

YUGOSLAVIA (INCLUDING SERBIA AND CROATIA)

The Balkan Peninsula has often been referred to as a "Shatter Belt", since it has one of the highest degrees of ethnic fragmentation of any in the world, the origin of this fragmentation being the settlement here of various peoples warring and intermingling with one another over three thousand years. Several of these peoples, like the Slavs, came from the north via the Pannonian Basin. Others, like the Bulgars, entered from the east, particularly up the Danube. Still others, especially the Byzantines and Turks, came from the south up the valleys of the Maritsa, Vardar, and Morava rivers. The rugged, mountainous character of the Balkan Peninsula allowed these peoples to isolate themselves from each other and preserve their unique traditions and customs far longer than would be possible in more open terrain.

Yugoslavia "I"

When World War I brought an end to both the Russian and Ottoman Empires, the fate of their Balkan possessions fell into the hands of the delegates at the Paris Peace Conference, not in gradual and piecemeal fashion but all together and all at once. Because the population of Transylvania, the Banat, Bessarabia, and Bukovina was predominantly Romanian, the bulk of these areas were included in the new Romanian kingdom. Because the population of the remaining areas was predominantly made up three specific ethnic groups, they were brought together into the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia).

It was impossible for political borders to exactly follow ethnic lines. In some areas the population was very mixed indeed, including tiny isolated ethnic communities completely surrounded by other ethnic groups. Transylvania had substantial Hungarian and German minorities. Bessarabia and Bukovina had many Jewish and Ukrainian inhabitants. The Slovenes did not speak Serbo-Croatian, and neither did the Macedonians or the Albanians of Kosovo. The rationale for including so many minorities in a few states came from the fact that it was impossible to draw proper lines of division in such an ethnic kaleidoscope. Larger states, it was also believed, would be more economically viable, more militarily defensible, and would constitute a more effective political barrier against Russian bolshevism. It was also hoped that most minority problems could be avoided by requiring minority protection clauses in all national constitutions that guaranteed the civil rights of citizens, regardless of ethnicity.

With the exception of Albania, the rest of the Balkans achieved considerable stability by the mid-1920s. The disappearance of the Hapsburg and Russian empires and the neutralization of the Dardanelles meant, that until the appearance of Nazi Germany in the 1930s, the Balkan states were more free of foreign influence and interference than in previous eras. Fascist Italy did try to extend its influence in the eastern Adriatic, but it was not strong enough on its own to attempt real territorial expansion. The danger from other revisionist states, Hungary and Bulgaria, were controlled by the "Little Entente", an alliance created in 1921 of Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Sources of tension did remain, but there was hope that now, the "League of Nations" could contain these.

The Great Depression

This stability was destroyed by the "Great Depression" of the 1920's and early 1930s. As exporters of primary produce, the Balkan states suffered immediately. Trade shriveled. The value of Yugoslavian trade alone fell by seventy percent! By forcing agricultural prices down more rapidly than those of manufactured goods, the depression caught Balkan peasants in a price scissors that featured a widening gap between the rising costs of imports and shrinking farm income available to pay for them. Previously, with credit easily available, interest rates low, and the demand for produce expanding, peasants borrowed heavily, not only for the purchase of implements, seed, and stock, but also for consumption. In Yugoslavia no more than one-quarter of the sums borrowed in the 1920s went into equipment aimed at increased production.

When the depression came and exports fell, peasants were unable to earn enough to pay even the interest on their loans, never mind redeeming their capital. Yet, as the economic climate worsened, banks put more and more pressure on them to do so. At the state level, borrowing from foreign sources to cover trade deficits soon became impossible. Export earnings could no longer be guaranteed to service these loans. The weakness of an agrarian economy in a world dominated by industrial production was devastatingly revealed.

Enter the Germans

When Adolf Hitler and the Nazis arrived on the scene, the Balkan states were forced to consider measures for collective security. In 1934, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and Romania signed the "Balkan Entente" with that goal in mind. There were even attempts to bring Bulgaria into the fold. However, the government in Sofia refused to accept the "Versailles Treaty" as a permanent fixture, the price demanded for inclusion. The intention of the Balkan Entente had been to unite the governments of the region to such a degree that, collectively, they would be able to resist pressure from outside powers. It failed primarily because a more powerful force worked in the opposite direction.

The depression had left most Balkan economies without an export market for their products. Germany was happy to provide this market, but only under specific conditions. The Germans would buy primary products, often at prices well above world levels, but would deposit the payment only in closed accounts in Berlin. Therefore, the money could be used only to purchase German-manufactured products! These "blocked mark" agreements worked well for tobacco, grains, and meat, but not for industrial products, such as Romanian oil or Yugoslav copper. Nevertheless, the "blocked mark" agreements brought a huge increase in German arms sales to the Balkans, which in turn enhanced German political influence in the region.

Greater German influence failed, however, to lure the Balkans into the Nazi camp. Despite tremendous German economic power in the area, the Balkan states showed great reluctance to take sides in the looming struggle for European domination. World War I had been enough for them! But, after the incorporation of Austria into the Third Reich in March 1938, Germany shared a border with Yugoslavia, increasing the pressure immeasurably. By 1939 Italy was able to march into Albania without resistance and damned little protest from any power, great or small.

The Nazi-Soviet "Non-aggression" Pact of August 1939 enabled the Germans and Russians to partition northeastern Europe, but they could not agree on the future of the Balkans. By late 1940, as German influence in Romania grew ever greater, the Soviets were demanding that the eastern part of the Balkans fall under their sphere of influence and that they be allowed to establish naval bases on the Bulgarian coast (an obvious stepping stone to the Dardanelles). Given the past experience of the Balkan states, this was not an attractive proposition. In March 1941, they signed Hitler's "Tripartite Pact". Later in the same month, a military coup d'état overthrew the Pro-Nazis in Belgrade.

The prospect of a hostile Yugoslavia, assisting the British in the defense of Greece, convinced Hitler that an invasion of the kingdom was unavoidable. War broke out soon after Yugoslavia declared its neutrality. Invasion, occupation, and partition followed in 1941. During the war, Nazi occupation policy exploited Croatian discontent. In April 1941, the Germans and Italians set up an "Independent State of Croatia" including Bosnia, Herzegovina, and those parts of Dalmatia that had not been ceded to Italy. Though in fact this state was under occupation by the German and Italian armies, the "Ustase" were put into power.

Pavelic and the "Ustase"

The leader of the "Ustase", Poglavnik Ante Pavelic, started out as a fairly successful Croatian attorney. Elected to local office in Zagreb in 1920, from 1927 to 1929 he was a representative in the Yugoslav parliament, where he vigorously opposed any centralization of authority. When King Alexander assumed dictatorial powers in 1929, Pavelic fled to Italy founding a group of Croatian Fascists into a terrorist organization there known as the "Ustase" (uprising). The group soon achieved world notoriety by assassinating the Yugoslav king in Marseilles on October 9th, 1934. Under the Nazi backed, Ustase regime, whose slogan was "Za dom Spretni" ("Ready for the Fatherland"), Pavelic was made head of state with broad dictatorial powers. With the end of Nazi rule in May 1945, Pavelic fled Croatia, going into hiding in Austria and Italy, finally escaping to Argentina in 1948. He survived an assassination attempt in 1957, and fled to Paraguay. He later settled in Spain and died at the German hospital in Madrid in December, 1959.

The Kid From Zagreb

Much of the history of Yugoslavia is the history of Josip Broz "Tito". His actions, beliefs, and policies dominated every aspect of Yugoslav life from the middle of WWII until his death in 1980. During his long and eventful career, he served as secretary-general (later president) of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, supreme commander of the Yugoslav Partisans and the Yugoslav People's Army, and marshal, premier, and president of Yugoslavia. Tito was chief architect of the "Second" communist Yugoslavia. He was the first Communist leader to defy Soviet hegemony, a nationalist, and promoter of the policy of nonalignment between the two hostile blocs in the Cold War.

He was born "Josip Broz" on May 7th, 1892 near Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, in what was then Austria-Hungary, to a large peasant family with a Croat father and Slovene mother. He was apprenticed to a locksmith in 1907 and completed his training in 1910, when he joined the "Social Democratic Party of Croatia-Slavonia". After working as an itinerant metalworker in various Austro-Hungarian and German centers, he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army in 1913, completed noncommissioned-officer training, and served as a sergeant in the war against Serbia in 1914.

Transferred to the Russian front in early 1915, he was seriously wounded and captured by the Russians in April of that year. After a long hospitalization he was sent to prisoner-of-war camps, where he became acquainted with Bolshevik propaganda. In 1917 he participated in the "July Days" demonstrations in Petrograd and, after the October Revolution, joined a Red Guard unit in Omsk, Siberia. Following a White counteroffensive, he fled to Kyrgyzstan and subsequently returned to Omsk, where he married a Russian woman and joined the South Slav section of the Bolshevik party. In October 1920 he returned to his native Croatia and soon joined the "Communist Party of Yugoslavia" (CPY).

Broz's career as a communist militant was cut short in December 1920 by a state ban against communist activities. He lost his job in a Zagreb locksmith shop and moved to a nearby village, where he worked as a mill mechanic until 1923. Having revived his links with the underground CPY, he served as a local and regional party functionary and trade union organizer until 1927, when he joined the CPY committee for Zagreb, quickly becoming its organizational secretary. After being named political secretary in April 1928, he led street demonstrations against the authorities following the assassination of Croat deputies in the Belgrade parliament in June 1928. He was arrested in August when police discovered bombs stored in his apartment. He was sentenced to five years.

His prison term coincided with the establishment of the royal Yugoslav dictatorship of King Alexander I aimed at stemming nationalistic movements by disaffected non-Serbs. At the time of Broz's release in March 1934, the CPY was slowly recuperating. Its leader, Milan Gorkic, summoned Broz to his Vienna headquarters, where he attempted to secure his cooperation by bringing him into the CPY Politburo. It was at this time that Broz assumed the alias "Tito", one of many he used. From February 1935 to October 1936, Tito was in the Soviet Union, where he worked as a "Comintern" bureaucrat.

War And Resistance

When Germany and Italy, occupied and partitioned Yugoslavia in April 1941, the CPY remained the only organized political group ready and capable of contending with the occupiers and their collaborators throughout Yugoslavia. The communist-dominated Partisans, therefore, became not simply auxiliaries of the Allied war effort but an offensive force in their own right. Their ultimate aim, carefully concealed in the rhetoric of "national liberation," was to seize control of the post-war Yugoslav government. To this end, they established "liberation committees," communist-dominated administrative units that prefigured the future federal republics. As a result, Tito's "Partisans" became a threat not only to the occupiers and collaborators but also to the royal government-in-exile and its domestic supporters, the Serbian "Chetniks" of Dragoljub Mihailovic. In time, Communist pressure drove the Chetniks into tactical alliances with the Axis, leading to their isolation and defeat.

In 1943, after the battles of Neretva and Sutjeska, the Western Allies recognized Tito as "the" leader of the Yugoslav resistance and obliged the London government-in-exile to come to terms with him. In June 1944 the royal premier, Ivan Subasic, met Tito on the island of Vis and agreed to coordinate the activities of the exiled government with Tito. The Soviet army, aided by Tito's Partisans, liberated Serbia in October 1944, thereby sealing the fate of the Yugoslav dynasty, which had its strongest following in this largest of the Yugoslav lands. There ensued a series of mop-up operations that strengthened Communist control of the whole of Yugoslavia by May 1945. In the process the Yugoslav frontiers extended to take in Istria and portions of the Julian Alps, where reprisals against fleeing Croat and Slovene collaborators were especially brutal.

Yugoslavia "II"

Tito consolidated his power in the summer and fall of 1945 by purging his government of non-communists and by holding fraudulent elections that legitimized the jettisoning of the monarchy. The "Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" was proclaimed under a new constitution in November 1945. Trials of captured collaborationists, Catholic prelates, opposition figures, and even distrusted communists were conducted in order to fashion Yugoslavia in the Soviet mold. Tito's excesses eventually became as irritating to Moscow as did his independent manner--especially in foreign policy, where Tito pursued risky aims in Albania and Greece at a time when Stalin advised caution.

In the spring of 1948, Stalin initiated a series of moves to purge the Yugoslav leadership. This effort was unsuccessful, as Tito maintained his control over the CPY, the Yugoslav army, and the secret police. Stalin then opted for a public condemnation of Tito and for the expulsion of the CPY from the Cominform (the European organization of ruling communist parties). In the ensuing war of words, economic boycotts, and occasional armed provocations, during which Stalin briefly considered a Soviet invasion, Yugoslavia was cut off from the Soviet Union and its eastern European satellites and steadily drew closer to the West.

By 1953 Western military aid had evolved into an informal association with NATO via a tripartite pact with Greece and Turkey that included a provision for mutual defense. After Stalin's death in 1953, Tito was faced with a choice: continue the Westward course and give up one-party dictatorship, or seek reconciliation with the new Soviet leadership. The latter course became increasingly possible after a conciliatory state visit by Nikita Khrushchev to Belgrade in May 1955. The resultant "Belgrade Declaration" committed the Soviets to treat other communist states as equals (at least Yugoslavia). However, the limits of this policy became obvious after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. This was followed by a new campaign against Tito, aimed at blaming Yugoslavia for inspiring the Hungarian insurgents. Yugoslav-Soviet relations went through similar cool periods in the 1960s, especially following the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, Stalin's departure lessened the pressure for greater integration with the West, and Tito came to see his position as being equidistant from both blocs. Seeking like-minded statesmen elsewhere, he found them in the "Third World". Negotiations with Nasser and Nehru in 1956 led to closer cooperation among these, so called, "non-engaged" states. From non-engagement evolved the concept of "active nonalignment". This involved the promotion of alternatives to bloc politics, as opposed to mere neutrality. The first meeting of nonaligned states took place in Belgrade under Tito's sponsorship in 1961. The movement continued thereafter, but by the end of his life Tito had been eclipsed by newer, supposedly "non-aligned", leaders such as Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Decentralization

The break with the Soviet Union also inspired Tito to establish what he called a "new" socialism for Yugoslavia. In this area Tito, never a theoretician, depended on his lieutenants for guidance. But he supported the notion of allowing the labor force to manage production through "Workers' Councils", abandoned Soviet-style central planning, and trimmed the fat from various top-heavy communist bureaucracies. Workers' self-management had important consequences for internal relations in multinational Yugoslavia. As power steadily shifted from the federation to the several republics, conservative centralist forces fought back, opening rifts within the communist elite between 1963 and 1972. During this period Tito purged Serbian centralists in 1966, leaders of the Croatian opposition in 1971, and Serbian leaders again in 1972. The Croatian purge, in particular, acted to destabilize Tito's rule in this industrially advanced region.

Tito's next move was to fashion a system called "symmetrical federalism," with various internal rules and rituals, including the concept of a "rotating" presidency (to go into effect only after his death). These were aimed at formalizing equality among the six Yugoslav republics and Serbia's two autonomous provinces. The system became official with the adoption of the constitution of 1974.

The plan was an obvious attempt to promote the weaker and smaller federal units at the expense of Serbia and Croatia. Serbia's displeasure at the independent role assigned to its autonomous provinces was already strong in Tito's last years, but it hardened into outright sedition after his death in 1980. It provided the rationale Slobodan Milosevic and other promoters of re-centralization needed to undo the Yugoslav federal system during the following decade.

The period between 1965 and 1975, was also one of great military danger for Yugoslavia. Tito's "new socialism", his advocacy of "active non-alignment", and his ruthless purge of "centralist" elements, had enraged the Soviet leadership. In earlier years, American military and political power had forced the USSR to be more circumspect. But with the United States increasingly isolated from its European allies over the Vietnam issue, and with American military forces fully engaged in an unpopular foreign war, Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev realized he had a perfect opportunity to act against rebellious elements within the USSR's East European colonial empire. The Americans would be unable to interfere.

The crisis came when the citizens of Prague took to the streets to express their rejection of Soviet hegemony in 1968. After a short period of confusion and indecision, during which the Czechs celebrated their "victory", the Soviets responded with overwhelming force. On August 20th, Warsaw Pact tank columns began pouring across the Czech border from three directions. In the end, a half-million Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops were involved in this punitive expedition. The Czechs were stunned! The point was taken. Tito realized that Yugoslavia might well be next. The threat of Soviet invasion was both real and imminent. The purges stopped. Tito's health and confidence dwindled, and his vision of Yugoslavia as the premier "Third World" power began to fade.

Requiem For A "Strongman"

The irony of Tito's remarkable life is that the Yugoslavia he created turned out to be a political house of cards that could not exist without him. Instead of allowing the process of democratization to establish its own limits, he constantly upset the work of reformers while failing to satisfy their adversaries. He created a federal state, yet he constantly fretted over the pitfalls of decentralization. He knew that the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and others could not be integrated within a "supranation", nor would they willingly accept the hegemony of any one of their number. Yet the structure he created was characterized by a host of powerful "federalist" institutions. He promoted self-management but never gave up on the communist monopoly of power. He permitted broad freedoms in science, art, and culture that were unheard of in the Soviet bloc, but he regularly attacked the West for rampant permissiveness. He preached peaceful coexistence but built an army that, in 1991, delivered the coup de grâce to the dying Yugoslav state. At his death, the state treasury was empty and political opportunists ran unchecked. He died too late for constructive change and too soon to prevent chaos.

The Final Days

Throughout the 1980s Yugoslavia limped along, like a sick man feverishly trying to reach his bed before collapsing. The economy was in tatters. Ethnic nationalists grew more and more strident. Major reform programs were attempted, but the salient feature of all these was their utter failure. Promises of enhanced standards of living could not be kept. Communist dogma, based as it was on materialism, began to appear hypocritical. How could such a system deliver the benefits of Western culture while maintaining a huge, non-productive political elite? Reforms could not be instituted without compromising basic communist principles. During 1989 and 1990, when the federation was in greatest need of re-legitimizing itself, and the individual republics were successfully reestablishing their roles through popular elections, the Yugoslav federal government was left with no means of establishing a mandate for its own program of change. In return, other republican leaders refused to sanction continuing Serbian repression in Kosovo. Deepening

divisions along these lines led to the collapse of the "League of Communists" in January 1990, and over the next twelve months the Yugoslav federation slid inexorably into war.

By revoking the autonomy of Kosovo in 1989, the Serbian party leader, Slobodan Milosevic, made himself the primary "disturber" of Yugoslavia's already fragile peace. By going on to launch a campaign aimed at unifying the Serbs, Milosevic became the final liquidator of the idea of Yugoslavism. That such a momentous development could take place at all was made possible only by the total collapse in the late 1980s of the political and international structures established by the communists. The nature of various anti-communist revolutions in the Balkans reflected to a considerable degree the varying natures of the regimes that they removed. In Yugoslavia it unleashed a series of wars of secession, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatian Independence

In 1989, as communist hegemony was being challenged throughout eastern Europe, Slovene and Croatian communists decided that it was time to hold free and unbiased multi-party elections in 1990. The right-wing, nationalist "Croatian Democratic Union", led by Franjo Tudjman (a former party member), walked away with them. The Serb minority was deeply alarmed by certain actions of the new government, including the purging of Serbs from the civil services, especially the police. Serb fears also were aroused by accusations that Croatian nationalism meant a return to fascism and the anti-Serb violence of World War II.

When Croatian independence was declared on June 25th, 1991, armed clashes occurred in various Serb enclaves throughout the new republic. This provided a pretext for the "Yugoslav People's Army" to attack. In the ensuing war, the city of Vukovar in Slavonia was bombarded until it was nearly leveled. Dubrovnik and other Dalmatian cities were shelled, and about one-third of Croatian territory was occupied. Open warfare was only halted when an agreement was signed whereby foreign troops sponsored by the United Nations were installed in the disputed areas to stabilize and demilitarize them.

Although Croatia was granted international recognition in 1992, government control over its own territories remained incomplete. Meanwhile, war in Bosnia and Herzegovina offered Croatia the prospect of expanding into areas controlled by Bosnian Croat forces, although Tudjman's approval of the partitioning of Bosnia on ethnic grounds made it difficult to justify his own determination to retain control over disputed areas within Croatia itself.

Meanwhile, in Serbia, Milosevic's reluctance to institute a multi-party political system delayed any movement in that direction not only in Serbia, but more importantly in the federation. Serbian policy during the war of Yugoslav succession wavered uneasily between a need to protect the interests of the Serbian republic and a desire to defend "Greater" Serbia. When the Slovene and Croatian governments implemented their threat to withdraw from the federation on June 25th, 1991, fighting flared between the Yugoslav People's Army, whose officer corps was dominated by Serbs and Montenegrins, and Slovene militia and civilian reserves. The clash ended with the ignominious withdrawal of the Yugoslavs. The loss of Slovenia was considered acceptable, however, since very few Serbs lived there. For the same reason, the independence of Macedonia in September 1991 went uncontested. But Croatia and Bosnia were a different matter entirely!

Here Serbs constituted a considerable percentage of the population, and established strong autonomist movements in the Krajina, on the northern and western borders of Bosnia, and in those parts of northern and eastern Bosnia that eventually became known as the "Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina." Bitter and protracted war set in, particularly in Bosnia, characterized by the destructive use of irregular troops, the "ethnic cleansing" of entire areas of mixed population, and the creation of a flood of more than three million refugees. It had become clear that the old Yugoslav federation was beyond saving.

Yugoslavia "III"

On June 25th, 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. Macedonia followed suit on December 19th. Then, in February-March 1992, Bosnian Croats and Muslims voted to secede. As civil war raged, Serbia and Montenegro created a new federation with the adoption of a constitution on April 27th, 1992. This document created a federal government consisting of a bicameral legislative assembly, a president elected by the assembly, a prime minister nominated by the president and approved by the assembly, a federal court, a state prosecutor, and a national bank. The greater part of social and economic affairs remained within the purview of the republics, with the federal government taking responsibility for defense and security, foreign policy, the monetary system, human and civil rights, and communications systems. The federal assembly consisted of a directly elected "Chamber of Citizens" and a "Chamber of Republics", made up of representatives of the member states. Serbia and Montenegro continued to have their own governments under separate constitutions.

Foreign Interference

At a conference in London in August of that year, the European Union and the United States agreed that the independence of the former Yugoslav republics was worth backing. The United Nations was given primary responsibility for the coordination of an international response to the war, and a program of increasingly effective economic sanctions was mounted against Serbia and Montenegro. In subsequent Serbian elections, the "Socialist Party of Serbia" (SPS) remained the largest party, but, in order to form a government, it depended on the support of extreme nationalist groups such as the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) and the Party of Serbian Unity (SRU). The price of their support was uncompromising commitment to the autonomist movements in Bosnia and Croatia.

By 1994 Milosevic was able to form a new coalition with members of the democratic opposition. This gave him the freedom to adopt a new accommodationist stance with respect to the international community. Thus, when a Croatian offensive in the spring and summer of 1995 swept the Krajina of virtually its entire Serb population, Serbia did not intervene (although many of the expelled Serbs were resettled in Kosovo and the Vojvodina). Nor did Serbia come to the aid of Bosnian Serbs when a Croat-Muslim alliance scored a series of victories during the summer. The withdrawal of Serbia's support forced the Bosnian Serbs to accept a negotiated agreement on partitioning their country. As Serbia's reward, international trade sanctions were dropped. Milosevic was then able to concentrate on restoring the country's economy, weakened by hyperinflation and dominated by the black market and racketeering.

The Search For Stability

Yugoslavia's economic and social situation continued to deteriorate in 1997. The easing of its international isolation after the signing of the "Dayton Peace Accords" in December 1995 had little tangible effect on living standards, and the country's straitened circumstances appeared to have eroded the authority of President Milosevic. After almost three months of protests against his regime's decision to annul opposition victories in the municipal elections of November 17th, 1996, Milosevic decided to recognize the SPS's defeat. The Socialists, in alliance with two other leftist parties (one led by Milosevic's wife), still dominated Serbia's parliament and

retained control of the media, security forces, and municipal budgets. Constitutionally barred from another term as president of Serbia, Milosevic became president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (comprising Serbia and Montenegro) in July.

Many Serbian voters had turned to the right, and candidates of "Serbian Radical Party" (SRS) finished second behind Milosevic's much-weakened SPS. The SRS leader received more votes than the SPS candidate in the second round of presidential balloting, but the post remained vacant because of unacceptably low voter turnout. A new Socialist candidate was selected for the December 7th runoff elections, but the results were again inconclusive. A new election was held on December 21st. The winner was sworn in as president on December 29th, 1997.

Slobodan Milosevic: His Rise...

In 1988, during his rise to power, Slobodan Milosevic told an audience of several hundred thousand supporters that Serbia would win "the battle for Kosovo". He said: "We shall win despite the fact that Serbia's enemies, both without and within, are plotting against it. We tell them that we enter every battle with the aim of winning it!" In 2000, on the eve of his fall, the language was still warlike, full of heroes and traitors, but the crowds were gone. Though there is no doubt that Milosevic waged war in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo to win. He spared nothing and no one in this pursuit. But, when the shooting stopped, Serbia was left an isolated pariah state, saddled with 800,000 refugees and in complete economic collapse. Just as the history of the second Yugoslavia is inextricably wound up with the life of Josip Broz Tito, so the history of the third Yugoslavia is inseparable from that of President Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic started out as an average enough kid, but this changed dramatically after first his father, then his mother, committed suicide. These events resulted in the onset of deep depression that was only relieved when he met Mirjana Markovic, the love of his life.

Mirjana's family were famous all over the country as distinguished communist partisans. She was devoted to the Young Slobodan and boasted that, one day, he would be as glorious a leader as Comrade Tito himself. With Mirjana as his patron, Milosevic made sure progress up the party hierarchy. In 1986 he became head of the Serbian Communist Party. Everything went along peacefully for a while until the issue of Kosovo transformed him from a powerful but dull bureaucrat into a charismatic politician. Playing on Serb grievances smoldering in the Albanian-dominated Serbian province of Kosovo, Milosevic soon rose to national prominence, becoming President of Serbia in 1989. However, his reawakening of Serbian nationalism was to lead to the reawakening of dormant nationalism elsewhere in Yugoslavia as well.

This was to lead to bloody war that ripped the federal state apart between 1991 and 1995. During that time, Milosevic ran an authoritarian government at home, while providing arms and assistance to Serb separatists in Croatia and Bosnia. These policies ended in disaster when, in August 1995, Croatia drove the local Serbs out of what they dubbed the "Republic of Serbian Krajina". Milosevic never blinked at this development, because by this time he had abandoned nationalist rhetoric for words of peace.

During negotiations leading to the "Dayton Peace Accords", promulgated in Dayton, Ohio in November 1995, he abandoned claims for a Greater Serbia and was rewarded with a partial lifting of the international sanctions that had crippled his country's economy since 1991. During the winter of 1996-1997, he rode out waves of protest against his rule. After that, the opposition coalition leading the protests disintegrated. In July 1997, Milosevic moved from the position of Serbian President to that of Yugoslav President.

By now, there was a new crisis. In 1989 Milosevic abolished the autonomy of Kosovo, Serbia's overwhelmingly Albanian southern province. However, he then failed to pursue political accommodation with the province's 1.7 million ethnic Albanians demanding independence. This meant that ethnic Albanian militants, who had always argued for armed uprising as the only way to be rid of the Serbs in their midst, gained increasing credibility.

The situation in Kosovo remained tense. Less than a year after Milosevic and Ibrahim Rugova, head of the shadow government of the "Republic of Kosovo," signed an agreement calling for the reintegration of Kosovar schools and the return of 300,000 Albanian-speaking children to class, clashes between Serbian security forces and Albanians flared up anew. The agreement, which had been pushed by Western countries and was hailed as the first major breakthrough in normalizing relations between Serbs and Albanians, was never implemented. Rugova appealed for Western mediation, but Milosevic was unenthusiastic. Several European countries and the US advocated a special status for Kosovo to guarantee local autonomy but emphasized that secession was not an option.

War in Kosovo broke out in earnest in the spring of 1998. By summer, Serbian police and army sweeps resulted in the panic flight of hundreds of thousands of Albanians from Serb-controlled areas. Fearing massacre and that the conflict might expand to include Serbia itself, Western and Russian leaders demanded that Serbia and the Kosovo Albanians come to an interim agreement for peace at talks which convened in the French chateau of Rambouillet in February 1999. Milosevic, who was not present at the talks, decided to reject the proposed compromises. Various NATO countries threatened to bomb Yugoslavia if he did so. In spite of themselves, NATO leaders now found themselves committed to action.

...And Fall

Milosevic believed that the NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, would split the alliance and that the Russians would come to his aid. NATO leaders thought Milosevic would cave in within a week. Everybody was wrong. The bombing campaign lasted for seventy-eight days. After that, the Serbians evacuated the province, which was handed over to UN administration and a NATO-led peacekeeping force. 850,000 angry Albanian refugees returned to their homes. 200,000 Serbs and others were driven out by the now vengeful Albanians. A campaign to oust Milosevic in the summer of 1999 fizzled and the country became increasingly wracked by criminal (MAFIA) and political violence. Montenegro, Serbia's only remaining partner in Yugoslavia, sought to distance itself from Serbia and became increasingly independent in all but name.

By now Milosevic was indicted for war crimes by the "International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia" in The Hague. Milosevic became increasingly withdrawn. Advisers did not see him for weeks on end and he became increasingly paranoid and out of touch with events around him. Few believed that he would cede power willingly, especially as his wife Mirjana, the only person he trusted, made regular speeches declaring that the regime must be defended at all costs from "traitors" and "fascists". In October 2000, Milosevic was beaten in a general election by popular opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica.

However, Milosevic refused to recognize the election. Opposition supporters rioted in the streets of Belgrade in protest. He tried to quell the uprising by force, but military commanders switched sides and refused to obey him. He finally conceded defeat on October 6th. Since his fall from power public attitudes have shifted. An opinion poll published in February 2001 maintained that sixty

percent of the people questioned across the country wanted to see him tried in the Hague for "Crimes Against Humanity". They got their wish.

Additional information on the Balkans may be found in the sections on Bosnia and the "United Nations Peacekeepers" elsewhere in this work. In addition, the timeline below includes many significant events that took place in the Balkans during the last decade. We hope you will find it informative.

A Timeline Of Balkan Dissolution

1992: After months of turmoil, and futile attempts at compromise, Yugoslavia is dismantled.
1997: Tensions between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo explode into war. Serbian and Yugoslav Army troops become involved.
1998: Fighting continues throughout the summer, producing hundreds of civilian casualties and more than 300,000 refugees.
09/23/98: The United Nations Security Council adopts Resolution 1199, demanding that all combatants halt hostilities and cease-fire.
10/13/98: The North Atlantic Council issues an activation order for "Operation Joint Force".
10/14/98: NATO temporarily detaches "Standing Naval Force Mediterranean" (STANAVFORMED) to the Adriatic.
10/15/98: "Supreme Allied Commander Europe" and Yugoslavia agree to establish an "Air Verification Mission" over Kosovo.
10/16/98: "Supreme Allied Commander Europe" and Yugoslavia agree to establish a "Verification" mission in Kosovo.
10/24/98: The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1203 supporting the above missions.
10/25/98: "Supreme Allied Commander Europe" and NATO meet with President Milosevic and his Army Chief of Staff.
10/26/98: NATO presses for immediate and total compliance with Security Council Resolution 1199 and related agreements.
10/27/98: NATO decides to maintain the "Action Order" (ACTORD) and remains prepared to carry out air operations.
01/20/99: NATO increases the readiness of assigned forces, enabling them to execute the operation within forty-eight hours.
01/29/99: NATO further increases military preparedness to ensure that all demands by the international community are met.
01/30/99: The "Contact Group" demands all parties agree on a political settlement for Kosovo by February 20, 1999.
02/01/99: NATO Secretary General authorizes air strikes to force compliance.
02/19/99: NATO Secretary General reaffirms that agreement must be reached by "Contact Group" deadline.
02/20/99: "Contact Group" extends negotiations until 1400 GMT, February 23, 1999.
02/23/99: "Contact Group" gives Milosevic and Kosovars until March 15, 1999 to approve the "Peace Plan" in its entirety.
03/22/99: In response to Belgrade's continued intransigence, NAC authorizes a broader range of air operations.
03/23/99: Secretary General directs NATO commanders to initiate air operations in Yugoslavia commencing March 24, 1999.
03/24/99: NATO air attacks begin.
04/23/99: NATO Heads of State and Government meet in Washington, D.C. and issue a statement on the Kosovo situation.
05/06/99: The G-8 Foreign Ministers adopt general principles on a political solution to the Kosovo crisis.
06/09/99: NATO and Yugoslav military authorities sign an agreement on the withdrawal of Yugoslav security forces from Kosovo.
06/10/99: NATO suspends air strikes and authorizes the deployment of KFOR, under "Operation Joint Guardian".
06/12/99: The United Nations approves Security Council Resolution 1244. KFOR troops enter Kosovo.
06/14/99: KFOR formally establishes tactical command in Pristina, after troops establish presence in assigned sectors.
06/20/99: KFOR announces all Yugoslav military and police units have departed Kosovo. NATO terminates air campaign.
06/21/99: KFOR receives an undertaking signed by the Kosovars accepting demilitarization.
10/08/99: Gen. Klaus Reinhard replaces Gen. Mike Jackson as COMKFOR. AFSOUTH ceases its role as Joint Force Command. COMKFOR now reports directly to SACEUR. AFSOUTH remains responsible to provide direct support to KFOR, mainly with air and maritime forces.

FOREIGN WEAPONS

20mm FlaK-38/-38 Quad, 50mm PaK-38, 74mm PaK-40, 105mm H-18 - GE; 40mm L/70, Sherman Firefly - UK; .50cal M55 Quad, 37mm M15 SPAA, 75mm M20 RcR, 105mm M7, 105mm M101, 155mm M1, 155mm M114/114A1, M3 Halftrack, M3 Scout Car, M8 Armored Car, M4A3E8, M36 Jackson, M47 - US, All other foreign weapons - RU

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT YUGOSLAV INFANTRY BRIGADE/DIVISION: 1965-1975

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 60, Class: Conscripts/Militia, Base Determination Factor: 30%/20%

Infantry Company:	3x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(A), 0-1x75mm M20 RcR
Infantry Anti-Tank Platoon:	1x82mm M60 RcR/Jeep <u>or</u> 105mm M65 RcR/Jeep
Militia Company:	3x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(B), 0-1x75mm M20 RcR
Militia Anti-Tank Platoon:	1x50mm PaK38/Limber <u>or</u> 57mm M43/Limber
Engineer Company:	3x <u>TL2</u> Engineer/Truck
Tank Company:	3xMedium Tank
Assault Gun Company:	3xAssault Gun
Recon Company:	2x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(R)/M3 Scout Car, 2xM8 Armored Car[R]
Anti-Aircraft Battery:	1x50cal. M55 Quad/Truck <u>or</u> 1x20mm FlaK-38 Quad/Truck
Heavy Anti-Aircraft Battery:	1x37mm M39/Truck <u>or</u> 40mm L70 "Bofors"/Truck <u>or</u> 57mm S-60/Truck
Infantry Battalion:	1x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(C) HQ, 3xInfantry Company, 1xAnti-Tank Platoon, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck
Militia Battalion:	1x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(C) HQ, 3xMilitia Company, 1xMilitia Anti-Tank Platoon, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Cart
Tank Battalion:	3xTank Company
Recon Battalion:	1x <u>TL2</u> Infantry(R) HQ, 3xRecon Company
Anti-Tank Battalion:	3xAnti-Tank Gun/Truck
Mortar Battalion:	3x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck
Artillery Battalion:	3x105mm FH18(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck

Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm M38(3)/Truck or 3x152mm M43(3)/Truck or 3x155mm M114(3)/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 2xAnti-Aircraft Battery, 1xHeavy Anti-Aircraft Battery

Infantry Regiment: 1xTL2 Infantry(C) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion, 1-3xAssault Gun Company
Artillery Regiment: 2xArtillery Battalion, 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(C) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry/Militia Battalion, 1xAssault Gun Company, 0-1xEngineer Company, 1xArtillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battery

Infantry Division: 3-4xInfantry Regiment, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xTank Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1-3xEngineer Company

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck or 3x155mm M1(3)/Truck
Rocket Battalion: 3x128mm M63(6)/Truck
Assault Gun Battalion: 6xSu-100

Air Support: MiG-21, SOKO "Jastreb", SOKO "Orao"

Notes: 1) Militia Infantry represent local Bosnians, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Slovenes raised for local defense.
2) Militia units are often not at full strength.
3) Militia Infantry may be TL1 or TL2. Troop quality among militia is extremely variable. Equipment is often second rate.
4) Medium Tanks may include T-34/76s, T-34/85s, M4A3 and M4A3E8 "Shermans", Sherman "Fireflies", or M47s.
5) Assault Guns may include Su-76s, Su-100s, and M36 "Jacksons".
6) Anti-Tank Guns may include 50mm PaK38s, 75mm PaK40s, 57mm M43s, and 100mm M44s.
7) As stated above, equipment quality varied widely. Available transport may consist of Trucks, Limbers, or Carts. The charts above list commonly used types. Others may be substituted as you prefer.
8) There were ten (10) Infantry Divisions and twenty-four (24) independent Infantry Brigades in 1965.
9) Independent Brigades may consist of any combination of Infantry and Militia Battalions.

YUGOSLAV ARMORED BRIGADE: 1965-1975

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 60, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Mechanized Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(B)/Truck or APC
Support Company: 1x57mm M43 ATG/Truck, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck
Engineer Company: 2xTL2 Engineer/Truck
Tank Company: 3xMedium Tanks
Recon Company: 2xTL2 Infantry(R)/M3 Scout Car or BTR-40, 1xPT-76[R]

Mechanized Battalion: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) HQ/APC, 3xMechanized Company, 1xSupport Company
Armored Battalion: 3xTank Company

Armored Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(B) GHQ/APC, 3xArmored Battalion, 1-2xMechanized Battalion, 1xEngineer Company, 1xRecon Company, 0-1x105mm M7 Priest(3), 0-1xSu-76

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm M38(3)/Truck or 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Battery: 1x37mm M39/Truck or 40mm L70 "Bofors"/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Battery(SP): 1xZSU-57/2 or M15/40mm SPAA

Air Support: MiG-21, SOKO "Jastreb"

Notes: 1) APCs may include M3 "Halftracks", BTR-50s, BTR-60s, BTR-152s, or Yugoslav "M60"s.
2) The Yugoslav M60 APC is similar to the British FV432 APC in both performance and appearance.
3) Medium Tanks may include T-34/85s, T-54/55s, T55As, or M47s.
4) There were ten (10) Independent Armored Brigades in 1968.

YUGOSLAV INFANTRY/SERBIAN MILITIA FORCES: 1991-2001

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 30, Class: Conscripts/Militia, Base Determination Factor: 25%/20%

Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(B), 1xTL3 Infantry Support
Serbian Militia Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(C), 1xTL3 Infantry Support
Anti-Tank Company: 3xAnti-Tank "Platoon"
Tank Company: 3xT-34/85 or 3xM4A3E8 "Easy-Eight"
Recon Company: 2xTL3 Infantry(R)/Jeep, 1xBRDM-2[R]
Anti-Aircraft Company: 3x40mm L70 "Bofors"/Truck or 3x57mm S60/Truck
Engineer Company: 3xTL3 Engineer/Truck

Infantry Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ, 3xInfantry Company, 1x82mm M1970 Mortar(2)

Serbian Militia Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ, 3xMilitia Company, 1x82mm M43 Mortar(2)
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company
 Anti-Tank Battalion: 3x100mm T12/Truck
 Mortar Battalion: 3x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck
 Artillery Battalion: 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck or 3x105mm FH18(3)/Truck
 Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck or 3x152mm D20(3)/Truck
 Rocket Battalion: 3x128mm M63(6)/Truck or 3x128mm M94(6)/Truck
 Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3xAnti-Aircraft Company

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion, 1xTank Company, 1xArtillery Battalion
 Militia Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry/Militia Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion, 0-1xArtillery Battalion, 1xEngineer Company, 0-1xTank Company

Infantry Division: 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 3xHeavy Artillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xRocket Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xRecon Company

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
 Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck or 3x155mm M1(3)/Truck
 Surface-to-Air Missile Battery: 1xSA-9 or 1xSA-13
 Commando Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(S)
 Anti-Tank Helicopter Squadron: 3xSA342 "Gazelle"
 Assault Helicopter Squadron: 4xMi-8 "Hip"

Air Support: MiG-21, SOKO "Jastreb", SOKO "Orao", SOKO "Super Galeb"

Notes: 1) Yugoslav Army Brigades may not contain Militia units. Militia Brigades may contain "Regular" Infantry Battalions.
 2) Serbian Militia units are often not at full strength.
 3) Anti-tank Platoons may contain one of the following: 105mm M65 RcR/Jeep, M36 Jackson, Su-100, or 100mm T12/Truck.
 4) Artillery Batteries may contain one of the following: 105mm M101, 122mm M38, 122mm D30, or 152mm D20
 5) One stand per Infantry Battalion may contain an attached AT-3 "Sagger" ATGM team (MP).
 6) One stand per Infantry Brigade may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" SAM team (MP).
 7) In 1991 there were twenty-three (23) Infantry Brigades in the Yugoslav Army. These were organized into six (6) Divisions that were primarily administrative not operational. Division and Corps assets would be assigned to Brigades "as needed".
 8) Approximately three of these "Divisions" and eight independent Militia Brigades were "active" in Bosnia and Croatia.

YUGOSLAV ARMORED/MECHANIZED FORCES: 1991-2001

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 50, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%

Motorized Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(B)/Truck, 1xTL3 Infantry Support/Truck
 Mechanized Company(A): 3xTL3 Infantry(B)/BVP-M80A
 Mechanized Company(B): 3xTL3 Infantry(B)/M60
 Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank
 Recon Company: 3xBRDM-2[R]
 Anti-Aircraft Company: 3x20mm BOV-3 or ZSU-23/4

Armored Battalion: 3xTank Company
 Motorized Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ/Truck, 3xMotorized Company, 1x82mm M43 Mortar(2)/Truck
 Mechanized Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ/BVP-M80A, 1xMechanized Company(A), 2xMechanized Company(B), 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1x105mm M65 RcR/Jeep
 Artillery Battalion(Mixed): 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x122mm D30(3)/Truck

Mechanized Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/BVP-M80A, 3xMotorized Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion(Mixed), 1xZPU-23/2 (SP)
 Armored Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/BVP-M80A, 2-3xArmored Battalion, 2xMechanized Battalion, 1xRecon Company, 1x122mm 2S1(3), 1xAnti-Aircraft Company

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
 Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm M38(3)/Truck or 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck
 Surface-to-Air Missile Battery: 3xBRDM-2/SA-9 or 3xMTLB/SA-13
 Anti-Aircraft Battery (SP): 3xZSU-57/2

Air Support: MiG-21, SOKO "Jastreb", SOKO "Orao", SOKO "Super Galeb"

Notes: 1) The Yugoslav M60 APC is similar to the British FV432 APC in both performance and appearance.
 2) You may substitute BOV-VP APCs for M60s if you wish.
 3) One stand in each Mechanized Company(B) may contain an attached AT-3 "Sagger" ATGM team (MP).
 4) One stand in each Armored or Mechanized Brigade may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" SAM team (MP).
 5) Medium Tanks may include T55Ms, T-62s, or M84/85s.
 6) There were eight (8) Yugoslav Armored Brigades and five (5) Mechanized Brigades in 1991.

CROATIAN FORCES: 1991-2001

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 00, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%

Infantry Company:	3xTL3 Infantry(B)
Infantry Support Company:	1x105mm M65 RcR/Jeep, 1x82mm M43 Mortar(2)/Truck
Mechanized Company:	3xTL3 Infantry(B)/APC
Mechanized Support Company:	1x105mm M65 RcR/Jeep, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(2)/Truck
Engineer Company:	2xTL3 Engineer/Truck
Tank Company:	3xMedium Tank
Recon Company:	3xBRDM-2[R]
Anti-Aircraft Company:	3x20mm BOV-3 <u>or</u> ZSU-23/4
Infantry Battalion:	1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Company, 1xInfantry Support Company
Mechanized Battalion:	1xTL3 Infantry(C) HQ/APC, 2-3xMechanized Company, 1xMechanized Support Company
Artillery Battalion:	2xArtillery Battery(2)/Truck, 1x128mm M94(6)/Truck
Infantry Brigade:	1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/Truck, 3-7xInfantry Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion, 1xEngineer Company, 1xTank Company, 1x20mm FlaK-38 Quad/Truck
Mechanized Brigade:	1xTL3 Infantry(B) GHQ/BTR-60PB, 6xMechanized Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion, 2xTank Company, 1xEngineer Company
Available Support Units:	(One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)
Transport Company:	12xTruck
Artillery Battalion:	3x155mm M1(3)/Truck
Surface-to-Air Missile Battery:	2xBRDM-2/SA-9, 2x20mm BOV-3
Anti-Aircraft Battalion:	3x40mm L70 "Bofors"/Truck <u>or</u> 3x57mm S60/Truck

- Notes:
- 1) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached AT-3 "Sagger" or Milan-1 ATGM team (MP).
 - 2) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" SAM team (MP).
 - 3) One stand in each Mechanized Battalion may contain an attached FIM92A "Stinger" SAM team (MP).
 - 4) Croatian APCs may include M60s, BVP-M80As, or BTR-60PBs. You may substitute trucks for APCs if you wish.
 - 5) The M60 APC is similar to the British FV432 APC in both performance and appearance.
 - 6) Medium Tanks may include T55Ms, T-72Bs, or M84/85s.
 - 7) One of the three tanks in any Infantry Brigade Tank Company may be replaced with M36 "Jackson" tank destroyers.
 - 8) Artillery Batteries may contain 105mm M101, 105mm FH18, 122mm M38, 122mm D30, or 155mm M114A1 Gun/Howitzers.
 - 9) The TO&Es above represent model formations. Actual formations could vary dramatically from these models.
 - 10) Croatia fielded twenty-two (22) Infantry Brigades and four (4) Mechanized Brigades.
 - 11) One Fascist "Commando" Battalion may be fielded in any battle. These fanatic "shock" troops may be given a "Base Determination Factor" as high as 50% if you wish.

TACTICAL NOTES

The period between 1965 and 1975 represents the best bet for developing plausible "What-if" scenarios for pitting the Yugoslav Army against an invading Red Army. Most people, even many "Cold War" historians, don't realize how close this event came to actually occurring. Interestingly enough, there was actually a contingency plan for landing a US/UK expeditionary force at Split on the Dalmatian Coast not far from Sarajevo, with the mission of assisting Tito's forces in resisting the Soviet onslaught.

What you have here is a chance to play out a truly plausible WWII scenario. The Yugoslavs could not be expected to stop the Russians, but they could very well have delayed them long enough for cooler diplomatic heads to prevail, especially with assistance from the US and the UK.

After considerable study, we decided that the period between 1975 and 1991 was not worth covering. For one thing, the Red Army would have made short work of the Yugoslavs if they allocated a force of sufficient power to do the job. But the Soviets found themselves in the same bind in the 1980s as the US in the 1960s and early 70s. They had isolated themselves from their allies over the Afghanistan issue and were embroiled in an unpopular foreign war. A failed military "adventure" in the Balkans would have been nothing less than political suicide for the Kremlin leadership, especially with the Reagan administration committed to a major US military buildup at the time.

In 1991, however, civil war followed hard on the heels of the breakup of the Yugoslav Federation. Croats, Serbs, Bosniacs, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins, Kosovars, and Albanians were soon tearing at one another like dogs in a pit. Pitting practically any combination of these forces against one another is well within the realm of possibility. In addition, the sections on Bosnia-Herzegovina and UN Peacekeepers, elsewhere in this work, will provide you with additional background data. If you can't cobble together an enjoyable scenario from this wealth of material, you're simply not trying hard enough!

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Kosovo And Its Effects

The Yugoslav armed forces were substantially reduced in size and reorganized after their withdrawal from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. Hundreds of officers were made redundant, sections of the army were re-assigned as police. There was a wholesale replacement of generals and other officers. These changes reflected former President Slobodan Milosevic's mistrust of the military which, he believed, was too closely associated with "Titoist" philosophy and a potential threat to his authority.

Before the 1999 war in Kosovo, the Yugoslav Army (JA) had an active fighting strength of 90,000 men and women, of whom

nearly 40,000 were short term conscripts. These numbers have been severely reduced. Although arguably capable of fighting a defensive land war, Yugoslav Forces were unable to operate under the NATO air attacks of April-June 1999, and their air defenses were unable to interfere with NATO aircraft. However, the Yugoslav Army camouflage, concealment, and deception techniques were brilliant. Because of this, only a small number of Yugoslav armored vehicles were damaged as a result of air attacks. The Yugoslav Army retired from Kosovo in good order, with the majority of its equipment and its organization intact.

In 1999, total strength of the Yugoslav Army consisted of six tank brigades, four mechanized brigades, eight motorized infantry brigades, one special forces brigade, one airborne brigade, one security guard brigade, five mixed artillery brigades, one SAM brigade, and one air defense artillery brigade. Following mobilization it was probably possible to field as many as forty-seven combat brigades. However, many of the mobilized brigades were, in reality, no more than battalions, with very old equipment and capable of nothing more than rear area work.

Life After Kosovo

In September 2000, the Yugoslav Army officially approved a new defense strategy based on its experience in Kosovo. Its mission is now stated as "The prevention of possible military aggression by the enemy, successful armed response, and other organized resistance." This takes into account the almost complete destruction of the Yugoslav Air Force during NATO's Operation "Allied Force" in 1999, and calls for strengthened mobile air defense at the brigade level.

This may be wishful thinking, as the 2000 defense budget, even boosted by additional taxes introduced in July, amounted to only US\$450 million. Two-thirds of that sum was needed to cover the basic costs of the armed forces, leaving very little money available for sophisticated air-defense systems. Domestic factories, heavily damaged by NATO bombing, are believed to be capable of producing "man-packed" air-defense systems only.

Recent doctrinal changes call for increased mobility and battlefield self-sufficiency of brigades and smaller units, an increased number of special "anti-terrorist" units, and the re-introduction of the concept of "armed popular defense". Before being officially adopted, the new doctrine was tested during exercise "Response 2000", near Cuprija in Central Serbia.

Capabilities

Yugoslavia was once virtually self-sufficient in the research, development, and production of most of its own military equipment. A good example of this was the M-84 MBT that, although based on the Russian T-72M1, incorporated many improvements to meet the specific operational requirements of the Yugoslav Army. Components for the M-84 were made in the various republics including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, Croatia re-established much of its arms capability as well as developing new land systems. Slovenia is very active in the international marketplace, providing superior optics and fire-control systems. Serbia-Montenegro has also established renewed capabilities, although production of some systems, for example the BOV family of 4x4 light armored vehicles and the BVP M80A infantry combat vehicle, has ended.

In late 1998, workers at Serbia's largest arms factory, "Crvena Zastava" in Kragujevac, went on strike. Their demands included back wages, held up since January. Trade unions also demanded immediate payment of US\$6 million that the government owed the Zastava works for export deliveries. Once a main producer of military and civilian small arms and light artillery, Crvena Zastava was hit hard by four years of trade sanctions and an almost total lack of new army orders. Nominal wages dropped to the equivalent of US\$100 a month, but even those were not being paid. During the NATO air attacks of 1999, a very high percentage of Yugoslav defense manufacturing facilities were destroyed. At best, it will be some years before production is restored to pre-1999 levels.

The Murder of Zoran Djindjic

In March, 2003, Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic, the man who spearheaded the revolt that toppled former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in October 2000, was assassinated by gunmen who ambushed him outside a government complex. Djindjic died of his wounds in a Belgrade hospital after having been shot in the abdomen and back. One of his bodyguards was also wounded. The Yugoslav Cabinet, meeting in emergency session, held a minute of silence. Two suspects were quickly arrested.

Djindjic had also been targeted the previous month, when a truck suddenly cut into the lane in which his motorcade was traveling to Belgrade airport. A collision was narrowly avoided. Djindjic later dismissed this assassination attempt as a "futile effort" that could not stop democratic reforms and said, "If someone thinks the law and the reforms can be stopped by eliminating me, then that is a huge delusion."

Djindjic's murder reflects the turbulence in Serbia lately and the bitter power struggle over who will replace him. "Otpor" (resistance), an independent pro-democracy group, said the shooting meant "criminals have won the battle" in Serbia. Prime Minister Djindjic had made many enemies because of his pro-Western stand as well, and because he was key in Milosevic's extradition to The Hague, Netherlands.

Djindjic saw Serbia's fate as linked to the West and favored greater cooperation with the UN. He recently promised Western envoys that he would try to arrest former Bosnian Serb military commander, General Ratko Mladic, the Number two war crimes fugitive wanted by the UN tribunal. Mladic is believed to be hiding somewhere in Serbia. Djindjic's feud with Kostunica had virtually paralyzed much-needed economic and social reforms. The slaying prompted the government to impose a nationwide state of emergency amid fears the country might slide into a violent power struggle. Citing danger to "constitutional order," acting President Nataša Micić imposed a state of emergency, giving the military the same powers as police to investigate and detain suspects without warrants. "The state will use all means at its disposal until the perpetrators of this crime ... are brought to justice," Micić said. Slobodan Vucetic, the head of Serbia's Supreme Court, called Djindjic one of the "most talented, most intelligent, and bravest" of politicians of the new generation in Serbia. "Personally, I am now afraid for the future of my country," Vucetic said.

Serbia's parliament elected a close associate of assassinated Prime Minister Djindjic to succeed him Tuesday, and the country's new leader, Zoran Živković, promised to continue pro-Western economic reforms. Ahead of the parliament vote, Živković told the assembly that more than seven hundred-fifty people were arrested and a "large quantity of arms and explosives" were discovered during the arrests. Živković, an entrepreneur who also was mayor of Serbia's southern city of Nis, was a close ally of Djindjic. He blamed the assassination on organized-crime groups linked to former President Slobodan Milosevic and some current "political and financial structures." He did not elaborate. Authorities blamed the underworld "Zemun" clan, named after a Belgrade suburb, of being behind Djindjic's assassination.

Slobodan Milosevic's trial for "Crimes Against Humanity" continues at the time of this writing. Proceedings have been delayed due to the poor state of his health and there is no end in sight. In typical Balkan (read Byzantine) fashion, the search for justice and truth will be slow and uncertain. Political chicanery, hidden agendas, and criminal plots will all weigh heavily, and it is almost a certainty that many more "skeletons", both literal and figurative ones, will tumble out of a lot of closets before this thing is over. Stay tuned...

2002 YUGOSLAV ARSENAL

Vehicles: 230xM84/85 & 400xT-55 MBTs, 38xBRDM-2 Scout Cars, 112xM60, 512xM80 & BOV-VP APCs
Anti-Tank: 60x76mm M42, 130x100mm T12 ATGs, 75x90mm M36 "Jackson" Tank Destroyers, 100x75mm M20 & 650x105mm M65 RcRs, 135xAT-3, 75xAT-4, 32xAT-5 ATGMs, & 50x128mm M7 Rocket Launchers
Artillery: 174x105mm M56 (M101) (M114), 160x122mm M38, 132x122mm D30, 48x152mm D20, 84x155mm M65 Towed Gun/Howitzers, 75x122mm 2S1 & some US M7 105mm SP Howitzers, 48x128 M63 & 24x128mm M77 MRLs, 1,700 82mm & 560x120mm Mortars
Anti-Aircraft: 475x20mm "Bofors", 266x30mm M53 Towed AA Guns, 60x20mm BOV-3 & 54xZSU-57/2 SPAA, 113xSA-9, 17xSA-13, 850xSA-7 SAMs
Combat Aircraft: 13xMiG-29A/B, 35xMiG-21B2, 50xORAO, 40xSuper Galeb, 20xJ-1 Jastreb
Helicopters: 20xMi-8, 2xMi-17, Some Mi-24,
Small Arms: 7.62mm M57 & M70, 9mm M65 Pistols, 7.62mm M49/57 & M56 Submachineguns, 7.62mm M59/66, M70, & M70A Rifles, 7.62mm M53, M65A/B, M72, .50 cal Browning M2HB & 12.7mm NSV Machineguns, 64mm RBR-M80 ATGLs

Notes: 1) There is currently no reliable data concerning losses suffered during the Kosovo War. Figures above reflect estimates only.
2) Air defenses were seriously damaged in Kosovo and less than 50% of the above weapons may still be operational.
3) UN sanctions against Yugoslavia were reimposed in 1999.

POINTS OF CONTACT

Ministry of National Defense - Tel: (+38 11) 235 86 04

POSTSCRIPT

In April of 1993, the UN passed "Resolution 819", declaring the Bosnian city of Srebrenica a "UN Safe Area", to provide a modicum of security for the tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims taking refuge there from the Bosnian Serbs. In January of 1995, a Dutch Battalion under Colonel Karremans arrived in Srebrenica with the mission of enforcing that resolution. On May 22, General Bertrand Janvier, the UN Commander in Bosnia, urged the UN to reinforce the vulnerable Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica or withdraw them to allow for air attacks against Serbian military units advancing toward the city. He was told to "carry on" with business as usual.

For weeks, the Bosnian Serbs had been pushing for a final resolution to the ethnic "anomaly" of unconnected Muslim enclaves within Bosnia. Frustrated by political and diplomatic failure, they surrounded and cut off the city and the Dutch Battalion defending it. By July, the Bosnian Serbs had taken thirty Dutch Peacekeepers prisoner and were holding them as hostages, simultaneously cutting off all supply convoys to Srebrenica. Serbian artillery shells began to fall on the southern part of the city as over thirty thousand civilians fled or turned to the Dutch for protection.

Colonel Karremans sent multiple requests for air support to General Janvier, finally receiving a promise of fifty NATO aircraft to attack Serb positions at 0600 the next morning. By 0900, the aircraft had still not arrived! Karremans then contacted General Janvier by radio saying, "where were the planes?" General Janvier's reply was that the request for air support had been submitted on the wrong form and would have to be resubmitted!

It was 1300 before two Dutch F-16s arrived and dropped two bombs on the Serbs. All other air strikes were cancelled after the Serbs threatened to kill the Dutch hostages. Later that day, Serbian forces entered the Dutch contingent's base camp and began separating civilian men and boys from women. As one eye witness put it, "...as the Dutch meekly stood by." The Serbs then ordered the Dutch to abandon all weapons, food, and medical supplies and hand over those Bosnian Muslims under their protection to the Serbs for evacuation. Over the next week, between six and eight thousand Bosnian men and boys were murdered and buried in mass graves. In November 1999, the UN released a highly self-critical report on its performance at Srebrenica, stating that "Through error, misjudgment, and an inability to recognize the true scope of the evil confronting us, we failed to do our part to save the people of Srebrenica from the Serb campaign of mass murder."

In early 2000, General Radislav Krstic, the highest-ranking Bosnian Serb commander brought before the UN War Crimes tribunal in The Hague, stood trial for "genocidal atrocities" at Srebrenica. In August 2001, Krstic was convicted and sentenced to a term of forty-six years in custody. In April 2002, the BBC reported, "The entire Dutch cabinet has resigned in the aftermath of the report on the Srebrenica massacre. This report, published last week, blamed both the Dutch Government and senior Dutch military officials for failing to prevent the massacre, the worst single atrocity of the Bosnian war."

In my opinion, the Dutch at Srebrenica were not simply acting out of cowardice. Worse! By their failure to defend the innocent civilians placed under their protection, they failed to uphold the most basic tenets of Western military morality. Their behavior not only showed a callous disregard for the lives in their care, it brought shame on every decent soldier, everywhere!

Provided by MAJ Daryl M. Nichols, USAR
(A member of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Bosnia)