

**NATO's Eastward Expansion
and Peace-enforcement Role in the Violent Dissolution
of Yugoslavia: 1994 - 2004**

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Discipline
of Politics, School of History and Politics, The University of Adelaide,
October 2007

ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Cold War, political and geographical realities have changed considerably. One such reality was the balance of power between East and West, which was especially visible in Europe. The contest between rivals, the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), was over. Ultimately, NATO found itself the pre-eminent security organisation in Europe. The new post-cold war environment forced questions about the appropriate role for NATO. However, that changed with both the process of NATO expansion into former Warsaw pact countries and the ethnic conflicts throughout the former Yugoslavia. NATO found a new purpose during the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia as 'peace-enforcer' in the Balkan region.

The focus of this thesis is NATO's role in peace-enforcement in the former Yugoslavia. It examines how NATO dealt with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. Specifically, how NATO managed to re-establish its relevance as a security organisation. NATO's military intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo were crucial in securing the end of hostilities in both those regions. NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR), Stabilisation Force (SFOR) and Kosovo Force (KFOR) all played significant roles in subsequent peace-enforcement and peace-building roles in the region by suppressing violence through power projection and institution building. In 2001, NATO undertook a third operation in the Balkans, that time of a more limited nature, disarming ethnic Albanians in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. NATO's presence there also encouraged stability.

This thesis argues that, ultimately, NATO maintained its relevance by the establishing a new role for itself after the Cold War through Eastward expansion and in suppressing ethnic conflict in the Balkans. Both these roles have been successful. The decisive interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and FYROM forced the belligerents to stop fighting. NATO's subsequent enforcement of the peace has stopped each conflict from flaring up again. With NATO membership now including most of Europe, it remains the only viable security organisation on the continent. NATO's effectiveness as a security organisation was demonstrated with its ability to end the conflict in the Balkans and providing a stable environment for the people of the region. This intervention was crucial to the definition of a new role for NATO in the post-Cold War world.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University or either tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give my consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan or photocopying.

Signed

Paul Tsoundarou

Date:

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been written without the contribution of many people dear to me. Firstly, I would like to extend my warmest and most heart felt gratitude to my principal supervisor, Dr. Felix Patrikeeff, who lent me not only his professional guidance, which was most insightful, but also his morale support. No matter the challenges I faced and especially when I lost faith in myself, Felix was able with his words of support, to lift my spirits. Many thanks for his support and friendship. Also, I would like to acknowledge with much appreciation and thanks the efforts of my co-supervisor, Dr. Clement Macintyre, who three times throughout my candidature had to step into the breach. His commitment to assisting me progress with my work, whilst under heavy pressure with other commitments as head of discipline, was deeply appreciated. His words of encouragement and professional advice were always accepted with enormous gratitude. My sincere thanks are also extended to Associate Professor Carol Johnson and Associate Professor Paul Corcoran, who as postgraduate coordinators, were always supportive in that role.

Dedicating time to my thesis would not have been possible without financial support. To that end, my sincere appreciation to Dr. Felix Patrikeeff, Dr. Bhumitra Chakma and Associate Professor Peter Mayer from the Discipline of Politics at the University of Adelaide for their support. Also I am also grateful to the academic staff at the School of International Studies at the University of South Australia and the School of Political and International Studies at Flinders University for providing me with opportunities to teach in their courses, these opportunities were invaluable in my professional development and experience. They continued to look after me throughout my candidature, so thank you for your encouragement and support.

I would also like to thank my fellow postgraduates, whom over the years have become good friends. Thanks especially for letting me expressing my doubts, expectations and goals over endless cups of coffee and tea throughout my PhD candidature, there are too many of you to name, but you know who you all are.

Finally, to my family and friends, but especially to my wife Amanda who has been an inspiration to me. Thank you for loving me, being there for me when I have been down on myself during this long process. You have looked after me with encouragement, dedication, inspiration and patience. I hope you will find as much relief and joy with the completion of this thesis as I will. This work is dedicated to you.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- BiH** – Bosnia and Herzegovina
- CIA** – Central Intelligence Agency
- COMINFORM** – Communist Information Bureau
- CPY** – Communist Party of Yugoslavia
- CSCE** – Council of Security and Cooperation in Europe (Now known as OSCE)
- DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT** – November 1995 Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina
- EAM – ELAS** –
- EEC** – European Economic Community
- EU** – European Union
- FRY** – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- FYROM** – Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- ICTY** – International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
- IFOR** – Implementation Force (NATO forces deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- IMF** – International Monetary Fund
- JNA** – Yugoslav People’s Army
- KFOR** – Kosovo Force (NATO forces deployed in Kosovo)
- KLA** – Kosovo Liberation Army
- LCY** – League of Communists of Yugoslavia
- MASPOK** – Masovni Pokret (Mass Movement for Croatian Uprising in 1971)
- MUP** – Serbian Secret Police
- NAC** – North Atlantic Council
- NATO** – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
- NATO – RPJC** – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – Russian Permanent Joint Council
- NDH** – Croatian Ustache State declared in 1941
- NLA** – National Liberation Army
- NO FLY ZONE** – established in Bosnia and Herzegovina by NATO air patrols
- OPERATION ALLIED FORCE** – NATO Military Action in Yugoslavia
- OPERATION AMBER FOX** – NATO Operation in FYROM
- OPERATION DELIBERATE FORCE** – NATO Military Action in Bosnia
- OPERATION JOINT ENDEAVOUR** – NATO’s implementation mandate in Bosnia
- OSCE** – Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe

RAMBOULLIET ACCORD – Peace Plan signed by Kosovo Albanians (1999)
RSA – Republika Srpska Armije (The Bosnian Serb Army)
SAFE HAVEN – UN protected zones within Bosnia and Herzegovina
SANU – Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
SAP – Socialist Autonomous Province
SFOR – Stabilisation Force – (NATO's initial deployment in Bosnia)
SFRY – Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
TDF – Territorial Defense Force
UCK – Albanian Acronym for the KLA
UN – United Nations
UNEF II – United Nations Emergency Force II
UNHCR – United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICYP – United Nations force in Cyprus
UNMIK – United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNPROFOR – United Nations Protection Force – Deployed in Croatia and Bosnia
UNSC – United Nations Security Council
USS – United States Ship
USSR – The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vecernje Novosti – A newspaper in Serbia
VJ – Yugoslav Army
WEU – Western European Union
YPA – Slovenian Opposition Group

MAPS OF NATO MEMBERS AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

NATO Member States



NOTE: This map is included on page xi of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: NATO E-Generation Maps website, <http://www.nato.int/icons/map/b-map.jpg>

Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1991)



NOTE: This map is included on page xii of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Yugoslavia 1990: *Before the Break-up*, www.geographic.org,
<http://www.geographic.org/maps/former_yugoslavia_maps.html>