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COMMENT OBTENIR D'AUTRES PUBLICATIONS DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE:

PART I : BOOKS
PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

The 'Yugoslav' Crisis in International Law : General Issues. Part I -
ISBN/ISSN:0521463041
lvii, 711 p. : ill. ; 31 cm.
(Cambridge International Documents Series ; vol. 5)
ID number: 80014234 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00616
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
Added entry(s):
1. Bethlehem, Daniel, ed.
2. Weller, Marc, ed.
3. University of Cambridge. Research Centre for International Law
   (GB)
Includes index.
'The book covers general materials reflecting the responses of the
international community, acting through the United Nations, to all
aspects of the crisis. The documents include Security Council
Resolutions and Presidential Statements and the extensive Council
debates which led to their adoption. Also reprinted are the reports of
the UN Secretary-General, chronicling the development of the crisis
since its inception in 1991.'

Accords de paix concernant l'ex-Yougoslavie - Paris : Documentation
Francaise, 1996.
ISBN/ISSN:2110035137
71 p. : 30 cm.
(Documents d'Actualite Internationale ; fevrier 1996)
ID number: 80013315 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00600
Subject(s):
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
'Le premier recueil reprenant l'ensemble des textes des accords et de
leurs annexes sur la paix en ex-Yougoslavie ainsi que les decisions et
resolutions sur leur mise en oeuvre et leur suivi par les differentes
organisations internationales et regionales concernees : Accord de
mise en place de la Federation (croato-musulmane) de
Bosnie-Herzegovine; Accord fondamental sur la Slavonie orientale;
 Accord-cadre general pour la paix en Bosnie-Herzegovine et ses
annexes civiles et militaires signes lors de la Conference de Paris;
conclusions, declarations et resolutions de l'Union europeenne, du
Conseil de securite de l'ONU, des conferences de Londres et de Bonn,
de l'Organisation pour la securite et la cooperation en Europe (OSCE),
du Groupe de contact international et du Groupe de contact de
l'Organisation de la conference islamique (OCI).'
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.'

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)

(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.'
ISBN/ISSN: 91 p.; 24 cm.
(Chaillot Papers ; 17) Type: M
Library Location: 327 /0103 Library Location: 327 /01031
Subject(s):
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. EU--CFSP
Added entry(s):
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.'

ISBN/ISSN: v, 60 p.; 24 cm.
(Chaillot Papers ; 32) Type: M
Library Location: 496.3 /0030
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.'

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.'

ID number: 80008188
Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00494
Subject(s):
1. NATIONALISM--YUGOSLAVIA
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
'Le Monde Diplomatique, fevrier 1993'.

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
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 recent 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 documentationrevelee 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 etouffee 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
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)
'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.'
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 Universität Bayreuth'.

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
Added entry(s):
1. Fondation pour les Etudes de Défense (FR)
'En Bosnie-Herzegovine, la France a été le premier pourvoyeur de 'Casques bleus'. Outre ses sacrifices humains et ses dépenses militaires, elle a beaucoup payé pour l'aide humanitaire de ce pays, et elle continue de participer substantiellement au financement de sa reconstruction, bilatéralement et surtout via sa contribution aux financements internationaux. Mais elle le fait pour l'essentiel à fonds perdu la ou d'autres pays appliquent une stratégie déjà rodée depuis des années en d'autres lieux, qui consiste a faire de leur aide humanitaire un investissement pour l'après-crise. De ce fait, et du fait aussi d'une grande frilosité de nombreuses entreprises, la France n'a recolte pour l'instant que peu de dividendes de son aide, alors qu'au même moment, les entreprises de nombreux autres pays industrialisés accedent a d'importants marches grâce au soutien de puissantes organisations étatiques, y compris chez les plus ardent défenseurs du liberalisme économique. C'est ce problème qui est examine, en etablisant les faits avec le maximum de precision pour etablir un diagnostic et en deduire une strategie possible pour la France.'

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.'

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):
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.'

ISBN/ISSN:0792326709
xxvii, 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.'

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):
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.'

Acknowledgments

Making Peace Prevail : Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia -
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
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.'
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.'

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.'

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
'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-
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-
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 ethnic 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-  
ISBN/ISSN:  
48 p. : ill.; 21 cm.  
(London Defence Studies ; 43)  
ID number: 80014610  
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  
ISBN/ISSN:2872621148  
379 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
ID number: 80016320  
Library Location: 659 /00077  
Subject(s):  
1. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995  
2. MASS MEDIA  
3. FOREIGN NEWS  
Includes index.  
'Estez-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 mediemensonges. Et surtout ces guerres qui viennent. Parce que defendre la paix vaut la peine de s'engager. En connaissance de cause.'
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.'
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
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

'La crise yougoslave illustre tout particulierement les specificites d'une societe internationale dans laquelle le droit occupe un role a la fois central (il impregne le discours officiel de tous ses protagonistes) et limite (dans la mesure ou son application est le plus souvent conditionnee par l'etat des rapports de force a un moment donne). Dans ce contexte, seule une analyse des relations dialectiques liant droit international et politique permet de comprendre ce qui s'est passe en (ex-)Yougoslavie de 1991 a 1995. Telle est en tout cas l'hypothese a la base du present ouvrage. Dans un premier chapitre, les auteurs se demandent dans quelle mesure la politique a investi le droit international. Les contradictions qui ont caracterise les positions juridiques des Etats, notamment europeens, a propos de certains episodes comme les revendications d'independance de la Croatie et de la Slovenie, ainsi que la faiblesse des institutions comme l'ONU, accредiteraient a premiere vue, la these d'une remise en cause du droit international dans son essence meme. Dans un deuxieme chapitre, c'est a partir des theories politiques portant sur les relations internationales que se developpe l'analyse. La crise yougoslave a, en effet, constitue un test remarquable pour ces theories, en particulier pour ce qui concerne la place qu'elles reservent au droit international. Le role du juge, a travers lequel on observe les relations dialectiques entre droit et politique, est aborde dans un troisieme chapitre consacre a une etude critique de la 'Commission Badinter' et de son activite. En conclusion, les auteurs assimilent le droit international a une 'ideologie juridique', qui doit etre replacee dans le cadre plus vaste d'une lutte entre ideologies concurrentes dans laquelle le droit remplit une fonction de legitimation, avec un succes tout relatif en (ex-)Yougoslavie.'
Donia, Robert J.
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
li, 80 p. ; 22 cm.
(Whitehall Paper Series)
ID number: 80008310 Type: M
Library Location: 323 /00496
Subject(s):
2. EEC--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Added entry(s):
1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)

Feron, Bernard
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
'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
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
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
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
(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
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.'
Honig, Jan Willem, 1958-
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-
ISBN/ISSN:
xxvii, 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-
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 Herzegovina (familiarly 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-
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
'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
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.
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):
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.'

Leurdiijk, Dick A.
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):
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
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
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
(London Defence Studies; 21) Type: M
ID number: 80010073
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
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
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--
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
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'apprehender dans ses cinq premiers chapitres les principaux elements expliquant l'eclatement de la Yougoslavie. Le dernier chapitre retrace les initiatives diplomatiques, mediatrices ou contraignantes des instances europeennes et internationales en vue de resoudre le conflit.'

Ramelot, Vincent
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 Europeen de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Securite (BE)

'L'action de l'Organisation pour la Securite et la Cooperation en Europe passe generalement inapercue du grand public. Elle n'en est pas moins significative. Nee de la dynamique de detente des annees 70 materialisee par l'Acte final d'Helsinki, l'OSCE s'est, depuis la fin de la guerre froide, institutionalisee. Elle constitue le seul forum ou l'ensemble des Etats d'Europe, d'Amerique du Nord et de ceux issus de l'ex-URSS debattent en permanence des questions de securite dans la zone s'etendant de Vancouver a Vladivostok. Son action face aux
conflits armés ou aux tensions larvées, en particulier portant sur la
question nationale, s'inscrit dans la volonté de construire, au
travers d'institutions paneuropéennes, un contrefeu face aux risques
de guerre. Sécurité-cooperative, diplomatie preventive et renforcement
de l'Etat de droit en constituent les trois mots-clés. Cet ouvrage
cherche à mettre en lumière 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
interêts divergents des Etats participants. Enfin, il tente de
clarifier le partage des roles qui s'établit sur le terrain entre
cette organisation et les Nations Unies d'une part, les autres acteurs
regionaux (UE, UEO, OTAN, CCNA, CEI) d'autre part.

Remacle, Eric
La politique étrangère europeenne : de Maastricht a la Yougoslavie -
ISBN/ISSN:
60 p.; 22 cm.
(Dossiers du GRIP ; 167)
ID number: 80007790
Library Location: 441 /00036
Subject(s):
1. TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (1992)
2. EEC--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995

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
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 -
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
5. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
Added entry(s):
1. Lancaster University. Cartmel College. Centre for Defence and
   International Security Studies (GB)
"During the evening of 10th September 1995, thirteen US Navy Tomahawk
  cruise missiles devasted 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 -
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."
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.'
multilateral military forces, that will permit the different political and ethnic factions to work out a new modus vivendi.'

Sloan, Elinor Camille, 1965-
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
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 homeriquest. 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 ce 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-Gorbachev, 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
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

'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 imperatifs de sa politique étrangère : outre la volonté recurrente 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 difficultes rencontrées par la FORPRONU n'ont-elles pas, simultanément, révélé les limites de ses propres capacités, politiques et militaires ? En Bosnie-Herzegovine 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 a l'exception de la création de la Force de reaction 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, a 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-Herzegovine, 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'un opération a ne pas reproduire, elle révèle surtout l'imperieuse nécessité de mieux définir une politique aux objectifs souvent mal identifiés.'

Thomas, Robert
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.
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)

Winrow, Gareth
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.'
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 Communauté 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...
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.
- Bosnia : 24 Nations send Soldiers to UNPROFOR.  

- 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.

 UN CHRONICLE, vol. 30, no. 1, March 1993, p. 4-12.

- Essays from Belgrade and Zagreb.  

- 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...  

- Peace Agreements bring 'long-delayed birth of hope' : Multinational Force set up in Bosnia to replace UNPROFOR.  


- Yugoslav Crisis : Intense Negotiations.  

- Yugoslav Crisis Intensifies.  

**This list contains material received as of November 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 20 novembre 2001.
- Yugoslavia : Crisis Continues.

- Yugoslavia : Situation Far from Stable.

- Zu Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
  Die Konsequenzen des Übereinkommens von Dayton; die NATO-Operation 'Joint Endeavour' (SACEUR OPLAN 10405)...

- Zur Lage in Jugoslawien.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.

- Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.

- Albert, Sophie
  The Return of Refugees to Bosnia and Herzegovina : Peacebuilding with People.
  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.
  EUROPÄISCHE SICHERHEIT, 41. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1992, S. 661-663.

- Arnold, Hans
  Der Balkan-Krieg und die Vereinten Nationen.

- Axt, Heinz-Jurgen
  Hat Genscher Jugoslawien entzweit ? : Mythen und Fakten zur Aussenpolitik des vereinten Deutschlands.

- Bair, Andrew
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 Herzegovina. 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.

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.

The author attempts to bring 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 meillure viabilite economique a inspire les belligerants, peut-elle egalemen 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 frontier nord-sud, des associations economiques souples reunissant les republiques pourraient a nouveau voir le jour, conformement a la solution politique negociée a Dayton.

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.
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.

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.
Bildt, Carl
Hat Europa aus Bosnien gelernt? : Schlussfolgerungen fur die
europaische Aussenpolitik.

Grund fur die Fehler und Versaumnisse der Vergangenheit ist fur den
bisherigen Hohen Reprasentanten fur den Wiederaufbau in Bosnien das
Fehlen einer Gemeinsamen Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik der Europaer. Er
pladiert deshalb fur eine klare europaische Strategie, um in
Partnerschaft mit den USA und Russland mit den Problemen auf dem Balkan
fertigwerden zu konnen.

Bildt, Carl
Implementing the Civilian Tasks of the Bosnian Peace Agreement.

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 governemts which emerge from the forthcoming
elections can create the joint institutions on which the new Bosnia will
depend.

Bildt, Carl
The Prospects for Bosnia.

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.

L'Europe face aux Balkans de 1991 à 1995. Impréparation, désunion, impuissance, dépoussesion : voilà quelques traits qui collent à la Communauté / Union européenne. Ce qui demeure, c'est le sentiment presque universel d'un échec. En raison du déchaînement de la violence auquel aucun frein n'est mis, il fait son apparition dès l'été 1991. 'L'Europe impuissante' entre dans les clichés courants. Devant les massacres sans nom qui se déroulent 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 Communauté européenne que révèle la crise yougoslave.

War and Peace : The Divergent Breakups of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

This paper describes the process by which the new states of former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were born, and explores the conditions which underlies the differences 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.

Reintegrating Bosnia : A Progress Report.

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 indépendants insistent le plus souvent sur les déficiences de mise en œuvre de leur volet civil, à commencer par la difficile mise en place des institutions et l'impossible retour des populations déplacées. Mais, pour expliquer l'échec du projet de réintégration politique en Bosnie-Herzégovine, il ne suffit pas d'incriminer les partis nationalistes ou de demander une application plus conséquente des accords de paix. Il faut aussi s'intéresser à leurs défauts de conception, à partir desquels les partis nationalistes redéploient leurs stratégies. Car, au-delà des ambiguïtés pratiques des accords de Dayton, c'est leur conception implicite du processus de transition à la démocratie et au marché qui est en cause.

Making Bosnia Work.

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.
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.

Brenner, Michael
Les Etats-Unis et la crise yougoslave.

Brenner, Michael
Das Finale in Jugoslawien: der Westen und die Losung des Balkan-Konflikts.

Brill, Heinz
Der Balkan-Konflikt und die Interessen der Macht: Teil 1.

Brill, Heinz
Der Balkan-Konflikt und die Interessen der Macht: Teil 2.

Calic, Marie-Janine
Bosnia-Hercegovina after Dayton: Opportunities and Risks for Peace.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.


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.

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.

Cot, Jean
La France et le conflit de Bosnie-Herzegovine.

Daalder, Ivo H.
Bosnia After SFOR : Options for Continued US Engagement.

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.
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.
With the traditional cycle of international conferences in London, Paris, Geneva and Brussels and the now-familiar crop of resounding diplomatic communiques, 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.

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.
The evolution of the Bosnian conflict of 1992–95 was influenced in important ways by European responses, despite the official 'non-intervention' line. 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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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 doubtfull
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 -

Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 1, Januar -

Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 2, März -

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

Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 4, Juli -

Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 5, September

Gustenau, Gustav E.
Die Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 32. Jg., Heft 6, November -

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.  

- Gustenau, Gustav E.  
Zur Neuordnung des sudslawischen Raumes.  

- Gustenau, Gustav E.  

- Gustenau, Gustav E.  

- Hagman, Hans-Christian  
The Balkan Conflicts : Prevention is Better than Cure.  

- Hajam, Mohammed  
Creation et competences du Tribunal penal international pour l ex-Yougoslavie.  

- Hamdouni, Said  
Les accords de Dayton et le statut de la Bosnie-Herzegovine.  

Au-delà des contingences politico-mediatisques, l'analyse de la nature juridique de la Bosnie-Herzegovine, au travers des accords de Dayton, fait ressortir un montage institutionnel qui derogue a la configuration juridique de l'Etat au sens du droit public. Le caractere atypique de cet Etat resulbe de son organisation qui ne s'inspire ni du modele classique de l'organisation d'un 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.  

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 ecce. 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 a se plaindre amèrement de l'ironie de l'histoire et de l'injustice des peuples.

- Hassner, Pierre
Ex-Yougoslavie : le tournant ?

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 Croatian 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 fur 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.

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 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.

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.

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

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-Hercegovina : A Retrospective Analysis of Military Requirements Before the War.

- 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
  Huchthausen, Peter
  Die Jugoslawien-Krise als ethnischer Konflikt.

- Jacobsen, C. G.
  Yugoslavia's Successor Wars Reconsidered.

- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo
  Reinterpreting Western Use of Coercion in Bosnia-Hercegovina:
  Assurances and Carrots Were Crucial.

  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?

- Kaufman, Stuart J.
  The Irresistible Force and the Imperceptible Object: The Yugoslav Breakup and Western Policy.

  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.
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 appallng 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.

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.

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina 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-Hercegovina. 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.
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.

Framing the Wars in the Gulf and In Bosnia: The Rhetorical Definitions of the Western Power Leaders in Action.

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.
Lefebvre, Stephane
Lombardi, Ben
Germany and Peace Enforcement: Participating in IFOR.

Leigh-Phippard, Helen
The Contact Group on (and in) Bosnia: An Exercise in Conflict Mediation?

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 Joegoslavie.

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

Liotta, P. H.
The Ethics of Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia.

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 Institutionalist Perspective.

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.
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.

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

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.
Rustungskontrolle und Abrustung: Perspektiven am Beispiel des Abkommens von Dayton.

Macgregor, Douglas A.
The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle.

Magas, Branka
The War in Yugoslavia.

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.

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.

Maul, Hanns W.
Germany in the Yugoslav Crisis.

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.
Quiconque aborde la politique des États-Unis face aux premières guerres de l’ex-Yougoslavie ne peut manquer d’être frappé par le contraste qui existe entre la timidité, sinon la passivité, qui caractérisent leur attitude au cours des premières années et la détermination avec laquelle ils interviennent subitement à l’été 1995 pour rétablir la paix. Cet article s’efforce de définir les ruptures et continuités qui ont pu exister entre l’approche par l’Administration Bush puis l’Administration Clinton, d’une région que la fin de la guerre froide avait largement fait reculer dans la hiérarchie des préoccupations américaines de sécurité. Il cherche ensuite à cerner les raisons - à la fois extérieures et internes - pour lesquelles cette approche longtemps hésitante a été brutalement renversée. Il conclut qu’à l’été 1995 le tour pris par les événements en Bosnie ne laissait d’autre choix au président des États-Unis que d’intervenir ou renoncer au leadership.

- Miller, Nicholas J.
  Serbia Chooses Aggression.

- Mock, Alois

- Morillon, Philippe
  UN Operations in Bosnia : Lessons and Realities.

- Neville-Jones, Pauline
  Dayton, IFOR and Alliance Relations in Bosnia.

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.

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.

- Paasch, Rolf
  Die halbherzige Intervention : Lektionen aus dem Bosnien-Krieg.

  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.

- Pasic, Amir
  Weiss, Thomas G.
  Humanitarian Recognition in the Former Yugoslavia : The Limits of Non-State Politics.

  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-)Joegoslavie.

- Pavlowitch, Stevan K.
  Who is 'Balkanizing' Whom ? : The Misunderstandings Between the Debris of Yugoslavia and an Unprepared West.

- Petkovic, Ranko
  Anatomie de la crise yougoslave.

- Pfaff, William
  Invitation to War.
- Portillo, Michael
Bosnia : Implementing the Peace Agreement.

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.

- Poti, Laszlo
Les aspirations et dilemnes de la politique exterieure hongroise face a la crise yougoslave.

- Preisinger, Johannes
Silberstreif, Gewitterwolken : Ausblick auf den Friedensprozess in Bosniern-Herzegowina.


- 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 ?
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.

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.

This artikel bevat een vergelijkende analyse van de standpunten van de Europese Unie en van de concrete rol in de 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.

Dit artikel bevat een vergelijkende analyse van de standpunten van de Europese Unie en van de concrete rol in de 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.
- Rood, J. Q. Th.
  Crisis in het Westeuropese statensysteem.
  INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 47, nr. 6, juni 1993, p. 306-313.

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

- Rose, Michael

- Rose, Michael
  A Year in Bosnia : What Has Been Achieved.

- Rosengarten, Ulrich

  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.

- Roskin, Michael G.
  The Third Balkan War, and How It Will End.

- Roussel, Stephane
  Fortmann, Michel
  Eppur, si muove : le regime de securite europeen, les Etats non
  belligerants et la guerre en ex-Yougoslavie.

- Roux, Michel
  La decomposition de la Yougoslavie : la Serbie et le 'front Sud'.
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.

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.

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.

  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 indispensability 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.

  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.

  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.

- Sharp, Jane M. O.
  Missed Opportunities in Former Yugoslavia.

- Sherr, James
  Doomed to Remain a Great Power.

- Sica, Mario
  The Role of the OSCE in the Former Yugoslavia After the Dayton Peace Agreement.

  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.

- 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.

- Sobell, Vlad
  Europe is the Answer.

  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 etrangere allemande.

La guerre en ex-Yougoslavie a longtemps divise les responsables europeens, dont l'attention se focalisait en particulier sur le role de l'Allemagne. Durant la guerre en Croatie (1991), la RFA fut accusee 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, regions avec lesquelles elle a toujours entretenu des rapports aussi etroits que conflictuels. Aussi la reconnaissance unilaterale par le gouvernement allemand de l'independance de la Slovenie et de la Croatie a-t-elle suscite une condamnation quasi unanime de la part des partenaires occidentaux. Le gouvernement federal a non seulement ete critique pour avoir 'impose' l'independance de la Croatie et de la Slovenie a ses partenaires et provoque ainsi, du moins indirectement, l'eclatement de la guerre en Bosnie-Herzegovine, mais aussi en raison de son refus de contribuer a la protection des republiques qu'il venait de reconnaître.

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

- Stark, Hans
Dissonances franco-allemandes sur fond de guerre serbo-croate.

- Strohm, Carl Gustaf
Heikle Friedensmission de UNO in Jugoslawien Wieder Schusse in Sarajevo.

- 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.

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

Le 14 decembre 1995, les presidents croate, serbe et bosniaque signaient a Paris les Accords de paix en Bosnie-Herzegovine, parphes le 21 novembre sur la base americaine de Dayton. Maîtres d'oeuvre du processus diplomatique, les Americains obtenaient ainsi en quatre mois ce a quoi les Europeens avaient echee quatre annees durant. Le 20 decembre 1995, la FORPRONU mettait fin a son mandat, et passait le relais aux forces de l'OTAN, stigmatisant ainsi l'inaptitude de l'ONU a continuer d'exercer un role de premier plan. Forts de leur succes diplomatique, les Americains deployaient plus de 20.000 hommes en Bosnie, pour une operation destinee, aussi, a assurer la reelection du president Clinton. Depuis lors, l'IFOR met en oeuvre le volet militaire du plan de paix, laissant la lourde responsabilite des aspects civils a l'ONU, a l'OSCE et a l'Union europeenne.
- Thomas, Roy
Implementing the February 1994 Peace Plan for Sarajevo.

- Tibi, Bassam
Die islamische Dimension des Balkan-Krieges.

- 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

- 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 analyzee 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 multietnique, 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.

- Vetschera, Heinz
Military Stabilization and Arms Control in Bosnia and Herzegovina Five Years after the Dayton Agreement (Part II).

- Vetschera, Heinz
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 here 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.

- Vukobrat, Boris I.
  Yougoslavie : les voies de l' unite.

- Vulliamy, Ed
  Bosnia : The Crime of Appeasement.

  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.

  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.

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 ?

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.

- Wood, Pia Christina
France and the Post Cold War Order : The Case of Yugoslavia.

- Woodward, Susan L.
Bosnia after Dayton : Year Two.

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.
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'.

- Zabkar, Anton
Die strategische Operation 'Gewitter': Vorbereitungen, Durchführung und mögliche Implikationen.

- Zimmermann, Warren
The Last Ambassador.

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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