Table of Contents

List	of Illustrations	xiii
	Introduction: Balkan Paramilitaries – Undemobilized Combatants	1
I.	Origins Participation of Balkan Paramilitaries in the Balkan Wars and	7
	the Great War	13
	The Balkans after the Great War	21
II.	Demobilization vs. Mobilization	28
	New Colours in the Balkan Palette of Paramilitarism	38
	Whites	38
	Reds	44
III.	Balkan Borderlands	51
	Initial Usage of Paramilitaries in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats	
	and Slovenes, and Controversies that Occurred	55
	Bulgaria and Paramilitarism: Weak State vs. Strong Movements	63
	Albania: Paramilitarism or Pre-militarism?	71
	Chetniks in the Post-Black Hand Era	76
	Toplica Uprising 1917: Cornerstone of Post-Great War	
	Chetnik Identity	78
IV.	New Context + Traditional Methods = Unexpected Outcomes	82
	Initial Response to Paramilitary Activities in the Yugoslav South	84
	Introduction of Extraordinary Measures	99
	Organization against Bulgarian Bandits	110
V.	The Age of Coups d'état	119
	Bulgarian 1923	129
	June Coup d'état	129
	September Uprising or Revolution?	138
	Albanian Teeter	147
	Zogu's Ascent to Power	147
	Albania Under Fan Noli	151
VI.	Individuals and Organizations	157
	Renegades	157
	Life Trajectories of some of the Balkans Paramilitaries	171
	International Networks	181

XII TABLE OF CONTENTS

VII.	Legacies	194
	Between World Wars	197
	Second World War and Paramilitaries in the Balkans: Between	
	Resistance, Collaboration, Revolutions, Counterrevolutions	
	and Civil Wars	206
	Paramilitaries and Paramilitarism in the Balkans after the	
	Second World War	215
	Inventing Traditions: Paramilitarism and the 'Wars of the Yugoslav	
	Succession'	225
	Conclusion: Balkan Paramilitaries	235
Work	cs Cited	243
Index	CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF	255