

What Happened to Yugoslavia? **The War, The Peace and the Future**

Examining NATO and the evolution of the Trans-Atlantic relationship

SHARING HISTORY: EUROPE AND AMERICA AT A CROSSROADS

DO YOU KNOW...?

- What the name 'Yugoslavia' means?
- Where Sarajevo is?
- How many countries belong to NATO?
- Why Slobodan Milosevic is in The Hague?
- Who wants to join the European Union?

THE EUROPE you read about in the headlines of today's newspapers is not the same Europe of history textbooks. The transformation of the countries that fought so viciously against each other in the great wars of this century has been rapid and striking. After such a long history of conflict between them, European nations are experiencing a new era of peace and prosperity.

Since 1949 nations of Western Europe, the United States and Canada have belonged to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military pact committing its members to defending each other from



the potential threat of the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact. During the Cold War, distrust and suspicion led to political, economic and ideological conflict between the superpowers and their allies. NATO succeeded as an institution by guaranteeing the defense of Western Europe from external aggression, and helping to keep Europe at peace with itself.

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The amazing events of the late 1980's and early 1990's ushered in a new era for Europe. The Berlin Wall fell, Germany re-unified, the Soviet Union collapsed, and former Warsaw Pact countries embraced democracy and free market capitalism. The European Union has developed as a new model of inter-governmental cooperation, bringing millions of Europeans closer to a future of invisible borders, a shared economy and a common destiny.

Many people, Europeans and Americans alike, wondered: "What do we need NATO for now? Europe is at peace with itself; attacks on Europe are unthinkable. Having American military power in Europe is pointless."

By the mid-1990's a series of wars in Yugoslavia challenged these new perceptions. In an effort to keep the war from escalating and to bring the combatants to the negotiating table, NATO launched military operations. Then after the negotiations, NATO units arrived to 'keep the peace'—to prevent further conflict and to provide humanitarian aid to the peoples of the war-torn region. These actions were a controversial departure from the original mission of NATO as a purely defensive organization and caused a great deal of debate on both sides of the Atlantic.

This unit was designed to provide a background for these debates. Examining 'what happened to Yugoslavia' brings into focus these fundamental questions about the future of a European- American relationship: How does a 'new NATO' balance playing the roles of 'warfighter' and 'peacekeeper'? Will the European Union ever build a 'European army' to replace NATO? What role should the United States have in the defense of Europe?

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT IN YUGOSLAVIA

WHEN Marshall Tito died in 1980, few expected the nation he had ruled since the end of the Second World War would long outlast his death. It did, defying some of the pessimistic predictions, but over the next ten years the forces of change within and from without brought Yugoslavia towards dissolution.

This modern Yugoslavia, called the 'Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' (SFRY), existed from 1945 until the early 1990's. It was a combination of differing regional cultures that had developed for centuries.

Prior to the 20th century, the region found itself in between two great empires, the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For several hundred years the boundary between these two shifted back and forth numerous times, putting the smaller regions under control of one ruler or another- and there were also periods of relative independence for several of the republics. But after the First World War (1914-1918), both of these empires collapsed and many new nations were formed out of the pieces. On December 1, 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes announced its existence, bringing together several of these regions under one monarchy.

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Background

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Governance was not easy for the new kingdom, as there were differences in how the state should be set up and administered. The Serbs saw their republic, Serbia, as the center of the new nation, and wanted a government that was unified around them and controlled from their capital city of Belgrade. Many Croats, Slovenes, and Muslims of Bosnia preferred a looser federal government that, while supporting the unity of the nation, gave a great deal of freedom to the individual republics within it.

Many things worked against the new nation. The Great War had been disastrous for people and property, and much was in ruins. Economic depression set in across Europe making progress even more difficult. Rival political factions often resorted to violence. The struggle between the Serbs (fighting for unity) and the Croats (fighting for more individual autonomy) became particularly fierce, and radical elements of both sides used intimidation and assassination. King Alexander tried to exert more control and bring stability to his nation, and in 1928 it was renamed 'Yugoslavia'—the country of the Southern Slavs—to try to foster a better sense of cultural unity. He was assassinated in 1934, and the violence and instability grew worse.

World War II broke out in 1939, and chaos soon engulfed Yugoslavia. The nation found itself pressured from the outside by more powerful nations like Germany and Italy and by regional neighbors like Bulgaria and Romania, and soon it was torn apart from within by civil war between several different factions.

The civil war in Yugoslavia was a very complex conflict. Some fought against the Germans who occupied

the country, others allied with them; some fought to bring back the new king who had fled, others fought to set up a new government; village turned on village and neighbor attacked neighbor. Eventually the Partisans, a resistance group led by a man named Josip Broz, who called himself Tito, prevailed by helping to defeat the Germans and by establishing dominance over the many other groups fighting for control of Yugoslavia.

Tito established a communist government modeled on the Soviet Union. This new Yugoslavia was a federation of six republics—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina—and two autonomous regions—Kosovo and Vojvodina (both located within Serbia). Even though the United States was wary of Soviet influence in the new communist countries of Eastern Europe, Tito's communist Yugoslavia received recognition and support.

In 1948, Yugoslavia made a surprising break away from the USSR, declaring that it would develop its own form of communism different from that of the Soviets and its other Eastern European neighbors. Through the 1950's and 1960's Yugoslavia seemed to have found a way to be independent from foreign influence, politically unified internally, and along a path towards economic growth and prosperity.

But all was not as it seemed on the surface. Tito and the Communist Party were keeping the country together through strict political control over the republics, repression of reform-minded opposition and intimidation by secret police. Economic problems were continually mismanaged. In 1974 the constitution was changed making Tito president for life. Tied as it was to his dominating presence, many wondered if real change in the nation could only come about through Tito's death—or would his death merely herald the death of Yugoslavia as well.

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

In October of 1918, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson presented a plan to serve as the basis for the Armistice to end the horrific carnage of the First World War. He ambitiously proposed a program that he thought would eliminate the causes of warfare in Europe: no more secret treaties; freedom of the seas; removal of trade barriers; arms reductions; international settlement of colonial disputes; and the right of *self-determination* for nationalities. Point XI specifically referred to establishing relations of the Balkan countries by "friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality." In theory, *self-determination* would ensure the right of a population to determine its own national identity. In many cases of post-colonial development, new nations were forged by the popular will of the people. However, *self-determination* has fueled many conflicts between established countries and their regional ethnic groups. Is independence always the best answer?

FIND OUT MORE: Research the following regions and identify the source of conflict over national identity: Northern Ireland (Great Britain), Quebec (Canada), Chechnya (Russia), the Basque region (Spain), the Kurds (Turkey, Iraq and Syria).



President Wilson's dream of a League of Nations was never achieved. The U.S. Congress voted against joining, and the Allied powers subverted Wilson's plans by forcing huge reparations on Germany, sowing the seeds for World War II.

THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA: *Was Conflict Inevitable?*



THE BALKANS region (so-called because of the Balkan mountain range that dominates the landscape of the European peninsula that terminates with Greece) has been a meeting point for several of the major religious forces of Europe: Western (Latin) Christianity, Eastern (Orthodox) Christianity and Islam. This convergence, while certainly bringing a fair share of conflict to the region, was also responsible for creating a region of rich cultural diversity and interchange between the many inhabitants. The rulers of these empires often found reasons to go to war with one another, but in many ways, the peoples of the region—whether Catholic Slovenian, Muslim Bosnian or Orthodox Serb—found ways to get along.

In truth, what many consider the various ethnic groups of the region are relatively modern perceptions. Generally all of the peoples of the region are 'Slavic' peoples, descended from the South Slavs who migrated to the region in the 6th and 7th century AD. Over time the groups developed cultural, religious and linguistic differences which we now recognize as ethnic differences. A common misconception concerns the Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) who trace their heritage to the spread of the Ottoman Empire in the 1300's. They were not a new population who moved in to the area but were locals who adopted, often for political reasons, the Islamic religion of their new rulers. The various branches of Christianity spread by much the same way in many regions. While there are certainly differences between the many groups, and allegiance to a group is a potent part of a person's identity, there are many similarities between the Balkan peoples.

SLOVENIA

- Slovenia is the most homogenous of the republics, with a population that is 88% Slovene. Other groups represented are Croat 3%, Serb 2%, Bosniak 1% and approx. 6% other groups. (1991)
- The primary religious affiliation is Roman Catholic at 70.8% of the population.

CROATIA

- Croatia has a population that reflects a majority of 78.1% ethnic Croats. The largest minority is the 12.2% Serb population. Bosniaks, Hungarians, Slovenes, Czechs, Albanians and other groups make up a small portion of the population. (1991)
- The religious affiliations are divided roughly along the same ethnic lines, with 76.5% Roman Catholic, 11.1% Orthodox and 1.2% Muslim.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Bosnia and Herzegovina has the most diverse population. The population reflects three major ethnic groups: 48% Bosniak, 37.1% Serb and 14.3% Croat. (2000)
- 40% Muslim, 31% Orthodox, 15% Roman Catholic, 4% Protestant and 10% other religions and atheists.

SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

- The federal republic as a whole is 62.6% Serb, 16.5% Albanian and 5% Montenegrin, however the individual republics and provinces have populations within their borders that reflect their own ethnic majorities: Serbia is mainly Serb, Montenegro is strongly Montenegrin. Within Serbia, the province of Kosovo is almost exclusively ethnic Albanian and Vojvodina is a very diverse region made up of Serbs, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, and many other groups. (1991)
- Orthodox Christianity is practiced by 65% of the population. Muslims (19%), Roman Catholics (4%) and Protestants (1%) also practice.

MACEDONIA

- Macedonia is mainly ethnic Macedonian (66%), but there is a large ethnic Albanian (22.7%) minority. (1994)
- 67% of the population practices Macedonian Orthodox Christianity, and 30% are Muslim.

(Source: CIA World Factbook; dates indicate most recent census data and mainly reflects pre-war status)

WAR IN THE MAKING



DARKNESS AT THE 'HOUR OF EUROPE'

THE 1990's was a difficult time for cartographers. Political events across Europe and the rest of the world caused borders to change for many countries. Germany, after years of division, became a single nation again. The Baltic republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union—which in turn, ceased to be a nation itself—bringing many new republics to the attention of students of geography. But there was more to these changes than just the colors on a map or the shifting of a couple of lines. These were real changes that reflected deeply held emotions for many people. Emotions that expressed for people such personal beliefs like their very own identity: how they saw themselves and how they wanted others to see them. These basic issues were very much at the heart of what happened in Yugoslavia.

The cracks in Yugoslavia began to show during the elections of 1990. Each of the republics had elections for their domestic governments, and several elected governments that were not communist- even though the federal Yugoslavian government was still under single-party communist rule.

Slovenia was the first republic to push for outright independence from Yugoslavia. Tension had been brewing among Slovenian intellectuals and leaders for years, as they began to believe more and more that their wealthier and more developed republic no longer belonged in a stagnant, communist Yugoslavia. Being the most culturally homogenous, Slovenia's population was strongly unified in their opinion that now was their time to set out on a new path, with a new government based in democratic pluralism and human rights and freedoms.

Croatia's voters also elected a non-



Political tensions between the republics of Yugoslavia led to the outbreak of war in the 1990's.

communist government, and although not as ethnically unified as Slovenia, this relatively wealthy republic also began to actively call for a separation from federal Yugoslavia.

Bosnia-Herzegovina had elections in November of 1990 and its ethnic make-up of three main groups, Bosniak (Muslims), Serb and Croat was evidenced in the election results: each group voted for its own political party and won seats in parliament approximately proportional to each population living in the republic. The communists were swept from power, as they were in Macedonia later in the month during its election (although many politicians were actually ex-communists who switched parties). Both of these republics did not immediately call for independence, but seemed to be willing to remain in a Yugoslavia that was a looser confederation and allowed them more autonomy.

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War

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Serbia and Montenegro re-elected their communist governments, as politicians like Slobodan Milosevic (president of Serbia) warned voters that a drastic change in their government and economy would disrupt the security they had in their jobs and social welfare benefits. Milosevic also appealed to Serb voters because of his strong patriotic stance and his support for the idea popular in some Serb circles regarding 'Greater Serbia'; that Serbia was destined to increase in influence- and territory- in the region and reclaim ancient glories.

The elected officials of the federal Yugoslav government were in an extremely difficult situation. Yugoslavia still had an army, it still had an economy to manage, it still had services to provide for its people and it, as a nation, still had bills to pay -- loans from foreign governments and the International Monetary Fund. What would happen if all the republics left and Yugoslavia, as a nation, ceased to be?

On June 25, 1991 Slovenia and Croatia officially announced their independence and seceded from Yugoslavia. The Prime Minister of Yugoslavia ordered the army (the JNA) to take control of Slovenia, but the Slovenians had a well-trained national guard. In ten days, the war was over with minimal casualties and the Slovenians unquestionably in charge of their own territory. There would be no such clear-cut result in the conflicts that were soon to break out amongst the other republics.

The JNA, although a federal force, was comprised mainly of Serbs- and as the authority of the federal government weakened, it became more and more a tool of the Serbian leaders and Serb interests. Fighting broke out in Croatia: not only had Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia, but a region of that republic actually declared itself independent from Croatia; the Krajina region was populated mainly by Serbs and, fearing discrimination, did not want to be a part of a Croatian nation. The JNA deployed to Croatia to pro-

tect those Serbs, fight the Croatians, and perhaps gain territory for a future Greater Serbia.

It was clear to the international community that the situation in Yugoslavia was getting worse- but no one had a clear idea about what to do about it.

THE CONFLICT WIDENS

By the end of 1991, ten thousand had been killed and hundreds of thousands became homeless refugees in Croatia.

The United Nations sent Cyrus Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, as its special envoy to establish a cease-fire between the forces and get the leaders to negotiate. A truce was signed in January 1992 and United Nations troops, UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) were sent in to monitor the cease fire and keep themselves between the two sides. Although the fighting had stopped, there were seeds for future conflict: when the truce was signed, the Croatian Serbs had gained a large section of territory and agreeing to a cease-fire allowed them to keep it—thus, in many eyes legitimizing their attacks.

Breathing a sigh of relief that perhaps the worst was behind, the European nations of the EC recognized Slovenia and Croatia as independent countries in January 1992. In February, Bosnia-Herzegovina held a referendum on independence, and in April was also recognized by the international community.

WAR IN BOSNIA

Ironically, by calling for independence, Bosnia-Herzegovina virtually ensured that it would also descend into the chaos of conflict that had affected its neighbors. Reluctant at first to see the federal structure of Yugoslavia dismembered, Bosnia-Herzegovina realized that with Slovenia and Croatia gone, it would be forced to play a junior partner to Serbia if it remained.

By pulling out, Bosnia-Herzegovina finally killed what was left of Tito's Yugoslavia.

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Opinions...

"After all, it's not our problem— it's a European problem..."

-U.S. official, 1991

"This is the Hour of Europe..."

-European official, 1991

Eventually, the conflict would require the efforts and involvement of Europe, the U.S., Russia and the entire United Nations.

War

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Macedonia followed suit, the federal government disintegrated, and Serbia and Montenegro remained together as the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' (the FRY; dropping Tito's 'Socialist').

Bosnia-Herzegovina was like a Yugoslavia in miniature. Its political history had always been one of tenuous compromise between its three major groups: the Bosniaks, the Croats and the Serbs. The unity that these groups had achieved was only in the context of a federal Yugoslavia and an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina government was not a strong enough institution to keep the lid on the tensions just under the surface. Soon Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats declared their regions of the country to be autonomous, and the Bosnian government, often characterized as Bosniak but not necessarily so, fought to maintain the integrity of the republic. The internal struggles of Bosnia-Herzegovina were exasperated by outside forces; it would be revealed later that the Croatian president Franjo Tudjman and Serbian president Milosevic had secretly agreed to divide Bosnia up between themselves, adding its territory, and desirable ethnic inhabitants to their countries: Croat regions to Croatia, Serb regions to Serbia.

The war in Bosnia, which lasted from April 1992- October 1995, was a vicious and complicated conflict. It can be characterized by several phases, demarcated by various shifts in alliances and the several attempts by the international community to bring an end to the violence. At first the main fighting was between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian government forces: an alliance of the Croats and Bosniaks. The Serb ethnic regions fought to break away from Bosnia, and the forces of the JNA assisted them. The UN placed an arms embargo on the region, to prevent the combatants from buying weapons, and UNPROFOR units were sent to protect UN-designated 'safe areas': areas that were to be safe from combat and allow refugees to find escape from the violence.

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Opinions... on the War in Bosnia

Margaret Thatcher

"What the West Must Do in Bosnia"

In Bosnia, the situation goes from bad to worse. The people there are in despair about their future. They are victims of brutal aggression. But they are also victims of the failure of the democracies to act.

Instead of opposing the acquisition of territory by force, the United Nations and the democracies have dispatched humanitarian assistance to Bosnia. But welcome as it is, this will not stop the massacres or halt the ethnic cleansing. Humanitarian aid will not protect the besieged children of Bosnia from being herded into Muslim ghettos or orphaned or maimed or slaughtered.

These could have been *our* children.

If we do not act, immediately and decisively, history will record that in the last decade of this century the democracies failed to heed its most unforgiving lesson: that unopposed aggression will be enlarged and repeated, that a failure of will by the democracies will strengthen and encourage those who gain territory and rule by force...

What the West says and does now in Bosnia will affect the future in Bosnia itself; in the rest of the Balkans; and in other newly independent countries that, having gained their freedom when a communist dictatorship fell apart, now find that freedom threatened by former rulers who would, like Milosevic, use the pretext of protecting minorities to retake strategic facilities and territory...

Empty threats have a perverse effect.

Against a dictator who will yield only to superior force the West can threaten most ferociously in the hope that threats alone will be enough to stop aggression—that its threats and endless preparations will "send a message." But if the West doesn't use force at all or if it uses force to coerce Bosnian capitulation, "the message" received will only bring American and Western resolve into contempt.

(Wall Street Journal, September 2, 1993)

Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain from 1979 to 1991, wrote this letter to urge President Clinton to lead a Western coalition in using air power to halt Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina. U.S. policy towards the former Yugoslavia had remained reserved, supporting the UN and EU efforts to convince Bosnia to accept a Serbian-designed settlement—even though Clinton had campaigned the year before on stronger involvement. Thatcher clearly saw the conflict as one of Serbian aggression and was adamant that the Western democracies must stand against it—much like the stand of the coalition against Saddam Hussein in the 1990-1991 Gulf War crisis.



"What the West says and does now in Bosnia will affect the future..."

TOUGH DECISIONS...

It is important to remember that diplomats and leaders sometimes face very difficult problems that do not have easy answers. Often they must evaluate the trade-off between what they hope to achieve, and the possible negative consequences of their decisions. Oftentimes, those negative outcomes are unpredictable. Even actions made with the best of humanitarian impulses can sometimes have damaging results. Examined below are several critical decisions made during the crisis in Yugoslavia and the differing results.

ACTION

INTENT

CONSEQUENCES

GERMANY STRONGLY SUPPORTS SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN INDEPENDENCE

- Display unity of a 'new' Germany for traditional allies seeking new national identities.

Germany's unilateral actions cause tension among other European countries and the US, who favor a go-slow approach to Yugoslavia with more thought given to its potential demise.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL PLACES ARMS EMBARGO ON YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS

*- Limit the destructiveness of the war by limiting the amount of new weapons brought into it.
- Prevent other countries from having undue influence in the conflict, and prevent 'profiteering.'*

Placing an embargo gives the military advantage to those who already have weapons (like the JNA) over those who do not have as many (the Croats and Bosniaks) and makes the conflict lopsided.

NATO AIRSTRIKES IN SERBIA AND KOSOVO

*- Prevent Serb military domination of the region and end further 'ethnic cleansing.'
- Convince combatants to negotiate instead of face further attacks.*

Bombings claim civilian lives and destroy civilian facilities, as well as military targets. In some cases, the refugee crisis is made worse as the conflict intensifies and more people flee their homes.

War

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Both of these decisions by the UN, although made with good intentions, would turn out in some ways to make things worse during the war.

In early 1993, Vance and a diplomat from the European Union, David Owen, worked to put together a cease-fire agreement. It was rejected. Nobody wanted to sign an agreement after territory had changed hands—the winners thought they could get more, and the losers wanted to make sure they had a chance to win back what they had lost. So the conflict continued, and entered a worse phase. The Croats decided to turn on the Bosniaks, so now the fighting was between three different armies. Sarajevo, a beautiful city that had recently hosted the Winter Olympics, was under siege— and its civilians were terrorized by aerial bombardment and sniper shootings. Serb units overran several of the ‘safe areas’, killed refugees and took UN forces hostage— and flaunted their actions to a world that seemed unable to do anything about it.

It was during this time that the press began reporting more frequently about what would become the tragic legacy of the Balkan wars: the terrible atrocity of ‘ethnic cleansing’. It had been known that people had been forced out of their homes by invading armies, and that there had been murders of civilians— but these events had not been widely reported. After the ‘safe area’ of Srebrenica had been overrun by Serb forces, reports that over 6,000 Muslim men and boys were massacred surfaced. Other stories of mass killings, concentration camps, forced evacuations of entire villages, and even ‘rape camps’ where hundreds of women were sexually assaulted filled the news. Each side accused the other of worse atrocities and the battles raged on.

Several events helped bring the warfare to a close. The United States decided to become more involved in the resolution of the conflict, and supported expanding NATO’s role from merely enforcing a no-fly zone and other ‘protective’ measures, to outright air

Opinions... on Hollywood and the Serbs

Sonja Karazdic

If the Americans come to Bosnia, they’ll see that our soldiers look at the world like theirs do... The Serbian chetnik fighters have grown up with a Coke in their hand and watching the same TV spots as someone their own age in Alabama, and we’re into the latest styles just the way guys or girls from Florida are. Together we got our battle ethics from the movies about Mad Max and Terminator, Rambo and Young Guns. And what happened when the war began—we started identifying with the media images and heroes...

If I were a native of Belgrade, Nis, Kraljevo, or Novi Sad I would never allow someone who wasn’t prepared to defend Serbia in Grbavica or Ilidza to get a job ahead of me or occupy my space so aggressively and threaten my security in every respect.

For us the Serbian chetniks...will always be our heroes, our Serbian Terminators. With fighters like them we are already the victors in this war and leaders in the creation of a new civilization.

‘For us the Serbian chetniks...will always be our heroes, our Serbian Terminators.’

Sonja Karazdic, the daughter of the political leader of the Bosnian Serbs and a budding rock star at the time (she had just recorded her first album) was interviewed in 1992 by Duga, a Belgrade magazine. Here she criticizes her fellow Serbs who fled the fighting in Bosnia to look for jobs in Serbia, and urges the Serbian Serbs to shun them and join in the fight themselves. Her comments here reflect a youthful expression of a ‘Greater Serbia’; her ideals, and appearance, (she wore a motorcycle jacket and a Beretta pistol) blended Hollywood and the World War II-era ‘chetnik’ movement of the monarchists to create a new, Serbian nationalistic youth culture.

attacks on Serb forces that refused to pull away from the ‘safe areas’. A diplomatic agreement with Croatia changed the role of the UN forces that were enforcing the old truce lines there: the UN moved its units to the official ‘border’ of Croatia—thereby allowing Croatia to ‘win back’ the land lost to the Serb forces. The Croats then teamed up with the Bosniaks again and led an offensive against the Serbs, pushing them out of many areas that they had claimed.

A diplomatic effort, headed by Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state, forced the leaders to the bargaining table. For three weeks in November 1995, tense negotiations brought about peace accords in

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War

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Dayton, Ohio. The Bosnian Peace Agreement established concessions from the leaders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the FRY to recognize each other's borders and sovereignty, withdraw their armed forces, and allow humanitarian aid to get to the inhabitants and displaced refugees of the region. A tentative new government was set up for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country would be divided into two republics, one mainly Serb, and the other Croat-Bosniak. The Dayton agreement was certainly not a perfect document. Many difficult compromises had been made between leaders who did not completely trust each other—but finally the fighting had stopped in Bosnia.

The next challenge was how to keep the peace. Immediately after the Bosnian Peace Agreement was officially signed, a NATO peacekeeping force arrived to implement the military aspects of the agreement. Called IFOR (the Implementation Force), its mission was to bring an end to the hostilities, and maintain a close watch on the armies after separating them. IFOR (later changed to SFOR, the Stabilization Force) has remained in Bosnia since the end of the Bosnian war in 1995. The complex nature of its mission is more fully described in the next section.

KOSOVO

For several years a tense peace simmered in the former republics of Yugoslavia, and the United Nations, NATO and other international organizations worked to keep conflict from flaring up again. But tensions erupted in the Serbian province of Kosovo in 1998, and once more United States and Europe stepped in.

Kosovo was the historic heart of ancient Serbia, but in modern times has become almost exclusively ethnic Albanian in its population. Under Tito, Kosovo had substantial autonomy, but Serb president Milosevic exercised strict control in the prov-

ince. Kosovar Albanian paramilitary groups clashed with Serb forces, and amidst accusations of terrorism, drug trafficking and ethnic cleansing on both sides,



A Muslim woman grieves at the grave of her husband. Many women still do not know the exact fate of loved ones who have been missing for years.

violence threatened to spread and destabilize neighboring countries.

Diplomatic attempts were made to stop the conflict, but by March 1999, President Clinton and NATO leaders decided to launch air strikes against Serb military forces in Kosovo and against the Serbian government of Milosevic—believed by most to be the instigator of the strife.

The 77-day air campaign was the last major warfare caused by the break-up of Yugoslavia. Milosevic agreed to terms with NATO and a peacekeeping force, KFOR, moved in to maintain security and provide humanitarian assistance to Kosovo.

The NATO air campaign was very controversial. It achieved the political aim of forcing Milosevic to a negotiated settlement, but the destruction wrought in the pursuit of that aim and the underlying justification for that action bring to the fore important questions regarding the use of force to achieve peaceful results.

The conclusion of the air campaign in Kosovo brought to a close a destructive chapter in Balkans history, but the story continues in the next section as we discuss the aftermath of the conflict and the attempts to foster peace and reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia.

MILOSEVIC ON TRIAL

"The Council establishes an international tribunal for the purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the former Yugoslavia beginning January 1, 1991."

So reads UN Security Council Resolution 827, which established the international war-crimes court that has been trying, among other political and military leaders, former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic for 'crimes against humanity' since 2002.

Milosevic served as president from 1989 until 2000 and is on trial for his alleged responsibility for atrocities committed by the Yugoslav army during the conflict in Croatia and Kosovo, notably the Srebrenica massacre of 1995.

Milosevic, a former lawyer, is defending himself, and the trial has been known to get overly dramatic at times. Milosevic refuses to acknowledge the authority of the Court over him, and claims that the proceedings, held in The Hague, Netherlands, are a sham.

He has claimed that the West deliberately tried to demonize the Serb people and destroy Serbia and has said that there was a conspiracy between the French Secret Service and Bosnian Muslims to fake the massacres. He has strongly criticized NATO for the destruction wrought on his nation.

Milosevic called for elections in 2000 to gain support, but voters, tired of the conflict that many felt was his fault, turned against him and elected his opponent. He refused to leave office until thousands of protesters took to the streets in Belgrade.

Other leaders in the former Yugoslavia have been charged with war crimes, but remain at large. Despite UN requests, several countries have refused to arrest and turn in these individuals.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

International courts have been very controversial. Should leaders be put on trial for the actions of their governments?

Slobodan Milosevic was arrested for corruption and stealing state funds in April 2001, and was then turned over to the UN International War-crimes Court.



KEEPING THE PEACE

HAVE YOU ever seen a fight, and thought about stepping in to stop it? Why? To protect a friend? To stop two friends from hurting each other? To thwart a bully?

In much the same way third parties often get involved in conflicts around the world. Sometimes a nation will try to prevent a fight between two neighbors. Sometimes a group of nations will agree to try to stop a conflict. Sometimes an international organization, like the United Nations will step in. The motives are often the same—fights, like fires, can sometimes get out of control and spread.

The United Nations has often sent forces into areas to prevent conflict. In fact, since its founding in 1945 it has performed over 50 peacekeeping missions, most of these just in the past 20 years. Units are made up of contingents from different countries' armies and are known as 'Blue Helmets' for the distinctive UN color that they wear.

Some UN missions have been very successful in stopping conflict and preventing wars from spreading. But sometimes, the conflict gets out of hand and the UN forces decide to evacuate.

In response to the conflicts in Yugoslavia, the United Nations sent forces to monitor cease-fire agreements and deliver humanitarian aid. But the situation in Yugoslavia proved too complex and dangerous for units under UN authority. Nations volunteer their units to be placed under the UN flag, so sometimes there are disagreements between what the UN leadership asks for and what the volunteer nation is willing to provide.

During the war in Bosnia, UN forces often had to wait for debates to be settled in conference rooms far away before they could take action. Sometimes those delays put the lives of the UNPROFOR soldiers and Bosnian civilians in jeopardy.

As the conflict worsened, many felt that unfortunately it had come to a point where a stronger military response was needed to curb the spread of violence in the region. Many felt that the answer was NATO.

NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was originally formed as a defensive alliance between the U.S., Canada and western European nations committed to protecting its members from attack by the Soviet Union. Getting involved in operations in Yugoslavia signaled a big change for NATO and for European-American relations.



The wars in Yugoslavia forced NATO to adapt to a new reality in Europe.



HISTORY OF NATO

After World War II, the exhausted nations of Europe demobilized much of what was left of their militaries and focused their attentions on rebuilding their shattered countries and improving their people's lives. However it soon appeared that the Soviet Union was not demobilizing, and was aggressively establishing control over the countries of Eastern Europe. Reacting to what was perceived as a new threat to their security, five

Western European countries: Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, decided to strengthen their ties and develop a common defense system. Knowing that they alone could not counter the Soviets, they turned to the United States for assistance.

Many Americans were torn about their relationship to Europe. Within a generation of helping to end the 'War To End All Wars', as the First World War was sometimes called, Americans were again called into fighting a far more devastating war in Europe. Many Americans just wanted to leave Europe to pick up its own pieces after World War II. But far-sighted leaders were convinced that America should become more involved in keeping a strong relationship with the democratic European nations. It was imperative to do anything possible to maintain a stable peace in Europe. When the Soviets closed off Berlin with an illegal blockade of the city deep inside Soviet-occupied East Germany, America and the other allies were tested in their resolve.

Faced with such a daunting challenge, the United States committed itself to rebuilding a democratic, peaceful and prosperous Europe. The U.S. led an effort to airlift supplies to the citizens of Berlin, the Marshall Plan provided food,

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Peace

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supplies and millions of dollars for rebuilding Europe, and an alliance was developed to ensure the mutual defense of European and North American nations. In April of 1949, the Treaty of Washington was signed between the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born.

The North Atlantic Treaty was established under the legal framework of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which holds that nations have the right to defend themselves and form defensive alliances with other nations. The immediate purpose of the Treaty was to defend its members from a military attack by the Soviet Union. But another aim, as stated in its preamble, was also to “promote peaceful and friendly relations in the North Atlantic Area.” Its guiding principle has always been to establish a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe based on common values of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Over the next fifty years, European politics changed, and NATO changed as well. New members signed the Treaty, like Greece and Turkey. In 1955 the Federal Republic of Germany joined—allying itself with countries that just over ten years before it had invaded and occupied. Europe was definitely changing.

There were certainly disagreements, but one of the benefits of having a formal treaty between nations is that there is an institutionalized way to find common ground. Conflicts are kept to the conference table—not the battlefield. France disagreed with the other allies on several issues and pulled out of the military requirement of the Treaty, but remained committed to being an important administrative member. Greece and Turkey have historically had a tense relationship; keeping these NATO members engaged in

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NATO peacekeeping missions

IFOR/SFOR

NATO’s first peacekeeping mission was IFOR, the Implementation Force that was responsible for ensuring that the rules of the Dayton Peace Agreement were followed. Initially it was a force of 60,000 troops from several NATO countries. Their mission was to bring an end to the hostilities, reshape the internal boundaries of Bosnia and ensure that all the heavy weapons were put in storage facilities. IFOR’s original plan called for that mission to last from December 1995– December 1996; at that time the mission became known as the Stabilization Force. SFOR further stabilized Bosnia by collecting illegal weapons, helping local police forces get back to work, providing air traffic control, locating and destroying landmines, assisting in refugee returns and many other humanitarian tasks. The number of forces has gradually been reduced to less than 20,000 and many nations have provided support, both NATO and non-NATO. As part of a recent program developed to strengthen ties between NATO countries and former Warsaw Pact members, countries like Slovakia and Romania have sent contingents. In a truly historical move, Russia has supported NATO’s mission as well by sending a force of peacekeepers to Bosnia.

KFOR

Drawing on the experiences of IFOR and SFOR, NATO established a peacekeeping mission in Kosovo in 1999 to bring stability to that region and assist with the horrendous humanitarian crisis caused by the warfare and subsequent breakdown of social order.

Troops from over 30 NATO and non-NATO countries have participated. KFOR provides the ‘muscle’ for other international organizations, like the UN, who play a large part in the political development of Kosovo’s new government. Kosovo has a very unique status; it is still technically part of Serbia but it is run almost exclusively by the UN authorities, who have not pushed to make Kosovo an independent nation. Maintaining a stable environment in Kosovo has important repercussions in neighboring regions like Macedonia and Albania.



NATO peacekeepers hold ‘town meetings’ with local Kosovars to discuss important issues of reconstruction.

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dialogue has prevented minor conflicts from exploding into more serious warfare.

In many ways, it may sound like NATO is merely another United Nations, just with less members. There are some similarities: both are inter-governmental organizations that create a forum for discussion and establish a set of rules for the members to abide by. And both allow their members to retain complete sovereignty; membership is voluntary, so they are only compelled to abide by the rules of the group because they choose to. But the members of NATO have sworn to the defense of all other members: an attack on one means an attack on all. The members of the UN have no such agreement.

NATO members share a great deal of information with each other. In the past, neighboring countries have often resorted to spies to find out military secrets. Wars have been caused merely by suspicion of perceived strengths and weaknesses of potential enemies. The Allies discuss their nations' military budgets, numbers of troops, equipment development and other vital information with each other in an attempt to keep their capabilities transparent.

Throughout the Cold War, NATO performed its mission of deterring a Soviet invasion and making warfare between European countries unthinkable. Member nations developed elaborate plans and performed countless joint exercises for battles they never had to fight. That was the ultimate success of NATO.

MID-LIFE CRISIS

NATO celebrated its 40th birthday in 1989, amid the amazing developments in Europe of that year. The next several years found NATO members questioning whether their organization still had a purpose. Invasion by the Soviet Red Army was out of the question—the USSR didn't exist anymore. And

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AN EVER-CLOSER UNION

THE MOST significant development in recent European history has been the creation of the European Union (EU), an organization based on a series of agreements between many of the European countries. Laws and regulations that are generally developed by a nation for itself are being made at an international level. The EU has passed laws that govern trade between members, regulations on the environment that everyone must follow, and significantly, has developed a common money system. The new 'euro' has replaced currencies as old as the 2,600 year old Greek drachma. As new countries join the EU, they sign on to obey this joint legislation and to help make the decisions that will continue to draw the European nations closer together.

Originally made up of a few of the Western European nations, the EU has expanded to include new countries who want to join. Formerly called the 'European Community', in 1992 the EU reinvented itself under the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty. This treaty strengthened the ties of the current members and paved the way for inviting many new countries, particularly of Eastern Europe, to join. New members must meet certain financial, administrative and legal criteria. The process takes several years, but the challenges are often met by governments eager to get their nation into this important organization. Currently there are 15 members, and 10 countries are officially in line for eventual membership, with others sure to follow.

A EUROPEAN ARMY?

One area in which these countries have not surrendered their *sovereignty*, or national authority, is defense. Nations have always been very reluctant to let anyone make decisions for them regarding their national security. As the EU has developed it has generally steered clear from any efforts to unify the military forces of its member nations.

But as the integration between countries has grown stronger, the logical progression has tended towards some sort of common foreign policy. This has proven difficult for several reasons. Some countries have maintained a long-standing neutrality towards international affairs and certainly don't want to get involved in military operations as part of an organization that they joined for economic reasons. Also, because of the nature of the EU as a highly diverse organization, it is very difficult to get unanimous support for any decisions—particularly those of the critical and time-sensitive nature required for military action.

Some nations feel that because they are already part of NATO, any sort of military agreement they enter into as part of the EU may jeopardize the long-standing stability that NATO has brought. Why duplicate something that has already proven successful? There is a great deal of overlap between the nations of the EU and NATO, and since both institutions share a common goal for a stable and peaceful Europe, there has always been a strong connection between the two.

Previously, the United States has been very wary of a European army. Although Americans sometimes criticize Europeans for not 'bearing enough of the burden' for the defense of Europe, the U.S. has preferred to see more support within NATO than in some European force in which it doesn't have as much authority. Lately, however, there has been more support, on both sides of the Atlantic, for a strong joint European-only military force. The missions most likely to be performed by this force would be peacekeeping or humanitarian support operations.

Peacekeeping in Bosnia...

Here a U.S. Army lieutenant tells of his experiences as part of SFOR. Military units from the United States and other NATO allies are typically deployed on peacekeeping assignments that last for six months. NATO forces rarely receive formal 'peacekeeping' training—and only learn how to perform their missions by adapting to situations as they occur and developing new methods and procedures to solve problems according to general guidelines. Oftentimes, junior leaders, like this lieutenant, find themselves in situations where their actions can create—or diffuse—international incidents.

...The local governments here possess a very small amount of legitimacy. And that's where we come in; our presence here is to ensure freedom of movement for all and a stable environment for the existing governments to have time to get back on their feet...

The first type of mission I conduct is called a presence patrol. My battalion has many areas of interest throughout the region, and our job is to visit them on a regular basis. For example, there is a huge market just south of here where the locals shop for everything from livestock to shoes. The market is crowded every day and there is always friction between the local merchants, landowners, citizens, and police. The landowners are mad about all the traffic going in and out across their farmland. The merchants are mad at the police for collecting taxes in random (and sometimes excessive) amounts at random times during the month. The citizens are just trying to get the goods they need, and we often find ourselves in the middle of all of this. We are not policemen, but several of our tasks make us feel like we are. We are like referees. We don't make the rules for people to follow, but we make sure they follow them...



Turkish soldiers visit the village of Budozelje during a 'presence patrol'. NATO units perform a range of missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina to maintain a safe and secure environment.

Another type of mission I run is a weapons storage site inspection. Each militia is allowed to have so many types of weapons and allowed to train only so often. It is our job to enforce these requirements... The day of the mission, my platoon drives to the site, sets up security of the area, and I go and meet with the site commander. Some sites



Inspecting weapons storage facilities is a typical mission for NATO peacekeepers.

have been Croat militias, others are Serb. Each site is nothing more than an old farmhouse or barn that is controlled by the local militia. The site commanders, so far, have been nice and cooperative. Usually, I end up just sitting in the commander's office, chatting with him about recent training and his experiences in the war, smoking one of his cigarettes, and sipping on some really strong coffee. During this time, my section sergeants conduct the actual inspection of the site and its weapons. If any weapons or ammunition end up missing, things tend to get a little less social. For example, if there are any discrepancies between our paperwork and what is actually at the site, my platoon is required by the Dayton peace agreement to confiscate the equal amount of the type of weapon that is actually missing or in excess... This is not a pleasant process... The bigger picture of all these inspections is threefold: -to build all militias in the region to the same capabilities so

no one has more firepower than the other, -to limit the flow of arms and munitions either in or out of the area, -and to make all the militias aware of the fact that we are here and we are in charge. So far, this intent has been achieved...

The people of Bosnia are very friendly. I use my interpreter to talk with them often. Every time we drive down the road, someone is always waving at us as we go by. Smiles are abundant. People seem content with our presence for the most part; I suppose they enjoy the cease-fire. About 80 percent of the houses in this area are riddled with bullet holes. Roofs are going up day by day, but it's already been four years since the shooting has stopped...

Peace

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it was now highly improbable that Russia or any of the former Soviet republics would seriously consider such an attack.

So, in this new environment, many people have questioned the reason for maintaining NATO. Some government leaders in the United States feel that the very wealthy European nations should be responsible for their own defense. They argue that American tax dollars should be spent on American defense, and not for other countries. While some nations, such as Britain and France, have very strong military forces, others have very small or specialized forces that **make** having an alliance absolutely critical for their security. But does it have to be an alliance with the United States?

The European Union has brought many European countries closer to unifying their economic and political actions. As discussed previously (see page 13), wouldn't military unification be the next logical step? There is currently much discussion on this topic, and new developments are expected almost on a weekly basis. The leaders of the European Union nations have much to work out between themselves, and with the United States, in making these important decisions.

NEW MISSIONS

As we saw in our discussion of the wars in Yugoslavia, many different attempts were made to stop the conflict. Diplomats from European nations and the United States had difficulties in achieving peace. Pressure from the United Nations failed, even when combined with a military presence. What was required was a combination of forceful diplomacy and decisive military action—and a steadfast commitment from European nations, the U.S., Russia and the United Nations as a whole to bring a close to the conflict. An important agent of this closure was found in NATO: a multi-national force with superior equipment and an effective command structure that ensured that decisions were turned into action. It is certainly re-

grettable that military force had to be used, but it was instrumental in enhancing the diplomatic efforts in getting the region back on the road to stability and reconstruction.

THE FUTURE OF NATO

The events of September 11, 2001 have also played a part in changing NATO. Immediately after the attack, the European nations of NATO and Canada issued a statement invoking Article V of the NATO treaty as a sign of unity with the United States that “an attack on one is an attack on all.” Intended to bind together the members in a collective defense against a superpower, instead it was invoked for the first time in history as a response to an act of violence by a stateless terrorist organization.

When the United States conducted military operations in Afghanistan to topple the Taliban government and destroy Al-Qaeda terrorist cells, it had assistance from many allied NATO partners, getting help from Special Forces units and intelligence agencies.

On August 13, 2003 the peacekeeping mission authorized by the UN to stabilize the Afghan capital, Kabul, officially became a NATO mission. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is the first mission for NATO not on European soil. Leadership for this force has come primarily from European nations, such as Germany. Will NATO be needed to perform other operations outside of Europe, and far different than its original mission?

Many trends will affect the peace, stability and security of the world in the foreseeable future. European cooperation is rapidly spreading across a continent once ravaged by warfare. The United States, once merely a strong partner in securing European peace, now has unrivaled global influence. In a world where small conflicts, regional instability and unpredictable terrorist strikes are now the major threats, it is clear that the continued cooperation of the transatlantic nations is absolutely necessary.



FOR FURTHER RESEARCH... on Trans-Atlantic issues

www.acus.org
Atlantic Council of the United States

www.atlantic-council.org.uk
Atlantic Council of the United Kingdom

www.europa.eu.int
Official European Union website

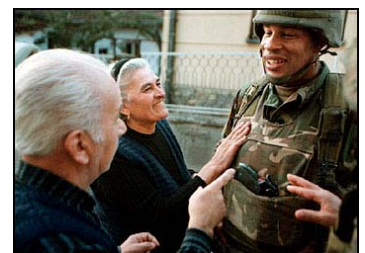
www.eurunion.org
European Union website especially for Americans

www.globaled.org
Educational resources on international topics

www.gmfus.org
German Marshall Fund of the U.S.

www.nato.int
Up-to-date resource on NATO missions

www.state.gov
U.S. State Department



MAPPING OUT THE FUTURE

In this exercise, you will compare the membership of the European Union and NATO, and candidates for future membership in these organizations. You will notice that some countries belong to both, and some belong to only one of the groups, and some European nations belong to neither the EU nor NATO. *For further research, find out why...*



THE EUROPEAN UNION

The following countries are members of the European Union (as of Summer 2004). Find them on the map above and crosshatch with red.

Austria	Belgium	Cyprus	Czech Republic	Denmark
Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Greece
Ireland	Italy	Latvia	Lithuania	Luxembourg
Malta	Netherlands	Poland	Portugal	Slovakia
Slovenia	Spain	Sweden	United Kingdom	

The following countries are candidates for membership in the EU. Outline with red.

Turkey Bulgaria Romania



NATO

The following countries are members of NATO (as of Fall 2003). Find them on the map above and crosshatch with blue.

Belgium	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Denmark	Estonia
France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Iceland
Latvia	Lithuania	Luxembourg	Netherlands	
Norway	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Slovakia
Spain	Turkey	United Kingdom		Slovenia

[Members not shown: Canada , United States]

The following countries are candidates for membership in NATO. Outline with blue.

Albania Croatia Macedonia