

6. Security Issues of Yugoslavia with the Changes in South-East Europe

I Introduction

There are a number of reasons why it could be reasonably stated that the tectonic geopolitical changes that have occurred in the last decade are unique in the political history of Europe and the world so far. To this it shall be added that, for a scientific study of the case, a certain historic distance is required to allow the researcher to distinguish more reliably between those aspects of events being “occurrences of longer duration” within a dense “dust of events” on the one hand and the chronological history, so rapidly taking place in front of our eyes, on the other.

Still, within the decade following downfall of the so-called bipolarism having already passed, certain specifics have become already very much evident: globality in spatial scope, whereby changes in any area of this time truly a world system, have effect upon the system as a whole can be understood and, even more important, intentions exist by those who are decisively shaping the distribution of power and mainframe of the overall system to impose primarily their vested interests, targets and values to each part of the System.

Such attempts, when the concept of international system is concerned, to “chain link“ parts of the system into its whole until the distinctions of such parts become unrecognisable, logically viewed, lead to complete amorphousness of the system’s structure. Viewed through any of its part, thus its whole becomes “visible” - *pars pro toto*.

II The International Order has Changed

Bearing the above stated in mind, when the subjects of the international system are concerned, another specific of the changes in the last decade becomes apparent: the changes that are taking place are not only in building a new order of states in the world system’s hierarchy ladder, but a new, all encompassing civilisation model is being established which does not provide for sovereign states as the main subjects of international relations any more. The previous international order of about two hundred sovereign states is being “ironed out” by a technologically unrestrained globalisation process. This conflict of the old, but not “obsolete”, system of states and the peculiar “global consumer society” in the final form, objectives and consequences of which are difficult to predict at present, is exposed in particular by the controversial role of the United Nations, the leading world organisation, that had epitomised the world order of sovereign states as its main factors until the end of the “cold war“.

This brief, apparently redundant, “excursion“ through the “icy deserts of abstractions” (*Adorno*) of international relations is an unavoidable introduction and sets the framework for any valid analysis and understanding of security issues facing the FR of Yugoslavia and the countries of Southeast Europe in the post-bipolar era. Involved here, *inter alia*, are the deadly issues not only of theory and philosophy, but, even more, of the “actual truth of the cause” (*verita effeualle delle cose*) of the current international relations.

There are reasons, therefore, in the claim that the NATO military intervention against the FR of Yugoslavia without a mandate from the UN Security Council represents the final blow (*coup de grace*) to the international order of sovereign states, institutionally and legally

supported by the United Nations. It can be clearly seen that much bigger cards are “on the table” than the simple security of one particular state.

The bombing intervention that, in the words of leaders of this currently mightiest military-political alliance, was launched “for humanitarian causes” had surfaced numerous new and important issues which, when the FR of Yugoslavia, Southeast and the entire Europe are concerned, expose major uncertainties to us. The newly created state of the matter, in respect of the FR of Yugoslavia’s security, is much more complex and contains realistic hazards that, according to the “domino theory“, threaten the peace and stability within the region and far outside it. These are the matters that are being studied in detail at the Institute of Geopolitical Studies in Belgrade within a number of its research projects.

III What is the crux of the matter?

Even if we accept, in the final analysis that humanitarian reasons as the cause of military intervention had preponderance over the respect of the UN international and legal order and that these reasons existed as such, the situation created in the Southern Serbian province testifies that none of the alleged causes for intervention had not been real. To this date, the multinational forces under the UN flag, the civil administration and the so called protective forces, have failed to meet their obligations assumed under the Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council.

After all, Kosovo and Metohija have failed to become, even symbolically, a multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious community. Violence, murders, kidnapping, abductions and harassment of the non-Albanian population are the order of the day which, unfortunately, international forces are unable to put a stop to. The monuments of Serbian material and spiritual culture are being erased with the intent to completely obliterate the traces of eight centuries of the presence of the Serb nation in Kosovo and Metohija. A contribution to that drive, among other things, is the renaming of the UÇK into a quasi-protective force - in contravention of the UNSC Resolution 1244 and the *Kumanovo* military-technical accord.

Should the most responsible international factors, by their doing or failing to do, allow the process of ethnic cleansing of non-Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija to be completed, that will, whether we like it or not, widely open the gates for “Greater Albania“. Such a development of events that means the possible breakdown of the FR of Yugoslavia’s territorial integrity will have tragic effects on the peace and security of the entire region. Any revision of the “bloody borders” (Huntington) in the Balkans will inevitably lead to a war of unforeseeable dimensions. For its prevention the major responsibility rests with multinational forces stationed in this Serbian province. Already now, we are witnessing - due to the inefficiency of KFOR and UNMIK — a major spill-over of crime, drugs, arms and white slavery trading, as well as an unchecked movement of people between the FR of Yugoslavia (Kosovo & Metohija), Albania and Macedonia. Albania proper represents a particular threat to the stability and security of all countries in the region, being a country in a chronic state of disorder and a traditional and current trouble-maker in the Balkans.

The necessary precondition to overcome this state of affairs is the strict observation of the UNSC Resolution 1244 and the creation of conditions for the return of all non-Albanian exiles, regardless of their national and religious affiliation and a guarantee of the basic human rights to all inhabitants of the province. To that effect, the return of Yugoslav border troops and police, pursuant to the Resolution 1244, would have a favourable effect on the stabilisation of the province, with simultaneous support by international factors to moderate political forces and their representatives within the Albanian community in Kosovo and Metohija.

IV Conclusion

Unavoidable roles of the USA and the Russian Federation, a prominent place in management of the crisis in that part of the FR of Yugoslavia should be played by the OSCE, the EU and particularly by interested European states. Without proper involvement of all factors mentioned above, Yugoslav, European and global, it will not be possible to stabilise the situation within and without the region. The specifics of the post-cold war international order and management of this and similar crises, as discussed at the outset of this paper, clearly test us to interdependence, not yet known elsewhere, of local, regional and world stability and security.

Therefore, when the stabilisation of the situation created by the NATO intervention against the FR of Yugoslavia is concerned, it is imperative that local (FR of Yugoslavia) and regional factors (European states, institutions and organisations) should confirm their political and strategic identities in this part of the world.

Specifically, co-ordination of the three interdependent levels of international system is *conditio sine qua non* of the stability and security of the world as a whole and of any of its parts. This means, for instance, that the administrative border between Kosovo and Metohija and central Serbia - five kilometres on either side - can be effectively guarded from terrorist acts and conflict spill-overs outside the province by co-operation between the Yugoslav army and the multinational forces.

Accordingly, if we honestly wish for peace and co-operation in Europe, the obvious dead end faced by international military, civil and police forces that seriously threatens the stability and security of the entire region, can and must be overcome by strict adherence to the UNSC Resolution 1244 and relevant agreements, by all factors of the three levels stated. By the same token, this is the only way not to jeopardise the created ratio of power in Europe and the existing institutional, legal and security frameworks. With respect to this issue, the FR of Yugoslavia has fulfilled all its undertaken obligations and rightly expects support of the fact by all European factors, seeking peace and co-operation.

Resolving of the above enumerated security and political issues, among other things, is a precondition for the successful implementation of the Southeast European Security Pact, for sincere striving for co-operation among the nations of this region and for their inclusion in the community of European nations which should not exclude any country within the region, but must not encourage separatisms and meddle in the sovereign political will of any nation.

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