

communism. Elections continue to be free and reasonably fair. There are laws in place for the private ownership of property, an income tax has been set to generate revenue, and there is a free press. As part of the long-term strategy to improve

life in Russia, Putin has moved to develop closer ties to the West. He is pursuing membership in the World Trade Organization and has already accepted an active role with NATO and the G-7 club (now known as the G-8).

## In Review

1. What kinds of reforms did Gorbachev introduce when he took over the leadership of the Soviet Union in 1985?
2. What was the impact of Gorbachev's reforms on the following?
  - a) the Soviet government
  - b) the Soviet economy
  - c) ethnic minorities in the former Soviet Union
  - d) the communist states of eastern Europe
  - e) relations with the West
  - f) the Cold War
3. Why did Gorbachev decide to loosen the Soviet Union's tight control of the Soviet bloc republics in Eastern Europe? How did the republics respond to this action? What was the result?
4. What did the leaders of the Moscow coup hope to accomplish? In what ways did the coup bring about the end of the Soviet Union?
5. What have been some of Russia's problems and accomplishments since the collapse of communism?

## Yugoslavia: A Nation Divided

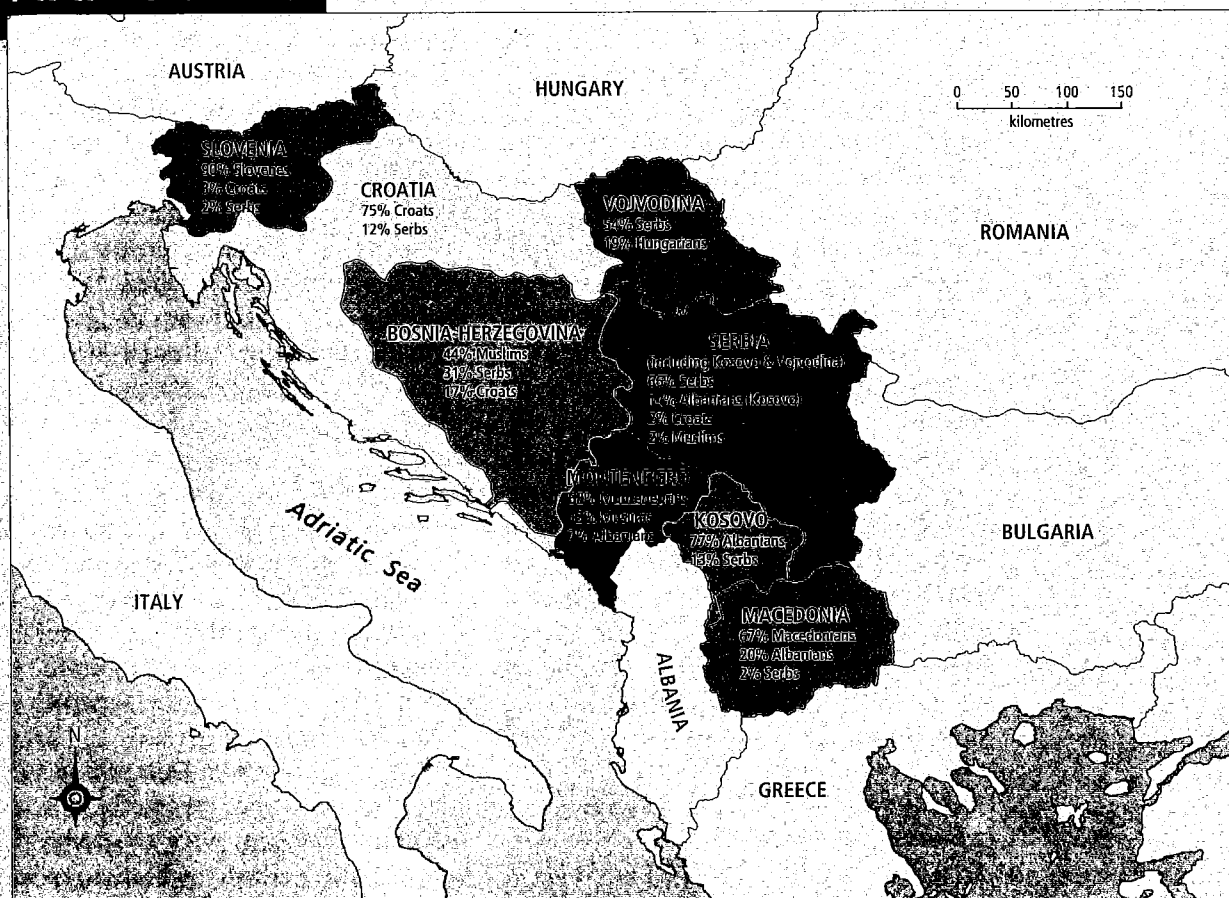
The end of the Soviet Union created a power vacuum in Eastern Europe. Most newly independent nations remained relatively intact after the fall of Soviet communism. In other cases, for example Czechoslovakia, the nation voted for partition and peacefully divided. Yugoslavia, however, was different. There, ethnic and nationalist forces exploded into violence.

Yugoslavia was created following the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War. The new nation was formed by amalgamating the

Balkan provinces of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Vojvodina, and the independent state of Montenegro. In 1941, Hitler invaded Yugoslavia, but the Nazi forces encountered a strong resistance movement led by Josip Broz Tito, the head of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Tito's success in resisting the Nazis earned him the popularity and support to lead the new Yugoslav government after the war. He was the nation's dictator for 35 years, from 1945 to 1980. Tito's Yugoslavia was made up of six republics: Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Serbia.

Tito also unified his people by resisting Soviet efforts to control Yugoslavia.

## MAP STUDY

**Figure 7.13**

The New States of the Former Yugoslavia, with Ethnic Breakdown Before the 1990 Civil War

Yugoslavia's ethnic diversity was further complicated by religious differences. Approximately 9 per cent of Yugoslavs were Muslims, living mainly in Bosnia and Herzegovina; 30 per cent, mostly Croats and Slovenes, were Roman Catholic; and about 50 per cent were Eastern Orthodox Catholics.

**Interpreting**

1. All states but one have a majority ethnic population. Which state does not?
2. Why might Kosovo want to become part of Albania?
3. Which state has the highest percentage of Muslims?

Unlike his neighbours in Eastern Europe, he stood up to Stalin and refused to allow the country to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. Tito's popularity and power was such that even Stalin was reluctant to force a military confrontation. In 1948, Tito expelled Soviet military advisors

and, in return, the Soviet Union expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform.

When Tito died in 1980, Yugoslavia was prosperous, peaceful, and independent. The Olympic Games in Sarajevo in 1984 were considered a showpiece to mark the nation's entry into the global mainstream.

### CROATIA, SLOVENIA, AND SERBIA

Despite relative independence from Soviet control, the disintegration of the USSR in the late 1980s had a profound impact on Yugoslavia. The collapse of Soviet communism triggered the fragmentation of the Yugoslav federation into competing ethnic and political groups.

After Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia's various ethnic and religious groups began raising their nationalist voices to demand greater **autonomy**. Without Tito's strong leadership, the Communist Party was unable to contain the discord. Meanwhile, charismatic leaders in the republics, such as Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Serbian Republic, were convinced that their interests were not being well served by the Yugoslav federation. The collapse of communism in Poland and the Soviet Union hurt the Communist Party in Yugoslavia. In 1990, multi-party elections were held in the republics and the communists were defeated everywhere except in Serbia and Montenegro.

The breakup of Yugoslavia began in late 1990, when Croatia adopted constitutional reforms proclaiming the republic as a sovereign state of the Croats. No mention was made of the 12 per cent of the population that was Serbian. In response, the Serbs in Croatia seized control of small areas and declared these **enclaves** as autonomous Serb territory. They were supported by the government in Serbia, which applied economic and military pressure on the Croatian government, including the use of the Yugoslav army in Croat-Serb clashes within Croatia. The Serbs demanded that the boundaries of the two republics be redrawn so that Serbian enclaves in Croatia would become part of the Serbian Republic.

In June 1991, both Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared themselves

independent. The Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army attempted to prevent the separations, but they were defeated by the Slovenian forces in a 10-day war. The Yugoslav army retreated into Croatia, where fighting between the Serbs and the Croats intensified. In the breakaway republics, militias were formed to defend the newly proclaimed nations. Various ethnic communities armed themselves and dug into defensive enclaves. The fighting raged throughout 1991, killing thousands of soldiers and civilians.

### BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND SERBIA

By the end of 1991, it was clear that the Serbian government had failed to prevent the disintegration of Yugoslavia. It had won only token protection for Serbs in Slovenia and Croatia. The Serbs were determined to prevent the separation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The population of Bosnia was 44 per cent Muslim, 31 per cent Serbian, and 17 per cent Croatian, with the remainder being of other ethnic and religious backgrounds. The Muslims and Croats voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence in a referendum in February 1992. Unwilling to see the largest group of Serbs outside Serbia become a minority within a new country, the government of the Serbian Republic, under Slobodan Milosevic, launched a full-scale assault on Bosnia. Serb forces moved into Serbian enclaves in Bosnia-Herzegovina in an attempt to eliminate all Muslims and Croats from these regions. People were driven out of their homes, and houses were systematically burned down to prevent the return of the expelled Muslim or Catholic residents. This policy of forcing ethnic groups out of a region became known as "**ethnic cleansing**." By its nature, ethnic cleansing was directed at civilians.

"In the region that  
used to be  
Yugoslavia, war is  
becoming a way of  
life. Values have  
been turned upside  
down. Criminals are  
turned into heroes  
and patriots.  
Adolescents are  
taught to be killers."

— Helsinki Citizens  
Assembly, "Appeal to Stop  
the War in Yugoslavia," *HCA  
Newsletter*, Prague, 1992

The tragedy of Yugoslavia began to attract world attention and intervention. The European Community recognized the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 5 April 1992. The United Nations demanded an end to the violence, but was ignored. Both the EC and the UN imposed harsh economic sanctions against Serbia. In the media battle for world opinion, particularly in the US, Serbia became the villain in the conflict. Russia offered token moral support for Serbia but was not willing to alienate the West. UN peacekeeping forces were established in Bosnia to keep the airport in Sarajevo operational and to protect the limited civilian relief shipments. These forces had neither the mandate nor the military capability to impose peace.

Through 1992 the fighting in Bosnia escalated. Ceasefires were negotiated, but they lasted only a few days. By September, Yugoslavia (now the combined republics of Serbia and Montenegro) was expelled from the United Nations. By the spring of 1993, Serb forces had continued to make inroads into Muslim territory. The security of the UN peacekeeping forces stationed in the region was threatened, and the West began to talk of military intervention by NATO.

A peace proposal, which would have divided Bosnia into three ethnic regions, was rejected by Bosnian Muslim leaders, and this added to the push for a military solution. Serbian offensives were met with NATO ultimatums to withdraw. After considerable arm-twisting by the US, NATO members agreed to participate in military intervention in Yugoslavia. This decision was controversial because NATO was formed as a defensive alliance against the spread of Soviet communism in Europe. Now NATO was in the middle of a Serbian civil war and involved in a peacemaking operation, normally reserved for the UN.

In February 1994, NATO launched its first combat mission since its inception in 1949 with a limited bombing raid against a Serbian stronghold. Throughout it all, UN peacekeeping forces tried to fulfill their dangerous mission of protecting civilians and keeping supply lines open. Yugoslavia became a confusing mix of NATO peacemaking and UN peacekeeping operations—and both failed to provide lasting peace in the region.

Throughout 1994 and 1995 the conflict continued. No peace proposal satisfied all groups, since each proposal was viewed as giving up too much territory to a rival group. In 1995, Milosevic participated in negotiations for a peace settlement at Dayton, Ohio. These meetings culminated in the Dayton Accord. The accord concluded the three-year Bosnia-Herzegovinian war by acknowledging a Serb republic and a Muslim-Croat federation within the state's existing borders.

**"Countries don't give their troops to the UN in trust to be killed trying to implement a really lousy cease-fire agreement arranged by a bunch of diplomats and politicians. That's what is happening in Yugoslavia."**

— Major-General Lewis Mackenzie, former officer in command of UN forces in Bosnia, in the *Toronto Star*, 30 January 1993



**Figure 7.14**

Canadian members of the NATO-led stabilization force patrol the western Bosnian town of Drvar in May 1998.

### KOSOVO

In 1989, Milosevic, the Serbian president and ardent Serb nationalist, revoked the autonomy of the Serbian province of Kosovo. Kosovo's major ethnic group, the Albanians, protested with mass demonstrations. During the demonstrations the Serbian police killed 23 Kosovars. Over the next nine years, tensions and violence escalated between the Serbs and ethnic Albanians. In 1998 civil war broke out between the Serbian forces and the ethnic Albanians' Kosovo Liberation Front (KLF).

Serbian security forces killed thousands of ethnic Albanians as they implemented the policy of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. This created an exodus of more than one million refugees and led to an international outcry and a call to end the violence in Kosovo.

The massive humanitarian crisis worsened with the increasing flood of ethnic Albanian refugees into Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Some Kosovars were air-transferred out, but an estimated 800 000 struggled to survive in refugee camps.

In March 1999 the US-led NATO bombing campaign of Serbia began. More than 3500 missions were flown by NATO forces before the Serbian government withdrew its troops from Kosovo on June 10. During the conflict the Serbian government accused NATO of deliberately bombing civilian targets. NATO admitted to some mistakes but accused the Serbs of using civilians to protect their troops.

The devastation of Kosovo was captured by the media around the world as ethnic Albanians returned to the rubble of destroyed tracts of land and property. However, the defeated Serbs in Kosovo now fled to avoid revenge attacks and reprisals by the Albanians. NATO forces supervised the refugees' return and tried to keep the peace between the two groups,



**Figure 7.16**

Ethnic Albanians returning to rubble where their homes used to be after NATO forces cleared the way for them to return to Kosovo. Canadian peacekeeping troops participated in the UN mission to keep the peace between the Albanians and Serbs. Check the UN Web site for an update on the UN peacekeeping operation in Kosovo.

while the UN's World Food Program airlifted food and supplies into the area. The European Union and NATO began the enormous process of reconstruction to restore housing, municipal services, and civil and judicial administration.

Many sanctions against Serbia by the international community were lifted after the Serbian people removed Milosevic from power and elected a democratic government. Peace and security for the region will be hard to restore, however. Ethnic hatreds have a long history in the Balkans, and many fear that NATO's military intervention could provoke a wider conflict involving Russia and militant Muslim groups in the region.

## In Review

1. After the Second World War, Yugoslavia was made up of six republics with a mixture of ethnic groups and religions. What percentage of Yugoslavs were Eastern Orthodox Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Muslim? Match the predominant ethnic groups with each religion.
2. Why was Yugoslavia relatively peaceful under Tito's leadership?
3. What effect did the dissolution of the Soviet Union have on most Soviet bloc nations? What effect did it have on Yugoslavia?
4. What is meant by the term "ethnic cleansing"? Give examples of how this policy was applied in the various conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.
5. Why did NATO intervene against the Serbs? Why was this a controversial decision?

## Demilitarization

Like its American counterpart, the military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union was extremely powerful. Some 10 million people were employed in military-related industries, accounting for 25 per cent of the Gross National Product. In the Russian republic, almost 50 per cent of all manufacturing was for the military. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, however, this powerful sector of the Russian economy collapsed, creating more economic chaos in its wake.

The Red Army had some four million troops, about half of them from Russia. Soviet troops had begun to withdraw from the satellite nations of Eastern Europe in 1988 and they continued to do so until 1994. This was an enormous undertaking because of the sheer numbers of troops, weapons, and materials involved. Many of these troops returned home, not to the country they had left, the Soviet Union, but to their newly independent republics.

Absorbing these troops back into civilian life presented difficulties for these new and changing societies. Upon their return, many soldiers found themselves competing for housing and jobs. The resettlement of such large numbers of military personnel placed an additional burden on already fragile economies.

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union effectively disbanded the Warsaw Pact. Its Western counterpart, NATO, began to search for a new role. With the Cold War over, Canada and the United States questioned the need for their troops to remain in Europe as part of the NATO commitment. Canada gradually removed its troops from Europe, and the United States made major reductions in its forces. However, NATO did not disband. It found a new mission in Kosovo as a peacemaker for the world, and began to enlarge its membership to include former communist adversaries.