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 3rd 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 MacDonalds 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 Chistianity & 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