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**SIX YEARS AFTER DAYTON : THE WAR
IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, 1991-1995**

**SIX ANS APRÈS DAYTON : LA GUERRE EN
EX-YOUGOSLAVIE, 1991-1995**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 9/2001

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As a member of the NATO HQ staff you can borrow books (Type: M) for a period of one month and journals for one week. Reference works (Type: REF) must be consulted in the Library. People from outside NATO can borrow books through their local library via the interlibrary loan system.

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En tant que membre du personnel de l'OTAN vous pouvez emprunter des livres (Type: M) pour une période d'un mois et des revues pour une semaine. Les livres de référence (Type: REF) sont à consulter sur place. Les personnes n'appartenant pas à l'OTAN peuvent s'adresser à leur bibliothèque locale et emprunter des ouvrages via le système de prêt inter-bibliothèques.

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Toutes les publications de la Bibliothèque éditées depuis 1999 sont disponibles sur le site Intranet de l'OTAN à <http://nt15b.hq.nato.int/library> (réseau Minerva) ou <http://nt18/library> (réseau CPEA).

Beyond Kosovo : A Regional Approach to the Balkans - Washington : Atlantic Council of the United States, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

xi, 10 p. : ill. ; 28 cm.

(Policy Paper)

ID number: 80016805 Type: M

Library Location: 327.5 /00381

Subject(s):

1. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT--BALKAN PENINSULA
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--RECONSTRUCTION
3. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

'This paper aims to address the crisis in Kosovo by developing a regional approach toward future peace and prosperity of the entire Balkan region. It lists the essential components of an effective regional settlement and elaborates on security, economic, and political requirements. The members of the task force encountered two major areas of disagreement : the international treatment of Serbia and re-drawing borders in the region. This paper provides arguments for both the isolation of Serbia (with the exception of the humanitarian aid), and the augmentation of contact with the Serbian people. Some members of the task force argue for redrawing regional borders while others advocate promoting the status quo with enhanced regional cooperation.'

Breakdown : War & Reconstruction in Yugoslavia - London : Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:

80 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

ID number: 80007536 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00484

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for War and Peace Reporting (GB)
2. Helsinki Citizens Assembly (CS)

A Close-Up View of European Security - Budapest : Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

136 p. ; 21 cm.

(Defence Studies ; Special Edition)

ID number: 80013927 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01188

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
3. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
4. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
5. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
6. EUROPE--ETHNIC RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies (HU)

'This Special Edition starts with a chapter dealing with the crisis in Former Yugoslavia, developing from its historical antecedents to the practical experience outside countries have gained from cooperation with IFOR and NATO. It then goes on with a detailed examination of the Dayton Peace Accord itself and the responsibilities incumbent on IFOR to assist in the apprehension of indicted war criminals. The second chapter includes national views on the tools internationally available in the effort to bring about and maintain security on the European continent. Amongst those examined are the Partnership for Peace, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the 'Open Skies' regime.'

IFOR on IFOR : NATO Peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina - Edinburgh :

Connect, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:1901205002

xi, 163 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

ID number: 80013571

Type: M

Library Location: 496.3 /00287

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Murray, Rupert Wolfe, ed.

'This book is a unique account of the NATO-led mission in Bosnia.

Using specially commissioned photographs and interviews, it looks at the work, equipment and opinions of the people behind the force.'

The Implications of the Yugoslav Crisis for Western Europe's Foreign Relations - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

91 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 17)

ID number: 80016959

Type: M

Library Location: 327 /01031

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. EU--CFSP

Added entry(s):

1. Jopp, Mathias, ed.

2. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'The Yugoslav crisis, for which the West Europeans have been attempting to find a solution since its outbreak, has become the bloodiest conflict in Europe since the Second World War, a drama for the peoples concerned and a threat to the stability and security of all of the Balkans. But its implications go far beyond sub-regional effects. Posing for over three years now a challenge to the crisis-management ability of the international community, it has influenced the restructuring of post-Cold War security relations and has complicated Western Europe's development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and search for a new role in international affairs. In this paper, scholars from the United States, Russia, Central Europe, Turkey and Egypt analyse their countries' perceptions of Western Europe's handling of the crisis and the actual or potential consequences for relations with the European Union and Western European Union.'

The Issues Raised by Bosnia, and the Transatlantic Debate - Paris :

Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 60 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 32)

ID number: 80014883

Type: M

Library Location: 496.3 /00303

Subject(s):

1. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'The aim of this paper is to analyse definitions regarding the future shape of Bosnia (integration or partition), the practical implementation of Dayton, the different scenarios for an international presence in Bosnia (progressive withdrawal, short-term or long-term presence, a deterrent or reconstruction force), as well as transatlantic relations (competition or cooperation). The four authors have been invited to follow the same framework of analysis, reviewing the problems mentioned above while endeavouring to set out the

specific positions of their respective countries : Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Using a common framework of analysis should allow a comparison of the approach to developments in the European security agenda taken by the most important actors, in particular the European partners, to be made.'

Managing Arms in Peace Processes : Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina - New York : United Nations, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9290451106

xxiii, 421 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80013159 Type: M

Library Location: 327.3 /00538

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
'The report focuses on the demilitarization components of the UNPROFOR peace mission in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. Special attention is given to three specific areas of UNPROFOR operations : Sector West in Croatia and Sarajevo and Srebrenica in Bosnia.'

Nationalismes : la tragedie yougoslave - Paris : Le Monde, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:

98 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

ID number: 80008188 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00494

Subject(s):

1. NATIONALISM--YUGOSLAVIA
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

'Le Monde Diplomatique, fevrier 1993'.

UN Peacekeeping in Trouble : Lessons Learned from the Former Yugoslavia : Peacekeepers' Views on the Limits and Possibilities of the United Nations in a Civil War-like Conflict - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:184014176X

xxix, 378 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016072 Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00119

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
4. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Biermann, Wolfgang, ed.
2. Vadset, Martin, ed.

Bibliography: p. 373-378.

'This book is intended to fill a gap in the literature about peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia through a combination of empirical methods. The project combines qualitative research with quantitative methods to analyse the views of the practitioners on different aspects of peacekeeping and conflict mediation.'

Radiographie d'un nationalisme : les racines serbes du conflit yougoslave

- Paris : Editions de l'Atelier, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:2708233645

336 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80015465

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00641

Subject(s):

1. NATIONALISM--YUGOSLAVIA
2. NATIONALISM--SERBIA
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Popov, Nebojsa, ed.

'La guerre en ex-Yougoslavie a cree un traumatisme durable en Europe. Les recents evenements du Kosovo n'en sont que la trace la plus visible et le prolongement. Comment cette region des Balkans a-t-elle pu basculer dans la barbarie de l'epuration ethnique et l'exacerbation du nationalisme ? Pour la premiere fois, un ouvrage ecrit par des intellectuels serbes met a jour les racines du conflit yougoslave. Ces differentes etudes, menees avec rigueur et independance d'esprit, basees sur une riche documentation revelee pour la premiere fois au public francais, retracent l'evolution de la politique serbe depuis le debut des annees 80, la montee en puissance de Milosevic, sa prise de pouvoir et la mise en oeuvre de sa politique conduisant inexorablement a la guerre. Veritable dissection du role des grandes institutions serbes, certains de ces textes montrent comment la fureur nationaliste a saisi tout a tour les scientifiques et les ecrivains, les footballeurs et les supporters, les gens d'Eglise et les journalistes. D'autres mettent en lumiere l'heritage historique, politique et culturel du peuple serbe, l'importance et la recurrence du theme du Kosovo, ainsi que les manipulations dont il a ete l'objet. Ce document exceptionnel par sa densite donne la parole a des esprits courageux dont la voix a ete etouffeee par le pouvoir serbe. Il constitue une reference fondamentale pour l'etude du nationalisme qui gagne ou menace plusieurs regions d'Europe et du monde.'

Reshaping International Priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part Three :

The End of the Nationalist Regimes and the Future of the Bosnian State

- Berlin : European Stability Initiative, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

23 p.; 30 cm.

(ESI Report ; 8/01)

ID number: 80017165

Type: WEB

Library Location: 321 /00631

Subject(s):

1. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
2. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. STATE SUCCESSION

Added entry(s):

1. European Stability Initiative (DE)

<<http://www.esiweb.org/report8-2001.html>> accessed 03/05/01.

'This report sets out to define the international role in Bosnia and the path towards completing the peace implementation mission. It suggests that, with the right focus of international efforts, the core Dayton agenda can be completed within the next 2-3 years, leaving European institutions to tackle the longer term task of transforming Bosnia's post-communist state and integrating it into the European Union.'

Sicherheitspolitisches Symposium Balkankonflikt : Instrumente des
Internationalen Krisenmanagements - Baden-Baden : Nomos, 1994.
ISBN/ISSN:378903326X
272 p.; 23 cm.
ID number: 80009896 Type: M
Library Location: 355.4 /01084
Subject(s):
1. CRISIS MANAGEMENT
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
Added entry(s):
1. Puhs, Wolfgang, ed.
2. Weggel, Thomas, ed.
3. Richter, Claus, ed.
Includes index.
'Vom 25. bis 27. Juni 1993 an der Universitat Bayreuth'.

Strategies economiques en Bosnie-Herzegovine - Paris : Fondation pour les
Etudes de Defense, 1997.
ISBN/ISSN:2911101162
62 p.; 25 cm.
(Cahier ; 9)
ID number: 80015887 Type: M
Library Location: 338.9 /00649
Subject(s):
1. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, FRENCH--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--FRANCE
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
Added entry(s):
1. Fondation pour les Etudes de Defense (FR)
'En Bosnie-Herzegovine, la France a ete le premier pourvoyeur de
'Casques bleus'. Outre ses sacrifices humains et ses depenses
militaires, elle a beaucoup paye pour l'aide humanitaire a ce pays,
et elle continue de participer substantiellement au financement de
sa reconstruction, bilateralement et surtout via sa contribution aux
financements internationaux. Mais elle le fait pour l'essentiel a
fonds perdu la ou d'autres pays appliquent une strategie deja rodee
depuis des annees en d'autres lieux, qui consiste a faire de leur
aide humanitaire un investissement pour l'apres-crise. De ce fait,
et du fait aussi d'une grande frilosite de nombreuses entreprises,
la France n'a recolte pour l'instant que peu de dividendes de son
aide, alors qu'au meme moment, les entreprises de nombreux autres
pays industrialises accedent a d'importants marches grace au soutien
de puissantes organisations etatiques, y compris chez les plus
ardents defenseurs du liberalisme economique. C'est ce probleme qui
est examine, en etablissant les faits avec le maximum de precision
pour etablir un diagnostic et en deduire une strategie possible pour
la France.'

Warriors in Peace Operations - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War
College, 1999.
ISBN/ISSN:
v, 257 p.; 23 cm.
ID number: 80015659 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00646
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--PERSONAL NARRATIVES, AMERICAN
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
Added entry(s):
1. Johnson, Douglas V., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
'This collection of monographs has been assembled from the 42 Personal
Experience Monographs written by the US Army War College Class of
1998. The Personal Experience Monograph program was instituted
immediately after the Gulf War with the original purpose of
capturing first-person histories of various aspects of that war. The
program rapidly expanded to include any military experience that
might prove useful to others. When the USAWC Class of 1998 arrived,

it was evident that a great many had recent experience in Bosnia that might prove useful to others who would eventually serve there. The collection assembled here was chosen for the wide variation of branch functions and the centrality of the initial deployment issues addressed. The authors speak for themselves with minimal editorial interference.'

The World and Yugoslavia's Wars - New York : Council on Foreign Relations, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:0876091915

230 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80013463 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00603

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Ullman, Richard Henry, ed.

Includes index.

'What role did outside powers play in the dissolution of Yugoslavia and in the wars that wracked that once-stable country ? Why did the victors in the Cold War and the 1991 Gulf War not act earlier to stop the slaughter ? What might be the implications for other situations of communal conflict given the international community's failure to take timely action when war enveloped Bosnia ? What might be the implications of Yugoslavia's wars for future peacekeeping and peacemaking by the United Nations and by NATO ? And what can outside powers do to heal the real and imagined wounds of war ? These are among the questions addressed in the pages of this book, the first to look at the Yugoslav tragedy from the outside in.'

Yugoslavia Through Documents : From Its Creation to Its Dissolution - Dordrecht : Nijhoff, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0792326709

xxviii, 1074 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80010775 Type: M

Library Location: 949 /00055

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAVIA--HISTORY

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Trifunovska, Snezana, ed.

Includes index.

'This book contains more than 360 documents relevant to the international legal position of the Yugoslav territories in the 19th century, the creation of Yugoslavia as a common state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1918, its constitutional development and the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia and the creation of the new states of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.'

Yugoslavia's Wars : The Problem from Hell - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 162 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80012434 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00582

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.

2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'By the late 1994, it was apparent that the danger of continued fighting could fracture the NATO Alliance and lead to the spread of the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Bearing this possibility in mind, the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), US Army War College, convened

its second annual roundtable on the subject on January 30, 1995. SSI asked the specialists published in this volume to assess how we have gotten to the present situation, to define its parameters, and finally, to suggest where we should and might be going in the future.'

Ackermann, Alice

Making Peace Prevail : Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia - Syracuse, NY : Syracuse University Press, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:0815628129

xii, 217 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution)

ID number: 80016492 Type: M

Library Location: 327.5 /00379

Subject(s):

1. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT--FYROM
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--FYROM

Bibliography: p. 185-211. Includes index.

'This volume offers an in-depth account of how Macedonia held onto peace during the violent breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Faced with ethnic tensions and the threat of the Bosnian war, this republic was spared the fate of Croatia and Bosnia because of successful preventive diplomacy.'

Andreatta, Filippo

The Bosnian War and the New World Order : Failure and Success of International Intervention - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:

25 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 1)

ID number: 80017571 Type: M

Library Location: 341.2 /00274

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)
'The war in Bosnia has witnessed a broad swing in the moods of the 'international community' and of European nations particularly. In the wake of the end of the Cold War and of the victory in the Gulf War, expectations run high at the outbreak that collective security would have been able to deal with regional disturbances. Three years later, the 'international community' has accumulated many frustrations and the IFOR operations which put an end to the fighting was regarded as a highly specific one which was unlikely to be repeated in other contingencies. This paper argues that both the initial and the final attitudes toward the Bosnian War have been excessive and, somehow, related. The initial optimism rested on uncertain foundations and was very likely to fail. The delusion, in turn, produced a cynical mood in which the initial mistakes were reversed and substituted with a pessimistic assessment of the prospects for long term stability. A more balanced attitude would not have produced such extremes and would have maintained a consensus in the 'international community' for a wise and moderate engagement in regional stability.'

Bennett, Christopher

Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse : Causes, Course and Consequences - London :

Hurst, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0814712347

xv, 272 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ID number: 80012038

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00576

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. YUGOSLAVIA--HISTORY

Bibliography: p. 252-255. Includes index.

'Beginning and concluding his work with a detailed examination of the Yugoslav killing fields and explicitly rejecting the notion that Balkan peoples are somehow predisposed to violence, Bennett also provides a concise and accessible history of Yugoslavia, tracing Slavic culture and politics through the world wars and the age of Tito.'

Biberaj, Elez

Kosova : The Balkan Powder Keg - London : RISCT, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:

26 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 258)

ID number: 80008249

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00495

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. ALBANIANS--YUGOSLAVIA

3. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)
'There is now a real danger of a wider Balkan war. Tensions in Kosova are running high. 30,000 Serbian soldiers and 25,000 armed police are there in an attempt by the Serbs to change the ethnic structure of the population to the disadvantage of the Albanian majority. In this study the author unravels the complex and longstanding issues behind the case of Kosova and describes the emergence of an organised resistance to the Serbs with a united leadership and a clear political programme. The risk of war in Kosova is a direct threat to Albania and could lead to a Balkan war with much wider reverberations involving Macedonia, Turkey and Greece. Dr. Biberaj's study is a signal to the international community of the consequences of ignoring the looming danger to the Balkan peoples and advocates urgent international action to encourage a democratic political culture and stabilise society.'

Blank, Stephen J.

U.S. Policy in the Balkans : A Hobson's Choice - Carlisle Barracks, PA :

US Army War College, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

viii, 31 p. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80012320

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00578

Additional Author(s):

1. Johnsen, William Thomas, 1952-

2. Tilford, Earl H.

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--USA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
'The United States may have to reassess its fundamental policy objectives - and the ways and means to achieve them - if peace is to be effected in the Balkans. The intent of this report is to analyze and assess existing policies, to identify any conflicts or contradictions that may stymie US efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution of the crisis, and to offer potential solutions. Its goal is to examine current policy within a context that fits Bosnia into the larger pattern of US interests and policy. In this manner, the

report offers a broader framework for the strategic decisions that may face the United States in the not so distant future.'

Bougarel, Xavier

Bosnie : anatomie d'un conflit - Paris : La Decouverte, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:2707125393

174 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80012978 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00594

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995

Bibliography: p. 171-174.

'Les polemiques qui ont porte sur le conflit bosniaque, souvent percu comme incomprehensible, ont laisse dans l'obscurite des mecanismes essentiels de cette guerre. Cet ouvrage contribue a les eclairer.

Quelle est l'histoire du communautarisme en Bosnie ? Cette republique pouvait-elle survivre a l'eclatement de la Yougoslavie ? Comment le voisin d'hier a pu se transformer en criminel ? Pourquoi cette guerre a connu des situations militaires si complexes ? Pourquoi, au lieu d'une 'economie de guerre', s'est developpee une 'economie mafieuse' ?'

Burg, Steven L., 1950-

The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina : Ethnic Conflict and International

Intervention - Armonk, NY : Sharpe, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:1563243083

xviii, 499 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80015616 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00643

Additional Author(s):

1. Shoup, Paul S.

Subject(s):

1. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995

2. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--ETHNIC RELATIONS

3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

4. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995

Bibliography: p. 469-482. Includes index.

'This is a probing analysis of the crisis in Bosnia and the dilemmas surrounding international efforts to resolve it. The authors analyze the causes and conduct of the war; why, for more than three years, international efforts to resolve the conflict in Bosnia failed; and why one such effort finally succeeded in late 1995. They review the provisions of the Dayton accord and ask whether subsequent experience supports the hope that the accord will lead to long-term peace in Bosnia. Throughout the book the authors carefully examine not just events but the conflicting perceptions and goals of the participants on all sides - the warring parties, their internal rivals and opponents, the neighboring states, and international actors. The book aims to be a definitive account of the war - reasoned and reflective, dispassionate and meticulously documented. Only through such an exercise might it be possible to derive constructive lessons from the horrendous experience of ethnic conflict and international intervention in Bosnia.'

Caplan, Richard

Post-Mortem on UNPROFOR - London : Brassey's, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

64 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 33)

ID number: 80012877

Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00095

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

'This study examines the UN's peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), from its inception in February 1992 to its effective termination in January 1996. Not since the UN intervention in the Congo in the early 1960s have UN peacekeepers been involved in a more controversial operation - and one that by the Organization's own admission exhibited only limited success. This study explores why, despite some notable achievements, UNPROFOR largely failed to meet its stated objectives. It also draws lessons from the experience for UN peacekeeping reform.'

Chandler, David, 1962-

Bosnia : Faking Democracy after Dayton - London : Pluto Press, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0745314082

x, 239 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016090

Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00611

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRACY--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
2. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
3. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Bibliography: p. 204-230. Includes index.

'The author makes here the first in-depth critical analysis of the policies and impact of post-Dayton democratisation. Drawing on interviews with key officials within the OSCE in Bosnia and extensive original research covering questions of ethical foreign policy, East/West division, globalisation and the nation-state, and national/ethnic divisions, Chandler reveals that the process has done virtually nothing to develop democracy in this troubled country. Political autonomy and accountability are now further away than at any time since the outbreak of the Bosnian war. Chandler examines the official institutional assessments and liberal and conservative critiques to conclude that the dynamic behind greater international involvement in Bosnia has been less the desire to establish democracy than the drive to cohere new mechanisms of global cooperation after the end of the Cold War. This has led to the postponement of international withdrawal from Bosnia and the extension of the mandates of NATO and the United Nations.'

Cigar, Norman

The Right to Defence : Thoughts on the Bosnian Arms Embargo - London : Alliance, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0907967582

47 p.; 21 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 63)

ID number: 80011904

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00572

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. EMBARGO

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)

'Besides the growing evidence that the arms embargo is illegal in international law, as well as immoral in depriving an internationally recognised state of the means of its own defence, the author concludes

that there are cogent reasons for believing that lifting the embargo makes both military and diplomatic sense.'

Clarke, Michael, 1950-

Replacing SFOR in Bosnia : Options for a DFOR in 1998 - London :

Brassey's, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:

48 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 43)

ID number: 80014610

Type: M

Library Location: 496.3 /00298

Additional Author(s):

1. Duncan, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995

2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

'As the end of the mandate of the NATO-led multinational Stabilisation Force in Bosnia approaches in June 1998 questions regarding a successor force are now being urgently addressed. The desirability and practicability of a successor force is dependent upon a series of difficult contingent questions, all of which have to be answered in some way before a successor force can be either established or discounted. Such questions revolve around the likely outcome in Bosnia if SFOR were not replaced; an assessment of the success of the Dayton Accords and a consideration of whether the military can do more to increase its effectiveness; the question of whether the United States will remain in any new arrangement, and if it does not, whether the Europeans will shoulder the responsibility; whether the Europeans have the required military strength and political will to do so; the problem of the size of any new force - on present trends it might be smaller, but it would almost certainly have to be reinforced if Dayton is to be, in effect, imposed upon the parties.'

Collon, Michel

Poker menteur : les grandes puissances, la Yougoslavie et les prochaines guerres - Bruxelles : EPO, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:2872621148

379 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

ID number: 80016320

Type: M

Library Location: 659 /00077

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. MASS MEDIA

3. FOREIGN NEWS

Includes index.

'Etes-vous d'accord avec ces guerres que l'OTAN nous prepare ? Mais vous vous demandez, apres tant de desinformation : peut-on comprendre des conflits comme la Yougoslavie ? Ne sommes-nous pas dans un immense poker menteur ou la regle est de mentir, bluffer, dissimuler ses alliances ? Voici justement la grille pour dechiffrer les interets caches des grandes puissances : Etats-Unis, Allemagne, et leurs manoeuvres en coulisses. La Yougoslavie a ete un laboratoire permettant a l'OTAN de preparer de prochaines guerres. Ou auront-elles lieu ? Reverrons-nous ces colonnes de refugies, ces camps, ces massacres ? Mais, d'abord, que vaut notre information ? Dans ce livre, l'auteur vous donne les moyens d'analyser vous-meme les mediamensonges. Et surtout ces guerres qui viennent. Parce que defendre la paix vaut la peine de s'engager. En connaissance de cause.'

Combelles-Siegel, Pascale

Target Bosnia : Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations :
NATO-Led Operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, December 1995-1997 -
Washington : National Defense University Press, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:1579060080

199 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80015257

Type: M

Library Location: 659 /00072

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
3. FOREIGN NEWS
4. MASS MEDIA

Bibliography: p. 193-198.

'With each day that passes drawing us further down the path from the Industrial to the Information age, many officers are convinced that victory is no longer determined on the ground, but in media reporting. This is even more true in peace support operations (PSO) where the goal is not to conquer territory or defeat an enemy but to persuade parties in conflict (as well as the local populations) into a favored course of action. This monograph examines the role of information in PSO and its impact on command and control through the prism of NATO-led operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina from December 1995 into 1997.'

Corwin, Phillip

Dubious Mandate : A Memoir of the UN in Bosnia, Summer 1995 - Durham, NC :
Duke University Press, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0822321262

xxii, 268 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016081

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00656

Subject(s):

1. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995--PERSONAL NARRATIVES
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA--PERSONAL NARRATIVES
3. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Bibliography: p. 255. Includes index.

'A critical year in the history of peacekeeping, 1995 saw the dramatic transformation of the role of United Nations' forces in Bosnia from being a protective force to being an active combatant under NATO leadership. Phillip Corwin, the UN's chief political officer in Sarajevo during the summer of that year, presents a first-person, insider's account of the momentous events that led to that transformation. The book interweaves personal experiences of daily life in a war zone - supply shortages, human suffering, assassination attempts, corruption - with historical facts, as Corwin challenges commonly held views of the war with his own highly informed, discerning, and trenchant political commentary.'

Cousens, Elizabeth M.

Toward Peace in Bosnia : Implementing the Dayton Accords - Boulder, CO :
Lynne Rienner, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:155587942X

189 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series)

ID number: 80017348

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00686

Additional Author(s):

1. Cater, Charles K.

Subject(s):

1. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Added entry(s):

1. International Peace Academy (US)

Bibliography: p. 167-178. Includes index.

'When the Dayton peace agreement was signed in 1995, there were

expectations among the signatories, the Bosnian population, and the international community alike that the pact would not only end conflict among Bosnia's three armies, but also establish a political and social foundation for more robust peace. Recognizing that the latter goal - incorporating political reform and democratization, consolidating a multiethnic state, and economic reconstruction and development - remains significantly unmet, the authors explore the reasons for the only limited success. Was the agreement fundamentally flawed, or is the disappointing progress more attributable to weaknesses in implementation? Does the fault lie outside the country, or with the Bosnians themselves? Considering these and other questions, the authors examine the choices made, as well as the constraints faced, by those seeking a lasting peace in Bosnia.'

Delcourt, Barbara

(Ex-)Yougoslavie : droit international, politique et ideologies -

Bruxelles : Bruylant, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:2802710850

202 p.; 24 cm.

(Collection de droit international ; 35)

ID number: 80014816

Type: M

Library Location: 341 /00061

Additional Author(s):

1. Corten, Olivier

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. INTERNATIONAL LAW

Bibliography: p. 193-202.

'La crise yougoslave illustre tout particulièrement les specificités d'une société internationale dans laquelle le droit occupe un rôle à la fois central (il imprègne le discours officiel de tous ses protagonistes) et limité (dans la mesure où son application est le plus souvent conditionnée par l'état des rapports de force à un moment donné). Dans ce contexte, seule une analyse des relations dialectiques liant droit international et politique permet de comprendre ce qui s'est passé en (ex-)Yougoslavie de 1991 à 1995. Telle est en tout cas l'hypothèse à la base du présent ouvrage. Dans un premier chapitre, les auteurs se demandent dans quelle mesure la politique a investi le droit international. Les contradictions qui ont caractérisé les positions juridiques des États, notamment européens, à propos de certains épisodes comme les revendications d'indépendance de la Croatie et de la Slovaquie, ainsi que la faiblesse des institutions comme l'ONU, accablent à première vue, la thèse d'une remise en cause du droit international dans son essence même. Dans un deuxième chapitre, c'est à partir des théories politiques portant sur les relations internationales que se développe l'analyse. La crise yougoslave a, en effet, constitué un test remarquable pour ces théories, en particulier pour ce qui concerne la place qu'elles réservent au droit international. Le rôle du juge, à travers lequel on observe les relations dialectiques entre droit et politique, est abordé dans un troisième chapitre consacré à une étude critique de la 'Commission Badinter' et de son activité. En conclusion, les auteurs assimilent le droit international à une 'idéologie juridique', qui doit être remplacée dans le cadre plus vaste d'une lutte entre idéologies concurrentes dans laquelle le droit remplit une fonction de légitimation, avec un succès tout relatif en (ex-)Yougoslavie.'

Donia, Robert J.

Bosnia and Hercegovina : A Tradition Betrayed - London : Hurst, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:1850652120

xi, 318 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80010990

Type: M

Library Location: 949 /00057

Additional Author(s):

1. Fine, John Van Antwerp, 1939-

Subject(s):

1. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY

2. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--ETHNIC RELATIONS

3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Includes index.

'This book examines Bosnia's rich historical traditions in light of the conflicts that erupted there in 1992. The authors take issue with the widespread perception of Bosnia's history as consisting of perpetual violence and tribal hatred among the Serbs, Croats and Muslims. In contrast, they emphasize that a rich tradition of diversity, pluralism and toleration developed over many centuries and flourished until very recently. This tradition in everyday life was reflected in politics by coalition building and a habit of pragmatic compromise.'

Eyal, Jonathan

Europe and Yugoslavia : Lessons from a Failure - London : Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0855160861

ii, 80 p. ; 22 cm.

(Whitehall Paper Series)

ID number: 80008310

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00496

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--EUROPE

2. EEC--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)

Feron, Bernard

Yougoslavie : origines d'un conflit - Paris : Le Monde, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:2501019903

178 p. : ill. ; 18 cm.

ID number: 80010390

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00540

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAVIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Bibliography: p. 173. Includes index.

'La guerre qui se deroule dans l'ex-Yougoslavie a des causes multiples et anciennes. La montee du nationalisme sur la scene europeenne, le 'nettoyage ethnique' interrogent l'ensemble des democraties. Ce livre permet de mieux comprendre l'imbroglio et le drame yougoslaves, en resituant les evenements recents dans une perspective historique.'

Glenny, Misha

The Fall of Yugoslavia : The Third Balkan War - New ed. - London : Penguin, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0140172882

193 p. : ill. ; 20 cm.

ID number: 80009105

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00510

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Includes index.

Gnesotto, Nicole

Lecons de la Yougoslavie - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 45 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 14)

ID number: 80017548

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00673

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. EU--CFSP

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Gnesotto, Nicole

Lessons of Yugoslavia - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 45 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 14)

ID number: 80016970

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00673

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. EU--CFSP

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Gow, James

Peace-Making, Peace-Keeping : European Security and the Yugoslav Wars - London : Brassey's Defence Publications, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:

72 p. : ill.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 11)

ID number: 80007603

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00485

Additional Author(s):

1. Smith, James D. D.

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

3. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

'The purpose of the present paper is to look at international handling of the conflict in Croatia and the ways in which this contributed to the eventual January 1992 cease-fire and the subsequent deployment of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In doing so, the authors look at some of the implications for institutions of European security which emerge from the handling of the Yugoslav conflict, thus far.'

Gow, James

Triumph of the Lack of Will : International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War - London : Hurst, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1850652082

xii, 343 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014692

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00624

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Includes index.

'This book examines how and why the major Western powers failed in their attempts to cope with the collapse of Yugoslavia and its descent into a savage five-year war. This failure also shattered long-cherished notions about how the United Nations, NATO and the

European Community would deal with such crises. The author concludes that the mistiming, inappropriateness and incoherence of international policies, all of which were linked to the question of political will over the use of force, were the fundamentals of failure. Public opinion reacted with horror to the ethnic cleansing and mass terror accompanying the war, yet politicians remained unwilling to countenance military intervention once diplomacy had failed to stop the conflict from escalating. In the mean time Bosnia-Hercegovina was virtually destroyed as a separate entity. This lack of consensus and its consequences seem all the more disastrous with hindsight. Once a coherent plan was instigated under US auspices, air power cowed the Bosnian Serbs militarily and Western governments pushed through the Dayton Peace Plan.'

Hartmann, Florence

Milosevic : la diagonale du fou - Paris : Denoel, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:220724976X

441 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016064

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00655

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. MILOSEVIC, SLOBODAN, 1941-
3. YUGOSLAVIA--HISTORY
4. SERBIA--HISTORY

Includes index.

'Jeudi 27 mai 1999, Slobodan Milosevic est inculpe par le Tribunal penal international pour 'crimes contre l'humanite, comprenant la deportation, la persecution et le meurtre'. Reconnu comme l'instigateur de l'une des pires tragedies du XXe siecle, Milosevic va donc enfin rendre des comptes. Veritable plongee dans l'incroyable engrenage qui a mene a l'horreur, l'enquete de Florence Hartmann permet de comprendre, grace a l'utilisation de sources encore inexploitees, en quoi les innombrables crimes commis ne sont nullement une consequence des conflits successifs mais bien leur but reel. Loin des theses qui associent les hoquets de l'histoire recente a une malediction originelle pesant sur la Yougoslavie, l'auteur demontre que le nationalisme serbe affiche n'est en fait que le pretexte avance par d'anciennes elites communistes cherchant a se maintenir au pouvoir a tout prix. Jouant de la confusion politique et des faiblesses patentees de l'Occident, Milosevic n'a cesse de deployer, tout au long de cette terrible decennie, un etonnant savoir-faire strategique et mediatique. Depuis les origines de la folie meurtriere jusqu'a la guerre du Kosovo, en passant par toutes les peripeties des conflits entre nations yougoslaves, cet ouvrage retrace l'itineraire qui a conduit Milosevic a affronter la plus grande coalition militaire du siecle.'

Holbrooke, Richard C.

To End a War - New York : Modern Library, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0375753605

xx, 410 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016190

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00661

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--PERSONAL NARRATIVES, AMERICAN
2. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
3. HOLBROOKE, RICHARD C.

Bibliography: p. 387-390. Includes index.

Honig, Jan Willem, 1958-

Srebrenica : Record of a War Crime - London : Penguin, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:0140261656

xx, 204 p. : ill.; 20 cm.

ID number: 80014644

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00621

Additional Author(s):

1. Both, Norbert

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--SREBRENICA

Includes index.

'Despite clear warnings (and the presence of Dutch UN troops), Bosnian Serbs at Srebrenica carried out the worst single war crime in Europe since the end of World War II. In this definitive account, a lecturer in War Studies at King's College, London, and a former assistant to Lord Owen illuminate the background, the deepening crisis and the tragic failure to prevent the massacre. Rejecting rumours that peacekeepers were cowardly or incompetent, or that there was a conspiracy to abandon the 'safe areas', they argue that incoherent Western plans both to relieve suffering and to ensure that aggression did not pay led inexorably to disaster. Their balanced and penetrating book draws out the terrible consequences and the essential lessons for us all.'

Johnsen, William Thomas, 1952-

Deciphering the Balkan Enigma : Using History to Inform Policy - Revised ed. - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

xvii, 125 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80012579

Type: M

Library Location: 949 /00060

Subject(s):

1. BALKAN PENINSULA--ETHNIC RELATIONS

2. BALKAN PENINSULA--HISTORY

3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--USA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'This report first outlines a brief history of the region that sets the context for current conditions. The discussion next examines the clash of languages, religions, ethnic groups and cultures that have shaped the region and brought the Balkan cauldron to a boil. An examination of the political development of the area and its influence on events follows. Based on this background, the study then offers insights to assist decisionmakers in their policy deliberations. The report next assesses potential policy options, and offers some brief conclusions. Finally, while the study examines the Balkans as a whole, greater attention focuses on matters relating to the former Yugoslavia.'

Johnsen, William Thomas, 1952-

U.S. Participation in IFOR : A Marathon, Not a Sprint - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

x, 47 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80013257

Type: M

Library Location: 496.3 /00282

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

3. USA--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'The US decision to join the Implementation Force (IFOR) for the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Hercegovina (familarly known as the Dayton Accords) marked a crucial milestone toward achieving the US national objective of a lasting political

settlement to the conflict in Bosnia. Equally critical will be determining whether the United States will continue participating in IFOR beyond the currently established 12-month deadline.'

Judah, Tim, 1962-

The Serbs : History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia - New Haven : Yale University Press, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0300071132

xvii, 350 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ID number: 80015892

Type: M

Library Location: 949 /00063

Subject(s):

1. SERBS--HISTORY
2. YUGOSLAVIA--HISTORY
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Bibliography: p. 333-336. Includes index.

'The aim of this book is to trace the history of the Serbs and to explain how they came to be where they are, and in the case of Croatia were until 1995. It is to trace the way that the centre of Serbian life migrated with its people from south to north and to explain how the idea of 'Serbdom', as the Serbs call it, was kept alive during the centuries of Ottoman rule. It is also to explore why, with the fall of communism, they enthusiastically acclaimed Slobodan Milosevic, an opportunistic and cynical leader who was interested only in power.'

Kalpyris, Eugenios

Les sanctions des Nations Unies dans le conflit de l'ex-Yougoslavie : la cooperation OSCE/Union europeenne - Bruxelles : Bruylant, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:2802706446

xi, 191 p. ; 17 cm.

ID number: 80013158

Type: M

Library Location: 341.6 /00033

Additional Author(s):

1. Vork, Richardt
2. Napolitano, Antonio

Subject(s):

1. SANCTIONS (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
2. UNITED NATIONS--SANCTIONS
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

'Dans le cadre de la presente etude, les auteurs donnent leur temoignage personnel de l'application des sanctions decretees par le Conseil de Securite pour gerer la crise yougoslave. Ils abordent la question du point de vue juridique, operationnel et diplomatique.'

Leurdijk, Dick A.

The United Nations and NATO in Former Yugoslavia : Partners in International Cooperation - The Hague : Netherlands Atlantic Commission, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:9073329043

xiv, 106 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ID number: 80010601

Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00075

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. NATO--UNITED NATIONS
3. NATO
4. UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Venema, Auke P., ed.
2. Netherlands Atlantic Commission (NL)
3. Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' (NL)

Bibliography: p. 86-87.

'This study on the evolving relationship between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Alliance is also a useful summary of events

relating to the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, it includes an appendix on the decision-making by the United Nations Security Council concerning the former Yugoslavia.'

Leurdijk, Dick A.

The United Nations and NATO in Former Yugoslavia, 1991-1996 : Limits to Diplomacy and Force - The Hague : Netherlands Atlantic Commission, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9073329078

xv, 152 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80013762

Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00075

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. DAYTON AGREEMENTS, 1995
3. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
4. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
5. NATO--UNITED NATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Venema, Auke P., ed.
2. Netherlands Atlantic Commission (NL)
3. Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' (NL)

'This book is a follow-up to 'The United Nations and NATO in Former Yugoslavia : Partners in International Cooperation', which was published in 1994. This present publication partly draws upon its predecessor and follows the developments since then, until October 1996 on the eve of the decision to continue the presence of a military follow-up force to IFOR. The book is to a large extent based on official UN and NATO documents, decisions, reports and declarations which are publicly accessible.'

Lukic, Reneo

Europe from the Balkans to the Urals : The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:0198292007

xvii, 436 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013416

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00602

Additional Author(s):

1. Lynch, Allen, 1955-

Subject(s):

1. DISMEMBERMENT OF NATIONS
2. NATIONALISM--YUGOSLAVIA
3. NATIONALISM--USSR
4. YUGOSLAVIA--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
5. USSR--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
6. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SE)

Bibliography: p. 403-419. Includes index.

'This book is a comparative study of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union - as multinational, federal, communist states - and the reaction of European and US foreign policy to the parallel collapses of these nations. The authors describe the structural similarities in the destabilization of the two countries, providing great insight into the demise of both.'

Messervy-Whitting, Graham

Peace Conference on Former Yugoslavia : The Politico-Military Interface -
London : Brassey's, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

81 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 21)

ID number: 80010073

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00524

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

'The aim of this study is to examine the politico-military interface in the Conference's relations with the local parties, with other international bodies and national governments, with the agencies on the ground, then within ICFY itself, during the period ended August 1993. A chronological summary, covering the period up until August 1993 of ICFY's main activities, is annexed for the record.'

Mestrovic, Stjepan Gabriel

The Balkanization of the West : The Confluence of Postmodernism and
Postcommunism - London : Routledge, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0415087546

xiv, 226 p. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80011394

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00568

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

2. POSTMODERNISM

3. POST-COMMUNISM

4. WORLD POLITICS

Bibliography: p. 211-220. Includes index.

'The author argues that the media has reduced the world to a collective voyeur that passively watches and monitors horrible crimes against humanity. The Balkan War has produced the Balkanization of the West with the leading Western powers seemingly paralysed by the spectacle of internecine warfare. Mestrovic claims that the Balkan War has derailed the movement for unification in Europe. The Islamic world has seen that the West is quite willing to bomb Muslim targets, from Iraq to Somalia, but absolutely unwilling to wage a 'just war' to save the Bosnian Muslims. The author concludes that the Balkan War is a key catalyst in the unravelling of the West.'

Murray, Rupert Wolfe

The Road to Peace : NATO and the International Community in Bosnia -
Edinburgh : Connect, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1901205045

126 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

ID number: 80014579

Type: M

Library Location: 496.3 /00287

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

'Many of the world's leading international organisations are spending millions of dollars in an attempt to kick start the democratic process and economic regeneration in Bosnia. However, Bosnia is still a divided country where tensions between the former warring parties run high and much of the Dayton Peace Agreement, signed by all parties, is being blatantly ignored. Unless international law prevails, beginning with the arrest and trial of the indicted war criminals, it is hard to see how the withdrawal of SFOR troops in 1998 can lead to anything but a renewal of war. This book gives a unique insight into the role of the NATO peacekeepers in Bosnia. In a series of commentaries, and exclusive interviews with key people in SFOR and organisations such as the International Police Task Force, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the Overseas Development Administration,

this book assesses the chances of a lasting peace.'

Owen, David, 1938-

Balkan Odyssey - London : Gollancz, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0575062517

xxii, 394 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ID number: 80013189

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00597

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--PERSONAL NARRATIVES, BRITISH

2. OWEN, DAVID, 1938-

Includes index.

'In 1992 the former Foreign Secretary was appointed the European negotiator charged with bringing the conflicting parties around the conference table to hammer out compromises that could then be implemented on the battlefield, and for three years he strove both to contain the various wars in the former Yugoslavia and to impose a peace plan on a political impasse which consistently defied solution. This book is Lord Owen's personal account of how the international community strove to cope with the events of these years, the story of the struggle for a peace settlement amidst the horror and torment of ethnic cleansing, war crimes, racism, nationalism and religious intolerance.'

Pierson, Jean-Luc

La Yougoslavie desintegree - Bruxelles : GRIP, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:

73 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

(Dossiers du GRIP ; 166)

ID number: 80007724

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00486

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix (BE)

'Par une approche documentaire, ce dossier tente d'appréhender dans ses cinq premiers chapitres les principaux éléments expliquant l'éclatement de la Yougoslavie. Le dernier chapitre retrace les initiatives diplomatiques, médiatrices ou contraignantes des instances européennes et internationales en vue de résoudre le conflit.'

Ramelot, Vincent

L'OSCE et les conflits en Europe - Bruxelles : GRIP, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:287291014X

136 p. ; 21 cm.

(Dossiers du GRIP ; 203-204)

ID number: 80012753

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01153

Additional Author(s):

1. Remacle, Eric

Subject(s):

1. OSCE

2. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

4. NAGORNO-KARABAKH (AZERBAIJAN)

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Européen de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Sécurité (BE)

'L'action de l'Organisation pour la Sécurité et la Coopération en Europe passe généralement inaperçue du grand public. Elle n'en est pas moins significative. Née de la dynamique de détente des années 70 matérialisée par l'Acte final d'Helsinki, l'OSCE s'est, depuis la fin de la guerre froide, institutionnalisée. Elle constitue le seul forum ou l'ensemble des États d'Europe, d'Amérique du Nord et de ceux issus de l'ex-URSS débattent en permanence des questions de sécurité dans la zone s'étendant de Vancouver à Vladivostok. Son action face aux

conflits armes ou aux tensions larvees, en particulier portant sur la question nationale, s'inscrit dans la volonte de construire, au travers d'institutions paneuropeennes, un contrefeu face aux risques de guerre. Securite cooperative, diplomatie preventive et renforcement de l'Etat de droit en constituent les trois mots-cles. Cet ouvrage cherche a mettre en lumiere l'apport de l'OSCE au processus de resolution des conflits et des crises en Europe et en Asie centrale. Il en souligne aussi les limites et les difficultes, souvent dues aux interets divergents des Etats participants. Enfin, il tente de clarifier le partage des roles qui s'etablit sur le terrain entre cette organisation et les Nations Uneis d'une part, les autres acteurs regionaux (UE, UEO, OTAN, CCNA, CEI) d'autre part.

Remacle, Eric

La politique etrangere europeenne : de Maastricht a la Yougoslavie - Bruxelles : GRIP, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:

60 p.; 22 cm.

(Dossiers du GRIP ; 167)

ID number: 80007790

Type: M

Library Location: 441 /00036

Subject(s):

1. TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (1992)
2. EEC--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

Added entry(s):

1. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix (BE)
'Parmi les innovations du nouveau Traite d'Union signe en fevrier 1992 l'instauration d'un cadre institutionnel pour la politique etrangere et de securite commune (PESC) est presentee comme une avancee majeure de la construction politique europeenne. Mais les difficultes de 'penser europeen' et de sortir du cadre etroit de l'heritage diplomatique des Etats-nations pour construire un veritable espace strategique europeen se sont clairement affirmees tant dans le debat sur la reconnaissance des republicues post-yougoslaves que dans celui sur l'elargissement futur de l'Union aux autres Etats du continent... L'Europe contruira-t-elle une strategie innovatrice, a la mesure des enjeux planetaires du prochain millenaire et conforme aux valeurs dont elle se reclame ?'

Richardson, Mervyn

The Effects of War on the Environment : Croatia - London : E & FN Spon, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0419197907

xv, 229 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80011411

Type: M

Library Location: 614 /00137

Subject(s):

1. WAR--ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS
2. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY--CROATIA
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS
4. INDUSTRY AND STATE--CROATIA

Includes index.

'The author discusses here in detail the destruction of the Croatian chemical industry and suggests ways in which new techniques will need to be used for remediation. Important aspects of the economy such as tourism and agriculture are also considered, and a contribution by Croatian scientists covers groundwater pollution caused by the destruction of an ammunition store. The book concludes with a look at the future possibilities for encouraging new industries to take the place of the old and gives a detailed breakdown of key Croatian agencies.'

Ripley, Tim

Operation Deliberate Force : the UN and NATO Campaign in Bosnia 1995 -
Lancaster : Centre for Defence and International Security Studies,
1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0953665003

351 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(CDISS Bailrigg Study ; 3)

ID number: 80016502 Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00123

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
2. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
3. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
4. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995
5. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Lancaster University. Cartmel College. Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (GB)

Bibliography : p. 330-333. Includes index.

'During the evening of 10th September 1995, thirteen US Navy Tomahawk cruise missiles devastated a Bosnian Serb communications tower in the climax of a joint NATO and UN military operation to lift the siege of Sarajevo. Three days later Serb leaders agreed to pull their guns back and two months later the Dayton Peace Accords ended the war. This book tells for the first time the inside story of the military moves that brought three year long Bosnian war to an end. Senior western military commanders, UN 'blue helmets', and NATO airmen describe their roller-coaster year, from the disasters of the spring and summer of 1995 through to launching of Operation Deliberate Force in August and September.'

Schmidt, Kristian

Collective Western European Resort to Armed Force : Lessons from Danish,
Italian and British Experiences in the Gulf and former Yugoslavia -
Copenhagen : DJOF Publishing, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:8757430233

82 p. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80010599 Type: M

Library Location: 441 /00043

Subject(s):

1. EU--CFSP
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--DENMARK
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--GREAT BRITAIN
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--ITALY
5. PERSIAN GULF WAR, 1991--DENMARK
6. PERSIAN GULF WAR, 1991--GREAT BRITAIN
7. PERSIAN GULF WAR, 1991--ITALY

Added entry(s):

1. Danish Institute of International Studies (DK)

Bibliography: p. 77-82.

'Addressing the issue of whether an influential Western European Common Foreign and Security Policy is likely to emerge from cooperation within the European Union, the essay assesses the degree of convergence in Western European attitudes to the use of armed force. Arguing that Western European Foreign and Security Policy cooperation above all is put to the test when the question of whether the European Union member states should engage in a collective armed intervention outside the NATO area arises, the essay looks at the national experiences in this area. The Gulf War and the conflict in former Yugoslavia were chosen as case studies.'

Sharp, Jane M. O.

Anglo-American Relations and Crisis in Yugoslavia (FRY) = Les relations anglo-americaines a l'epreuve de la crise yougoslave - Paris : IFRI, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:2865920704

82 p.; 21 cm.

(Notes de l'IFRI, 1272-9914 ; 9)

ID number: 80017390

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00690

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--GREAT BRITAIN
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--USA
3. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (FR)
'This essay reviews developments in Anglo-American relations in relation to British and US policy towards Former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The main observation is that the so-called 'special relationship' between Washington and London deteriorated during the Yugoslav wars of dissolution due to a combination of weak leadership - in both the Bush and Clinton administrations - in the US, and unprincipled pragmatism in the British cabinet under Tory prime minister John Major. Relations improved when the US re-asserted leadership in 1995, and even moreso when a more principled Labour government replaced the Tories in the British elections in May 1997. President Clinton's spurt of leadership was not sustained, however, and the Anglo-American axis failed to exploit the momentum of 1997 to generate an appropriately robust response to Serb aggression in Kosovo in 1998. This essay is in seven sections. It begins with an account of the refusal to deal seriously with the Yugoslav crisis by the Bush and Clinton administrations from 1991 until mid-1995. The second section reviews the debate in Britain in 1992, in the absence of any lead from the US, about whether and how Britain and the other European powers should intervene in the Bosnian wars. The third section analyses the main policy disputes that emerged between Britain and the US during the first and second Clinton administrations, both during the war in Bosnia 1992-1995 and during the implementation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFA) since January 1996. The fourth section describes the convergence between the US and British views in 1994-1995 from the formation of the Contact Group until the conclusion of the GFA in November 1995. The fifth section analyses Anglo-American relations during the first two years of the implementation of the GFA. The sixth section charts the growing warmth between Washington and London once Tony Blair became prime minister in Britain, and Madeleine Albright replaced Warren Christopher as US Secretary of State. The concluding section shows how short-lived the spurt of US leadership was and how little the US and Britain had learned from their combined experiences in Bosnia as they repeated most of the mistakes in their policy towards Kosovo in early 1998 that they committed in 1991-1995 in Bosnia.'

Sharp, Jane M. O.

Bankrupt in the Balkans : British Policy in Bosnia - London : Institute for Public Policy Research, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:1872452620

24 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80008391

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00498

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--GREAT BRITAIN

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Public Policy Research (GB)
'As President of the EC in the second half of 1992, Britain failed to build a coalition that could not only have saved Bosnia but also laid the foundations for a new post-Cold War security system for Europe. The best hope now for creating conditions safe enough for the return of refugees is to establish a UN trusteeship for Bosnia, secured by

multilateral military forces, that will permit the different political and ethnic factions to work out a new modus vivendi.'

Sloan, Elinor Camille, 1965-

Bosnia and the New Collective Security - Westport, CT : Praeger, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:0275961656

xii, 128 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80015706

Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00115

Subject(s):

1. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1992-1995
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
3. CRISIS MANAGEMENT
4. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
5. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Bibliography: p. 119-123. Includes index.

'This work examines two complex and interrelated topics : the role of peacekeeping and related operations in managing nontraditional crises, and the international community's response to the recent conflict in Bosnia. The author explains the changing nature of international involvement and draws out lessons for the future.'

Stevanovic, Vidosav

Milosevic, une epitaphe - [Paris] : Fayard, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:2213607478

390 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016996

Type: M

Library Location: 92 MILO/00001

Subject(s):

1. MILOSEVIC, SLOBODAN, 1941- --BIOGRAPHY
2. SERBIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
4. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999

Includes index.

'Toute biographie de Milosevic pourrait paraitre de prime abord comme une illustration de la 'banalite du mal', pour reprendre la fameuse expression d'Hannah Arendt. C'est l'irresistible ascension d'un 'homme sans qualites' succedant, a la tete de la Serbie puis de la Federation yougoslave, a la figure charismatique de Tito, mort en 1980. Mais, comme souvent quand on evoque les regimes communistes, a fortiori dans ces terres de legendes que sont les Balkans, derriere la prose grisatre du socialisme reel se profilent des situations shakespeariennes, dantesques ou homeriques. Voici l'extraordinaire histoire d'un homme dont la vie parait pouvoir se resumer a la liste des postes qu'il a occupes. Voici l'enfance sans enfance du 'Petit Sloba', fils d'un pretre orthodoxe qui finira par se suicider, tout comme se suicidera sa mere. Voici la petite Miriana, camarade d'enfance, future epouse, inamovible et unique compagne, nee en prison et dont l'une des tantes, maitresse de Tito, fut inhumee sous le balcon du Guide supreme... Etc. C'est a partir de 1987, lorsque les premiers troubles graves eclatent au Kosovo, que Milosevic s'affiche comme le protecteur farouche de la minorite serbe dans la province. C'est a partir de cet episode que se dessine une ascension qui est celle d'un anti-Gorbatchev, soucieux de dresser un 'mur de Belgrade' du jour ou tombe celui de Berlin, et capable, dans son pays-bunker, de soutenir une guerre contre le monde occidental dans son entier. Cette biographie en forme d'epitaphe nous en apprend autant sur la poudriere balkanique que sur le pompier pyromane serbe qui a eu tot fait d'eteindre sous sa botte toute trace de vie democratique autour de son clan.'

Tardy, Thierry

La France et la gestion des conflits yougoslaves (1991-1995) : enjeux et leçons d'une opération de maintien de la paix de l'ONU - Bruxelles : Bruylant, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:2802711792

xxviii, 504 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016040

Type: M

Library Location: 40 /00116

Subject(s):

1. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. FRANCE--ARMED FORCES
3. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--FRANCE

Bibliography: p. 387-421. Includes index.

'Les conflits qui ont touché les territoires de l'ex-Yougoslavie entre 1991 et 1995 ont placé la France au premier rang des États qui, par leurs actions politiques et militaires, ont tenté de les réguler. La France a ainsi joué un rôle majeur au sein de la Force de protection des Nations unies (FORPRONU), la plus importante opération dite de 'maintien de la paix' créée et mise en place par l'Organisation des Nations unies. Par cette implication, la France a souhaité répondre à plusieurs impératifs de sa politique étrangère : outre la volonté récurrente de 'tenir son rang' et de contenir un conflit menaçant la stabilité européenne, elle a voulu se poser en acteur principal du 'maintien de la paix' onusien, mais aussi en leader d'une Europe politique en construction. Dans ce contexte, si la France a effectivement démontré son aptitude à mener une opération de gestion de crise multifonctionnelle d'envergure, les difficultés rencontrées par la FORPRONU n'ont-elles pas, simultanément, révélé les limites de ses propres capacités, politiques et militaires ? En Bosnie-Herzégovine en particulier, l'option humanitaire, privilégiée par l'ONU - et par la France - , fut par essence inapte à créer les conditions d'un règlement du conflit, et plaça au contraire la FORPRONU dans une situation d'impasse. Prise dans le piège du 'maintien de la paix', la France a certes tenté de créer les conditions d'un déblocage, mais à l'exception de la création de la Force de réaction rapide (juin 1995), de telles actions n'ont eu qu'une efficacité limitée, et ont finalement surtout traduit l'absence de stratégie de gestion des conflits yougoslaves. Et si la France réussit, à de nombreuses reprises, à rallier ses partenaires européens à ses positions, c'est finalement l'intervention des États-Unis qui permit le dénouement du conflit en Bosnie-Herzégovine, stigmatisant d'autant plus les limites françaises. La FORPRONU est à la fois un précédent et un tournant dans la politique française à l'égard des opérations dites de 'maintien de la paix'. Marquant les dérives d'une opération à ne pas reproduire, elle révéla surtout l'impérieuse nécessité de mieux définir une politique aux objectifs souvent mal identifiés.'

Thomas, Robert

Serbia : Still Europe's Pariah ? - London : Alliance, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:0907967663

35 p.; 25 cm.

(European Security Study ; 24)

ID number: 80012761

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00587

Subject(s):

1. SERBIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. SERBIA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
4. NATIONALISM--SERBIA

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)
'The first study on Serbia published since peace came to the Balkans predicts that despite the ending of the war in Bosnia, Serbia remains a dangerous potential source of instability. The author predicts that tensions will continue between the new Bosnian Serb 'entity' established by the Dayton Agreement and the Serbian state with whom it

will have a 'special relationship'. Even if peace prevails, Serbia will still face problems in its political system. The wars in Croatia and Bosnia have wrecked the Serbian economy and entrenched the power of the bureaucratic and security apparatus which answers to Slobodan Milosevic. Potential exists for progress on the political and economic fronts if the peace agreements hold, but the author concludes that the forces which remain aligned against pluralism mean that the challenge of transition remains formidable.'

Veremis, Thanos M.

The Balkans and CFSP : The Views of Greece and Germany - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:9290791802

ii, 34 p.; 21 cm.

(CEPS Paper ; 59)

ID number: 80010468 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00543

Additional Author(s):

1. Thumann, Michael

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--GREECE

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--GERMANY

3. EU--CFSP

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Contains two papers : A Greek View of Balkan Developments and the Implications for CFSP / by Thanos M. Veremis . - Between Ambition and Paralysis : Germany's Balkan Policy, 1991-1994 / by Michael Thumann.

Winrow, Gareth

Where East Meets West : Turkey and the Balkans - London : Alliance, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0907967493

38 p.; 25 cm.

(European Security Study ; 18)

ID number: 80008848 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00814

Subject(s):

1. BALKAN PENINSULA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--TURKEY

3. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)

'Turkey risks the loss of her chosen role as the 'bridge' between east and west, as well as the extinction of her hopes of joining the EEC, if her constructive moderation in the Balkans is unrewarded and unrecognised by the West. Dr. Winrow suggests that direct, unilateral Turkish military intervention in the Balkans is unlikely, unless the war spreads to Kosovo and Macedonia. In that event, Islamic fundamentalism may overwhelm the pro-Western, secularist tendencies which have dominated Turkish politics for most of the last seventy years. Much therefore is at stake in the Balkan conflict, beyond the immediate field of battle. For if that conflict and the Western response to it should result in Turkey's becoming a barrier rather than a bridge between east and west the consequences both for the Turkish people and for Europe itself could be dire indeed.'

Wynaendts, Henry

L'engrenage : chroniques yougoslaves : juillet 1991-aout 1992 - Paris :
Denoel, 1993.
ISBN/ISSN:2207240703
195 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
ID number: 80012687 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00500
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
Includes index.
'Depuis plus d'un an et demi l'Europe se trouve incapable tout comme
les Nations Unies de mettre fin a la guerre qui a eclate dans
l'ancienne Yougoslavie. Comment s'explique l'impuissance de la
Communaute a assurer la paix sur ses marches? Pourquoi la guerre en
Croatie a-t-elle autant dure? Quelles sont les ambitions serbes?
A-t-on precipite la Bosnie dans la guerre par la reconnaissance
prematuree de la Croatie et de la Slovenie? C'est a ces questions que
l'auteur s'emploie a repondre dans ce document d'autant plus
passionnant qu'il permet pour la premiere fois au lecteur de suivre
au jour le jour le travail d'un diplomate en prise directe avec
l'Histoire...'

Zabkar, Anton

Analyses of the Conflict in Former Yugoslavia - Vienna : National Defence
Academy, 1994.
ISBN/ISSN:390132805X
iv, 126 p. ; 24 cm.
(National Defence Academy Series ; 2/1994)
ID number: 80010498 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00545
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
Added entry(s):
1. National Defence Academy (AT)

Zametica, John

The Yugoslav Conflict : An analysis of the Causes of the Yugoslav War, the
Policies of the Republics and the Regional and International
Implications of the Conflict - London : Brassey's, 1992.
ISBN/ISSN:1857530527
87 p. ; 21 cm.
(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 270)
ID number: 80007725 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00487
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
Added entry(s):
1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Zimmermann, Warren

Origins of a Catastrophe : Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers - New York :

Times Books, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0812933036

xiii, 269 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

ID number: 80017381

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00689

Subject(s):

1. YUGOSLAVIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--CAUSES
3. NATIONALISM--YUGOSLAVIA
4. YUGOSLAVIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--YUGOSLAVIA
6. ZIMMERMANN, WARREN

Includes index.

'In this revised edition, Warren Zimmermann, the last US ambassador to Yugoslavia, updates his prescient account of the catastrophe now occurring in the Balkans. He provides an insightful analysis of what has happened in Bosnia since the Dayton accord, of the war and ethnic cleansing taking place in Kosovo, and of why America has become involved.'

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- Bosnia : 24 Nations send Soldiers to UNPROFOR.
ARMY QUARTERLY AND DEFENCE JOURNAL, vol. 123, no. 1, January 1993, p. 19-26.

- Building Peace in Bosnia ? (10 Articles).
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 7eme annee, no. 4, 1997, p. 381-471.

The articles are ordered in three different sections. Part one examines history and the Dayton Constitution between the forces of separation and integration. The second section focuses on main elements of the peace-building process since Dayton. The third section looks forward. The issue of Contractual Relations and the Regional Approach of the European Union is discussed. The article stresses the conditionality of this approach in the context of the relations between the countries of South-Eastern Europe and the European Union. Finally, the concluding article argues emphatically for the development of a common European security policy including the establishment of a special permanent military structure.

- Embargo Against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Tightened : War Crimes Investigative Body Created.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 30, no. 1, March 1993, p. 4-12.

- Essays from Belgrade and Zagreb.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 5, 1994, Special Issue.

- Fighting Escalates, UN Role in Question.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 32, no. 3, September 1995, p. 29-34.

- La gestion de la crise bosniaque (5 articles).
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 54eme annee, no. 3, mars 1998, p. 3-47.

- IFOR : The Mission Continues...
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 41, no. 2, 1996, Whole Issue.

- Peace Agreements bring 'long-delayed birth of hope' : Multinational Force set up in Bosnia to replace UNPROFOR.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 33, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 25-35.

- Security Council Imposes Sanctions on Yugoslavia.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 29, no. 3, September 1992, p. 5-12.

- Yugoslav Crisis : Intense Negotiations.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 30, no. 3, September 1993, p. 10-19.

- Yugoslav Crisis Intensifies.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 29, no. 4, December 1992, p. 18-25.

** This list contains material received as of November 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 20 novembre 2001.

- Yugoslavia : Crisis Continues.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 30, no. 4, December 1993, p. 28-37.

- Yugoslavia : Situation Far from Stable.
UN CHRONICLE, vol. 31, no. 2, June 1994, p. 22-30.

- Zu Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 34. Jg., Heft 2, Marz - April 1996, S. 203-213.

- Die Konsequenzen des Ubereinkommens von Dayton; die NATO-Operation 'Joint Endeavour' (SACEUR OPLAN 10405)...

- Zur Lage in Jugoslawien.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 29. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 1991, S. 494-501.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 1, Janner - Februar 1993, S. 11-17.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 2, Marz - April 1993, S. 122-129.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 1993, S. 314-322.

- Albert, Sophie
The Return of Refugees to Bosnia and Herzegovina : Peacebuilding with People.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 4, no. 3, Autumn 1997, p. 1-23.

- This article begins by examining the political theory behind the Dayton compromise, the displacement of the Bosnian population and the problems for asylum seekers. It then considers the meaning of Dayton's emphasis on the right to return home, the role of the refugees and displaced persons in the peacebuilding process and, finally, the problems that confront returnees.

- Alexandrova, Olga
Russland und die Jugoslawien-Krise.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1992, S. 661-663.

- Arnold, Hans
Der Balkan-Krieg und die Vereinten Nationen.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 48. Jahr, 2. Folge, 25. Januar 1993, S. 33-40.

- Axt, Heinz-Jurgen
Hat Genscher Jugoslawien entzweit ? : Mythen und Fakten zur Aussenpolitik des vereinten Deutschlands.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 48 Jahr, 12. Folge, Juni 1993, S. 351-390.

- Bair, Andrew
What Happened in Yugoslavia ? : Lessons for Future Peacemakers.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 340-349.

- Ballast, Jan

Het Belgrado-akkoord in perspectief : regionale oplossing voor een internationaal dilemma.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 12, december 1996, p. 584-589.

The author assesses the implications of the 'Belgrade agreement' signed in August 1996 by the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Now that Serbia's president Slobodan Milosevic and his Croatian counterpart Franjo Tudjman have decided on mutual recognition, their next step will be the division of Tito's federal heritage. By solving their lengthy conflict over the Croatian border areas, the starting-point of Yugoslav war in 1991, both leaders are finally able to join forces in their mutual quest to split up Bosnia and Hercegovina. This dark side of the Belgrade agreement calls on the international community to respond. However, the author argues, it seems likely that the Western allies will settle for this regional solution, since Bosnia did turn out to be an international dilemma.

- Ballast, Jan

Oost-Slavonie : het laatste Servische bolwerk in Kroatie.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 1, januari 1996, p. 43-47.

The author analyzes the present situation in Eastern Slavonia, where in Spring 1991 the conflict between Croats and Croatian Serbs erupted in civil war. This fertile border region between Croatia and Serbia saw some of the fiercest fighting. The atrocities and the artillery siege of Vukovar remain unparalleled in former Yugoslavia. When the Croatian Army captured Western Slavonia and Krajina last year, pressure mounted on Eastern Slavonia. Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman threatened to 'liberate' the last Serb stronghold. The Serbs were forced to avert war by signing an arrangement that will ultimately reunite them with Croatia. Although the treaty is considered to be the start of the end of the war in ex-Yugoslavia, painful memories and severe mistrust could easily spoil the peace process. Eastern Slavonia remains a potentially dangerous flash point for a renewed war between Croats and Serbs.

- Barau, Jean-Eudes

Vers une reconstitution de la Federation yougoslave ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, aout - septembre 1996, p. 89-98.

Cet article tente d'apporter des elements de reponse a deux series de questions : les motifs d'ordre economique ont-ils effectivement joue un role majeur dans l'eclatement des structures federales ? Constituent-ils un enjeu explicatif de la prolongation du conflit ? Si la recherche d'une meilleure viabilite economique a inspire les belligerants, peut-elle egalement presider a la recomposition d'un 'espace yougoslave', dans la perspective d'un apaisement du conflit ? L'economie, qui peut etre tenue pour l'un des facteurs de la dissolution de la Federation, a aussi constitue un enjeu dans les affrontements. Cependant, si le conflit a fragmente durablement l'espace economique yougoslave autour de l'ancienne frontiere nord-sud, des associations economiques souples reunissant les republics pourraient a nouveau voir le jour, conformement a la solution politique negociee a Dayton.

- Barkey, Brett D.

Bosnia : A Question of Intervention.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 21, no. 4, Fall 1993, p. 48-59.

The purpose of this piece is to examine the general question of US military intervention using the specific case of Bosnia. What political goals have been laid out in the Bosnian case? What rationales have been offered for military intervention? Will armed intervention in a case such as Bosnia achieve these goals? Before the US considers intervention elsewhere in the Balkans, the former Soviet Union or the Horn of Africa, policymakers must come to grips with the issues raised by the Bosnian dilemma.

- Baros, Miroslav
The UN's Response to the Yugoslav Crisis : Turning the UN Charter on its Head.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 44-63.

While many critics argue that the United Nations did not act effectively during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, it is a contention of this article that the engagement was one of the most constructive in the organization's history considering that the UN transformed the state itself, not only helped resolve the conflicts. This was achieved through supporting and endorsing actions taken by regional actors who took lead in shaping the response to the Yugoslav crisis well before the conflicts internationalised. It is concluded that the involvement was neither neutral nor impartial. The UN was not consistently losing its neutrality during the conflicts, which makes the intervention sui generis in character. The engagement was ad hoc and full of inconsistencies, because of which it is not possible to discern a newly emerging rule of international law relating to the issues that were at the core of the crisis: the right of self-determination and the principle of territorial integrity.

- Bass, Warren
The Triage of Dayton.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 5, September - October 1998, p. 95-108.

Somehow the Americans went from claiming they did not have a dog in the Bosnia fight to redrawing the map of the Balkans over Scotch with the ruthless Slobodan Milosevic. But the Dayton Accord that ended Bosnia's war has been oversold. It is the product not of Wilsonian idealism but of a reluctant realpolitik. Had Washington intervened in 1993, as Bill Clinton promised to, 100,000 lives could have been saved. Dayton has strengthened the two nastiest dictators in the region, Serbia's Milosevic and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, and edged toward accepting the de facto partition of Bosnia. The violence in Kosovo today is a reminder of the costs of appeasing aggressors.

- Baverez, Nicolas
Yougoslavie : 1992 ou 1936 ?
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 15, no. 60, hiver 1992-93, p. 823-828.

- Bebler, Anton
Der Krieg in Jugoslawien 1991-1992.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 23. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 1992, S. 397-411.

- Bebler, Anton
Yugoslavia's Agony : Civil War Become's Savage Chaos.
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, vol. 25, no. 3, 1992, p. 813-816.

- Bebler, Anton
Zur Neuordnung des sudslavischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 23. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 1992, S. 411-416.

- Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew
A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 1993, p. 110-121.

From ancient Assyria to modern Serbia, campaigns to homogenize populations within inviolate borders have been carried out varioulsy in the name of God, nation or ideology. Yet ethnic cleansing remains difficult to define. Less understood is the compulsion for national "purity" at such horrific costs.

- Bildt, Carl

Hat Europa aus Bosnien gelernt ? : Schlussfolgerungen für die europäische Außenpolitik.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1997, S. 3-8.

Grund für die Fehler und Versäumnisse der Vergangenheit ist für den bisherigen Hohen Repräsentanten für den Wiederaufbau in Bosnien das Fehlen einer gemeinsamen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der Europäer. Er plädiert deshalb für eine klare europäische Strategie, um in Partnerschaft mit den USA und Russland mit den Problemen auf dem Balkan fertigwerden zu können.

- Bildt, Carl

Implementing the Civilian Tasks of the Bosnian Peace Agreement.

NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 5, September 1996, p. 3-6.

Arriving in Sarajevo at the end of last year to take up his duties as High Representative, Carl Bildt had to act quickly to set up, virtually from scratch, the necessary infrastructure for implementing the civilian component of the Peace Agreement. It soon became apparent, however, that no matter how efficient the machinery, progress depended on the cooperation of the parties themselves. Much has been achieved, including the release of prisoners of war, the provision by international donors of substantial funds for reconstruction, and the setup of a Human Rights Coordination Centre (HRCC) to work with the many agencies on the ground. But the key to the success or failure of the Peace Agreement will depend crucially on whether the governments which emerge from the forthcoming elections can create the joint institutions on which the new Bosnia will depend.

- Bildt, Carl

The Prospects for Bosnia.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 5, October 1996, p. 1-5.

We are now nearing the end of the period set out in the Dayton Agreement on the former Yugoslavia for implementation of the treaty's major provisions. As High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Carl Bildt has been at the centre of the implementation process and here he sets out both what has been achieved so far and all that remains to be done. With so much attention given to the military aspects of the peace, much has yet to be settled on the civilian return to normality and the creation of a viable national infrastructure for Bosnia. He highlights in particular the importance of the elections, setting up common institutions and the mechanisms of power sharing. Having committed so much to bringing peace to the area, Carl Bildt believes that the international community must follow through on that commitment to ensure the investment is not squandered. While the military may want a secured 'exit strategy', there is a need for a long-term political 'entry strategy' to integrate the whole region into the future of Europe.

- Bischof, Henrik

'Jugoslawien' : und kein Ende das Gespenst des Nationalismus in Osteuropa.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1992, S. 323-327.

- Bohr, Rudolf

Een Europees experiment : heeft de 'European Community Monitor Mission' nog een taak ?

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 47, nr. 9, september 1993, p. 493-496.

- Bois, P. Du
L' Union Europeenne et le naufrage de la Yougoslavie (1991-1995).
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES, no. 104, hiver 2000, p. 469-485.

L'Europe face aux Balkans de 1991 a 1995. Impreparation, desunion, impuissance, depossession : voila quelques traits qui collent a la Communaute / Union europeenne. Ce qui demeure, c'est le sentiment presque universel d'un echec. En raison du dechainement de la violence auquel aucun frein n'est mis, il fait son apparition des l'ete 1991. 'L'Europe impuissante' entre dans les cliches courants. Devant les massacres sans nom qui se deroulent dans les Balkans, que fait l'Europe pour y mettre un terme ? Elle n'est ni en mesure de parler d'une seule voix ni d'agir d'un seul mouvement, comme le voudrait le ministre Roland Dumas. C'est bien une relative paralysie de la Communaute europeenne que revele la crise yougoslave.

- Bookman, Milica Z.
War and Peace : The Divergent Breakups of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 31, no. 2, May 1994, p. 175-187.

This paper describes the process by which the new states of former Yugoslavia and Cezchoslovakia were born, and explores the conditions which underlies the defferences in the two breakups. The aim of the study is to understand how to maximize the possibility of democratic and peaceful breakups, if they must occur, and thus avoid the pitfalls that the former Yugoslav republics fell into.

- Bosco, David L.
Reintegrating Bosnia : A Progress Report.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 1998, p. 65-81.

- Bougarel, Xavier
Quel bilan critique des accords de Dayton ?
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 28, hiver 1997, p. 29-35.

Les bilans des accords de Dayton fournis par les organismes officiels ou les experts independants insistent le plus souvent sur les deficiences de mise en oeuvre de leur volet civil, a commencer par la difficile mise en place des institutions et l'impossible retour des populations deplacees. Mais, pour expliquer l'echec du projet de reintegration politique en Bosnie-Herzegovine, il ne suffit pas d'incriminer les partis nationalistes ou de demander une application plus consequente des accords de paix. Il faut aussi s'interesser a leurs defauts de conception, a partir desquels les partis nationalistes redeploient leurs strategies. Car, au-dela des ambiguites pratiques des accords de Dayton, c'est leur conception implicite du processus de transition a la democratie et au marche qui est en cause.

- Boyd, Charles G.
Making Bosnia Work.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 1, January - February 1998, p. 42-55.

The Dayton Accord is a bold attempt to create a nation in the face of ethnic hatred and fear, and it just may succeed - but only if US troops stay and the coalition overseeing the peace puts the security of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats before their integration. For now, each group feels safe only with their own kind, and their self-created partition should be allowed to stand while the trauma of war fades. Material need and the desire for profit may bring the three peoples together in time. Meanwhile, the international community must rectify the gross disparity between the reconstruction aid and military supplies flowing to the Muslims and the crumbs and punitive attitude that are the Serbs' lot.

- Boyd, Charles G.
Making Peace with the Guilty.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 5, September - October 1995, p. 22-38.

The difference between the factions in Bosnia is not morality, as the Bosnian Muslims and Western press insist, but power and opportunity. All have the same goal : to avoid living as a minority. All have committed crimes against other ethnic groups. Despite its claims of neutrality and preaching against military solutions, the United States has favored the Bosnian Muslims, keeping silent as they launched offensives from U.N.-guarded safe areas. Since air strikes cannot resolve the conflict, the United States must discourage violence by all sides and let Russia - the one country Serbs trust - take the lead in negotiations.

- Brenner, Michael
The EC in Yugoslavia : A Debut Performance.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 1, no. 4, Summer 1992, p. 586-609.

- Brenner, Michael
Les Etats-Unis et la crise yougoslave.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 329-338.

- Brenner, Michael
Das Finale in Jugoslawien : der Westen und die Losung des Balkan-Konflikts.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 50. Jahr, Nr. 12, Dezember 1995, S. 3-9.

- Brill, Heinz
Der Balkan-Konflikt und die Interessen der Machte : Teil 1.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 38. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 2000, S. 547-558.

- Brill, Heinz
Der Balkan-Konflikt und die Interessen der Machte : Teil 2.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 38. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 2000, S. 721-732.

- Calic, Marie-Janine
Bosnia-Hercegovina after Dayton : Opportunities and Risks for Peace.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 2, 1996, p. 127-135.

After more than four years of war the presidents of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia initialled a peace agreement in Dayton on 22 November 1995. It took pressure from the world power USA as well as threats and promises to induce the belligerents to finally accept a compromise following a marathon of nerve-racking negotiations lasting three weeks. It is still unclear whether and within which space of time the complicated agreement can be implemented. The author analyses this situation and the resultant prospects for peace in the former Yugoslavia. She draws inter alia upon the experience and insights gained as a member of the team of advisers headed by UN special representative Yasushi Akashi.

- Calic, Marie-Janine
Chancen und Risiken : die Umsetzung des Dayton-Abkommens.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 1996, S. 61-64.

Die Implementierung des Vertrags von Dayton ist von unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen abhängig. Die Durchführung des militärischen Teils konnte nach Ansicht der Autorin gelingen, die des politischen Teils aber stagnieren. Zur Stabilisierung der Region erscheint der Autorin eine langfristige Präsenz internationaler Akteure notwendig.

- Calic, Marie-Janine
Dustere Aussichten für Bosnien-Herzegowina.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 49. Jahr, 3. Folge, 10. Februar 1994, S. 71-79.

- Calic, Marie-Janine
The Serbian Question in International Politics.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 45, no. 2, 1994, p. 146-155.

The main problems of European security exist in the eastern part of the continent. This has raised the question of which role NATO could assume in their resolution as the only still existent functioning European security system. A commonly held opinion is that this could entail the accession of new member states in Central Europe and perhaps even in the Balkans - an approach which is the subject of controversial discussion.

- Callan, Patrick
Rüstungskontrolle im ehemaligen Jugoslawien.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 47. Jg., Nr. 9, September 1998, S. 38-40.

Although arms control can be an additional element aside from the economic and political part of the rebuilding of the region, it is nevertheless an important contribution to confidence building and stabilization in southeastern Europe. In addition to the orientation towards regional problems, the Dayton accords have, for the first time, effected a stabilization of the political conditions by associated arms control measures after a conflict. For the future, the expected increasing stabilization of the region can contribute only positively to the aspired long-term reduction of the tense situation in this region historically stricken by only too many armed conflicts.

- Caplan, Richard
The European Community's Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia : The Strategic Implications.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 3, September 1998, p. 24-45.

The EC's recognition of new states in former Yugoslavia is considered by most analysts to have seriously aggravated the conflict in the region. This article challenges the conventional wisdom and argues that the strategic effects of recognition have been largely overstated. The prospect of recognition played no significant role in the Slovene determination to sustain their campaign for independence and therefore bears little responsibility for the first phase of the war. In Croatia, recognition - together with the deployment of UN peacekeepers - may even have had a mitigating effect. Only in Bosnia is there any correlation between recognition and an intensification of hostilities but it is doubtful whether non-recognition would have prevented the eruption of violence since Bosnian Serb aspirations for an ethnically homogeneous state entity could not be realised without resort to war. The real relevance of recognition lies with the opportunities for more effective international action which it created. It was the failure to seize these opportunities, rather than the strategic effects of recognition, which better explains the tragic events that ensued.

- Carter, Hodding
Punishing Serbia.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 96, Fall 1994, p. 49-56.

A just solution in Bosnia and stability in the Balkans will be difficult to achieve under any circumstances. They will be impossible unless the United States takes and keeps the lead in both aims.

- Chandler, David
The Limits of Peacebuilding : International Regulations and Civil Society Development in Bosnia.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 109-125.

This article questions the assumption that solutions to 'complex political emergencies' necessitate extended long-term international regulation over the civil and political reconstruction process. One example where international peacekeeping has extended beyond the traditional remit of disarmament and the separation of combatants to civilian democratization and civil society development is that of Bosnia. The limited success of civil society development suggests that the extension of international supervision over the Bosnian state may risk institutionalizing division and political fragmentation. The comprehensive nature of new international peacebuilding mandates could become counter-productive if they result in the marginalization of locally accountable solutions.

- Chenu, Georges-Marie
La France et le drame yougoslave : six ans apres !
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 2, ete 1997, p. 367-380.

After the death of Tito in 1980, it was with distant attention that France followed the events which, from the first acts of violence in Kosovo in 1981, led to the destruction of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991. The inadequacy of our assessments of what was really happening on the spot did not allow the necessary and salubrious dividing line to be drawn between a cheated population and their cynical, dangerous leaders. The French people's long-standing affection for Serbia caused them to content themselves with Belgrade's explanations, to be indulgent and, eventually, to neglect the other republics' appeals and protests. President Francois Mitterand's liking for the Serbs was coupled with a discreet preference for large complexes of grouped countries.

- Chipman, Don D.
The Balkan Wars : Diplomacy, Politics, and Coalition Warfare.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 28, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 23-31.

The 1995 and 1999 Balkan conflicts changed the nature of strategy and command responsibilities. Warfare and military operations have become politicized with concerns over collateral damage, losses of friendly forces and the requirement to sustain coalition unity. During the Cold War, commanders focused on the massive application of violence. Most decisions involved ways to defeat the enemy while protecting friendly forces. Today, in conflicts which possess ill-defined objectives, coalition forces are tied down by extensive political guidance which often influences the details of tactical operations. Commanders therefore have to be more than simply managers of violence and will need the skills of a statesman strategist.

- Cigar, Norman
The Serbo-Croatian War, 1991 : Political and Military Dimensions.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 16, no. 3, September 1993, p. 297-338.

- Cohen, Lenard J.
Russia and the Balkans : Pan-Slavism, Partnership and Power.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 49, no. 4, Autumn 1994, p. 814-845.

- Cohen, Lenard J.
Whose Bosnia ? : The Politics of Nation Building.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 97, no. 617, March 1998, p. 103-112.

- Coicaud, Jean-Marc
La communauté internationale et l' Accord de Dayton.
TRIMESTRE DU MONDE, no. 34, 2eme trimestre, 1996, p. 73-92.

Jean-Marc Coicaud begins by presenting the main aspects of the Dayton Agreement. He outlines the main aspects of the IFOR mission as well as the responsibilities of the United Nations in the peace process. Turning from text to realities, he then tries to evaluate the progress made on the ground in a few months, since the Dayton Agreement. Finally Coicaud lists the remaining problems which bring uncertainties to the future of the peace process as well as to Bosnia itself.

- Collins, Steven
Army PSYOP in Bosnia : Capabilities and Constraints.
PARAMETERS, vol. 29, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 57-73.

The principal tool available for the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) to influence attitudes in Bosnia has been military psychological operations (PSYOP) forces, and most of the PSYOP forces accessible to NATO are in the US Army. The contribution of these forces has been laudable, but there have been many missed opportunities as well as misunderstandings over the last three and a half years regarding what PSYOP can and cannot do. This article examines the performance of PSYOP forces in Bosnia, offering recommendations on how to improve this vital part of the US contribution. With US military involvement in Bosnia planned to continue for some time, and, as this article is being written, with US and NATO forces striking targets in Serbia and Kosovo - such examination is critically important.

- Cot, Jean
Ex-Yougoslavie : une paix baclee.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53eme annee, juillet 1997, p. 71-82.

- Cot, Jean
La France et le conflit de Bosnie-Herzegovine.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 11, novembre 1999, p. 13-20.

- Daalder, Ivo H.
Bosnia After SFOR : Options for Continued US Engagement.
SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 4, Winter 1997 - 1998, p. 5-18.

In considering whether to extend the presence of US troops in Bosnia beyond the current June 1998 deadline, the Clinton administration faces a quandary. Because the Dayton peace accords do not provide a short-term basis for a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia, an international-security presence will be required for many years to come. The US Congress, however, has indicated that it will not support a long-term US military presence in Bosnia, and the European allies - regrettably - have refused to stay without the US. The way out is for the administration to alter the Dayton framework to allow for a more stable Bosnia, and to condition future US military participation in Bosnia on an allied willingness to take full responsibility for the military presence there by an agreed date.

- Daalder, Ivo H.
Froman, Michael B. G.
Dayton's Incomplete Peace.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 6, November - December 1999, p. 106-113.

- War-ravaged Bosnia has come a long way since the 1995 Dayton Accord. But Bosnia's stability rests on the West's large-scale involvement. Integration remains an unfulfilled hope. When foreign aid tapers off, as it soon will, Bosnia's economy will grind to a halt without major reforms. The world should safeguard Dayton's biggest success - ending Europe's bloodiest war since World War II - but hand Bosnia's political and economic future back to Bosnians.

- Defarges, Philippe Moreau
Les organisations internationales et la crise yougoslave.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 359-368.

- Defarges, Philippe Moreau
La question yougoslave ou la tragedie des erreurs.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 48e annee, juillet 1992, p. 81-87.

- Dempsey, Judy
Le conflit serbo-croate et la Bosnie-Herzegovine.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 269-279.

- Dewar, Michael
Intervention in Bosnia : The Case Against.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 49, no. 2, February 1993, p. 32-34.

- Dimitrijevic, Vojin
The International Community and the Yugoslav Crisis.
BALKAN FORUM, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1997, p. 45-79.

- Dizdarevic, Faik
La Bosnie-Herzegovine : situation et perspectives.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 59e annee, no. 1, printemps 1994, p. 171-177.

- Djuric, Yvan
L' au-dela de la guerre dans l' ex-Yougoslavie : la reconciliation apres le conflit.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 58e annee, no. 4, hiver 1993 - 1994, p. 919-931.

- Dokic, Nada Svob
The International Community and the Case of Croatia and Slovenia.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 27, no. 4, October - December 1992, p. 81-93.

- Dragnich, Alex N.
From Unity to Disarray : The West's Yugoslav Policy.
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 47-56.

- Eyal, Jonathan
'Ten Commandments' to Cleanse the Guilt in Bosnia.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 12, December 1996 p. 300-303.

With the traditional cycle of international conferences in London, Paris, Geneva and Brussels and the now-familiar crop of resounding diplomatic communiqués, Western governments have pledged to continue their involvement in former Yugoslavia. An international force will remain in Bosnia, to maintain regional stability and ensure that the provisions of the Dayton peace accord, concluded a year ago, are ultimately respected. Yet behind the high-minded declarations, all Western governments know that the real task in former Yugoslavia is not to reverse years of 'ethnic cleansing', but rather to cleanse the West's guilty conscience at the lowest possible cost.

- Eyal, Jonathan
The War in Yugoslavia : Some Preliminary Lessons.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 2, April 1995, p. 29-33.

- Fetherston, A. B.
Ramsbotham, O.
Woodhouse, T.
UNPROFOR : Some Observations from a Conflict Resolution Perspective.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 1, no. 2, Summer 1994, p. 179-203.

- Fob, Cvijeto
Yugoslavia's Ethnic Furies.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 92, Fall 1993, p. 52-74.

- Fournier, Julie
La crise yougoslave : la genèse du conflit et ses perspectives de paix dans l' après-Dayton.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 28, no. 3, septembre 1997, p. 461-491.

The present article compares the conditions that sparked the Yugoslav conflict and the prospects for peace following the signing of the Dayton Accords. Analysis suggests that the outbreak of nationalist hostilities in Yugoslavia should be explained through a combination of underlying and proximate factors. Just as the circumstances accompanying the collapse of communism were chiefly responsible for the eruption of violence, the immediate factors associated with the Dayton Accords and, more specifically, the attitude of the political elites will determine the likelihood of a lasting peace. Although the new context arising from Dayton seems to have had peace-promoting effects, the sociohistorical factors that helped to spark the hostilities are still active and are keeping alive the conflict-oriented motives of the local leaders. A resurgence of violence is thus possible.

- Freedman, Lawrence
The Balkan Tragedy : Why the West Failed.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 97, Winter 1994 - 1995, p. 53-69.

- Funke, Hajo
Rhotert, Alexander
Bosnien-Herzegowina nach Dayton.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 47. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 1998, S. 53-55.

- Gagnon, Remy
La désintégration yougoslave : un cadre fertile pour la théorie des dominos ?
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 25, no. 4, décembre 1994, p. 763-779.

- Gagnon, V. P.
Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict : The Case of Serbia.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 19, no. 3, Winter 1994 - 1995, p. 130-166.

- Gallagher, Tom
'This Farrago of Anomalies' : The European Response to the War in
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1995.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1996, p. 76-94.

The evolution of the Bosnia conflict of 1992-95 was influenced in important ways by west European responses, despite the official line being one of 'non-intervention'. European misjudgements during the war helped hand the initiative to radical nationalists committed to ethnic separation by military means. In the early months of the conflict, the British government (and to a lesser extent France) influenced the EC decision to adopt a low-key response, concentrating on humanitarian relief, rather than undertaking a more determined peacemaking initiative. The policy of the NATO countries was flawed by short-term thinking. An analysis of the external dimensions of the conflict suggests that in fact European responses tended to exacerbate the crisis and prolong the destruction.

- Galtier, Gerard
Bosnie-Croatie et Serbie : deux Etats pour la paix en ex-Yougoslavie.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 51e annee, novembre 1995, p. 109-115.

- Garde, Paul
Ex-Yougoslavie : le fiasco de la 'communaute internationale'.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 68, ete 1995, p. 157-179.

As an analyst and witness of the situation in former Yugoslavia, Paul Garde condemns the action of an 'international community' which he judges incompetent. His grounds for this are as follows. First of all, he claims that there is always a delay in the response of the international community due to a lack of information. Next, he cites the constant gap between words and action : principles are proclaimed but not applied, or even followed up by actions based on transforming them into reality. A contradiction also exists between the resolutions of the Security Council, which clearly identifies the most guilty of the belligerents, and the policy conducted on the ground, where mediators and military personnel are supposed to remain impartial so as to keep the various parties on an equal footing. Finally, the international community's threats are almost never carried out, and the rare operations undertaken are doomed to fail. Herein lies the inevitable fiasco of successive peace plans.

- Garde, Paul
Ex-Yougoslavie : une fausse guerre de religion.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 58, hiver 1992 - 1993, p. 45-63.

- Geiss, Imanuel
Hegemonie und Genozid : das Serbien-Syndrom 1991-1992.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 47. Jahr, 15.-16. Folge, 25. August 1992, S. 421-432.

- Glitman, Maynard
US Policy in Bosnia : Rethinking a Flawed Approach.
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 4, Winter 1996 - 1997, p. 66-83.

- US policy in Bosnia has been based on the flawed assumption that preserving a unified state was possible. Washington's unwillingness until the November 1995 Dayton Agreement to fully support outcomes that separated the warring parties failed to prevent forced migrations and instead made those migrations more painful. Of the millions displaced by the war, few will be able to return to homes now occupied by another ethnic group. Attempting a forced return could reopen conflict. Providing compensation for lost property and assistance for resettlement deserves priority, as does helping to ensure that, should secession occur, the remaining Bosnian state will be politically and economically viable.

- Goldston, James A.
The Role of the OSCE in Bosnia : Lessons from the First Year.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 8, no. 3, 1997, p. 6-36.

- This article focuses on the role of the OSCE in the first year of Dayton's implementation, 1996. It argues that, throughout the year, the principal obstacles to OSCE success in the fields of human rights and elections were the domestic political agendas of leading western governments, principally the United States. Moreover, the OSCE did not do all it could have done to overcome those obstacles. The Bosnian experience of OSCE offers future peace implementation missions painful lessons concerning the potentially overwhelming influence of individual governments upon the objectives of the mission as a whole.

- Gompert, David
How to Defeat Serbia.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 73, no. 4, July - August 1994, p. 30-47.

- Washington must convince its allies to take a long view and prosecute an indefinite cold war against Serbia. Sanctions and isolation, as employed against South Africa and Iraq, will force a regime change in Belgrade, and then an honorable peace.

- Goodby, James E.
Peacekeeping in the New Europe.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 15, no. 2, Spring 1992, p. 153-171.

- Gow, James
Towards A Settlement in Bosnia : The Military Dimension.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 50, no. 5, May 1994, p. 96-99.

- Gow, James
The Use of Coercion in the Yugoslav Crisis.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 48, no. 11, November 1992, p. 198-202.

- Graham, John
Black Past, Grey Future ? : A Post-Dayton View of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 53, no. 2, Spring 1998, p. 204-220.

- A personal essay based on the author's experience in Bosnia in 1996 and 1997.

- Gremaux, Rene
Vries, Abe de
Van constitutionele crisis tot veiligheidsprobleem : de internationale
gemeenschap en de Bosnische oorlog.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 1, januari 1996, p. 36-42.

The authors present a critical evolution of the Western policy response
to the Bosnian crisis. The outbreak of war, they argue, cannot be
analyzed without taking into account the connection between internal and
external factors. Disunity in the Western camp and US support for the
Muslims have contributed to prolonging war and, ultimately, a peace
agreement on American, not European terms. However, it is still doubtful
if the Dayton-talks can be the basis of a lasting peace.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 5, September
- Oktober 1993, S. 436-441.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 6, November -
Dezember 1993, S. 549-555.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 1, Janner -
Februar 1994, S. 61-66.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 2, Marz -
April 1994, S. 167-173.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni
1994, S. 271-280.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 4, Juli -
August 1994, S. 391-396.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 5, September
- Oktober 1994, S. 507-511.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 6, November -
Dezember 1994, S. 633-637.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 3, Marz -
April 1995, S. 303-308.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 4, Juli -
August 1995, S. 421-426.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 2, Marz -
April 1997, S. 186-194.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes : der serbisch-kroatische
Konflikt.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 6, November -
Dezember 1995, S. 657-664.

- Gustenau, Gustav E.
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes : die politisch-militarische
Entwicklung im Konflikt in und um Bosnien-Herzegowina.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 5, September
- Oktober 1995, S. 545-552.

- Hagman, Hans-Christian
The Balkan Conflicts : Prevention is Better than Cure.
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 3, Summer 1993, p. 18-37.

- Hajam, Mohammed
Creation et competences du Tribunal penal international pour l'
ex-Yougoslavie.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 26, no. 3, septembre 1995, p. 503-526.

- Hamdouni, Said
Les accords de Dayton et le statut de la Bosnie-Herzegovine.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 29, no. 1, mars 1998, p. 53-69.

Au-dela des contingences politico-mediaticques, l'analyse de la nature juridique de la Bosnie-Herzegovine, au travers des accords de Dayton, fait ressortir un montage institutionnel qui deroge a la configuration juridique de l'Etat au sens du droit public. Le caractere atypique de cet Etat resulte de son organisation qui ne s'inspire ni du modele classique de l'organisation de l'Etat (Etat unitaire, Etat federal) ni meme du statut de l'Etat divise. La vulnerabilite du statut de la Bosnie-Herzegovine provient de l'ambivalence des dispositions juridiques relatives au fonctionnement des institutions etatiques. En effet, les accords de Dayton ont engendre une pluralite d'ordres juridiques qui pose, au plus haut niveau, le probleme de leur ordonnancement tant sur le plan vertical qu'horizontal.

- Hassner, Pierre
Les Etats-Unis et les conflits yougoslaves : les ambiguities d' une
politique.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 28, hiver 1997, p.
119-124.

Tout ce qui concerne la guerre en ex-Yougoslavie - sauf le sort des victimes - est contradictoire et ambigu. Mais rien ne l'est plus que le bilan de l'action des Etats-Unis, de ses objectifs et de ses moyens, de son incoherence ou de son machiavelisme, de ses responsabilites et de ses merites, de son succes ou de son echec. Vu d'ex-Yougoslavie et, plus generalement, des Balkans et d'Europe centrale, la perception dominante est celle d'un echec de l'Europe et d'un succes des Etats-Unis, seul acteur capable d'agir de maniere decisive et avec lequel il faille

compter. Vu d'Europe occidentale, et plus particulièrement de France, on aura tendance à se plaindre amèrement de l'ironie de l'histoire et de l'injustice des peuples.

- Hassner, Pierre

Ex-Yougoslavie : le tournant ?

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 69, automne 1995, p. 205-215.

As the advocates of military intervention in the former Yugoslavia - like those in favor of the carving up of Bosnia - claim victory, and as the fate of Sarajevo seems more tolerable and the prospects of a general settlement less remote - even though a just and lasting peace is not yet around the corner - the author takes stock of the errors committed, the illusory hopes developed and the solutions which could have brought an end, much sooner, to a conflict which stands unparalleled since the end of the Second World War. He welcomes the tendencies which have developed since 1993 and which are today beginning to bear fruit : a shift in the balance of power on the ground, thanks to the reorganization and arming of the Croation army, and the creation of a Bosnian army. Another decisive change, according to Pierre Hassner, came with the upheavals triggered by the shift towards a veritable 'armed diplomacy', under the impetus of Jacques Chirac and the United States.

- Heuser, Beatrice

Jugoslawien : Labor für Experimente in der Europäischen Sicherheit.

EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 42. Jg., Nr. 4, April 1993, S. 194-196.

- Heuvel, Martin van den

Mythen en dwaalwegen in het Joegoslavisch doolhof.

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1996, p. 373-377.

The author sketches the causes of the Bosnian problem. Tito's Yugoslavia was burdened with many unsettled problems. The constitution of 1974 brought even concessions to confederalism, but the basic elements of the one-party police state remained intact. But the Titoist regime's legitimacy diminished soon after his death (1980) and its economic performance soon proved a failure. The Milosevic regime was fiercely opposed to a confederal Yugoslavia and fought with military means for an extended Serbia.

- Heuven, Marten van

Rehabilitating Serbia.

FOREIGN POLICY, no. 96, Fall 1994, p. 38-48.

Eventually, as fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina subsides, U.S. efforts to shape a confederal structure that holds together Croats and Muslims will raise a key question : how to integrate the fragments of the former Yugoslavia into the European enterprise. In time, the European Union must lead the effort to return stability, security, and prosperity to the Balkans; further, that effort should focus on Serbia.

- Higgins, Rosalyn

The New United Nations and Former Yugoslavia.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 69, no. 3, July 1993, p. 465-483.

- Hobbs, Heidi H.

Whither Yugoslavia ? : The Death of a Nation.
STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 16, no. 3, 1993, p. 187-199.

The violent and brutal conflict in Yugoslavia today is deeply entrenched in the past. The ethnic origins of this conflict go back thousands of years, but more recently to the experiences of World War II. This study draws out those connections by exploring the rivalries that existed during the war and how they have been translated into the current battle. Predictions about the future of this area can then be made, based on these analogies and assessments of the current conditions.

- Hofnung, Thomas

La Bosnie survivra-t-elle ?
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 78, hiver 1997 - 1998, p. 269-288.

On November 21, 1995, the presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia signed the agreement which put an end to the three-and-a-half year war in Bosnia. Two years later, with a stalled peace process and continued friction between the former belligerents, certain diplomats are openly pessimistic about future prospects. War criminals are still at liberty, Bosnia has been rearming itself and the merest spark could set this Balkan tinderbox alight once more. To avoid the worst, some observers are wondering whether amending the Dayton accords is now in order. Others obliquely suggest that they be revoked altogether in favor of a new 'Dayton II' agreement, the form of which has yet to be defined. Meanwhile, the partition of the country into three distinct entities still finds favor among the former warlords. But this solution seems to have already been rejected by the backers of the peace process who, in the absence of any real solution, have decided to extend NATO's mandate in Bosnia.

- Holbrooke, Richard

El mayor fracaso colectivo de Occidente.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 67, enero - febrero 1999, p. 85-97.

El mediador norteamericano de los acuerdos de Dayton examina las causas - y los falsos argumentos - de los orígenes de la guerra de Bosnia, para definirla como un gran fracaso de Occidente. De los forzados recusos a la historia a la tardía respuesta de europeos y americanos, Holbrooke extrae algunas lecciones diplomáticas, muchas de ellas aplicables a la actual crisis de Kosovo.

- Hoop, Sipke de

Servie en internationale sancties : een evaluatie.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 48, nr. 9, september 1994, p. 438-444.

- Hoppe, Hans-Joachim

Moscow and the Conflicts in Former Yugoslavia.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 3, 1997, p. 267-277.

The Yugoslav conflict revived old antagonisms of big-power interests in the Balkans. The dispute over what action should be taken there even threatened to disrupt the European unification process and East-West rapprochement. It looked at times as if each warring party had its own protecting power among European countries : Germany and the USA seemed to focus on Croatia and Bosnia, whereas Britain, France and Russia favoured Serbia. These fronts were covered up by the combined efforts towards peace, especially by the Dayton Peace Agreement, and by Russia's integration into peace-creating moves. Russia's policy in the region is viewed as an indicator of its willingness to cooperate with the West. After six years of crisis its resolution seems possible for the first time. With respect to the role played by Russia the author examines, in particular, the extent to which the country's military activities in Bosnia could be considered as a model for cooperation between NATO and

Russia and the true nature of Moscow's new 'strategic partnership' with Belgrade.

- Huber, Reiner
Deterrence in Bosnia-Herzegovina : A Retrospective Analysis of Military Requirements Before the War.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1994, p. 541-551.

- Huchthausen, Peter A.
Revisiting the Balkan Cauldron.
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 120, no. 5, May 1994, p. 73-76.

Can the concerted efforts of NATO and Russia end the carnage in the Balkans and restore peace to Europe?

- Hummer, Waldemar
Hilpold, Peter
Die Jugoslawien-Krise als ethnischer Konflikt.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 47. Jahr, 4. Folge, 25. Februar 1992, S. 87-96.

- Jacobsen, C. G.
Yugoslavia's Successor Wars Reconsidered.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 655-675.

- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo
Reinterpreting Western Use of Coercion in Bosnia-Herzegovina :
Assurances and Carrots Were Crucial.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 2, June 2000, p. 1-22.

This article demonstrates that assurances and carrots accompanied credible threats every time Western coercion succeeded in Bosnia. This finding is hardly surprising as it merely confirms earlier research on coercive diplomacy, but it is nevertheless important because the crucial role played by assurances and carrots has been completely ignored in most analyses to date. It also has important policy implications at a time when Western, and particularly American, policy-makers tend to ignore this fact at their peril. US policy towards Iraq and Western policy towards Yugoslavia have been based almost exclusively on the stick in recent years, and its lack of success is therefore not surprising. If Western policy-makers had learned the right lessons from Bosnia, they would have known that strategies coupling credible threats with credible assurances and carrots would have been more likely to succeed.

- James, Alan
The UN in Croatia : An Exercise in Futility ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 49, no. 5, May 1993, p. 93-96.

- Kaufman, Stuart J.
The Irresistible Force and the Imperceptible Object : The Yugoslav Breakup and Western Policy.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 4, no. 2, Winter 1994 - 1995, p. 281-329.

While an extensive literature on the Yugoslav conflict has emerged, there have been remarkably few theoretical attempts to explain the causes of the war. The author proposes here a theoretical model which fuses several ostensibly competing approaches from the fields of international relations and comparative politics, focusing on how key factors interact to turn otherwise manageable conflicts into ethnic wars.

- Klein, Jacques Paul
Stopping the Whirlwind.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 55, no. 6, June 1999, p. 7-9.

A whirlwind of destruction and violence, unleashed by Slobodan Milosevic in 1989, has torn through Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and has now come, full circle, to an appalling climax in Kosovo. The Iron Curtain has been replaced by a new division with South Eastern Europe. Behind, languishes a zone of instability and misery. At its core is a regime that for a decade has exported hatred and bloodshed to its neighbours and, if left unchecked, could spread its poison elsewhere.

- Klemencic, Mladen
Schofield, Clive
Calm after the Storm ? : Croatia's Strategic Outlook.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 1, February 1996, p. 37-44.

In the course of 1995 Croatia overcame many of the most serious challenges to its sovereignty and security inherited from the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Several key problems remain, however, which are crucial to the stability of the region including border and territorial disputes and uncertainties over Bosnia.

- Koch, Koen
Akkoorden van Dayton : breekpunt in of voortzetting van
Joegoslavië-beleid van de internationale gemeenschap ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 1, januari 1996, p. 30-35.

The author looks here at the involvement of the international community with the conflict in Yugoslavia and deals in particular with the peace agreements of Dayton, which has recently been signed in Paris. Should the Dayton Agreements be considered as a result of a fundamental change of policy towards the Balkan conflict or are they the consequence of the way the international community conducted throughout in this conflict. The answer to this question is twofold : the fact that an agreement was reached was brought about by a policy change, i.e. the willingness of the international community finally to use force (the NATO air strikes) instead of mediation and negotiation. However, the contents of the Dayton Agreements can be seen as a logical consequence of the way in which the international community operated during the conflict.

- Koslowski, Gerd
Bosnia : Failure of the Institutions and of the Balance of Power in
Europe.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 4, 1996, p. 359-367.

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina exposes a remarkable discrepancy. Since 1989, the organisations and institutions in Europe have brought about striking changes and adjustments to the new conditions following the end of the Cold War. The war in Bosnia has played its part, as it were, as a catalyst in the accelerated pace of this development. The organisations have 'functioned' in accordance with their capabilities and mandates; solo attempts by individual states remained the exception. On the other hand, the institutional setup has failed, despite its various achievements, in its efforts to contain or terminate a relatively limited war such as the one in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is the reason for this and what are the resulting consequences for the idea of collective security in Europe ? The hypothesis put forward by the author runs as follows : hitherto, the 'old' institutions have not corresponded to the new distribution of power in Europe, and in addition they fail to provide adequate answers to the new challenges to international security. Substantial changes in relations between European countries can only be expected once these answers have been given.

- Krieger, Wolfgang
Toward a Gaullist Germany ? : Some Lessons from the Yugoslav Crisis.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 11, no. 1, Spring 1994, p. 26-38.

- Kulasik, Karol K.
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni
1993, S. 228-235.

- Kumar, Radha
The Troubled History of Partition.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 1, January - February 1997, p. 22-34.

The Dayton accord reached in November 1995 was something historically familiar : a partition agreement. As in Bosnia today, partition has usually arisen not as a means of national self-determination but as a way for great powers to 'divide and quit'. Often described as the only workable solution to ethnic feuding, partitions have in fact generally fomented violence and required further international intervention. Similar conditions ensure that Bosnia will turn into a policy of divide and be forced to stay. Had outside powers worked from the beginning to reintegrate the fractured country, Bosnia, the Balkans, and Europe might have had a more durable resolution. The Dayton agreement should evoke memories not of Munich but of Cyprus.

- Kuusisto, Riikka
Framing the Wars in the Gulf and In Bosnia : The Rhetorical Definitions of the Western Power Leaders in Action.
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 35, no. 5, September 1998, p. 603-620.

This article examines the rhetorical action of the Western major powers in defining two important international confrontations, the 1990-91 war against Saddam Hussein in the Gulf and the 1992-95 conflict among the Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The leaders of the United States, Great Britain and France constructed the efforts of the anti-Iraq coalition as a 'just war with a new world order as its goal' but represented the Bosnian strife as a 'cruel and meaningless slaughter that outside forces can do very little about', and thereby selected appropriate policies for dealing with the situations. In their statements in the Gulf, the Iraqi president was made the ultimate enemy, dangerous and evil, who had to be crushed in order to make the world safe again. As to Bosnia, the evanescent enemies left the Western powers bewildered and unwilling to dictate any solutions. Besides framing the conflicts as heroic battles or tragic feuds, the Western leaders employed various metaphors to make the distant events and their policies seem significant and coherent. The apparently harmless and light-hearted comparisons with children's stories, card games, business deals, and sports competitions induced forceful action in the Gulf; by contrast, paralleling the situation with sad dramas, horrible nightmares, violent natural catastrophes, and treacherous morasses made decisive interference impossible in Bosnia. The Gulf metaphors made clear to all the folly of leaving the princess in the lurch, not playing a winning hand, passing up the chance for a great investment, or canceling the Cup Final. In Bosnia, the metaphors made it unthinkable to dash onto the stage to defend the scapegoat, act on the visions of a frightening drama, stand in the way of the whirlwind, or try to cross the quicksand.

- Larrabee, F. Stephen
La politique americaine et la crise yougoslave.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 59e annee, no. 4, hiver 1994 - 1995, p. 1041-1055.

- Lefebvre, Stephane
Lombardi, Ben
Germany and Peace Enforcement : Participating in IFOR.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1996, p. 564-587.

- Leigh-Phippard, Helen
The Contact Group on (and in) Bosnia : An Exercise in Conflict
Mediation ?
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 33, no. 2, Spring 1998, p. 306-324.

This article is concerned with the role played in the Bosnian peace process by the Contact Group from its creation in April 1994 to the conclusion of the Dayton peace talks in November 1995. A discussion of Contact Group activity throughout the period is followed by an investigation of the reasons behind, and the effectiveness of, its mediation. While collective mediation through the Group had certain advantages, it also brought with it costs, associated in particular with the problems faced by the Group in striving to maintain unity. The collective mediation role was supported by a second role, that of managing relations between the key international actors involved in Balkan diplomacy and establishing their positions in the post-cold-war international order. The strength of commitment of Contact Group members to ensuring the appearance of public unity was at least as important as the conflict mediation role, perhaps more so.

- Leurdijk, Dick
De rol van de Verenigde Naties in de kwestie-Joegoslavië.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 46, nr. 3, maart 1992, p. 157-162.

- Lewis, Flora
Reassembling Yugoslavia.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 98, Spring 1995, p. 132-144.

- Liotta, P. H.
The Ethics of Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 4, Winter 1998, p. 33-68.

The United States' intervention, diplomatically and militarily, in former Yugoslavia demonstrates the complexities of social justice in post-Cold War Europe. Nominally an action to support 'vital' American interests, intervention equally involved a moral and ethical choice to leverage military technology and to prevent the spread of Balkan violence. Ethical politics, as Reinhold Niebuhr defines it, is an area where conscience and power meet, where ethical and coercive factors 'interpenetrate' in an uneasy compromise. Whether or not the will to a political ethic is sufficient to bring social justice to the former Yugoslavia remains unclear.

- Lucarelli, Sonia
Germany's Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia : An Institutional
Perspective.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 2, April - June 1997, p. 65-91.

The aim of this article is to shed light on one of the most controversial foreign policy decisions of reunified Germany, and an allegedly sensational case of defection from multilateral coordination within the European Community. It also provides material for further investigation of the relative ability of the different theoretical perspectives adopted here - neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, and neoliberal intergovernmentalism - to explain international relations in a highly institutional framework.

- Lukic, Reneo
Lynch, Allen
La paix americaine pour les Balkans.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 27, no. 3, septembre 1996, p. 553-569.

Yugoslavia's loss of strategic value since the end of the cold war has determined the scope of US engagement in the Wars of Yugoslav Succession. In June 1991, therefore, the US allowed the EC and the UN to preserve Yugoslav unity and then contain the effects of the several wars launched by Serbia in the region. Bill Clinton, after rejecting George Bush's policy of 'Realpolitik' during the 1992 election campaign in favor of defending the victims of aggression, quickly confirmed the essential continuity of US policy in the Balkans. Throughout the Clinton presidency, the US has sought to contain the effects of the Yugoslav wars rather than reverse the consequences of aggression, and has relatedly sought to exclude the possibility of a significant combat role for US ground forces. Rhetoric aside, US policy has sought to encourage a settlement that reflects the military facts on the ground. The Dayton accords of November 1995 reflect these considerations in detail. Whatever the long-term effects of the Dayton 'peace', one consequence is certain : the marginalization of Western Europe as a foreign policy actor within Europe itself.

- Lynch, Allen
Lukic, Reneo
Russland und der Krieg im ehemaligen Jugoslawien.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 49. Jahr, 3. Folge, 10. Februar 1994, S. 80-88.

- Lyon, James M. B.
Will Bosnia Survive Dayton ?
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 99, no. 635, March 2000, p. 110-116.

The 1995 Dayton Peace Accord that ended the war in Bosnia carried the promise that this torn country would be rebuild into a multiethnic nation. Four years later, Bosnia has become the ethnically segregated, 'cantonized' country Dayton hoped to prevent. What went wrong ?

- MacCausland, Jeffrey D.
Arms Control and the Dayton Accords.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1997, p. 18-27.

The purpose of this article is to examine the arms control portion of the Dayton Accords and the agreements that have been made between the parties. It describes the conduct of the negotiations as well as the ensuing treaties, what they may bode for the future, and makes certain policy recommendations.

- MacCausland, Jeffrey D.
Arms Control or Disarmament ? : The Case of the Former Yugoslavia.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 8, no. 3, 1997, p. 58-68.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the arms control portion of the Dayton Accord and the agreements that have been made between the parties. It describes the conduct of the negotiations as well as the ensuing treaties, what they may bode for the future, and make certain policy recommendations.

- MacCausland, Jeffrey D.
Conflict Termination and Conflict Prevention.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 38. Jg., Heft 2, Marz - April 2000, S. 131-138.

- MacCausland, Jeffrey D.
Rüstungskontrolle und Abrüstung : Perspektiven am Beispiel des Abkommens von Dayton.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITÄERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 1997, S. 631-636.

- Macgregor, Douglas A.
The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 93-110.

- Magas, Branka
The War in Yugoslavia.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 136, no. 4, Winter 1991, p. 33-37.

- Magnuszewski, Pierre
Bosnie : vues sur le passe, images du present, perspectives.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 3, mars 1999, p. 113-120.

- Mak, Timothy D.
The Case Against an International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 536-563.

The International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia is unworkable because the UN Security Council has neither the practical nor legal jurisdictional power to prosecute war crimes committed during civil wars or regional hostilities. The Tribunal is likely to cause only confusion on the part of the participants and perhaps, indirectly, an escalation of the conflict. The reasons for failure lie in flawed assumptions regarding the proper role and powers of the UN. The UN is not a form of world government. It has no police force, no legislature. The attempt to construct a judicial system (in the form of a war crimes tribunal) when the other two organs of world government are missing is an exercise in futility. The UN relies primarily on the consent of its members. Therefore, it must necessarily fall back on moral persuasion (as a body representing world opinion) to 'keep the peace' and maintain reasonable standards of conduct during regional hostilities. Ironically, the attempt to erect an overly coercive and interventionist role for the Security Council undercuts the very strengths on which the UN as a whole relies; its credibility as an impartial forum for conciliation and arbitration of international crises.

- Manousakis, Gregor M.
Westliche Ungereimtheiten auf dem Balkan.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1992, S. 663-665.

- Maull, Hanns W.
Germany in the Yugoslav Crisis.
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 4, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 99-130.

Most explanations of German foreign policy in the Yugoslav crisis have focused on only one of three distinct phases of that policy: Germany's highly assertive policies towards the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. Yet Bonn's policies towards former Yugoslavia have shown both assertiveness and impotence; they began with reticence and returned to it after the exceptional push for recognition. The best explanation for German policy is the 'civilian power' approach - Germany's unique post-war aversion to military power and emphasis on multilateral solutions. Germany's foreign-policy 'culture of restraint' is still firmly rooted, and the Yugoslav crisis underlines the constraints and limitations of German power, rather than its potential. That Germany still needs partners to secure its interests is more obvious now than ever.

- Melandri, P.
Les Etats-Unis et les premieres guerres de l' ex-Yougoslavie
(1991-1995).
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES, no. 104, hiver 2000, p. 487-506.

Quiconque aborde la politique des Etats-Unis face aux premieres guerres de l'ex-Yougoslavie ne peut manquer d'etre frappe par le contraste qui existe entre la timidite, sinon la passivite, qui caracterisent leur attitude au cours des premieres annees et la determination avec laquelle ils interviennent subitement a l'ete 1995 pour retablir la paix. Cet article s'efforce de definir les ruptures et continuites qui ont pu exister entre l'approche par l'Administration Bush puis l'Administration Clinton, d'une region que la fin de la guerre froide avait largement fait reculer dans la hierarchie des preoccupations americaines de securite. Il cherche ensuite a cerner les raisons - a la fois exterieures et internes - pour lesquelles cette aproche longtemps hesite a ete brutalement renversee. Il conclut qu'a l'ete 1995 le tour pris par les evenements en Bosnie ne laissait d'autre choix au president des Etats-Unis que d'intervenir ou renoncer au leadership.

- Miller, Nicholas J.
Serbia Chooses Aggression.
ORBIS, vol. 83, no. 1, Winter 1994, p. 59-66.
- Mock, Alois
Guerre dans l' ex-Yougoslavie : origines, nature et perspectives.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 16, no. 63, automne 1993, p. 477-487.
- Morillon, Philippe
UN Operations in Bosnia : Lessons and Realities.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 138, no. 6, December 1993, p. 31-35.
- Neville-Jones, Pauline
Dayton, IFOR and Alliance Relations in Bosnia.
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 4, Winter 1996 - 1997, p. 45-65.

The war in former Yugoslavia caused great strains in transatlantic relations, and only when the allies began to work better together did the Dayton Agreement of November 1995 become possible. Implementing the military side of the agreement has been successful, but, for a range of reasons, civilian implementation has been less so. While Dayton and the NATO-led Bosnian Peace Implementation Force are not necessarily models for the future, they do contain some important lessons : if military intervention is to take place, it must be undertaken with adequately equipped troops deployed to support agreed and attainable political objectives. A clear mandate, unity of command in theatre and balanced deployment on the ground among the intervening powers are all essential.

- Nicholls, D. V.
Bosnia : UN and NATO.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 1, February 1996, p. 31-36.

The history of the use of force by the UN has not been one to inspire great confidence - witness Korea, the Congo and Somalia. But the recent example of the air/land operation carried out by the UN and NATO in Bosnia seems to have reversed that trend in achieving its objectives swiftly and efficiently. As one who took part in the operation, Colonel Nicholls describes the background, planning and execution of the mission, setting it in its complex context and showing how exploiting force was able to lead, int this special case, to peace.

- Noev, Boyko
More Optimism for the Balkans.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 41, no. 2, April 1993, p. 10-14.

- Paasch, Rolf
Die halbherzige Intervention : Lektionen aus dem Bosnien-Krieg.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1997, S. 15-20.

Der militärische Teil des Dayton-Abkommens wurde erfolgreich durchgeführt, doch die zivile Implementierung ist in entscheidenden Punkten gescheitert. Der Autor beklagt die Hilflosigkeit und das Versagen des Westens.

- Pascu, Ioan
Romania and the Yugoslav Conflict.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1994, p. 153-161.

- Pasic, Amir
Weiss, Thomas G.
Humanitarian Recognition in the Former Yugoslavia : The Limits of Non-State Politics.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 7, no. 1, Autumn 1997, p. 194-228.

Humanitarian politics, once taboo for both analysts and staff from aid agencies, has made a dramatic entrance into public policy discourse. A succession of well-publicized humanitarian efforts in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia were either counterproductive, or a substitute for vigorous diplomacy and military force, or both. Practitioners as well as scholars have harshly and frequently criticized humanitarian naivete. This is taking place at the same time as the major powers prepare their armed forces and doctrines for a future in which they envision a prominent place for humanitarian action. Using recognition as an analytic lens, the authors examine the ambiguities of the politics surrounding complex humanitarian emergencies and find that states continue to serve as political anchors even for nonstate actors.

- Pauwels, Ann
Juridische analyse van de VN-vredesoperaties in (ex-)Joegoslavië.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 45, no. 5, 1992, p. 39-70.

- Pavlowitch, Stevan K.
Who is 'Balkanizing' Whom ? : The Misunderstandings Between the Debris of Yugoslavia and an Unprepared West.
DAEDALUS, vol. 123, no. 2, Spring 1994, p. 203-223.

- Petkovic, Ranko
Anatomie de la crise yougoslave.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 44, no. 3, 1991, p. 13-29.

- Pfaff, William
Invitation to War.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 1993, p. 97-109.

- Portillo, Michael
Bosnia : Implementing the Peace Agreement.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 1, February 1996, p. 27-30.

The Secretary of State for Defence reviews here the progress of IFOR in its often dangerous and complex task, highlighting the UK's contribution and reiterating the commitment of all those involved to the successful completion of IFOR's mission - to implement a comprehensive peace settlement in Bosnia.

- Portillo, Michael
Bosnia : The Formidable Contribution from Britain.
ARMY QUARTERLY AND DEFENCE JOURNAL, vol. 126, no. 1, January 1996, p. 115-117.

- Poti, Laszlo
Les aspirations et dilemmes de la politique exterieure hongroise face a la crise yougoslave.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 323-328.

- Preisinger, Johannes
Silberstreif, Gewitterwolken : Ausblick auf den Friedensprozess in Bosnien-Herzegowina.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1997, S. 29-36.

Fur den ehemaligen Botschafter in Sarajewo ist das Jahr 1997 die unwiederbringliche Wasserscheide des Friedensprozesses in Bosnien. Zwei Jahre nach Abschluss des Rahmenabkommens von Dayton geht es fur den Fortgang diese Prozesses vor allem darum, das in Dayton geschaffene Instrumentarium unter angemessener deutscher Beteiligung entschlossen einzusetzen.

- Primoratz, Igor
Israel and the War in the Balkans.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 79-94.

All Israeli governments since the beginning of the breakup of Yugoslavia have adopted a consistently pro-Serbian stand. Israeli public opinion has failed to respond to Serb atrocities in a way comparable to the response in many other countries. An important part of the explanation of this remarkable state of affairs, which puts Israel at odds with most of the western world and the Jewish diaspora, is to be found in Israel's history. Israel was set up at the price of turning the larger part of the native Palestinian population into expellees or refugees. Its continued existence as an ethnic, Jewish state, is predicated on not readmitting the exiled Palestinians. Collective repression and denial of these facts help explain the unwillingness of Israeli society and its political establishment to condemn the Serbs' war of expansion and 'ethnic cleansing'.

- Quiggin, Thomas
Do Airstrikes Amount to an Effective Policy ?
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 2, April - May 1999, p. 15-18.

- Quiggin, Tom
Srebrenica en de internationale gemeenschap in Bosnie : een
samengebalde chaos ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 52, nr. 2, februari 1998, p. 79-85.

The author, who as a Canadian Military Officer served with UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Hercegovina, considers the Bosnian Serb attack on Srebrenica a cataclysmic event during the international intervention into the former Yugoslavia. To understand the fall of Srebrenica it is necessary to examine the roles of various players, such as the European security organisations, the United Nations (Security Council), NATO, and the Bosnian (Muslim) government. The latter's position on the three eastern enclaves, or safe areas, was, at best, ambiguous (they were viewed as more or less expendable pawns), and when the attack occurred, there was little international desire or rationale to see their continued existence. Actually, Srebrenica's fate was sealed before the attack even started. Its fall, and the resultant massacre, did for the Bosnian government what three years of earlier fighting had not brought about.

- Ramet, Sabrina P.
Coffin, Letty
German Foreign Policy Toward the Yugoslav Successor States, 1991-1999.
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, vol. 48, no. 1, January - February 2001, p. 48-64 (MasterFILE Premier).
<http://search.epnet.com>

This article reviews the fluctuations and formation of German policy in relation to the Yugoslav crisis of the 1990s. It delineates five distinct phases, highlighting interparty and intraparty disputes both inside and outside the Bundestag, concerning Germany's role in the crisis, tracing the domestic controversy concerning Bosnian refugees in Germany, and assessing the impact of interparty disputes on actual policy outcomes. Along the way, some observations are offered on the role played by German feelings of guilt and non-German demonization of Germany in Germany's effort to come to grips with the Bosnian conflagration. The article closes with a brief discussion of Germany's involvement in the Kosovo crisis of 1998-1999.

- Ramet, Sabrina Petra
War in the Balkans.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 71, no. 4, Fall 1992, p. 79-98.

- Remacle, E.
De Joegoslavische crisis : lessen voor de Europese Unie.
TRANSAKTIE, jg. 27, nr. 1, 1998, p. 9-29.

Dit artikel bevat een vergelijkende analyse van de standpunten van de Europese Unie en van de concrete rol in the Joegoslavische crisis. Daartoe is het conflictbeheersingsproces verdeeld in drie stadia : EU-VN multilateralisme, directorium van de grote mogendheden, en vredesopbouw onder leiding van de Verenigde Staten. De eerste les uit deze drie fasen is dat de meeste elementen van de vredesakkoorden weliswaar een Europese oorsprong hebben, maar de EU en zijn zogenoemde Gemeenschappelijk Buitenlands en Veiligheidsbeleid waren niet bij machte zonder de Amerikanen een oplossing af te dwingen. Een tweede les is dat de Europese Unie sedert de vroegste fase de nationalistische en separatistische logica stilzwijgend aanvaard heeft en dat alleen verdere integratie van de nieuwe onafhankelijke nationale staten in de Europese Unie deze logica op lange termijn kan ontkrachten.

- Reuter, Jens
Der Burgerkrieg in Jugoslawien : Kriegsmudigkeit, Kriegspsychose und
Wirtschaftsverfall.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 46. Jahr, 24. Folge, 25 Dezember 1991, S. 703-709.

- Rood, J. Q. Th.
Crisis in het Westeuropese statensysteem.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 47, nr. 6, juni 1993, p. 306-313.

- Rose, Jurgen
Über Willen, Macht und Widerstreben : Optionen zur Kriegsbeendigung auf dem Balkan.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 42. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 1993, S. 42-44.

- Rose, Michael
Bosnia-Herzegovina 1994.
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS, vol. 39, no. 3-4, 1994, p. 8-11.

- Rose, Michael
A Year in Bosnia : What Has Been Achieved.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 3, June 1995, p. 22-25.

- Rosengarten, Ulrich
The Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 49, no. 3, 1998, p. 32-39.

- From the outset the Geneva conference encountered difficulties in its task of working out a cease fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina - its principal mission - but also in arranging the return of the forcibly occupied territories and of establishing a satisfactory constitutional arrangement for the country. The outcome lagged behind its intended goals and what was achieved at the negotiating table could only be partially enforced. The danger of Bosnia-Herzegovina disintegrating remains. The author regards the negotiations as having essentially failed, attributing this to the fact that Europe, or rather the European Union, felt unable to take military action. Drawing on his experience in Geneva, he concludes that the ability of the Common Foreign and Security Policy to act must be improved, not least in the face of the continued threat of civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also in view of the collapse of state order in Albania and the escalating crisis in Kosovo. How this is to be achieved is the subject of the article.

- Roskin, Michael G.
The Bosnian-Serb Problem : What We Should and Should Not Do.
PARAMETERS, vol. 22, no. 4, Winter 1992 - 1993, p. 21-32.

- Roskin, Michael G.
The Third Balkan War, and How It Will End.
PARAMETERS, vol. 24, no. 3, Autumn 1994, p. 57-69.

- Roussel, Stephane
Fortmann, Michel
Eppur, si muove : le regime de securite europeen, les Etats non belligerants et la guerre en ex-Yougoslavie.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 25, no. 4, decembre 1994, p. 729-762.

- Roux, Michel
La decomposition de la Yougoslavie : la Serbie et le 'front Sud'.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 280-292.

- Ruiter, Bob de
De Atlantische crisis en het 'Europese falen' in Bosnie.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1996, p. 378-384.

The author examines the Transatlantic relationship and focuses on the divergent American and European views of the manner in which the Bosnian war should be dealt with. The European countries were united in their support for the peace agreements, brokered by the EU and UN mediators. They rejected American demands for air strikes and lifting of the arms embargo, which in turn were showing an ambivalent attitude towards the negotiating process. In short, the first priority of the Europeans was to end the war as soon as possible, while the US insisted on the necessity of achieving justice for the Bosnian government. The author argues that these Transatlantic frictions caused what is commonly perceived as the 'European failure' of Bosnia. When in 1995 a more coherent strategy was produced, it reflected the views of the United States as well as those of the European countries.

- Salla, Michael
Kosovo, Non-Violence and the Break-Up of Yugoslavia.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 26, no. 4, December 1995, p. 427-438.

The break-up of the Yugoslav Federation has been accompanied by unrestrained acts of violence, war, torture and ethnic cleansing. Organized violence has been used to attain political and social objectives for communities which are distinguishable largely by religious affiliation rather than ethnic or linguistic criteria. While the subsequent outbreak of war in parts of the former Yugoslavia has led to strong international interest in Croatia and Bosnia, there has been a territory which is yet to witness the outbreak of war : this is Kosovo. Kosovo has been the scene of a concerted and disciplined campaign of non-violence not seen since the US civil rights movement. The article analyses the campaign, its dynamics and likelihood of success.

- Sayari, Sabri
La Turquie et la crise yougoslave.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 309-316.

- Schild, Georg
The USA and Civil War in Bosnia.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 1, 1996, p. 22-32.

- Schmidl, Erwin A.
'Eisverkauf' im Feuer.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 1, Janner - Februar 1994, S. 41-50.

- Schofield, Philip
Dayton Peace Accord Arms Control Implementation : An Interim Report.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 2, April 1997, p. 25-29.

One of the key elements of the Dayton Peace Accord on the Former Yugoslavia is its arms control element, for which arms control agencies of the OSCE nations have been assisting to achieve the balanced and stable defence forces necessary to maintain a difficult peace. The organisation, methods and working practices that have evolved in this task are likely to be used again in future regional conflicts, so it is important that these are critically reviewed and learned from. As a result of the end of the first phase reductions, the author writes from the OSCE Arms Control Verification Office explaining how the process works in practice, the participants and the agencies involved and the inspections, reductions and analysis issues. Now in the second phase, Major Schofield draws some interim lessons. If a model is to be

established for future conflict solving, such as the eruption of violence witnessed in Albania, preparedness by all those involved on an international level and on the ground will be vital for its future success.

- Schulte, Gregory L.
Former Yugoslavia and the New NATO.
SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 19-42.

NATO's involvement in former Yugoslavia has graphically illustrated how the Alliance has adapted since the Cold War. At the same time, this involvement has given impetus and reality to many aspects of NATO's transformation. With the Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and now the Stabilisation Force (SFOR), NATO is operating 'out of area', with all 16 allies and in coalition with forces from over half the countries in its Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme. NATO has established practical cooperation with the UN, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international organisations. A major lesson from this experience is the need to ensure that future peace-support missions are clearly defined and backed by adequate mandates and resources. NATO will also want to develop its capabilities for civil-military cooperation and to establish standing mechanisms to incorporate Russia and other PfP countries into future operations.

- Serfaty, Simon
America and Europe Beyond Bosnia.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 19, no. 3, Summer 1996, p. 31-44.

The purpose of this essay is to assess the consequences of the most recent conflict in the Balkans, and of the events that have accompanied it, in terms of four related considerations : what we knew but ignored - namely, the inherent instabilities of any postwar international configuration; what we should have known - that is, Europe's unpreparedness for attending to security issues requiring a significant amount of military force; what we did not want to know - which was the indispensibility of American leadership and American power; and accordingly, what we cannot forget again - that is, the continued relevance of the complementary institutions built during the cold war: the North Atlantic Treaty and its military Organization (NATO), the European Union and its related organizations (including the Western European Union).

- Sharp, Jane M. O.
Dayton Report Card.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 22, no. 3, Winter 1997 - 1998, p. 101-137.

On the second anniversary of the Dayton peace agreement, this article assesses western contributions to the peace process in Bosnia. The main argument advanced here is that the western powers - particularly the United States, Britain, and France - were negligent in not preventing and then not quickly ending the wars in former Yugoslavia because they refused to use force to support important principles of international law.

- Sharp, Jane M. O.
Doing Better on Bosnia : Enforce the Law, Protect Rights.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 2, February 1997, p. 37-39.

The countries donating aid to Bosnia have designated this year and next the Consolidation Period for the peace process and urged the local parties to take their obligations more seriously or face renewed sanctions and perhaps abandonment by the international community. For the Bosnians, these exhortations must seem a bit rich, coming from the community of states that denied them the means to defend themselves against the better armed Serbs, pressed the Bosnian Muslims into a

Federation with the Bosnian Croats tied to a Croatia still run by a fascistic dictatorship, and imposed a peace agreement that rewarded the genocidal Bosnian Serbs with their own autonomous statelet : Republika Srpska. How can the international community do better on Bosnia ?

- Sharp, Jane M. O.
Intervention in Bosnia : The Case For.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 49, no. 2, February 1993, p. 29-32.

 - Sharp, Jane M. O.
Missed Opportunities in Former Yugoslavia.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 51, no. 6, 1998, p. 15-24.

 - Sherr, James
Doomed to Remain a Great Power.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 1, January 1996, p. 8-12.

 - Sica, Mario
The Role of the OSCE in the Former Yugoslavia After the Dayton Peace Agreement.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 7, no. 2, 1996, p. 5-12.
- As a result of the Dayton agreements, which hopefully will bring about a peaceful settlement for war-torn former Yugoslavia, the OSCE is embarking upon a new phase in its existence. The Organization will be the 'lead agency' for the Bosnian elections, with an important role to play in the field of human rights and in questions of confidence and security-building measures and arms control.
- Simic, Predrag
After the Cold War : Europe, the Balkans and Yugoslavia.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 27, no. 4, October - December 1992, p. 59-80.

 - Simic, Predrag
Le conflit serbo-croate et l' eclatement de la Yougoslavie.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 59e annee, no. 1, printemps 1994, p. 129-144.

 - Simic, Predrag
Dynamics of the Yugoslav Crisis.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 26, no. 2, June 1995, p. 153-172.

 - Sobell, Vlad
Europe is the Answer.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 55, no. 7, July 1999, p. 10-12.

Has the West seriously misunderstood the break-up of the former Yugoslavia ? In the process, has an opportunity been lost to integrate the region into a Europe where ethnic conflicts and segregation seem to be things of the past ?

- Stark, Hans
L'Allemagne et les conflits yougoslaves : la maturation de la politique étrangère allemande.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 28, hiver 1997, p. 109-118.

La guerre en ex-Yougoslavie a longtemps divisé les responsables européens, dont l'attention se focalisait en particulier sur le rôle de l'Allemagne. Durant la guerre en Croatie (1991), la RFA fut accusée par tous ses partenaires de soutenir la partie sloveno-croate dans le seul but de s'arroger une position dominante en Europe centrale et dans les Balkans, régions avec lesquelles elle a toujours entretenu des rapports aussi étroits que conflictuels. Aussi la reconnaissance unilatérale par le gouvernement allemand de l'indépendance de la Slovanie et de la Croatie a-t-elle suscité une condamnation quasi unanime de la part des partenaires occidentaux. Le gouvernement fédéral a non seulement été critiqué pour avoir 'imposé' l'indépendance de la Croatie et de la Slovanie à ses partenaires et provoqué ainsi, du moins indirectement, l'éclatement de la guerre en Bosnie-Herzégovine, mais aussi en raison de son refus de contribuer à la protection des républiques qu'il venait de reconnaître.

- Stark, Hans
Bosnie : la guerre sans fin.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 60e année, no. 1, printemps 1995, p. 205-216.

- Stark, Hans
Dissonances franco-allemandes sur fond de guerre serbo-croate.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e année, no. 2, été 1992, p. 339-347.

- Strohm, Carl Gustaf
Heikle Friedensmission de UNO in Jugoslawien Wieder Schusse in Sarajevo.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 1992, S. 265-268.

- Strohm, Carl Gustaf
Der Wahnsinn hat Methode.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 11, November 1992, S. 595-597.

- Strohm, Karl Gustaf
Kroatiens einsamer Kampf gegen den Angriff Serbiens.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 40. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1991, S. 675-679.

- Tardy, Thierry
Les Accords de paix en Bosnie-Herzégovine : de la FORPRONU à l'IFOR.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 21, printemps 1996, p. 60-75.

Le 14 décembre 1995, les présidents croate, serbe et bosniaque signaient à Paris les Accords de paix en Bosnie-Herzégovine, paraphés le 21 novembre sur la base américaine de Dayton. Maîtres d'œuvre du processus diplomatique, les Américains obtenaient ainsi en quatre mois ce à quoi les Européens avaient échoué quatre années durant. Le 20 décembre 1995, la FORPRONU mettait fin à son mandat, et passait le relais aux forces de l'OTAN, stigmatisant ainsi l'inaptitude de l'ONU à continuer d'exercer un rôle de premier plan. Forts de leur succès diplomatique, les Américains déployaient plus de 20.000 hommes en Bosnie, pour une opération destinée, aussi, à assurer la réélection du président Clinton. Depuis lors, l'IFOR met en œuvre le volet militaire du plan de paix, laissant la lourde responsabilité des aspects civils à l'ONU, à l'OSCE et à l'Union européenne.

- Thomas, Roy
Implementing the February 1994 Peace Plan for Sarajevo.
CANADIAN DEFENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, March 1995, p. 22-24.

- Tibi, Bassam
Die islamische Dimension des Balkan-Krieges.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 48. Jahr, 22. Folge, 25. November 1993, S. 635-644.

- Tromp, Bart
Hedendaags geweld op de Balkan : historische en antropologische verklaringen getoetst.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 12, december 1996, p. 590-595.

The author offers some observations on the use and misuse of historical and anthropological perspectives on the Balkans in the analysis of the war in former Yugoslavia. During the past five years many 'historical' and 'anthropological' evidence has been presented to convince policy-makers as well as the interested layman that violence in this part of Europe is both inevitable and endemic. Pseudo-interpretations were used in order to advise against Western intervention. This essay attempts to arrive at a demystification of such explanations. The 'Homo Balkanensis' invents himself; in the final analysis also out of rancour against the 'civilized' people who wish to consider him as such.

- Vermeer, Willem
Joegoslavie en de Serven 1918-1991 : van mozaiek tot burgeroorlog.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 46, nr. 2, februari 1992, p. 63-70.

- Vernet, Daniel
Le malheur des Serbes.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 64e annee, no. 3, automne 1999, p. 601-611.

Si la recente crise au Kosovo presente de nombreux paralleles avec les conflits balkaniques du debut du siecle, elle doit cependant etre analysee en tenant compte du contexte politique de la Yougoslavie apres Tito. En examinant les caracteristiques de ce conflit, l'auteur s'interroge notamment sur les lecons que l'Europe doit en tirer. Quant a l'avenir des Etats de la region, il ne peut etre que multiethnique, ce qui suppose le respect des droits des minorites. Une verite simple a dire, mais difficile a traduire dans les faits.

- Vetschera, Heinz
Military Stabilization and Arms Control in Bosnia and Herzegovina Five Years after the Dayton Agreement (Part I) : The Agreement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 39. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni 2001, S. 311-318.

- Vetschera, Heinz
Military Stabilization and Arms Control in Bosnia and Herzegovina Five Years after the Dayton Agreement (Part II).
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 39. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 2001, S. 465-472.

- Vetschera, Heinz
The Negotiations on Regional Arms Control under Annex 1-B, Art. V of the Dayton Agreement : A Preliminary Post-mortem.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 12, no. 3, 2001, p. 177-184.

- Vierucci, Luisa
The Role of the Western European Union (WEU) in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 2, no. 3, Autumn 1995, p. 309-329.

This article attempts to identify the legal basis for the WEU's operation currently taking place in the former Yugoslavia. From this perspective, the nature of the WEU's actions prior to the intervention in the Yugoslav conflicts are briefly described in order to appreciate the changing role of WEU in the maintenance of international peace and security. Focus, however, is put on the operations concerning the former Yugoslavia and their legal qualification both in the framework of the UN Charter and the WEU's founding treaty. In particular, it is intended here, first, to analyse whether the WEU's actions can be regarded as falling under the provisions of Chapters VII or VIII of the UN Charter and, second, to verify whether the measures at issue are envisaged in the original WEU Treaty or whether they represent the exercise of ultra vires functions on the part of the Council of Ministers. Finally, in the light of the UN Charter, the WEU Treaty and the recent WEU Council's declarations it is attempted herewith to sketch the possible functions of the WEU for the future. Both the political and military capabilities of the organization are briefly examined in order to identify a desirable evolution of the WEU in the field of international peace and security.

- Vrcan, Srdjan
War in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
BALKAN FORUM, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1996, p. 83-109.
- Vukobrat, Boris I.
Yougoslavie : les voies de l' unite.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 57e annee, no. 2, ete 1992, p. 369-374.
- Vulliamy, Ed
Bosnia : The Crime of Appeasement.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 1, January 1998, p. 73-91.

Few international journalists have been as intimately involved in the conflict in former Yugoslavia as Ed Vulliamy. In this vivid personal account of the war years he argues that the international community's response to Serbian claims amounted to nothing less than appeasement.

- Westendorp, Carlos
Kosovo : las lecciones de Bosnia.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 70, julio - agosto 1999, p. 45-58.

Despues de la crisis de Kosovo, va a ser necesaria una reconstruccion tanto moral como material. La integracion en la Union Europea se presenta como la mejor de las garantias para la paz. Todos sus dirigentes tendran que asumir que resolver de una vez para siempre la cuestion balcanica es una de las empresas mas dificiles y apasionantes que la UE haya jamas abordado.

- Williams, John
The Ethical Basis of Humanitarian Intervention, the Security Council and Yugoslavia.
INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 1-23.

The article analyses the text of Security Council Resolutions on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia for the period between September 1991 and 1997. It searches for evidence of a shift on the part of the Council towards an acceptance of the idea of universal human rights and their importance to international peace and security. The article concludes that the Resolutions do suggest that such a shift is underway, and this contributes to a greater concern for justice as an element of order in international relations.

- Williams, Michael
The Best Chance for Peace in Bosnia.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 1, January 1996, p. 4-7.

The Dayton accords, although flawed, offer the West its best chance of restoring a moral dimension to its security policies. A year of peace is probably too little to return the refugees, hold elections and rebuild Bosnia on the ashes of the war.

- Wilson, Gordon
Post SFOR : A European Security Solution ?
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 3, June 1998, p. 19-23.

The situation in the former Yugoslavia has, and still is, testing the European willingness and ability to find a lasting solution to a complex security issue. 1998 will see the end of the Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and, while President Clinton has announced that there will be American peacekeeping forces in Bosnia after SFOR, the US is looking to the European states to take on a larger share of the responsibilities in the former Yugoslavia. Gordon Wilson here analyses the different options possible within a European framework. He argues that the only viable solution in Bosnia, should the Americans pull out, is a European one, building on the WEU framework. He examines current capabilities in Europe and argues that, even with the benefits of pooling resources, there are shortages of strategic requirements within the WEU framework. Any joint operations under the WEU umbrella will suffer from the decline in Europe's operational military capability. He argues that Europe could not currently conduct comprehensive military operations without using some NATO resources. Europe will, therefore, have to develop a stronger European force, since it is likely that it will fall on the Europeans to continue the work in Bosnia when the next force's mandate expires.

- Wohlstetter, Albert
La creation d' une Grande Serbie.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 17, no. 67, automne 1994, p. 493-504.

- Wood, Pia Christina
France and the Post Cold War Order : The Case of Yugoslavia.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1994, p. 129-152.

- Woodward, Susan L.
Bosnia after Dayton : Year Two.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 96, no. 608, March 1997, p. 97-103.

The most likely compromise between the current reality in Bosnia and the goal of Dayton is an extremely weak, fragile, and relatively unstable country - a country in name and international recognition only without a central capacity to manage trade and finance, one that might continue to demand external assistance and protection for a long time.

- Wright, Joanne
European Security : Post Bosnia.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 1997, p. 1-17.

This article begins by outlining the sorts of roles institutions are thought to be able to play in security problems. This is followed by an examination of institutional behaviour in Bosnia where it is shown that institutions were not able to play the roles expected of them. A third section looks at the barriers to cooperation that operated in Bosnia, the most significant of which were relative gains concerns of the institutions' member states. Finally, the article suggests that the institutional difficulties experienced in Bosnia have contributed to the development of a multi-institutional security order with differentiated and flexible memberships. This can be seen especially in the security behaviour of France, the UK and in developments in NATO since 1994.

- Zabkar, Anton
Das 'Adria-Embargo'.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 31. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni 1993, S. 236-241.

- Zabkar, Anton
Die strategische Operation 'Gewitter' : Vorbereitungen, Durchfuehrung und mogliche Implikationen.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 1995, S. 665-676.

- Zimmermann, Warren
The Last Ambassador.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 2, March - April 1995, p. 2-20.

The U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1989 to 1992 has written a memoir drawn from his personal diaries that provides a gripping firsthand account of Yugoslavia's slide into civil war.

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