

## Yugoslavia

**1) People trying to theorize new security landscape after end of cold war:**

### **a) Bipolarity v Multipolarity**

John Lewis **Gaddis** argued bipolarity disciplined local conflicts

Superpowers kept client states in check in case local conflicts escalated → world War III

Against this, Eqbal **Ahmed** argued superpowers fought through 3<sup>rd</sup> world proxies, exacerbated local conflicts (Vietnam, Afghanistan, Korea, Angola etc).

### **b) Endists**

Francis **Fukuyama**, Thomas **Friedman**

Idea democracies don't fight each other

Countries with MacDonaldis don't fight each other

Idea of liberal international order & Pax Americana

Tony Lake embraced to some degree – hence interventions in Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo

“Realists” skeptical of democracy theory

US should only get involved if has vital interests at stake

### c) **Chaos theorists**

Predicted explosion of conflict without discipline of cold war and with pot-stirring of globalization

Samuel **Huntington** (“Clash of civilizations”)

Robert **Kaplan** (“The Coming Anarchy,” “Balkan Ghosts”)

Chaos increasingly inside state, not just between states

Internal ethnic conflicts as ancient & irremediable

Democracy won't work in Asian societies where it's culturally alien

Kaplan influenced Bill Clinton in first term (then read Noel Malcolm's Kosovo in second term).

### 2) **Yugoslavia before 1918**

Islam, Orthodox Christianity & Catholicism mixed there

Part of Austro-Hungarian empire (now Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia etc)

Ruled by Hapsburgs

Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by Serb 1914 triggered World War 1

### **3) 1918-1944**

Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia

Kingdom with many ethnic groups

Germans invaded in World War II & divided population

Croats allied with Germans,

Serbs (the good guys back then) fought with Allies (See movie Underground)

Tito led Serb communist resistance in mountains

In control by 1944

### **4) 1944-1989**

Tito = non-aligned communist

Imprisoned opponents such as Milovan Djilas

6 republics:

- Serbia
- Slovenia
- Croatia
- Montenegro
- Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Macedonia

The presidency rotated & governing council ethnically balanced

Ethnic identification simultaneously repressed and encouraged

Ethnic groups lived jumbled together – as in post-colonial Africa

After Tito's death in 1980, system less stable without his charismatic authority

## 6) 1989 - present

End of cold war

Communists delegitimated and turning to nationalism to legitimate themselves

Milosevic and “red-browns.”

1991 Slovenia & Croatia declare independence

West prefers large states, but Germany forces EU's hands by recognizing Croatia

1991 Macedonia declares independence

1992 Bosnia declares independence

1992-5 three-way war between Serbs, Croats & Bosnian nationalists

Serbs wanted Greater Serbia

Sarajevo (destroyed) as emblem of multiculturalism

“ethnic cleansing” – killing & rape camps

150,000 dead

3 million refugees

20- 40,000 rapes

EU and NATO did nothing til 1995

UN peacekeepers failed & Dutch peacekeepers handed over  
Bosnian Muslims to be killed

1995 Serbs took UN Peacekeepers hostage to deter US  
bombing

1993 Cyrus Vance & Lord Owen negotiated agreement:

Gave Serbs 43% of Bosnia

Condemned in West for rewarding ethnic cleansing

Condemned by Serbs because it didn't give them the 70% of  
Bosnia they'd conquered

Rejected

US armed Croats & they rewon lost territory

NATO bombing helped Bosnian Muslims retake a third of what they lost

1995 **Dayton Accords** internally partitioned Bosnia

**Kosovo:**

90% Albanian, wanted independence

split between gradualists & KLA

Madeline **Albright** aligned with KLA.

Serbs refused independence

Did Albright miscalculate, or did she intend to fight Milosevic?

Left & right in US internally divided over war, which strained NATO alliance