‘OPERATION ALLIED FORCE’ : NATO IN KOSOVO,
10 YEARS LATER
‘OPERATION ALLIED FORCE’ : L’OTAN AU
KOSOVO, DIX ANS PLUS TARD

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2007

496.3 /00376
NATO's Gamble : Combining Diplomacy and Airpower in the Kosovo Crisis, 1998-1999 - Annapolis, MD : Naval Institute Press.
xiv, 263 p.: ill.; 23 cm.
ISBN: 9781591143581
Author(s):
  1. Henriksen, Dag
Subject(s):
  1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
  2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Notes:
  'This book examines the key political, diplomatic, and military processes that shaped NATO's management of the 1998-1999 Kosovo crisis and how airpower became the main instrument in its strategy to coerce the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) to accede to its demands. The author provides a frank analysis of the air campaign and discloses the origins and content of NATO's thinking on how force was used to succeed politically in altering the behavior of FRY president Slobodan Milosevic.
  Known as Operation Allied Force, the air campaign was the first war against a sovereign nation in NATO's history and the first combat operation conducted for humanitarian objectives against a state committing atrocities within its own borders. The author reveals that from the outset, the military leaders set to execute the campaign had no clear strategic guidance on what the operation was to achieve, and he further argues that the airpower community's general focus on high-intensity wars hampered them from developing strategies to fit the political complexities of the Kosovo crisis. By calling attention to mistakes made in Kosovo, the author hopes similar problems can be avoided by those crafting policy strategies in future crises.'
ID number: 80021752
Year: 2007
Type: M

* This list contains material received as of September 15th, 2009 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 15 septembre 2009.
2004

496.3 /00361
xxiii, 261 p.; 24 cm.
(The Sandhurst Conference Series ; 4)
ISBN: 0714651907
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
4. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
Added entry(s):
1. Badsey, Stephen, ed.
2. Latawski, Paul, ed.
Notes:
Includes index.
'This book is based on the 2000 Sandhurst conference, which considered the lessons to be gained for Britain, the British armed forces and for NATO as a whole from the Yugoslav wars of dissolution, with particular emphasis placed on the Kosovo crisis.'
ID number: 80019966
Year: 2004
Type: M

2002

496.3 /00338
112 p.; 24 cm.
(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 347)
ISBN: 0198516762
Author(s):
1. Allin, Dana H.
Subject(s):
1. NATO--FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Added entry(s):
1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)
Notes:
'The terrorist mass murders of 11 September 2001 transformed transatlantic priorities, drawing a line under a decade in which the wars of Yugoslavia's collapse dominated the transatlantic security relationship. Yet, despite progress in the region, Balkan instability retains the capacity to punish Western inattention, much as it did in the early 1990s. This paper examines NATO's Balkan interventions over the entire decade starting with the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1992. Focusing on the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, it traces the record of early transatlantic failures and later successes as once bitterly divided allies were able, finally, to unite around some basic principles. By the time of the Kosovo intervention in Spring 1999, the allies agreed on the necessity of taking sides and using military force in conflicts that were complicated, but far from morally opaque. The paper concludes with some lessons around which the transatlantic allies might reasonably hope - despite other pressing concerns - to stay engaged and stay united.'
ID number: 80018078
Year: 2002
Type: M
Legal and Ethical Lessons of NATO's Kosovo Campaign - Newport, RI : Naval War College Press.
xxx, 571 p.; 24 cm.
(International Law Studies ; 78)
ISBN: 1884733255
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Added entry(s):
1. Wall, Andru E., ed.
2. Naval War College (US)
Notes:
Includes index.
'This book contains the proceedings from a scholarly colloquium which was hosted at the Naval War College on 8-10 August 2001. The colloquium's mission was to examine the international legal and ethical lessons to be learned from NATO's Kosovo conflict from the standpoint of the jus in bello, that is, issues relating to the conduct of hostilities, rather than the just ad bellum questions regarding the legal justification for NATO's initiation of air operations in Kosovo.'

ID number: 80019174
Year: 2002
Type: M

vii, 277 p.; 21 cm.
(Perspectives internationales ; 22)
ISBN: 2233003853
Author(s):
1. Buzzi, Alessandro
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Notes:
Bibliography: p. 235-263.
'Lancée par l'OTAN le 24 mars 1999, l'opération Force Alliée a engage les forces atlantiques dans une intervention armée visant à mettre un terme aux exactions perpetrees par le régime yougoslave de Slobodan Milosevic contre les populations albanoophones du Kosovo. Legitimee par ses auteurs au nom de ses objectifs humanitaires, cette utilisation de la force peut neanmoins etre questionnee quant a sa legalite internationale tant en ce qui concerne le droit du recours a la force (jus ad bellum) que le droit des conflits armes (jus in bello). En effet, cette operation armee s'inscrit dans un nouveau concept strategique de l'Alliance atlantique tout en se placant sur le terrain contestable de l'intervention humanitaire alors meme qu'elle se trouve en contradiction avec les regles posees par la Charte des Nations Unies en matiere de recours a la force. Par ailleurs, la conduite des hostilities, reposant uniquement sur l'utilisation de l'arme aerienne, conduit a mettre en cause l'adequation des methodes et moyens de combat aux buts humanitaires affiches. Alors que la decennie quatre-vingt-dix s'etait ouverte sur la proclamation d'un 'nouvel ordre mondial' devant assurer la paix par le droit international, elle s'est ainsi paradoxalement close sur une intervention armee mettant...
en question les futurs contours de la securite internationale.'

ID number: 80018065
Year: 2001
Type: M

496.3 /00326
xxxiii, 486 p. : ill; 24 cm.
ISBN: 1903985080
Author(s):
  1. Clark, Wesley K.
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PERSONAL NARRATIVES, AMERICAN
  3. CLARK, WESLEY K.
Notes: Includes index.
'Ugly, shocking, frightening, war came to Europe once more in March 1999. The world watched in dismay as Yugoslavia's military machine attacked its own citizens in the province of Kosovo. As had happened so often since the end of the Cold War, ethnic conflict had turned deadly, and the great powers seemed reluctant to get involved. This time, however, the United States and its allies intervened. Using an innovative, high-technology air operation, NATO brought modern military power to bear against Serb forces in the field and the machinery of repression that backed them up. It was modern war - limited in scope, measured in effect, extraordinarily complex in execution. And in the end, after ten weeks of steadily intensifying air attack, the Yugoslav troops were withdrawn and the Kosovar Albanians returned to their homes. Remarkably, the alliance held together despite the strains of war and the tug of differing national interests. In this book, the author recounts not only the events that led to armed conflict, but also the context within which he made the key strategic decisions. The author also describes, for the first time, how he walked the tightrope of high diplomacy and military strategy and navigated the crushing restraints of domestic politics. As the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, the author faced a task far more daunting than simply when and where to deploy his forces and weapons. The author also had to mediate numerous conflicts that threatened to derail the alliance's efforts against the regime of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic - conflicts between the Europeans and the Americans, between the policy makers and the journalists, between the diplomats and the military men. The war in Kosovo may have been short in duration, but it was a harbinger of the new realities of war-fighting and war-planning, and the author offers a blueprint for how modern militaries must adapt to meet the challenges of a new era.'

ID number: 80017562
Year: 2001
Type: M
Some Reverberations from the Kosovo War - Camberley, UK : Conflict Studies Research Centre.
12 p.; 30 cm.
Author(s):
  1. Dick, C. J.
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Added entry(s):
  1. Conflict Studies Research Centre (GB)
Notes:
'The war in Kosovo may well prove to have been a turning point in the development of the post-Cold War world. As a result of it, international perceptions of NATO and, to a lesser extent, the alliance's perception of itself, have changed. In consequence, many countries' attitudes towards the alliance and to their own security affairs may also have changed. The war has also shaken yet again the kaleidoscope that is the territory of former Yugoslavia. These changes form the subject of this paper.'
ID number: 80018272
Year: 2001
Type: M

xxi, 113 p.; 30 cm.
(RAND Publications ; MR-1391-AF)
ISBN: 083330388
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Added entry(s):
  1. Rand Corporation (US)
Notes:
'This report, a dispassionate assessment of Operation Allied Force, provides perspectives from both sides of the Atlantic as well as political and military implications. The campaign highlighted the growing gap between US military capabilities and those of Europe, and the potential consequences of joining a limited-objective operation that expands to undesirable proportions and duration.'
ID number: 80017659
Year: 2001
Type: M

ix, 190 p. : ill.; 25 cm.
ISBN: 0714651575
Subject(s):
  1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
  2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Added entry(s):
  1. Waller, Michael, 1934- , ed.
  2. Drezov, Kyril, ed.
  3. Gokay, Bulent, ed.
Notes:
Includes index.
'Why did Kosovo become the focal point of NATO's undeclared war against Yugoslavia? The American-led 'international community', with NATO as its military arm, is the latest in a long succession of outside powers - the Roman Empire, the
Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, the Soviet Empire - to impose order on the Balkans. In 1995 NATO acquired its first Balkan protectorate in Bosnia, following a clash with Slobodan Milosevic and the forces of Serbian nationalism under his control. Routine human rights violations, escalating violence, irreconcilable claims and danger of a spill-over into neighbouring states made Kosovo the natural candidate for another NATO involvement in the Balkans. This volume examines both the escalation of the Kosovo conflict to a full-scale war and the aftermath of that war. It looks at the origins and implications of the Kosovo conflict in two stages: Part I deals with the background and history of the conflict, while Part II gives diverse opinions on NATO’s attack on Yugoslavia and the consequent occupation of Kosovo by KFOR. It combines a dispassionate treatment of key aspects of the Kosovo conflict with highly charged personal opinions about the rights and wrongs of NATO’s intervention.'
97 p.: ill.; 30 cm.
(MR-1365-AF)
ISBN: 0833030507
Author(s):
1. Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Added entry(s):
1. Rand Corporation (US)
Notes:
ID number: 80017759
Year: 2001
Type: M

Kosovo One Year On: Achievement and Challenge - Brussels: NATO.
27 p.: ill.; 30 cm.
Author(s):
1. Robertson, George
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. KOSOVO FORCE
4. NATO--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Added entry(s):
1. NATO
Notes:
'A year ago, NATO launched its firepower to end the repression in Kosovo - and succeeded. In the blizzard of words that has followed it is easy to overlook that simple fact. Much is still misunderstood about what happened. Now is an appropriate time to look back on what NATO did during the conflict, to review what KFOR has achieved since, and to look ahead. The risks were high - NATO faced many problems - and the price was high. But as the Alliance promised at the time, Serbs forces are out, KFOR is in, and the refugees are home. However, there should be no illusions - the task remaining is formidable.'
ID number: 80017595
Year: 2001
Type: M

v, 25 p.; 30 cm.
(Occasional Papers; 28)
Author(s):
1. Wagnsson, Charlotte
Subject(s):
1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Added entry(s):
1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)
Notes:
'This paper analyses how the Russian top leadership's rhetoric on security and the West evolved during and after NATO's Operation Allied Force against Serbia in 1999. By grasping the logic inherent in political rhetoric, one can arrive at a better
understanding of the messages that a political actor is trying to convey, which may also enhance one's ability to predict how that actor will reason in the future. Political implications for relations between Russia and the European Union are discussed in the final section.'

ID number: 80017278
Year: 2001
Type: M

496.3 /00356
xvi, 223 p.; 23 cm.
ISBN: 023112483X
Subject(s):
1. Kosovo War, 1998-1999
2. Operation Allied Force, 1999
Added entry(s):
1. Bacevich, Andrew J., ed.
Notes:
Includes index.
'More than any other episode since the end of the Cold War, the conflict in Kosovo revealed the distinctive attributes of a new American 'way of war'. In so doing, Kosovo also brought into sharp focus the military, political, and moral dilemmas confronting a liberal democracy intent on wielding preeminent power on a global scale. What are the moral implications posed by waging high-tech warfare for humanitarian purposes? Does the precedent set by intervention of this type point toward peace and stability or toward more war? How well suited are the United States military and American society as a whole to the security challenges of the age of globalization? According to Bacevich and Cohen, gauging the 'success' achieved in Kosovo yields important answers to these and related questions. The volume includes a well-crafted historical overview of the war and six essays that place it in a broader context. The contributors explore the conflict's relationship to US grand strategy, the revolution in military affairs, and American civil-military relations, among other topics.'

ID number: 80019413
Year: 2001
Type: M

2000

496.3 /00335
xiv, 246 p.; 22 cm.
ISBN: 0312238177
Subject(s):
1. Operation Allied Force, 1999
2. Kosovo War, 1998-1999
Added entry(s):
1. Martin, Pierre, ed.
2. Brawley, Mark R., ed.
Notes:
Includes index.
'As NATO's first hostile offensive military action, Operation Allied Force placed new demands and pressures on the Alliance. Those pressures and demands offer an opportunity to answer critical questions regarding Alliance politics: How much autonomy do the Alliance members have? Does the U.S. dictate Alliance policy? Can the Alliance function politically while engaging in combat? Contributors explore the experience of
NATO's members individually as well as in terms of implications for theories of alliances. More fundamentally, the contributors to this volume ask whether Operation Allied Force reflected a consensus among NATO's members, or whether some members were 'Forced Allies'.

NATO's military operations against Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999 represented a watershed in the post-Wold War II history of Europe. Even from the vantage point of US policy, the decision to lead a NATO operation against a European state on account of a dispute concerning its own national territory was a remarkable one, notwithstanding the steady development of the crisis triggered by Serbia's behavior that may have made the actual outbreak of war seem more like an incremental step to implement the threats previously made. But for many other countries, the US and NATO decision was no less fateful, while often appearing in a rather different perspective. This paper is a lucid and thorough analysis of how the crisis and NATO's action affected opinion in Russia and Russian views of the prospects for US-Russia relations.
l'ensemble des Balkans. La partie juridique traite de la difficile question de savoir si des violations massives des droits de l'homme rendent licite l'emploi de la force armée.'

ID number: 80016998
Year: 2000
Type: M

496.3 /00324
xi, 343 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.
ISBN: 0815716966
Author(s):
1. Daalder, Ivo H.
2. O'Hanlon, Michael E.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Includes index.

'After eleven weeks of bombing in the Spring of 1999, the US and NATO ultimately won the war in Kosovo. Serbian troops were forced to withdraw, enabling an international military and political presence to take charge in the region. But was this war inevitable or was it the product of failed Western diplomacy prior to the conflict? And once it became necessary to use force, did NATO adopt a sound strategy to achieve its aim of stabilizing Kosovo? In this first in-depth study of the Kosovo crisis, the authors answer these and other questions about the causes, conduct, and consequences of the war. Based on interviews with many of the key participants, they conclude that notwithstanding important diplomatic mistakes before the conflict, it would have been difficult to avoid the Kosovo war. That being the case, US and NATO conduct of the war left much to be desired. For more than four weeks, the Serbs succeeded where NATO failed, forcefully changing Kosovo's ethnic balance by driving 1.5 millions Albanians from their homes and more than 800,000 from the country. Had they chosen to massacre more of their victims, NATO would have been powerless to stop them. In the end, NATO won the war by increasing the scope and intensity of bombing, making serious plans for a ground invasion, and moving diplomacy into full gear in order to convince Belgrade that this was a war Serbia would never win. The Kosovo crisis is a cautionary tale for those who believe force can be used easily and in limited increments to stop genocide, mass killing, and the forceful expulsion of entire populations. The authors conclude that the crisis holds important diplomatic and military lessons that must be learned so that others in the future might avoid the mistakes that were made in this case.'

ID number: 80017090
Year: 2000
Type: M

ISBN: 074531631X

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
2. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Added entry(s):
2. Herman, Edward S., ed.

Notes:

'The media served a highly partisan and propagandistic role in NATO's Kosovo war, uncritically reproducing official spin in a way that was incompatible with their proclaimed democratic role as objective purveyors of information. This is the first book to integrate a critical interpretation of Western policy toward the former Yugoslavia with an analysis of media coverage of the Kosovo crisis and war. It offers an important corrective to the hysteria and misinformation that permeated media coverage of the war, and analyses how the war was reported in different countries around the world, including the United States, Britain, Germany, India, Greece, Russia, and France.'

Droit, legitimation et politique extérieure: l'Europe et la guerre du Kosovo - Bruxelles: Bruylant.

ISBN: 2802714007

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
5. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Added entry(s):
1. Corten, Olivier, ed.
2. Delcourt, Barbara, ed.

Notes:
'Parmi les nombreux ouvrages consacrés à la guerre du Kosovo, aucun ne s'attache à analyser la manière dont l'intervention militaire menée au printemps 1999 a été justifiée par les gouvernants qui en ont assumé la responsabilité. C'est en ce sens que le présent ouvrage trouve son originalité. Il vise à mesurer et à évaluer les parts respectives du droit, de la politique et de la morale dans les registres argumentatifs mobilisés. L'étude est fondée sur une analyse fouillée des discours produits par les autorités européennes, que ce soit dans le cadre de la politique extérieure et de sécurité commune (PESC), à l'échelon national (et en particulier en Belgique) ou au sein d'autres institutions internationales (spécialement l'OTAN). Il ne s'agit pas directement d'évaluer la légitimité ni la légalité de l'opération, mais de comprendre le processus de légitimation auquel elle a donné lieu. À première vue, la guerre du Kosovo pouvait difficilement être justifiée sur le plan légal, le Conseil de sécurité n'ayant pas, comme lors de la guerre du Golfe, autorisé une action militaire. Les dirigeants européens ont donc essentiellement mobilisé d'autres types d'arguments, d'ordre éthique (le respect de la dignité humaine, qui aurait dicté une action de type 'humanitaire') ou
politique (la nécessité de restaurer la paix et la stabilité dans la région et d'arrêter les flux de réfugiés à destination des autres pays européens). Mais ils ont également fait appel à des arguments juridiques, en interprétant de manière particulièrement souple les règles de droit existantes. Comment expliquer ce souci de se référer au droit, alors même que celui-ci apparaît à première vue comme un argument particulièrement faible ? Faut-il y voir une forme de retour ou d'actualisation du droit naturel dans les relations internationales, notamment à travers le concept de 'droit d'干涉 humanitaire' ? Les ambiguïtés du discours justificatif traduisent-elles les difficultés engendrées par la dispersion croissante des centres de pouvoir impliqués dans une décision de politique étrangère (les États nationaux, l'UE, l'OTAN, l'ONU, la 'communauté internationale', ...) ? Telles sont les questions qui sont à la base du présent ouvrage, redige pour l'essentiel par les membres du Centre de droit international et de sociologie appliquée au droit international de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles.'

ID number: 80019575
Year: 2000
Type: M

496.3 /00318
Virtual War : Kosovo and Beyond - London : Chatto & Windus.
249 p. : ill., 24 cm.
ISBN: 0701169435
Author(s):
  1. Ignatieff, Michael, 1947-
Subject(s):
  1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
  2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
  Bibliography : p. 227-236. Includes Index.
 'In real wars, whole nations are mobilised, soldiers fight and die, victories are won. In virtual war, hostilities may not even be declared; the combatants are strike pilots and computer programmers, the watching nation is a television audience and instead of victory there is just an uncertain endgame. Kosovo was a virtual war : fought by pilots at 15.000 feet, commanded by generals whose only view of the battle was through their pilots' bombing sights, reported by opposing media with competing versions of the damage; a war in which Americans and NATO forces did the fighting but only Kosovars and Serbs did the dying. The author has travelled these battle zones for a decade, sending back moving reports and penetrating analysis. Yet Kosovo in 1999 moved armed aggression into a new phase, and in this book the author examines this strange, remote type of warfare through the eyes of the key players and of the people who suffered.'

ID number: 80016453
Year: 2000
Type: M
This gripping account of the last great European war of the twenty-first century comes from a journalist who witnessed the full extent of the Balkan conflagration and its aftermath. Tim Judah provides a detailed analysis of the origins of the Serb-Albanian conflict, the course of the war and civil atrocities, the involvement of the Western powers, the issues and the personalities, and the context for the future. Judah explains how it was that Kosovo became the crucible of a poisonous ethnic struggle between Serbs and Albanians that brought the destruction of the old Yugoslavia. He analyses the character and career of the Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and shows how Kosovo provided his springboard for mobilising the Serbs and seizing supreme power. An enthralling chapter exposes the lost opportunity of the February 1999 Rambouillet conference for peace and compromise in the southern Balkans. Judah shows how exiled Kosovar militants shifted their war from Swiss cafes to the mountains of northern Albania. And he examines how and why NATO launched its first-ever war - a 78-day campaign of high-tech air strikes against Serbia - believing the onslaught would be over in days.'

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Added entry(s):
1. Independent International Commission on Kosovo

Notes:
The war in Kosovo was a turning point: NATO deployed its armed forces in war for the first time, and placed the controversial doctrine of 'humanitarian intervention' squarely in the world's eye. It was an armed intervention for the purpose of implementing Security Council resolutions - but without Security Council authorization. This report tries to answer a number of burning questions, such as why the international community was unable to act earlier and prevent the escalation of the conflict, as well as focusing on the capacity of the United Nations to act as a global peacekeeper. The Commission recommends a new status for Kosovo, 'conditional independence', with the goal of lasting peace and security for Kosovo - and for the Balkan region in general. But many of the conclusions may be beneficially applied to conflicts the world-over.

ID number: 80019736

NATO and Humanitarian Action in the Kosovo Crisis - Providence, RI: Brown University. xiii, 198 p.: ill.; 22 cm. (Occasional Paper ; 36)

Author(s):
1. Minear, Larry
2. Baarda, Ted van
3. Sommers, Marc

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)

Added entry(s):

Notes:

ID number: 80016457

Year: 2000
Type: M
NATO's Empty Victory: A Postmortem on the Balkan War - Washington: Cato Institute.
vii, 194 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
ISBN: 1882577868
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Added entry(s):
1. Carpenter, Ted Galen, ed.
2. Cato Institute (US)
Notes:
Includes index.
'NATO political leaders claim that the war against Yugoslavia was a great victory, the authors of these essays disagree. The war lasted for longer than anticipated and triggered a refugee crisis. The book offers proposals for preventing the 'victory' becoming an even bigger policy fiasco.'
ID number: 80017043
Year: 2000
Type: M

134 p.; 21 cm.
(NATO Defense College Monograph Series)
ISBN: 8887967016
Author(s):
1. Simonen, Katariina
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Added entry(s):
1. NATO Defence College (IT)
Notes:
'This is a seminal work on the international legal framework against which NATO's resort to armed intervention in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia is judged. The study considers the legitimacy of that decision, and draws the conclusion that the humanitarian imperatives put forward to justify the intervention fall short of universal legal acceptance. Nevertheless, what emerges from this analysis is that Operation Allied Force can be viewed as a significant milestone in the development of a law of humanitarian intervention. Instead of being considered as an exceptional case, it belongs to a continuum of interventions where humanitarian considerations have played a part.'
ID number: 80017109
Year: 2000
Type: M
1999

496.3 /00314
NATO's Developing Role in Collective Security - Ankara : Center for
Strategic Research.
104 p.; 24 cm.
(SAM Papers ; 4/99)
Author(s):
1. Aybet, Gulnur
Subject(s):
1. NATO -- NATIONAL SECURITY
2. COLLECTIVE SECURITY
3. NATO -- STRATEGIC ASPECTS -- NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 1999
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
6. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION -- KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
7. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
8. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Added entry(s):
1. Center for Strategic Research (TR)
ID number: 80016137
Year: 1999
Type: M

323 /00858
Killing Fields, les champs de l'obscene : 78 jours de guerre pour le
Kosovo - Luxembourg : Editions Phi.
147 p.; 22 cm.
ISBN: 2879621127
Author(s):
1. Carre, Gaston
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
Bibliography: p. 147.
'Massacres, viols et deportations : les barbares sont de retour en
Europe, en ce printemps 1999, et de Pristina surgissent des
convois de la honte, charges de foules sans feu ni lieu,
hebetees par une oeuvre de devastation d'une sauvagerie inouie.
Confrontee au retour du mal en ses especes les plus
ignominieuses, la communautie internationale decide de reagir :
ce sera la guerre du Kosovo, qui trois mois durant va ebranler
les consciences occidentales. L'auteur, journaliste au
Luxembourg, a consigne la chronique de l'Operation Force
alliee, rapportant jour aprs jour les exactions serbes, la
tragedie des refugies, les bombardements de l'OTAN et ses
'dommages collateraux'. Par-dela cette chronique, l'ouvrage
propose des notations tres personnelles sur cette crise du
Kosovo, sur les aspiratios, les inhibitions et les fantasmes
de ses protagonistes, sondant ainsi ce que l'auteur appelle
'l'inconscient de la guerre'. Differents entretiens viennent
completer cet essai, notamment avec Jean-Claude Juncker,
Premier ministre du Luxembourg.'
ID number: 80019574
Year: 1999
Type: M
Catastrophe in the Balkans: Serbia's Neighbors and the Kosovo Conflict -
Princeton, NJ: Project on Ethnic Relations.
23 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Added entry(s):
1. Project on Ethnic Relations (US)
Notes:
ID number: 80016140
Year: 1999
Type: M

199 p.; 20 cm.
ISBN: 0745316336
Author(s):
1. Chomsky, Noam, 1928-
Subject(s):
1. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
4. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
Includes index.
The crisis in Kosovo has excited passion and visionary exaltation of a kind rarely witnessed. The events have been portrayed as a 'New Humanism', timed fortuitously with a new millennium, which will displace the crass and narrow interest politics of a mean-spirited past. But is this 'New Humanism' guided by power interests or by humanitarian concern? Is the resort to force undertaken 'in the name of principles and values' as professed? Or are we witnessing something more familiar? This book is Chomsky at his best: a brilliant and revealing analysis, offering lessons for us all and sounding a clear alarm which none should ignore.'
ID number: 80017340
Year: 1999
Type: M

185 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
ISBN: 2738487009
Author(s):
1. Clarinard, Raymond
2. Collette, Julien
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
2. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
Rarement une guerre aura fait couler autant d'encre. En 79 jours de bombardements, journalistes, spécialistes, mais aussi intellectuels et artistes vont inonder les colonnes des quotidiens et des hebdomadaires de prises de position, d'analyses et de commentaires. Sur Internet, des dizaines de sites se creent, tribunes de tel ou tel camp qui y deploie toutes les batteries de sa propagande. Avec le recul, l'image laissée par les medias pendant cette guerre est tout sauf monolithique. Le journaliste, de simple temoin plus ou moins objectif, devient veritablement acteur du drame. Reporter,
envoye special ou membre d'un desk, il est en premiere ligne de
la bataille de l'information que se livrent Belgrade et
Bruxelles. Il est a la fois soldat, otage, moteur et victime de
la lutte pour le monopole de la verite. Cote serbe, il se fait le
rapporteur, conscient ou non, d'une certaine image
de la guerre. Dans les journaux, sur les chaines de television
et de radio, et sur Internet enfin, plusieurs guerres se
devoppent progressivement en parallele. Le tout compose cette
bataille de l'information dont la realite des combats sur le
terrain n'est plus qu'une facette, de plus en plus occultee.'

ID number: 80017767
Year: 1999
Type: M

496.3 /00313
Les enseignements du Kosovo - [s.l.] : Delegation a l'Information et a la
Communication de la Defense.
55 p. : ill.; 30 cm.
ISBN: 2110917709
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--FRANCE
Added entry(s):
1. Delegation a l'Information et a la Communication de la Defense (FR)
ID number: 80016131
Year: 1999
Type: M

323 /00649
La guerre du Kosovo : eclairages et commentaires - Bruxelles : GRIP.
179 p.; 21 cm.
(Livres du GRIP ; 239-240)
ISBN: 2870277172
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Added entry(s):
1. Adam, Bernard, ed.
2. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Securite (BE)
Notes:
'24 mars 1999, 20 heures : la premiere guerre de l'OTAN a
commence. Une 'guerre juste', declenchee pour des raisons
morales et humanitaires, disent les responsables de
l'Alliance. Et de preciser que quelques jours de frappes
aerienmes feraient flechir Milosevic, le Kosovo retournant
ainsi une autonomie substantielle. Le scenario, ecrit pour
l'essentiel par des strateges americains, sera pourtant tout
autre ... De cette guerre, l'opinion publique retient ces
images ecoeurantes de refugies albanais, obliges de fuir leur
province par centaines de milliers, avec, a la bouche, les
memes recits d'horreur. Ensuite, ces innombrables bavures de
l'OTAN causant la mort de tant de civils serbes et ...
albanais. Mais au-dela des premiere emotions, il faut
s'interroger sur les autres dommages 'collateraux', ceux qui
risquent de peser a terme : le Kosovo 'protege' vide de son
sang, la marginalisation de l'ONU et de l'OSCE, la
fragilisation de l'opposition democratique en Serbie,
l'humiliation de la Russie, la contamination de toute une
region par des munitions a uranium appauvri ... Cette
nouvelle guerre dans les Balkans appelle un premier bilan.
Quelle est la responsabilite historique des Serbes ? A-t-on
vraiment cherche la paix à Rambouillet ? Que penser de la nebulose UCK ? Les véritables objectifs de l'Alliance atlantique, et donc de Washington ? Y a-t-il risque d'embrasement de la région ? Quels enseignements militaires et quelles leçons pour la sécurité européenne ? Autant de questions auxquelles cet ouvrage répond sans ambages, mais avec le souci de la nuance.'

ID number: 80015826
Year: 1999
Type: M

355.4 /01253
Stratégie de la déception - Paris : Galilée. 87 p.; 22 cm.
(L'espace critique)
ISBN: 2718605243
Author(s):
1. Virilio, Paul
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. INFORMATION WARFARE
3. STRATEGY
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
'Dans les Balkans, l'OTAN a fait une expérience à ses dépend : on ne bombarde pas une guerre civile. Demi-guerre non déclarée, demi-défaite ou demi-victoire annoncée, la fin du conflit du Kosovo ne résout aucune des problèmes politiques de l'Europe. Victime pendant 40 ans d'une stratégie de la dissuasion, fondée sur le primat de l'arme de destruction massive, notre continent voit maintenant lui succéder cette stratégie de la déception qui repose sur les capacités cybernétiques de l'information massive, mais surtout sur celles d'une désinformation généralisée. Sous le vocable de la 'global information dominance', les États-Unis, ultime grande puissance, lancent maintenant la 'révolution des affaires militaires'. Face à l'inevitable prolifération des armes de destruction massive, mais aussi bien des actes de terrorisme, à l'arrêt du flux des ressources vitales, au mouvement incontrôlé et massif des populations, le nouveau concept stratégique élaboré à Washington à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de l'OTAN, s'engage dans la voie du contrôle et de la surveillance tous azimuts des phénomènes paniques que ne manquera pas de provoquer demain la mondialisation.'

ID number: 80016326
Year: 1999
Type: M
2009

From Pristina to Tskhinvali: The Legacy of Operation Allied Force in Russia’s Relations with the West.


Author(s):
1. Averre, Derek

Subject(s):
1. Kosovo War, 1998-1999--Russia (Federation)
2. Operation Allied Force, 1999
3. NATO--Russia (Federation)
4. Russia (Federation)--Foreign Relations

Notes:
This article reviews the main developments in the Kosovo crisis in the context of relations between Russia and NATO/the West. For Moscow, Operation Allied Force constituted a flagrant breach of international law, a threat to post-Cold War European security governance and a challenge to Russia’s status in the international order. Official Russian interpretations, heavily influenced by domestic politics, reflect a perception among Russia's political elite that, rather than upholding liberal democratic values, NATO's intervention constituted a selective defence of the interests of the leading western powers. Such views have influenced Moscow's position on the thorny question of Kosovo's independence and Russia's more assertive foreign and security policy in the recent period, not least in the conflict over South Ossetia in August 2008. Ultimately, Operation Allied Force resulted in the Russian governing elite reassessing its views on statehood, the international order and the norms underpinning international society.

ID Number: JA025933
Year: 2009
Language: English
Type: ART

The Kosovo War in Perspective.

(INternational Affairs, vol. 85, no. 3, May 2009, p. 593-608.)

Author(s):
1. Cottey, Andrew

Subject(s):
1. Kosovo War, 1998-1999
2. Operation Allied Force, 1999

Notes:
In historical perspective, the Kosovo war stands as a significant turning point. Within the Balkan region, Operations Allied Force marked the end of the nationalist wars of the 1990s and the beginning of a new phase of partnership and integration with the EU and NATO. In terms of the wider European security order, its repercussions were contradictory. NATO reasserted its role as Europe's leading security institution, yet Operation Allied Force also gave significant momentum to the EU's development as a quasi military body. Further afield, an immediate crisis erupted in Russo-western relations followed by renewed cooperation on the ground; the longer-term impact, however, was a lingering resentment in Moscow at NATO action. At the global level, meanwhile, Operation Allied Force appeared to symbolize the primacy of both American-led western power and

** This list contains material received as of September 15th, 2009 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 15 septembre 2009.
of the liberal norms and values that underpinned the intervention. But this was arguably a high point: future global security crises would be managed in the context of the rising power of the non-western world, a more fragmented West and greater contestation over the norms that should underpin international society.

'Tony's War' ? Blair, Kosovo and the Interventionist.

(INternational Affairs, vol. 85, no. 3, May 2009, p. 547-560.)

Author(s):
   1. Daddow, Oliver

Subject(s):
   1. Kosovo War, 1998-1999--Great Britain
   2. Operation Allied Force, 1999
   3. Humanitarian Intervention--Kosovo (Republic)
   4. Great Britain--Foreign Relations

Notes:
Operation Allied Force had a decisive impact on Tony Blair's leadership of UK foreign policy. This article begins with Blair's famous Chicago speech of April 1999; his clearest statement of an apparently underlying moral purpose in international relations. It then contrasts the conventional wisdom that over Kosovo Blair was acting out of a sense of moral obligation (sharpened by recent British failings to act to prevent humanitarian disasters in the Balkans) with a revisionist account centering on the domestic political considerations impelling Blair into this particular foreign policy adventure. Blair drew three lessons from his involvement in Operation Allied Force: that media presentation was a crucial aspect of implementing a successful foreign policy strategy; that he had been too cautious between 1997 and 1999, partly as a result of being chained to the vagaries of public opinion; and that he could generate robust and worthy foreign and defence policies sitting with his close advisers on the sofa of his 'den' in Downing Street rather than working through traditions channels. The key argument in conclusion is that there was a Tony Blair before Iraq, one who was genuinely set on building a consensus around humanitarian intervention.

Innovation and Precedent in the Kosovo War: The Impact of Operation Allied Force on US Foreign Policy.

(INternational Affairs, vol. 85, no. 3, May 2009, p. 531-546.)

Author(s):
   1. Dunn, David Hastings

Subject(s):
   1. Kosovo War, 1998-1999--USA
   2. USA--Foreign Relations
   3. Operation Allied Force, 1999
   4. Use of Force (International Law)
   5. Intervention (International Law)
   6. Humanitarian Intervention--Kosovo (Republic)

Notes:
The 1990s was a period of strategic innovation in US foreign policy. Operation Allied Force in particular represented an important step in the contorted evolution of America's attitude towards the use of force in the post-Cold War period. The operation demonstrated the growing influence of humanitarian
concerns and the extent to which America was willing to reconsider Cold War criteria on the prudence and utility of force in support of its foreign policy. In its decision to intervene in Kosovo, the Clinton administration also divided opinion among the military. This, in effect, reduced the premium placed on the counsels of the armed forces and made it easier for the Bush administration subsequently to ignore their advice. Furthermore, having fought the war multilaterally through NATO, Operation Allied Force made America more wary of doing so again. In other words, the intervention set a number of precedents and left a significant legacy for the way in which US foreign policy was pursued in the decade that followed. This legacy is considered in two parts: the first analyses those issues associated with the use of force debate; the second considers how the Kosovo experience affected US attitudes to coalition warfare.

The Influence of Operation Allied Force on the Development of the jus ad bellum.


Author(s): 1. Haines, Steven
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
  3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
  4. RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT
  5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
  6. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:
Some have argued that NATO's air campaign against Serbia in 1999 was manifestly unlawful, others that it was an entirely legitimate humanitarian intervention. A third position suggests that the intervention while unlawful, in the strictest sense, was nonetheless legitimate. Here, a customary law right to intervene was seen as emerging, permitting action to prevent a mass atrocity crime, even when UN Security Council authorization was absent. Did Operation Allied Force, then, add to the case for the emergence of this new customary norm? While the 1990s was a decade of humanitarian intervention, the decade since has been dominated by international action against terrorism and, of course, the effects of the highly controversial US and British led invasion of Iraq. In this context, there is scant evidence that a customary right or obligation to intervene for humanitarian reasons has crystallized since 1999. But if Kosovo achieved anything, it was to prompt greater attention to the merits of the argument in favour of a 'responsibility to protect'. If NATO's 1999 action were repeated today in a similarly unauthorized manner it would still be unlawful, but it would perhaps be seen as a legitimate means to preventing a mass atrocity crime.
Kosovo: Intervention and Statebuilding Ten Years On.
(JOURNAL OF INTERVENTION AND STATEBUILDING, vol. 3, no. 2, June 2009, Special Issue.)
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. UNITED NATIONS INTERIM ADMINISTRATION MISSION IN KOSOVO
4. UNITED NATIONS--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
This issue marks the 10-year anniversary of Operation Allied Force and addresses both NATO's intervention and the UN administration. The articles illustrate that many of the key controversies catalysed by events in Kosovo since 1999 remain unresolved. Each article addresses a different aspect of intervention and statebuilding in Kosovo using this case study as a foundation for broader extrapolations on the contemporary international system.
ID Number: JA025999
Year: 2009
Language: English
Type: ART

The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO's 'Victory' in Kosovo Revisited.
(international security, vol. 34, no. 1, Summer 2009, p. 83-112.)
Author(s):
1. Lake, Daniel R.
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. AIR POWER
Notes:
Many studies of the 1999 Kosovo crisis argue that although airpower played an important role in forcing President Slobodan Milosevic's capitulation, NATO's threat of a ground invasion was critical. Other studies claim that no such threat existed or that it was irrelevant to ending the crisis. Instead, they attribute NATO's success solely to the strategic use of coercive airpower. There is, however, another explanation: the rising dissatisfaction with Milosevic's rule among his supporters as the crisis dragged on. Despite NATO's overwhelming strategic superiority, Milosevic was able to reject his adversary's terms of surrender until his political position became untenable. This suggests that airpower may have greater limitations as a tool of statecraft than its supporters maintain.
ID Number: JA026059
Year: 2009
Language: English
Type: ART

Falling into Line? Kosovo and the Course of German Foreign Policy.
Author(s):
1. Miskimmon, Alister
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GERMANY
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. GERMANY--MILITARY POLICY
Notes:
Germany's role in Operation Allied Force has been described as a watershed in its foreign policy. It remains perhaps the pinnacle of Germany's security and defence policy transition after the Cold War. Germany's participation in Operation Allied Force was the first aggressive use of force by the Bundeswehr
since the Second World War and, remarkably, was undertaken without a United Nations Security Council mandate. The deployment of German forces in 1999 suggested that German reluctance to burden-share in crisis management alongside NATO allies had been overcome. Yet Germany remains a cautious actor when it comes to the deployment of offensive military force. In this regard, Germany has maintained a considerable degree of continuity in its foreign and security policy after unification, a theme which this article outlines.

NATO: From Kosovo to Kabul.

Author(s):
1. Sperling, James
2. Webber, Mark

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. ISAF
4. AFGHAN WAR, 2001-
5. NATO

Notes:
NATO has throughout its history been the subject of prognostications of crisis and dissolution. Indeed, the alliance has been written off so many times that crisis as normality has come to typify its development. In the twenty-year history of NATO's post-Cold War development, Operation Allied Force stands midway between the existential moment that was the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the current travails being experienced in Afghanistan. A comparison of NATO's experience in the Balkans and in the Afghan theatre suggests that the view of a NATO perched permanently at the edge of collapse is problematic and misleading. This is not to defend alliance actions as such but rather to suggest that the narrative of crisis and collapse makes for poor analysis and underestimates NATO's proclivity for adaptation and endurance.

L'Otan, 'Force Alliée' et le Kosovo, dix ans plus tard.
(Defense nationale et securite collective, 65e annee, no. 722, aout - septembre 2009, p. 165-172.)

Author(s):
1. Vinet, Guy

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
Voila dix ans que l'Otan achevait son operation aerienne 'Force alliée' menee contre la Republique federale yougoslave du president Slobodan Milosevic. Apres 78 jours de bombardements, celui-ci decidait d'accepter les exigences de la communite internationale, exprimees par l'ONU et l'Otan, concernant la situation au Kosovo. Que reste-t-il aujourd'hui de cette operation sans precedent ?
The Kosovo War: A Recapitulation.


Author(s):
1. Webber, Mark

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
This article has four objectives: first, to make a case for the significance of the Kosovo war in contemporary history; second, to present an overview of the crisis itself and the military confrontation which was its consequence; third, to survey the initial controversies aroused by military action—and, specifically, the debates surrounding NATO's Operation Allied Force; and finally, to reference the longer term significance of the Kosovo war.

ID Number: JA025925
Year: 2009
Language: English
Type: ART

2008


Author(s):
1. Henriksen, Dag

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. AIR POWER

Notes:
This article examines the key lessons of combining diplomacy and airpower in the Kosovo Crisis (1998-99). Drawing on a comprehensive list of primary sources involved in the military leadership of NATO at the time, this article goes beyond existing literature in revealing just how surprisingly unprepared NATO was when it went to war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This article argues that on the eve of war, NATO neither had a political nor a military strategy for handling the war it itself had started—and that at the time, the air power community in general failed to appreciate the need for producing more precise and innovative solutions to complex conflicts and crises in the lower band of the intensity spectrum.

ID Number: JA025422
Year: 2008
Language: English
Type: ART


Author(s):
1. Wilton, Robert

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)

Notes:
A number of factors seem to confirm that the intervention in Kosovo was a success: the million refugees who came home; the relative stability of Kosovo in the years since 1999; the successful declaration of independence without a single
casualty in Kosovo; and the model of multi-ethnicity now on offer for Kosovo. At the same time, doubts remain: failure to protect the Serbs of Kosovo in 1999 and rioting in 2004 question both NATO's capacity to do the job it claimed and the legitimacy of the Kosovo that emerged from the intervention. The effect of independence was to push Serbia into isolation and then Government collapse, and this with the continuing vacuum of authority in Serb-dominated northern Kosovo might suggest that the international community had only exchanged one unstable state for two. What worked and what did not? If Kosovo set the standard for humanitarian intervention—the use of military force to deliver human good—what did the equivocal score card for Kosovo as it reached independence nearly ten years later say about the legitimacy of that doctrine?

The Trouble with Mixed Motives: Debating the Political, Legal, and Moral Dimensions of Intervention.
(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 67, no. 3–4, Summer–Autumn 2004, p. 19–32.)
Author(s): 1. Fink, Susan D.
Subject(s): 1. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003–
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998–1999
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
5. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION—KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
6. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Notes: The strains in the transatlantic relationship from disagreement about the authorization and justification for the Iraq war arise from failure of national governments to balance the moral, legal, and political elements of which motives in international politics are invariably a mixture. In the 1999 Kosovo intervention, all three imperatives were satisfied; how can such consensus be reached in the future?

NATO, the Kosovo War and Neoliberal Theory.
Author(s): 1. Kay, Sean
Subject(s): 1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998–1999
Notes: This article examines neoliberal institutional theory of international relations as applied to NATO’s 1999 war in Kosovo. The article surveys neoliberal assumptions about international institutions and security and assesses these assumptions within the context of the major scholarly literature on NATO in the 1990s. A framework for analysis is provided for testing independent and dependent variables as they are applicable to understanding the role and function of NATO as an international institution. Two core neoliberal
assumptions about institutionalized multilateral cooperation are examined in the context of contemporary liberal theory: 1) principles, norms and the timing and cause of the Kosovo war; and 2) the relationship between information sharing, institutional rules, procedures and transaction costs of security provision. The central conclusion is that NATO's involvement in Kosovo is best understood as a spectrum in which the rationale for the war, and the reason the war started when it did, are best explained by neoliberal theory. However, in terms of the hard test of security provision, NATO's institutional attributes decreased the efficiency of security outcomes. Contrary to core neoliberal assumptions about security management institutions, NATO's information sharing, rules, and decision-making procedures increased the transaction costs of security provision. Consequently, this study illustrates how institutions matter in security provision and demonstrates that their impact is not necessarily positive. This study also explains why NATO has grown increasingly irrelevant to its key member states since the Kosovo war.

2003

Targeting after Kosovo: Has the Law Changed for Strike Planners?.
(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 64-81.)
Author(s):
1. Borch, Frederic L.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. WAR (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Notes:
Regional commanders and their staffs must be vigilant to ensure that they attack only targets that are legal under the law of war, and only in legal ways. They must be equally vigilant, however, against nongovernmental activists who would so reinterpret the law as to make their tasks much more difficult, even impossible.

Credibility over Courage: NATO's Mis-Intervention in Kosovo.
(JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 26, no. 1, March 2003, p. 73-108.)
Author(s):
1. Ong, G. Gerard
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
NATO officials have cited various reasons for conducting their air campaign in Kosovo. Though not emphasised as much, the concern that NATO's credibility was at stake stood out as the most paramount on the basis of logical comparison. In fact, NATO intervened in Kosovo primarily to maintain its credibility as the Transatlantic's only multilateral security mechanism because its continued existence depended on it. While NATO's search for its new role in the post-Cold War strategic environment has been fraught with several problems, the inclination towards collective security and crisis management has placed it in a position of proactive military obligation. Predictably, NATO's venture in the Balkans this time around has
had various implications on its future prospects as an organisation.

ID Number: JA019393
Year: 2003
Language: English
Type: ART

2002

The Lessons of Kosovo : Boon or Bust for Transatlantic Security ?.

Author(s):
1. Borchert, Heiko
2. Hampton, Mary N.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The NATO intervention in Kosovo in Spring 1999 was a watershed event for transatlantic relations. On the one hand, it was NATO's first military intervention, and its success reconfirmed a half-century of US-Western European cooperation and community-building in their security relations. On the other hand, Operation Allied Force and the operations preceding and following it deepened fissures in the transatlantic relationship that had begun to emerge with the end of the Cold War. NATO's intervention in Kosovo quickened the pace of change in transatlantic relations and fueled the European challenge to the mantel of Western political leadership worn by the US throughout the Cold War and into the early post-Cold War period. Thus, Allied Force represents an important transition point in the shift from one international order to the next, one still murky in its outline.

ID Number: JA017784
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 1, 2002, p. 9-32.)

Author(s):
1. Ceulemans, Carl

Subject(s):
1. JUST WAR DOCTRINE
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
5. AFGHAN WAR, 2001-

Notes:
Dit artikel beoogt het ethisch gehalte van operatie 'Allied Force' (Kosovo) en operatie 'Enduring Freedom' (Afghanistan) te vergelijken aan de hand van de 'rechtvaardige oorlog' - of 'bellum justum' - theorie. Deze laatste vormt een ethisch-normatieve traditie die stelt wanneer en op welke wijze militair geweld mag worden aangewend. De principes die aangeven wanneer geweld is toegestaan, vormen het zogenaamde 'jus ad bellum' (rechtvaardige zaak, juiste intenties, redelijke kans op succes, proportionaliteit, laatste redmiddel, en legitiem gezag). De criteria die bepalen op welke wijze dit dient te gebeuren, is het 'jus in bello' (discriminatie en proportionaliteit). Uit de vergelijkende analyse blijkt dat beide operaties zowel enkele overeenkomsten als verschilpunten vertonen. Zo ging het bij beide operaties in essentie om de
bescherming van onschuldige burgers (rechtvaardige zaak). Ook hadden beide operaties te kampen met een duidelijk 'legitimen gezag'-probleem. Verschillen waren er bijvoorbeeld op het vlak van de redelijke kans op succes. Hoewel er bij beide operaties sprake was van een duidelijk militair overwicht, moesten de slaagkansen van 'Allied Force' iets lager worden ingeschat dan die van 'Enduring Freedom'. Vanuit het proportionалiteitsperspectief ('in bello') was er eveneens een licht voordeel voor 'Enduring Freedom'. Dit laatste had vooral te maken met het relatief groter aantal duale doelwitten waarop tijdens de NAVO-interventie werd gericht.

ID Number: JA017756
Year: 2002
Language: Dutch
Type: ART

Legality Versus Legitimacy : Humanitarian Intervention, the Security Council and the Rule of Law.
Author(s):
1. Chesterman, Simon
Subject(s):
1. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
This article sketches out the nature of legal responses to humanitarian intervention in general and the Kosovo intervention in particular, with particular attention given to arguments that were not made. Though some possible arguments appear to have been omitted through oversight, the nature of the discussion suggests a view of international law as one policy justification among others. These debates are then situated in a broader historical context by drawing parallels between the current international framework and earlier historical periods in which no body comparable to the Security Council existed. It is argued that developments since the end of the Cold War, and in the past few years in particular, suggest a reversion to pre-Charter paradigms, where the council exists merely to advise member-states and international order is contingent, once more, on the goodwill of the powerful. The reluctance of the Great Powers to submit themselves to law may yet have a more lasting effect on the international order that NATO's decision to wage war on behalf of the Kosovo Albanians.

ID Number: JA018357
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

Russia and NATO toward the Twenty-First Century : Conflicts and Peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.
Author(s):
1. Cross, Sharyl
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
5. KOSOVO FORCE
6. NATO--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
7. PEACEKEEPING FORCES, RUSSIAN--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
The new Russian-NATO relationship plunged to the lowest point during NATO's 78 day Kosovo air campaign in Spring 1999. Despite the difficulties at the political level, the analysis suggests that Russia's participation in joint peacekeeping with US/NATO forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina (IFOR/SFOR) and Kosovo (KFOR) stand as perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the contemporary Russian-NATO relationship. These successes in peacekeeping tended to be overshadowed by the serious strains between Russia and NATO in developing a response to the implosion of Yugoslavia. While such practical cooperation between Russia and NATO can contribute to eroding the barriers of the past and to the development of a constructive relationship for the twenty-first century, these military-to-military accomplishments cannot shape broader Russian-NATO strategic priorities. The article concludes with examination of Moscow's post-mortem assessments on Kosovo and evaluation of prospects for the future of the Russian-NATO relationship in the aftermath of the Yugoslav experience.

ID Number: JA018584
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

Bombs for Peace: A Comparative Study of the Use of Air Power in the Balkans.
Author(s):
1. Forage, Paul C.
Subject(s):
1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--AERIAL OPERATIONS
5. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
Notes:
For many decision-makers, precision guided weapons represent what the aerial bomber promised the early air power idealists in the 1930s - a technological solution to difficult wars without the risk of casualties. In 1995, NATO used its air power to bring an end to the war in Bosnia and tried again in 1999 to use bombs to end the conflict in Kosovo. The failure to bring about a quick cessation of the fighting using air power was in part due to misinterpreting the war in Bosnia, as well as misunderstanding, in general, when and where air power is effective.

ID Number: JA017649
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

Lessons from the War in Kosovo.
(Joint Force Quarterly, no. 30, Spring 2002, p. 12-19.)
Author(s):
1. Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

ID Number: JA018167
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART
L'Allemagne et le Kosovo : entre l'éthique et la raison d'Etat ?.

Author(s):
1. Larose, Martin
2. Letourneau, Paul

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GERMANY
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. GERMANY--NATIONAL SECURITY

Notes:
Au printemps 1999, la participation de la RFA aux bombardements de l'OTAN sur la RFY a constitué une étape clé de la 'normalisation' de la politique étrangère et de sécurité allemande. Le premier objectif de cet article consiste à analyser les réactions de l'Allemagne durant toute la crise. Cet examen permet de voir que non seulement le gouvernement a participé aux 'frappes aériennes' mais qu'il a largement contribué aux mesures d'aide humanitaire et à la solution diplomatique ayant mis un terme au conflit. En second lieu, les auteurs analysent ces actions en relation avec la rhétorique du gouvernement pendant la crise. Le but consiste ici à identifier la part des intérêts nationaux et celle de la morale dans les motivations allemandes. Pour ce faire, la théorie de la guerre juste est utilisée. Les auteurs concluent que si le gouvernement allemand et l'OTAN pouvaient moralement recourir à la coercition dans le cas du Kosovo, la conduite de cette guerre ne correspondait pas aux critères de l'éthique de la guerre juste. Bien que la raison d'Etat n'exclut pas les considérations morales, la première primait probablement sur les secondes dans l'esprit des décideurs allemands.

ID Number: JA017932
Year: 2002
Language: French
Type: ART

Canada's Human Security Agenda in Kosovo and Beyond : Military Intervention Versus Conflict Prevention.

Author(s):
1. Nelles, Wayne

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT--CANADA
3. HUMAN SECURITY
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

ID Number: JA018397
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

The Kosovo War : Kosovar Insurrection, Serbian Retribution and NATO Intervention.

Author(s):
1. Papasotiriou, Harry

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
This article analyzes the triangular strategic interaction between the Kosovar Albanians, the Serbs and NATO in the Kosovo War. The focus is first on the origins and nature of the armed conflict between the Kosovar Albanians and the Serbs in 1998, the strategy of which is analysed in terms of guerrilla warfare.
theory applied to the political and geostrategic context of Kosovo. An assessment follows of the reasons that led the Milosevic regime to its policy of a mass expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo, taking into account political and demographic factors. The second half of the article analyses the strategic interaction between Serbia and NATO in the spring of 1999 that determined the course and outcome of the culminating phase of the Kosovo War.

Coalition Warfare: The Commander's Role.
(DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 18, no. 2, June 2002, p. 107-121.)

Author(s):
1. Reveron, Derek

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. CLARK, WESLEY K.

Notes:
The author assesses General Wesley Clark's leadership in the coalition warfare waged against Yugoslavia in 1999. He argues that in Operation Allied Force, General Clark pursued a deliberate strategy that not only pushed the limits of NATO members at the strategic level, but also involved NATO diplomats in tactical decisions. Coalitions, he concludes, are vulnerable to splintering, but once united, they are invincible. He gives General Clark much credit for keeping NATO together during Operation Allied Force.

An der Informationsfront: Erfahrungen der NATO aus ihrer Medienarbeit während des Kosovo-Einsatzes: Lessons Learned.
(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 40. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 2002, S. 573-580.)

Author(s):
1. Schober, Wolfgang

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. COMMUNICATION POLICY--NATO
3. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
Jamie Shea, head of media services of the Office of Information and Press lists six lessons learned from NATO's public relations during the Kosovo conflict.
Kosovo en het dreigen met geweld.

(Internationale Spectator, jg. 56, nr. 6, april 2002, p. 206-211.)

Author(s):
1. Sizoo, Jan

Subject(s):
1. Operation Allied Force, 1999
2. Use of Force (international law)

Notes:
The author, a former ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Belgrado, returns to the Kosovo crisis in 1998-1999 and notes that most scholars in international law would agree that NATO's military force against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Spring 1999 was illegitimate, being at variance with the UN Charter. He then argues that the preceding threat of force by NATO, of 28 May 1998, against the FRY was equally illegitimate. Also, NATO's threat to use force violated political commitments solemnly adopted at various occasions by OSCE participating states since 1975. Finally, he points to the contrasts between the way in which Western countries responded to the atrocities committed by Serbs in Kosovo in 1998/1999, leading to the threat and use of force by NATO, in comparison with their response to the atrocities committed by Croats in the Croatian Serb area of Krajina in the Summer of 1995, which was lenient.

ID Number: JA017732
Year: 2002
Language: Dutch
Type: ART

A Clear Victory for Air Power: NATO's Empty Threat to Invade Kosovo.


Author(s):
1. Stigler, Andrew L.

Subject(s):
1. Operation Allied Force, 1999
2. Kosovo War, 1998-1999
3. Air Power

Notes:
Why did Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic surrender control of Kosovo to NATO on June 9, 1999? Two reasons are most commonly cited: (1) the likelihood of continued and intensified NATO air strikes, and (2) the alliance's threat to launch a ground war. The distinction between the two is an important one. If NATO's ground threat did not play a role in Milosevic's decision to surrender, then Operation Allied Force, launched on March 24, 1999, demonstrates the ability of coercive air power - and air power alone - to achieve a major political goal. If, however, the ground threat factored into Milosevic's decisionmaking, then the Kosovo conflict serves as an example of the inherent difficulty of relying on air power alone to achieve political goals, even under favorable conditions.

ID Number: JA019151
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

Author(s):
1. Tziampiris, Aristotle

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. COLLECTIVE SECURITY
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The doctrine of humanitarian intervention ('new internationalism') pronounced to justify NATO's intervention in the Kosovo conflict was internationalist, multilateralist and interventionist in outlook, encompassed a larger vision consistent with liberal norms and morality and required the satisfaction of extensive conditions before being implemented. However, on closer examination the doctrine does not emerge as something entirely new, legal or humanitarian. It will certainly not cause the demise of nationalism and the nation-state and will probably strive without success to retain consistency in its application in other parts of the world. New internationalism has also contributed to the further erosion of Westphalian structures. Attempts to harmonize new internationalism with the regional security arrangements that are foreseen in the UN charter would allow the doctrine's application to a more limited regional scope, actions thus only being pursued by regional states or organizations (e.g. NATO). As a result, it might become easier to avoid deadlock at the Security Council, garner international support for humanitarian interventions and avoid criticism of neo-imperialism or selective application.

ID Number: JA018436
Year: 2002
Language: English
Type: ART

2001

European Security after the Kosovo Crisis: The Role of Russia.
(JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 1, no. 2, May 2001, p. 64-78.)

Author(s):
1. Arbatova, Nadia Alexandrova

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:
The international crisis around Kosovo resulting from NATO's military intervention in Yugoslavia should be regarded as a watershed in post-Cold War international relations, since it drastically affected Russia's relations with the West and particularly with NATO and the USA. It can also be viewed as culmination and logical conclusion of the over-ripe Russian-Western contradictions in the field of security and the growing gap between Russian and Western threat perceptions. This crisis entailed dramatic consequences for Russia's domestic development, having reinforced anti-Western feeling and nostalgia for a strong hand which would reinstate Russia's international prestige. The future of European security will depend on the post-Kosovo relationship that emerges between Russia, the USA and Europe.

ID Number: JA017374
Year: 2001
Type: ART
NATO's Balkan Blunder.
Author(s):
1. Bissett, James
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA016521
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART

Air Power and the Coercive Use of Force.
(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 81-93.)
Author(s):
1. Cooper, Scott A.
Subject(s):
1. AIR POWER
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
A captain in the U.S. Marine Corps argues that, despite the success of the 1999 campaign over Kosovo, air power has limitations. As the Bush administration sets its defense strategy, it should be wary of overconfidence in a tool with practical and moral risks.
ID Number: JA017263
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART

The Kosovo Intervention and Collective Self-Defence.
Author(s):
1. Egan, Patrick T.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. SELF-DEFENSE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Without a UN Security Council authorization, the case for humanitarian intervention in Kosovo cannot justify NATO's use of force against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999. By contrast NATO member states could have defended an armed intervention as a collective self-defence action under Article 51 of the UN Charter, though the campaign would have been significantly different than Operation Allied Force. Because it demands that one consider the legal interest of the intervening states in the defence of the victim and whether the forceful intervention is sufficiently targeted at the violation in question, the doctrine of self-defence may provide a legal basis for interventions in humanitarian crises and a useful set of criteria to evaluate their legality, especially when the UN Security Council fails to act.
ID Number: JA017041
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART
Germany's Anti-Hitler Coalition in Kosovo.
(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 31-46.)
Author(s):
1. Heinemann-Gruder, Andreas
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GERMANY
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. GERMANY--NATIONAL SECURITY
ID Number: JA017001
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART

Woodrow Wilson in Our Time : NATO's Goals in Kosovo.
Author(s):
1. Hodge, Carl Cavanagh
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
ID Number: JA016278
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART

Russian Responses to Crisis Management in the Balkans : How NATO's Past Actions May Shape Russia's Future Involvement.
(DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 292-309.)
Author(s):
1. Johnson, Rebecca J.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--AERIAL OPERATIONS
5. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA
ID Number: JA016904
Year: 2001
Language: English
Type: ART

(COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 20, no. 1, January - March 2001, p. 57-75.)
Author(s):
1. Lyon, Charlie
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--USA
3. CASUALTY AVERSION (MILITARY SCIENCE)
4. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)--USA
Notes:
In the post-Cold War period the US has waged war in pursuit of results that are not critical to the nation's strategic goals. This essay connects strategic decision making to tactical execution and highlights the cost of intervention and the impact of strategic decisions from the perspective of military commanders at the tactical level. Differences of opinion among commanders and varying assumptions about risk and the impact of risk on the mission are explored, from the observed effects of
these disconnects in Operation Allied Force in Kosovo, recommendations for the future can be formulated with the goal of ensuring that assumptions are shared among all command levels.

An der Informationsfront.

Author(s):
1. Schober, Wolfgang

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
3. COMMUNICATION POLICY--NATO
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

The Final Triumph of the Pax Americana ? : Western Intervention in Yugoslavia and Russia's Debate on the Post-Cold War Order.

Author(s):
1. Tsygankov, Andrei P.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:
This paper addresses the question of world order by considering how Western military actions in Yugoslavia were perceived from a different cultural perspective. It traces how the NATO-led bombing campaign during March-June of 1999 affected various visions of world order that had existed in Russia before the campaign and describes the discursive change this campaign produced. The argument is made that Russia's foreign policy elites, from Westernizers to Neo-Communists and Expansionists, perceived Western goals in Yugoslavia differently from their counterparts in the West. However, they differed in their recommendations regarding Russia's response and lessons to be drawn from the Kosovo crisis. The paper also identifies several points where the different perspectives can converge. More specifically, all Russian schools of thought viewed the NATO campaign as a dangerous precedent potentially destabilizing the existing world order. They also shared the conviction that Russia should play a larger role in world affairs and that without Russia's involvement there could be no peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe. They point to the UN as the only forum for debating the legitimacy of military interventions and for preventing interventions carried out without the approval of the UN.
Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate.

(International Security, vol. 24, no. 4, Spring 2000, p. 5-38.)

Author(s):
1. Byman, Daniel L.
2. Waxman, Matthew C.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. AIR POWER
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The authors seek to dispel the notion that NATO air attacks alone brought Serbia to the negotiating table. They argue instead that air power worked synergistically with other factors - including the threat of a NATO ground assault, declining Russian support for the Serb cause, and the role of the Kosovo Liberation Army - in ending the conflict. More generally, the authors maintain that the current debate over the role of air power as an instrument of coercion is 'fundamentally flawed'. Noting that the outcome of this debate could have broad policy implications, the authors suggest that instead of asking if air power alone can coerce an adversary to surrender, political and military leaders, as well as theoreticians, should ask: 'How can air power contribute to successful coercion, and under what circumstances are its contributions most effective?'

ID Number: JA015096
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

The Balkan Wars: Diplomacy, Politics, and Coalition Warfare.

(Strategic Review, vol. 28, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 23-31.)

Author(s):
1. Chipman, Don D.

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--AERIAL OPERATIONS

Notes:
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.

ID Number: JA014907
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART
The United States in the Balkans: There to Stay.
(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 4, Autumn 2000, p. 157-170.)
Author(s):
  1. Daalder, Ivo H.
  2. O'Hanlon, Michael E.
Subject(s):
  1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--USA
  2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  3. KOSOVO FORCE
  4. NATO--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
US criticisms of Europe's efforts in the Balkans, though widely
hold, are deeply flawed. Focusing on the Spring 1999 air war as
a case study, the authors make their case for a sustained US
role alongside the existing larger European contributions.

The Media and the Military: Continuing the Dialogue after Kosovo.
Author(s):
  1. Eyal, Jonathan
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
  3. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
  4. COMMUNICATION POLICY--GREAT BRITAIN

Kosovo: Killing the Myths After the Killing has Subsided.
Author(s):
  1. Eyal, Jonathan
Subject(s):
  1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
  2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

The House of Commons Defence Committee Report: Lessons of Kosovo.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 6, December 2000, p. 12-14.)
Author(s):
  1. George, Bruce
Subject(s):
  1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
  2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GREAT BRITAIN
From Chancellorsville to Kosovo: Forgetting the Art of War.
(PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 4-18.)
Author(s):
1. Goulding, Vincent J.
Subject(s):
1. USA—STRATEGIC ASPECTS
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--USA
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

ID Number: JA015310
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

L'effet Kosovo sur les nouveaux partenaires.
(COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1001, janvier 2000, p. 4-16.)
Author(s):
1. Gousseff, Catherine
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--CEE
3. NATO--CEE
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:
A peine la Republique tcheque, la Pologne et la Hongrie etaient-elles entrees dans l'OTAN que commencaient les bombardements sur la RFY. Les gouvernements de ces trois pays, comme de ceux qui sont encore a la porte de l'Alliance, oscillèrent alors entre extreme reserve, soutien embarrassee et pleine adhesion a cette action militaire. Les incidences furent marginales de ce dernier point de vue, car reduites a des autorisations de survol des espaces aeriens. Elles furent beaucoup plus importantes pour les Etats concernes, lorsqu'il s'est agi de prendre des mesures d'accueil et d'aide aux refugies du Kosovo ou d'évaluer les couts et manques a gagner induits par la guerre. De leur cote, les reactions des populations furent aussi tres divergentes, et parfois hostiles aux positions officielles. En analysant tous ces parametres, l'auteur peut ainsi donner la mesure de l'empreinte laissee par ce conflit en Europe centrale et orientale.

ID Number: JA015033
Year: 2000
Language: French
Type: ART

NATO's Visegrad Allies: The First Test in Kosovo.
Author(s):
1. Hendrickson, Ryan C.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--POLAND
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--CZECH REPUBLIC
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--HUNGARY
5. NATO--POLAND
6. NATO--CZECH REPUBLIC
7. NATO--HUNGARY
8. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:
At the NATO's Madrid conference in 1997, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland were asked to join Europe's premier military alliance. In order to gain admission, these states engaged in extensive lobbying efforts and made considerable diplomatic promises to convince full members of their shared values and willingness to assist in NATO's post-Cold War
mission. However, only days after their membership was ratified, the alliance initiated a bombing campaign on Kosovo. This article examines the contributions of the Visegrad states in this operation, and finds much disparity in the diplomatic and military support provided to NATO. The findings have implications not only for NATO's ability to provide for European security in the future, but also for Eastern European States and others who seek full membership in the alliance.

ID Number: JA015650
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

Erfahrungen aus den Luftoperationen der NATO im Kosovo.
(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 2000, S. 24-27)
Author(s):
1. Hoche, Jurgen
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. AIR POWER
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Operation 'Allied Force' and with that also the first German use of weapons after World War II is six-month-old history by now. The Air Force has made use of the past months analyzing the missions/sorties flown within the scope of this operation, assessing them and drawing respective conclusions from that. Important for the evaluation of the result of the overall operation is the fact that NATO had announced the employment of its air forces in October 1998 already, but then postponed it in January 1999 till the end of March in favour of the political talks in Rambouillet and Paris. From a purely military point of view, the employment of the air forces occurred too late to achieve quick successes for the purposes of the political objective. The political goals for an employment of the air forces which had already been defined in October 1998 were laid down in the 'Allied Force' operation plan.

ID Number: JA015012
Year: 2000
Language: German
Type: ART

Kosovo One Year On.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 2, April 2000, p. 1-7.)
Author(s):
1. Hoon, Hon Geoffrey
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. KOSOVO FORCE
4. NATO--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
5. UNITED NATIONS INTERIM ADMINISTRATION MISSION IN KOSOVO
6. UNITED NATIONS--PEACEKEEPING FORCES--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
ID Number: JA015140
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART
The Kosovo Air Campaign's Impact on Russian Military Thinking.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 4, August 2000, p. 53-57.)

Author(s):
1. Isakova, Irina

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--MILITARY POLICY

ID Number: JA015526
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

After Kosovo: NATO's Credibility Dilemma.
(SEcurity DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 1, March 2000, p. 71-84.)

Author(s):
1. Kay, Sean

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. NATO

Notes:
NATO has passed its first credibility test - survival after the Cold War - by engaging Central and Eastern Europe. The Kosovo war in 1999 tested NATO's capacity to promote its members' values and to fight a war efficiently. But it also re-opened serious questions about NATO's credibility by revealing the gap between rhetoric and action. NATO has to devote resources and political energy to its implementation. This means re-orienting national military training, upgrading equipment and advancing the ability to project power. The problem with this radical shift in the original purpose of NATO is that such a commitment of resources is highly unlikely. After Kosovo, NATO is ill-equipped to live up to its ambitious goals and declared purposes. If the leaders of the Alliance do not clarify what they can achieve in the areas of humanitarian war and defending values, then the very survival of NATO may be at risk again. It is vital that NATO's central functions are not squandered over a loss of credibility due to its inability to match rhetoric, will and capacity.

ID Number: JA017477
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

The Debate on British Policy in Kosovo Conflict: An Assessment.
(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 21, no. 3, December 2000, p. 78-94.)

Author(s):
1. Keohane, Dan

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GREAT BRITAIN
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
This paper contends that the British Labour government had compelling reasons to play a leading role in the Kosovo conflict. First, it examines the government's perception of what was at stake in terms of Britain's reputation and values, strategic interests and milieu goals. Then it elucidates the debate on the conflict principally through the prism of parliamentary deliberations. These arguments revealed unexpected alignments. Thus, Conservatives expressed fierce criticisms of the conduct and impact of NATO's air campaign with some joining mainly left-wing Labour parliamentarians in deploring the absence of UN authorization. In these
circumstances it was remarkable to find most Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs strongly supporting NATO military action and pursuing a course that made Britain the most hawkish member of the Alliance. The paper concludes with an assessment of the major part played by Britain in shaping NATO's response in the conflict, a role prompted principally by the government's commitment to protecting human rights and by its concern to prevent a repeat of British and NATO failures in Bosnia.

NATO's Attack on Serbia: Anomaly or Emerging Doctrine?.

Author(s):
1. Mangum, Ronald Scott

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
This article does not attempt to assess right or wrong in the NATO attack on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It does, however, examine the factual background and legal arguments for and against that action. And it raises questions which the international community should address in resolving the appropriateness of the use of force in humanitarian crises. Finally, it proposes guidelines which NATO and the US, if they are to be the moral leaders of the free world, can take to formalize a doctrine of humanitarian intervention.

Kosovo and After: American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century.
(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 79-94.)

Author(s):
1. Marcus, Jonathan

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. USA--MILITARY POLICY

Notes:
For some, Western intervention in Kosovo represents a new beginning for US engagement abroad. What blueprint does this experience provide for the US?
De oorlog in Kosovo: vereenvoudigde lessen van een dubieus precedent.

(AINTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 2, februari 2000, p. 86-90.)

Author(s):
1. Milinkovic, Branislav

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)

Notes:
The author argues that the dominant simplification in western public opinion, according to which NATO waged a victorious war over Kosovo for human rights and regional stability, is misleading. Undoubtedly, NATO's intervention was decisive in creating an international protectorate over Kosovo. Yet the victory was only partial since the peace plan contains some face-saving elements for Belgrade. NATO's action was far from the humanitarian intervention it pretended to be. In addition, it also threatened regional stability. The Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe seems to have better perspectives for the region. However, the decision to exclude Serbia is counter-productive. Serbia's further isolation only alienates Serbs from the West, crystallizes anti-Western sentiments and hinders conditions for political change in Serbia.

ID Number: JA015010
Year: 2000
Language: Dutch
Type: ART

Making NATO Interventions Work.

(STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 28, no. 2, Spring 2000, p. 13-18.)

Author(s):
1. Odom, William E.

Subject(s):
1. NATO
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
5. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Notes:
NATO has entered a new era in which it must make its interventions succeed if it is to retain its relevance for European and Atlantic security. Enlargement is an intervention into Central Europe, and the NATO military operations in Bosnia and Kosovo are interventions in the Balkans. Putting the NATO umbrella over these areas is analogous to putting it over Western Europe in the 1950s. That was successfully done by 'a decisive war' against Germany and Italy. Unless NATO perceives the wars in the Balkans as requiring similar outcomes and carries through to achieve them, it risks its very future.

ID Number: JA015225
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART
Apres le Kosovo : pour un nouveau contrat transatlantique.
(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 1, printemps 2000, p. 9-32.)

Author(s):
1. Parmentier, Guillaume

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. NATO

Notes:
Les progres effectues en matiere de politique etrangere et de defense europeenne au cours des derniers mois, et en particulier apres le conflit du Kosovo, imposent une reflexion rapide sur l'adaptation de l'OTAN. On ne saurait en effet concevoir les deux processus de façon isolee. On est loin des debats opposant atlantistes et europeistes, qui ont fait fureur apres la fin de la guerre froide. En outre, les faiblesses de l'OTAN revelees au grand jour lors du conflit rendent necessaires son adaptation en profondeur aux nouveaux enjeux. Encore faut-il que ces changements soient porteurs d'une efficacite plus grande, tout en donnant une souplesse d'action indispensable a l'organisation, qui lui permette également de donner corps aux ambitions de moindre dependance des pays europeens. l'auteur identifie les faiblesses du systeme actuel de l'OTAN, et envisage les moyens qui permettraient de leur porter remede.

ID Number: JA015269
Year: 2000
Language: French
Type: ART

(INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 24, no. 4, Spring 2000, p. 39-84.)

Author(s):
1. Posen, Barry R.

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
Questions continue to swirl around Slobodan Milosevic's decision to pit Serb troops against NATO forces in the 1999 battle over Kosovo. Given NATO's overwhelming military superiority, what motivated the Serb leader to reject the Rambouillet accords and to fight a war that, at least on the surface, Serbia stood no chance of winning ? Moreover, why did Milosevic agree to negotiate an end to the war when he did ? The author addresses both questions through the 'lens of strategy'. According to him, Milosevic most likely had a political-military strategy to deal with NATO : his aim was to divide its members over Kosovo. As long as his strategy held out the possibility of driving a wedge between the coalition members, Milosevic could afford to keep the war going. Once it became clear that the coalition would not split over Kosovo, Milosevic agreed to settle the war on terms more favorable to Serbia than the Rambouillet accords. It was, says the author, a strategy that 'on the whole worked surprisingly well'.

ID Number: JA015097
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART
La Russie et l'opération 'Force Alliée' : à la recherche de la puissance perdue.
(COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1001, janvier 2000, p. 32-44.)

Author(s):
1. Rucker, Laurent

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
L'opération 'Force alliée' en ex-Yougoslavie a cristallisé les atouts et les faiblesses de la Russie et a mis en lumière l'interdépendance des facteurs internationaux, régionaux et intérieurs de sa politique étrangère. Elle a démontré que la Russie ne disposait plus des ressources nécessaires pour influencer l'agenda et les décisions internationales. Opposée à l'intervention de l'OTAN contre Belgrade, elle n'a rien pu faire pour l'en empêcher et elle n'a pu être associée au règlement de la crise qu'en s'alliant sur les exigences de l'Alliance à l'égard de la RFY. La crise du Kosovo a aussi consacré la division de la CEI entre les pays du GUUAM et les autres États-membres, en particulier la Russie et la Biélorussie. Le 'pluralisme géopolitique' est désormais une réalité de l'espace post-soviétique. Moscou éprouve de grandes difficultés à trouver des réponses adaptées à ce retournement stratégique. Au plan intérieur, la crise dans les Balkans a été instrumentalisée dans la lutte pour le pouvoir et a permis à Boris Eltsine d'évincer Evgueni Primakov. Si la classe politique et l'opinion publique se sont retrouvées dans une condamnation quasi unanime de l'opération 'Force alliée', en revanche le thème de la fraternité slavo-orthodoxe n'a recueilli qu'un faible écho dans la société.

ID Number: JA015035
Year: 2000
Language: French
Type: ART

French Defence Reforms after Kosovo : On Track or Derailed ?.
(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 61-80.)

Author(s):
1. Rynning, Sten

Subject(s):
1. FRANCE--MILITARY POLICY
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--FRANCE

Notes:
How well prepared has France been politically for the operational implications of its efforts to build a military instrument designed for extra-territorial interventions such as that conducted by NATO in Yugoslavia in 1999 ? Did the prolonged bombing campaign and the question of deploying ground troops provoke severe criticism and controversies ? This article assesses the French Kosovo debate both in the political centre and the broader elite public. The analysis finds that the new French military instrument receives solid backing from key policymakers who now race to claim parenthood of the military reform programme. The utility of a new military instrument was at one stage developing into a major concern to the elite public. However, an engineered anti-American agenda hijacked the debate, failed to address military issues, and ultimately could not mobilize the elite public. The conclusion outlines that an energized political centre has an opportunity to press ahead with military reforms but also points out that the relationship between France, Europe and NATO requires careful political management.

ID Number: JA015725
Year: 2000
The Kosovo Crisis and the Media.
(NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 2000, p. 39-46.)
Author(s):
1. Shea, Jamie P.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
3. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
4. COMMUNICATION POLICY--NATO
ID Number: JA015631
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

De oorlog over Kosovo en de leer van de humanitaire interventie.
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 5, mei 2000, p. 238-247.)
Author(s):
1. Swift, John
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
The author discusses some of the principal arguments for and
against the NATO action in the Kosovo war and in particular,
the justification or otherwise of armed intervention in, and on
behalf of, Kosovo in the name of humanitarian values. Addressed
are matters such as a definition of the doctrine of
humanitarian intervention; the background against which the
document evolved; how NATO defined its position before and
during the war; and what critics of the war have said about it.
ID Number: JA015210
Year: 2000
Language: Dutch
Type: ART

Kosovo and the Current Myth of Information Superiority.
(PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 13-29.)
Author(s):
1. Thomas, Timothy L.
Subject(s):
1. INFORMATION OPERATIONS--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
This article looks at the conflict between NATO and Yugoslavia not
from the standpoint of the intent or success of the air
campaign (although these issues will be touched upon) but
rather through the prism of information superiority.
Information superiority allowed NATO to know almost everything
about the battlefield, but NATO analysts didn't always
understand everything they thought they knew.
ID Number: JA014938
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART
Operation Allied Force and the Legal Basis for Humanitarian Interventions.
(PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 38-50.)
Author(s):
1. Tomes, Robert
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
Notes:
This article reviews international law arguments against NATO's bombing campaign, suggests that the operation should be considered legitimate, and concludes with a jus cogens argument - similar to a natural law argument - in support of intervention to stop gross violation of human rights.
ID Number: JA014939
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

Un ano despues de la guerra.
(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 75, mayo - junio 2000, p. 21-27.)
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
La crisis de Kosovo es un desastre politico y estrategico un ano despues de la campana de la OTAN. Los aliados aun no saben como transformar su ventaja militar en victoria politica.
ID Number: JA015559
Year: 2000
Language: Spanish
Type: ART

Kosovo, International Law and Humanitarian Intervention.
Author(s):
1. Valki, Laszlo
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA016106
Year: 2000
Language: English
Type: ART

Shaping Perceptions During the Latest Balkans Imbroglio.
(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 38-61.)
Author(s):
1. Collins, Stevens
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999--PUBLIC OPINION
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PUBLIC OPINION
Notes:
While it might seem as though the confrontation with Slobodan Milosevic is old news, recent events in Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro point to the probability that events this summer will likely bring US policy vis-a-vis the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia back to the front pages. All sides in the 1999
conflict over Kosovo attempted to manipulate the regional and international perception of the struggle. This perception conflict was in many ways more important than the casualties sustained or the land controlled. This article examines the attempt to gain the informational 'high ground' and addresses how perception management should affect current US policy towards Serbia and Milosevic government.

1999

Operation Allied Force: War or 'Coercive Diplomacy'?.
(STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 27, no. 3, Summer 1999, p. 4-12.)
Author(s):
1. Aubin, Stephen P.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. COERCIVE DIPLOMACY
Notes:
In Operation Allied Force, NATO did succeed at forcing Slobodan Milosevic to yield to its terms. However, from the outset, the drawn-out air campaign was limited by design. Rather than delivering decisive blows through parallel warfare, the politically constrained military leaders carried out an operation that might best be described as 'escalation theory meets high-tech attrition warfare'. It had all the marks of the Clinton administration's reliance on the notion of 'diplomacy backed by force'. A more decisive approach might have yielded more effective results.

Les enseignements strategiques de l'operation de l'OTAN au Kosovo.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 12, decembre 1999, p. 32-38.)
Author(s):
1. Baer, Alain
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA014796
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART

Italy's Crisis Diplomacy in Kosovo, March - June 1999.
(International Spectator, vol. 34, no. 3, July - September 1999, p. 67-80.)
Author(s):
1. Balfour, Rosa
2. Menotti, Roberto
3. Biase, Ghita Miceli de
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--ITALY
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. ITALY--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Notes:
The authors illustrate Italy's attitude and policy during the Kosovo conflict. After examining the main interests and concerns that were at stake for Italy, the three authors
describe Italy's efforts to reconcile its substantial military commitment with the push for a diplomatic solution and the related tensions that emerged both within the government and with the allies. They emphasise the importance of Italy's performance in the Kosovo crisis as a test of the center-left government's Atlantic policy and its actual capability to play a relevant role in Southeastern Europe.

Guerre propre, paix sale : les lecons du Kosovo.
(COMMENTAIRE, vol. 22, no. 87, automne 1999, p. 585-592.)
Author(s):
1. Baverez, Nicolas
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Les lecons du conflit au Kosovo.
(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 36, hiver 1999 - 2000, p. 65-70.)
Author(s):
1. Boniface, Pascal
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
Le bilan de la guerre au Kosovo est, aujourd'hui encore, difficile à établir. Cependant, les résultats apparaissent très contrastés; le conflit n'a conduit ni à une victoire éclatante, ni à un échec complet. Si la politique de répression du régime de Belgrade a l'encontre des Kosovars a pris fin, il n'en demeure pas moins que la situation politique et économique du Kosovo, de la Serbie et de l'ensemble de la région est extrêmement fragile. Par ailleurs, les principes au nom desquels les pays occidentaux ont mene l'intervention militaire soulèvent des questions cruciales pour l'évolution de la société internationale. En outre, la contradiction entre la souveraineté et l'ingérence n'est pas résolue; la primauté de l'une ou de l'autre risque de conduire au retour de la loi du plus fort. Les deux principes doivent ainsi être pris en compte par la communauté internationale dans la définition de nouvelles règles.
De la asistencia a la agresión humanitaria ?.
(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 69, mayo - junio 1999, p. 17-21.)
Author(s):
1. Brotons, Antonio Remiro
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Al intervenir en Yugoslavia, la OTAN no solo ha actuado sin
mandato del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, sino
incluso en contra de su propio tratado constitutivo.
ID Number: JA014230
Year: 1999
Language: Spanish
Type: ART

Communications Lessons for NATO, the Military and Media.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 4, August 1999, p. 31-36.)
Author(s):
1. Campbell, Alastair
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. COMMUNICATION POLICY--NATO
3. MASS MEDIA AND WAR
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--PRESS COVERAGE
ID Number: JA014473
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Ending an Old-Fashioned War.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 3, June 1999, p. 9-14.)
Author(s):
1. Codner, Michael
Subject(s):
1. WAR--TERMINATION
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
After 72 days of NATO bombing in Serbia and Kosovo came a glimmer
of peace. But what kind of a resolution of the conflict was in
prospect ? The author examines some of the ways in which
conflict can be ended, with examples from earlier wars. He
believes that despite all NATO's advanced technology this has
been essentially an old-fashioned war, a millennial sequel to
gunboat diplomacy. Could NATO achieve 'war termination on
favourable terms' ? And would it all have been worthwhile, if
the humanitarian objective of saving the Kosovars from massacre
and exile had failed ?
ID Number: JA014501
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
Unlearning the Lessons of Kosovo.
(FOREIGN POLICY, no. 116, Fall 1999, p. 128-104.)
Author(s):
1. Daadler, Ivo
2. O'Hanlon, Michael
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Some of the architects of NATO's victory in Kosovo have been quick to hail it as a harbinger of a new type of humanitarian intervention - an effective and relatively painfree way to stop ethnic cleansing in its tracks. But a closer look at the conflict reaffirms old truths rather than offering new lessons.
ID Number: JA015238
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Kosovo : de vraies et fausses lecons strategiques.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 12, decembre 1999, p. 39-43.)
Author(s):
1. David, Dominique
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA014797
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART

De NAVO in Kosovo : toetssteen voor de militaire interventie ?.
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 6, juni 1999, p. 358-367.)
Author(s):
1. Dekker, Guido den
2. Wessel, Ramses A.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
The authors discuss the NATO military actions in Kosovo; they particularly focus on their legality and on their consequences for the future of Kosovo. They conclude on the illegality of the NATO actions under lex lata. The UN Charter does not provide a sufficient basis for justifying the current actions in the absence of a Security Council mandate. In addition questions can be posed as to the legality of the NATO actions on the basis of the North Atlantic Treaty. The authors point to the danger of neglecting the global system of collective security in a situation where possible new rules on humanitarian intervention have not yet developed into customary international law. In discussing the possible future status of Kosovo they point to the people of Kosovo as well as to the legal invalidity of agreements concluded as a result of the use or threat of force. In formulating its goals an eventual international military force will have to take these legal facts into account.
ID Number: JA014225
Year: 1999
Language: Dutch
Type: ART
Guerra y diplomacia en los Balcanes.
(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 69, mayo - junio 1999, p. 7-15.)
Author(s):
1. Delage, Fernando
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
La crisis de Kosovo se sabía inevitable. La diplomacia occidental
no le prestó la atención que merecía y, ya en marcha la
intervención de la OTAN, sigue sin afrontarse la cuestión de
fondo.
ID Number: JA014229
Year: 1999
Language: Spanish
Type: ART

NATO Can't Be Seen to Fail.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 3, June 1999, p. 32-36.)
Author(s):
1. Dick, Charles
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA014504
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

A propos du Kosovo.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55ème année, no. 12, décembre 1999, p. 63-71.)
Author(s):
1. Forget, Michel
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA014799
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART

La participation britannique à l'intervention au Kosovo.
122-129.)
Author(s):
1. Garden, Timothy
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--GREAT BRITAIN
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
Le Royaume-Uni s'est impliqué de manière constante dans le conflit
au Kosovo. Ainsi, lors des tentatives pour parvenir à une
solution negociée, les responsables politiques britanniques
jouèrent un rôle important. Par ailleurs, lorsque le recours à
la force militaire s'avéra nécessaire, le Royaume-Uni offrit sa
contribution à l'opération Allied Force. Si leur participation
ne fut pas négligeable, les armées britanniques, en pleine
restructuration, rencontrèrent des difficultés pour mobiliser
une force plus conséquente. La modestie des moyens militaires
semble avoir été contrebalancée par l'intense activité des
responsables politiques, et notamment, du Premier ministre,
Tony Blair. Les Britanniques ont tiré des leçons du conflit
quant à leurs capacités militaires, mais également quant à la
nécessité pour l'Europe de développer une politique étrangère.
et de securite commune.
ID Number: JA014783
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART

Le Kosovo entre la guerre et la paix.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 8-9, aout – septembre 1999, p. 62-79.)
Author(s):
1. Ghebali, Victor-Yves
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Le Kosovo : une nouvelle forme de conflit dans l'apres-guerre froide.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 12, decembre 1999, p. 20-25.)
Author(s):
1. Glucksmann, Andre
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Feeling Threatened.
(WORLD TODAY, vol. 55, no. 6, June 1999, p. 16-18.)
Author(s):
1. Gobarev, Viktor
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
How can Russian responses to NATO action on Kosovo be explained ?
After agreeing a set of principles with the leading industrial
countries in early May, Moscow redoubled its diplomatic efforts
to end the crisis. The attack by NATO on the Chinese embassy in
Belgrade apparently reinforced Russian opposition to military
action against Serbia, producing further uncertainty.

International Law and the War in Kosovo.
(SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 19-33.)
Author(s):
1. Guicherd, Catherine
Subject(s):
1. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
Notes:
NATO's military intervention against Serbia in March 1999
underscored the tensions between state sovereignty and the
defence of human rights - two principles enshrined in the UN
Since the early 1990s, a consensus has developed, buttressed by UN Security Council resolutions and the practices of UN member states, that massive human rights violations can sometimes justify encroachment on a state's sovereignty. However, this emerging consensus has not yet crystallised into clear rules establishing a right of 'humanitarian intervention', nor is it accepted by important powers such as Russia and China. Therefore, NATO nations have been at a loss to justify their Kosovo campaign in terms of international law. Rather than claiming that the Kosovo intervention is an exception, not to be repeated, Alliance members should lead a drive to adjust international law by developing clear rules for humanitarian intervention.
intervention in the FRY may have clashed with IHL, and what NATO members can do to improve the application and enforcement of this law by all members of the international community. Section II outlines the basic concepts and instruments of IHL. Section III discusses which of its principles, if any, are applicable to NATO's intervention. The main possible breaches of IHL by NATO are discussed in Section IV, while Section V outlines what the situation in Kosovo after the cessation of military hostilities entails for NATO under IHL. Finally, the conclusion of this report outlines the lessons learned from NATO's behaviour during the Kosovo crisis from the perspective of IHL and recommends a number of steps NATO members could take toward greater support of IHL.

ID Number: JA015967
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

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Guerre et paix au Kosovo : le droit international dans tous ses etats.
(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 36, hiver 1999 - 2000, p. 89-102.)

Author(s):
   1. Latty, Franck

Subject(s):
   1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
   2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
   3. INTERNATIONAL LAW
   4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
   5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

Notes:
Le recours 'a la carte' au droit international par les differentes protagonistes de la guerre du Kosovo a ete flagrant. L'intervention des pays de l'OTAN, fondee sur le respect des droits de l'homme, s'est pourtant faite au mepris des regles internationales en matiere d'interdiction du recours a la force. Neanmoins, la Cour internationale de Justice, saisie par la Yougoslavie, a refuse de se prononcer sur cette violation de la Charte des Nations unies. Selon certains auteurs, il faut voir dans l'exemple du Kosovo la formation d'une nouvelle regle de droit international qui permettrait, dans certains cas limites, le recours a la force sans l'autorisation du Conseil de securite. Ce n'est que dans l'apres-confit que l'action du Kosovo a pu se situer dans une sphere juridique et non plus politique et militaire. La resolution 1244 (1999) du Conseil de securite prevoyait la mise en place de 'presences internationales civiles et de securite' au Kosovo, mais le statut de ce dernier reste encore precaire. La guerre du Kosovo aura en tout cas mis en lumiere la vigueur grandissante du droit international penal et le role important du Tribunal penal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie, comme l'a demonstre l'inculpation de Slobodan Milosevic.

ID Number: JA014781
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART
'Walking the Tightrope': The Kosovo Conflict and Russia in European Security.
(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 4, Winter 1999, p. 57-83.)

Author(s):
1. Lynch, Dov

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
This article argues that Russia has pursued a policy of inclusive multipolarity towards European security after Primakov's appointment as Foreign Minister in 1996. This policy focused on three dimensions to constrain NATO and ensure a Russian voice in Europe. First, ties with NATO; second, the pursuit of OSCE reform and a European 'Security Charter'; third, the primacy of the UN Security Council in international affairs. NATO actions in the Kosovo crisis deeply undermined all dimensions of this policy. However, inclusive multipolarity was not discarded by the Russian leadership. The tortuous path of Russian accommodation after May 1999 highlighted Russian attempts to reinstate this policy and restore a Russian voice in European security affairs - with limited success. This article examines the evolution of Russian shifts in this crisis until Vladimir Putin's appointment as Prime Minister in August 1999.

ID Number: JA015215
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

(STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 27, no. 3, Summer 1999, p. 13-16.)

Author(s):
1. Meyers, Grover E.
2. Wolfe, Thad A.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. AIR POWER
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The air campaign over Yugoslavia has ended. Serbian forces have left Kosovo. The allied air forces were able to establish local air superiority and attack an increasing array of targets important enough to the Yugoslav political leadership that they gave in to NATO conditions. The conflict, unlike any before it, was won by NATO air power. American joint air forces provided the majority of combat aircraft and precision weapons highlighting the asymmetric advantage enjoyed by US air forces. This air campaign suggests that, in appropriate conditions, ground forces could serve in a supporting role to an air campaign.

ID Number: JA014488
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
Small events in international relations can have big, even defining consequences. To take a Yugoslavian example: the shooting of the Archduke in Sarajevo in 1914. A second instance, of course, is NATO's bombing of China's embassy in Belgrade. In the welter of blood which distinguishes the war against the Serbs, the embassy deaths, heartbreaking for the families of the three dead and humiliating for NATO air controllers and American cartographers, prepared the way for a giant Chinese step on the world stage. Indeed, there can be few who heard the news of the embassy bombing and failed to realise that though there had been much gorier NATO mistakes, the consequences of this one would be great.

The next conflict is sure to happen. When reporting on that war, attention must above all be drawn to two particularities: it was the first coalition war in Europe in the information age; and secondly, it was the first war which - at a first cursory
glance - was conducted and won exclusively by air warfare means. But when speaking of air warfare means, it in fact always signifies that it has been a 'joint operation', for the air forces also included naval air forces. These two facts alone should already be well worth to document and analyze the war. This conflict might, however, gain even more significance as it could mark the beginning of a process at the end of which - provided everything works out well - there will at least be the elimination of war as a means of policy in Europe. In addition, Kosovo could also assist in the further development of international law. For one of the decisive reasons which held together a greatly different coalition of 19 democratic nations for more than 78 days was the common conviction that no government and no president should be allowed to do with their people what they feel like and infringe on fundamental human rights in this process. In Kosovo, war was conducted for the sake of an idea not for the sake of interests.

Kosovo as a Precedent : Towards a Reform of the Security Council ?.
(CIVILIAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 28 p. (491.6/19).)
Author(s):
1. Paecht, Arthur
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION -- KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
3. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
4. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
Is it possible to make the rule of law a pillar of democracy internally while flouting it internationally? This is the fundamental question why the legality of NATO's intervention in Kosovo cannot be regarded as a secondary issue. The Rapporteur tackles his subject in five stages. The first is a brief restatement of international law regarding the use of force. The Rapporteur then makes a detailed analysis of the legal justification invoked by the NATO countries in support of their intervention and demonstrates its deficiencies. Extending this discussion, he then makes a quick analysis of the April 1999 Strategic Concept in order to highlight its ambiguities as regards relations between the Alliance and United Nations. He then draws attention to a number of recent trends in international practice which reveal a gradual change of view at universal level regarding relationship between 'state sovereignty' and 'sovereignty of individuals' - in other words, the intangibility of frontiers and the protection of human rights. Having established the ambiguity and incompleteness of international law on this basis, he then suggests some lines of discussion with a view to establishing a proper legal framework for a right of humanitarian intervention.
NATO's Ten Years of Muddle.
Author(s):
1. Quiggin, Thomas
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
The author says the problem is not with military commanders but with confused thinking and lack of will by political leaders.
ID Number: JA014505
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Do Airstrikes Amount to an Effective Policy ?.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 2, April - May 1999, p. 15-18.)
Author(s):
1. Quiggin, Thomas
Subject(s):
1. BOMBING, AERIAL
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
4. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--AERIAL OPERATIONS
5. AIR POWER
ID Number: JA014079
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo.
(SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 3, Autumn 1999, p. 102-123.)
Author(s):
1. Roberts, Adam
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
Notes:
NATO's Operation Allied Force against Yugoslavia in March-June 1999 marked a significant stage in the developing practice of using force in defence of international norms. It was also influenced by concerns about the Alliance's credibility. The first major bombing campaign aimed at reversing a state's oppression of part of its own population led to speculation about whether a new norm of humanitarian intervention was emerging. However, the Kosovo war illustrated the difficulty of securing international agreement on the legitimacy of such intervention. It raised questions about the quality of NATO decision-making, the degree of reliance on air power, the impact of the war on civilians, and the role played by the threat of land operations in reaching an eventual settlement.
ID Number: JA014440
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
"Ready to Kill but not to Die" : NATO Strategy in Kosovo.

(INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 4, Autumn 1999, p. 671-682.)

Author(s):
1. Robinson, Paul

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. JUST WAR DOCTRINE
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

ID Number: JA014765
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

The Fallout from Kosovo.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 4, July - August 1999, p. 45-51.)

Author(s):
1. Rodman, Peter W.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
NATO began its air war against Yugoslavia with high hopes that the transatlantic relationship would find new purpose through robust humanitarian intervention. Alas, Milosevic remains as entrenched as ever. A messy diplomatic compromise is increasingly likely, but anything less than total victory will have grave consequences for America and its allies. Europe will be wary of cooperating with the United States on security and balk at future engagements that lack UN blessing. US isolationists will get plenty more grist for their mill. With its expectations set far too high, NATO will play the price when they come crashing back to earth.

ID Number: JA014449
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Lessons to Learn.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 55, no. 8/9, August - September 1999, p. 4-6.)

Author(s):
1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
NATO's fiftieth anniversary summit in Washington last April had been intended to be a full-scale celebration of a half century of security success in Europe. Instead, as the alliance became deeply mired in the Kosovo War, the entire event was scaled down to a much more political occasion, focussing almost exclusively on the need to maintain alliance solidarity. Faced with potentially damaging splits within its political and military elite, and strong public opposition in several member states, especially Italy and Spain, NATO sought to maintain unity as it escalated the air war against Serbia.

ID Number: JA014388
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
Lessons of International Law from NATO's Armed Intervention Against the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 3, July - September 1999, p.
45-54.)

Author(s):
1. Ronzitti, Natalino

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. INTERNATIONAL LAW
5. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The author discusses the various official and academic arguments put forward regarding the legality of NATO's military action, undertaken without authorisation from the UN Security Council, and the problems associated with the effort to establish a convincing doctrine of humanitarian intervention. He examines how the search for a new legitimacy of international actions against countries that violate fundamental human rights can be satisfied without undermining the essential role of the UN System. In the concluding part of the article, the author argues in favour of the Security Council giving a general authorisation - as opposed to a case-by-case one - to regional organisations to undertake enforcement actions, while maintaining the ultimate power to stop them.

ID Number: JA014811
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Atlantic and European Defence after Kosovo.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 3, July - September 1999, p.
11-20.)

Author(s):
1. Silvestri, Stefano

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. EU--CFSP

Notes:
The author looks into the limitations and long-term problems of both the Atlantic Alliance and European defence that emerged during the air campaign against the Yugoslav Federation. He concentrates, on the one hand, on the difficulty in harmonising political objectives and military exigencies, a problem which was exacerbated by the requirements of the decision-making and consensus-gathering system; on the other hand, on the evident limitations of the defence and power-projection capabilities of European countries. He concludes with an examination of the various options currently on the table for the development of the European pillar of the alliance.

ID Number: JA014806
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
NATO's Success in Kosovo.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 6, November - December 1999, p. 114-120.)

Author(s):
1. Solana, Javier

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
The NATO war in Kosovo did not come out of the blues. The alliance fought only after Belgrade turned a deaf ear to diplomacy, and NATO knew the risks it was running. But doing nothing would have been worse; assenting to Slobodan Milosevic's mass killings would have dangerously undermined the credibility of Western institutions.

ID Number: JA015000
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Der Westen und Kosovo: ein leidvoller Erfahrungsprozess.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 54. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 1999. S. 41-48.)

Author(s):
1. Spillmann, Markus

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:

ID Number: JA014522
Year: 1999
Language: German
Type: ART

Volkerrechtliche Aspekte des Kosovo-Konflikts.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 37. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 1999, S. 567-574.)

Author(s):
1. Stadlmeier, Sigmar

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION--KOSOVO (REPUBLIC)
4. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

ID Number: JA014520
Year: 1999
Language: German
Type: ART
Aspects juridiques de l'intervention de pays membres de l'OTAN au Kosovo.
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55ème année, no. 12, décembre 1999, p. 44-62.)

Author(s):
1. Sur, Serge

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. USE OF FORCE (INTERNATIONAL LAW)
3. INTERNATIONAL LAW
4. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
5. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

ID Number: JA014798
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART

Operation Allied Force and the Role of Air Power.

Author(s):
1. Tilford, Earl H.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. AIR POWER
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

ID Number: JA014852
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Les illusions dangereuses d'une victoire aérienne.
(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 36, hiver 1999 - 2000, p. 103-116.)

Author(s):
1. Torre, Arnaud Martins da

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. AIR POWER
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
Les opérations militaires de l'OTAN contre la Yougoslavie sont l'objet de vives controverses. Certes, il n'y a pas eu d'échec militaire; cependant, les forces alliées n'ont que partiellement atteint les objectifs visés. Par ailleurs, la conduite de la campagne aérienne mit en évidence des incohérences, liées notamment au non-respect de principes doctrinaux développés au cours de précédentes interventions. Au-delà des résultats de la campagne, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur le choix du 'tout aérien'. En effet, si l'on se réfère aux concepts développés par l'USAF, il n'est pas évident qu'il s'agisse d'une option par défaut, mais plutôt d'une volonté délibérée de démontrer la supériorité de l'Air Power sur les forces terrestres et maritimes. Enfin, si les Européens ont pris conscience de la nécessité de combler le fossé technologique séparant leurs armées de celles des États-Unis, cela ne doit pas aboutir à ce que les forces européennes adoptent les principes stratégiques américains.

ID Number: JA014782
Year: 1999
Language: French
Type: ART
'Preponderant Power' : NATO and the New Balkans.

Author(s):
1. Vogel, Tobias K.
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA015051
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Air Power for Coercion.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 4, August 1999, p. 13-19.)
Author(s):
1. Walker, John
Subject(s):
1. AIR POWER
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
3. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
ID Number: JA014476
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

Fishing Dangerously in the Balkans.
Author(s):
1. Weidi, Xu
Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
Notes:
With decades of misunderstanding and friction between ethnic Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia, Kosovo was always bound to cause much pain in European security. Just like a stomach ulcer it would not cause lethal danger, if treated properly. Unfortunately, NATO has played the part of an ill-trained doctor. Driven by its selfish geo-strategic intention, it launched a surgical operation - Operation 'Allied Force' - with poor preparation.
ID Number: JA014502
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART

NATO, Russia in Kosovo.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 4, August 1999, p. 20-30.)
Author(s):
1. Yesson, Erik
Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
ID Number: JA014475
Year: 1999
Language: English
Type: ART
De NAVO en Kosovo: een crisis te ver?

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 5, mei 1999, p. 255-258.)

Author(s):
1. Zandee, Dick

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--AERIAL OPERATIONS

Notes:
The author analyses the use of air strikes by NATO to end armed struggle in the former Yugoslavia and to enforce peace settlements. In the late summer of 1995 a NATO air strikes campaign resulted in lifting the siege of Sarajevo. However, the end of the Bosnian war and the Dayton Agreement were the result of a cumulation of many factors, of which the changing strategic balance on the ground between the parties themselves was a major one. In the Kosovo crisis Milosevic was not prepared to pay the price of giving up Serbian control over the province to avoid NATO air strikes. NATO was left with no other choice than an intensified campaign of attrition, which shows that 'coercive diplomacy' has its limitations. It also reveals that every crisis is different from the previous one and that there are no golden rules for ending wars and solving conflicts.

ID Number: JA014226
Year: 1999
Language: Dutch
Type: ART

Kosovo: het luchtwapen en vredesafdwinging.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 10, oktober 1999, p. 534-538.)

Author(s):
1. Zandee, Dick

Subject(s):
1. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999
2. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999

Notes:
The author explains how NATO's air war against the federal Republic of Yugoslavia came to a successful end. He attempts to provide a balanced view on the role of NATO's air strikes in ending the Yugoslav-Serbian campaign in Kosovo. At least four factors contributed to the political breakthrough which was reached early June in Belgrade by the Finnish President Ahtisaari: the Russian consent with the essential parts of the Western demands; the threat of a ground war by NATO; the 'inofficial' coordination between the Kosovo Liberation Army and NATO; and the weakening of the internal power base of President Milosevic.

ID Number: JA014646
Year: 1999
Language: Dutch
Type: ART
Blijft de publieke opinie de NATO-acties in Servië steunen?

(TRANSAKTIE, jg. 28, nr. 2, 1999, p. 234-259.)

Author(s):
1. Everts, Ph. P.

Subject(s):
1. OPERATION ALLIED FORCE, 1999--PUBLIC OPINION
2. KOSOVO WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:
Eind maart 1999 besloot de NAVO met betrekking tot het conflict rond Kosovo dat het moment was aangegaan om de eerder achter de hand gehouden dreigementen met militair optreden, te weten luchtbombardementen tegen de Servische strijdkrachten en militaire infrastructuur kracht bij te zetten. Onzeker was hoe de internationale publieke opinie op deze acties zou reageren. Zou de verontwaardiging over het Servische wangedrag in Kosovo prevaleren over de even begrijpelijke aarzelingen over het feit dat de NAVO voor het eerst in haar bestaan het initiatief nam voor militaire actie tegen een land waardoor het bondgenootschap aangevallen noch bedreigd werd? En zou, toen snel bleek dat de eerste acties niet het beoogde resultaat hadden, ja eerder averechts uitwerkten, de initiele steun niet snel eroderen? Hoewel de oorlog op het moment nog volop gaande is en het trekken van conclusies daarom hachelijk is, lijkt het van belang nu reeds te onderzoeken hoe de publieke opinie zich in de verschillende landen ontwikkelde op de genoemde en andere relevante punten. In dit artikel gaat de auteur daarop in. Het artikel concentreert zich daarbij enerzijds op de opvattingen en de ontwikkelingen daarin in Nederland in vergelijking met die in andere landen, en gaat anderzijds in op de vraag of het beschikbare nieuw materiaal nieuw licht werpt op de zogenoemde 'slachtoffer-hypothese'. Geconcludeerd wordt dat nieuw bewijs voor deze stelling niet wordt geleverd. Enige algemene conclusies besluiten het artikel.

ID Number: JA014337
Year: 1999
Language: Dutch
Type: ART
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