

**EUROPE**  
*and the*  
**BALKANS**  
INTERNATIONAL NETWORK

# THE YUGOSLAV WAR, EUROPE AND THE BALKANS: HOW TO ACHIEVE SECURITY?

edited by Stefano Bianchini and Paul Shoup

Longo Editore Ravenna

*Scientific Committee*

Stefano Bianchini, Ernest Gellner, George Schöpfli, Mihály Fülöp,  
Dušan Janjić, Alla Jaz'kova, Craig Nation, Žarko Puhovski,  
Rudolf Rizman, Paul Shoup, Jan Škaloud, Vera Vangeli

*Editor-in-Chief:* Stefano Bianchini

*Managing Editor:* Giorgio Berardi

*Graphic Designer:* Stefania Adani

*English Editors:* Kate Cucugliello Nation, R. Craig Nation

This volume is published with financial support from:  
Forlì City Council (Italy)

ISBN 88-8063-063-6

© Copyright 1995 A. Longo Editore

Via P. Costa, 33, 48100 Ravenna

Tel. (0544) 217026 Fax 217554

All rights reserved

Printed in Italy

## Contents

page	7	Introduction, by Paul Shoup
		PART ONE – In Search of a New Geopolitical Balance in Former Yugoslavia
	13	Stefano Bianchini <i>The Collapse of Yugoslavia: Sources of Its Internal Instability</i>
	31	Carl-Ulrik Schierup <i>Eurobalkanism. Ethnic Cleansing and the Post-Cold War Order</i>
	45	Žarko Papić <i>Dictatorship, War, and Democracy in Former Yugoslavia</i>
	51	Paul Shoup <i>Civil Society, the State and the War in Bosnia: Some Observations</i>
	63	Dušan Janjić <i>Serbia Between the Past and the Future</i>
	73	Il'ja Levin <i>"Neopanslavism": Mutuality in the Russian-Serbian Relationship</i>
	83	Jože Pirjevec <i>The Levant and Central Europe in the History of Former Yugoslavia</i>
	93	Loredana Bogliun Debeljuh <i>The Istrian Euroregion. Socio-Cultural Situation and Problems</i>

PART TWO – How to Guarantee National Security in the Balkans

- page 109 George Schöpflin  
*Civil Society and Nationhood*
- 117 Håkan Wiberg  
*Security and Identity in Former Yugoslavia*
- 129 Mario Zucconi  
*The Legacy of the “Gray Area”*
- 141 Alla A. Jaz’kova  
*Regional Integration Processes and the Problem of Security in the Balkans*
- 149 Luigi Vittorio Ferraris  
*Contemporary Italy and the Balkan Crisis*
- 157 Albert Bininašvili  
*Turkey and the Balkans in the 1990s*
- 165 Žarko Puhovski  
*Is a Post-Yugoslav Peace Possible?*
- 177 Conclusions, by Stefano Bianchini

## INTRODUCTION

After more than four years of war in the former Yugoslavia, it has become clear that ethnic conflicts in the Balkans will continue to challenge Europe well into the next decade and beyond. Diplomats, politicians and scholars are now seeking to understand the problems created by the war in Yugoslavia in a longer-term perspective. There is a growing appreciation that these conflicts will not be easily or quickly resolved. They constitute an unstable social infrastructure for the development of democratic political institutions, as well as a threat to the security of South-East Europe and to the stability of the rest of Europe.

As the realization of the gravity of these problems has spread, efforts to address the underlying causes of ethnic conflict have multiplied. The present volume grows out of a number of meetings held in Bologna and Forli in December 1993 and December 1994, under the auspices of the University of Bologna and "Europe and the Balkans", an international network of scholars concerned with problems of Southeastern Europe. the purpose of the gatherings was to identify the underlying issues that must be addressed by Europe in its policies toward ex-Yugoslavia and the steps which might be taken to ameliorate the underlying conditions which have led to ethnic strife in the region. Under the assumption that the origins of ethnic conflict are complex and multi-faceted, scholars from a variety of disciplines and from many European countries participated in the two meetings. A selection of papers given at these meetings follows.

The thread that runs through all the chapters to follow is that of a deeply troubled region whose dysfunctionalities are largely, but not exclusively, the product of the history of Southeastern Europe and the conditions under which Yugoslavia disintegrated after 1989. The value of these essays lies in their

illustration of the variety of ways in which these dysfunctionalities have expressed themselves: in the 'Balkanization of Europe' (Carl-Ulrik Schierup); in the 'instability arc' stretching from the Balkans to Southern Russia and Central Asia (Alla Jaz'kova); in the cultural discontinuities between Central Europe and the Levant (Jože Pirjevec); and in the quasi-colonial status of Bosnia-Herzegovina prior to her independence (Paul Shoup). Last but not least, several of the authors deal with the rise of bureaucratic nationalism in Serbia (Dušan Janjić, George Schöpflin, and Il'ja Levin).

The contributors to this volume have put forth a variety of explanations for the Yugoslav crisis. In a number of the essays to follow, the underlying or primary cause for the violence and ethnic conflict in ex-Yugoslavia is traced to the behavior of the national actors themselves, above all, Serbia. Yet the reasons for Serb behavior in the Yugoslav crisis are clearly complex. Håkan Wiberg and George Schöpflin both point out that the transition experienced by the Serbs outside Serbia proper – from the role of a dominant ethnic group to a minority in a hostile environment following the collapse of Yugoslavia – was a catalyst for the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Others, notably Jože Pirjevec, see the Serb role in promoting the conflict as a reflection of a cultural tradition of violence rooted in the nation's *Levantine* past.

Dušan Janjić pays special attention to the conflict between liberal and national traditions within Serbia. Not only does Janjić suggest that the latter are in the ascendancy, but that the very conditions under which democracy and liberal traditions can survive in Serbia are being undermined. This is taking place not simply because of the absence of a democratic tradition, argues Janjić, but because Serbia is an 'incomplete state' without ascertainable boundaries, in some respects a nation at war with herself. Žarko Puhovski makes much the same point about Croatia, asserting that there can be no democracy in Croatia without the return of territories seized by the Serb minority during the 1991 civil war.

The essays on Serbia suggest that peace and democracy in the ex-Yugoslav republics cannot be expected unless boundary issues are resolved and the isolation of Serbia from Europe is ended. At the same time, many of the contributors to this volume express doubts that these steps will solve the underlying problems which have created the present situation.

As Mario Zucconi points out, the conflict in Croatia and Bosnia has demonstrated that Europe has failed to act decisively in addressing the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia. In his account of the origins of the civil war in Croatia, Zucconi suggests that the Europeans and Americans had the capability to shape the outcome of the conflict. What was missing, in his view, was the willingness of Europe and the United States to act in unison in the crucial early phase of the civil war. Professor Ferraris, in his contribution on the role of Italy in the Yugoslav crisis, takes this observation a step further, noting that Italy played a marginal role in EC deliberations on Yugoslavia, and that both Croatia and Serbia were unwilling

to allow Italian troops to participate in the UNPROFOR peace-keeping effort. Under the circumstances, Professor Ferraris asks whether Italy should not have viewed the Yugoslav crisis from the point of view of Italian self-interest, rather than as a member of the European Community. In the contrasting approaches by Zucconi and Ferraris lies the potential for future discord, as a failure in leadership (Zucconi) breeds a cynicism and focus on self-interest (Ferraris) in the European Union's policies toward the Yugoslav successor states.

A number of the contributors to this volume suggest that a remedy to the conflict in Bosnia will not be found in diplomatic or military intervention by the West. Stefano Bianchini traces the collapse of Yugoslavia to structural problems in the Titoist system which expressed themselves in the emphasis on territoriality as the organizing principle of the political system. In a backlash against Titoism, the new national states have stressed homogeneity as the precondition for survival, and the presence of ethnic differences as synonymous with ungovernability. In Bianchini's view it will be possible to change this prevailing mind-set only by dealing with the long-term cultural and psychological tensions generated by the collapse of Yugoslavia. In his words, "it is necessary to make a cultural effort". It follows, in Bianchini's view, that Europe's security must be defined in the broadest possible fashion. Not only military, but also economic, political and cultural issues should be analyzed when matters of security are under discussion.

Carl-Ulrik Schierup, in his essay on 'Eurobalkanism', is also concerned lest the crisis in the former Yugoslavia be cast in purely military or diplomatic terms, but goes a step further to question whether the disintegrative nationalist characteristic of Southeastern Europe can be understood apart from the disruptive effects of global economic trends, and the latent 'Balkanization' of Europe itself. In posing the question in this fashion, Professor Schierup suggests that exogenous, as well as endogenous factors have played a role in the Yugoslav crisis, and that without addressing these problems, primarily of an economic character, a lasting solution to the instability of the successor states to Yugoslavia, and of Southeastern Europe generally, will prove elusive.

What, then, can be done to promote stability and security in Southeastern Europe? The authors of this volume, despite their differences in approach, share a common concern that Europe and the United States will view the collapse of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia as a regional problem which can be allowed to fester indefinitely as long as it does not spread beyond Southeastern Europe. There is general agreement that three problems must therefore be addressed.

The first problem is that of failed states. The problem arises primarily from the inability of these states to establish secure and agreed-upon borders. Žarko Puhovski's insistence that Croatia must regain the territory she lost with the break-up of Yugoslavia illustrates the nature of the problem. Without some alterations of the AVNOJ borders of Tito's Yugoslavia, it is doubtful that an equitable solution to the questions of territory and security can be found in respect to the Yugoslav

successor states. This is true especially because of the need of the Bosnian federation for territory commensurate with her population and her security needs. Only after the question of boundaries is settled can the fixation on territoriality, which the contributors to this volume decry, be overcome.

The second problem is that of a lack of will on the part of regional powers to act decisively to end the Yugoslav conflict. The contributors to this volume do not suggest precisely how this problem is to be overcome. Yet a consensus exists among these European scholars that the problem cannot be evaded by transferring responsibility to the United Nations or blaming the United States. In brief, the framework for a lasting peace in the Balkans must be created through efforts of the Europeans themselves, with the support of non-regional actors (especially the United States) and the United Nations.

The third major problem lies in dealing with those factors which promote nationalism and discourage the growth of a civic culture in Southeastern Europe. The contributors to this volume are divided among those who see the issue in terms of the behavior of specific states, for the most part Serbia, and those who see the root of the problem in the prevalence of ethnic nationalism and the absence of a civic society in Southeastern Europe in general. Regardless, a return to civility and democracy, the authors agree, will be long and difficult. Isolating the aggressor state or states from the rest of Europe would not solve the problem. The task of altering values and changing attitudes must be decoupled from politics, and addressed over the longer term, by education, cooperation, and overcoming the fear of living in a society which is not ethnically homogeneous. To achieve this end also requires that war criminals be prosecuted, without regard to the side on which they fought.

If these long-term issues are to be addressed, meanwhile, perceptions in the West must change. The view that the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is purely a local problem resulting from the peculiarities of the Balkan mentality is rejected by virtually all of the contributors, who see the crisis in terms of the broader challenge of sustaining liberal values and a civic culture at a time when the struggle against communism no longer serves to unite Europe and the West. Hopefully, the essays that follow will help to focus attention on the scope of the problem and the obstacles that must be overcome if stability and security are to be realized over the longer term in this strategically vital part of the world.

*Paul Shoup*