the significant leaders of post-communism in Central and Southeastern Europe. Each of them has expressed skills in their own way through the various difficulties that befell them. This thesis aims to analyze the keywords and adjectives being used to describe these post-communistic leaders, such as *independent, strong, father, nationalist, patriot, brave*, and so on. This research will aim to define 20-30 such words and define the frequency in which words are used to describe these leaders. Moreover, this research aims to describe what words are used the most for which leader to achieve a complete understanding of the public perception of different leaders in different post-communistic countries. This analysis will provide specific results in the most frequent words used to describe post-communistic leaders.

Keywords: leadership, post-communism, characteristics, media, influence, president

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1. INTRODUCTION

Political leadership is one of the various subsystems of the broader concept of social leadership, which implies the direction of public and social activities towards the management of general social activities. Such leadership is included in the analysis of beliefs, values, power relations, ethical norms, attitudes, and actions of the leaders and followers in a specific temporal context and environment. Also, political leadership is a rather profound concept that encompasses many more areas of activity, a necessary concept that points to the broader picture of leadership. The idea of leadership should be distinguished from leading, and especially from management. While management is focused on achieving the goals of the organization with the help of other people who perform operational tasks in the function of achieving the goals, leadership is one of the functions of management seen as an interaction between people and followers. Leaders stand at the top of a group of people, act inspiring and motivating, and help their subgroups achieve their own goals by fully activating their mental and physical abilities. Thus, a leader is “a person who occupies a central role or position of dominance and influence within a group.” The president is expected to fulfill all leading roles in all activities (Kellerman, 1984, p. 13). All roles derive their legitimacy from someone's sources of authority. The presidential role derives its legitimacy from the Constitution of the State. To further examine the nature of presidential leadership, it is useful to consider the time and quality of life in the country where this guidance is implemented, as well as the tactics of leadership, especially in post-communist countries, which will be effective in an environment that assumes democracy.

1.1. Object and purpose of the thesis

The thesis analyzes the characteristics which are assigned to individual leaders after the fall of communism. Through this work, we identified 20 adjectives through the "pool" of characteristics assigned to a leader and the frequency of these terms related to the content on the Internet. This paper points to data on the relative intensity of characteristics of leaders on the Internet.

1.2. Data sources and collection methods

Various research methods were used to achieve the goals of this paper. Domestic and foreign literature was used to write the theoretical part of the paper. A survey of secondary sources was conducted, and data were collected from various articles, books, textbooks and websites dealing with similar topics. The method of description was used with the analytical-synthetic method, and the conclusion was made at the end of the paper using the deductive-logical method after the results were found. Literature was collected in the library of the Faculty of Economics and Business and National University Library (NSK). Given that this is a relatively new topic, most of the literature presented is from foreign literature in the form of scientific and professional articles available on online websites. The empirical analysis was made to gain new insights into leaders' characteristics and their mention on available websites.

1.3. The content and structure of the thesis

This paper consists of six interconnected parts.

The introductory chapter sets out the basic objectives of the paper so that the reader initially knows in which direction the thesis is written. Data sources and collection methods for the theoretical and empirical part of the paper are being listed.

The second chapter begins with an elaboration of the topic. The notion of leadership, types, and styles is described, along with the leadership approaches, the importance of leadership in transition countries, how complex it can be, how to characterize leadership in a country, and what are the casualties if leaders' characteristics are mostly negative.

The third chapter presents a set of countries from Central and Eastern Europe. We describe these countries in the period 1980-2000, their governing leadership, economy, state laws, and the officials's biography, who will later become presidents of these same countries in post-communism.

The fourth unit refers to the postcommunism leaders of various countries. In this chapter, we will look at important politicians as to how and in what way they dealt with the problems in their home country. The unit covers countries and politicians from Croatia and Franjo Tudjman, who created both the state and the social order during the war, to Boris Yeltsin, who tried to bring a breath of the West to the then aging and poor Russia, which lost much of its resources with the collapse of the USSR.

Finally, the fifth unit shows an empirical part of the paper in which the methodology, sample, and results of the analysis are presented. The results of the presented analysis complement and help connect the theoretical and empirical part of the paper. This chapter also presents possible limitations of the empirical analysis.

2. LEADERSHIP

It is a well-known fact that leadership is defined in different ways; that is, different authors have various definitions. On the one hand, this is because leadership is not precisely defined, unlike the function of management. The functions of management are clear, such as management and planning, while they cannot be defined in leadership. Leadership actually refers most to the relationship between leader-follower relationship, and that is immeasurable. Leadership is a process whereby a single individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common achievement (Northouse, 2010). The definition of leadership as a process means that leadership is not a trait or characteristic within the person performing the role of a leader but an event that occurs due to the interaction between the leader and the follower. Leadership includes influence related to the way the leader acts on followers, and it takes place in groups. Leadership is also defined as the ability to influence, inspire, and motivate an individual or group toward achieving the desired goal. Some authors see leadership as an art of influencing people, so they readily and enthusiastically strive to achieve common goals. As it turns out, leadership is a dynamic process in a group (Buble, 2006). Still, most researchers agree that the following elements should be taken into account in defining political leadership: the personality and traits of a leader or leaders, the traits and ethical-cultural character of the followers with whom the leader interacts, the societal or organizational context in which the leader-follower interaction occurs, the nature of the leader's interpretive judgment, and the effects or results of leadership.

2.1. Definition of leadership

The concept of leadership has a long history. Although the present concept of it was introduced by Robert Greenleaf in the 1970s, the initial concept of leadership by service emerged thousands of years ago. In his book "Tao Te Ching," somewhere 600 years BC, Chinese sage Lao Tzu, in his book "Tao Te Ching," presented a strategic discussion on leadership by service. He emphasizes: "The greatest leaders forget about themselves and they dedicate themselves to the development of others. Good leaders support excellent employees. Great leaders support the worst ten percent. Great leaders know to be "unpolished diamonds are always found in an unpolished state." Sometime later, 300 BC in India, Chanakya, an adviser to the Emperor Chandragupt wrote about leadership by serving in his book "Arthashastra" where he states: "In to the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare, his welfare. He

will not consider good what satisfies him but consider useful what satisfies his subjects. He also considers that “The king (leader) is actually a paid servant who enjoys the state resources along with other people living in the kingdom.” With the appearance of Jesus Christ and his teachings presented in the Gospel of Mark, we come across the "Western" approach to the idea of leadership by service - the elders must be servants: "You know that those who are acknowledge the rulers of the nations cruelly treat to them and that their nobles use their power against them. But so be it not among you! On the contrary, who would wanted to be the greatest among you, let him be your server! And whoever wants to be first among you, let him be a slave to all for the Son of man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life as a ransom instead of all! ". A leader is a unique human who chooses, coaches and impacts on one or more assistants who have various talents and skills valid enough to fulfill organization businesses and missions. In this process, the leader presents the predictive power of sight in order to get interpersonal communication, including active listening and positive interaction. The leader achieves this using what is right and wrong and seeks the greater good of the subordinates, including their private continuation of personal development as an interlinkage with the leader. Leadership is a historical phenomenon that, due to the time and place where it happened, changes according to its structure and method, which will later affect events and outcomes. Depending on the environment, leaders sometimes need to abandon their foundations and instruments because this way of working no longer exists in the new environment. Also, they must be willing to assimilate so that they can readily adopt new methods and reconsider their previously rejected ideas if circumstances require a moment. Leadership is a part of multicausal social processes that bring about concrete political outcomes – election results, for example (King 2002; Greenstein 2004). Leadership is of more recent usage. According to Keith Davis, “Leadership is the ability to persuade others to seek defined objectives enthusiastically. It is the human factor which binds a group together and motivates it towards goals.” Leadership is defined in different ways. Some definitions look at leadership as a character trait, which allows individuals to lead the organization towards a common goal. Other researchers emphasize the importance of skills and knowledge, which effectively manage the individual’s organization. Leadership can also be viewed as a distribution of social power within the organization. A leader possesses power and uses it to move members of the organization towards achieving a common goal. Furthermore, some definitions focus on the behaviour of leaders, to cause adequate changes in the organization, and other situations as a critical factor of effective leadership. Leadership is an interactive and social process whose elements include situations, followers, and the influences of the leaders, who, by their power, determine the meaning and

direction of activities (Pierce, Newstrom, 2008). Against this background is the observation of leadership, as an act of meaning and clarity defining tasks, where the behaviour of the leader is consistent with his words (Drucker, 1995). Leadership is the process of influencing the activity of an organized group towards the achievement of goals. At the same time, leaders are people who make a constant effective contribution to the social order, what they are expected to do (Yukl, 2006). In contemporary approaches, the emphasis of leadership shifts from the individual to interpersonal relationships among people. Leadership is a reciprocal relationship between people. However, it should be noted that contemporary concepts of leadership are partly compatible with traditional approaches, which focus on leaders' unique personalities and character traits. Namely, leadership is a complex term, encompassing all the above aspects, the essence of which is realizing the potential of the people he leads. Accordingly, personality predispositions are important but not enough to be successfully realized as a leader potential. How much a person's predispositions will be articulated through successful leadership depends on several factors, such as education and experience, and thoughtful and responsible work being of particular importance.

2.2. Leadership theories

The Great Man Theory

The beginning of leadership studies can be characterized by the "Great Man Theory" (Malakyan, 2014). This theory assumes that there are leaders born to lead. In public discourse on leadership, the Great Man theory claims that specific individuals are powerful people who have received special gifts from God. It assumes that those people have been placed on Earth to provide the new view of the world needed to uplift man and the meaning of his existence. The theory is mainly related to the thoughts of Thomas Carlyle in the spring of 1840. Carlyle gave a series of six public lectures on the role the heroes played in shaping history. The following year, these lectures were grouped into a single volume entitled: *About heroes, heroic worship, and heroism in history*. With that title, the Great Man theory was born. There were many crises and upheavals at the time, such as the Napoleonic Wars and accelerated industrialization. During that time, Thomas Carlyle, born in Scotland (1795-1881), sought the source of strength because he did not see any strength left within the Church. (Bossche, 1991). Carlyle will occasionally be mentioned in contemporary research studies as a part of leadership studies. Carlyle's theory, despite its lack of scientific rigor, is still considered relevant today, especially in a world crying out for a new hero to save it, both economically

and spiritually. There is no great academic logic on this theory due to their assumptions that all people with required leadership traits could have significant roles, whereas the theory considers only men as great leaders.

The Trait Theory of Leadership

According to many researchers, this theory was an upgrade to the Great Man theory to provide a leadership study framework (Malakyan, 2014). Even though this theory is not fully articulated with the various developed hypotheses, this approach was fundamental of most leadership studies during the early 1950s and 1960s. The trait theory mainly focuses on leaders' personal characteristics and attributes, such as physical and personal competencies and values. Leadership theorists summarised those certain qualities were needed to become a successful leader, such as high energy, motivation, intelligence, integrity, and competence in their area of expertise (Johns & Moser, 1989). As we mentioned already, many researchers did not find any differences between leaders and followers with respect to leader characteristics. Even more, the connection between those individuals who possessed these traits made them less likely to become leaders. Additionally, there are not many scientific research papers on the processes by which one person acquires holding leadership capacity. Strengths of the trait theory can manifest in a detailed knowledge and understanding of the leader element in a leadership process. On the other hand, the main limitation of this theory could occur in a subjective judgment of the persons who determine who is regarded as a good or efficient leader, which again leads to a very complex task.

The Path Goal theory of Leadership

Based on this theory, leadership behavior is the source of the impact that can change an individual subordinate's viewpoint, motivation, and behavior (Malik et al., 2014). This theory requires leaders who possess various skills, are interested in extending a culture to adopt directions, are supportive and achievement oriented. Furthermore, leaders who are eager to learn can adopt one of these types of behaviours to achieve the goal of influencing subordinates' experience and comprehension. The path-goal theory's middle point is a variety of leadership behaviours that have been used to motivate subordinates to accomplish preference goals. Leaders line up their view of the approach to inspire employees in agreement with the needs of work situations. The most important thing is that path-goal leaders need to be self-confident and highly inborn, but also able to interpret their skills and dispositions of the employees. These abilities qualify leaders to enrol a various leadership styles that will most

probably inspire employees toward aspiration effort to facilitate corporation goals. Within the bounds of this theory, leaders bring into service one of four leadership styles (directive, supportive, participative, and achievement-oriented) to motivate and produce a sidewalk for goal acquirements. The behaviour of leaders is dependent on four primary elements: the situation, the needs, the environment, and the employees' characteristics employees. The situation refers to the compliance of the current issue and dilemmas or goals that have generated a need to intensify the employee power. The demand deals with the barriers (e.g., policies, structures, psychological competitiveness) that discourage or limit employee professionalism. It usually refers to emotional intelligence, awareness of abilities, weaknesses, and other attributes of the employee. According to this information, successful leaders recruit styles to create a road track for employees to achieve desired goals. As the author of this document already mentions, when this theory comes up to leaders, they select among four leadership approaches to utilize every employee: directive, supportive, participative, or achievement oriented (Fulk & Wendler, 1982, Jermier, 1996). The directive style is used to define the steps in the procedures and make an outcome for situations that require clear directions, such as tasks that need to be completed immediately followed by strict deadlines and continuous supervision from the leader. This style is often used when the goals are not clear enough, the workforce is inexperienced, and the task is highly complex. The Supportive style is used when a leader sympathizes with employees and has an open-door policy where his behaviour is friendly. There is a lot of mutual respect, equal treatment among workers, and creating a sense of belonging for all workforce under this style. Furthermore, this type of approach can be very effective when employees are aware of their capabilities even when they feel unmotivated due to their work routine. Leaders who follow this theory may also assimilate it with the participative leadership style in which they give support to employees to engage in the decision-making process. This type of style leaders utilizes when employees are well skilled, and there are experts in their own field of work. Finally, the fourth type is the achievement-oriented leadership style, which issued when the workforce has support from the upper management level to meet high standards. In this style, the leader gives maximum confidence to employees and encourages them to reach their full potential. Leaders help workers boost confidence in their own abilities and technical skills while achieving goals. The path-goal theory gives a flexible system to leaders because it is very dynamic and may use more than one approach with a single individual employee. The path-goal theory seeks to create a high level of motivation and satisfaction among workers.

The Behavioural Theory of Leadership

The behavioural theory of leadership, unlike others, emphasizes the view that people become leaders throughout their lives, and that they are not necessarily born with this attitude. Even those who have been inconspicuous during certain years of life can learn how to become a leader and handle specific situations. Behavioural theorists have split this theory into two subgroups:

- The first group represents a focus on performing a company task
- The second group advocates a focus on meeting the needs of employees

The behavioural model of leadership is based on the behaviour of leaders. The central point of leadership are not the characteristics of leaders or their skills, but the question: what leaders do and how they do it. Initial studies of the behavioural approach to leadership were conducted at Ohio and Michigan Universities. The first research on this type of leadership was conducted at Ohio University in the late 1940s. The research was based on a 150-item questionnaire distributed to the numerous workforce who work in the educational system, military, and economy staff. The researchers looked for a link between leadership and the two dimensions of behaviour: “initiating structure” and “understanding.” The first dimension of the study was focused on a manager’s behaviour, whose focus was achieving goals and tasks within a given deadline. In contrast, the second dimension of the study was focused on behaviour in interpersonal relationships, trust, and respect for the ideas and feelings of subordinates.

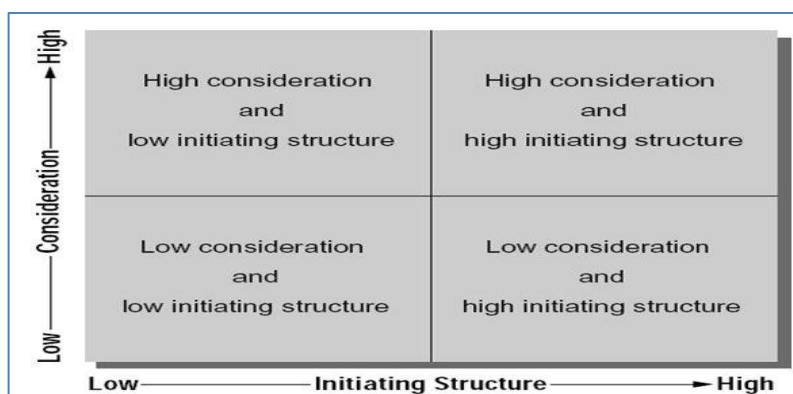


Image 1. The behavioural model of leadership

Source: Based on Stogdill, R.M., and Coons, A. E.(eds.) (1957). *Leader Behaviour: Its Description and Measurement*, Research Monograph No. 88. Columbus, OH: Bureau of Business Research, The Ohio State University.

The research at the University of Michigan, conducted at the same time, treated two types of behaviour: task-oriented and people-oriented. In this study too, these two orientations were defined as independent dimensions. The results of the research emphasized the importance of focusing on people. Research at Ohio and Michigan universities have not had convincing results. Their contribution is that they have shown the need for a managerial orientation to both the task and the people. The managerial grid model is the most well-known behavioural model of leadership. This model was developed by Blake and Mounton (1964) as a management network. Later, the authors upgraded and renamed this model a leadership network. The management network model has two dimensions of behaviour:

a) understanding for production - any aspect of what the organization wants to achieve (horizontal coordinate).

b) understanding for people - good interpersonal relations, working conditions, accurate salary system, promotion of individual values, building commitment and trust, etc. (vertical coordinate).

There is a scale of 1 to 9 points on the coordinates (1 is the minimum and 9 is the maximum comprehension). We have the following positions online:

- Position 5.5 indicates a balance of "understanding" with average success. Later, in the leadership network, this position was labelled as "compromise management" - to avoid conflicts, the leader promotes a middle level of production and interpersonal relationships.
- Position 9.9. shows the best performance of the manager, as the concordance of the organizations and individual's goals is ensured. In the leadership network, this position is defined as team management - a high level of human participation and compliance with the needs of employees and their commitment to work tasks.
- Position 1.1. shows the least degree of understanding for both production and humans. In the leadership network, it is marked as impoverished management - the manager is inexperienced, irresponsible, indifferent, and reluctant.
- Position 1.9 shows a high understanding for people but too little understanding for production. In the leadership network, this position is formulated as a country management club - managers are not prone to conflict, they are cooperative with people, and they diminish the importance of production.

- Position 9.1. signifies great understanding for production but little understanding for people. In the leadership network, this position is defined as authoritarian management - the leader has a demanding and energetic attitude, loves control, sees people achieve results, and communication comes down to giving instructions.

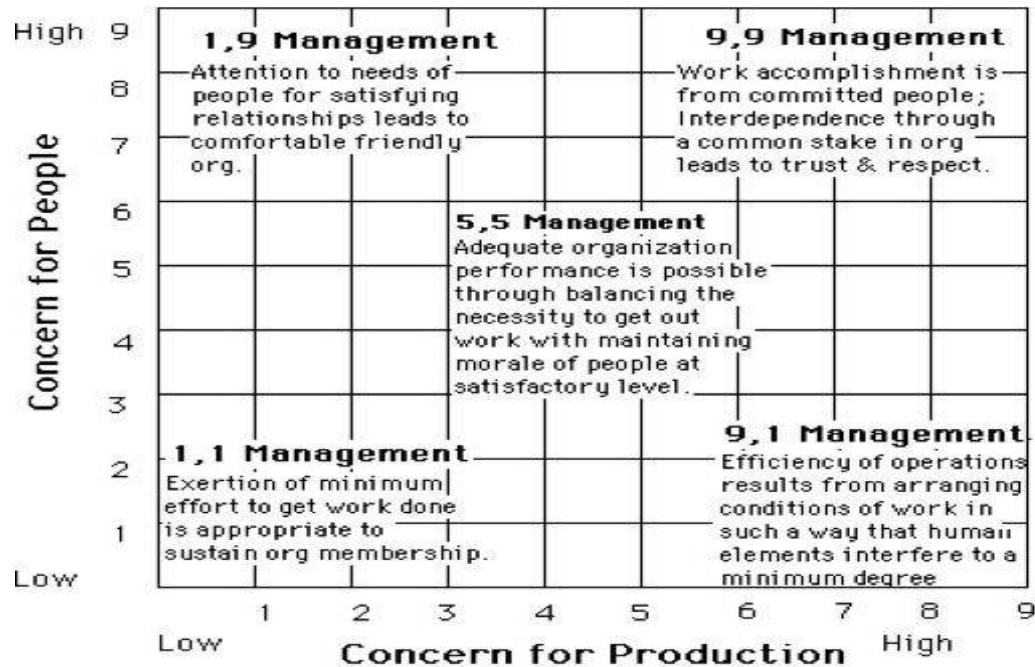


Image 2. Managerial grid model

Source: Managerial Grid from R. Blake and J. Mouton, "Managerial Facades," *Advanced Management Journal*, July 1966, 31.

The authors of the network (Blake and Mouton) identified two more behaviours:

- Paternalism - the leader uses positions 1.9 and 9.1. but does not integrate them. Therefore, people and production goals are viewed separately. He is seen as a "merciful dictator." People are rewarded if they are loyal and obedient, while disobedience is punished.
- Opportunism - a leader uses any position on the network to achieve personal advancement. A leader endures effort only if a personal gain is included.

Furthermore, the authors concluded that managers have some dominant behaviour, which is most often used. Still, they also have a second or reserved behaviour when under pressure, i.e., when the problem is not in line with their dominant experience. The behavioural leadership model points to the main components of leadership behaviour: the task to be performed and the relationship with employees. This approach shifts the focus of leadership research from the leader's personality to their behaviour, broadening the subject matter of the study.

Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

Leader-member exchange (LMX) theory views the relationship standard between a leader and subordinates as crucial in understanding leadership results on members and organizations. The initial theory of "leader-member exchange" was presented by Danserau, Graen, and The Hague (1975), and later this theory underwent several stages of development. The source of the LMX model is in the view of "vertical dyad relations" (sociological theory exchanges). In sociology, "dyad" means a group of two people (the smallest social group). The theory of vertical dyad relations focuses on the vertical relations of leaders and every individual member of the organization. According to this theory, leaders develop different relationships with followers. Researchers distinguish two basic types of connections and members:

- a) "Close ties," which form an internal group (refers additionally to the agreed roles).
- b) connections with formally defined roles - external group

Foremost, the LMX theory shows how leaders are friendlier and more communicative with some subordinates who in charge of reporting them. Furthermore, leaders benefit from the trust and high-quality relationships with the subset of the team who have a more inclusive connection. The main idea of this theory is that leaders should make a greater effort to develop positive relationships with organizational members and create an interaction between leaders and followers. On that point, the leader will get inspired to gain positive interactions within the organization, leading to high-quality results. The LMX theory became an influential leadership type that evolved over the past 50 years. The evolution of the relation between the leader and subordinates begins with the first phase, called the stranger phase. In this phase, the subordinate is relatively new to the organization. In addition, the leader needs some time to develop a relationship with the subordinates, because it is based on the autocratic style in which the interchange is restricted to the hierarchical status of the co-worker. Subordinates' primary motivation is payment and security but overtime the relationship moves on to the acquaintance phase. This phase is a pivotal stage in building a relationship. It starts when an employee or a leader gives insights about personal life to each other. According to experience, this is the time when workers decide whether they want to take on further responsibilities in which the leader

regulates the offers to employees' professional challenges. Leaders need some time and space to decide when and how they could give more responsibility to the employees. These responsibilities include a level of loyalty, intellectual capacity, socioeconomic intelligence, skills, and the worker's ability to work efficiently with the other members. If they cannot fulfil this relationship in the acquittance phase, the employee will be back to the stranger phase. The leaders need to develop high-quality relationships with as many people as possible. Therefore, high-quality exchange relationships have significant positive effects for the leader, the followers, and the organization. Moreover, creating and maintaining those relationships is an essential dimension of effective leadership.

2.3. Leadership characteristics

Even though their numerous leadership styles, a leader needs specific traits and characteristics to succeed in performing this job, accomplishing complex tasks that appear over time. Modern business conditions and a fast-changing environment require a wide range of skills from a leader. The leaders are also supposed to be greatly motivated for lifelong learning with the innate ability to lead ceases to be crucial. The basic characteristics of a leader can be acquired during the shaping period of his or her life where the individual strives to get the most out of each situation. Each person can potentially become a leader since everyone possesses different virtues and flaws, with positive and negative character traits. An individual will be a successful leader when he or she establishes a stable and solid character. Despite all the virtues, wrong and bad nature leads to desperate results. Among many virtues that a man can have, the nine most important ones for leading people and organizations have been singled out. Personality and character cannot be withdrawn from leadership. "There are certain generic leadership traits, and seven important ones are: enthusiasm, integrity, toughness, fairness, warmth, humility and confidence" (Adair, 2004, p.121). Different authors list different virtues that are necessary for successful leadership. In that light, the author of this thesis, based on the reviewed literature, has established different virtues that are necessary for becoming a successful leader: (Campbell, 2002., Lowney, 2004., Havard, 2015):

Self-awareness - every leader who steps towards long-term success must look at himself or herself realistically and objectively because that is the only way he or she can see the potential shortcoming. Only through an objective style can a successful leader change himself or herself through a constantly evolving modern world. Self-awareness helps leaders to really see their plans and goals, and the problems that will be found along the way.

Diplomacy - as a term, has been familiar ever since the time of ancient civilizations. It is the ability to form coalitions with other people of different interests and goals. It is extremely important to create an ability that allows for a coalition with different people within an organization, including superior and subordinate people, and the external factors that significantly affect your goals. Leaders must be capable diplomats, which is best seen in political leadership because those individuals who understand the different needs of different peoples can, by compromise, lead to achieve the goal. The leaders also need to be exceptional tacticians, calm in nature, and well connected to many people who can provide help with the necessary things.

Fairness - this virtue is the foundation of equitable distribution and proper behaviour of treating everyone equally. However, that seems impossible, especially from the perspective of a follower. Considering that he or she might be at the helm just a leader, not creating a potential problem within the organization in the distribution of some demanding tasks, awarding prizes and other activities assigned to the subordinates. Righteousness allows everyone to get what they deserve considering their work and effort. Justice is possibly also applicable to the external environment, in which leaders show compassion and care for the social environment.

Feedback - the leader must be able to carefully observe and listen to the observations of his or her employees, team members, clients, and customers. The leader is expected to share the information obtained in a way that everyone involved finds useful. Leaders who are skilled in verbal communication are also skilled in providing feedback. They are good coaches who give constructive advice and good teachers (convey information that is important to the employees) who are required to be honest and not suppress information that could cause potential harm.

Courage (heroism) - in the modern world, it is not easy to be brave and realistic at the same time. We can see an example of heroism in different countries during difficult times, especially in the ones that had to go through a transition process. Almost every day, the leader must show courage in making risky decisions and needs to be persistent when it comes to dealing with difficulties that may arise in the implementation of plans. Through the virtue of courage, the leader will very quickly be attractive to followers, and the virtue will be manifested through the setting of missions and goals.

Personal energy – a leader must have tremendous energy that will manifest through performing tasks which require long hours and extensive meetings. A leader must lead a disciplined life that will allow him or her physical permanence. People who have a lot of energy are well

balanced and adapt well to different situations. They are also active and constantly on the move, which is extremely important in the eyes of a follower, have an impressive public appearance, and attract with their public image.

Prudence - before making any important decisions, a leader should think about it for a long time and conclude whether it is a good decision for both the individual and the whole team. Such thinking provides a much greater chance of success and quite objectively shows the potential shortcomings. Many decisions have been made through haste and longing for success that later led to the failure of set goals, so this virtue encourages a calm way of thinking that can lead to a positive change within the organization.

Vision - leaders who were successful visionaries often became well-known personalities who contributed to a better society. This virtue is extremely important because it labels a person as someone who has a vision for the future. It also presents a person extremely persuasive in presenting ideas, who is very resourceful because he or she uses resources to achieve goals, has a global worldview, and is not just nationally aware.

Self-governance - for individuals to successfully lead people or communities, the leaders need to master their emotions and personal instincts successfully, i.e., control themselves. From a perspective of a follower, who looks up to the leader as a role model, it is very important to understand the behaviour of leaders. If followers can notice contradictions between the words and deeds of the leaders, there is a weakening of ties and relationships. An effective and efficient leader should rule by behaving and directing follower's efforts, knowledge, skills, and abilities to accomplish the goals that are extremely important to the collective. Loss of self-control leads to disconnection from an objective reality, which jeopardizes the very position of the leader.

Empowerment - A leader must develop the ability to select and establish his followers who are committed to the organization's goals. Leaders who are influential in encouraging empowerment, help others achieve more than they think they can. They also mentor their followers by providing them various challenging tasks. The leaders can also recognize a good characteristic in others and their potential early. The leader is the person whose support is important when the time comes for it. Most importantly, the leader must have tremendous confidence in his people and not doubt their ability.

The effectiveness and efficiency of leaders in the activities they perform contribute to their personal development and achieve positive things that can improve the skills and abilities they possess (Kruckeberg, Amann and Green, 2011). It is necessary to analyse the personality, knowledge, and skills that leaders currently possess. An objective analysis indicates the current state, from which visions of a desirable future are seen as goals to be achieved. Such a way and perseverance can encourage leaders to make changes that will bring them positive results. After the set vision, plans and goals, the leaders decide on techniques and tools to achieve the desired results. Bahtijarević-Šiber, Sikavica, and Pološki Vokić (2007) point out that there is another exceptional factor for a leader's personal development, and that is successful time management. Although a person may have many skills and abilities and does not know how to organize time well, he will not be able to reach the desired results. Leaders are efficient and effective, but above all, they must be fast. With a good personal time management, results will be noticeable. Time management refers to the behaviour of a leader whose goal is to effectively use his or her time while performing activities that defined by the goal (Pološki Vokić and Mrđenović, 2008). When a leader plans how to spend his time, it includes the claims needed to accomplish the ultimate goals and realize those claims. The selection of priorities among the various tasks needs to be done, and a list of other resources needs to be made to create the tasks (Pološki Vokić and Mrđenović, 2008). The next step involves adhering to the schedule made in the previous step. It consists of five steps (Morgenstern, 2000) sorting potential activities by different categories, omitting all unnecessary activities, determining the time needed to perform other activities, focusing on problems to be done within the scheduled time, and schedule adjustment. R. L. Katz believes that all managers must possess these three basic types of knowledge and skills: technical knowledge and skills - in terms of knowing the way the business process takes place; knowledge and skills in dealing with people - in terms of communicating with other people, skills of working with others and the ability to motivate others; conceptual knowledge and skills - in terms of the leader's ability to think conceptually, activating the "right side of the brain,", and a high degree of imagination and creation.

2.4. Leadership styles

Leadership styles continuously adapt to dynamic changes, business conditions, and the environment in which the leader acts. The accelerated development of information technology and artificial intelligence has greatly contributed to new leadership styles. Due to the emergence of the pandemic, new forms of organizations are appearing, such as virtual organizations which

have contributed to new ways of leadership. It is very difficult to see which style is the most used, so the leader must be willing to use a combination of different styles that responds to the situation at a given time. Classical leadership styles rely mainly on the behaviour of leaders (Cerović, 2003). The initial categorization of leadership behaviours, i.e., styles, was performed by Lewin (1939), distinguishing:

Autocratic leadership style

The concept of autocratic leadership was popularized after the results of a series of experiments involving children and adult leaders came out. (Lewin, Lippitt, and White, 1939). Autocratic leadership sometimes referred to as authoritarian leadership (e.g. Bass, 1990), refers to a series of reactions that leaders use to strengthen their power, authority, and decision making (De Hoog, Greer, & Den Hartog, 2015). An autocratic leadership style, also known as an authoritarian style, is a way of leading characterized by individual control over all decisions and very little influence of the group members. Autocratic leaders make decisions based on their ideas and assessments and rarely accept the advice of followers. Such style of leadership, as its name suggests, represents a way of governing in which all power is in the hands of one person, which has unlimited decision-making power. With an autocratic leadership style, the leader holds his power and responsibilities and deploys subordinates to clearly defined tasks. The flow of communication mainly takes place from the top to the bottom down. The basic characteristics of an authoritative leadership style are very little influence of the subgroup members, the leader makes all significant decisions and takes responsibility for potential failure. Also, group members have no inspiration to contribute to solving tasks and the leader manages the group by examples of punishments and rewards. There is a strong hierarchy in which each member knows their place, so that autocratic leadership can be useful in specific cases, i.e., when decisions need to be made urgently and without consultation with other people. For example, autocratic leadership can be extremely useful in times of war, or natural disaster, where the leader, through an autocratic style, takes responsibility and establishes firm plans to stabilize the situation. Followers generally do not like this type of leadership, primarily because of the feeling of fear and anxiety that occurs in them and their environment. But the positive side of this style is that each member of the group knows their task. Leaders adopting an autocratic style also viewed subordinates “as either contributory or obstacles to efforts to meet their goals” (de Luque, Washburn, Waldman, & House, 2008, p. 630). Moreover, the implementation of autocratic leadership was negatively spread out, introducing a negative intuition in people's minds about leaders who take advantage of this style. In the case of

unethical and immoral practices, minimal time is needed to solve the problem due to the concentration of power in the hands of individuals. On the other side, when it comes to the orders and commands, the power is in the hands of the leader (Buble, 2011).

Democratic leadership style

The democratic leadership model is found in McGregor's (1960) Theory Y assumptions in which the leaders employ their interest to stimulate involvement, brace servant effort, and claim their investment toward realizing organizational goals. Under this model, employees' motivation, participation, and the tendency are looked at as the proper way to employees operating as a team. The leaders using the democratic style focus on the organization's business, establishing a development of the staff, permanently ensuring them with the feedback of upgrading. On the opposite side of the autocratic leadership style, the democratic leadership style appears with an interesting approach to empowering followers to make a crucial decision. Democratic leaders allocate power to subordinates, pass out important tasks and encompass them in the decision-making process (Gastil, 1994).

On the other hand, while autocratic leaders use their own power in making decisions, democratic leaders encourage an equal approach. The democratic leadership style implies subordinates' participation in decision-making, which means that this leader delegates his authority to all levels of management within the company but retains ultimate responsibility. The democratic style shows the range of possibilities for involving subordinates in participation while setting the goals, mission, and vision of organizations (Buble, 2011). Democratic leadership is also known as participative or shared leadership. Each one of the subordinates of an organization shares the decision-making process. All members have identical rights to propose ideas before the final decision. This style of leadership influences people's behaviour due to their consistency in the basic democratic principles, such as self-determination, inclusiveness, and equal participation (Dahl, 1989). All members in an organization are stimulated to give new ideas and opinions, although the leader keeps the final word over decisions. Creativity is awarded and wanted, and members are freer to do complex tasks. They give credit to a leader's honesty and intelligence, and they have faith that the leader will give them all important information prior to any discussion. Furthermore, democratic leaders seek to turn subordinates into leaders (Theilen & Poole, 1986). The leader's desire is to encourage the team to think outside of the box and to look at the same issue from different angles. Group

members also feel more involved and responsible for projects, ensuring that they will take care of the result. Communication is a two-way street, and it has a motivating effect, both on groups and individuals. Democratic leadership works best in groups with highly competent members who want to share their knowledge. It is also very important to have enough time for the group members to participate, develop a plan, and then vote on the best option. Although the democratic style, by its persistence, is one of the most effective leadership styles, it has its drawbacks. When the roles are unclear or time is crucial, the democratic leadership style can lead to interpersonal mistakes and failed projects. This is the main disadvantage of this leadership style because the implementation of the idea itself takes longer, and the agreement requires additional time (Buble, 2011). In some cases, problems may occur when the members of the group do not have the necessary experience to contribute to problem-solving. Resolution is deliberately consolidated when most of the members get along with the final decision, and the smaller part of the group disagrees and capitulates not to bother actions taken in performing the decision (Beane & Apple, 1999).

Laissez-faire leadership style

Derived from the french word 'Laissez-Faire,' meaning "leave it alone" or "let it be," suits correctly the laissez-faire approach of leadership. It is vital for associations to back up independence and inventiveness with a stimulus. Laissez-faire leader is also called the leader with the "loose hands." This type of leader usually avoids responsibility and uses little or no power, allowing subordinates to set goals. He only helps them achieve those goals by gathering information from the external environment. Laissez-faire leadership style is the elusion or furlough of leadership and is the most passive and inefficient according to nearly all research on the style. On the contrary, there is transactional leadership. (Bass & Avolio, 1994). This leadership style is used when the leader is away. He or she postpones responding to emergency questions, escapes taking a position on serious issues, and making decisions (Bass & Stogdill, 1990). Leaders allow their group members to freely perform by framing their cut-off date. Leaders anticipate the support and recommendation if needed, otherwise, they do not get embroiled. This style can lead to self-government and enormous job satisfaction. Still, it can be a breakdown if group members do not govern their way well or do not have attainment or motivation to perform work efficiently. Laissez-faire style is beneficial in circumstances where members are tremendously skilled, incentivized, and can work independently. Laissez-faire style is depicted as a very effective style, especially where supporters are mature and highly motivated (Hackman, Johnson, 2009). Leaders in this style have a problem with observing the

employees providing them the right feedback. Those members who are mature, well trained, and have a long internship demand little supervision, and they easily fall under this leadership style. On the other hand, not all members pursuit those characteristics. Laissez-faire style interferes with the output of members needing supervision, and this can lead to poor production, shortage of control, and the enhancement of expenses. Some employees are not good at setting their deadlines, managing their projects, and solving problems independently. In such situations, projects can go in the wrong direction and lead to breakthroughs in deadlines due to a superior's lack of guidance and feedback. Other disadvantages of this style could occur in an environment where some employees may make wrong decisions, which may influence the final product. The disadvantages also include some employees who are not confident enough when it comes to a relationship with the supervisor who gives them feedback for solving a problem.

Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is the leadership theory where leaders encourage or promote the development of organization groups and push their performance beyond expectations. Leaders have a strong emotional connection with sub followers, which leads to a higher commitment. The term "Transformational Leadership" became popular in the late 1970s when James MacGregor Burns made a distinction between transactional leaders in a political system where the followers led politicians to a higher moral uplift. This type of leader is influenced and developed by followers, bringing them a greater social image in the political system. Transformational leadership consists of four dimensions (Bass, 1985). First and foremost, the perfect influence of the leaders is the level in which the followers recognize belief, confidence, and ethical and moral orientation. Secondly, the level of motivation shows how leaders communicate their visions to stimulate employees to reach determination goals. Then, there is a level in which the cognitive knowledge and encouragement of the workers refer to leaders who are open to new and original solutions to various problems. The fourth dimension is a single reflection where leaders behave as mentors who provide emotional support for each subordinate. Through all these processes, leaders gain significant results from their followers (Burns, 1978). In this theory, leaders must pay attention to every single member and try to perceive their needs and supply them with necessary support. According to researchers, leaders who follow this theory confront their members to take part when achieving goals to show them a problem-solving ability. Work ethic is an essential piece of this theory, where leaders show

the importance of ethics and highly developed skills by their example when the work needs to be done. Transformational leadership is a very popular method nowadays due to a fast-changing and complex environment where leaders demand an extra effort from the followers to get the job done and where job descriptions cannot be specified. As an effective leadership style, transformational leadership has received significant attention in the literature. Transformational leadership is attractive and socially acceptable for a leader offering a vision of the future and seeking to mobilize others to change to satisfy their interests. Therefore, transformational leadership involves an interaction between the leaders and their followers in which their needs have a significant role.

Transactional Leadership

Transactional leadership is based on an exchange (transaction) between a leader and a follower to satisfy their interests. A transactional leader tends to work in an existing culture and has no intention of changing the organization's existing culture (Bass, 1985). This type of leadership keeps organizational constancy through the right social interchange, leading to goal accomplishment for both leaders and their subordinates. Furthermore, the leaders form a pact with the followers to award or take a revised action based on the expected conduct and performance (Avoilio, 2011). It focuses on the phases of management flow: planning, organizing, and controlling. It is therefore prone to goal planning, action execution supervision, and control. In active management, the leader monitors the work and pays attention to deviations from the rules and standards to take corrective actions. This style of leadership is based on motivating followers to meet personal needs. The follower is directed towards the goals through a “call” to his interests. The strength of a transaction comes from the formal leader's authority, that is, from the resource dependent member of the organization. A member of the organization is resource-dependent on the leader and is interested in following the leader's instructions and requirements. On the other hand, the leader supports the motivation of the organization's member, throughout the system of reward and punishment. Thus, at the heart of this style are the individual goals of leaders and followers and their exchange of political, economic, or psychological values. The relationship between leaders and followers does not have to be long-lasting. Namely, the leader and the follower enter a short-term mutually beneficial exchange. Transactional leadership has the following factors (Bass, 1996):

a) Contingent rewarding - setting goals, presenting the reward, arranging the exchange of rewards for work effort, recognition, and recognition of achievements.

b) Active management of the exception where the leader monitors the work, pays attention to deviations from the rules and standards to make corrections to the action.

c) Passive exception management - the leader intervenes correctively only when the standard is not met.

Transactional leaders share values with followers to enhance their position within the organization. Transactional leadership works within the existing culture, motivating people to achieve goals through rewards and punishments by calling on their own interests. Transactional leaders overemphasize details, short-term goals, standards, and procedures. They do not stimulate new ideas and effectiveness and are oriented towards efficiency, costs, and productivity. The connection of the leader with the followers is transient, without emotions.

Servant leadership

The origin of servant leadership was Greenleaf's Model of Servant leadership. The notion of servant leadership was polemicized through an exemplar and founded in his understanding of philosophy and practice. However, it falls short of a technical definition (Greenleaf, 1977). Greenleaf's preliminary assumption was as follows. Firstly, the leader is a servant; moreover, it begins with the native sense of desire to serve first. Secondly, the servant initially makes sure that the supreme needs of others are being encountered. After that, the achievement is seen when those who are served become freer, better, more independent, wiser, and as a derivation, become servants themselves. Finally, a servant can merely make a proper leader if he or she stays a servant. The essential term of servant leadership involves an inborn value and passion for serving the leader and trust those who lead. The term servant is defined as "one who is under obligation to work for the benefit of a superior and to obey his or her commands" (Oxford English Dictionary, 1971, p. 1643). The master term of the servant leader is authorized to Christianity and the ancient teachings of Jesus. In the Biblical text, Jesus gives direction how to acquire the qualities of a leader (Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002).

Authors and editors of servant leadership articles provided and identified ten characteristics of critical importance to servant leaders.

- Listening – eiders in servant style listen to what is said and unsaid, follow the speaker's physical characteristics, and listen to their inner voices.

- Empathy – they accept people by who they are, and leaders need to accept every type of behaviour or a certain performance.
- Healing – many followers have some emotional issues and servant leaders acknowledge the potential for healing, leading to better relationships.
- Awareness – it helps them comprehend ethical issues, and it helps servants observe situations around them.
- Persuasion – they are the builders of effective consensus between groups having the strength to convince others.
- Conceptualization – they are following their vision of having a big dream. Leaders in this style need to handle day-to-day operations with future objectives on what can be in mind.
- Foresight – enables servant leaders to learn from past mistakes, realistic view of the current situation and future consequences of their decisions. It is hard to define possible results at the end.
- Stewardship – leaders must think in order of greater good, and their role is crucial in linking the needs of others.
- Commitment to the Growth of People – it is believed that people have interior values beyond their strong commitment to everyday jobs. Through training, leaders take each member’s personal interests into account, leading to the encouragement of a participative decision-making process.
- Building community – under the institution where they lead, leaders strive to create a better society. It helps to create an identity of the organization and unity of direction. Leaders who use this style are entirely focused on their followers and their needs. This style puts the development of subordinates and their progress and desires at the centre of events. After that process, the leader focuses on the personal needs of the followers. Communication is geared towards the top because the leader needs to know all the information to help as much as possible, and the relationship between the leader and the follower is so solid that subordinates put their needs ahead of all other outcomes (Yukl, 2010). This style is mainly focused on the well-being of subordinates and is considered very tempting in business. Still, it has its drawbacks, like the leaders are less focused on achieving their goal and are not ready for potential cuts within the organization due to interpersonal relationships. If the leader always puts only subordinates in the foreground, in the end, this can have negative consequences for the entire organization through poor performance and failure to achieve goals. (Yukl, 2010)

3. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE FROM THE 1980s TO 2000s

Central and Eastern Europe are places of constant war turmoil where various empires, kingdoms, and many other political systems had developed and disappeared. Multiple countries in this region turned to a communist and socialist political system after World War II. Such processes were led by the Soviet Union, which had control over numerous countries behind the so-called Iron Flag. In the late 1990s, aspirations for the establishment of democratic societies and nation-states emerged throughout Europe. In most countries, the process went through peaceful dissolutions, while in Yugoslavia, it ended in a bloody war with numerous civilian casualties.

3.1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), very often known as the Soviet Union, is a former world power that was once the largest country in the world. It spread to two continents - Europe and North Asia. The official duration of the USSR is considered to be the years from 1922 to 1991. This vast country stretched for more than 10,900 km and occupied areas from the Baltic and Black Seas in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the East. It included as many as 11 time zones. It stretched from north to south from the Arctic Ocean to the border with Afghanistan. The area of this country measured 22,402,200 km². According to the 1991 census, there were about 293 million inhabitants. It is an incredible fact that one state occupied almost 1/6 of the country's land area (Kenez, 2017).

The USSR was formed in 1917 after the imperial rule in Russia was overthrown. Under the influence of the Bolsheviks, the October Revolution (according to the old calendar) followed in November, beating the Provisional Government, and handing the power over to the Soviets. On the 3rd so-called All-Russian Congress on January 31, 1918, the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic was proclaimed. The territory of former tsarist Russia, which included 15 Soviet republics:

- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Belarus

- Estonia
- Georgia
- Cossack
- Kyrgyz
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Moldavia
- Russia
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Ukraine
- Uzbekistan.



Image 3. Republics of the Soviet Union

Source: Ribttes, 2014

Today, they are primarily independent states founded after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The 1980s were a challenging period for this vast country. The period from the 80s to the 2000s was marked in the USSR by the death of Leonid Brezhnev. Brezhnev was the first

link in the USSR to serve as the General Secretary of the Communist Party. After his death, there was also a decline in the domestic gross national product, and the country began to depend heavily on others. It is a period in which the largest country in the world has disintegrated due to internal discontent and the growing problems of the communist system. The result of that debate was 15 independent republics that continued to pursue their national policies. Although there was an experimentation with the economic reforms in the 1960s in the USSR, the leadership of this country returned to the old economic-political methods. After Brezhnev's death, there was a kind of aversion to any changes, although agricultural development and industrial growth continued to lag (McCauley, 2014).

The 1980s were marked in the USSR by two key processes - the disintegration of the country's old economic and political structures, alongside all possible attempts to stop this disintegration. The political figure which significantly marked this period was Mikhail Gorbachev (Image 2). He appeared on the Soviet political scene after the politicians who were pale copies of Brezhnev and his political followers. At the time, Gorbachev brought in a breath of fresh air on the Soviet political scene (McCauley, 2014).



Image 4. Mikhail Gorbachev

Source: Shushter, 2014

Gorbachev was credited with initiating several social, economic, and political reform processes that meant a departure from the previous Soviet policy. He is also credited with starting the following processes (Kenez, 2017):

- *Glasnost* - a process that represented the political openness of the Soviet society,
- *Perestroika* - Gorbachev's most famous reform process which included economic change and restructuring,
- *Uskoreniye* - a process that was supposed to encourage a faster transition of the Soviet economy.

Although Gorbachev had good intentions in his policies, his reform processes were unsuccessful in intending to a radical change in the Soviet society. It was a process that took many years, and the end of the Soviet Union was already in sight in the late 1990s.

The economy of the Soviet Union fell into economic stagnation, which was encouraged by the so-called Nixon shock and Afghanistan war. A huge amount of money went to finance the Soviet army, which brought losses in the domestic gross national product. The gravity of such an economic situation can be seen in the fact that the Soviet Union gross domestic product in the 1980s remained the same as during the 1970s (Image 3) at the time of the onset of stagnation (OECD, 2021). In the USSR, there was a planned economy that could not adequately respond to the demands of the modern economy. In addition, the huge bureaucratic apparatus did not contribute to the growth of the economy, as well as the constant espionage activities of the State Security Committee (Russ. *Комитет Государственной Безопасности*, KGB), which amounted to a considerable item in the budget of this country. It was a massive network of people, spies, mercenaries, associates, and others who actively participated in transmitting delicate data.

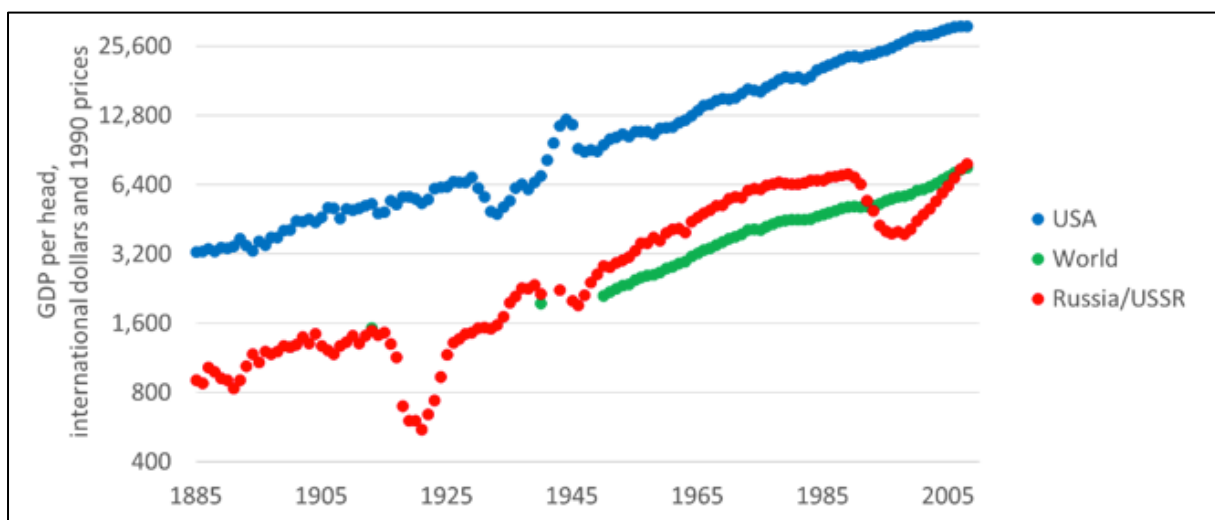


Image 5. The GDP per capita for the USA, Russia/USSR, and the World from 1885 to 2005

Source: Harrison, 2017

Most of the world's western economies quickly switched to informatization, and the USSR lagged significantly behind. In this way, both scientists and the public were left deprived of several achievements and processes. The most significant advantage of the Soviet Union was in the large reserves of oil and gas, which this country used to its advantage. In this way, the energy sector was the main driver of this economy.

However, as early as 1990, internal turmoil began in the USSR. As the main executive of the country, the Central Committee was forced to hand over part of the centralized power slowly. At the same time, throughout the Alliance, the national consciousness of the various peoples that made up the USSR was awakening in almost all federal republics, with the aspirations for the country's independence. There was a decline in obedience to the central government of the Soviet Union, and they stopped paying taxes to the political Moscow. The consequence was a further weakening of the Soviet power and the economy. In 1990, Gorbachev visited Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. During that visit, about 250,000 people protested, and later Lithuanian leaders declared independence from the Soviet Union. The proclamation of that independence was not greeted with enthusiasm in Moscow, which continued to claim that all the Baltic countries (Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia) were still an indispensable part of the Soviet Union and that there were troops in that area. However, nothing has prevented these countries from moving forward on their path to independence. Estonia followed the example of Lithuania, and later by Latvia. This marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union (McCauley, 2014).

During the separation process, a block was formed. On the one hand, there were countries that were more strongly controlled by Moscow, and that advocated the continuation of a common form of cooperation with Russia, i.e., the preservation of the Alliance. On the other hand, some countries boycotted any form of participation in such processes. Opposing countries were Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Armenia, Georgia, and Moldova.

The first multi-party elections were held in Russia. In these elections, Boris Yeltsin won mainly in politics that opposed Gorbachev. Yeltsin received 57% of the votes, while Rizhikov, Gorbachev's man, received only 16%. This again marked a turning point in the politics of this once common space. Russia turned to a policy before Gorbachev, which was sharply oriented against Western influence. This dissolution of the once world's largest country resulted in a renewed economic stagnation in all the Alliance countries. The stagnation was broken after the 2000s when the processes of transformation and economic transition intensified. The first three

countries to declare independence from the USSR also became the first to turn most rapidly to Western lifestyles and the economic transition. As a result, these countries were the first of the countries of the former Soviet Union to become full members of the European Union (EU) in 2004. It was the most significant EU enlargement in the organization's history and a strong political message to the giant geopolitical Russia, which continued to expand its power to former Alliance members. To this date, these are the only three countries that have clearly stated their position on the policy and social context of the EU (Kenez, 2017).

3.2. Yugoslavia

Tito's Yugoslavia or *Second Yugoslavia* is the name for a multinational state, used in historical and social circles to differentiate the state creation that existed from 1943 to 1992. The full name of that country was the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serb., Cro. *Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija*, SFRJ), and it comes from the fact that it had several different republics and nationalities. Like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia based its existence on somewhat independent republics that elected their representatives to joint state-federal bodies. Yugoslavia was created because of the unification of states and peoples who once lived in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The result of the two world wars, the withdrawal and collapse of first the Ottoman and then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was a gathering of peoples of Slavic origin who at one point accepted the idea of unification. The first examples of unification can be seen in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which included similar areas as Yugoslavia. However, later processes during the First and Second World Wars led to the disintegration of the Kingdom and the gradual transition to a communist system of the centralist rule (Matković, 1998).

The partisans, led by Josip Broz Tito, organized significant resistance to the then Independent State of Croatia and its allies. They are the most responsible for establishing Yugoslavia, that is, the then form of Yugoslavia. After the successful end of the war, the Communist Party gradually came to power, ruling the country independently until its collapse in 1992 (Matković, 1998).

Yugoslavia changed several names. Throughout and during the Second World War, the partisans had several meetings, the most famous of which was a committee called the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (Serb., Cro. *Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*). The sessions of AVNOJ continued after the war, and at one of the sessions on November 29, 1943, a newly established state called Democratic Federal

Yugoslavia was proclaimed. Then, after two years, on the same date, at another session of AVNOJ, a second name was proclaimed - the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. That name remained until the constitutional changes on April 7, 1963, when a new constitution was adopted, and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - SFRJ was proclaimed (Matković, 1998).

The following republics became part of Yugoslavia, each with its own coat of arms, a flag, and representative bodies, i.e., the Communist Party (Matković, 1998):

- Slovenia
- Croatia
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Serbia
- Montenegro
- Macedonia

In addition, there were autonomous provinces in Yugoslavia because of historical turmoil and aspirations (Image 4). These autonomous provinces were part of the republics but enjoyed a certain kind of autonomy. The autonomous provinces were Vojvodina, as part of Serbia, and Kosovo, also as part of Serbia. The autonomous provinces served as a scale and counterbalance to national desires and turmoil, encompassing ethnically diverse areas. Kosovo was inhabited mainly by ethnic Albanians and would later be established as one of the first problems of Yugoslavia. Vojvodina was inhabited by Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, and Romanians. It was historically recognized as an area of different peoples (Goldstein, 2013).



Image 6. Political map of Yugoslavia

Source: Yugotour, 2021

The central political figure and symbol of Yugoslavia were Josip Broz Tito. He was a lifelong ruler, president of the Communist Party, and a dictator who ruled Yugoslavia from its founding until his death. Tito is a person with whom many strong and often opposing opinions are attached. It is an indisputable fact that he was the leader of the partisan movement that led to the founding of Yugoslavia, which he headed first as the prime minister and then as the president. However, his style of governing was extremely totalitarian, autocratic, and dictatorial. He used all the intelligence services to his advantage and detained tens of thousands of people who became political prisoners and, in most cases, met a painful death. He is credited with the launching of the so-called *Goli otok*, a place on an islet on the Adriatic where all political opponents and dissidents were banished to life imprisonment. The most prominent stain in the history of his reign is certainly the *Bleiburg Massacre*. The Bleiburg tragedy represents war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the Yugoslav Army in the period after May 15, 1945, against captured soldiers of defeated armies and civilians who accompanied them to attempt to surrender to the Western Allies on the border with Austria. Thousands of children, women, civilians, and soldiers who surrendered were killed in that

crime, and thousands are still being searched for, i.e., the victims' families never found out where their graves were (Radelić et al, 2006).

Yugoslavia, during the time of Josip Broz Tito, economically initiated significant industrialization and recruitment of labor. However, these figures were still insufficient to catch up with the surrounding countries (Image 6). Like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia was a planned economy that was a closed type of state with a deficient level of communication with its neighbors, especially the West. This forced Yugoslavia to focus its economic planning solely on its own domestic production and industrialization. After the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980, the power in Yugoslavia was taken over by the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

Today's total public debt of all countries originating from Yugoslavia does not exceed 125 billion dollars, which is a trifle considering the projection of potential growth of Yugoslavia's public debt. Of course, Yugoslavia's debt could not reach the amount of 6 trillion if it survived as a state. The average annual debt growth of 17.6% would be drastically reduced, either by the will of the Yugoslav authorities or state bankruptcy. Still, the myth that Yugoslavia "does not live on debt" is completely unfounded. The only thing that could have stopped that growth was the bankruptcy and the complete cessation of new borrowings and debt rescheduling. And that is what happened. Yugoslavia went *de facto* bankrupt in 1982, when it admitted to international creditors that it could no longer repay its debts. From 1983 to 1984, debts were rescheduled. The whole debt repayment situation meant that Yugoslavia no longer had the money to buy foreign products, especially oil (hence the significant oil shortages of the 1980s and even-odd driving), and other products. Yugoslavia primarily owed money to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and foreign countries. During that period, the import-export ratio also recovered, which is quite understandable because Yugoslavia drastically reduced imports due to the simple fact that it could not pay them. To save domestic companies, the central bank in Belgrade began to print large amounts of money to cover accumulated losses (Kraft, 2000).

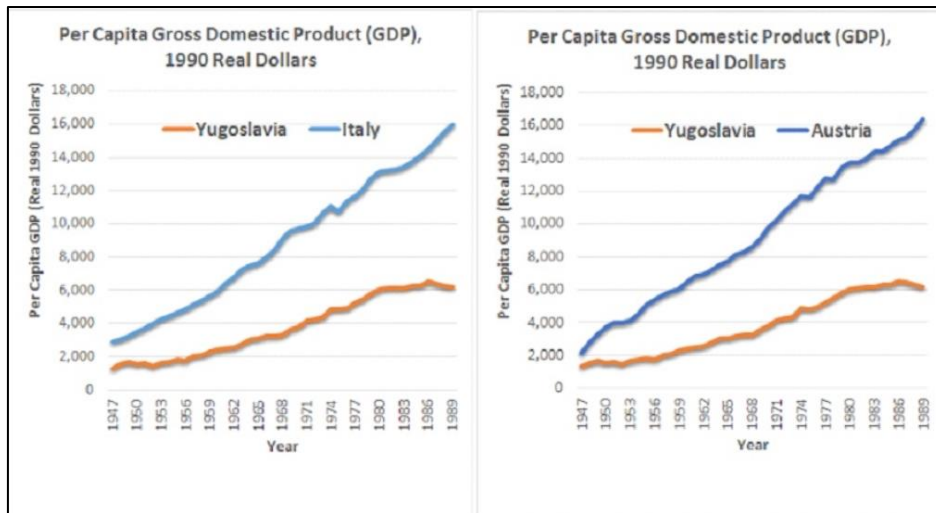


Image 7. GDP of Yugoslavia per capita in comparison to Italy and Austria

Source: OECD, 2021

This situation led to inflation, which turned into hyperinflation due to the avalanche effect, i.e., a complete loss of the value of the currency, the Yugoslavian dinar, which became worthless (Image 7).

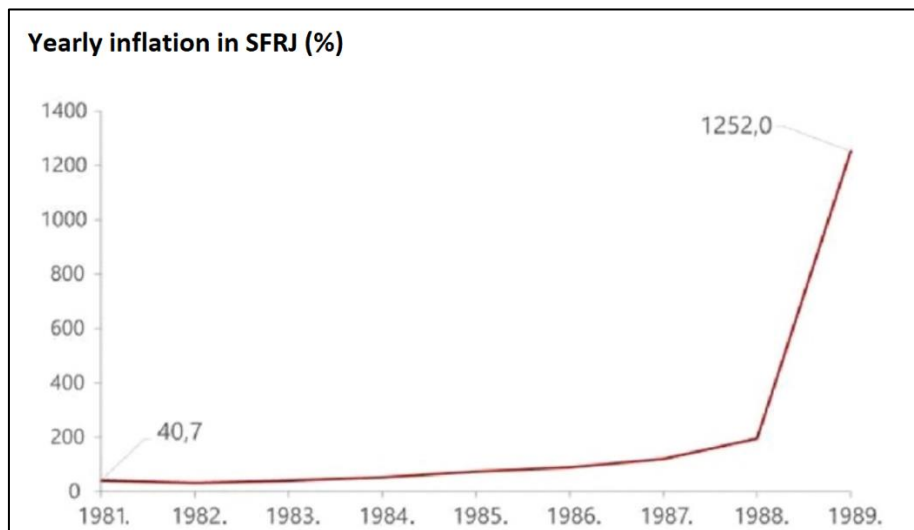


Image 8. Yearly inflation of SFRJ in %

Source: OECD, 2021

In the spring of 1981, less than a year after Tito's death, riots broke out in the form of demonstrations in the Kosovo capital, Pristina, and in almost every major city in Kosovo. The main political slogan in the protests, which students mostly attended, was Kosovo-Republic. Riots broke out at the University of Pristina, whose 20,000 students made up 10% of Pristina's population. The policy of the Kosovo leadership, which was mainly oriented towards the funds

of the Federation for Development, emphasized the insufficient help of Yugoslavia. They sent a protest letter to the Presidency of the SFRY and the Communist Party Central Committee. In the letter, they expressed dissatisfaction with the current situation and emphasized that they would go public with the protest and discontent (Kraft, 2000).

The Kosovo demonstrations were followed by a series of events that gradually led to the break-up of Yugoslavia. One of these events was the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which in 1986 stated that the Serbian people expressed certain dissatisfaction within Yugoslavia since, according to the document, the Serbian people were not guaranteed the same rights in all areas of Yugoslavia (Valentić, 2010).

In 1989, Serbia abolished the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina, subordinated the leadership of Montenegro, and thus gained significant influence in the Presidency of the SFRY (Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution). During 1989-90, the non-communist political parties were created in the Yugoslav republics. The last congress of the Communist Party was held in January 1990 in Belgrade, and the communist leaders of Slovenia and Croatia left the congress due to disagreements with the Unitarian and Greater Serbia policy of Serbia (led by Slobodan Milošević). During the 1990s, multi-party elections were held in the Yugoslav republics, which national parties largely won. The reformed communists remained in power only in Serbia-Montenegro. Through the Presidency of the SFRY (with the support of the top of the Yugoslav People's Army), they rejected Slovenian and Croatian demands for the republics' full sovereignty and the reorganization of the SFRY into a confederation. Since the mid-1990, Serbia-Montenegro has supported the Serb uprising in Croatia (Homeland War), which hastened the break-up of the SFRY. Slovenia and Croatia declared independence on June 25, 1991, after which the JNA intervened militarily but withdrew from Slovenia after the conflict in July 1991 and from Croatia after the aggression in early 1992. In September 1991, a referendum for independence was declared. In October 1991, Macedonia and BiH issued a memorandum of sovereignty following a referendum. Only Serbia and Montenegro remained in the federal relationship, so in later years, the separation of these two countries followed. Croatia went through a challenging period and war and fell from the most developed Yugoslav republic into a severe crisis (Valentić, 2010). In Croatia, Franjo Tuđman was elected the first president, with the task of defending Croatia from the Greater Serbia aggression led by Slobodan Milošević. The war in Croatia officially ended with the integration of the Croatian Danube region in 1998. Slovenia joined the European Union in the most considerable enlargement (the same year as the Baltic countries), while Croatia joined the European Union

with a large backlog in 2013. Other countries of the former Yugoslavia have proclaimed their intentions to join the European Union.

3.3. Poland

The history of Poland goes deep into European roots, and the statehood of Poles is mentioned as early as the 10th century. From those times until new events and world wars, Poland was constantly at the crossroads between different European powers. Many states have torn apart and appropriated parts of this country over the centuries, and this has been evident in various divisions since the world wars. Years of foreign rule, various principalities, parts of states, protectorates, and empires followed (Prazmowska, 2011).

Poland was re-established as an independent state after the First World War in 1918. The Poles got their country on the same day when the end of the First World War was officially declared - November 11, 1918. Poles on that day celebrate Independence Day. In that interwar period, Poland was also called the Second Republic. After the First World War, another war struck Poland; a war with the Soviets called the Soviet-Polish War. It lasted from 1919 to 1921, formally ending with peace in Riga. After the war in Poland, despite proposing the Curzon line at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Poland gained large areas in the east, such as Vilnius and Lviv, moving the border 150 km east of the agreed lines. The war profiled General Józef Piłsudski, who would in 1935, with certain breaks, become "Head of State" (pol. *Naczelnik Państwa*), the Prime Minister of the Republic and Minister of the Army (Prazmowska, 2011).

After the Second World War, Poland gained additional parts of the country that had previously belonged to Germany and expanded its border. After these events, Poland changed its name to the People's Republic of Poland and turned politically, economically, and socially to the Eastern bloc of states. The country was organized as a state with a communist or socialist government style. Such a country's organization was also present in the 80s of the last century when the country was under strong control of the Soviet Union.

In the 1970s, Poland was known for various protests with political connotations by the workers. In 1980, there were new workers' protests. Under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa (Image 8), an independent union called Solidarity was formed. The union grew into a movement for political and social change and found support in influential church circles. At the end of 1981, a state of emergency was introduced, which lasted until 1983. This state of emergency resulted in the

establishment of a military-civilian regime led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski until 1989 (Sanford, 2012).



Image 9. Lecha Wałęsa, the founder of *Solidarnost*

Source: Chandler, 2016

The collapse of the USSR has facilitated gradual democratic changes since the late 1980s. After the first free parliamentary elections in 1989, Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the Prime Minister, and in late 1990, Wałęsa was elected President. In two terms during 1995-2005, the president was Aleksander Kwaśniewski. By leading an integration policy into European security and economic systems, Poland became a member of NATO (1999) and the European Union (2004).

In the 1980s, Poland faced significant economic problems, such as insufficient industrial infrastructure, low wages, and substantial government expenditures for a large bureaucratic apparatus. The government deficit was growing from year to year, and hyperinflation led to various economic crises (Banski, 2011). The economic situation in Poland was the same as the ones in the then Eastern Bloc states, which were closed to foreign trade and cooperation. The so-called shock therapy was introduced to come to realization of the possibilities of economic progress after the overthrow of the communist system country's transition to a democratic system. Such an economic approach was supposed to stop inflation and push Poland towards an open transition economy and globalization. As part of that plan, various reforms, including freezing wages, abolishing state ownership and state entrepreneurship, and enabling the start-

up of private enterprises (Banski, 2011) were implemented. Unfortunately, such economic reforms did not help GDP growth, which fell significantly in the 1990s (Image 9).

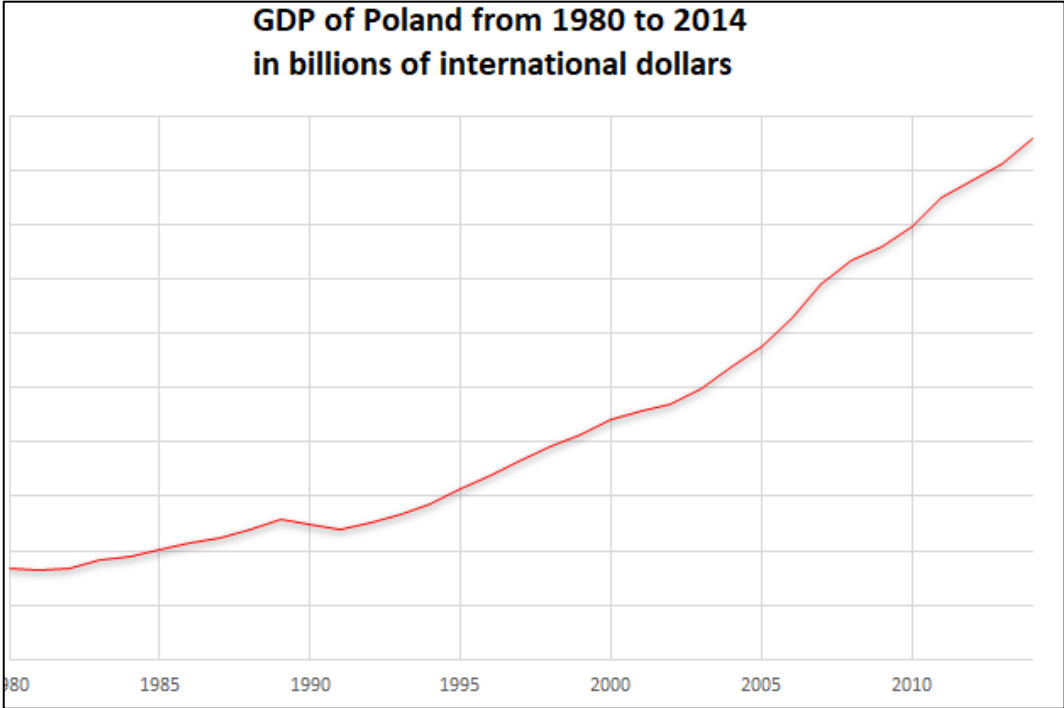


Image 10. GDP of Poland from 1980 to 2014

Source: OECD, 2021

However, the goal has been achieved. The inflation process has stagnated from 250% to 10% in 10 years (OECD, 2021). GDP continued to grow as Poland developed and opened to foreign markets. Gradually, unemployment fell, and Poland became one of the fastest-growing countries in the former Eastern bloc. All these processes have led to the Polish economy being stable and remaining strong even during the great global recession of 2008.

3.4. Hungary

Hungary entered the 1980s as a country that did not have a clearly oriented policy towards Western powers, and which depended heavily on the policies of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The consequences of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 were still being felt, as Hungary did not commit to democratic change until the late 1980s. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is the name for the uprising against Soviet domination and the liberalization of society from communism, which lasted from October 23 to November 10 that same year. The leader of the uprising was the Hungarian Prime Minister and reformist Imre Nagy. To commemorate the revolution, October 23 is a national holiday in Hungary today. By then, the ruling socialist regime had disintegrated in less than a week. He had no foothold in the people, but only in the Communist Party and the Red Army stationed in Hungary, which reacted 'lukewarmly' and withdrew. The crowd set fire to all the literature that was in the party's newspaper building. The new Hungarian government began to pursue the liberation of society from socialism and announced that it wanted to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact to declare neutrality like Austria (Molnar, 2001). These changes were too drastic for the Kremlin and the orthodox communists in Hungary. Therefore, the party's secretary János Kádár left Budapest and formed a so-called workers' revolutionary government in the country's east, calling on the Soviet troops to provide fraternal assistance. The Soviet tanks then entered Budapest. Unequal fights began between tanks that shoot at anything that moves and freedom fighters armed only with light and improvised weapons. The city was severely damaged, and tens of thousands of Hungarians were killed and wounded. Thousands were arrested and deported to the fraternal USSR. About 250,000 dissidents fled across the nearest border to Austria or Yugoslavia. Imre Nagy and part of the government took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy. A written agreement was reached through the Yugoslav government to end Imre Nagy's asylum, with the Hungarian government pledging not to politically prosecute participants in the Budapest uprising who took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy building. Imre Nagy, along with several Hungarian officials, was interned in Romania and later returned to Hungary, where he was tried for adhering to the counterrevolutionaries, after which he was sentenced to death. János Kádár has been appointed Prime Minister (Molnar, 2001).

János Kádár (Image 11) marked this period of Hungarian history, which he calls the Kadar era. Kadar was born in Rijeka, then part of Austro-Hungary, and after coming to power, he began to implement various reforms. Although Hungary was not too different from other Eastern Bloc countries, it was still a place with certain freedom of speech.



Image 11. Janos Kadar

Source: Historica, 2021

Kádár continued with Hungary's new economic reforms. These economic reforms were more significant concerning the other countries with a similar socialist system. For example, by the end of the 1980s, almost one-third of Hungary's total GDP (Image 12) came from privately owned enterprises. But Hungary had a huge foreign debt that it could not settle, nor could it take on the obligations of high fuel prices and other industrial supplies. Later, the country turned to foreign investment hoping that it would somehow save the country's economy (Fabry, 2019).

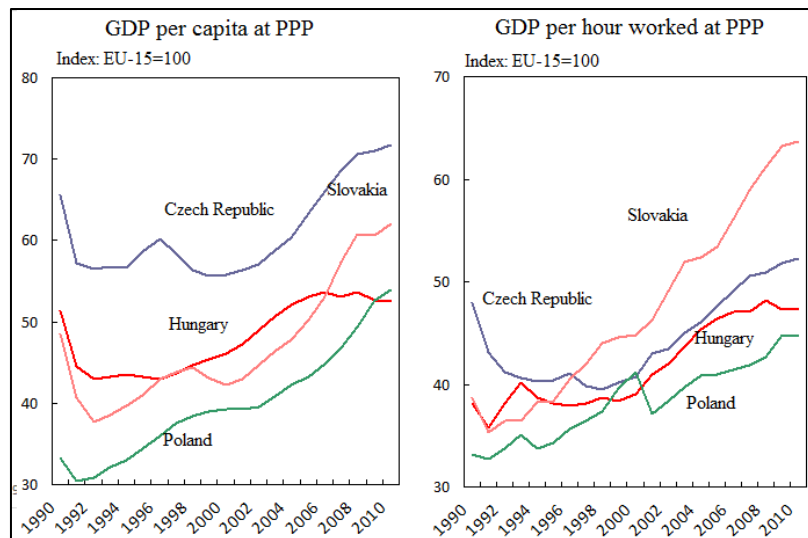


Image 12. GDP of Hungary in comparison to other countries

Source: Valentinyi, 2012

However, in the late 1980s, there was a slight transition to a Western style of governance and the development of democracy in Hungary. In 1988, the pressures for change became stronger and louder. The *Fidesz* party was founded by young democrats and similar democratic options. In 1988, János Kádár was replaced by the General Secretariat of the Communist Party as the country's first man. Imre Pozsgay was appointed head of that body. In 1989, democracy and democratic processes were adopted in Hungary, and since then, Hungary has been officially considered a new democratic country. This change was oriented towards the West where Hungary improved its economy by working on a high unemployment rate (14%) and investments in infrastructure. Hungary became a full member of the European Union in 2004 (Fabry, 2019).

4. POST-COMMUNISM LEADERS

After the collapse of socialism in Europe, all the states that gained independence entered a new creating phase of political life and a new economic system. In turn, the presidents of these states were seniors of the political establishment, each in his state. Their style was not predominantly different from their predecessor because they had an ingrained mentality that fostered a cult of personality and the acquisition of respect on all hierarchical diversity. The presidents of these states had a problem at every step, all the way from the transition to capitalism to the constitution of the state and the Constitution and to the establishment of a democratic way of functioning of states. The mentality was the biggest problem where various interest circles, through their power, tried to stop the progress of the young state. Former politicians of the communist system could not get used to the market economy, democracy, and the return of religion as the identity of these peoples (Brown, 2014). Therefore, it is not surprising that the states did not exploit the potential through natural and other resources. In addition, the presidents themselves could not make major changes to the system in the short term, leading to a mix of autocratic leadership with a market economy and a transformational style. Authoritarian leaders were placed at the head of essential functions within the state in exchange for the peace that the president needed in state consolidation. Despite the tremendous support of the West, the transition to a democratic way of life has been difficult, so even today, in the modern world, we have some presidents who nurture an authoritarian style. We witness it by observing North Korea and its ruler and the like. The rest of the chapter will show some of the most famous leaders, rulers of post-communism or others remembered for their quantitative and qualitative ruling system and leadership of the countries at the top of which they were.

4.1. Franjo Tudjman

Franjo Tudjman's thoughts and actions contained a crucial combination of Marxist social and economic justice with the prefix of national liberation, a formula that, he said, explained Josip Broz Tito's rise to power. Tudjman became the presidential favorite almost immediately after the election was announced. He campaigned with promises to reduce the number of Serbs in the police and civil service and the intimacy of territorial claims to neighboring BiH. A small number of Eastern European countries could be compared to Croatia's potential development before 1990. It should be noted that since the 1960s, the Yugoslav communist regime has been

quite repressive in Eastern Europe, preventing its citizens from being widely exposed to Western thought and culture, not to mention the notorious ability to buy Western consumer goods. The ideology of Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union was most vividly described by the socialist leader Zdravko Tomac who explains that The Croatian Democratic Union is "a party whose name contains the essence of its political program" (Prelec, 1997). Becoming the first president of independent Croatia, which was recognized in international circles by the world powers, Tudjman, as a historian, realized that the Croatian people unjustifiably carried the crime of World War II, which even today is an attempt to blame some force. After the war, his vision was to build a monument to all those who contributed to the creation of the Croatian state, regardless to which side of the political spectrum they belonged. His essential ideology was based on the foundations of reconciliation even before the outbreak of war in the Republic of Croatia, when he truly showed what a cult figure he deserved to be in the society of the today's modern Republic of Croatia. He also needs to be recognized as a man who brought the country out of the "jaw of hell." But first, we need to touch on certain facts about who Franjo Tudjman really was. The political life of the first Croatian president was initially intertwined with the political systems of the time. He believed in anti-fascism, which led him to join the League of Communists, where he became a political commissar and one of the main generals of the then Yugoslav People's Army. Franjo Tuđman was born shortly after the First World War, and after finishing high school, he became a member of the Partisan Detachment during the Second World War. After the war, he went to Belgrade, where he attended a military academy, and shortly afterward, in the early 1960s, he became a general. After his enthronement as a general, Tudjman gave up his military career and joined research, and started a scientific career. In 1965, he received a doctorate in history and was appointed the director-general of the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement. Exploring Yugoslav and Croatian history, which has been constantly intertwined in recent times, he came up with the idea where he would try to remove the stain that unjustifiably descended on the Croatian people after the end of the Second World War. As part of a series of articles in the Croatian weekly on Croatian historical themes and personalities, Franjo Tuđman emphasized the importance of Croatian contribution to the partisan movement, arguing that it was important to clear up misunderstandings about "Croatian guilt" for the fall of first Yugoslavia and the actions of the Ustashas (Tuđman, 1995). He intended to refute what was a wrong assumption (or accusation) for many Croats: that Croats were passive or under the fascist forces during the war. According to Tudjman, the regime exaggerated with the number of Serbs killed in Croatia for political purposes during the war. This research aimed to establish the facts supported by

evidence, especially about the number of victims caused by the Croatian members at that time. Because of this research, he was expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. He was twice sentenced to prison for participating in the Croatian People's Movement and banned from engaging. As part of the Croatian Spring, which then heralded the fall of another Yugoslavia, Tadjman played an important role. He was therefore sentenced twice to prison for participating in organizing the disintegration of the state. The court ruled to ban public work for Tadjman for the next 20 years. After the death of Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslav state began to disintegrate somewhat, both economically and sovereignly. States within Yugoslavia began to lean towards their ideological concept, i.e., nationalism, and some new ideas were created (Pauković, 2008). In mid-June 1989, Tadjman founded the Croatian Democratic Union, which was, in fact, a movement that spread throughout Croatia to gain a sovereign state. His party became the first winner of multi-party elections held in late May 1990. With Tadjman at the helm of both government and the state, the party became the dominant organization with clearly defined goals and a strong ideological base. It is a party that was then quite justifiably used in populism and national spirit to have sovereignty. After declaring the Republic of Croatia independent, Franjo Tadjman's government faced serious economic and social problems. Big problems occurred when weapons in the bases all over Croatia were taken away by JNA generals, leaving Croatia to fight bare-handed. President Tadjman had a great deal between the communist legacy and the future model of governing the country democratically. At the time, there were many whose words carried the weight that Croatia must remain a part of Yugoslavia, using its diplomatic influence in the world. As a result, Tadjman fought a battle on two fronts, inside and outside the country. Tadjman's success was reflected in knowing when to make the right move, when to sit at the table and negotiate diplomatically, and when to make a move that could lead to embarrassment in European circles. The order of decisions, procedures, and the operation procedure were crucial for him when making decisions. Through a series of his political decisions for the benefit of the Croatian people, Franjo Tadjman formed a cult of personality that would later grow into a problem when world powers like America no longer saw him for the future of the state. His party regularly won local and parliamentary elections respecting the will of the majority electorate. However, even after the formatting years, many skeptics about the Croatian state did not see its future in Euro-Atlantic integration. All this resulted in a distorted perception of the then media, which were in the hands of various services, where Tadjman was portrayed as a tyrant who destroyed everything to get what he wanted. The HDZ was portrayed as a radical right-wing movement that would embitter the lives of all dissidents. Franjo Tadjman was twice elected president and remained in office until his death

on December 10, 1992. As the commander-in-chief of the army, Tudjman managed to achieve his goals during the Homeland War and is considered one of the most important factors in influencing the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina's neighboring state. He showed this by sending his man to sign the Dayton Agreement. His character of reconciliation can be clearly seen during international negotiations where he supported the peaceful reintegration of the Danube and the return of Serbs to those areas shortly after the end of the war. Franjo Tuđman became the most influential man in Croatia because he realized the millennial dream of an independent state. As such, he is remembered in the collective consciousness of the people.

4.2. Slobodan Milosevic

Former Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic died of natural death in his 65th year in his prison cell in The Hague on March 11, 2006.. He spent his time in prison for the undeniable crimes he committed and for which he was tried before the UN war crimes tribunal (Wintrobe, 1999). Milosevic was most responsible for the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia. Namely, his personality can be characterized from the leader of the state apparatus of the Communist Party to the Serbian ultranationalist, who incited ethnic and religious hatred, but also his supporters to commit crimes. Milosevic gave a speech in the field and propagated ultranationalist demagoguery, pointing to 600 years ago when the Turkish army won. Milosevic then addressed the thousands of Serbs gathered on the battlefield of their medieval defeat and vowed that it would never happen again (Wintrobe, 1999). On that day, he began to consolidate his power, and in the following months, he promised his Serbian people victory at home and abroad. Milosevic had control of the media at the time, thus successfully propagating his vision of a single national territory by pointing to and referring to how the Serbian people had suffered from crimes committed by Kosovo Albanians in the past. By 1990, Kosovo was deprived of its autonomy and reduced to a state with an apparent possibility of ruling (Wintrobe, 1999). Namely, Milošević has always been an enigma, and everything that is known about his early years points to problematic family history. His father was a priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church, who left the family and then committed suicide. His mother killed herself years later, same as his favorite uncle. His character can be portrayed as the one of a tyrant because possible childhood traumas made Milosevic indignant at the crimes and sufferings of others. He was not a part of large societies but was always in a small circle of friends. Although many invincible nationalist leaders may share the blame for the breakup of Yugoslavia, Milosevic was called

the butcher of the Balkans. During his political career, his closest partner and most trusted adviser was his wife Mirjana, a strict communist ideologue who also had a tragic family history. The ruling couple lived an autocratic life, described as a mixture of Gothic horrors and Shakespearean tragedies. It should be noted that Milosevic was not a typical dictator. There was no cult of personality, no statue to be torn down after his overthrow. Namely, he represented a cynical opportunist who used nationalism, communism, and even capitalism to retain power. He was a politician. He was a master of manipulation. He was able to have his enemies fight each other instead of fighting him, and also for him. Most of the world, and especially most of the region, were considered his enemies. When Croatian President Franjo Tudjman began directing his Croatia towards independence in 1990, Serbs living in Croatia feared their safety. Milosevic successfully exploited more vivid memories of World War II. Thus, in 1991, with the help of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, he launched a war in Croatia intending to create a Greater Serbia (Wintrobe, 1999). A year later, when Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence, Milosevic again advocated the flames of Serbian nationalism. He raised the specter of Muslim domination, stressing that the Muslim majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted to impose a fundamentalist Islamic state. For more than three years, Milosevic, local warlords, and paramilitary groups bombed and besieged the capital Sarajevo, ethnically cleansed almost half of the territory, and committed some of the most brutal war crimes of the late 20th century (Wintrobe, 1999). However, the man who encouraged, financed, and armed the paramilitary units always publicly distanced himself from the forces he had created. In June 1992, he emphasized that he did not support any military action in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He explained that he only supported his people to survive there with humanitarian and civilian assistance. When the dream of a Greater Serbia was shattered in 1995, Milosevic transformed into a peacemaker when NATO bombed Bosnian Serb targets. He signed the Dayton Peace Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Milosevic's dream of international recognition as a statesman was shattered in May 1999 (Wintrobe, 1999). As NATO bombed Yugoslavia to stop Milosevic's crackdown on Kosovo Albanians, the International War Crimes Tribunal indicted him. The motion behind the decrease of Milošević's acceptance was first caught by a research team supported by the Policy Studies from Belgrade after the NATO assault. Serbian citizenship was tired of nationalism and political rhetoric. His country was in physical and emotional disarray a few weeks later, and Milosevic made another tactical retreat. He bowed to NATO and withdrew his troops from Kosovo, practically handing over that part of the country to foreign forces and the majority of the Albanian population. Over the next year and a half, Milosevic solidified his domestic policy. He reportedly ordered the assassination of political

rivals and increased police brutality. He deceived everyone again, and the Serbs, with considerable help from the West, overthrew him in a peaceful display of the power of the people. Finally, on 12 February 2002, the former head of state began a war crimes trial (Wintrobe, 1999). Although he refused to be recognized by the UN tribunal, Milosevic acted as his lawyer, using the Hague trial as a political platform to fight what he said was a Western conspiracy against Serbs. The trial dragged on with his deteriorating health, but the accused never lost an opportunity to express his disrespect for the international tribunal. He was a man without any moral control and more destructive to his nation than any leader. Throughout the last years of its subsistence, the Milošević's regime started with an autocratic affinity. The style was based on the political monopoly in which a family member enclosed to the president was at the top.

4.3. Boris Yeltsin

The cult figure Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was born on February 1, 1931, in Sverdlovsk, today called Yekaterinburg in Russia. Yeltsin died on April 23, 2007, in Moscow. Yeltsin was one of the most famous Russian politicians who became the president of Russia in 1990. Namely, in 1991 he became the first popularly elected leader in the history of his country. He successfully led his country through turbulent decades of political and economic recovery until his resignation in early 2000 (Chaisty, 2007). Boris Yeltsin operated on different building plans in the Sverdlovsk region from mid-1950 until 1968, when he approached the Communist Party at the beginning of the 1960s. In 1960, he started to work from inside the party, and in 1976 he got a secretary place from the Sverdlovsk Region Committee. In this Committee, he met Gorbachev and became his colleague in the city of Stavropol. He became great friends with Gorbachev. During this time, Gorbachev became a leader, and in 1985 he chose Yeltsin to distinct corruptibility in the Politburo. Yeltsin proved himself in the mayor's office in Moscow, but he was sent off after Gorbachev put fault on his shoulders due to hard times in the communist party. A Russian politician was forced to resign as the head of Moscow in 1987 and as Politburo in 1988 (Chaisty, 2007). Yeltsin was then ousted, but this did not sway him in his plan, and he soon returned to the Russian political scene. He prepared the greatest return in Soviet history. Yeltsin's popularity was upgraded amid Soviet citizens where he was characterized as a democratic who will commit to economic reforms. He chose to make the same reforms as it was made in the United States, such as introducing the new Soviet Parliament. After the downfall of the Berlin Wall, a year later, on May 29, 1990, Parliament picked him as the President of the new Russian Republic, nevertheless of Gorchov's outcry. (Chaisty, 2007).

He withdrew some moves regarding greater autonomy that will push the new Russian Republic to the western world. His economy became market-oriented, and he included a multi-party-political system. In July 1990, he left the Communist party and became the first president elected through democratic political stands. He got into fight with Yeltsin and other opposition leaders, which led to resistance in Moscow, where citizens called for Gorbachev's return (Chaisty, 2007). After this demonstration, Yeltsin became the most powerful figure within the country. In 1991, he made a pact between Ukraine and Belarus to establish a new Commonwealth of the Independent Eastern States, replacing the USSR and the resignation of then-President Gorbachev. Yeltsin was the first chairman of "new" Russia. He framed the mission to transform Russia from a socialistic economy into a market economy based on a free market where private organizations competed at democratic principles. In 1992, he made a decision that led to the end of the subsidy's prices established by the government and allowed the development of the free estate market in larger cities. On the other hand, the Russian Parliament was unfriendly due to these market reforms. Yeltsin had a breakup with Congress due to sharing of power between these two institutions, where on the side, Yeltsin proposed a new constitution of the country, while Congress did not want to change a constitution made in 1978. At the end of September in 1993, Yeltsin passed a law to dissolve Congress and made a call for a new election (Chaisty, 2007). The old regime became an opportunity for a state lawmaker to bring military units to overthrow Yeltsin. In December, the referendum was set, and Yeltsin showed weakness when it came to increasing a presidency power. In December 1994, Yeltsin ordered the Russian military to get into Chechnya, which separated from Russia in 1991. The military, however, proved incapable of completely suppressing the rebels, and the war further undermined Yeltsin's popularity, which was deteriorating due to aggravated circumstances within the state (Chaisty, 2007). The following war that occurred in Chechnya and the flop of economic reforms have decreased Yeltsin's popularity and chances of his second mandate. Moreover, in the second election program, Yeltsin again became the president due to a bad representative coming from a Communist party. Initially, at the second presidential term, Yeltsin signed made peace with the Chechnya and signed a peace agreement. At the end of the 1990s, an Islamic terrorist struck Dagestan which led to a sequence of bombings across Russia for which Chechens were accused. After that, Yeltsin made an order to return the military across the whole Republic. Yeltsin made a courageous decision when he was eliminating four ministers and had the whole administration quit in 1998. Even after that, many of them were reappointed. Duma, which was the Russia's representative body, accused Yeltsin of leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. However, Duma did not get enough votes to execute the accusation. After that, Yeltsin

decided to be withdrawn from his position on December 31, 1991, to make a place for a new energetic leader, Vladimir Putin, who was the Prime minister. Following that decision, Vladimir Putin gave Yeltsin protection from future prosecution. (Chaisty, 2007). At the end of the review of Yeltsin's biography, it can be said that he built a cult of personality and that he was extremely effective in the field of political engagement. Still, he was also quite unstable with a series of vague and confusing actions under the guise of a pacifist ruler.

4.4. Lech Walesa

Lech Walesa, a Polish activist, was born in Popowo around Włocławek, Poland. During his life, he was a labor activist who helped form the first trade union of Poland called Solidarity in the 1980s. His leadership style was called charismatic due to his character, which brought a million Polish workers near him. After that, he became the first president of independent Poland and led it until 1995. He looked like a real national hero, and his traits were like those of other folk heroes. The revolutionary self-creature with a personification of the proletariat were important segments to the Polish mass population. The angle of his leadership attributes were already seen in his childhood and keened through his adolescent years and his tendency for risk-taking. He was aware of his leadership potential but was still partly based on his historical context. In that time, various points of view in the political and social terms in Poland were fortunate for a leader with a specified charisma, vision, and mission. Sociopolitical motion can stand up through leadership by a single person at a time when dominance is not providing the type of leadership these people are supplying (Tucker, 1981). Plenty of Polish citizens were sensitive to Solidarity's leadership because the movement pronounced the mission. Solidarity differs from other movements in the labor industry due to their symbolic relationship with the dissidents. Throughout the initial organization of Solidarity, Walesa held out a visionary leadership for a free trade union, which helped maintain Solidarity despite the external and extensive restrictions involved by martial law. Walesa's experience as a president is best narrated by a ruler who retained power in a better way than a leader practicing formal control in terms of state. The most important endowment was his impact on the Polish economy, leading to reforms like the one seen in the western world. The best example of Walesa's personality occurred when he was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1983 (Gains, 2005). Walesa was born in a hardworking class environment where he received only primary education. He clarified his interest in further advancement, and in the late 1960s, he became a part of the

workforce in the large Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. He witnessed other rebels among workers in this organization, especially in 1970, when Soviet police murdered a protester. In 1976, a new protest emerged from the communist government. Walesa became an important activist in the Anti-government union and lost his occupancy. Walesa joined other members in this protest, who elected him as the head of the protest committee to negotiate with the government. Three days later, the demands of the strikers were acknowledged. Also, when the strikers in other Gdańsk companies asked Wałęsa to continue the solidarity strike, he did not hesitate to fight for his compatriots and a better life in Poland. Wałęsa took over as chairman of the inter-factory strike committee that united companies in the Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia area. This board published a sequence of brave political decisions involving the liberty to strike and form a free trade union that will provide a general strike over the country. In fear of raising a national uprising, or nationalism, the communist government agreed with the labor demands. By the end of August, Lech Walesa, and the Prime Minister of Poland, Jagielski, put a signature on paper to a treaty recognizing labor rights to freely organize general strikes. (Gains, 2005). During the general strike, approximately 10 million Polish workers and farmers approached in an autonomous union across the country in response to this significant agreement, where strikes within factories were shifted to a national union whose name was Solidarity.

Lech Walesa was the first elected president of those unions (Gains, 2005). In October, the government recognized this movement and made an official state where Solidarity became part of the Polish parliament. Walesa agreed with the government to avoid possible Soviet intervention due to conflicts in these factories. However, at the end of 1981, the Polish government accepted the emergency law that forbade solidarity. Many leaders of this movement, including Lech Walesa, have been arrested (Gains, 2005). The 1983 Nobel Peace Prize award was given to Walesa who was denounced by the government. He was in fear of forced persecution, so he stayed in Poland, while his wife Danuta, traveled to Norway to accept his reward. Lech Walesa was a massive problem for the political administration in Poland, and that was best reflected on continuous harassment until the breakdown of the Polish economy. In 1998, a new wave of industrial rebels compelled the Polish government to negotiate with Walesa and other Solidarity leaders. The representatives sat down at the table again and agreed that the Solidarity movement is renewed and that it now has a legal status that guarantees a specific choice of seats in the upper house of the Polish parliament. Subsequently, along with his associates, Lech Walesa refused to form a coalition with the Communists, and the parliament was forced to accept the role of Solidarity and hand over mandates to them.

However, Walesa himself refused to serve as the prime minister of that government (Gains, 2005). On the other hand, he helped his colleague, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, become the prime minister of that government in 1989. Still, he entered the presidential race, and it was against him that he won overwhelmingly. Thus, Walesa became the first president of Poland elected on the democratic principles of a free state in 1990. He testified that all ministries had transformed from a system of the Polish state economy into a system of the free market. Through his political work, Walesa showed the political skills he learned while at the head of the solidarity movement. As a result of his subtle public appearance, he easily got into conflicts to defend his position, but he also refused to soften some of the strict laws that were then in force in Poland. All these characteristics led to a decline in his popularity at the end of his term. Shortly after that, former Communist Alexander Kwasniewski ran from the opposite camp to win over Wales. Kwasniewski was given a mandate and defeated Wales with the strong support of the citizens (Dobici, 2005). After that, Lech Walesa announced that he was leaving politics and devoted himself to work at his Institute, founded in 1995 to show the goals achieved by the Solidarity group. He was in that union until 2006 when he announced that he was leaving it because it was no longer the same movement, since then different people without any experience had taken over the management of that Institute. In particular, he opposed Kaczynski's 'focus on eradicating those involved in the communist regime, and trying to post all the secret communist-era files (Gains, 2005).

4.5. Arpad Goncz

In 1990, the Hungarian Parliament voted Goncz as the president. He went on to perform duties on two five-year terms, leaving his status in 2000. The Hungarian left praised him as a guardian of press freedom. The transformation of Hungary was regarded as a peaceful revolution settled by Communists and the opposition. Hungary has a great mode of transition from socialism to democracy where the recreation of society had been represented to a high level. Goncz contributed to the appeal for liberal, modern, and democratic values in Hungary's political, intellectual activity. As assumed above, his political antecedence acquired these values from his acquittance with fighting the autocratic rule. Arpad Goncz announced his return to politics in 1956 when he took an active part in various discussions at a club called Petöfi Circle (Fifth Circle). During the famous revolution in Hungary, he joined the Peasant Party. He was an active member of the Hungarian Union, whereas he was elected as their member until the last government of Imre Nagy. He was arrested as a political dissident in the spring of 1957 and found guilty at that trial of smuggling Nagy's letters published in Western newspapers in which

he blamed communism for destabilizing the state. Those writings were taken to testify by the revolutionary prime minister. (Dae, 2013). In a communist atmosphere in 1958, the trial was held in Hungary where the accused were Istvan Bibó, Imre Nagy, and Arpad Goncz, ministers in the coalition government. They wrote a potential memorandum on resolving the Hungarian question, which would set them free for the West, to which the Communists turned a deaf ear and accused them of treason. Goncz was charged with transporting the memorandum through diplomatic channels to the western part of the world. He was sentenced to life in prison, which lasted until the pardon was declared in 1963 (Dae, 2013). Spending time in prison, Goncz devoted himself to learning English, as then the primary language in Europe. That profession helped him survive because he worked as a translator after his acquittal. During this period, he translated more than 100 novels, including the world's greatest works. In the late 1980s, however, he returned to politics as a co-founder of the Committee on History and Justice to present the facts of the time. He was elected as a councilor within the Free Democratic Party and as the president of the Association of Hungarian Writers (Dae, 2013). After the fall of the Berlin Wall, his role in the political world turned to the maximum. In the first free elections held the following year, Arpad Goncz became the newly independent countries' first president, and the most popular political representative. Clubbing together different values that Goncz smuggled in these activities was his orientation to the fulfillment of a free and democratic society. The first president of Hungary was loyal to liberal principles and democratic creed throughout his campaign. Goncz's political views were distinguished, such as based democracy, egalitarian regulation, the rule of law and freedom, especially, media press freedom. Media freedom was the most meaningful during his first campaign, where the equality principle was extremely highlighted. Meanwhile, at that time, the government tried to put public media under their control. His liberal view of politics was most tightly indicated in this problem, the volume to which some conservative members tried to shoot down Goncz for his interpretation of responsibility.

Nevertheless, Goncz made a clear statement due to freedom of expression, where he would not permit his position to the government's claims. Among the numerous awards received were also the Albert Schweitzer, Premio Mediterraneo (and 1991). Goncz was a world-renowned statesman, recognized by the fact that he received honorary doctorates at various European-recognized universities. At the beginning of this century, when he retired politically, he no longer played an essential role in the political world of Hungary. Goncz had all the characteristics that a leader should have. He accepted criticism at his own expense and tried to adapt to others. He was not intrusive in presenting his ideas but listened to others believing in

the sincerity of their intentions and knew how to use his powers when some prime ministers would cross the political border during his rule and publicly criticize them. He was elected twice by the parliament in 1990 and 1995 and was credited with helping implement the new democratic constitution. His paternal way was aimed at Hungarians, who called him “Uncle Arpi” (Dae, 2013).

Based on the biographies of the independent countries’ first presidents that emerged on the collapse of the socialist model of governance, the author of this paper wants to show how all these presidents had a turbulent political past and problems with the then government. Although, they used to be part of that system that rejected them because they were not accepted within the structures of the then authorities. It is imperative to point out that the presidents had a complicated path to achieving autonomy. From the internal forms of government that did not want to get used to the democratic way of governing to the weak help of Western countries that seemingly helped, they struggled a lot. Countries like Croatia had the misfortune to be hit by war, which would only later prove to be the biggest obstacle to establishing a free state in economic and political terms. By intersecting these biographies, the paper's author concluded that the characteristics of an individual president were being shaped through his life, from birth. All these presidents aspired to a democratic way of life with the blessing of the European community. Still, they found it quite challenging to play a transformative role, either because of their associates or because of a mentality that is difficult to change overnight. The cult of personality of individual rulers arose from the different roles that marked their leadership life where public perception was crucial. Even today, there is an evident influence of the ex-presidents on modern life in certain public and political places.

5. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL CULTURE ON WORKPLACE INCIVILITY

5.1. Methodology of research

This section of the paper will try to answer one fundamental question about the leaders mentioned in the previous part of the paper. The question is: what characteristics are assigned to individual leaders after the collapse of communism? The main goal of the research methodology is to identify a pool of characteristics of the before mentioned leaders. 20 and more adjectives will be found for each leader and analysed accordingly to determine the profile of that leader. Leader analysis will be separated through the leader into smaller sections for easier differentiation. This study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the trend of labelling individual leaders with specific adjectives. However, there are many academic journals published worldwide but the author of this paper focused on articles indexed on the Google Scholar platform. In addition, the paper limited the scope of the search to "articles" only. It did not include reviews, proceedings, corrections, editorial materials, letters, book reviews, book chapters, news, and conference abstracts. The paper also limited the language to English and did not include articles published in other languages. Quotations, where adjectives were explicitly mentioned, were also considered. The author of this study included papers regardless of the year of publication.

Before leaping into the analysis, it is important to select at least 20 adjectives that will be looked for in each mentioned leader. Those adjectives are seen in the following table:

Reliable	Determined
Constructive	Bold
Rousing	Competent
Ideal	Advanced
Influential	Productive
Honest	Adept
Instrumental	Passionate
Inspiring	Superior
Accountable	Decisive
Caring	Forgiving
Cruel	Tough

Table 1. Adjectives used to analyse post-communist leaders

Source: Author's work

The research methodology will use google scholar as the main source and search the leader's name alongside the adjective that could be describing him best. Example in the following image.

The image shows a Google Scholar search results page for the query "Franjo Tudman honest". The search has returned approximately 841 results in 0.02 seconds. On the left side, there are filters for "Any time" (with sub-options: Since 2021, Since 2020, Since 2017, Custom range...), "Sort by relevance" and "Sort by date", and checkboxes for "include patents" (unchecked) and "include citations" (checked). There is also a "Create alert" option. The main results list includes:

- Forging Consensus: How Franjo Tudman Became an Authoritarian Nationalist** [PDF] srce.hr. By JJ Sadkovich - Review of Croatian history, 2010 - hrcaak.srce.hr. Abstract: "... Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia," claim that "discussions between Tudman and Milošević ... no record of the meeting at Karadonovo and no conspiracy between Tudman and Milošević ... 7-36; James J. Sadkovich, 'Franjo Tudman and the Muslim-Croat War,' Review of ... ☆ Cited by 4 Related articles All 4 versions
- Franjo Tudman's nationalist ideology**. By G Uzelak - East European Quarterly, 1997 - search.proquest.com. Abstract: "... Fifty years ago in socialist Yugoslavia, the communist regime created a division between the working class and honest intelli—gentia, on the one hand, and on the other, all those who could not fit into this typology. A product of those times—Franjo Tudman— makes a ... ☆ Cited by 72 Related articles All 4 versions
- A second chance in the Balkans**. By C Bildt - Foreign Aff., 2001 - HeinOnline. Abstract: "... The hard-line nationalist president of Croatia, Franjo Tudman, died in December 1999, and his party ... It had been only five years since Tudman, Izetbegović, and Milošević had spent three ... imposed by the international community produced misery for the once honest middle class ... ☆ Cited by 65 Related articles All 4 versions
- Opportunity Blown in Eastern Europe**. By E.J. Baumeister - Harvard International Journal of Press ..., 1997 - journals.sagepub.com. Abstract: "... Croatia's Feral Tribune makes very clever use of graphics to pillory the increas- ingly oafish Franjo Tudman, and the paper's right to do so ought to be ... However, it will be difficult for the press of the region to become the honest broker that the press ought to be until professional ... ☆
- Honest Broker Or Perfidious Albion?: British Policy in Former Yugoslavia**. By JMO Sharp - 1997 - books.google.com. Abstract: "... HONEST BROKER OR PERFIDIOUS ALBION ... Under the Tory government, British policy in FYU was characterised by appeasement of the main instigators, paymasters and perpetrators of violence - President Slobodan Milošević of Serbia, President Franjo Tudman of Croatia ... ☆ Cited by 32 Related articles All 2 versions
- The renaming of streets and squares in post-Socialist Croatian towns** [PDF] irbis-nbu.gov.ua. By I Crjenko - Moza i cyniucuro, 2012 - irbis-nbu.gov.ua. Abstract: "... However, one has to be honest and say that despite the fact that socialist government conducted mass renaming processes, many streets in ... in Croatia was whether the streets or squares in Croatian towns should gain name after the first Croatian president Franjo Tudman, and if ... ☆ Cited by 21 Related articles All 4 versions
- Daghestan: Tradition and Survival**. By J. Russell - 1998 - JSTOR. Abstract: "... of 'defensive national- ism', which developed during the war, but given the fact that both Alija Izetbegović and Franjo Tudman were imprisoned ... According to all of the American participants,

Image 13. The methodology used to research the adjectives

Source: Author's work

5.2. Research results

Franjo Tudjman

Analyzing the articles gathered on the Google Scholar platform, the author of this study concludes that the entire analysis of adjectives formed around the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman gives the result of a superior leader. Adjectives such as "rousing," "accountable," and "passionate" are the most common terms that found in articles published during life or just after the death of Franjo Tudjman. This result clearly shows the shaping of public opinion through various media platforms and creating a cult of personality. Only after the death of President Tudjman can we come across more frequent notions that detected nationalism during the reign of the Croatian president. Based on these results, one can see the various characteristics needed to run a state at such a delicate time for a country, moving from one business model to another while most of the country is under siege by the enemy.

Adjective	Number of sources mentioning the adjective
Reliable	0
Constructive	3
Rousing	10
Old fashioned	1
Influential	4
Honest	1
Instrumental	2
Inspiring	5
Accountable	7
Caring	1
Determined	4
Bold	5
Long winded	1
Advanced	0
Nationalist	4
Adept	0
Passionate	6
Superior	0
Decisive	2
Forgiving	3
Cruel	0
Tough	5

Table 2. Adjectives used to describe Franjo Tudman as a leader

Source: Author's work

Slobodan Milosevic

Slobodan Milosevic was the best example of an authoritative leader. The adjectives most used to describe Slobodan Milosevic clearly indicate his populist style of governing. Considering his speeches, the author of this document comes across frequent mentions of peoples and languages as the state's identity, using nationalism and populism to the broadest extent. Unlike the Croatian president, his guard was much more rigid. Unlike Franjo Tudjman who listened to his subordinates, Milosevic pursued a policy based on his feelings. Just the mention of such adjectives next to his name makes it clear that he sought an emotional approach using cheap populism to reach the goal regardless of the problems found along the way. Adjectives like “tough” and “cruel” clearly confirm this thesis, while and his historical speeches imply his passion for superiority.

Adjective	Number of sources mentioning the adjective
Reliable	1
Constructive	0
Rousing	8
Old fashioned	3
Influential	2
Honest	0
Instrumental	2
Inspiring	3
Accountable	0
Caring	1
Determined	0
Bold	6
Long winded	0
Advanced	0
Nationalist	9
Adept	4
Passionate	5
Superior	8
Decisive	5
Forgiving	0
Cruel	7
Tough	8

Table 3. Adjectives used to describe Slobodan Milosevic as a leader

Boris Yeltsin

Boris Yeltsin is a true example of a president who was a political fighter and was therefore publicly perceived as an influential political figure. His legacy intertwines between the democratic model of governance he sought to introduce and the socialist way of life that marked his political career in the past. Certain adjectives mentioned in various articles describe the leadership style Boris Yeltsin built. As such, he created a strong political personality, what can be deduced from frequently mentioned adjectives such as "decisive," "tough," and "determined," . However, he also had empathy for the environment, what can be deduced from frequently mentioned adjectives such as "forgiving," and "instrumental." These adjectives show how Boris Yeltsin was at crossroads between the two modes of governance, maintaining some stability within the country after the collapse of the USSR.

Adjective	Number of sources mentioning the adjective
Reliable	0
Constructive	3
Rousing	6
Old fashioned	5
Influential	6
Honest	0
Instrumental	6
Inspiring	5
Accountable	3
Caring	5
Determined	7
Bold	3
Long winded	0
Advanced	1
Nationalist	0
Adept	2
Passionate	5
Superior	6
Decisive	7

Forgiving	4
Cruel	0
Tough	6

Table 4. Adjectives used to describe Boris Yeltsin as a leader

Source: Author's work

Lech Walesa

Lech Walesa possessed various skills needed to become the head of the Solidarity movement and the president of Poland. This can be deduced from the frequent appearance of various adjectives in academic articles. As the head of the movement, he was a visionary and a leader of the opposition, and he performed this duty very well. In addition, as the President of Poland, he had to be much more successful since he did not show all the necessary leadership skills. The adjectives “influential” and “superior” are most often mentioned next to the name of the first Polish president, which is not strange because if he had not influenced others, he could never have been the leader of such a movement. An adjective “decisive” is also mentioned 9 times, indicating that he was pretty determined to implement his ideas, no matter how it would affect the environment. His tenure as the president of Poland was most often characterized as nationalistic, as can be seen in the articles published after Poland declared independence. This is not surprising, as the Polish government wanted to resist the Soviet Union with all its might. The articles state that he was also passionate, which is reflected in organizing so many mass protests, despite him feeling intimidated. This kind of leadership style is highly tempting at times when so many people need to be gathered and provoke a critical mass to bring about change. Lech Walesa is an obvious example of this kind of leadership. Still, when he came to power, all the skills that adorned him were simply not enough to solve the socio-economic problems in society. This range between the two leadership styles can be seen in this paper's analysis of adjectives where 95% of those are mentioned next to Walesa's name. The analysis of adjectives such as “rousing” and “constructive” suggests that Lech Walesa was highly aggressive in his intention to achieve his goals. The mention of these adjectives in the public media space certainly gave the wind behind his candidacy in the first democratic elections. The adjective “bold” was mentioned 7 times, which shows his fearlessness in solving complex problems. “Old fashioned” is mentioned 5 times which may be one of the indicators of his

failure to perform the president's duties. This can be the case because all his skills needed to lead the opposition did not prove sufficient to transform the state's governing model.

Adjective	Number of sources mentioning the adjective
Reliable	5
Constructive	6
Rousing	8
Old fashioned	5
Influential	9
Honest	3
Instrumental	6
Inspiring	2
Accountable	0
Caring	4
Determined	8
Bold	7
Long winded	4
Advanced	3
Nationalist	7
Adept	4
Passionate	6
Superior	9
Decisive	9
Forgiving	2
Cruel	4
Tough	3

Table 5. Adjectives used to describe Lech Walesa as a leader

Source: Author's work

Arpad Goncz

Through researching articles about Arpad Goncz and paying attention to the adjectives next to his name, the author of this paper saw similar characteristics in other leaders of Eastern European countries to the ones in the first Hungarian president. The adjectives “passionate” and “decisive” are mentioned 9 and 8 times, respectively, next to his name on the Google Scholar platform. This is to be expected when one takes his political career, that is, his political activity during the Hungarian revolution. The time spent in prison shaped his emotional life, so we can find the adjectives “caring,” “forgiving,” and “honest” in articles mentioning his actions. The adjectives "old fashioned" and "nationalist" cannot be found next to his name, primarily because of the environment he comes from. The time he spent in prison where he invested a lot in himself, thus creating contacts around the world, made him realize that old values simply do not reach modern man, nor can nationalism. The mention of the adjectives “reliable” and “inspiring” is clear evidence of his work and dedication to the detriment of a better society.

Adjective	Number of sources mentioning the adjective
Reliable	4
Constructive	5
Rousing	6
Old fashioned	0
Influential	5
Honest	6
Instrumental	6
Inspiring	3
Accountable	4
Caring	5
Determined	6
Bold	3
Long winded	1
Advanced	2
Nationalist	0
Adept	4
Passionate	9
Superior	3

Decisive	8
Forgiving	6
Cruel	0
Tough	4

Table 6. Adjectives used to describe Arpad Goncz as a leader

Source: Author's work

Franjo Tudjman	Slobodan Milosevic	Boris Yeltsin	Lech Walesa	Arpad Goncz
Rousing	Nationalist	Determined	Influential	Passionate
Accountable	Superior	Decisive	Superior	Decisive
Passionate	Tough	Influential	Decisive	Honest

Table 7. The most significant adjectives in processed leaders

Source: Author's work

Table 7 shows the cross-section of the most significant adjectives in the processed presidents. There is a great similarity between the presidents of the processed states that the author of this text attributes to the mentality of the state from which the presidents come, whose inhabitants of these states went through various systems in the past where they were denied basic rights such as freedom and patriotism. Processed leaders had power in their hands, especially in the public media where they shaped the image of themselves to be portrayed as invincible people, which is understandable, especially in times of their rule when they needed to give the impression of a brave person who would do anything for the good of his country.

5.3. Limitations and future studies

However, during the research that led to this paper's results, the author of this document encountered limitations in terms of access to some files, especially when creating profiles of foreign presidents. This document has covered all articles related to the mentioned presidents on the Google Scholar platform and, as such, cannot give a single reason for not using other platforms where access was not allowed.

Building upon the findings of this research, future research should cover all platforms where academic articles are published, especially in countries whose presidents are described in order to get a clear insight into the actual situation.

Also, a limitation of this study is the fact that the required articles are in English. The presidents of the states are also mentioned in domestic articles and media, where their image is even more strongly shaped by public opinion. One should be careful taking such articles into account because most of these presidents influenced the media which did not present the president and his characteristics accurately. Future studies will undoubtedly be conducted in even more detail because as time goes on, we know more and more details of their rule and why some things were done in an unclear way at the time.

6. CONCLUSION

The paper defines leadership and shows the difference between different leadership styles. The introduction portrays the roots of leadership, followers and their relationship in modern society. The paper also outlines the trends of today's leadership that vary from the emotional to the strategic nature of leadership. A leader is a person who has a particular weight in today's world and who must adapt to the changing conditions of a dynamic environment and suppress his ego. Unlike a manager, a leader must create long-term goals, explain them in detail to his subordinates, and create work conditions worthy of each person.

Meanwhile, the leader must recognize organizational culture as inner strength and advantage over competence; that is, he must be the person who will recognize the new situation and introduce his followers to the process. Today, more than ever, leaders are needed, both in every local community and globally. Time is a relative term, and a leader must not stay in the past and reconsider his decisions but must continue to work on the progress of human society. Through various examples from multiple presidents covered in this paper, the author of this paper comes to the fact that a leader must be completely fulfilled in all spheres of life, both mentally and emotionally, and in the physical sphere. Leader and leadership are the keys to the modern organizations success.

Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s gradually began to experience changes at all levels of society. The emergence of the media, freedom of speech, and certain other things became inevitable to which the then politics had no answer. For example, the public debt began to grow in Yugoslavia, and everyone knew that the state could no longer survive in modern society. The culmination of discontent in the processed states occurred after the fall of the Berlin Wall when various protests erupted across the Eastern Bloc. Their active participants would later become influential political figures within their states, such as Tadjman and Walesa. With the collapse of socialism, states found it difficult to adapt to new conditions such as market economies and multi-party elections. All important people from socialist life moved to new positions, and their word remained important. The mentality of the people who have been deeply woven into society for years is one of the reasons why some countries have lagged behind Western countries' development. Fear among the Eastern and Middle Blocs people has crept in because of new potential conflicts, and it has been based, mainly because of past conflicts in those areas. Even today, in some countries such as Croatia, a member of the European Union, there is a

socialist way of life and the mentality of communism, which has been passed on to younger generations. All countries covered in this paper still lag behind Western civilization. Their politicians win elections on cheap populism and dividing people into ideological sects. Only Poland shows significant economic growth and standard, which indicates that the leading people of that country are doing well, leaving a clear past behind them after the state confronted individuals who did not work for a part of the state in the previous system.

The leaders discussed in this paper clearly show the similarity to each other, primarily because as young people they fought against the system, which punished them in various ways unacceptable in today's democratic world. Common to all these leaders is their passion and fearlessness in persevering in the solution, which was the foundation for creating a critical mass. Processing the biographies of various presidents, the author of this paper realizes that only by example can a leader point out problems within society. A person who can clearly show this and stand by the actions behind their words can ultimately lead to the successful resolution of problematic things. Sometime during their lives, all these presidents were members of the same system that later rejected them because of their unsuitability. This legacy of the system was later revealed in certain presidential decisions after the transition to modern society. The big problem was to replace the skills of the time, which created a critical mass in a more peaceful and democratic environment requiring dialogue and cooperation.

The analysis of scientific articles gave an insight into how the presidents of socialist countries had a very similar status within society. The leader's cult was created in every state through the media, often emphasizing their courage in their younger days when they decided to become part of the resistance, and often leading it. By analyzing the results, we conclude that leaders often had a privileged position with all media representatives and how the same media image changed after their rule. They all have in common that they passionately defended their position. On one hand, they wanted to pursue the millennial dream of their people to become independent, like Tudjman, and on the other hand, not face any problems that would lead to the realization of their ideals like Milosevic. All these presidents had a big problem transforming the leadership into a democratic way of governing. That problem manifested itself, primarily in learning how to rule during their youth. They also had to learn how to face environmental issues and former heads of state who still had their people involved in making important decisions. Presidents like Tudjman should also be commended for the way in which he resolved problems between ideological warring parties within a state. At that time, most presidents were nationalistic, which is not strange because that was the only way they could achieve cohesion

that would later lead to growth in the socio-economic society. Many of these presidents still induce admiration among their country's people. They are seen as the people most deserving of the realization of their dreams, and that is called freedom.

7. LITERATURE

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10. CURRICULUM VITAE

<p>LEONARDO ARTUKOVIĆ Master's Student</p> <p>● Self-motivated, team player with strong organizational and interpersonal skills.</p> <hr/> <p>EXPERIENCE</p> <p>Bosnia and Herzegovina May 2014 - Present</p> <p>Croatia October 2017 - February 2018</p> <p>Zagreb April 2015 - December 2019</p> <hr/> <p>EDUCATION</p> <p>Zagreb November 2020 - Present</p> <p>Zagreb October 2014 - February 2019</p> <p>Čitluk, Bosnia and Herzegovina September 2010 - May 2014</p> <p>Čitluk, Bosnia and Herzegovina September 2002 - June 2009</p>	<p>● Assistant Manager <i>Hotel Leonardo Medjugorje,</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Handled customer complaints with empathy and composure.● Answered calls, responded to emails, and spoke with clients face-to-face.● Helped management to identify workflow issues and find solutions. <p>● Taxi Driver <i>Uber</i></p> <p>● Volunteer <i>Homeland club of students from Herzegovina</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Proactively participated in meetings and helped create new practices. <hr/> <p>● Master Degree in Management <i>Faculty of Economics & Business, University Zagreb</i></p> <p>● Bachelor of Economics <i>Faculty of Economics & Business, University Zagreb</i></p> <p>● High School Education <i>Gymnasium Čitluk, Srednja škola Fra Slavka Barbarića</i></p> <p>● Elementary School <i>Osnovna škola Fra Didaka Buntića</i></p>	<p>CONTACT INFORMATION</p> <hr/> <p>Email leonardo-995@hotmail.com</p> <p>Address Metalkeva 1, 10000, Zagreb</p> <p>Phone +385917680889</p> <p>Date of birth 09-24-1995</p> <p>Nationality Croatian</p> <p>Link https://www.linkedin.com/in/leonardo-artukovi%C4%87-1a3939a6</p> <hr/> <p>SKILLS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Teamwork● Leadership● Handling conflict● Problem-Solving <hr/> <p>LANGUAGES</p> <hr/> <p>English Advanced</p> <p>German Elementary</p> <p>Italian Elementary</p> <p>Croatian Native</p>
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