# Geography

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Security
Chapter 1 | Serbia in Perspective

Geography

Introduction

Serbia is a part of the Balkans or the Balkan Peninsula, a geographical area in southeastern Europe that encompasses a broad mountainous peninsula located between the Black and Aegean Seas to the east and the Adriatic and Ionian Seas to the west.¹ Serbia’s population is about 7.16 million.²

Serbia is a landlocked country, slightly smaller than South Carolina. It shares borders with eight countries: Hungary to the north; Romania to the northeast; Bulgaria to the east; Macedonia and Kosovo to the south; Montenegro to the southwest; and Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia to the west.³ ⁴
The northern region, known as Vojvodina, consists of rich, fertile plains. It is part of the Pannonian Plain, an ancient inland sea. The western region consists of rugged mountains, hills, and valleys of the Dinaric Alps and the Kopaonik Mountains. The eastern region consists of the Balkan, Carpathian, and Rhodope Mountain systems, which form Serbia's borders with Romania and Bulgaria. Between the mountains rise the Šumadija Hills, which was the center of medieval Serbia. The southeast features the dramatic Iron Gate gorges of the Danube River.

### Geographic Regions and Topographic Features

#### The Northern Plains

The northern Vojvodina region is dominated by a flat fertile plain, ranging in elevation between 60–100 m (200–350 ft). This fertile region lies in the southern part of the Pannonian Plain, the remnant of an ancient inland sea. The Pannonian Plain is one of the most agriculturally productive areas of Central Europe, covering all of Hungary, northern Serbia and Croatia, eastern Austria, and southern Czech Republic.

In the far western portion of this region, between the Danube and Sava Rivers, stretches the Fruška Gora, a hill chain that runs east to west, near the Serbia-Croatia border. Ninety million years ago, Fruška Gora was an island in the Pannonian Sea. Today, it is called Holy Mountain or the Serbian Mount Athos. There are several artificial lakes in Fruška Gora that are suitable for fishing and swimming, as well as 17 Christian Orthodox monasteries, vineyards, spas, and picnic grounds. The Sava River on the western side and the Danube River, which flows from Belgrade to the eastern border, define the southern end of the plain.

#### The Western Mountains

To the south of the Sava and Danube rivers, much of the country consists of mountain ranges and hills, dissected by river valleys. Along Serbia’s western border, and parallel to the Adriatic coast through much of the Balkans, rise the Zlatibor, Tara, and Kopaonik
Mountains, which belong to the eastern sections of the Dinaric Alps (Dinardi).\textsuperscript{12}

The Kopaonik is the largest mountain range in Serbia and extends from the northwest to the southeast. The highest point of Kopaonik is Pančić’s Peak (2,017 m; 6,717 ft), located north of the border of Kosovo. Kopaonik Mountain was designated a national park in 1981.\textsuperscript{13}

**Eastern Mountains**

The Carpathian and Balkan Mountains stretch in a north-south direction in eastern Serbia and form Serbia’s borders with Romania and Bulgaria. The Danube River flows between the two ranges through the Iron Gates gorge.\textsuperscript{14, 15, 16}

In south-central Serbia, the terrain is more hilly than mountainous. The Šumadija hills, which means, “forested area,” range from 600 to 1,110 m (2000–3,500 ft). This formerly wooded area has been cleared for agricultural cultivation. The hills are the most prominent physical feature in this region, which was the heart of the medieval Serbian empire.\textsuperscript{17} The area is famous for its ancient vineyards and winemaking; Serbia’s royal vineyard and cellars were located here. The region is also known for its plums.\textsuperscript{18}

**Climate**

Serbia’s western and southern mountains block the inflow of moderating Mediterranean air masses. Cold air masses and weather systems can descend from Siberia in the north, and warm air masses can reach up from the Mediterranean or Africa. Proximity to the sea and differences in elevation determine climatic variations.\textsuperscript{19, 20}
In most areas, the climate is continental, with hot, humid summers followed by cold, relatively dry winters. Mid-summer temperatures in the northern part of the country average about 22°C (71°F), while January temperatures average about -1°C (30°F). In the mountainous southern part of Serbia, average mid-summer temperatures are cooler (roughly 18°C, or 64°F). In the mountainous southern part of Serbia, average mid-summer temperatures are cooler (roughly 18°C, or 64°F).

Precipitation in Serbia depends on altitude. June is the rainiest month. February and October have the least precipitation. In the lower regions, precipitation ranges from 560 mm (22 in) to 820 mm (32 in). In higher altitudes, precipitation ranges from 700 mm (27 in) to 1,000 mm (40 in); on mountain summits, precipitation can reach 1,900 mm (75 in). In the southwestern parts of the country, the highest precipitation occurs in the autumn. Rainfall totals are lowest in the northern plains of Vojvodina. Snowfall during winter varies from 40 days in Vojvodina to 120 days in the mountainous regions to the south. Severe and prolonged heat waves have affected Serbia and are expected to continue. In 2017, an extreme weather system was given the name Lucifer for bringing temperatures above 40°C (104°F) to 10 European countries, including Serbia.

Rivers and Lakes

Serbia's main rivers include the Danube, Drina, Morava, Sava, and Tisa. Natural lakes are rare, and most are located in the north. More than 90% of surface waters (rivers and channels) enter the country from outside through the Danube, Sava, Tisa, Drina, and other, smaller rivers. The other 8% of surface water originates inside Serbia.
The Danube

Most of Serbia’s rivers drain into the Danube (Dunav in Serbian), which enters Serbia from Hungary and flows across the country toward Romania and the Black Sea. The Danube is the second longest river in Europe. It flows through 10 countries and 4 capital cities. The widest part of the river is 5.5 km (3.4 m). In the past, the Danube marked the border between Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today, the Danube still defines parts of Serbia’s borders. To the west, the river separates Serbia from Croatia for most of their shared border. To the east, the Danube forms part of the boundary between Serbia and Romania, as it traverses the Iron Gate gorge on its way to the Wallachian Plain.

The 3 km-long (2 mi) Iron Gate gorge system consists of four narrow gorges. It was considered un-navigable because of its rapids, towering cliffs on both sides of the river, and a large rock reef called Perigrada, which blocked nearly the entire width of the river. The construction of the Sip Canal and a parallel railway in 1896 allowed boats to be towed through the gorges. The construction of two locks, the Iron Gate dam, and the hydroelectric power plant in 1972 finally tamed this stretch of the Danube. Today, river cruises pass through the gorges, offering tourists a spectacular experience.

The Drina River

The Drina River starts in Montenegro and is a large part of the Serbia-Bosnia and Herzegovina border. This river is the longest tributary of the Sava River. It used to flood the valley floor before it was regulated by several hydroelectric dams along its route. The Drina River was made famous by Ivo Andrić’s 1945 novel The Bridge on the Drina.
The Tisa River

The Tisa River is the longest tributary of the Danube. The river flows south through Hungary before entering Vojvodina. The Tisa is connected to the Danube by its natural course and through an extensive series of canals that help irrigate the fields of Vojvodina. The river is famous for a natural phenomenon called “The Blooming of the Tisa,” in which a unique species of aquatic insect, the Tisa mayfly, comes to life.

In the early 2000s, two industrial accidents occurred on the Tisa’s tributaries in northwestern Romania. Wastewater containing up to 120 tons of cyanide and heavy metals were released into the Lăpuș River, then flowed downstream into the Someș and Tisa rivers in Hungary, before entering the Danube.

The Sava River

The longest and most important tributary of the Danube is the Sava River. The river flows through Serbia, from west to east. The Sava originates in Slovenia, and joins the Danube in Belgrade. The Sava is an important natural reserve. It is navigable between the Bosnian border and Belgrade.

The Morava River

The Morava, or Velika Morava, is Serbia’s longest river. It begins in southern Serbia and flows north, where it drains into the Danube, downstream from Belgrade, before the Iron Gate gorges. The river flows northward through the Šumadija hills and meanders through densely populated areas of central Serbia. Three hydroelectric plants are located along the river’s course. The river is not navigable.
The Morava is formed by the confluence of the Zapadna (west) Morava and Juzna (south) Rivers, which together cover most of the drainage basin of southern Serbia. Like its tributaries, the Morava River is prone to flooding.42, 43

Palić Lake

The natural lakes in Serbia are generally small and are primarily located in Vojvodina. Most are either glacial remnants or oxbow lakes formed by river meanderings and rugged terrain. Lake Palić is a salt lake, located in Vojvodina, near the town of Subotica. The lake is a nature reserve and a home to rare species of orchids. The largest artificial lake, created by a hydroelectric dam, is Đerdap, located on the Danube.44, 45, 46

Major Cities47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgrade</td>
<td>1,344,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novi Sad</td>
<td>277,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nis</td>
<td>260,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kragujvac</td>
<td>150,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subotica</td>
<td>105,681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Belgrade

Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, is the largest city in the country. Situated at the confluence of the Sava and Danube Rivers, the strategically located city has witnessed a long history of warfare. Throughout the past two thousand years, over 100 battles have been fought over one hill where the Sava and Danube come together. Between the 17th and 19th centuries, the city lay between the Austrian and Ottoman empires and changed hands frequently.48, 49

The Kalemegdan Fortress, built by the Romans in the 2nd century CE, was destroyed and rebuilt 40 times between the 2nd and 18th centuries. The Turks named it
Kalemegdan, by combining the words kale, which means city, and megaden, which means field. The fortress is situated atop the hill at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers and remains the city’s most famous landmark.\textsuperscript{50, 51}

Belgrade has served as a capital city for several pan-Slavic confederations, including the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and later, Yugoslavia. It has also developed into an industrial and manufacturing center.\textsuperscript{52}

Belgrade occupies the area mostly south of the Sava and Danube rivers and is divided into 17 municipalities. Of these 10 municipalities represent the urban core of the city, while the rest are suburbs and rural regions. Stari Grad, which simply means “Old City,” is one of the smallest of these municipalities. It is the city’s cultural and historical heart and includes the parkland area around Kalemegdan, the National Museum, and the National Theater.\textsuperscript{53, 54} Belgrade Nikola Tesla Airport is the busiest airport in Serbia. The international airport is located in the city of Surčin\textsuperscript{55} 18 km (11 m) west of Belgrade.

In March 1999, NATO began conducting air strikes against Serbia during the Kosovo War, targeting Serbian military positions and government buildings.\textsuperscript{56} A diplomatic crisis ensued between the United States and China in May, when the Chinese embassy was bombed, killing three Chinese journalists.\textsuperscript{57, 58}

**Novi Sad**

Novi Sad is the second largest city in Serbia. It is the administrative, economic, cultural, scientific, and touristic center of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. It is located in the southern part of the Pannonian Plain, not far from Fruška Gora Mountain. Serb merchants founded the city on the banks of the Danube in 1694, across the river from the Petrovaradin Fortress.\textsuperscript{59} Today, this port city on the Danube River receives many
river cruises in its harbor. The city is also one of Serbia’s industrial centers.\textsuperscript{50, 61}

Novi Sad was the cultural center for Serbs during much of the 18th and 19th centuries, following large migrations of Serbs to Vojvodina from Ottoman-controlled regions in southern Serbia, beginning in the 1690s. Today it is the home of a large arts community and Exit, one of the largest music festivals in Europe.\textsuperscript{62, 63} The Petrovaradin Fortress, one of the best-preserved and largest fortresses in Europe, is the symbol of the city. It was built in the 17th century as a defense against the Ottoman Turks.\textsuperscript{64, 65}

Novi Sad was a site of NATO bombing during the 1999 Kosovo War, which destroyed all three of its bridges across the Danube River. The Novi Sad refinery, one of two petroleum refineries in Serbia, was heavily damaged in the bombing.\textsuperscript{66}

\textit{Niš}

Located on the Nišava River, Niš is the principal city of southeastern Serbia; the city was founded in 279 BCE, making it one of the oldest in the Balkans.\textsuperscript{67} It was named by the Celts after the Nišava River, which means the Fairy’s River. The city is the birthplace of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great, who later founded the city of Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul) as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{68, 69}

Niš is located near the confluence of two tributaries of the Morava River, which carved out transportation corridors through the mountains of the southern Balkan Peninsula. This location makes it a nexus for road and rail traffic bound for Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Greece.\textsuperscript{70} Niš is the only Serbian city beside Belgrade that offers international flights from Constantine the Great Airport.\textsuperscript{71}
Niš is the third largest city in Serbia. During World War I, the city functioned as a temporary capital of Serbia. Today, it is a regional industrial center and the home to the University of Niš, one of Serbia’s largest universities. The city’s manufacturing economy centers around tobacco and textile products, electronics, railway, and industrial equipment.\textsuperscript{72, 73}

**Kragujevac**

Kragujevac, Serbia’s fourth largest city is the center of the Šumadija region, which is located in central Serbia. The city was built on the banks of Lepenica River, a tributary of the Morava. Kragujevac became Serbia’s political, cultural, academic, health, military, and economic center after it was declared the capital of Serbia in 1818, following the second uprising against the Ottoman Empire. During this era, Serbia’s first newspaper was founded in Kragujevac. With the relocation of the capital to Belgrade in 1841, the city experienced a decline in population and importance. Serbia’s largest car factory, owned by Fiat, is located in Kragujevac. Local manufacturing includes motor vehicles, electrical goods, machinery, weapons, industrial chains, and textiles. Agricultural products and livestock also contribute to the local economy.\textsuperscript{74, 75, 76}

In October 1941, during World War II, the Nazis executed 2,300 men and boys in Kragujevac in retribution for Serbian resistance attacks. Šumarice Memorial Park commemorates another Nazi massacre, of nearly 7,000 males, in Kragujevac and Kraljevo.\textsuperscript{77, 78}

Kragujevac’s most famous contribution to the global economy was the Koral automobile, which was imported to the United States as the Yugo between 1985 and 1992.\textsuperscript{79, 80} Zastava was one of Yugoslavia’s most successful industrial complexes, producing everything from Kalashnikovs to Yugo cars, until the wars and trade embargoes of the 1990s crippled production. The plant, which lies
adjacent to a Zastava armaments factory, was damaged by the NATO bombings in 1999 and later put up for sale.\textsuperscript{81}

\textbf{Subotica}

Subotica lies near the Hungarian border in the northern part of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in northern Serbia. It is a major city along the Belgrade-Budapest rail and road corridor and considers itself an international city.\textsuperscript{82}

Almost 40\% of the residents of Subotica are ethnic Hungarian, and the official languages of the municipality are Hungarian, Serbian and Croatian. Other ethnic groups are Serbs, Croats, Bunjevci, Montenegrins, Roma, and Albanians. Subotica also has the highest percentage of Roman Catholics among Serbian cities. The city was part of the Habsburg Monarchy of Austria (later Austria–Hungary), unlike southern parts of Serbia that remained part of the Ottoman Empire. During the last part of the 18th century, the city was declared a Free Royal Town by the Austrian empress after the citizens bought their freedom, spurring a period of growth and intercultural tolerance. The Hungarian name of the city, Szabadka, means “Saturday.”\textsuperscript{83} The wars of the 1990s weakened the social fabric of the city, widened the distinction between the ethnic groups, and created tensions between those who call for assimilation and others who value multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{84, 85, 86}

Subotica is a market city for the fertile fields of the Bačka region, the area of Vojvodina lying west of the Tisa River and north of the Danube River. Leading industries include electrometallurgy, plastics, pharmaceuticals, machinery, and metal furniture.\textsuperscript{87}
Environmental Concerns

Serbia’s host of environmental concerns involving soil, air, and river pollution attest to years of poorly regulated industries and waste management as well as the damage inflicted on the country during the war in 1999. For example, NATO’s bombing of the oil refinery in Novi Sad contaminated the Danube River and its sediment as well as the surrounding soil and groundwater. Other bombings that targeted chemical plants and warehouses of chemical raw materials and the burning of oil tanks had a devastating effect on the environment and on people’s health for more than a decade.88, 89

At the beginning of the century, due to a sluggish economy, treating industrial waste was not a serious concern. However, as the nation’s economy and urbanization began to recover, policies to control pollution levels have been put in place by the Serbian Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) with the assistance of the European Environment Agency.90, 91

Serbia has the second highest rate of premature deaths due to air pollution in Europe.92 Among the biggest contributors to environmental degradation and air pollution are coal mining and coal-burning power plants.93 According to a group campaigning to end coal burning in Europe, the levels of air pollutants in the Western Balkans are two-and-a-half times above the safety limits for air quality recommended by the World Health Organization.94

The quality of surface water (rivers and channels) in Serbia is unsatisfactory. Only 9% of the rural population and 75% of the urban population is connected to public sewage systems. Furthermore, the sewage treatment facilities that exist in a small number of
communities do not function properly. The nation’s rivers are tainted by inorganic pollutants from industries and organic pollutants from municipal waste and the food processing industry.

More than 55% of the land in Serbia is devoted to agriculture, and the average amount of pesticides applied per hectare in Serbia is lower than most European Union countries. However, soil degradation due to industrial mining, acidification, salinization, and pollution due to the use of agrochemicals and heavy metals threaten agricultural land.

### Natural Hazards

Much of Serbia is a seismically active region that experiences occasional earthquakes. Earthquake severity is classified as medium. The areas most prone to heavy shaking are in the Kopaonik Mountains region. The most damaging earthquake to affect Serbia in recent times was a magnitude 5.3 quake in the Kopaonik Mountains in September 1983 that destroyed more than 1,000 buildings and dwellings in the surrounding region. In 2010, an earthquake measuring 5.4 magnitude quake hit central Serbia north of the town of Kraljevo. The damage was estimated to be more than EUR 100 million (USD 120 million).

Flooding of the Danube River and its tributaries is a recurring problem in Serbia. In the spring of 2006, 10 regions in Serbia, including Belgrade, declared states of emergency when water levels reached the highest point in a century. Melting snow and heavy rains overflowed creeks and rivers and subterranean water soaked fields and cities. The situation was worst in the northern province of Vojvodina.

In 2014, Serbia declared a national state of emergency when unprecedented rainfall caused the worst flooding in over a century. Eight major rivers overflowed their banks and more than 1.5 million people were impacted by the floods and landslides. The total damage from the disaster was close to EUR 2 billion (USD 2.4 billion). Landslides occur also in areas adjacent to deforested mountains and hills during heavy rainstorms.
Endnotes for Chapter 1: Geography

integrated-water-approach-for-serbia-s-resurgence.html


52 Encyclopædia Britannica, “Belgrade,” 2 November
Chapter 1 | Endnotes


https://reliefweb.int/disaster/eq-2010-000218-srb


1. Fruška Gora is one of the rivers that divides the northern city of Novi Sad.

2. Niš is the tallest mountain in the Balkan Peninsula.

3. The Šumadija hills is a region famous for its vineyards and winemaking.

4. Air pollution is a serious problem in Serbia.

5. The Danube River defines a portion of Serbia’s international borders.
Chapter 2 | Serbia in Perspective

History

Introduction

Serbia’s history plays a crucial role in the history the Balkans. Serbs are part of a larger group of people called South Slavs, a designation that includes Croats, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Bulgarians. The South Slavs are divided along linguistic, religious, and cultural lines, but they sometimes shared homelands due to conquest or as a unified state such as Yugoslavia. Non-Slavic peoples to the north and south—most notably, Turks, Albanians, Hungarians, and Austrians—have also played important roles in the history of Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula.¹
The Serbs arrived in the Balkans in the 6th century CE and adopted Christianity. A succession of strong rulers established a Serb empire that dominated the Balkan Peninsula by the 12th century CE. The region was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in the 14th century, leading to 300 years of Turkish rule and the Christian-Muslim enmity that persists today.\(^2, 3, 4\) After numerous anti-Ottoman uprisings and European wars, Serbia became an autonomous principality in 1815 and an independent kingdom in 1875.\(^5\)

By the early 20th century, Serbia’s growth upset the balance of power in the Balkans, leading to the start of World War I. After the war, the Serbs and other South Slavs joined in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.\(^6\) During World War II, Serb partisans fiercely resisted Axis occupation. After the war, communist leader Josip Broz Tito remade the country into a socialist federal republic of coexisting Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Albanians.\(^7\)

In the early 1990s, Yugoslavia broke apart in the midst of bloody and chaotic civil wars.\(^8\) The regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade was complicit in atrocities committed by Serb nationalist forces in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1992, Serbia and Montenegro joined to create the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) after the other republics proclaimed independence. In 1999, another war broke out in Kosovo. To bring the warring sides to the negotiating table, Serbia proper was bombed by NATO.\(^9\) In 2006, Montenegro declared independence and Yugoslavia was renamed the Republic of Serbia. Kosovo declared independence in 2008, but this action has not been recognized by Serbia.\(^10\) As Serbia undergoes reform and modernization, its refusal to recognize Kosovo’s
independence remains an obstacle to joining the European Union.¹¹

**Early History**

The origins of the Serbs and Croats are still in dispute but it is accepted that they were two distinct tribes with intertwined histories and a similar Slavonic language. The Slavonic-speaking peoples began to migrate to the Balkans in the 6th and 7th century when the region was under the rule of Constantinople.¹², ¹³

While the Croats moved down the Adriatic coast, the Serbs settled in Raška (present day western Serbia and northern Montenegro) and for many centuries were called “Rascians.” Serbs also settled in areas that are today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia. The Serbs became subject to missionaries from Orthodox Constantinople and lived in clans dominated by *zupans*. The Serb clans accepted Christianity in the late 9th century.¹⁴, ¹⁵

In the 11th century, the first Serbian kingdom began to emerge in present-day Montenegro. Around 1036, Stefan Vojislav proclaimed loyalty for Rome and began to bring the Serbian tribes under his control. In 1077, Zeta, as the land was called, became a kingdom under Constantine Bodin, who ruled as a Catholic. After Bodin’s death, the state dissolved into civil war and power started to shift back to Raška.¹⁶

**The Great Schism**

In 1054, the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches split in what is called the Great Schism. For nearly two centuries, the southern Serbs wavered between Rome and Constantinople. The growing discord between local Catholic and Orthodox clerics, the resentment toward the Crusaders who plundered the Balkans on their way to Jerusalem, and the consecration of St. Sava as the first archbishop of Serbia at the court of the Byzantine...
Emperor in 1219, helped cement the Serbs’ alignment with Orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{17, 18, 19}

The First Serbian State and the Nemanjić Dynasty

The Principality of Raška

The first Serbian state was founded in 1168, in Raška by Stefan I Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty, which ruled for 200 years. Stefan I held much of the Balkans until 1185. His son, Stefan II Nemanja, strengthened Serbia by maintaining friendly relations with Rome and religious loyalty to Constantinople. In 1217, Pope Honorius III recognized Serbia’s political independence and gave Stefan II the title of “King of Serbia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia.” His brother, Rastko, was canonized in 1219 as St. Sava and became the first archbishop of Serbia.\textsuperscript{20, 21} During the 13th century, the Nemanjić Dynasty grew in strength, moving its frontier southward. In 1282, Skopje, in present-day Macedonia, became the new Serbian capital.\textsuperscript{22}

Dušan the Mighty and the Serbian Golden Age (1331–55)

Under Stefan Dušan, the Nemanjić dynasty reached its peak. Dušan’s forces penetrated deep into Byzantine territory and incorporated parts of Greece and Albania, reaching to the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean Seas.\textsuperscript{23, 24} Dušan proclaimed himself “Emperor of the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Albanians,” and assumed the imperial title of Tsar. Dušan is considered the greatest ruler of medieval Serbia. Serbs refer to him as Dušan Silni, or “Dušan the Mighty,” and consider his reign the Serbian Golden Age.\textsuperscript{25, 26}
The Ottoman Expansion (1355–1459)

The Battle of Maritsa

After Dušan’s death in 1355, the Serbian state began to disintegrate. While the South Slavs fought among themselves, the Ottoman Turks began marching toward the Balkan Peninsula. In 1371, in response to the Ottoman threat, the king of the southern Serbian lands, Vukašin Mrnjavčević, and his brother, John Uglješa of Serres, led their army to fight the Ottoman Sultan, Murad I, in modern-day Bulgaria. During the Battle of Maritsa River (also called the Battle of Marica), the Serbian army was decimated and both brothers were killed. For the next few decades the Ottomans continued to solidify their rule over the Balkans.27, 28

The Battle of Kosovo

On 28 June 1389, Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, the strongest regional lord in Serbia, led an army of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, and Hungarians to meet the forces of Sultan Murad I at Kosovo Polje (Kosovo Plains). After Murad I was killed by a Serbian noble, Murad’s son surrounded the Serbian army; Prince Lazar was killed, and the Serbs suffered a bitter defeat.29, 30 The Battle of Kosovo was immortalized in legends and heroic ballads, and became a part of Serbia’s national mythology. The battle is commemorated as a national holiday every year on 28 June.31
After the Turkish victory, Serb despots paid tribute to the Ottoman sultan. Many Serbs began migrating north toward Hungary and west toward the Adriatic. The resistance to the Ottoman advancement ended in 1459, after Smederevo, the last capital of medieval Serbia, fell to the Ottomans.

The Turkish Night (15th–19th Centuries)

The centuries of Ottoman rule in the Balkans are considered the dark ages, or the “Turkish Night,” by many Serbs. The Ottomans persecuted the old aristocracy and forced thousands into slavery. Christian Serbs had to pay special taxes (jizya) to their community leaders and live as bond servants under a system of fiefdoms.

Serbs were required to hand over their boys between the ages 8 to 20 to the Turkish sultan. These boys were taken to Constantinople, converted to Islam, and trained in the Turkish language for the Janissary corps. The Janissaries became an elite order of infantrymen—the most effective part of the Ottoman military during the 15th century campaigns.

Although some Serb peasants organized into small armed groups (hajduk/hajduci) that resisted, the majority remained subjects of the Ottoman sultans for the next 300 years. The social, economic, and political changes brought by the Ottomans contributed to the emerging Serbian national consciousness and to the makeup of the Serbian state.

The Great Migration of 1690–1691

One of the biggest revolts against the Ottomans took place in 1689–90, when the Serbian peasantry rose in rebellion to aid the Austrian army’s invasion of Ottoman-held areas. When the Austrians were defeated on New Year’s Day 1690, they retreated...
back across the Sava River and left the Serbs exposed to the vengeful Turks.\textsuperscript{42, 43}

The Austrians invited the Serbs to settle in the northern territories and establish a military frontier called Vojna Krajina. The refugees were promised religious freedom and the right to elect their own vojvoda, or military governor. In 1691, the Archbishop of Peć led between 30,000 and 40,000 Serbs from Old Serbia and southern Bosnia to the northern region, later known as Vojvodina.\textsuperscript{44, 45} During that period, the transition of Kosovo into a predominantly Albanian region began as Albanians moved into areas left by the Serbs.\textsuperscript{46, 47, 48}

**The Abolishing of the Patriarchate of Peć**

In 1766, after several uprisings, the Ottoman sultan abolished the patriarchate of Peć and put the church under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. As a response, the Serbian center of religious authority moved to areas under Austrian control, between the Sava and Danube Rivers, and Serbs began forming their own cultural identity.\textsuperscript{49}

**The Austro-Turkish War**

During the 1778–1791 war in which allied Russian and Austro–Hungarian forces faced the Ottomans, the Serbs revolted once again. Some Serbs served as soldiers and officers in the Habsburg armies and learned about military tactics and weapons.\textsuperscript{50} The war ended with the Sistova (1791) and Jassy (1792) treaties granting the Serbs a degree of autonomy. The Turks also agreed to expel the Janissaries from Belgrade. However, the agreements were not enforced and turmoil persisted in the region.\textsuperscript{51}

**The First Serbian Uprising**

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Austrian Empire (Habsburgs) and a
The declining Ottoman Empire ruled all of what later became Yugoslavia, except for Montenegro. New ideas from Europe and Russia about secular society, politics, law, and philosophy began to penetrate Serbia. Renegade Janissaries repressed the Serbs and killed priests and village leaders in a period called “the hacking of the headmen.”

Following the Janissary chiefs’ (dahis) reign of terror and the assassination of the Turkish governor of Belgrade, rebel leaders organized villagers and hajduci into armed units and met to decide on a course of action. Karadžorđe Petrović (Black George), who was a village leader (knez) with military experience from fighting in the Austro-Turkish war, was elected leader of the Serb national liberation movement. He would later become the founder of the Karadžorđević dynasty.

With the support of Russia, Karadžorđe commandeered the first phase of the uprising (1804–1806), which ended when the Serbs captured Belgrade and negotiated a settlement with the sultan. The second phase lasted two years (1806–1808), as the Serbs renewed the fight against the abuses of the Janissaries. In 1808, the state council introduced a constitution and elected Karadžorđe as a hereditary leader. The third phase started in 1809 when another war broke out between Russia and the Ottomans. After the Turks reached a settlement with Russia, they were free to attack the Serb rebels. In 1813, the Turks took Belgrade; Karadžorđe and his men were forced to retreat across the Danube into Hungary. Later on, the Turks offered amnesty to Serb rebels and reappointed the returning leaders to their old posts.

The Second Serbian Uprising

In 1815, relations between Serbs and Turks deteriorated again following an increase in taxes and massacres of the local population. On Palm Sunday, the fourth phase of the rebellion, also called The Second Uprising, began. The leader of this revolt was the knez Miloš Obrenović, a rival of Karadžorđe.
who remained in Serbia when Karađorđe and his men fled to Hungary. In 1817, Miloš was recognized as Prince of Serbia by the Turks. When Karađorđe returned to Serbia from Russia in 1817, Miloš had him murdered. To show his loyalty to the Turks, Miloš stuffed Karađorđe’s head and sent it to the sultan in Istanbul. The continual rivalry between the two dynasties led to more than a century of bloodshed.

The Serbian Autonomous Principality

*Miloš Obrenović, Prince of Serbia*

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the Ottoman sultan, fearing that Russia might attack Turkey, agreed to grant autonomy to Serbia with Miloš Obrenović as the supreme knez responsible for the enforcement of the decrees of the pasha, the Turkish governor.

At the time, a Serbian scholar, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, revised the Cyrillic alphabet for Serbian use, compiled a grammar book, and created a Serbian dictionary. Neither the church nor the state supported his work. However, he helped Serbian culture make significant progress, which eventually served to solidify a national consciousness.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29, most Muslims left Serbia, except for garrison soldiers. The sultan restored the Serbian Church’s autonomy and reaffirmed the Russian right to protect Serbia. Taxes were replaced by an annual tribute to the sultan and Serbian children began to learn Serbian grammar, literature, and history following a new educational curriculum that reflected Serbian national interests.

In 1835, Miloš granted the Serbs their first constitution and a political system that included an upper chamber called the Council, and a lower chamber called the Assembly, whose members served at his pleasure. Disagreements with rivals and conflict with Russia forced Miloš to accept a new constitution in 1838. Under the new constitution, the powers of the Council grew and Miloš’s control over the military weakened.
Prince Alexander Karađorđe

In 1842, Alexander Karadžorđe, son of Karadžorđe Petrović, became prince of Serbia. Alexander surrounded himself with oligarchs and attempted to improve the principality’s education, legal system, and economy, but his efforts were undermined by corruption and abuse. His rule faced opposition from discontent peasants as well as from a growing intelligentsia demanding a Western-style of government. Alexander further lost popular support by not supporting Russia in the 1853-56 Crimean War. In 1858, he was forced to abdicate.\footnote{66}

Prince Mihajlo Obrenović (Michael III)

Mihajlo Obrenović (Michael III), a son of Miloš, became prince in 1860. He liberalized the constitution and in 1867 successfully pressured the Turks to withdraw all garrisons from Serbian cities. Industrial development began around this time, and a new class of peasant proprietors emerged. Educated in the West but retaining his father’s autocratic approach, Mihajlo and Serbian intellectuals of the time envisioned a South Slav confederation, and Mihajlo organized a regular army to prepare for liberation of Turkish-held Serbian territory. However, he was eventually assassinated (with the suspicion that Karadžorđević supporters were involved).\footnote{67, 68, 69}

Independence (1878)

In 1875, peasants in Herzegovina rebelled against their Muslim landlords. The revolt spilled into Bosnia and fomented unrest in Serbia. To defuse the crisis, King Milan Obrenović IV declared war on the Turks in 1876. He was immediately followed by Prince Nicholas of Montenegro who competed for the leadership of the South Slavs. A year later, Russia declared war on
the Ottoman Empire and fought the Turks along with the Serbs and Montenegrins. The Russo-Turkish War ended with the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, which was replaced four months later by the Treaty of Berlin. Serbia and Montenegro received independence from the Ottoman Empire and Serbia made some territorial gains in the southeast.\textsuperscript{70, 71, 72}

\textbf{King Aleksandar Obrenović}

King Milan’s only son, Aleksandar Obrenović, assumed the throne in 1893 at the age of 17. His authoritarian reign was unpopular due to scandals, arbitrary rule, his pro-Austrian views, and exclusion of members of the popular pro-Russian Radical Party from his cabinet. Despite strong official disapproval, Aleksandar married his mistress, the widow of a Bohemian engineer. The royal couple was assassinated by army officers in the palace in Belgrade. King Aleksandar was the last of the Obrenović dynasty.\textsuperscript{73}

\textbf{King Petar I}

In 1903, Prince Petar Karadžorđević, the grandson of Karadžorđe Petrović, took the throne. During his reign, King Petar I aligned Serbia closer to Russia than to Austria-Hungary. In 1914, the king transferred royal responsibilities to his son Crown Prince Alexander.\textsuperscript{74, 75}

\textbf{The Balkan Wars}

In 1908, Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, shaking the delicate balance of power in the Balkans. Encouraged by Russia and outraged by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of what was considered part of the South Slav lands, the Serbs joined Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece to take Macedonia from the Ottomans in October 1912, while Turkey was involved in a war with Italy. The Ottomans were defeated within a month. As a result of the fragile peace agreement that followed,
Macedonia was divided between the victorious allies.\textsuperscript{76, 77}

The Second Balkan War broke out in June 1913 when Bulgaria attacked its former allies. Forces from Serbia, Romania, Greece and Turkey quickly defeated Bulgaria. Bulgaria lost territory to Serbia and Greece, who gained control over most of Macedonia; Serbia also gained Kosovo and divided the Sandžak region with Montenegro. Austria forced Serbia to abandon territories it gained in Albania and an access point to the Adriatic Sea.\textsuperscript{78, 79}

Austria-Hungary was weary of Serbia's growing influence in the Balkans; its military leadership concluded that a war against Serbia would be necessary to restore Austria's prestige and power. At that time, Germany was an ally of Austria, and Russia was an ally of Serbia.\textsuperscript{80, 81}

For most Serbs, the Habsburgs (Austria-Hungary) were seen as an obstacle to a new Serbian kingdom. When the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, made a state visit to Sarajevo on 28 June \textsuperscript{1914} (the day Serbs commemorated the battle of Kosovo), Gavrilo Princip, a young Bosnian Serb, assassinated Franz Ferdinand and his wife. This event turned out to be the spark that ignited World War I.\textsuperscript{82}

**World War I**

Following the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, on July 1914, Austria-Hungary went to war against Serbia, who was backed by Russia, France, and Great Britain.\textsuperscript{83} Germany joined Austria and, with the assistance of Hungary, launched a second front in late 1915. When a third offensive was opened with assistance from the Bulgarians, the Serbian army—which had been weakened by typhoid, cold, and famine—was forced to retreat across Albania to the Adriatic coast. The British and French navies shipped
the remainder of the Serbian army to the Greek island of Corfu. Other Serbian units continued to fight until the end of the war in September 1918. Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian forces occupied Serbia. More than one million Serbs died in the war, including 60,000 civilian who were executed by occupying forces.\textsuperscript{84, 85, 86}

While exiled on Corfu, the Serbian government worked on plans to establish the Serbian state after the war. Meanwhile, a number of political leaders from the South Slav areas still under the Habsburg Monarchy formed the “Yugoslav Committee” in London. The two groups met on Corfu in July 1917 and signed a declaration calling for a single democratic state of South Slavs in the framework of a constitutional monarchy.\textsuperscript{87, 88}

A Yugoslav Kingdom

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was founded on 1 December 1918. It was ruled by King Peter Karadjordjević until his death in 1921; he was succeeded by his son, Alexander I. The new kingdom included Serbia and Montenegro, the South Slav territories of Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Vojvodina.\textsuperscript{89, 90, 91} The period between the wars was a march toward economic modernization, particularly industrialization. Political infighting and nationalist struggles, however, plagued the kingdom.\textsuperscript{92}
The First Yugoslavia

In 1929, in an attempt to reduce separatist tensions, King Alexander I abolished the 1921 constitution, declared a royal dictatorship, and changed the country’s name to Yugoslavia (“Land of the South Slavs”). Alexander’s dictatorship aroused hostility, and he was assassinated in France by Macedonian separatists in 1934.93

World War II and Axis Occupation

From 1939 to 1941, Serbia and most of the Balkans were on the periphery of World War II. In the spring of 1941, the Yugoslav government negotiated a pact with Germany and formally aligned itself with the Axis powers, in exchange for Nazi promises to not violate Yugoslav sovereignty. Two days later, a coup against Prince Regent Pavle and the Yugoslavian civilian leadership repudiated the pact. An angered Adolph Hitler ordered an attack against Yugoslavia. Despite resistance by Serbian guerilla fighters, the German armies soon defeated and occupied every Balkan state that declined to join the Axis alliance; Yugoslavia ceased to exist.94, 95, 96

During the occupation by the Axis forces, Yugoslavia was divided into several puppet states and placed under German or Italian zones of military control. Serbia was occupied by Germany; Germany also established the Independent State of Croatia and appointed the fascist Ustaše movement to lead the government. With the Ustaše in control, thousands of Serbs were killed in concentration camps.97, 98

A communist-led partisan group headed by Josip Broz Tito and remnants of the Royal Yugoslav Army doggedly fought Axis occupiers and Croatian collaborators.99 The German response to the resistance was to kill the civilian Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia. In 1944, Yugoslavia was liberated by the allied forces.100, 101

The Second Yugoslavia

On 29 November 1945, Yugoslavia was reborn as the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, a federation under the leadership of Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It included Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Slovenia and Macedonia. In 1963, the federation was renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and Tito was proclaimed president for life. The SFRY constitution gave Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro separate and equal republican status, with Kosovo and Vojvodina as autonomous provinces.102, 103

Yugoslavia under Tito

Under Tito’s leadership, Yugoslavia pursued a socialist agenda; the League of Communists controlled the Skupština (National Assembly). Yugoslavia maintained close ties with the Soviet Union until a split from Moscow in 1948. After the split, Tito established a foreign policy of nonalignment. A distinctive Yugoslav communism, or “Titoism,” replaced Stalinism.104 Yugoslavs could work or travel freely, and the country’s standard of living was higher than most socialist states. This system maintained Yugoslavia’s unity during Tito’s rule.105, 106

Richard Nixon with Tito at the White House in 1971

Wikimedia Commons
The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

After Tito’s death in 1980, Yugoslavia’s federation continued for another decade. During those years, inflation grew, the economy deteriorated, and political and ethnic conflicts intensified. Kosovo Albanians demonstrated in favor of a republic and integration into Albania; Slovenia and Croatia demanded greater political autonomy.\textsuperscript{107, 108}

Slobodan Milošević, a Belgrade banker, rose quickly through the ranks to become head of the Serbian Communist Party in 1986. As Serbia’s president starting in 1989, he used Serbian ultra-nationalism to gain legitimacy. In 1987, when Serbs rioted in Kosovo, his support for the rioters made him a symbol of Serbian nationalism. Milošević quickly consolidated power through control of the party apparatus and the press.\textsuperscript{109} In 1990, Milošević abolished the political autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina.\textsuperscript{110, 111, 112}

The breakup of Yugoslavia began when Slovenia and Croatia each declared independence on 25 June 1991. Macedonia did the same after a referendum in September 1991. The Serb-dominated Yugoslav army attacked Croatia and Slovenia. Thousands became refugees or were killed until a UN-monitored ceasefire was declared in 1992.\textsuperscript{113} Bosnia-Herzegovina voted for independence in March 1992, in a referendum largely boycotted by the region’s Serb population.\textsuperscript{114, 115, 116}


The Third Yugoslavia

On 27 April 1992, Serbia and Montenegro joined in passing the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), a country that was only a fraction
of its original size. The new state was not internationally recognized because of its military involvement in the former republics of Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{117, 118, 119}

After Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence, Bosnian Serb forces backed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army launched an offensive on Bosnia’s capital, Sarajevo.\textsuperscript{120} The campaign of “ethnic cleansing” of Bosnian Muslims by paramilitary Serbian troops drove Muslims from their towns and villages and subjected them to imprisonment in concentration camps, murder, and other atrocities.\textsuperscript{121} In April 1992, Sarajevo became a worldwide symbol of the brutality of the Yugoslav wars. In response, the UN Security Council imposed strict economic sanctions on Serbia.\textsuperscript{122, 123, 124}

In July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces systematically killed over 7,000 Bosnian Muslim boys and men in the town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. In response, NATO conducted a month-long bombing campaign against Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The bombardment and the collapse of the Bosnian Serb resistance brought the Bosnian Serbs to the bargaining table.\textsuperscript{125, 126, 127} In December 1995, in Dayton, Ohio, Bosnian Serbs accepted a series of agreements that ended hostilities in Bosnia. The agreement led to the lifting of economic sanctions and to economic recovery.\textsuperscript{128, 129}

Kosovo was not discussed at the Dayton Peace talks. In 1996, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), supported by many ethnic Albanians, began carrying out isolated attacks on Serbian police in Kosovo. Violence escalated in 1997. In March 1998, Yugoslav army units joined Serbian police to fight the separatists. Armed clashes between the KLA and the Yugoslav Army, as well as between Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, escalated into a full-scale war in 1999.\textsuperscript{130, 131}
NATO intervened, again, heavily bombing civilian and infrastructure targets in Serbia and Montenegro proper.\textsuperscript{132, 133} The Kosovo War ended on 10 June 1999 when NATO and Serbian commanders reached an agreement to cease hostilities.\textsuperscript{134, 135} A month before the signing of the agreement, the UN War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague indicted President Milošević for crimes against Kosovo’s ethnic Albanians, which included forced expulsions and killings of civilians.\textsuperscript{136} At that time, thousands of Kosovo Albanians were living as refugees in Albania, Macedonia, or Montenegro.\textsuperscript{138} More than 200,000 Kosovo Serbs and other non-Serbs fled from Kosovo to central Serbia. Although Montenegro was a partner with Serbia in what remained of Yugoslavia, Montenegrin leaders distanced themselves from Serbia’s actions in Kosovo.\textsuperscript{139, 140}

In September 2000, Milosevic was ousted as Serbs voted the center-right democrat Vojislav Koštunica as Serbia’s president. Initially refusing to leave office, Milošević was forced to step down a month later by a popular uprising. The arrest of Milošević in 2001, orchestrated by then-Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić, allowed for his extradition to The Hague to be tried for crimes against humanity. Milošević died of a heart attack in his prison cell in March 2006, before his trial ended.\textsuperscript{141, 142, 143}

In November of 2000, Yugoslavia (FRY) was readmitted into the UN as a full member (after being suspended in 1992). The United States and the European Union began lifting economic sanctions and offering aid.\textsuperscript{144, 145}

**Serbia and Montenegro**

In February 2003, Yugoslavia was officially dissolved and was replaced by the Union of Serbia and Montenegro. Kosovo, administered by NATO and the UN, remained part of the union. Both Serbia and Montenegro were granted the right to
leave the federated state after three years.  

In March 2003, the Prime Minister of Serbia, Zoran Đinđić, was assassinated. Đinđić, a pro-Western academic who pushed for economic reforms, was killed by a sniper outside a government building in Belgrade. Twelve individuals, mostly secret police members and Serbian organized crime leaders, were later convicted of conspiring to murder Đinđić.

**The Republic of Serbia**

In May 2006, Montenegrins narrowly approved a referendum to separate from Serbia, and in June, Montenegro declared independence. Serbia quickly recognized independent Montenegro and declared itself an independent sovereign state. Kosovo was declared an integral part of Serbia in the constitution. In December, NATO admitted Serbia to the Partnership for Peace program and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council.

Serbia continued to resist the UN plan to set Kosovo on the path to independence, but in February 2008, Kosovo declared itself independent. Serbia and Russia rejected the move while 70 nations, including the United States, supported Kosovo's independence.

In December 2009, led by pro-EU Prime Minister Mirko Cvetkovic, Serbia formally applied to join the European Union. In 2012, it was granted EU candidate status on the condition that it normalize relations with Kosovo. Talks between Serbia and Kosovo resumed in 2013, and an EU-brokered agreement on normalizing relations was signed, although Serbia did not recognize Kosovo's independence. In October 2014, the foreign minister of...
Kosovo paid an official visit to Serbia for the first time since Kosovo’s declaration of independence, and in 2015, another agreement was signed giving Serbs in northern Kosovo more rights. The foreign minister of Kosovo called the agreement a de facto recognition of independence.161, 162

By late 2017, 115 countries recognized Kosovo’s independence, including 23 among EU members. However, Serbia’s refusal to recognize Kosovo’s sovereignty and the assassination of the Kosovo Serb politician Oliver Ivanovic in January 2018, continue to fuel the conflict over Kosovo.163, 164, 165

In April 2017, Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, whose Progressive Party won a landslide victory in 2014, won the presidency. Shortly afterwards, Vučić appointed Ana Brnabić to succeed him as prime minister.166 Brnabić, the first woman to hold the job, quickly set to work to implement administrative reforms and prepare Serbia for eventual EU membership.167

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (UN ICTY)

On 25 May 1993, the UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). This was the first war crimes court established by the UN and the first international war crimes tribunal since the establishment of the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals after WWII. The Tribunal focused on the most serious crimes of the 1990s wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo.168

The biggest task of the ICTY involved the investigation of the massacre in Srebrenica. Despite the denial of Serb and other authorities that any crimes had taken place, tribunal investigators who used
the testimony of survivors, satellite photography, archaeologists, anthropologists, dog teams and a variety of experts found evidence of mass executions and mass graves.\textsuperscript{169, 170}

Croatia and Serbia obstructed the tribunal’s work, and authorities in Belgrade showed open hostility toward the ICTY. Croatia refused to recognize crimes allegedly committed by the Croatian Army against Serb victims in 1995. Bosniaks were also accused of war crimes.\textsuperscript{171}

In 1995, the Bosnian Serb military and political leaders Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić were indicted by the ICTY for their role in masterminding and overseeing the Srebrenica genocide. Mladić lived in Belgrade where he enjoyed the protection of President Milosevic until his fall from power in 2000. He spent the next eight years hiding in Serbia.\textsuperscript{172, 173, 174}

In 1999, while the conflict in Kosovo was still ongoing, the ICTY issued arrest warrants and indictments for President Slobodan Milošević and other high-ranking Serbian officials for crimes committed against Kosovo Albanian civilians. It was the first time that an international criminal court indicted a sitting head of state.\textsuperscript{175}

In 2004, the decision to make compliance with ICTY a condition for Serbia’s integration in the EU brought more arrests. Within six months, more than 20 accused individuals were transferred to the tribunal’s custody. By mid-2009, only Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić remained at large.\textsuperscript{176}

Croatian Serb Goran Hadžić, who was the former president of the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina and the last fugitive of the ICTY, was captured in northern Serbia in 2011, after seven years on the run.\textsuperscript{177, 178}
Radovan Karadžić was arrested in Belgrade in July 2008. In March 2016, he was convicted of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity and sentenced to 40 years in prison for his role in ethnic cleansing operations, the siege of Sarajevo, and the Srebrenica massacre. In April 2018, Karadžić appealed his sentence. The appeal hearing was held at the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (MICT), which oversees outstanding U.N. war crimes cases for the Balkans and Rwanda.

In November 2017, Ratko Mladic, a Bosnian Serb general, known as the “Butcher of Bosnia,” was sentenced to life in prison after being found guilty of genocide during the Bosnian war, from 1992 to 1995. Mladic was on the run for 16 years. In 2011, he was arrested in a small village north of Belgrade.

In December 2017, the ICTY in The Hague ended investigations and prosecutions after 24 years of operation and 161 indictment.
Endnotes for Chapter 2: History


The Battle of Kosovo, Despot is a title granted to a prince, a lord, a bishop, or a patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church.


Serbian Orthodox Church, Tijana Prodanovic, “Brief History of Serbia,” n.d., https://personal.pmf.uns.ac.rs/tijana.prodanovic/etc/theres-no-place-like-home/about_serbia/


Metohija is derived from the Greek word for “monastery estates.”


Kosovo, “Serbian Orthodox Church,” n.d., http://www.kosovo.net/soceng.html


70 Encyclopædia Britannica, “Balkan History: Serbo-Turkish War,” 5 December 2017, https://www.britannica.com/event/Serbo-Turkish-War


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154 BBC, “Montenegro Chooses Independence,”

22 May 2006,


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www.icty.org/en/about/office-of-the-prosecutor/history


180 Julian Borger, “How Radovan
1. Stefan Dušan was the first patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

2. During the war in Kosovo, NATO bombed civilian and infrastructure targets in Serbia.

3. Hajduci was a special tax Balkan Christians had to pay to the Turkish sultan.

4. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, by a Bosnian Serb nationalist ignited World War I.

5. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) consisted of Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Chapter 3 | Serbia in Perspective

Economy

Introduction

Serbia is still recovering from the economic sanctions and damages of the 1990s Balkans civil wars, while transitioning from a state-owned to a market economy.\(^1\) Between 2001 and 2008, Serbia experienced rapid economic growth, but that growth was undercut by the global financial crisis. Since 2016, the government has been focusing on structural reforms such as removing bottlenecks to economic growth, diminishing reliance on state-owned enterprises, and creating more private-sector jobs. These reforms are aimed at preparing for eventual EU membership, as well as achieving financial stability, halting debt accumulation, creating a business-friendly environment, and raising living standards.\(^2\)
Serbia’s economic reform efforts have been paying off. In 2017, GDP annual growth rate was 2.5%, amounting to USD 37.16 billion. Growth has been especially strong in the manufacturing-driven industrial sector. Serbia’s economy depends on manufacturing and exports, and is supported by foreign direct investment (FDI). In 2016, Serbia was the world’s number one destination for FDI as a percentage of GDP. In February 2018, Serbia successfully completed a USD 1.32 billion three-year program with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Agriculture

Agriculture is at the heart of Serbia’s economy, accounting for close to 10% of the country’s GDP. Almost 60% of the land is used for agriculture and nearly 85% of this land is located in the northern part of the country, in Vojvodina. Only 10% of Serbia’s arable land is owned by the government; about 20% of the workforce is employed in agriculture. Compared to other sectors, the agricultural workforce is unqualified and has low motivation because of low wages. Most private land is owned by farming families who cultivate small plots that cover up to 19 acres. Large agricultural companies and commercial family farming are in the minority. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, Serbia’s irrigation systems require modernization. Currently, less than 4% of the country’s arable land is irrigated.

Approximately 60% of Serbia’s agricultural land is used for cereal crops such as corn (maize), wheat, barley, sunflowers, soy, and sugar beets. The rest is used to grow fruit such as apples, plums, sour cherries, and raspberries, and vegetables such as peppers, cabbage, tomatoes and potatoes. Livestock such as pigs, cattle, poultry,
and sheep represents about one-third of Serbia’s agricultural production.\textsuperscript{14, 15}

Agriculture is the biggest export sector of the economy, accounting for 20% of all exports. The main agricultural exports are grain and grain products, fresh and frozen fruits and vegetables, refined sugar, confectionery products and beverages, edible sunflower, and soy oils.\textsuperscript{16}

Serbia is a global leader in the production, processing, and export of raspberries; about 20% of the world’s raspberries are produced in Serbia. Raspberries are cultivated in Šumadija, known as Serbia’s raspberry capital. Most revenues from raspberries go back to the region where raspberries are cultivated to support rural development. The production of raspberries is so consistent that it was not hampered by NATO’s bombing campaign and sanctions in the late 1990s. Most of Serbia’s raspberries are exported in frozen form because of logistical reasons. Occasionally, bad weather devastates this crop.\textsuperscript{17, 18}

Organic farming in Serbia is growing in popularity. Traditional family farmers who cultivate crops without the use of chemical fertilizers call their produce “organic not by paper” or “naturally organic.”\textsuperscript{19, 20}

In 2015, Serbia banned the cultivation, processing, sale, and import of genetically modified products (GMO). The GMO ban may be an obstacle to Serbia’s membership in the World Trade Organization, but it can help Serbia become a competitor on the European market.\textsuperscript{21, 22, 23} Serbia is already a leading producer of GMO-free soy.\textsuperscript{24, 25}

\section*{Industry and Manufacturing}

Industry accounts for 40% of Serbia’s GDP. The main industrial sectors include automobiles and tires, base metals, furniture, food processing, machinery, textiles, pharmaceuticals and chemicals.\textsuperscript{26} At the beginning of 2018, Serbia saw the steepest increase in industrial production...
since early 2016. Output rose for non-metallic mineral products, chemicals, basic metals and refined petroleum products; mining and quarrying; and electricity, gas, steam, and air conditioning supply.\textsuperscript{27}

**Automotive Industry**

The most important industrial sector in Serbia is the automotive industry, which accounts for 10% of exports and employs more than 40,000 people. The auto industry was resurrected with foreign investments and Serbian capital from smaller businesses, totaling more than EUR 2 billion (USD 2.42 billion). The government offers benefits and tax incentives to investors who hire more than 100 workers and invest more than EUR 8.5 million (USD 10.28 million) in Serbia. The automotive industry attracts more FDI than any other manufacturing sector.\textsuperscript{28}

Serbia’s automotive industry dates back to 1939, when assembly of military trucks began in the city of Kragujevac, the center of Serbia’s car industry. In 1954, the Kragujevac plant acquired a license to produce Fiat cars and became the car company Zastava. The Yugoslav car sector ground to a halt with the economic sanctions and turmoil of the 1990s. In 2008, Fiat Automobiles purchased the failing plant in Kragujevac, reinvigorating Zastava. Since then, more than 70 new factories connected to the automotive industry have been built in Serbia with foreign investments.\textsuperscript{29, 30, 31}

The government places a high priority on educational institutions that offer programs in engineering and promotes collaboration between technical schools and the automotive industry. Bureaucratic red tape and long waiting periods for permits still frustrate foreign investors.\textsuperscript{32}
Metal Work and Machine Building Industry

Metal and machine building are Serbia’s core industries with a long manufacturing tradition dating back to the mid-19th century. Most companies in this sector, which accounts for 6% of GDP, are oriented toward export. Germany, Italy, and Bosnia and Herzegovina are the most important markets for Serbia’s processed metals.  

Food and Beverage Industry

The food and beverage industry is one of the main pillars of Serbia’s economy. Since democratization and privatization in the early 2000s, this sector has attracted large foreign investments and has been one of the few industries to record a constant trade surplus. The food processing and beverage industry employs about 4% of the total workforce and is supported by several research institutes and universities. There are more than 4,500 businesses in the food processing industry; about 75% of these companies employ fewer than ten employees. Currently, foreign companies own more than 90% of the food processing companies that operate in Serbia. Some of the foreign companies that invest in Serbia are PepsiCo, Coors, Coca-Cola, Nestlé, Heineken, and Carlsberg.  

Aerospace

Serbia’s aviation industry dates back to the early 20th century. This industry employs highly skilled labor and has capabilities in every stage of production. The company
Aero-East Europe with its headquarters in Kraljevo manufactures light airplanes for the purpose of photo shooting, aerial spray, aerial border and traffic control, flying ambulances, and more. The company manufactures new SILA models (Serbian Industry of Light Aircraft) and provides maintenance and repairs of light aircraft. In 2013, Serbia entered into partnership with Etihad Airways to form Air Serbia, after reorganizing and rebranding the former national air carrier Jat Airways.

Textiles and Apparel

Serbia’s strategic location, its ability to offer high quality labor, competitive operating costs, and financial benefits such as corporate income tax relief, make it very attractive to foreign investors. Serbian companies provide labor for well-known brands like Dolce & Gabbana, Gucci, Valentino, Tommy Hilfiger, and more. Serbia exports textile products to Italy, Germany, France, Romania, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russia, Turkey, and China. Approximately 75% of the market is dominated by small and medium-sized companies.

Energy

Energy accounts for about 10% of Serbia’s GDP. The energy sector consists of the oil and natural gas industries, coal and lignite mining and processing, as well as the production and distribution of electricity. The vast majority of the energy infrastructure is state-owned and the electricity market is managed by the national power utility. The energy infrastructure is old and in poor condition due to years of neglect, a lack of investment, and damage inflicted during the NATO air campaign of 1999.

Over 70% of Serbia’s electricity production relies on domestic coal; the rest comes from hydropower, oil, natural gas, firewood,
geothermal sources, and biodiesel. Serbia relies heavily on oil and gas imports, mostly from Russia. In 2013, Serbia signed a deal with the Russian oil giant Gazpromneft to extend gas imports until 2021.44, 45

The Serbian government is still committed to carbon-intensive energy production with more coal production planned for the future, in spite of its commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Serbia’s large coal reserves in Kolubara and Kostolac basins are owned and managed by subsidiaries of the national power utility company. The mines supply lignite (soft brown coal) to two power plants that produce 50% of Serbia’s electricity.46

In addition to hydroelectricity from the country’s rivers, the renewable energy sector is promising. The potential for utilization of renewable energy sources comes from geothermal, solar and wind energy, and biomass from wood, agricultural waste, and biodegradable municipal waste.47 Environmental protection has become a priority for the government following Serbia’s plan to join the European Union. Currently 205 renewable energy power plants operate in Serbia.48, 49

Natural Resources

Serbia’s mining industry enjoys strong government support. The Ministry of Natural Resources, Mining and Spatial Planning is responsible for the mining sector. The industry produces primarily copper, iron, and steel, with significant production of gold, lead, coal, salt, and selenium. Other important natural resources are oil, gas, iron ore, zinc, antimony, chromite, silver, magnesium, pyrite, limestone, and marble.50
Minerals

Serbia’s copper ore and precious metal (gold and silver) mines are located in the region around Bor in the Carpathian Mountains. Rudarsko-Topioničarski Basen Bor (RTB Bor Group) has been operating the mines and the smelting operations for more than 100 years. Copper products remain an important contributor to Serbia’s trade balance and copper extraction in the Bor and Majdanpek mines is expected to continue for the next 50 years.\(^{51}\)

Serbia produces steel at a large plant in Smederevo. The steel mill, a state-owned enterprise since 1913, was sold to Pittsburgh-based giant U.S. Steel in 2003 when the plant went bankrupt. In 2012, Serbia bought back the plant for USD 1 in order to avoid closure and layoffs of 5,000 employees.\(^{52}\) In 2016, China-based Hesteel Group, Asia’s largest steel producer, bought the steel mill for USD 49 million. After investments in new equipment and technology, the mill started to turn a profit in 2017.\(^{53}\) The revenues from Hesteel Serbia are projected to account for 2% of GDP.\(^{54}\)

There has been an increase in interest in Serbia’s mineral potential following the discovery of large deposits of copper-gold in the Carpathian Mountains, near the Bor mining and smelting complex. More than 300 companies are registered for mining in the country.\(^{55, 56, 57}\)

Trade

In the 1990s, due to war and sanctions, exports dropped by 75% and imports by about 50%. Hardest hit was manufacturing exports, partly because of damages to factories by NATO bombing and delays in transition to privatization. Since then, Serbia’s trade has recovered, although imports still exceed exports.\(^{58}\)
Serbia is a member of the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), whose objective is to expand trade and investment among its members. Serbia has free trade agreements with Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Turkey, and is a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) with Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, and Liechtenstein. The United States and Japan give preferential duties on certain imports from Serbia.\(^5\)

In 2016, the value of Serbia’s exported goods reached USD 14.9 billion, an increase of 11.5% from 2015. Export of vehicles is the top source of revenue; Fiat’s exports accounted for USD 1.5 billion.\(^6\) Other leading exports include iron and steel, plastics, rubber, copper, fruits and nuts, furniture and prefabricated buildings.\(^6\)\(^1\), \(^6\)\(^2\)

Serbia imported goods worth USD 19.3 billion in 2016, an increase of 6.1% over 2015. The value of imports was primarily affected by the low global price of energy and new fiscal policies.\(^6\)\(^3\)

The European Union remained Serbia’s largest trade partner, accounting for over half of the country’s foreign trade. Italy and Germany were the top trading partners, followed by Russia and signatories to CEFTA.\(^6\)\(^4\), \(^6\)\(^5\), \(^6\)\(^6\)

In 2016, the top U.S. exports to Serbia were aviation parts, machines, pharmaceutical and medical products, tobacco, and optic instruments. The biggest export products from Serbia to the United States were automobiles, tires, raspberries, hunting rifles, and ammunition.\(^6\)\(^7\)

**Services Sector**

**Information Technology**

In recent years, creative and knowledge-based industries such as information technology, advertising, publishing, motion pictures, music and video productions, architectural services, and outsourcing have been of increasing
importance to the Serbian economy. There are 2,200 innovative IT companies in Serbia, employing around 20,000 people. Microsoft opened a global development center in 2005. Many key global players such as Adobe, Oracle, Google, HP, IBM, Siemens, Intel, Cisco, NCR Corporation, and others have established development centers in Serbia or outsource services to local IT companies.

Tourism

The travel and tourism industry includes the restaurant and leisure activities sectors, hotels, travel agents, airlines, and other tourist-supported transportation services. In 2016, the travel and tourism industry contributed 2.3% to Serbia’s GDP. Over half a million tourists visited Belgrade in 2017. There has been a steady increase in the number of tourists from the United States, China, Turkey, Greece, Israel, and Serbia’s neighbors. The most visited tourist spots are Belgrade, Novi Sad, the Kopaonik and Zlatibor Mountains, and the spa and health resort towns of Vrnjačka Banja and Sokobanja. Serbia has been called a well-kept secret of European tourism and one of Europe’s top tourist destinations. The country is endowed with national parks, nature reserves, and protected landscapes that offer a variety of activities such as hunting, fishing, skiing, and extreme sports. The Đerdap (Djerdap) National Park on the Danube River features diversified plant and animal life, an 8,000 year old archeological site, and fortresses. Another tourist attraction is the Resavska Pećina Cave in eastern Serbia, which is 4.5 km (2.8 m) long and features stalactites, stalagmites, halls, and flowstone waterfalls. Medieval monasteries and churches, some of which are UNESCO World Heritage Sites, museums and galleries, food and music
festivals attract those looking for culturally unique experiences. The popular Exit music festival in Novi Sad, held at the Petrovaradin Fortress for four nights each July, attracts thousands of music lovers from across Europe.

**Banking and Currency**

Since the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 2003, the Serbian dinar (RSD) has been Serbia’s currency, replacing the Yugoslav dinar. In March 2018, the dinar was trading at RSD 96 per USD 1 and RSD 118 per EUR 1. Inflation dropped from 7.7% in 2013 to 1.9% in early 2018.

The National Bank of Serbia (NBS) is independent from the government but is accountable to the national legislature; all NBS functions and relations with domestic and foreign organizations are regulated by law. The NBS formulates monetary policy, manages foreign exchange transactions, and supervises banks, insurance companies, and voluntary pension funds. The bank pursues a strict monetary policy with the goal of controlling inflation and stabilizing the exchange rate.

Almost all of Serbia’s banks are headquartered in Belgrade, but Novi Sad has a sizeable banking center. In addition to commercial and saving banks, there are many savings and loan institutions, such as the Post Office Savings Bank. Since 2000, Serbia has been restructuring its financial sector. In early 2000, there were 88 banks, with over 90% of all banking assets in state-owned banks. By early 2018, the number of commercial banks in Serbia was down to 31.

Banks in Serbia offer some of Europe’s highest interest rates on deposits. Foreign banks offer high interest on accounts in Serbian dinars. No U.S. banks operate in Serbia. The state-controlled bank, Komercijalna Banka, has strong relations with U.S. banks.
Finance

Domestic production and FDI are the major sources of Serbia’s sustainable growth. Since 2000, Serbia has received USD 29 billion in gross FDI. EU companies account for almost 75% of the cumulative FDI stock in Serbia. Finance and manufacturing, real estate, and transport have attracted the largest amounts of FDI. The Serbian government established a series of measures aimed to attract foreign capital. Serbia has the lowest corporate tax rate in Europe (10%) and several agreements with different countries regarding double taxation.\textsuperscript{91, 92, 93}

In 2017, Serbia ranked 43rd out of 190 countries in the World Bank’s 2017 report on the ease of doing business, higher than Italy, Belgium, and some of its neighbors like Romania and Hungary. FDI increased by roughly 45%, from USD 1.4 billion in 2014 to almost USD 2 billion in 2016. Several multi-national corporations have made large investments in Serbia.\textsuperscript{94, 95} The most significant ongoing concerns are the difficulty in obtaining building permits and the tax payment system.\textsuperscript{96, 97}

Standard of Living

Serbia has made steady improvement on the human development index over the years, yet its progress is the slowest in the region. In 2016, Serbia climbed to 66th place out of 188 countries and ranks among countries with high human development.\textsuperscript{98} GDP per capita in 2016 was USD 5,426.\textsuperscript{99}

Nearly 25% of the population is at risk of poverty. The rate of children at risk of poverty is 30%, much higher than the EU average of 19%. Nearly 9% of the population lives below the poverty line, making Serbia one of the poorest nations in Europe.\textsuperscript{100} The poverty rate in the southeastern region is nearly
four times higher than in Belgrade. Poverty is twice as high for people who live in rural areas than people who live in cities.\textsuperscript{101, 102} Poverty is not measured only by income but also by access to services. For example, out of 4,709 villages\textsuperscript{2, 000 do not have a post office, and 500 do not have paved roads.\textsuperscript{103}}

The aging population poses a significant problem as population growth is on the decline and urban areas attract young professionals. Life expectancy has climbed to 75 years in the last decade and healthcare expenditures are 10.4\% of GDP.\textsuperscript{104, 105}

**Employment**

Unemployment rates fluctuate between 12\% and 16\%, but the youth unemployment rate is around 50\%. Much of the potential workforce is underqualified to participate in the economy due to a lack of proper education. However, expected years of schooling stands at 14.\textsuperscript{4, 106, 107} The adult literacy rate is 98.84\%, with a small difference between males and females.\textsuperscript{108}

**Outlook**

Following the successful completion of the IMF program in 2018, Serbia has begun to transform its stalled economy into a functional market economy. Economic confidence has improved, domestic and external trade as well as industrial activity have gone up, investments from foreign and domestic sources has continued, and unemployment has gone down. However, GDP growth projections had to be readjusted because of the unpredictability of the agricultural sector. Serbia’s annual GDP growth for 2018 is projected to be 3\%.\textsuperscript{109, 110}

Serbia’s economy remains vulnerable to inconsistent international capital flows, fluctuations in commodity prices, and environmental shocks. Geopolitical
tensions could undermine investment, exports, and tourism. To continue its economic expansion, Serbia must overhaul its state-owned enterprises, reduce red tape, reform public services, improve the business climate, and upgrade its infrastructure.111, 112
Endnotes for Chapter 3: Economy


21. BETA, “Serbia ‘Belongs in WTO’; GMO Ban is Obstacle to Membership,” B92, 29 November


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71 Radomir Ralev, “Tourism Contribution to Serbia’s GDP to Rise 1.9% in 2017 WTTC,”


102 World Atlas, The Poorest Countries in Europe,
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Algeria in Perspective
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Assessment

1. Large hydroelectric power plants and wind farms produce most of Serbia’s electricity needs.

2. Exit is a music festival that attracts thousands of tourists to Novi Sad each year.

3. Serbia has been unable to revive its failing auto industry since the break-up of Yugoslavia and NATO bombing of its factories.

4. Most Serbian food processing companies employ fewer than 10 employees.

5. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is a major source of economic growth for Serbia.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. False; 4. True; 5. True;
Introduction

Serbs constitute the majority of Serbia’s inhabitants. Most of their ancestors belonged to South Slavic tribes who came to the Balkans from the north between the 5th and 7th centuries. The early Serbian territory was located in the Kopaonik Mountains region and Kosovo. After the Ottomans conquered the region in the 14th century, many Serbs fled the area.\textsuperscript{1,2}

The Slavic tribes adopted Christianity by the 9th century. Under Ottoman rule, some were forced to convert to Islam. Until the Ottomans withdrew from Serbia, the Serbian
Orthodox Church competed for influence against the Greek Orthodox Church which was based in Istanbul. In the northern province of Vojvodina, Hungarians followed the Roman Catholic Church while some belonged to Calvinist Protestant groups. Today, Serbian national identity is Eastern Orthodox.\(^3\)

The official language is Serbian. This language, linguistically termed Serbo-Croatian, is now identified as Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, or Montenegrin.\(^4\) Serbian is written using the Cyrillic script, but the Latin script is commonly used and taught in schools. Because Serbia is multiethnic and multinational, other languages such as Hungarian, Bosnian, and Romanian are also spoken.\(^5, 6\)

Serbian society has been influenced by Central Europe (Germans, Hungarians), Eastern Europe (Bulgarians, Romanians, Ukrainians), Southern Europe (Albanians, Greeks); and by smaller groups such as Roma (gypsies), the South Slavic ethnic groups of the Balkans (Croats, Bosniaks, Macedonians, Bunjevaks, etc.), and more.\(^7\)

Serbia has one of the oldest populations in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. By 2030, people age 65 and over will account for nearly 25% of the population. By the same year, Serbia’s population is expected to decline by 8.1% from 2015. Low fertility, a decline in the number of women of childbearing age, and migration are the cause of long-term population decline.\(^8\)

**Ethnic Groups and Languages**

After Serbia and Montenegro divided into separate countries and Kosovo declared its independence (although not recognized by Serbia), Serbia became more ethnically homogeneous.\(^9\) Serbs are the largest ethnic group in most parts of the country, constituting 85% of the Serbia’s total population.\(^10, 11\)
The Serbian constitution of 2006 affirms the protection of national minorities. The constitution also protects the use of minority languages and prohibits linguistic discrimination. Serbia ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and recognizes the following 10 languages: Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, Romany, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, and Ukrainian. Children can receive primary and secondary education in the language and culture that correspond to their ethnic group or nationality. The northern province of Vojvodina, which is the most multiethnic and multi-linguistic region in the country, recognizes six official languages.

Albanians

Albanians dominate several municipalities in southern Serbia, in the regions that border eastern Kosovo, and constitute less than 1% of the total population. Albanians migrated to today’s southern Serbia after the Ottoman conquests. The Albanian language is the official language of three municipalities. The majority of Albanians are Muslim. Albanians suffer from hidden discrimination and a high level of intolerance.

Bulgarians

Bulgarians dominate a few municipalities in eastern Serbia, near the Bulgarian border. The Bulgarian population in Serbia is the result of the 1919 Peace Treaty of Neuilly, which gave the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes several territories inhabited by Bulgarians. The Bulgarian language is used in some municipalities.
Bosniaks

Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) are the majority ethnic group in parts of the southwestern region, adjacent to Montenegro and Kosovo; Bosniaks constitute 2% of Serbia’s population. Bosniaks began to move to the region to escape persecution after parts of Montenegro were taken back from the Ottomans in the 18th century. In the early 1990s, approximately 75,000 Bosniaks left the area as a result of ethnic cleansing. The Bosnian language is the official language of three municipalities and is taught in some public primary schools.19, 20

Hungarians

Hungarians are the largest non-Serb ethnic group in Serbia, constituting 3.9% of the population. Vojvodina was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918 and had a large Hungarian population. After World War I, the Hungarian population found itself living in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. At the end of World War II, possibly as revenge for Hungary’s collaboration with Nazi Germany and the annexation of Vojvodina, about 30,000 Hungarian were murdered by communist-led partisans. Currently, Hungarians are the majority ethnic group in most of the northern municipalities of Vojvodina, which borders Hungary. During the war of the 1990s, 50,000 Hungarians left to Hungary.21, 22 Most Hungarians are Catholic, but about 20% belong to various Protestant denominations. The Hungarian language is the official language of 27 municipalities. Hungarians can be educated in their own language from primary school through the university level.23
Slovaks

Slovaks, whose ancestors migrated to Vojvodina in the 18th and 19th centuries, are an ethnic majority in a few municipalities in the central plains of Vojvodina. They are less than 1% of the country’s total population. Slovaks are mostly Lutheran. They speak the Slovak language, which is one of Vojvodina’s six official languages.\(^\text{24}\)

Ukrainians and Ruthenians

Ukrainians settled in Vojvodina in the 18th and 19th centuries. Ukrainians are Orthodox Christians. Ruthenians, a national minority who may have originated in Ukraine, settled in Vojvodina in the 17th century and are Greek Catholics. Ukrainian is not an official language, but education in Ukrainian is available to an extent in Vojvodina.\(^\text{25}\)

Romanians and Vlachs

Romanians and Vlachs are ethnic groups that speak the same language and are self-identified as equivalent by some, but not all.\(^\text{26}\) Romanians are the majority in some towns in eastern and central Serbia, Vojvodina, and along the border with Romania. The Romanian population increased after the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I because the new borders left many Romanians in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Most Romanians belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church, which the Serbian government does not officially recognize, but the state gives the church limited recognition in the Banat region.\(^\text{27}\) The Romanian language is in official use in nine municipalities.\(^\text{28}\)
Croats and Bunjevaks (Bunjevci)

Croats and Bunjevaks, many of whom accepted Croatian national identity, are South Slavic ethnic groups who live primarily in Vojvodina. They are mostly Roman Catholic. The Croatian language is similar to Serbian, but it uses the Latin script. This language is in official use in Subotica and some villages. Pre-school and primary education in Croatian is available in some municipalities.  

Roma

The Roma people, also called Romani, and sometimes gypsies—which is considered a racial slur by most of the Roma population—are believed to have originated in the Punjab and Rajasthan regions of the Indian subcontinent. The three groups of Roma in Serbia are distinguished by their languages: Erli, Gurbet, and Kalderash. There is a general consensus that the Roma population in Serbia is underrepresented in official statistics, and they may represent as much as 10% of the total population. Roma are not the majority population in any municipality, but a significant number reside in several municipalities in southern Serbia. Because Roma usually adopt the religion of their host country, the Roma in Serbia are Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Muslim. They also preserve some aspects of their indigenous religion. Most Roma live in extreme poverty and the illiteracy rate is as high as 80%. The Roma population faces discrimination and harassment, and they are often restricted to informal housing and settlements. During World War II, the Nazis viewed Roma to be racially inferior, similar to the Jews, and subjected them to forced labor, internment in concentration camps, and mass murder.

Unlike in other parts of the world, where ethnicity is associated with first language, Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, and Bosniaks all speak a South Slavic language that is mutually intelligible, with only minor

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Serbian Latin (top) and Cyrillic alphabet (bottom)
Wikimedia / Albatalad

Roma gypsies in Serbia
Flickr / Charles Roffey
variations in pronunciation and vocabulary. The alphabets used for each language may be either Latin or Cyrillic, but in general the Latin alphabet is used by Croats and Bosniaks, whereas a modified Cyrillic has traditionally been the preferred form with Serbs and Montenegrins. As Serbia has become exposed to Western cultural influences, the Serbian Latin script is used more frequently.

Religion

Serbia does not have a state religion and the constitution guarantees religious freedom and the right to change religion. The constitution also recognizes the right of conscientious objection based on religious beliefs. The government office for Human and Minority Rights oversees religious issues.

The Serbian Orthodox Church dates back to the consecration of Prince Rastko Nemanjić (St. Sava) as first Archbishop of Serbia in 1219. Through its history, the church has come to represent Serbian nationalism, most notably during the centuries of Ottoman rule. Until 1766, the religious center of the Serbian Orthodox Church was the Kosovo city of Peć, which is one reason many Serbs are opposed to Kosovo's independence. In March 2018, the Serbian Orthodox Church decided to add the words “Patriarchate of Peć” to its name to strengthen its ties to Kosovo.

During the Axis occupation of Serbia in World War II, thousands of Orthodox Christians were murdered and hundreds of churches were destroyed or desecrated. After the war, the communists prohibited the teaching of religion, confiscated church property, and used intimidation to weaken the influence the church. Today, the number of Orthodox Christians in Serbia and around the world is estimated to be about 9 million.
The supreme authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Holy Synod, composed of the Church’s bishops, meets once a year. The patriarch’s full title since the reestablishment of the patriarchate in 1920 is “Archbishop of Peć, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci, and Patriarch of the Serbs.”

Serbia is a secular state but religious affiliation is one of the defining characteristics of Serbia’s ethnic population. According to the 2011 census, nearly 85% of the population belongs to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Ethnic Croats and Hungarians in Vojvodina are predominately Roman Catholics (5%). In southern Serbia, ethnic Albanians, Bosniaks, and Roma are Sunni Muslims (3%). Slovaks residing in Serbia are mostly Protestant Christians (1%). The rest of the population includes Jews, Buddhists, agnostics, members of Eastern religions, and a variety of so-called non-traditional religious groups such as Jehovah Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Baptists, and others.

The Islamic community is divided between the Islamic Community of Serbia, with its seat in Belgrade, and the Islamic Community in Serbia, which is centered in Novi Paza. The Islamic authority in Belgrade appoints teachers of Islam in public schools.

The Serbian Orthodox Church receives preferential treatment from the government. Under a controversial law enacted in 2006, religions other than the seven recognized “traditional” religious groups—the Serbian Orthodox Church, Roman Catholic Church, Slovak Evangelical Church, Reformed Christian Church, Evangelical Christian Church, Islamic community, and Jewish community—are required to go through a long...
registration process. The law does not require religious groups to register, but unregistered religions are not given the same legal benefits that registered religious are provided. Occasionally, the government rejects applications for registrations from “nontraditional” religious groups. In 2012, 94% of the population belonged to the “traditional” religious groups.48, 49, 50

Unrecognized religious groups cannot open a bank account, publish religious literature, receive tax exemptions, and offer religious classes in public schools. The Macedonian and Montenegrin Orthodox churches are not recognized by the Serbian Church and cannot register with the government. Other churches that cannot register include Baptists, the Church of the Nazarene, and Seventh-Day Adventists. Children in primary and secondary schools have to attend classes on one of the seven “traditional” religions or take a class in civic education.51, 52

In 2016, the parliament adopted a law on restitution of heirless and unclaimed Jewish property seized during the Holocaust. The law grants the Jewish community close to EUR 1 million a year for a 25-year period. During World War II, close to 90% of the Jewish population was killed in Nazi occupied Serbia, putting the total death toll at about 16,000.53, 54

Cuisine

Serbian cuisine is a mix of culinary traditions from Greek, Bulgarian, Turkish, Italian, Hungarian, German, and Austrian dishes. These influences have extended over large parts of the Balkans, and thus many Serbian dishes have similar counterparts in neighboring countries.55, 56

Regional variations in cuisine are noticeable. Vojvodina is famous for its meat products.57
Austrian, German, and Hungarian influences are seen in the popularity of goulash, dumplings, noodles, kulen, a smoked sausage spiced with paprika, and buhtle, soft buns filled with jams and other fillings.\textsuperscript{58}

**Meat Dishes**

Popular meat dishes include sarma, grape leaves or fermented cabbage leaves rolled around minced meat and other fillings; čevapi, grilled rolls of minced pork or beef served with a dairy cream called kajmak and chopped onions on the side; podvarak, roasted pork with sauerkraut and onions; and pljeskavica, spicy grilled pork or beef patties served with onions.\textsuperscript{59, 60}

**Bread**

Bread has long been a staple of most meals and is associated with many Serbian Orthodox religious rituals. Krsna Slava, which is a celebration of the patron saints of Serbian families, is celebrated with slavski kolać, a circular bread loaf, which often has religious or family seals imprinted on the upper crust.\textsuperscript{61} Burek is a savory pastry filled with cheese, ground meat, or mushrooms, that can be found in pastry shops and bakeries.\textsuperscript{62, 63}

**Desserts and Cheeses**

Pule, made from the milk of the endangered Balkan donkey, is the most expensive cheese in the world, costing USD 576 per pound.\textsuperscript{64, 65} Kajmak, a specialty of the southwestern mountain regions of Serbia, is similar to cream cheese in texture, though not in flavor.\textsuperscript{66} Gibanica is a traditional phyllo pastry prepared with different varieties of cheeses and kajmak. In neighboring countries it is called banitza. Cheese strudel
is a famous pastry from Vojvodina. Sometimes, instead of cheese, the filling is made with jam, poppy seeds, nuts, or cherries.67

**Beverages**

*Rakija* is the national drink of Serbia. This strong distilled alcoholic beverage is made most commonly from plums, but sometimes apricots, quince, grapes, and pears.68 Bermet dessert wine is famous for being on the wine list of the Titanic.69 *Boza is a fermented drink of Turkish origin, usually made from corn.*70 Serbian coffee is traditionally made Turkish style.71 There are numerous breweries in Serbia, such as Carlsberg, Heineken, and Efes. Serbia is also becoming a popular destination for craft beer enthusiasts.72

**Traditional Dress**

Serbs dress similarly to other Europeans. Traditional folk dress is mostly restricted to cultural festivals. In the past, traditional clothing revealed ethnic identity and differentiated between rural and urban populations. Several items of traditional Serbian dress continue to be marketed.73

Opank, in plural *opanaci*, are traditional leather shoes with curled, upturned toes fastened to the feet by ankle straps. These shoes are usually worn in rural Serbia.74 The šajkača, the Serbian national cap, is made of wool and can be worn in winter or summer. The hat became a symbol of the Serbian Army in World War I and of the Chetnik resistance fighters during World War II. Later, it was re-appropriated as a Serbian nationalist symbol by Bosnian Serb commanders during the Bosnian War in the 1990s. Today, the šajkača is mostly worn by elderly men in rural communities.75

**Gender Issues**

In 2009, Serbia passed several laws to ensure gender equality. The laws contain provisions for equal opportunity
and special measures that prevent and eliminate discrimination based on sex and gender, provide a definition of the principle of equality, and prohibit discrimination on various grounds. Since then, Serbia has adopted policies and action plans and ratified international and national conventions intended to prevent discrimination and violence against women and improve the status of women.\textsuperscript{76} In 2017, President Vučić appointed Ana Brnabić, a gay woman, to be the prime minister of Serbia.\textsuperscript{77}

In spite of these laws and policies, women, the judiciary, and legal professionals lack awareness of national legislation and, consequently, implementation of anti-discrimination policies and laws is lagging. Absence of free legal aid impedes women from claiming their rights, especially women from ethnic minorities such as Roma and women with special life circumstances such as war widows, elderly women, and disabled women and girls.\textsuperscript{78}

Furthermore, deep-rooted stereotypes and the growing trend to re-establish traditional gender roles strengthen the Serbian patriarchal society. Women are expected to honor their husbands and stay home to raise children or care for sick relatives; daughters are expected to continue and preserve family traditions. Violence against women is on the rise, especially against minority women and women with disabilities.\textsuperscript{79, 80} Criminal charges for domestic violence are often not prosecuted due to a lack of evidence or victims’ refusals to press charges.\textsuperscript{81, 82}

\section*{Arts}

\subsection*{Music}

Serbia’s traditional folk music was initially influenced by Turkish music, and during the last two centuries, by music from Western Europe.\textsuperscript{83} Some of the traditional
instruments are the gusle, a single-stringed mandolin-type instrument; the fife, a painted wooden flute made of various woods; bagpipes (gajde); and regional drums and trumpets.\textsuperscript{84, 85, 86}

There are several fife festivals around the country such as the Serbia Fife Festival, the Balkan Festival of Traditional Musical Instruments, and the Vojvodina Fife Festival.\textsuperscript{87} Other festivals include the Guča Brass Bands Festival, which is one of Serbia’s biggest traditional music events. The festival attracts thousands of tourists to southwestern Serbia, where dozens of brass bands compete for the Golden Trumpet.\textsuperscript{88, 89}

Today, pop, rock, turbo-folk, rap, hip-hop, electro, and old traditional folk music are all heard around the country. Serbia’s contribution to the fusion scene in the 1990s was turbo-folk, a mix of traditional Serbian folk music and techno-pop. Turbo-folk performers Svetlana Ceca Ražnatović and Lepa Brena became internationally recognized. The music came under attack from many who viewed it as the state-sponsored soundtrack for the nationalistic sentiments of the Milošević era. Turbo-folk’s popularity ebbed after Milošević’s fall in 2000. Although many Serbs continue to view turbo-folk with contempt, others view it as a unique music of the region.\textsuperscript{90, 91}

Film

Serbian films have received several awards in international film festivals. Serbia’s most famous director is Emir Kusturica, a Bosniak from Sarajevo who later converted to the Serbian Orthodox faith and established the Küstendorf Film and Music Festival, in a town he built for the event in Serbia. He won the Palme d’Or at Cannes twice, for his movies When Father was Away on Business, and Underground.\textsuperscript{92}
Another famous director is Aleksandar Saša Petrović, who was twice nominated for an Academy Award for best foreign film when Serbia was still part of Yugoslavia. Currently, Serbia is emerging as a popular destination for movie producers, offering a diverse landscape, architecture, and experienced film crews.

Dance

Serbian folk dancing is a big part of the culture and is very popular. People dance in different costumes to many rhythms, steps, and music styles. Serbian folk dance groups regularly take first place in international folk dancing festivals.

Kolo is a popular Serbian folk dance in which dancers hold hands or each other’s waists and dance in a circle. The dance is accompanies by traditional instruments such as the accordion, frula, tamburica, sargija, zurla, gajde, tapan, or harmonica. Serbia has a professional national kolo dance group.

Lesa is another traditional folk dance in which dancers form a line or parallel lines, and move left and right and back and forth. Some folk dances for couples or solo dancing such as dodole, lazarice, and kraljice trace their origins to pagan fertility and rain rituals, or life events such as births, rites of passage, weddings, and funerals.

Literature

The earliest Serbian literature, dating back to the medieval era, is mostly related to religion. Epic poems about the Battle of Kosovo are familiar to all Serbs and have become a part of Serbian national identity.

Ivo Andric, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961, attracted international attention to Serbian
literature. Andric, who lived much of his adult life in Belgrade, was born and raised in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina to parents who were ethnic Croats. Thus, he is considered a major literary figure in three countries. Andric’s most famous work, *The Bridge on the Drina* (1945), uses the Drina River and its bridge at Višegrad, located in modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, to symbolize tensions between the ethnic groups living in the region.  

Among modern Serbian writers, Milorad Pavić is the most translated author of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. His widely read book, *Dictionary of the Khazars: A Lexicon Novel*, was first published in 1984.  

**Sports and Recreation**

Serbia is a nation of athletes and team sports. The most popular spectator sport is football (soccer). All Serbian cities have a local stadium. The two most popular soccer teams are Red Star and FK Partizans, both from Belgrade.  

The national soccer team participated in the 2010 World Cup and has qualified for the 2018 World Cup.  

Basketball is tremendously popular. In 2018, Serbia ranked number four in the International Basketball Federation World Ranking. The national team competed in the 2016 Summer Olympics. Vlade Divac, one of the best European players, spent most of his career in the NBA, and under his guidance Serbia experienced a resurgence on the international stage. Several other Serb players are still playing in the NBA.  

Tennis is very popular in Serbia. In 2011, Novak Đoković became the world’s number one ranked tennis player. Serbia is one of

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**Serbian Basketball players Vlade Divac and Drazen Petrovic in Argentina**

*Wikimedia Commons*

**Djokovic celebrates by following his victory in the semi-finals of the 2011 Wimbledon Championships**

*Flickr / Carine06*
the world’s top competitors in volleyball and handball for both men’s and women’s teams. In 2010, Svetlana Kitić was selected by the International Handball Federation as the best female handball player in the world.\textsuperscript{112, 113}

Water polo is another popular sport. Serbia’s water polo team won a bronze medal in the 2008 Olympics as well as a world championship and several European championships. Taekwondo and archery are also popular sports.\textsuperscript{114}

Outdoor recreational opportunities are abundant, particularly in the mountainous areas. Outdoor activities and extreme sports include hiking, fishing, skiing, rafting, horseback riding, rock climbing, and paragliding.\textsuperscript{115, 116} Urban residents stroll along pedestrian paths in towns or in malls. Evening entertainment includes cafés and a lively nightclub scene.\textsuperscript{117}
Endnotes for Chapter 4: Society


25. Organization for Security and Co-Operation in


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Serbia in Perspective

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Assessment

1. The majority of the population of Vojvodina is Albanian.
2. Ana Brnabić was appointed as Serbia’s first female prime minister.
3. Pule is a Serbian cheese made from the milk of endangered Balkan donkeys.
4. Islam was dropped from the list of the recognized “traditional” religious groups of Serbia after Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence.
5. Serbia’s national basketball team is one of the best national teams in the world.

Assessment Answers: 1. False; 2. True; 3. True; 4. False; 5. True
Introduction

As Serbia negotiates the terms for accession to the European Union, strong sentiments are still simmering under the surface. The NATO air campaign of 1999 is not forgotten, and men who were convicted of war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague get elected to government position when they return home from prison.¹

The ethnic wars of the 1990s are over, but not all issues have been resolved. In order to join the European Union, Serbia has to find a way to normalize relations with Kosovo,
a state that Serbia does not recognize, and resolve its border dispute with Croatia among other issues.²,³

Serbia’s relations with the United States and most of its immediate neighbors are rocky at times, and strong words are exchanged occasionally. Two of Serbia’s neighbors do not recognize Kosovo: Bosnia and Herzegovina because of strong opposition from ethnic Serbs, and Romania, a strong supporter of Serbia. Today, Serbia’s pro-EU president views his country’s relations with its neighbors as good, and at times, better than ever.⁴

Serbia is proud of its military prowess and is committed to upgrade and strengthen its armed forces with the help of the United States and Russia.⁵,⁶ Serbia considers Russia an important ally and has vowed to never join NATO.⁷,⁸

U.S.–Serbia Relations

Relations between the United States and Serbia have been strained at times. On March 23, 1999, the United States severed relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and closed its embassy in Belgrade. The following day, NATO began its 78-day bombing campaign of Yugoslavia. In November 2000, the United States recognized the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and established full diplomatic relations between the two countries. In November 2001, the United States reopened its embassy in Belgrade.⁹,¹⁰

After the U.S. recognition of Kosovo in February 2008, relations between the countries soured and Serbia recalled its ambassador to Washington.¹¹,¹² The U.S. embassy was overrun by protestors and parts of it were torched.¹³ In October 2008, Serbia’s ambassador returned to Washington.¹⁴
Also in 2008, a Serbian college basketball player studying in the United States was charged with beating an American student into a coma during a bar fight. The Serb player fled the United States with a false passport issued by the Serbian consulate in New York. Serbia refused to extradite the player citing its constitution and instead sent him to prison for 55 days. Afterward, the player became a symbol of resistance to the still-reviled United States. Eventually, Serbia agreed to pay the beating victim’s medical bills. The former college basketball player remains under indictment in the United States, but officials are skeptical that justice will ever be served.15

In 2016, relations hit bottom when a Serbian newspaper accused the U.S. ambassador to Serbia of conspiring to overthrow Prime Minister Vučić.16 Vučić cancelled plans to visit the United States and instead met with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow. Relations improved when Serbia agreed to accept two Guantanamo inmates; in June 2017, President Vučić met with Vice President Pence in Washington.17, 18

In late 2017, the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade was accused of interfering in Serbian domestic affairs when he criticized the Serbian defense minister for praising two convicted war criminals who had returned to Serbia after serving their prison sentences. Several media outlets claimed that Serbia had no reason to be ashamed of those who defended it, provoking the U.S. ambassador to rebuff the claim with more comments.19

Despite disagreements with Serbia over Kosovo and Serbia’s relations with Moscow, the United States continues to support Serbia’s efforts to join the European Union and withstand pressure from Russia. Since 2001, the United States has awarded close to USD 800 million in aid to Serbia to help stimulate economic growth, strengthen the justice system and democratic institutions, and promote good governance. U.S. aid also aims to strengthen Serbia’s exports.
and border controls and deter the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and transnational crime.20, 21

Serbia-U.S. military relations are improving. In 2006, the Serbian military began a partnership with the Ohio National Guard, which included several joint training programs in both countries.22, 23 In September 2017, members of the Ohio National Guard and the Serbian Armed Forces conducted the second annual Cyber Tesla exercise, a joint cyber security exercise, in Ohio and Serbia.24 In November 2017, Serbian and members of the 173rd Airborne Brigade trained together in a military exercise that was designed to strengthen ties between Serbia and NATO.25, 26

As of 2017, the State Department considers the Serbian government to be noncompliant with the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking.27

Relations with Neighboring Countries

Bosnia and Herzegovina

In March 1992, more than 60% of the population of Bosnia voted for independence. Bosnian Serbs, who accounted for about one third of the population, boycotted the referendum. Shortly after the vote, with support of the Yugoslav People’s Army and Serbia, Bosnian Serbs declared the territories under their control to be a Serb republic within Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian Croats followed by declaring their own republic with the support of Croatia. A bloody war broke out between Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims. The worst atrocity occurred in the summer of 1995 when the Bosnian town of Srebrenica was attacked by forces led by the Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladić. During a few days in early July, Serb
forces executed more than 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys.\textsuperscript{28, 29}

In 2007, the International Court of Justice ruled that the mass killing in Srebrenica was genocide and cleared Serbia of direct responsibility. However, the court’s president stated that Serbia could and should have prevented the genocide, and ordered Serbia to hand over Ratko Mladić, who had been indicted for the genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).\textsuperscript{30} In 2011, Mladić was arrested by Serbian authorities and put on trial by the ICTY.\textsuperscript{31, 32} In November 2017, Mladić was found guilty of genocide and war crimes and sentenced to life in prison.\textsuperscript{33, 34}

Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a dual-entity state, consisting of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, populated by Bosniaks and Croats, and the Republika Srpska, which is mostly inhabited by ethnic Serbs.\textsuperscript{35}

Since the Dayton Accords of 1995, Serbia’s relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina have been relatively stable, but emotions are still raw. In 2015, Serbia’s Prime Minister, Aleksandar Vučić, was chased away by angry stone-throwing Bosnians when he attended a memorial service marking the 20th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre.\textsuperscript{36, 37}

Leaders of the two countries state that they are willing to resolve outstanding issues, especially since Serbia began negotiations to join the European Union. In 2017, Serbia’s President Vučić paid a visit to the Bosnian capital—the first such visit by a Serbian president.\textsuperscript{38, 39}

Bosnia and Herzegovina has not recognized Kosovo, given the strong opposition of Bosnian Serbs.\textsuperscript{40, 41} During his visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2017, President Vučić stated that Serbia had no territorial claims to Bosnia and Herzegovina and that his
country will avoid disputes with Bosnia and Herzegovina.\textsuperscript{42}

Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are the most important economic partners in the region, with annual trade reaching almost EUR 2 billion.\textsuperscript{43, 44} Bosnia and Herzegovina is one the top export partners of Serbia.\textsuperscript{45} Removing custom barriers to facilitate the flow of trade is one of the important issues that still needs to be resolved.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{Bulgaria}

Echoing the response to its other neighbors, after Bulgaria recognized Kosovo’s independence in March 2008, the Serbian ambassador to Sofia was recalled and several months later returned to Sofia.\textsuperscript{47, 48, 49}

Despite a long history of bloody conflicts going back to the 10th century, Bulgaria and Serbia share friendly relations and the Cyrillic alphabet. The two countries have focused on improving their economic relations, with a special emphasis on the defense industry and the economic situation of their border communities.\textsuperscript{50} Cooperation on road infrastructure focuses on the upgrade of the Niš-Sofia highway and the construction of Corridor X—the trans-European highway—which will improve the connection of Belgrade to Sofia and Istanbul.\textsuperscript{51, 52} The two countries also cooperate in the fields of energy, communication, education, and culture.\textsuperscript{53, 54}

In 2014, after Russia cancelled the South Stream Pipeline—a project under the energy agreement Serbia signed with Russia in 2008—Serbia turned to Bulgaria. In 2018, the two countries agreed on the construction of a gas pipeline connecting them.\textsuperscript{55, 56, 57} Bulgaria, already an EU member, has pledged to support Serbia’s accession to the EU.\textsuperscript{58, 59}
Croatia

Croatia declared independence in June 1991. The large ethnic Serb minority rejected the new state. A bitter war soon broke out. Croatian Serb forces, aided by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav People’s Army, laid a three-month siege to the town of Vukovar (Bukovar) and bombarded the historic city of Dubrovnik to gain Croatian territory that would eventually become a part of a Greater Serbia.60, 61, 62 By 1995, Croatian forces regained momentum and territory, causing 200,000 ethnic Serbs to take refuge in Serbia.63, 64, 65

Nearly 15 years after the conclusion of the war, the leaders of Serbia and Croatia are still working on improving relations, and tensions remain.66 The two countries established diplomatic ties in 1996, but bilateral relations remain tainted by war.67 When the war erupted in 1991, 12.2% of the population of Croatia was ethnic Serb. As of 2018, only 4.4% of the population is ethnic Serb.68, 69, 70

Both Croatia and Serbia have filed suits before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, accusing each other of genocide.71 In 2013, the United Nations’ Yugoslav war crimes tribunal in The Hague acquitted two Croatian generals charged with ethnic cleansing of Serbs, leaving Serbs embittered.72

In 2015, when Croatia closed its border to the flow of migrants coming from Serbia, Serbia responded with a ban on Croatian imports. Croatia retaliated by banning vehicles with Serbian license plates from entering Croatia.73

In order to join the European Union, Serbia must resolve several outstanding issues with Croatia, which is already an EU member. One such issue is the border dispute on the Danube River. Croatia
claims 10,000 hectares (24,710 acres) of land on the Serbian side and Serbia claims 1,000 hectares (2,471 acres) on Croatia’s. Other issues include improved cooperation in the search for war missing persons, war reparations, protection of minorities, and economic cooperation.

Croatian music is popular in Serbia, and Serbs take vacations in Croatia, though they are weary that their cars may be vandalized. Croatian businesses invest heavily in Serbia and trends are moving toward more cooperation.

**Hungary**

Hungary and Serbia share a long history, particularly in Vojvodina, which was once part of the Kingdom of Hungary. As a NATO member, Hungary was the only neighbor that participated in the 1999 NATO air campaign in Serbia during the Kosovo War (Bulgaria and Romania joined NATO in 2004). Hungarian airfields were used during the last weeks of the air campaign, but the government refused to let NATO use Hungary as a staging area for a ground invasion.

Hungary’s recognition of Kosovo’s independence in 2008, triggered a recall of the Serbian ambassador to Hungary. The two countries resumed friendly relations after the ambassador returned to Budapest a few months later.

At present, according to the president of Serbia, relations with Hungary are at an all-time high. Hungary is one of the top five import partners of Serbia. Hungary, an EU member, supports Serbia’s candidacy for EU membership. Critics claim that in return for Hungary’s support, Serbia had to condemn crimes Serbs committed against the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina at the end of World War II, while Hungary was not pressed to condemn the massacre of 40,000 Serbs and Jews that Hungarian fascists
committed in Hungarian-occupied Novi Sad in 1942.\textsuperscript{87}

In 2017, Hungary built a 13-foot tall electric fence with heat sensors, cameras, and loud speakers along the border with Serbia to stop the flow of migrants from Serbia into Hungary.\textsuperscript{88} Serbia’s prime minister criticized Hungary’s plan to erect the border fence.\textsuperscript{89}

**Kosovo**

Kosovo poses a big challenge for Serbia. Because Serbs view Kosovo as the birthplace of the Serbian nation and the historic seat of the Christian Orthodox Church, Serbia did not recognize Kosovo’s independence, despite its recognition by 116 other countries, including 23 of 28 EU members (Spain, Slovakia, Cyprus, Romania, and Greece do not recognize Kosovo). Serbia also blocked Kosovo’s membership in the United Nations and UNESCO with the backing of its allies Russia and China.\textsuperscript{90, 91, 92}

Serbia has to reach a legally binding treaty with Kosovo on the normalization of relations, as a condition of joining the European Union. However, formal recognition of Kosovo’s independence is not required. Since the tide is turning for Serbia to choose the European Union over Kosovo, Serbia will have to overcome the last legal obstacle to recognition by amending the constitution, which describes Kosovo as part of Serbia.\textsuperscript{93, 94}

Serbia wants autonomy for about 120,000 ethnic Serbs who live in the northern region of Kosovo, including parts of the town of Mitrovica that lie on the northern bank of the Ibar River.\textsuperscript{95, 96} Ethnic Serbs account for 1.5% of the population of Kosovo, whose majority is ethnic Albanian.\textsuperscript{97}

In 2013 and 2015, the governments of Serbia and Kosovo signed two landmark agreements of principles that would govern the normalization of relations between the two countries. However, many issues remain unresolved and the implementation of Kosovo’s promise to set up a Community of Serb
Municipalities in Kosovo has not been fulfilled yet. Some progress was made in April 2018, when the prime minister of Kosovo announced that the drafting process for the Statute of the Association/Community of Serb Majority Municipalities had started.

Despite promises and ongoing negotiations, emotions in the region are still high. In January 2017, a train running between Belgrade and Mitrovica was painted in Serbian colors with “Kosovo is Serb” written on the train cars. Kosovo’s president threatened to oppose any attempt to annex Kosovo’s Serb-majority territory, and Serbia’s prime minister threatened to dispatch the military to protect Serbs in Kosovo. Later that year, France’s release of Ramush Haradinaj, a former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army on a Serbian arrest warrant for war crimes committed during the 1998-99 Kosovo War, raised tensions between the two countries. When Haradinaj was elected prime minister of Kosovo in September 2017, Serbian nationalists were enraged. In January 2018, a prominent Kosovo Serb politician was assassinated in the Serbian-controlled part of Mitrovica, threatening to destabilize the region and prompting a Serbian walkout of a meeting with representatives from Kosovo in Brussels.

Several thousand NATO-led troops continue to keep the peace between Kosovo’s ethnic Albanian majority and restive Serb minority. In the early years of this decade, NATO peacekeepers occasionally got caught in the crossfire during clashes with Serb protesters.

Leaders of both countries agree that normalization is the only way forward. The EU is pushing for a normalization agreement by the end of 2019.
Macedonia

Macedonia, one of the only two former republics that experienced a nonviolent separation from Yugoslavia in 1991, recognized Kosovo’s independence on 9 October 2008, together with Montenegro. After the announcement, the Macedonian ambassador was expelled from Serbia. Macedonia didn’t reciprocate and welcomed the Serbian ambassador to stay. The two countries retained their economic ties and Serbia remains one of Macedonia’s top export markets.

Since 2015, Serbia has tightened control of the southern border and formed special units that patrol the border with Macedonia to prevent the smuggling of refugees and migrants into Serbia.

Relations between the two countries deteriorated when the pro-EU coalition government of Social Democrat Prime Minister Zoran Zaev took power in Macedonia in May 2017. Earlier that year, the Serbian foreign minister suggested that Serbia might have been wrong to recognize Macedonia under its constitutional name—which Greece opposes—and Zaev accused the Serbian leadership of promoting nationalism.

In August 2017, Serbia withdrew its diplomatic staff from Macedonia, accusing Macedonia of spying on Serbian officials. The Macedonian media suggested the decision was linked to Skopje’s plan to support a potential new bid by Kosovo to join UNESCO. A few days after the scandal broke out, the leaders of the two countries spoke on the phone, released a joint statement, and Serbian diplomats returned to Skopje.
Montenegro

Serbs and Montenegrins share the same language, Orthodox Christianity, and culture, but Montenegrins have a separate identity. In May 2006, Montenegro voted to secede from the union with Serbia and establish a separate nation. Ethnic Serbs, which constitute a third of the population, opposed the split. A month later, Serbia recognized Montenegro as a sovereign state.\textsuperscript{121, 122}

After Montenegro recognized Kosovo’s independence in October 2008, relations between the two countries soured. Serbia expelled the Montenegrin ambassador but Montenegro did not reciprocate. In January 2010, after Montenegro announced its decision to establish formal diplomatic relations with Kosovo, Serbia again protested by recalling its ambassador to Podgorica.\textsuperscript{123, 124} The president of Montenegro called the Serbian reaction “emotional” and explained that Montenegro had to recognize Kosovo in order to enter the EU and NATO.\textsuperscript{125}

Relations took a positive turn as the two countries committed to improve relations.\textsuperscript{126} In 2017, the president of Montenegro was confident that Montenegro’s accession to NATO would not hurt relations with Serbia, and by the end of the year, during an official visit to Serbia, the president of the Montenegrin parliament stated that relations between the two countries had reached their highest point in a decade.\textsuperscript{127, 128}
Romania

Serbia and Romania enjoy very strong relations that are going to improve further, according to the president of Romania and the two countries’ foreign ministers.\(^{129}\). Serbia seeks to strengthen economic relations with Romania and bring them to the same level as their diplomatic relations.\(^{130}\) Romania, an EU member, offered assistance to Serbia in the negotiations to join the European Union and has not recognized Kosovo’s independence.\(^{132}\) Cooperation between the two countries focuses on defense, the flow of refugees, human trafficking, transportation, energy, and regional development projects.\(^{134}\) Romania is one of the top five export partners of Serbia.\(^ {137}\)

Military

Serbia prides itself on the size of its armed forces and their place among other modern militaries.\(^{138}\) Serbia’s Armed Forces (Vojska Srbije, VS) consist of the Land Forces (Ratno Vazduhoplovstvo) and the Air and Air Defense Forces (Protivvazduhoplovna Odbrana, RV and PVO). Because Serbia does not have a coastline, it does not have a navy. The Land Forces have a river flotilla that patrols the Danube.\(^{139}\)

Compulsory military service ended in December 2010. Today, Serbia has voluntary military service that begins at the age of 18. The transition to a professional army does not exclude military conscription in the future. Young men who reach 18 are required to register and in case of imminent danger a new draft can be reinstated.\(^{140}\) In early 2017, the defense ministry raised the possibility of reinstating the draft, but the proposal was quickly rejected by the prime minister because it was too expensive.\(^ {141}\)
The Serbian military has 28,150 active members. Military expenditures amount to 1.34% of GDP. In 2017, Russia agreed to deliver to Serbia 30 T-72 tanks and 30 armored vehicles. As part of the deal, Russian President Vladimir Putin donated 6 Mig-29 fighter jets. In early 2018, Russia agreed to donate EUR 2 million (USD 2.5 million) for training Mig-29 pilots.

Serbia plans to increase defense spending by nearly 20% in 2018 in order to modernize the armed forces and upgrade equipment.

In 2006, Serbia became a member of NATO’s Partnership for Peace program and in 2015 it signed the Individual Partnership Action Plan—the highest level of cooperation with NATO for countries that do not plan to join. Serbia does not seek NATO membership out of resentment toward NATO for the air campaigns of the 1990s. Yet, in 2017, Serbia participated in 13 military drills with NATO members and seven drills with the U.S. military.

Police

The Serbian police force is administered by the Ministry of Interior (MoI). The role of the police is to protect the lives and property of citizens, maintain public security, fight corruption, participate in rescue missions, provide first aid, support the rule of law, and assist other state bodies. The MoI employs 27,000 uniformed police officers and 16,500 plainclothes police officers. The Law on the Police regulates police ethics, actions, and powers.

The General Police Directorate is divided into 27 territorial units and 15 organizations. Some of the organizations within the directorate include traffic police, border police, anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism units, criminal police, uniformed police,
international operations and police cooperation, and a helicopter unit. Police chiefs command regional directorates and commanders are in charge of police stations.

The Interpol National Central Bureau for Serbia is a part of the International Police Cooperation Unit, providing investigators with assistance and information from abroad. Special priority is given to drugs, human trafficking, and financial fraud such as money laundering and counterfeiting. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) assists Serbia with police reforms and training.

**Intelligence Agency**

The Security-Information Agency (BIA) is the national intelligence agency of Serbia. The agency is responsible for research, collection, assessment, and dissemination of security-intelligence data. It runs counter-intelligence operations as well. The BIA was founded in 2002, inheriting some of the staff that worked for the notorious State Security Service, whose predecessor was the Yugoslav Secret Service.

**Terrorism**

Transnational terrorism threatens Serbia as it does other states located between the Middle East and Western Europe. In Serbia, the movements of terrorists, weapons, and narcotics are facilitated by the porous borders it shares particularly with Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian intelligence reported that Islamist recruiters are most active in the Albanian-Muslim region of southwestern Serbia, and issued a list of suspected terrorists and terrorist organizations. In 2014, Serbia made changes to its criminal code, outlawing unauthorized participation in wars or armed conflicts abroad.
The Directorate of Police and the Security-Information Agency (BIA) participate in regional counterterrorism and countering violent extremism conferences and training exercises. Serbia is a partner in the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS and the coalition’s Foreign Terrorist Fighter Working Group. Since the beginning of the migrant crisis, Serbian counterterrorism efforts have focused on upgrading border security and tracking and vetting refugees and migrants who cross Serbia. Serbia also cooperates with Interpol and Europol on counterterrorism activities.\textsuperscript{167, 168}

In June 2017, \textit{Rumiyah}, the Bosnian version of the ISIS magazine, issued a threat to Serbs and Croats over their role in the Balkan wars. No terror attacks have been carried out so far.\textsuperscript{169, 170}

\textbf{Cyber Security}

Some 68\% of the population in Serbia has internet access.\textsuperscript{171} Currently Serbia does not have operational or legislative mechanisms to deal with cyber-attacks. In 2014, websites of official institutions, emails of high-ranking officials, and media outlets were hacked. The personal data of millions were stolen from the database of the Serbian Business Register Agency. In 2017, the National Bank of Serbia was hacked and EUR 175,500 was stolen.\textsuperscript{172, 173}

According to the Chairman of the Information Association of Serbia, Serbia does not have Computer Emergency Response Team that can provide rapid response to cyber security threats and attacks.\textsuperscript{174} Internet-based crime is rising and few cybercrimes are prosecuted, mainly because of the difficulty of tracking hackers.\textsuperscript{175}

\textbf{Issues Affecting Stability}

\textit{Nationalism}

Nationalist groups have long been a part of Serbia’s political landscape. The most

\textbf{Vojislav Šešelj, president of the Serbian Radical Party}

\textsuperscript{Wikimedia / Mick}
hardline of these groups is the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), whose platform in the past has promoted the use of force to stop Kosovo from seceding from Serbia. The leader of the SRS, Vojislav Šešelj, spent nearly a decade in custody in The Hague before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). In 2016, he was acquitted of war crimes, and a month later he was elected to the parliament. A UN appeals court in The Hague convicted him of crimes against humanity in April 2018 and sentenced him to 10 years in prison. Members of parliament who wanted him to be expelled were threatened by his supporters. In a 2018 poll that asked Serbs what the government should do about Kosovo, 10% of respondents favored military intervention.

Migration

The European Commission estimates that more than one million refugees and migrants have traversed Serbia since 2015; the UN Refugee Agency estimates that between 3,000 and 4,000 refugees remained in Serbia in 2017. Altercations between migrants occur occasionally and conditions in refugee shelters and camps can be harsh. Serbia has rejected most applications for asylum.

Many of the refugees are minors. Some are stranded in Serbia and attempting to cross the border to reach Germany. Others are stuck at Serbia’s borders with Croatia and Hungary, who closed their borders to refugees. Since 2016, the flow of refugees has decreased dramatically.

Outlook

Serbia’s accession to the European Union is conditioned on significant economic reforms, progress in freedom of expression and the media, the rule of law, the fight against corruption and organized crime, and the normalization of relations with Kosovo. Serbia will have to adopt stalled laws on anti-corruption, resolve its border
dispute with Croatia, and show progress in the development of the status of the Community of Serb Municipalities in Kosovo. The timeframe for accession is 2025.\textsuperscript{186, 187}

Serbia’s relations with most of its neighbors, particularly Kosovo, remain uneasy.\textsuperscript{188} While Serbia’s commitment to reconciliation and cooperation is strong, temporary drawbacks may occur.\textsuperscript{189} As recently as April 2018, tensions between Serbia and Croatia flared after Vojislav Šešelj, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, stepped on a Croatia flag and caused an incident in which a delegation from the Croatian parliament visiting Belgrade decided to cut short its two-day visit to Serbia.\textsuperscript{190}

Serbia-Russia relation are of particular interest for the United States, especially Russia’s support for pro-Moscow political parties and the “Russian-Serbian Humanitarian Center” in Niš, which U.S. officials believe could become a Kremlin spy base in the Balkans.\textsuperscript{191, 192, 193} Serbia’s close relations with Russia are expected to continue while it pursues an EU membership.\textsuperscript{194, 195, 196} During a visit to Russia in 2017, Serbia’s president asked Russia to join the negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo, if Kosovo insists on including the United States.\textsuperscript{197}
Endnotes for Chapter 5: Security


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BETA, “‘We've been Fools to Recognize Macedonia under that Name,’” B92, 2 January 2017, https://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyy=2017&mm=01&dd=02&nav_id=80139


B92, “‘Serbia, Montenegro should have excellent relations,’” 18 January 2013, https://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyyy=2013&mm=01&dd=18&nav_id=80129


of stronger economic relations


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1. Serbia would have to amend its constitution in order to recognize Kosovo’s independence.

2. Serbia supported Hungary’s construction of a tall electric fence on their shared border to stop the flow of Middle Eastern and African migrants.

3. Serbia has mandatory military service for men, with exemptions for people with physical or psychological impairments.

4. The Serbian government was found responsible for the massacre of 7,000 Muslim boys and men in the town of Srebrenica.

5. Serbia’s Radical Party (SRS), a nationalist party that promoted the use of force to stop Kosovo from seceding from Serbia, was outlawed in 2018.

Assessment Answers: 1. True; 2. False; 3. False; 4. False; 5. False;
Serbia in Perspective

Further Readings and Resources


1. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established in the 9th century by South Slavic tribes that settled in the Balkan Peninsula.

2. A Russian monk created the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet in the 12th century.

3. The Ottoman Empire was the common enemy of the Balkan states in the First Balkan War (1912).

4. The city of Subotica lies near the border with Kosovo. The city has a large ethnic Albanian minority.

5. The Iron Gate is Belgrade’s most famous landmark.

6. Karađorđe Petrović was a Serbian rebel leader who fought for independence from the Ottoman Empire.

7. Serbia borders the Adriatic Sea.

8. The cultivation, processing, sale, and import of genetically modified products (GMOs) is banned in Serbia.

9. The Kopaoniks are the largest mountain range in Serbia.
10. Serbia joined NATO in 2015.

11. The Battle of Kosovo was a major offensive by Serb forces against the Austrian advance into northern Serbia during World War I.

12. Serbia is one of the poorest nations in Europe.

13. Most agricultural land is located in the southern region of Serbia.

14. Novi Sad is a port city.

15. SILA was the secret police of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

16. The religious center of the Serbian Orthodox Church was located in Kosovo, in the city of Peć.

17. Šajkača is one of the most beautiful waterfalls on the Danube River.

18. Hungarians are the largest non-Serb ethnic group in Serbia.

19. Serbia objects to Kosovo’s bid to join the United Nations and UNESCO.

20. Serbia has a small navy, consisting mostly of ships left over from World War II.

22. The Roma population of Serbia thrives due to special government programs and policies.

23. Titoism was a unique brand of communism followed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

24. High-tech companies stay out of Serbia because of unreliable internet service.

25. Serbia is the only country in the Balkans with strong cybersecurity capabilities.