



Politics & Security of Serbia

BALKAN POLITICS

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History of Serbia

- ▶ 1878-1918 Kingdom of Serbia
- ▶ 1918-41 SHS
- ▶ 1928 Kingdom of Yugoslavia
- ▶ WWII
- ▶ 1945- 1992 Federal unit of Yugoslavia
- ▶ 1992 – 2006 together with Montenegro Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- ▶ 2006 republic of Serbia
- ▶ Srbija do Tokia
- ▶ Serbia is like a Nokia, its getting smaller and smaller



Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

- ▶ 1992 -2006
- ▶ 2006 Belgrade agreement – Serbia and Montenegro
- ▶ Kosovo, Vojvodina?



Serbia in wars

- ▶ Slovenia
- ▶ Croatia
- ▶ BiH
- ▶ Kosovo
- ▶ Preševo, Medvedja Bujanovac uprising



Serbian paramilitaries

Arkanovi tigrovi

Šešelj White Eagles

Captain Dragan

Vuk Drašković and chetnics



Football hooligans

- ▶ Recruited by Arkan
- ▶ Crvena zvezda- Delije
- ▶ Played important role in 2000 toppling of Milosevic
- ▶ Against pride marches
- ▶ Working relationship with government
- ▶ Kill, kill kill the Albanians
- ▶ 2014 drone with Albanian flag of greater albania
- ▶ Nož, žica, srebrenica



Slobodan Milošević

- ▶ High ranking communist
- ▶ Leader of Socialist party of Serbia
- ▶ President of Serbia 1989-1997
- ▶ President of federal republic of Yugoslavia 1997-2000
- ▶ Communism to nationalism
- ▶ Authoritarian rule, police brutality
- ▶ Guilty for the wars
- ▶ Meetings with Tudjman to divide BiH
- ▶ ICTY, ICJ, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide
- ▶ called for political change to reduce the autonomy, protect minority Serb rights, and initiate a strong crackdown on separatism in Kosovo.
- ▶ Extradited to ICTY in 2001
- ▶ 2006 found dead in the cell



5 October 2000 overthrow of Milošević (Buldozzer revolution)

- ▶ 25 August execution of former mentor and political ally Ivan Stambolic – competitor, initiated by Milosevic?
- ▶ OTPOR
- ▶ GOTOV JE
- ▶ US funded opposition campaign for the elections
- ▶ 24 September 2000 elections
- ▶ Accusation of electoral fraud, discrepancies
- ▶ Protests, no police crackdown
- ▶ Due to the pressure milosevic resigned



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Presidents of Serbia

- ▶ 2006-2012 Boris Tadic DS
- ▶ 2012 Slavica Dejanovic SPS
- ▶ 2012 -2017 Tomislav Nikolic SNS
- ▶ 2017-2022 *Alexandar Vucic SNS*



- ▶ *Directly elected, 5 years, 2 round system, max 2 turns*

Aleksandar Vucic

- ▶ Minister of Information under Milosevic
- ▶ SRS (Serbian Radical Party, SRS)
- ▶ Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska Napredna Stranka, SNS) – no longer supports greater Serbian ideology
- ▶ Conservative, chameleonic, populist
- ▶ Illiberal democratic régime
- ▶ Frequently in popular tv shows



Prime ministers of Serbia

- ▶ 2006- 2008 Vojislav Koštunica DSS
- ▶ 2008-12 Mirko Cvetkovic grand coalition under DS
- ▶ 2012-14 Ivica Dacic SPS
- ▶ 2014- 2017 **Alexandar Vucic**
- ▶ 2017 Ivica Dacic SPS
- ▶ 2017 Ana Brnabic



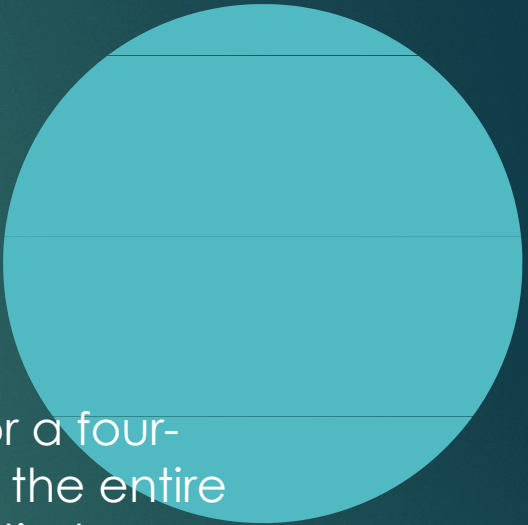
Ana Brnabic

- ▶ Female
- ▶ Openly LGBT head government
- ▶ head of government with extensive political dependence on a leader of the governing party
- ▶ Puppet of Vucic



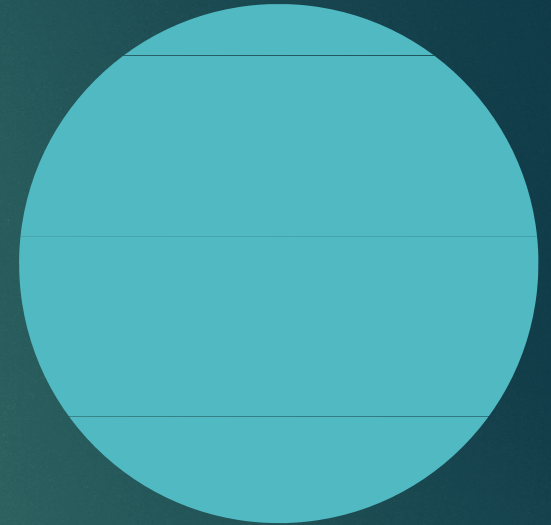
Political parties in Serbia



- ▶ SNS
 - ▶ Fragmented opposition (far right, liberal, green, socialist)
 - ▶ **National Assembly of Serbia** has 250 members elected for a four-year term. A party must receive at least 3% of the votes in the entire country to qualify for any seats, except for national minorities' parties, who only have to reach 0.4%.
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Serbian Progressive Party SNS

- ▶ Split from SRS in 2008
- ▶ National conservative, populist



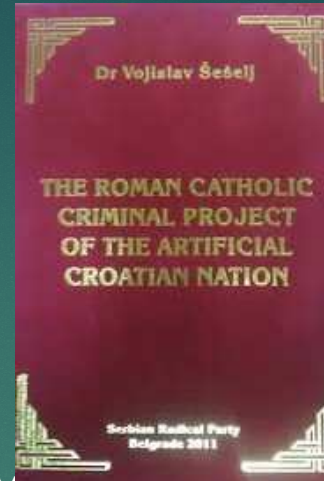
Far right politics in Serbia

- ▶ Obraz
- ▶ Dveri
- ▶ Leviathan
- ▶ Serbian Party Oathkeepers
- ▶ Party of Serbian unity
- ▶ Serbian right
- ▶ Serbian Radical party



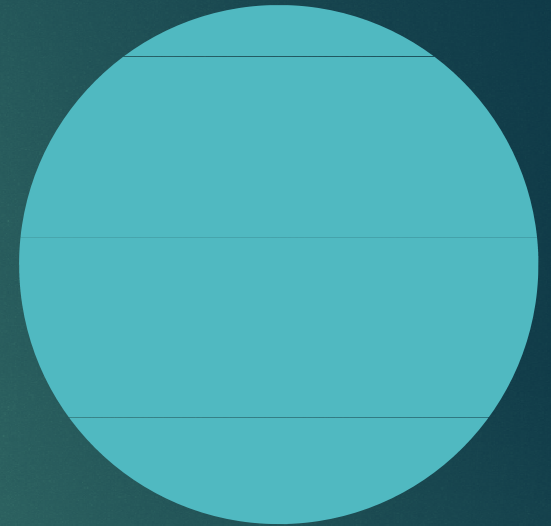
Serbian radical party Vojislav Šešelj

- ▶ advocating Greater Serbia – Vojislav Šešelj
- ▶ During the 1990s supported the Socialist Party
- ▶ Most successful far right party in Europe along with FPÖ
- ▶ Eurosceptic, russophilic, anti-western, traditionalist, far right, nationalism
- ▶ Šešelj voluntarily surrendered to ICTY
- ▶ After almost 12 years temporarily released for health reasons final decision guilty for crimes against humanity, got 10 years which he had already spent
- ▶ White Eagles paramilitaries –Šešeljovci
- ▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilOSN4nBB7M>
- ▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-uZPIDGzTkQ>



Far right organisations - ties to the regime

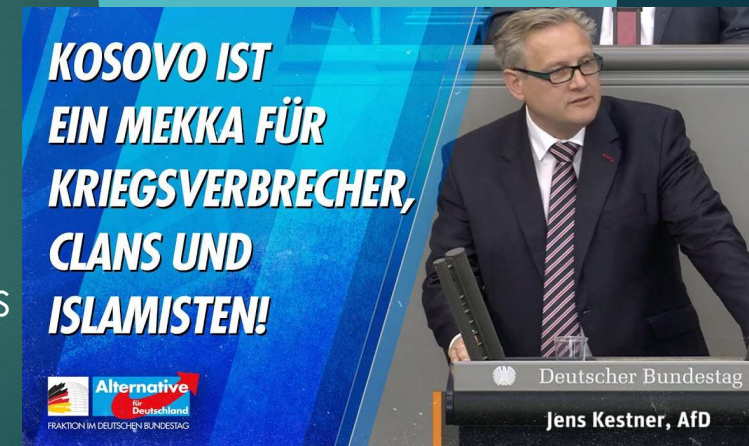
- ▶ Blood & Honour
- ▶ Combat 18
- ▶ I live for Serbia
- ▶ Nacionalni stroj
- ▶ National Serb Front
- ▶ Nomokanon
- ▶ Obraz
- ▶ People's Patrol
- ▶ Rasonalisti
- ▶ SNP 1389
- ▶ SNP Naši
- ▶ Serbian Action
- ▶ Serbian Honour
- ▶ Sveti Justin Filozof



Serbian far right and the world



- ▶ Anders Breivik – 2011
- ▶ Brenton Harrison Tarrant - Christchurch attack on mosques 2019
- ▶ Inspirations from Christchurch: (2019 mass shooting at a Walmart in Texas , 2019 opened fire at a mosque in Bærum Norway, 2021 arrest of Protestant Indian youth in Singapore plotting to attack Mosques at the anniversary of Christchurch attack)
- ▶ **Serb nationalists enjoy cult status** among many far-right groups in Europe **where they are admired** for their militancy, extreme Islamophobia and – most importantly – **for having put words into action** in the 1990s, when Serb nationalist paramilitaries killed thousands of Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo.
- ▶ AFD, NPD



Paris- Berlin-Belgrade- Moscow

- ▶ Belgrade as a bridge between east and west
- ▶ Identitarian movement
- ▶ Great replacement theory, white genocide, day x, narratives focus on white race not on particular nation
- ▶ New right in the old packaging – far right without hackenkreuz
- ▶ The far right shares information across borders, knowhow, resources, finances and means to network.
- ▶ „Bosnian Serbs and Croats “could support each other in these efforts to get rid of the Sarajevo influence and Islamism.”
- ▶ NPD vice-president Thorsten Heise, a prominent German neo-Nazi, “If we bring together European comrades who didn’t speak to each other before we have laid the foundations for future networking.”
- ▶ Götz Kubitschek – 2017 presentation at Matica Srpska
- ▶ Paradox: - although United in Deutschland - Formation of paramilitary units on both sides of the conflict in Ukraine (Azov/Russian Imperial Movement)



East European Organisations as Sources of Inspiration for various attacks

▶ In Breivik's own words: "the so-called Bosniaks and Albanians had waged deliberate demographic warfare (indirect genocide) against Serbs for decades. This type of warfare is one of the most destructive forms of Jihad and is quite similar to what we are experiencing now in Western Europe." [2]

▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHMValDKMT4> Remove kebab

▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gknTJKgQqW4> serbia is st



Oppositional political parties



- ▶ Socialist Party of Serbia
 - ▶ Fragmented spectrum, marginal political parties
 - ▶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Serbia
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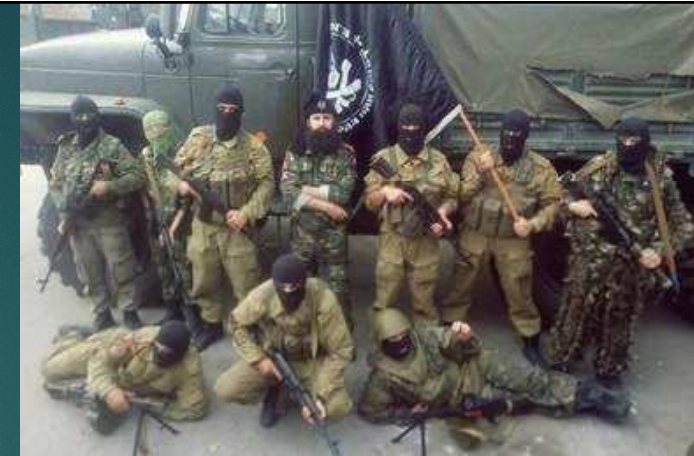
Serbia's foreign relations

- ▶ EU
- ▶ Not NATO
- ▶ Russia
- ▶ China
- ▶ Turkey



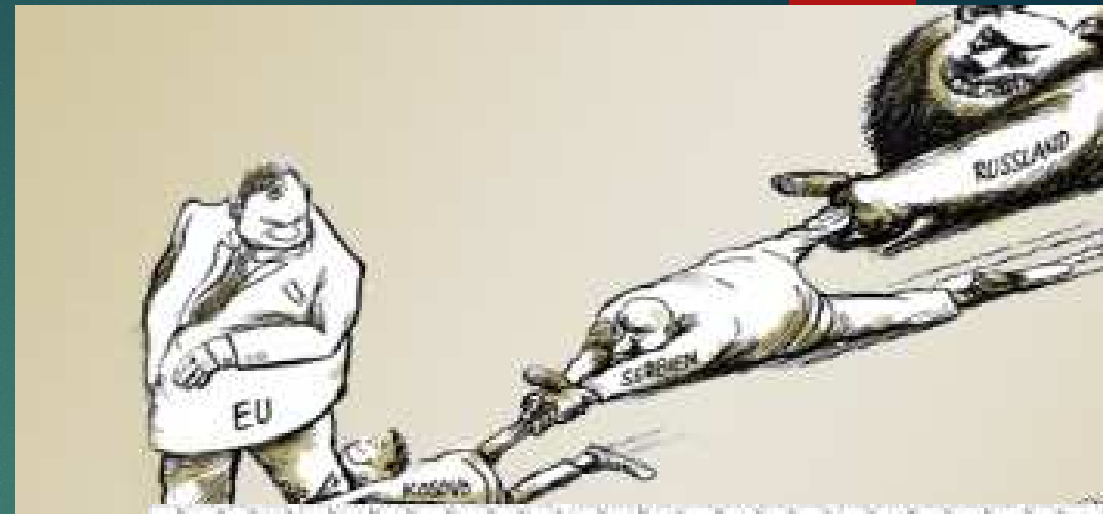
Ukraine

- ▶ Vucic as stability
- ▶ supporting the UN resolutions condemning Russia's actions, nonetheless refused to join sanctions against Russia
- ▶ Chetnics in Ukraine



Russia in the Balkans

- BiH, Serbia, North Macedonia, Montenegro
- Soft power
- Orthodox church, Big Slavic brother - history
- Economic influence, Gas
- Military Cooperation with Serbia
- Far right with direct ties to Russia
- Foreign fighters in Ukraine
- Pro-Russian demonstrations in Serbia
- Kosovo – justification for Crimea annexation
- Montenegrin failed coup 2016
- Disinformation campaign about war in Ukraine- selling own version – Ukraine genocide in Eastern Ukraine, denazifikation of Ukraine



Kosovo

CS481515

- ▶ Recognition of Kosovo – political suicide for any politician
- ▶ Redrawing of borders and formal recognition so both countries can go on the path towards the EU



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Other sources

- ▶ <https://recentglobe.uni-leipzig.de/zentrum/detailansicht/artikel/blog-from-norway-to-new-zealand-how-a-serbian-internet-meme-inspired-radical-right-terrorists-wor>

