The violence following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia lasted for more than a decade and continues to mark the region. This volume analyses the causes of the conflict and describes its course from the onset of war in Croatia to intervention in Kosovo. The book concentrates on four key transformations: the demise of Yugoslavia and the creation of new states; the importance of nationalist ideologies in the preparation of war and their subsequent decline in the post-conflict era; the role of international actors as policy-makers, implementing agencies and arbiters; and the process of democratisation and integration into European structures. With contributions from some of the world’s leading scholars of the Balkans and personal accounts from journalists, diplomats and civil servants drawing upon their own experiences of war and transition, *War and Change in the Balkans* provides an unparalleled insight into contemporary European history.

**BRAD K. BLITZ** received his Ph.D. from Stanford University and is currently Reader in Political Geography at Oxford Brookes University. He has written extensively on the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and has taught courses in international and comparative politics, refugee and migration studies at Stanford University, the University of California Santa Cruz, Middlesex University, Roehampton University and Oxford Brookes University. He is currently completing a comparative study on freedom of movement, citizenship and exclusion in Europe.
War and Change in the Balkans
Nationalism, Conflict and Cooperation

edited by
Brad K. Blitz
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of contributors</th>
<th>page vii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 War and change</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRAD K. BLITZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Yugoslavia: state construction and state failure</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEORGE SCHÖPFLIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The politics of national homogeneity</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVO BANAC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Milošević’s motiveless malignancy</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRĐJAPOPOVIĆ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Germany and the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANIELE CONVERSI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 From Bosnia to Kosovo and beyond: mistakes and lessons</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEMAL KURSPAHIC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 American cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, 1994–1999</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILLIAM A. STUEBNER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 The European Union’s role in the Balkans</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRASER CAMERON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 The disintegration of Yugoslavia, Macedonia’s independence and stability in the Balkans</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDREW ROSSOS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 The war in Croatia</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRANKA MAGAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vi Contents

11 Negotiating peace in Croatia: a personal account of the road to Erdut
PETER GALBRAITH 124

12 The fall of Srebrenica
DAVID ROHDE 132

13 The war over Kosovo
NOEL MALCOLM 143

14 Kosovo and the prognosis for ‘humanitarian’ war
MARK BARTOLINI 156

15 The international administration of Kosovo since 1999
BRYAN HOPKINSON 169

16 After the storm: Greece’s role in reconstruction
THANOS VEREMIS 177

17 Turkey, Southeastern Europe and Russia
ALI KARAOSMANOGLU 188

18 In search of Bulgaria’s new identity: the role of diplomacy, 1989–2005
PHILIP SHASHKO 195

19 Albania, Italy and Greece: some geopolitical considerations
CAROLE HODGE 224

20 New beginnings? Refugee returns and post-conflict integration in the former Yugoslavia
BRAD K. BLITZ 239

Bibliography 267

Index 281
Contributors

IVO BANAC, is the author of With Stalin Against Tito and The National Question in Yugoslavia. A former director of the Institute of South-Eastern Europe at the Central European University, he is Bradford Durfee Professor of History at Yale University (On-leave). He served as minister for the environment in Croatia and was elected to the Croatian Parliament in the 2003 elections.

MARK BARTOLINI, was a spokesperson and press officer for the International Rescue Committee in the former Yugoslavia from 1995–96. He has served in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo and as humanitarian expert. He is currently Vice-President for Government Relations at the International Rescue Committee.

BRAD K. BLITZ, received his Ph.D. from Stanford University and has held several academic positions in the USA and United Kingdom, including a visiting fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University. He is currently Reader in Political Geography at Oxford Brookes University.

FRASER CAMERON, is Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre, Brussels. A former British diplomat, he served in New York, Bonn and East Berlin before joining the European Commission. Until 2001, he was Head of the Political and Academic Affairs Section in the Delegation of the European Commission in Washington DC. He is the author of a number of books and articles on European affairs, including The Enlargement of the European Union and The Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union: Past, Present and Future.

DANIELE CONVERSI, is Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Lincoln. He has taught at the Government and History Departments at Cornell and Syracuse Universities, as well as at the Central European University, Budapest. He is the author of The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain, German-Bashing and the Break-up of Yugoslavia and editor of Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World.
List of Contributors

Peter Galbraith, is the former US Ambassador to Croatia. He is the principal designer of the Erdut Agreement that brought an end to the Serb–Croatia fighting in Eastern Slavonia, Croatia.

Carole Hodge, is Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow and is the author of Britain and the Balkans 1991 until the present.

Bryan Hopkinson, is former British Ambassador to Bosnia and analyst with the International Crisis Group in Bosnia. He is currently director of Political Affairs in the UN Mission in Kosovo.

Ali Karaosmanoglu, is Professor of International Relations at Bilkent University in Ankara. He is a specialist in Turkish foreign policy and is a member of the Foreign Policy Institute in Ankara, and of the Political and Social Studies Foundation of Istanbul.

Kemal Kurspahic, is former Editor-in-Chief of Oslobodjene, the daily Sarajevo newspaper and is currently the Caribbean Regional Representative of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in Barbados. He is the author of As Long as Sarajevo Exists and Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace.

Branka Magas, is author of The Destruction of Yugoslavia and co-editor of The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991–95. A former member of the editorial board of New Left Review, she is currently finishing a manuscript on the history of Croatia.

Noel Malcolm, is Senior Research Fellow at All Souls College, University of Oxford. A former columnist for The Telegraph and Political Editor of The Spectator, he is the author of several studies on the Balkans, including Bosnia: A Short History and Kosovo: A Short History. In 2001 he was appointed Fellow of the British Academy.

Srdja Popovic, was a leading human rights lawyer in Belgrade and also former editor of Vreme. After spending a decade in New York he returned to Belgrade where he currently lives.

David Rohde, has covered the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia for The Christian Science Monitor and The New York Times and was awarded the 1996 Pulitzer Prize for foreign reporting. He is the author of Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica.

Andrew Rosses, is Professor of History at the University of Toronto. He is preparing a volume, Macedonia and the Macedonians: A History, for the Studies of Nationalities Series, published by the Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University.
List of Contributors ix

GEORGE SCHÖPFLIN, is former Jean Monnet Professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for the Study of Nationalism at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. He is the author of Politics in Eastern Europe 1945–1992 and Nations, Identity, Power as well as of many other works, including numerous articles on ethnicity and nationhood. In June 2004, he was elected to the European Parliament and is one of Hungary’s first MEPs.

PHILIP SHASKO, is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. His research interests and teaching are in Russian/Soviet and Southeast European social and intellectual history since the eighteenth century. He is currently working on a study of glasnost and the quest for civil society in Russia from Peter the Great to the revolutions of 1917.

WILLIAM A. STUEBNER, is Affiliate Professor in the Peace Operations Policy Program at George Mason University and former Executive Director of the Alliance for International Conflict Prevention and Resolution. In 1994 he served as special adviser to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and Chief of Staff and Senior Deputy for Human Rights of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

THANOS VEREMIS, is Professor of Modern History at the University of Athens, Department of European and International Studies, and Vice President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and President of the National Council for Education. His publications include: Action without foresight: Western Involvement in Yugoslavia; The Greek Army in Politics: From Independence to Democracy; Greece’s Balkan Entanglement.
Acknowledgements

This volume is the product of many people. Professor Ivo Banac provided the initial idea for this study and gathered together an outstanding collection of scholars and journalists when he convened a conference on the Balkans organised by the South European Studies Programme at the Central European University and Students Against Genocide at Stanford University in the Summer of 1997. Since then this volume has taken many forms and I am indebted to the contributors for their patience and dedication to this project. It has been a privilege working with each of them and I am most grateful for the relationships that have been forged as a result of our collaboration.

Valerie Millholland and Miriam Angress at Duke University provided much enthusiasm for a critical publication on the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and offered an initial contract. Valerie and Miriam responded quickly to my proposal and then waited as an early draft of the manuscript was revised to take into account the conflicts in Kosovo and Macedonia and the radical shift in international policy that occurred in 1999. Although we have opted to publish this book with Cambridge University Press, the interest shown by Duke University Press sustained this project over several years.

The move to Cambridge University Press could not have gone more smoothly. I am especially grateful to John Haslam and Karen Matthews for their support and for attracting such professional reviewers. Jackie Warren, Jo Breeze and Sheila Kane superbly managed the production and copyediting processes, respectively. From the very beginning, it has been a pleasure to work with Cambridge University Press. I would also like to record my appreciation to Michelle Bridges at Macmillan for permission to reproduce Noel Malcolm’s chapter from his acclaimed study, *Kosovo: A Short History* and to George Schöpflin for permission to reproduce his essay in this volume.

Over the years, I have been encouraged by friends and colleagues. Tin Gazivoda and John Tillinghast deserve a special mention for their constant enthusiasm. Academic colleagues Martin Baldwin-Edwards,
Daniele Conversi, Tom Gallagher, Carole Hodge, Sabrina Ramet and Andrew Rossos directed me to additional sources and provided much needed feedback on earlier drafts. In addition, a team of superb postgraduate students provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of the final manuscript. Blake Hinderyckx, Robert Guzman, Stephanie Stuart, Kristin Tamblin proofread each chapter; Wendy Cuesto, Angie Ratliff, Allison Torbet provided much needed research assistance as I checked facts and dates; and Serena Rodriguez and Tenecia Sicard assisted with the formatting and assembly of the final document. A special note of thanks goes to my polyglot assistant Eleftheria Georgiadi who dealt with the tedious task of revising a bibliography in multiple languages.

I am also grateful for the institutional support I received while I prepared this manuscript and would like to acknowledge the US Institute of Peace, the Institute of Social Science Research at Middlesex University, the Research Sub-Committee at Roehampton University and the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.

Last but not least, a very special note of appreciation to my family for their understanding and unlimited patience as I have retreated at various times to finish off this project. I could not have done so without Hayley’s welcome support and without Romilly’s equally welcome distractions.