The Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo

Aidan, Troy, Maddie
History of Yugoslavia-Aidan

Formed after first world war, Originally Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Invaded by Axis powers during the Second World War, after the war became the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito was the leader

Under leadership of Tito, Yugoslavia was a pioneer and leading member of the of the non-aligned movement during the cold war, rejecting both Soviet and Marshall Plan aid. However, Yugoslavia was able to export goods to both the East and West, but still had high unemployment.

Tito died on May 4th 1980. Economic crisis at similar time, large amounts of Debt to Western governments, unemployment, inflation, inequality between republics of Yugoslavia, continued throughout the 1980’s and into the 1990’s.
Yugoslav Economic Crisis-Aidan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Debt</th>
<th>Inflation</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>$18.9 billion</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>$20 billion</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>$22 billion</td>
<td>167%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMF loans were given, IMF loans typically are conditional on political changes, these can include austerity measures, deregulation to help business, decline of nationalized industries and state ownership.

Source-CIA World Factbook
Maps

Six republics within Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

Two autonomous regions within Serbia: Kosovo and Vojvodina
Timeline of the Breakup of Yugoslavia and Conflicts-Aidan

- May 1980 Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito Dies
- 1981 Economic Crisis in Yugoslavia, Albanian protests in Kosovo, seeking to become a republic
- 1986-1989 Increasing protests across Yugoslavia, rising tensions between republics, increased talk of secession in Slovenia and Croatia. Ethnic tensions also rise.
- 1990 Communist party of Yugoslavia dissolves along the lines of the different republics. Democratic elections held, nationalist parties win in different republics. Slovenia passes a referendum and decides to secede from Yugoslavia.
- 1991 Slovenia and Croatia formally declare independence, leading to war in Croatia, Yugoslav national army withdraws, however, Yugoslav national army officers sympathetic to Serbian nationalism support Serb rebels in Croatia.
- January 1992 conflicts in Croatia come to an end, both countries are recognized by the EU and the UN, UN peacekeeping forces and NATO forces come to Croatia to secure borders and keep peace.
- April 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina declares independence, starting Bosnian war. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia formed, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro the only remaining republics in Yugoslavia.
- May 1992 Yugoslav national army leaves Bosnia, leaving control to Serb Bosnian forces, UN imposes sanctions on Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, UN accepts Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia as members.
- Summer 1992 Bosnian Serb nationalists control roughly 70 percent of Bosnia, refugee crisis of Bosniaks.
- March 1992 fighting between Bosniaks and Croats.
- March 1994 fighting ends between Bosniaks and Croats.
- 1995 Croatia reclaims territory, Serbian refugees from Croatian reclamation and expansion. Srebrenica Genocide of Bosniaks at hands of Bosnian Serb Military. Dayton peace accords end war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- March 1998 fighting breaks out in Kosovo between Serb forces and ethnic Albanian forces, the KLA. Started by ethnic Albanians, preemptive.
- 1990 NATO airstrike begins
- Ethnic cleansing of ethnic Albanians begins, note this is after the NATO airstrikes have begun, this is important.
- 2001 Conflict between ethnic Albanian militants as they return to Kosovo against Yugoslav security forces.
- 2002 Milosevic is put on trial by the Hague
- 2003 Yugoslavia becomes Serbia and Montenegro
When Bosnia declared their independence from Yugoslavia in 1992, this meant war for Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadzic. Bosnian Serbs attacked the capital of Bosnia, Sarajevo. Karadzic pursued ethnic cleansing of Croatians and Muslims in Serbia. Areas of Bosnia and Croatia were carved out for “ethnically pure” Serbs to settle in. By 1993, two-thirds of Bosnia were under Serb control, but in 1994 some new developments turned the tide against the Serbs.

- Croatian Army became more advanced, and the President of Croatia entered into a military alliance with Bosnia.
- Iran, hoping to gain a foothold in Europe, sent arms shipments to Muslims in Bosnia—this was supported by the Clinton administration.

In the summer of 1995, Croats, and then Bosnians, turned the tides against the Serb nationalist forces, bringing peace nearer.
General Overview of Conflict of Kosovo-Maddie

- After his defeat in Bosnia, Milosevic started an ethnic cleansing campaign against Albanians in Kosovo.
- The Western response was to threaten NATO air strikes, in return Milosevic attempted to call their bluff and escalated his campaign.
- Milosevic planned Operation Horseshoe, a plan to force the exit of Albanians from Kosovo and in the process destroy their papers so they could not return.
- When NATO found out about this plan and the ethnic cleansing campaign, they followed through with their air strikes.
- Despite not deploying any ground forces, NATO was successful with their air strike campaign, as Milosevic’s war machine and infrastructure was beginning to crumble. In addition, the Hague indicted Milosevic and four of his closest associates.
Theories for War in Bosnia and Herzegovina—Aidan

Nationalist Theory

Realist theory (size)

Scapegoat theory

Deathwatch theory/ Capitalist Market Theory
Nationalist theory proposes that people with similar language, culture, religion and tradition band together into a nation defined by a specific piece of land, self governance and a shared national interest.

Bosnia was composed of many different ethnic groups, with large amounts of intermingling.

Following the death of Tito there was less authoritarian rule, this could have caused increased tension between the various ethnic groups leading to war.

There were instances of ethnic cleansing in the war, and divisions after the war based on ethnic lines and partitions which gives evidence to this theory, as Stoessinger argues.

However, before the war there were large amounts of intermingling between the groups, and empirically this had actually been increasing for a while, suggesting that ethnic divisions were not the cause of war but rather a symptom.

These conflicts increases because of the many borders between ethnic groups and heterogeneity of the country. In addition, many ethnic groups claimed these lands were traditional homelands, which makes conflicts more intense.
Realist theory for war in Bosnia and Herzegovina-Aidan

Serbia was the largest and most powerful republic within Yugoslavia, leading to war as Serbian nationalist leaders wanted to maintain power despite secessionist movements in the other Republics, therefore more likely to go to war and have national role conceptions.

When Bosnia and Herzegovina attempted to secede, Bosnian Serb nationalist leaders rejected the move, and created the Bosnian Serb Republic and went to war to create a place for Serbs living in Bosnia.

The Yugoslav national army was a mixture of ethnicities, however, most officers and leaders were Serbs, after Bosnia Seceded many of these soldiers simply joined the army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia, or other Serb nationalist movements in other republics.
Scapegoat Theory-Aidan

“The scapegoat theory or, alternatively, the diversionary war theory assumes that when states are beset with deteriorating economic conditions, ethnic divisions, increasing political opposition, or civil strife and rebellion, their leaders will seek to end these internal woes by initiating conflict with an external foe.”

All of the above scenarios were seen in both the Bosnian war and all of the Yugoslav wars.

Yugoslavia was facing economic crisis before the wars, with high levels of unemployment and debt, also inequality between the different republics. Political changes were happening following the death of Tito, there were political disagreements on how to move forward, and how integrated Yugoslavia should be with the west. Civil strife and rebellion were seen through protests and conflicts between seceding republics, and between ethnic groups. Ethnic divisions came as a result of these problems.

Scapegoating was used in many ways to divert attention away from these problems. Scapegoating was done in many ways, between republics, and between minority ethnic groups.

It was used to divert problems towards different ethnic groups, blaming them for problems and encouraging aggression towards them.

It was also used for political ideologies, Serbian nationalist leaders viewed the economic crisis as a result of Western aggression and economic policies forcing them into debt, as evidenced by an IMF loan, the West was also scapegoated as a problem for the country.
DeathWatch Theory/ Capitalist Market Theory-Aidan

Applied to Both the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo.

After fighting in Bosnia and Kosovo, NATO and the U.S. increase presence and intervention in former Yugoslavia, by sending peacekeeping forces after the conflict, airstrikes during the war in Kosovo. While these aren't directly wars they do show how NATO and the West wanted to increase influence during and following wars and the weakening of Yugoslavia.

Following the breakup of Yugoslavia there has been large amounts of investment into Kosovo and other countries. Evidenced by the Wesley Clark coal project (Former US general, later chair of Envidia, a Canadian Energy company.

“Kosovo’s government announced on Aug. 18 that it had approved five groups as potential bidders on the PTK stake. They include a consortium of Portugal Telecom and Albright Capital Management, a Washington (D.C.) investment firm started by the former secretary of state who urged NATO action against Serbian troops during the Kosovo conflict.”-Bloomberg Business
Theories for War in Kosovo-Aidan

Psychohistory of Slobodan Milosevic

Deathwatch Theory-NATO intervention and airstrikes
Psychohistory of Milosevic-Aidan

Slobodan Milosevic had a rough childhood, both of his parents committed suicide, this could have led him towards a power oriented personality. Domineering people often view other countries in similar ways to how they perceive other people. These personality traits could have influenced him on Serbian nationalism and his decision to invade Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Stress from the Hague as he was under investigation for war crimes could have further influenced, and put stress on him causing him to become more reckless and risky.

While this is probably not a main cause of war it is worth noting, a could make the decision process clearer. Important to remember the drawbacks to psychohistory.
Theories for Bosnia and Herzegovina

Maddie

- Conservative (Realist) Theory & Hegemonic War
- Stimulus-Response Theory and Lateral Pressure Theory
- Misperceptions as the cause of war
- Nationalism
Conservative Theory and Hegemonic War Theory-Maddie

- International system a well organized system of hegemony, with war as the way of maintaining the system’s present structure
  - Cold War: USSR presents itself as challenger to the US after World War II
- Realist Theory and Balance of Power: “stability” is whether the system can maintain itself without experiencing major wars
  - Balance affected by Cold War
- Nationalism: by being the most prosperous part of the Soviet bloc, this encouraged nationalism with loyalty to Yugoslavia, which was also encouraged by Tito
Stimulus-Response Theory and Lateral Pressure Theory - Maddie

- State's behavior depends on the actions directed upon it by other states
- Level of threat increases due to misperception or one ups-manship
- In combination with Lateral Pressure: formation of alliances and arms buildup as important actors (Choucri and North)
- In Bosnia/Herzegovina: US officers involvement in Croatia, Croatian alliance with Bosnia, and Iran arm shipments to Bosnia
Misperceptions as the Cause of War—Maddie

- Environmental factors influence decisions of leaders only if they actually perceive such elements in the environment
- Misperceptions in Bosnia: Peace plan proposed by Contact Group, Milosevic demoralizing Bosnian Serbs
Theories for Kosovo

Maddie

- Stimulus-Response Theory
- World System Theory
- Deterrence Theory
- Nationalism
Stimulus-Response Theory and Kosovo-Maddie

- Stimulus-Response Theory says that a state’s behavior depends on the actions directed upon it by other states
- War occurs as a result of miscalculation and misunderstanding
- Ethnic cleansing and Operation Horseshoe prompted NATO airstrikes
Deterrence-Maddie

- Based on threat of retaliation
World System Theory-Maddie

- US involvement in Kosovo
Theories of War: Bosnian War-Troy

-Nationalism

-Scapegoating

-Aspects of Groupthink to support these theories
Nationalism-Troy

- "Nations can be identified by certain characteristics that all its citizens hold in common (race, language, dynasty, religion, culture, or history.)"

-Serbians and Croats share these definitions in particular, while Bosnia’s multicultural population proved to be problematic.

- "Peoples have a special relationship to some particular piece of land in which their ancestors first emerged as a distinct group and flourished."

-Land is an import aspect to Nationalist thought, and the motivation for reclaiming land is demonstrated

- "The only form of government that can assure the common interest of the nation is self-government."

- Where all of the calls for independence came from in Yugoslavia
Nationalist movements...-Troy

-“Take one or more linguistic, religious, or ethnic attributes of a given group of people and claim that the attributes they have highlighted make that group a nation and entitle it to political independence in its ancestral homeland.”

-In the Bosnian War, the Serbs had a very clear stance that they were superior compared to the Bosniak Muslims

-“Arise in opposition to some internal or external nemesis,” and “Are defined by what they oppose.”

-It is clear that Milosevic gave rise to Serbian aggression by promoting action against Bosnian Muslims in order to include their fellow Serbs in a “Greater Serbia.”
Scapegoat-Troy

-The main aspect the the scapegoat theory is that there is a group of people being targeted as a way to “rally the masses around the flag.”

-After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Milosevic lead an ethnic cleansing campaign against the Bosniak Muslims in order to rally Serbians throughout Bosnia.

-Another key aspect to the scapegoat theory is that the targeting is used to cover up some type of internal strife.

-While the northern nations of the former Yugoslavia were implementing economic reform and improving their economic situations, Serbia was not introducing change as much causing them to fall behind.
- While groupthink does not necessarily give a reason as to what causes a war, it provides insight into the common goals or common ideals that a people share.

- Each nation coming out of the collapsed Yugoslavia showed some type of pride from their particular nation or ethnicity.
Theories of War: Kosovo War-Troy

-Nationalism

-Deterrence

-Internationalization of an Internal Conflict (depends on what side of the conflict someone is on)
Nationalism-Troy

-Because the Bosnian War and the Kosovo War are so closely related the overlap in theories makes sense, after all the Kosovo War happened under the same Serbian leader and happened only a few years later

-The difference between the two wars is that unlike the multicultural Bosnia, Kosovo had only two major ethnic groups. Albanians held the majority, and Serbs held the minority
-This is the idea that one group will attack another as a preemptive precautionary measure.

- The initial policy of non-aggression put into place by Albanian Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova was becoming less popular as the Albanian population was becoming frustrated by the oppression that escalated as Milosevic began stripping Kosovo of its governmental rights.

- In order to prevent the ethnic “cleansing” seen in Bosnia, and to gain their independence from Serbian controlled Yugoslavia, the KLA began armed campaigns against them.
Internationalization of an Internal Conflict-Troy

-While this was not the cause of the war, I feel it it is important to point out that from a Serbian perspective this view may have some validity.

- In an effort to reduce nationalist thought in Yugoslavia and to dilute the power Serbia would have in Yugoslavia, Tito gave Kosovo and Vojvodina autonomous governments within the Serbian province.

- Additionally, by the time the Kosovo War began, Serbia and Montenegro were the only republics under the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
Conclusion to the Conflict

- Result of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Croatia won, Bosnia lost, and Serbia was in between. The countries had clear partitions due to ethnic cleansing.
- Dayton Peace Accords in Ohio: Presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia met in Ohio to sign a peace accord.
- In 2002 Slobodan Milosevic was put on trial by the Hague, where he died before the trial could be completed. Yugoslavia eventually completely split up, Kosovo became an independent state.
Questions

How did domestic policies in the U.S. influence the decision for NATO intervention?

What other factors influenced NATO intervention besides humanitarian issues?

Were increasing ethnic divisions a cause for the breakup of Yugoslavia and the subsequent conflicts? Or were they a symptom of economic and political problems?