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

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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.

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Signed

Paul Tsoundarou

Date:
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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

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