JAMES RON

# FRONTIERS

# AND GHETTOS

State Violence in Serbia and Israel

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# Frontiers and Ghettos

*State Violence in Serbia and Israel*

James Ron

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*For Emma*

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# Preface

All states use violence, either actual or threatened, to defend their borders and enforce the rule of law. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine any reasonable society existing for long without some kind of centralized coercion. At times, however, the state's coercive apparatus does not focus solely on national defense or public safety, but instead aids the powerful, reproduces inequality, or promotes discrimination. Contemporary Serbia and Israel are two such cases. In each of these states, the military, police, and partially autonomous paramilitaries have used violence to further the interests of one national group over others. In each instance, the state's broader goal has been national exclusion of some kind or another. Actual patterns of nationalist state violence, however, have varied substantially over time and space.

Readers sympathetic to either the Serbian or Jewish national projects may argue there was little choice. To protect basic Serbian and Jewish collective rights, state violence of some sort, while regrettable, was necessary. Others might suggest otherwise, saying Serbia and Israel exaggerated the threats they faced or even helped create their enemies through discrimination. Important as that debate is, my concern here is not with the legitimacy of violence or with each conflict's root cause. Instead, assuming that political violence is already under way, this book seeks to explain why states use some methods and not others in given times and places. Like other nationalist states, Serbia and Israel have occasionally resorted to mass expulsions of unwanted populations, but on

other occasions they have relied on subtler forms of national domination. What explains these variations? Why do states resort to ethnic cleansing in some cases, but use police-style repression in others?

My explanation is straightforward. In times of acute political or military crisis, today's high-capacity states will prefer to police, rather than expel, unwanted groups living in areas of concentrated state power. This is true even in strongly nationalist entities such as Serbia and Israel. At the state's margins, however, military forces and their paramilitary allies enjoy more freedom to maneuver, and it is here that nationalist violence is likely to be most intense. This is so because contemporary nation-states are sensitive to the appearance of legality, in part because of the increased salience of international human rights norms. Areas of concentrated state power are zones of legal density and enhanced state responsibility, but marginal regions are less clearly subject to state authority. On the periphery, official security forces and their unofficial allies operate in a more lawless environment, facilitating their resort to despotism. Note, however, that a region's definition as center or periphery is not set in stone, and that in times of military or political emergency, some areas' status can be rapidly redefined. "Central" or "peripheral" areas are social and political constructs subject to renegotiation.

As the book's title suggests, I use two key spatial metaphors to illustrate my case. In spring 1992, I argue, Bosnia became a "frontier" vis-à-vis Serbia, making it feasible for Serbia to engage, covertly, in awful acts of ethnic cleansing. Frontiers are peripheral regions unincorporated into a powerful state's legal zone of influence, and as such are more prone to acts of lawless nationalist violence. The Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip, by contrast, became a "ghetto" vis-à-vis Israel during the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, when the first Palestinian uprising began in December 1987, Israeli forces found themselves engaged in acts of harsh policing, not ethnic cleansing. They did so despite the existence of powerful political forces favoring more radical policies toward Palestinians. Ghettos are repositories of unwanted and marginalized populations, but are nonetheless included within the dominant state's legal sphere of influence, classifying them as quasi-members of the polity. Ghetto populations are more likely to be policed than forcefully deported.

Having advanced my argument in bold terms, I must offer a few caveats. First, the universe of cases to which this argument applies is confined to highly capable states with functioning bureaucracies, internal

coherence, and the ability to enforce laws over much of their territory. These states are also likely to view themselves as part of "civilized" international society. Temporally, my argument refers chiefly to conflicts during the 1970s, 1980s, or 1990s, when norms of international human rights monitoring grew increasingly widespread. My argument, for example, does not apply to Nazi Germany, because it took place during a period of weak international human rights monitoring. Nor, for that matter, does it apply to the Bosnian Serb entity formed in Bosnia during 1992, as it was not a high-capacity, strong state.

If patterns of state violence vary by geographical zone, then borders of both the internal and international sort must also play a key role. Soldiers, secret police, and their paramilitary allies, after all, need some way of differentiating between one zone and another. Thus while borders are socially constructed lines in the sand, they have dramatic real-world significance, marking the transition from zones of high and low state power. State violence takes place in bounded physical spaces termed here "institutional settings." Armed representatives of the state are sensitive to boundaries between these settings, realizing, if only subconsciously, that methods appropriate in one are unthinkable in another. Borders shape state violence in dramatic and abrupt ways, shifting the state's coercive repertoire from ethnic cleansing to policing, and vice versa.

The relevance of all this to today's headlines is substantial. Nationally motivated Serbian violence in the former Yugoslavia ended, at least for now, with NATO's 1999 takeover of Kosovo and the fall of Serbian strongman Slobodan Milošević. In the Middle East, however, violence rages on. Fighting between Israeli troops and Palestinian militias is escalating, and in the immediate future, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—as opposed to Palestinians living elsewhere—may enter the most physically dangerous chapter of their 120-year battle with Jewish nationalism. In the year 2000, Israel began using warlike methods in the Palestinian territories for the first time in decades, deploying shoot-to-kill ambushes, armored vehicles, and warplanes. In late 2001, Israeli tanks responded to Palestinian suicide bombers by seizing Palestinian autonomous zones and inching toward full-scale war, a trend that accelerated in spring 2002. This shift in repertoires has been a shock to those immersed in the Palestine-Israel conflict, because until recently, Israel relied almost exclusively on harsh *police*-style methods of control in the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli tactics are now changing dramati-

Map 1. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and its Bosnian "frontier"

cally, due largely to the region's slide from center to the margins of Israeli state power. As the West Bank and Gaza become increasingly peripheral to the Israeli state, they experience a more despotic regime of domination.

Palestine's reconfiguration to the periphery of Israeli state power

Map 2. Israel and its Palestinian "ghetto" (the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip)

began in the mid-1990s. From 1967 until then, Palestinian territories were a de facto ghetto within Israel, securely trapped within the boundaries of a powerful Jewish state. The 1993 Oslo accords, however, created small, partially autonomous Palestinian enclaves scattered throughout the West Bank and Gaza. Although these pockets did not have unfettered access to the outside world, their interior was relatively free from an Israeli military presence. The more these lands escaped direct Israeli control, however, the more precarious their future grew. To restate this book's central thesis, nationalist states tend to be most radical at their margins, not their core. As Palestinians approached a semblance of

territorial autonomy, in other words, they confronted dangers similar to those faced by Kosovo's ethnic Albanian population in 1998, when parts of the contested province slipped from Serbian control.

## THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THIS BOOK

My interest in geographic settings, nationalism, and repertoires of state violence was sparked by an intense, personal experience. From January 1985 to January 1988, I served as a conscript in the Israeli army, spending much of my time in an infantry unit. At the time, draftees rotated between occupation duty in southern Lebanon and the Palestinian territories. Those were relatively peaceful years, and I experienced little real combat. Still, I did witness remarkably different patterns of state coercion in each zone. Through a mixture of tacit and explicit signals, my colleagues and I learned that violent tactics appropriate to Lebanon were wrong for the West Bank or Gaza, and that methods permitted in Palestinian lands were unthinkable in Israel proper. To take one example, Israeli shoot-on-sight ambushes in the 1980s were common in Lebanon, but the same forces used quite different methods in the occupied Palestinian lands. As soldiers moved from one zone to another, in other words, they changed tactics quite dramatically. These variations were not organized solely along geographic lines, however, as we treated Jews and Arabs differently regardless of locale. As enforcers of Israeli state policy, our actions varied both by region and by nationality. These distinctions were integral to our daily routine, attracting little attention on all sides. When I began thinking more carefully about my military experiences, however, these patterns became intriguing sociological puzzles. Why would the Israeli army treat Lebanon and Palestine so differently?

My interests were strengthened in 1995, when I was sent by Human Rights Watch, a New York–based group, to study Turkey's war against Kurdish insurgents.[1] Turkish forces had burned down dozens of Kurdish villages in the country's southeastern region, using rape, torture, and other intensely violent measures. When Kurdish civilians fled the area defined as the "emergency zone," however, Turkish security forces used quite different methods of control, even though Kurdish squatter neighborhoods often harbored insurgents. What was appropriate for Turkey's southeast was entirely inappropriate in the country's west. As had been true for Israel, Turkey's coercive style varied from one geographical arena to the next. In areas where Turkish state power was less overwhelming, moreover, its methods were more blatantly destructive. While

the Israeli case highlighted variations across *international* borders, Turkish patterns underlined the role of *internal* boundaries. I do not include the Turkish case in this book, as this is a focused comparison of Serbia and Israel. My Turkish experiences did convince me, however, of the importance of internal as well as international boundaries.

Working in the world of international human rights documentation, I came to believe that scholars, journalists, and human rights analysis were missing an important aspect of state violence. Contrary to conventional wisdom, security forces and their semi-private allies often distinguished between institutional settings, with vital consequences for states, insurgents, civilian victims, and human rights advocates. These nuances, however, were often overlooked by scholars and state critics, many of whom lumped *all* coercive policies together under the rubric of "human rights abuses," ignoring geographically specific distinctions. I resolved to develop a way of distinguishing theoretically between different zones of state violence, and of explaining these zones' emergence over time. Most importantly, I wanted to explore an intriguing paradox: Why, when unwanted populations were fully dominated by contemporary ethnonationalist states, were they more likely to be policed than expelled? Why wouldn't states treat areas they controlled fully with even *greater* violence?

To those familiar with the awful abuses suffered by victims of these and other wars, academic theorizing may seem callous, opportunistic, even obscene. The neutral language of social science can never do justice to articulating the enormity of wartime suffering; but that effort is perhaps best left to journalists, novelists, and poets. As social scientists, our job is more modest. We provide explanatory tools to illustrate the social forces causing and shaping patterns of human misery. Whether or not this provides any tangible benefit to the world is difficult to say.

## THE CASES

This book's central case studies are Serbia's 1992–93 campaign against non-Serbs in Bosnia, and Israel's 1988 efforts to put down the first Palestinian uprising, popularly known as the first Intifada.[2] In these periods, both Serbia and Israel were overtly nationalistic states that felt compelled to use violence to defend the security of their national communities, narrowly defined. In each case, however, agents of the state used quite different methods. Serbia responded to Bosnia's 1992 demands for independence with acute violence aimed chiefly at forcing non-Serbs to flee. In

1988, by contrast, Israel responded to similar Palestinian claims with ethnic policing, a pernicious but less destructive policy. Although Serbia and Israel were similar in important respects, their repertoires of violence in these two instances varied dramatically. In explaining this divergence, I draw on the work of organizational and political sociologists, as well as theorists of international norms.

I test and elaborate my argument by studying variations within each case. Serbia did not use ethnic cleansing against minorities in territories that it fully controlled, while Israeli violence in Lebanon, an area beyond Israel's firm and legal control, was far *more* destructive than in Palestine. The book thus proceeds along two comparative tracks, studying divergent repertoires between Serbia and Israel on the one hand, and among different regions within each case, on the other.

## METHODS AND SOURCES

My sources include field interviews, newspaper reports, and scholarly publications.[3] For the Israel-Palestine study I make use of interviews conducted during 1992–94, first for Human Rights Watch, and then for my own academic purposes. In 1992, I wrote a report on the actions of Israeli undercover units seeking to arrest or kill Palestinian activists, interviewing dozens of Palestinians as well as Israeli soldiers, bureaucrats, and journalists.[4] The next year, I analyzed Israeli methods of interrogation in the West Bank and Gaza, interviewing over sixty former detainees and dozens of Israeli and Palestinian lawyers, activists, and officials.[5] I used a translator for Arabic-language interviews, but spoke in Hebrew with Jewish Israelis. To this I have added quotes and insights from forty-five semi-structured discussions with Israeli military veterans interviewed during 1992–94.

For the Serbian case, my sources are similarly diverse. In early 1996, I traveled to Croatia and Bosnia for the International Committee of the Red Cross, a Geneva-based humanitarian group, studying their efforts to protect civilians and prisoners of war. This project included 100 interviews with expatriate and local employees of international agencies, as well as Croatian and Bosnian officials. Virtually all my informants were involved in efforts to monitor, control, and analyze patterns of state violence. In 1997, I went to Belgrade on my own behalf, asking questions about Serbia's involvement in Bosnia and about violence in ethnically mixed areas of Serbia and Montenegro. Relying again on translators, I interviewed over 100 human rights advocates, academics, former fight-

ers, journalists, and local politicians. In spring 1999, I traveled to Albania's border with Kosovo for Human Rights Watch, interviewing ethnic Albanian refugees fleeing Serbian ethnic cleansing. For reasons of confidentiality, most informants in both the Israeli and Serbian cases are not identified by their real names. In some cases, I cite a specific interview and identify the informant by a first-name pseudonym. In a handful of instances, I supply the informant's actual full name.

This book also draws on discussions with investigators studying armed conflicts worldwide. Hundreds of researchers travel the globe each year for Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and others, researching state violence and amassing a wealth of practical, empirical knowledge. Some of this appears in written reports, but much remains tucked away in individual memories, available only through discussions and interviews. Finally, my analysis also relies on comparative insights from my work for Human Rights Watch in Turkey, Nigeria, and Chechnya.

## COMPARING SERBIA AND ISRAEL

For some, the Serbia-Israel comparison may stretch credulity, given their apparently radical differences. Upon closer examination, however, there are some intriguing similarities. First, while the population of both states is multinational, the state apparatus has been captured by one national or ethnic group. As a result, each country's bureaucracy engages in overt and tacit discrimination, prioritizing the interests of one national community over others. Serbs and Jews enjoy more state protection, official respect, and privileges than non-Serbs or non-Jews.

Second, both Serbian and Jewish nationalists claim territories lying beyond their internationally recognized boundaries. In today's world, globally recognized borders are hard to change, but influential Serbian and Israeli nationalists feel strongly that adjacent lands belong only to them.[6] Political scientist Ian Lustick calls Israel an "unsettled state" because of its ambiguous relationship to territory and borders, and this term applies to Serbia in the 1990s as well.[7] Third, the two countries' political discourses share some important themes, with Serbia's concern for its historical roots in Kosovo resembling the attachment many Jews feel toward Judea and Samaria, the biblical term for the West Bank. In both Serbia and Israel, moreover, prominent nationalists have discussed the option of expelling unwanted populations to ensure demographic and military superiority. Without forced population transfer, they say, Serbia

and Israel will always face acute demographic and security crises. Although normatively repugnant, this policy recommendation flows logically, but not inevitably, from Serbia's and Israel's founding principles. Once a state energetically prioritizes one community's rights over others, the notion of ethnic cleansing is bound to arise in one form or another.[8]

Conventional wisdom suggests that Serbia and Israel are not comparable because their methods of repression in Bosnia and the West Bank/Gaza were so radically different. When we examine variations within the Serbian and Israeli cases, however, these sharp distinctions begin to fade. Serbian violence in ethnically mixed areas *within* Serbia was more restrained than in Bosnia, while Israeli actions in Lebanon were more destructive than in the West Bank/Gaza. Both states, in other words, employed diverse tactics in different arenas, with some overlap. Some Serbian actions within Serbia resemble Israeli ethnic policing efforts in Palestine, while some Israeli methods in Lebanon resemble Serbian actions in Bosnia. Israel was not guilty of genocide in Lebanon, and its soldiers did not engage in mass rape and other war crimes of the sort committed by some Serbian fighters in Bosnia. At the same time, Israel did resort to expulsions and dangerously indiscriminate shelling in Lebanon, and its secret services did work closely with Lebanese paramilitaries guilty of Bosnia-like atrocities. Lebanon and Bosnia are similar in some respects, but they are not parallel cases.

One clear *difference* between Israel and Serbia is the way in which Western powers and international organizations have responded to each country's territorial and military ambitions. Serbian interventions in Bosnia and elsewhere were harshly condemned by Western powers, who convinced the UN Security Council and NATO to deploy sanctions and, eventually, military force to punish Serbian transgressions. Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and Lebanon, on the other hand, has attracted more muted forms of international criticism. Largely due to America's special relationship with Israel, Western powers and the UN Security Council have regarded Israel's actions with greater understanding than Serbia's, with important and unanticipated consequences. In Bosnia, Western sanctions drove Serbian intervention underground, promoting the use of private paramilitaries and underworld thugs, and facilitating Serbia's resort to ethnic cleansing. Israel's control over the West Bank and Gaza, conversely, was done quite openly, relying on Israel's regular security forces, and this resulted in a subtler regime of domination. Different international attitudes, in other words, dramatically shaped each state's coercive style. Greater Western pressure on Serbia provoked more openly destructive Ser-

bian methods, while greater Western permissiveness led to less acute methods of Israeli control. Contemporary human rights norms being what they are, the West's tolerance for Israel's West Bank/Gaza occupation came attached with some important strings, pushing Israel toward a policing strategy in the occupied lands during the 1980s and early 1990s.

The Serbia-Israel comparison is bound to be controversial, and many readers will remain skeptical. I can only ask that you bear with me, reading as much as you can of the material presented below. If my interpretations push you to think differently about Serbia, Israel, and state violence, I will be content.

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# Introduction

*Puzzles of Violence*

In the midst of Israel's hotly contested 1996 election campaign, Palestinian militants launched a series of deadly bomb attacks in Israel, killing dozens of Jews in downtown Tel Aviv. The deaths came at a particularly inopportune time for the then-ruling Labor Party, preoccupied as it was with convincing Jewish voters it could be as tough as the political right on national security. Some Labor ministers proposed dramatic acts of retaliation, including expelling entire groups of Palestinians or destroying Palestinian villages. The government vetoed those suggestions as too drastic, however, preferring instead to intensify ongoing policing measures such as arrests, coercive interrogations, and restrictions on Palestinian travel and movement.[1]

In a separate incident soon after, Lebanese Islamist guerrillas fired a handful of rockets toward northern Israel, causing no casualties and only limited physical damage. This time, however, the Israeli government did not hesitate, ordering the Israeli army to mount Operation Grapes of Wrath, a prolonged bombardment of southern Lebanon that displaced 400,000 civilians, killed and wounded hundreds, and destroyed homes, roads, and bridges.[2] With this spectacular display of violence, Israeli officials signaled Lebanese guerrillas that more rocket attacks would trigger disproportionate Lebanese suffering, and responded to calls for vengeance by some Israeli-Jewish voters.

The difference between Israel's methods in Lebanon and Palestine, the term I use here for the West Bank and Gaza, is remarkable. Both were

Israeli-occupied Arab lands bordering on Israel, but the Israeli state distinguished clearly between them when choosing its repertoires of violence. Israel defined Lebanon as an object of war but saw Palestine, in those years, as an object of policing. What explains this difference?[3]

One answer might point to different levels of threat, suggesting that Israel's methods were shaped by the magnitude of the security challenge it faced. The Lebanon-based guerrillas were more dangerous, and thus Israel dealt with them more harshly. Upon closer investigation, however, that argument fails to persuade. If intensity of threat alone determined Israel's methods, the government should have ordered the army to bombard *Palestine,* not southern Lebanon, since it was Palestinian militants who were able to explode bombs in the center of Israel. The West Bank challenge, moreover, posed a far greater threat to Zionism than did Lebanon. For many Jewish nationalists, the West Bank was an integral part of Greater Israel, while for many military strategists, Israeli control over the area was vital to national security. Lebanon, by comparison, was both ideologically and strategically less important. Were the Israeli army to have behaved in accordance with objective levels of threat, it should have treated Palestine more harshly than Lebanon.

This puzzle is further complicated by historical variations in Israel's treatment of Palestinians. Prior to its 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, for example, Israeli forces mounted large-scale raids on West Bank and Gaza villages, killing many in what was then Jordanian- or Egyptian-held territory.[4] During the 1947–49 Israeli-Arab war, moreover, Jewish troops forced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes and then bulldozed villages to prevent their return.[5] Ever since Israeli troops took the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 war, however, Israel ceased using intensely destructive violence, relying instead on harsh, police-style tactics. The more Israel consolidated its control over Palestinian lands and populations, in other words, the less dramatic its methods of coercion became. Strangely enough, this occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, when anti-Palestinian sentiment in Israel rose sharply.[6]

Similar puzzles appear in repertoires of Serbian violence during 1992–93, the first year of the Bosnian war. Ethnic Serb paramilitaries based inside Serbia and its smaller ally, Montenegro, launched cross-border sorties into Bosnia-Herzegovina and expelled Muslim and Croat populations. In the Bosnian town of Višegrad, for example, fighters from the Serbian White Eagles paramilitary reportedly massacred many Muslim Slavs in full view, dropping their bodies from the town's central bridge.[7] Strangely enough, however, those same militias seemed reluctant

to kill Muslim Slavs living in Serbia proper. This was true even in the Sandžak, a Muslim-majority region of Serbia and Montenegro just over the border from Višegrad. There, White Eagles and others maintained rear bases amid hundreds of thousands of Muslims similar in every way to their Bosnian co-nationals, save for their geographic location. Serbian paramilitaries used despotic violence in Bosnia, but did not bring those methods back home.[8] Like Israel's security forces, Serbian paramilitaries seemed surprisingly sensitive to geography and borders.

An even broader puzzle emerges when we compare the Serbian record of 1992–93 to that of Israel in 1988, the first year of the Palestinian uprising. Both states were overtly nationalist in their orientation, perceiving themselves as defenders of a persecuted people threatened by powerful neighbors. Both were prone to ethnocentrism, partly as a result of World War II traumas. While the Nazis were killing Jews en masse in Eastern Europe, their Croat allies were doing the same to ethnic Serbs in Yugoslavia, albeit with less efficiency. The legacy of those horrors, combined with domestic politics and regional tensions, transformed both Serbia and Israel into nationalist states intent on securing contested lands. Serbia hoped to ensure ethnic Serb hegemony in mixed areas such as the Sandžak, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and parts of Bosnia, while Israel promoted Jewish rule over the West Bank and Gaza. Both Serbia and Israel had a national political core that sought to expand into adjacent areas, persevering in the face of bitter opposition from ethno-national rivals such as Palestinians, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and ethnic Albanians.

Yet while Israel and Serbia shared many characteristics, their armed forces responded differently to challenges from Bosnia and Palestine. The Bosnian government's 1992 demand for independence prompted Serbian-backed ethnic cleansing, but the 1988 Palestinian bid for sovereignty prompted Israeli ethnic policing, a pernicious but less dramatic effort. Ethnic cleansing involved the forcible removal of unwanted populations through violence and terror. Ethnic policing included corporal punishment, mass incarceration, and administrative harassment, but left the unwanted population in place. Why did these two similarly constructed states respond in such different ways? Why, after a century of often violent colonization, did Israel use policing rather than expulsion, despite a groundswell of popular support for pushing Palestinians out?[9]

Matters are further complicated when we note differences within Serbian and Israeli zones of influence. Serbia treated Muslim Slavs differently depending on whether they lived in the Sandžak or Bosnia, while

Israel differentiated between Arabs in Lebanon or Palestine. How should we account for these within-case variations?

## ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS: REGIME, CULTURE, AND OBJECTIVE THREAT

If we were to focus solely on Bosnia and Palestine, we might argue that Serbian and Israeli policies differed as a result of fundamental differences in regime type. Israel was a democracy in the late 1980s, whereas Serbia in 1992 had a quasi-authoritarian, populist regime. Wouldn't Israeli democracy explain its more subtle methods of control? Wouldn't Serbian authoritarianism explain its resort to an unabashedly brutal regime of domination?

There are difficulties with this argument, however. First, the designation of Israel as a democracy is problematic, since its military was absolute ruler over some 1.8 million Palestinians.[10] Although the occupation was officially transitional, it had endured for over three decades, and a generation of Palestinians had grown up under Israeli occupation. Within Israel proper, moreover, some 3.5 million Jews enjoyed a broader range of political rights and social respect than the country's 800,000 Palestinian citizens. Like the grossly imperfect democracy of post-communist Serbia, in other words, Israel combined both authoritarian and democratic features.

Second, variations within the Serbian and Israeli cases suggest that the nature of each country's regime cannot, on its own, explain patterns of state violence. How can Israel's regime type explain its different styles of violence in Palestine and Lebanon? How can Serbian authoritarianism explain the Sandžak/Bosnia variation? Why, moreover, did Serbian authoritarianism not translate into *greater* tyranny at home? Why were Muslims safer in Serbia than in Bosnia?

The drawbacks of regime-based arguments emerge more generally from the tarnished record of democracies and semi-democracies worldwide. France, for example, waged vicious wars, replete with forced displacement, torture, and indiscriminate terror, against rebellious colonized peoples in Algeria and Vietnam. The world's largest democracy is India, but its war with Kashmiri separatists is an entirely brutal affair. Turkey is democratic in many ways, but has forcibly depopulated large swathes of its Kurdish-majority southeast. Regime type, in and of itself, is too blunt an explanatory tool to account for an individual state's varying repertoires of violence.

What, then, of the notion that Jewish and Serbian nationalisms were profoundly different in content? If Zionism, for example, was fundamentally kinder than Serbian nationalism, wouldn't that explain Israeli restraint? Regardless of this claim's validity, arguments of this sort encounter the same difficulties as regime-based explanations. How can the supposed moderate nature of Zionist ideology explain *both* the Lebanese and Palestinian experiences? How can Serbian radicalism explain both Sandžak moderation *and* Bosnian extremism? Nationalism may explain why states use discrimination and violence in the first place, but it cannot explain divergent repertoires of coercion by the same state in the same general time period.

A third explanation—objective threat—is also unpersuasive.[11] As noted above, Israelis might have viewed Palestine as a far greater threat than Lebanon, but it was in Lebanon, and not in Palestine, that Israeli artillery had free rein. In Serbia, similarly, Kosovo's 1.8 million ethnic Albanians presented the most powerful threat of all to Serbian national interests, but it was Bosnian Muslims, who in fact presented the least acute threat to Serbian national security, who were first targeted. If national security was the guiding logic, then Kosovo should have been ethnically cleansed long *before* Bosnia. The Sandžak poses a similar puzzle. Serbian officials saw a Muslim presence in the Sandžak as a strategic nightmare, and if objective levels of threat were determinate, they would have ethnically cleansed the area along with Bosnia. Perceptions of national security matter enormously, of course, but interpretations of what constitutes a "threat" are always mediated by other factors.

## REPRESSION IN SEMI-DEMOCRACIES

Despite intense media interest in Israel and Serbia, these are not particularly unique cases. Instead, they are members of a larger group of states that define their communities more narrowly than their actual populations, relying on ascribed characteristics such as nationality, religion, or ethnicity. In such cases, a dominant group captures the state apparatus, using the bureaucracy, legislature, and armed forces to promote in-group privileges. Consequently, such states are wracked by struggles over collective dignity, identity, and resources. These disputes turn especially bitter when out-groups seek territorial autonomy or independence. Examples include Kurdish rebels in Turkey, Kashmiri separatists in India, Chechen insurgents in Russia, and indigenous peoples in Mexico. Like Serbia and Israel, these states all enjoy some measure of internal democ-

racy and accountability, but they are also discriminatory in allocating resources, public services, and social respect. In seeking to capture both the democratic and discriminatory aspects of such states, scholars have used terms such as "semi-democracies" or "ethnocracies," with the latter describing polities where exclusion is constructed along ethnic lines.[12]

All states seek to monopolize the use of force in their territory, and the rulers of semi-democratic states are no different. As a result, they feel compelled to use substantial violence to efficiently dispatch physical challenges to their rule. At the same time, however, these rulers encounter pressures from domestic and international audiences urging greater restraint. These audiences are influenced by local and international laws and norms, which cumulatively require states to subject their use of force to scrutiny and regulations. Domestic constituencies urging the state to play by the rules of the game are strengthened by a dense network of international human rights activists, nongovernmental groups, United Nations (UN) bodies, and bilateral agencies.

Although human rights critics cannot halt excessive or illegal state violence, they can raise popular awareness and impose modest penalties on some human rights abusers. International tribunals are prosecuting war crimes in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, and individual governments, from Chile to Spain, Belgium, Ethiopia, Senegal, and Chad, have launched investigations of generals and politicians suspected of abuses, including some unrelated to their own country's experience. Human rights terminology is increasingly prominent in foreign news reporting, often rivaling economic and political interpretations of ongoing events.[13] Human rights–inspired intervention by Western militaries in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Congo, and Sierra Leone, along with international human rights pressure in dozens of other conflicts, attests to the theme's growing salience.

The effect of international human rights oversight is greatest on small or moderately powerful states such as Serbia and Israel, dependent as they are on international flows of aid, trade, and legitimacy. When excluded populations resist, these states discover that repression is an increasingly complex affair, especially in an era of instantaneous global communications. How can one both suppress insurgencies and at the same time project a legitimate image to domestic and international observers? Countries such as Israel, Mexico, Turkey, India, and others constantly wrestle with this dilemma, seeking to evade criticism while simultaneously conducting effective repressive campaigns. Their dilemmas are exacerbated by a recent wave of global democratization, which has

made small and moderately powerful states increasingly vulnerable to domestic human rights pressure. Negotiating the contradictory imperatives of repression and legitimacy, states are trapped in what Isaac Balbus has called the "dialectic of legal repression."[14] Across time and space, coercive forces negotiate this dialectic in different ways, leading to dissimilar and often unanticipated outcomes.

During counterinsurgency operations in the early 1990s, for example, Turkish security forces burned Kurdish villages to crush the Kurdish Workers Party, or PKK, but did not kill large numbers of civilians or drive them across international borders.[15] Forced dislocation *within* Turkey without large-scale massacres was Turkey's de facto compromise between its contradictory cravings for both security and legitimacy. As a result, the fate of Turkey's Kurds has been very different from those of Iraq, who were killed in large numbers during the Iraqi Anfal campaign of the late 1980s. Iraq was not a semi-democracy and was relatively indifferent to international pressures because of its oil wealth. Unburdened by the need to cater to domestic or international critics, the Iraqi regime, unlike that of Turkey, had few constraints on its behavior.

Serbia and Israel, like other medium-sized semi-democracies, were trapped within the dialectic of legal repression during the late 1980s and early 1990s. On the one hand, both states had constructed discriminatory systems privileging one group over another, especially in times of war and crisis. Israel was organized as the state of the Jews, rendering the position of Arabs quite precarious, while Serbia was increasingly organized as the state of the Serbs, threatening the welfare of Muslim Slavs, ethnic Albanians, ethnic Croats, and others. Given nationalist politics in each country, it would have been hard for either government to ignore resistance from ethno-national outsiders, especially when those same groups appealed to international powers for support. In both cases, leaders saw violence as a necessary response to pressing security threats.

At the same time, both countries had domestic critics and international obligations, forcing them to consider norms governing the use of force. Although ruled by a populist and authoritarian regime, Serbia had, ever since 1990, enjoyed vigorous elections, as well as a moderately free press. And while Israel dominated Palestine through its military, it was also a democracy of sorts within its de jure borders, granting full rights to Jews, and many rights to Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. Israel's democratic elements had a longer pedigree than those of Serbia, but Israel did not have Serbia's forty-year legacy of multicultural communism. Both Serbia and Israel, moreover, were exposed

to international human rights pressures, since both saw themselves as part of the West, and both sought access to economic, political, and cultural flows from the wealthy, trend-setting global core.

In both cases, the dilemmas created by the dialectic of legal repression were profound. Neither Serbia nor Israel was entirely committed to any one violent repertoire, adopting different methods in different geographic regions, often at one and the same time. The Serbian and Israeli coercive apparatuses, like most complex organizations, did not present a single, unified face to the world; instead, they were often bundles of diverging policies.[16]

## INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS: FRONTIER AND GHETTO

Repertoires of state violence are shaped by pressures for repression *and* restraint, both of which come together in different ways over time and space. Repression is deployed in discrete institutional settings that vary in terms of visibility, level of state control, and degree of state regulation.[17] These settings are specific in terms of both conflict and geography, and each has its own rules of the game. The notion of institutional setting is borrowed from organizational sociology, and refers here to a clearly defined social or geographic space where organizational action is shaped by notions of appropriate and legitimate behavior.

Two settings of particular importance here are what I call "frontiers" and "ghettos." Bosnia became a frontier vis-à-vis Serbia in 1992, facilitating Serbia's resort to ethnic cleansing, whereas Palestine became a ghetto within Israel, prompting ethnic policing. Both Serbian and Jewish nationalism contained radical and more moderate strains, but actual repertoires of domination were determined by institutional setting. The impact of institutional settings is nicely illustrated by the within-case variations discussed in this book. The Sandžak, for example, was a ghetto of a certain type within Serbia (and Montenegro) during the 1990s, and therefore experienced less extreme forms of nationalist violence than Bosnia. And Lebanon, which served as a frontier of sorts vis-à-vis Israel, experienced more dramatic repertoires of Israeli violence than did Palestine. Serbian state behavior in the Sandžak was not identical to Israeli conduct in Palestine, and the Lebanese experience is not an exact replica of Bosnia's trajectory. Still, these comparisons do highlight the ability of institutional settings to shape repertoires of state coercion.

The crucial difference between frontiers and ghettos is the extent to

which states control these arenas and feel a bureaucratic, moral, and political sense of responsibility for their fate. States enjoy an unrivaled level of control over the ghetto's borders and territory, suppressing challenges to their monopoly over force. Although this grants states some distinct advantages, it also implies important responsibilities. Ghetto residents are despised members of society, but both local and international rules stipulate that the state bears substantial responsibility for their welfare. Frontiers, by contrast, are perched on the edge of core states and are not fully incorporated into their zone of control. States do not dominate frontiers as they do ghettos, and they are not bound by the same legal and moral obligations. In times of crisis and uncertainty, frontiers more easily become sites of ethnic cleansing.

By applying the notion of frontier to Bosnia, we can better understand why Serbia resorted to ethnic cleansing in 1992–93. On their own, the breakdown of the Yugoslav state, Serbian nationalism, and Bosnian demands for independence might not have prompted ethnic cleansing. It is only when Serbian nationalism interacted with the Bosnian frontier that expulsion became a viable option. When we view Palestine as a ghetto within Israel, moreover, the reasons for Israel's reliance on ethnic policing become clear. Institutional context promotes some policies over others, with poorly regulated environments selecting out more radical strands of nationalist thought, and more heavily institutionalized arenas promoting police-like regimes of domination.

## OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 discusses relevant theoretical issues in greater depth, using a modest amount of academic terminology. Then, Part I, comprised of Chapters 2 through 5, argues that the interaction between Serb nationalism, which pushed Serbian officials to promote Bosnian ethnic cleansing, and Western recognition of Bosnian sovereignty, which prohibited Serb cross-border activity, created two distinct institutional settings: a Bosnian frontier and a Serbian core. The core was Serbia, senior partner in the new rump Yugoslavia,[18] while the frontier was Bosnia, situated to the west of the newly created international border. Bosnia became a frontier in 1992 because the new, Muslim-led Bosnian government was enfeebled, and the new Bosnian Serb entity, later known as Republika Srpska, was just emerging. As a result, the eastern and northwest parts of Bosnia were largely controlled by local Bosnian Serb fighters working with roving, semi-private paramilitaries from Serbia proper. Both were

classic frontier agents, belonging officially to no legally constituted authority and enjoying considerable local autonomy. Together, these actors were responsible for much of the initial wave of Bosnian ethnic cleansing.

Chapter 3 includes a discussion of one of the most hotly debated issues of the Bosnian war, the links between the Belgrade government and ethnic Serb fighters in Bosnia. Human rights activists and journalists have made considerable efforts to prove Belgrade's connection to Serb forces in Bosnia, a task complicated by the dearth of relevant documentation. These intensive *legal* investigations, however, have helped obscure the broader *sociological* importance of Serbia's clandestine links. The lack of public chains of command-and-control between Belgrade and Bosnia indicate the extent to which Belgrade's cross-border activities were driven underground by Western recognition of Bosnia's sovereignty. Covert linkages allowed Serbia to remain involved in Bosnia, but ensured that the region was not officially Serbia's responsibility. Once forced into an underground, illegitimate social space, ethnic Serb fighters encountered new opportunities and constraints. Secrecy helped them conduct ethnic cleansing in defiance of state and international norms, but illegitimacy prevented them from laying official claim to their conquests once the fighting ended.

Chapters 4 and 5 test my argument by examining patterns of nationalist violence inside the Serbian core. Here, the Serbian political elite's responsibilities for human rights abuses were clear and the setting was more heavily institutionalized. During the early part of the 1990s, when the Bosnian war was at its height, the state prevented Serbian paramilitaries in Kosovo, the Sandžak, and Vojvodina from using Bosnia-style methods against non-Serb populations. As Chapter 5 explains, however, Kosovo's institutional setting changed in 1998–99 from ghetto to frontier through a combination of Kosovo Albanian and international actions. The result was a full-scale Serbian ethnic cleansing effort.

In Part II, Chapters 6 to 8 discuss the emergence of the Palestinian ghetto and patterns of Israeli violence, including its 1988 policing campaign in the West Bank and Gaza. The introduction to Part II briefly surveys the rise of radical Jewish nationalism in the late 1970s and 1980s, while Chapter 6 traces the emergence of a Palestinian ghetto enclave during those same years. Palestinian militants tried and failed to disrupt Israel's ghetto-formation policies through armed rebellion, and then also failed to gain international recognition of their sovereignty. Chapter 7 analyses Israel's ghetto policing tactics, while Chapter 8 probes two al-

ternatives to the ethnic policing model: Jewish vigilantism and Israeli operations in Lebanon. As was true in Serbia, some semi-private Jewish paramilitaries wanted to expel Palestinians, but failed to gain state support because of the West Bank and Gaza's ghetto status. In Lebanon, by contrast, Israel encouraged allied paramilitaries to use intense violence and deployed a range of despotic methods itself. Both Palestine and Lebanon were not part of Israel's de jure territory, but Palestine had become a ghetto, while Lebanon retained some frontier-like qualities, leading to varying repertoires of violence.

CHAPTER I

# Institutional Settings and Violence

Since the end of the Second World War, most violent conflicts have begun as struggles *within* states, not as international disputes. More often than not, strife is triggered by state discrimination against marginalized populations.[1] Some state bureaucracies categorize insiders and outsiders by national, ethnic, or religious criteria, while others rely more heavily on kinship, tribe, or social class. Although states use different methods to classify privileged and excluded populations, systematic discrimination of any type tends to provoke resistance and violence, prompting even greater state repression.[2] This dynamic is particularly acute in semi-democratic or ethnocratic states such as Serbia and Israel, where group discrimination is coupled with substantial sensitivity to international norms and the rule of law.[3] These states are discriminatory but partially democratic, making resistance both inevitable and feasible.

Serbia and Israel differed in important ways, but they resembled one another in the periods under discussion in that both were organized to promote the interests of one ethno-national community over others. In some respects, this flows from their shared origins in the national self-determination movements sweeping Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[4] Struggling against the declining Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, would-be leaders of national minorities sought to define and disseminate a sense of collective identity among Serbs, Jews, Poles, Croats, Czechs, and others. Most importantly, they often claimed contested lands as their nation's patrimony, even

when those regions were also home to others. For the Serbian and Jewish national movements, the struggle for self-determination was lent particular urgency by the terrible violence their peoples suffered during World War II at the hands of Nazis and their collaborators.[5] This shared history of vulnerability generated a recurring interest in national unification, territorial control, and state power.

Contemporary Serbian nationalism, which began in the mid-1980s, sought to reorganize Serbia so that it would protect the interests of ethnic Serbs, provoking anxiety and countermobilization.[6] In the 1990s, this countermobilization occurred in Serbia proper (in areas such as the Sandžak and Kosovo), as well as in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, including most importantly Croatia and Bosnia.[7] The contemporary Zionist movement, for its part, began in 1967 to extend Jewish control over the West Bank and Gaza, triggering Palestinian resistance and, in December 1987, a popular rebellion.[8] Both the Serbian and Jewish states had elevated the interests of one national community group over all others within a shared geographic space, stimulating antagonism and resistance.

## CENTER AND PERIPHERIES OF STATE POWER

The previous chapter suggested that Serbian and Israeli methods of violence tended toward police-style efforts where state control was highest, and toward more destructive tactics where the state's grip was weak. This observation prompts elaboration of a general hypothesis of state repression: the more tightly outsider populations are controlled by contemporary, semi-democratic states, the more likely they are to experience police-style repression. The less firmly these regions are controlled by nationalist states, conversely, the more likely they are to experience destructive violence and even ethnic cleansing. Zones of intense state power prevent nationalism from developing to its most virulent proportions, but at the margins of state authority, extremism flourishes. State violence is organized very differently in the core as opposed to the periphery of power.

The rest of this book elaborates and defends this argument for the Serbian and Israeli cases. As such, it represents an effort at theory building, not theory testing, and I make no claim for its unproblematic application elsewhere. Aided by comparisons, theory-building exercises identify important variables, concepts, and arguments that can later be extended to or tested on other cases, a theme I briefly explore

in the concluding chapter. In its present form, my explanation provides a reasonable interpretation of empirical variation across and within the Serbian and Israeli cases. By studying failed attempts by some paramilitaries to import specific methods of violence from one institutional setting to another, moreover, I dramatize the importance of context. When nationalist militias try but fail to use Bosnia-style methods in Serbia proper, their aborted trajectory underlines the power of institutional settings. With some modification, this same approach might help explain patterns of state violence in other high-capacity and partially democratic states such as Turkey, apartheid-era South Africa, and India.[9]

## THE IMPORTANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS

Conventional wisdom views nationalist violence as a burst of uncontrolled brutality, not a rule-bound endeavor. In instances of state-organized repression, however, agents of state violence are embedded in context-specific webs of rules, regulations, and expectations. Armies, paramilitaries, and police forces use violence in specific, norm-laden institutional settings. These settings differ in terms of how fully they are controlled by the state and how saturated they are by regulations, as well as in the degree to which the state is accountable for a region's fate. Densely institutionalized settings score high on most or all of these measures, while weakly institutionalized settings score much lower. For example, marginalized groups living in the national capital are in a more heavily institutionalized setting than are co-nationals in poorly controlled peripheral provinces. These differences, in turn, influence patterns of state violence. States are more likely to use police-style methods in institutionally dense settings, but more destructive tactics in institutionally thin arenas.

I borrow the notion of institutional setting from organizational sociology's institutionalist theory, a body of research highlighting the ability of context—alternately termed organizational environments, organizational fields, or institutional environments—to shape organizational choices, attitudes, and methods.[10] Explicit rules and tacit norms pervade institutional settings to a greater or lesser extent, pushing organizations to behave in contextually appropriate ways.[11] I extend this insight to state repression, arguing that violence takes place in discrete institutional settings, each of which has its own logic of appropriateness.

## FRONTIER AND GHETTO

Although frontiers and ghettos are only two of many possible settings, they are particularly relevant to our cases. Both Serbia and Israel coveted lands outside their internationally recognized boundaries, but each of these areas was differently constituted, with Bosnia serving as frontier, and Palestine as ghetto. In both cases, unwanted populations were repressed and excluded, but repertoires of actual state violence were radically at odds. Institutional settings served as mediating structures, transforming similarly nationalist orientations into dissimilar regimes of domination.

### *Frontiers: Poorly Regulated Arenas of State Action*

Initial American explorations of the frontier's sociological significance highlighted its positive impact on U.S. society and its economy, suggesting that the ready availability of land lent the country its energy, dynamism, and democracy.[12] Critics, however, noted that this interpretation ignored the Native American frontier experience of dispossession, segregation, and death.[13] Building on this later work, I define frontiers as geographic zones demarcated by explicit boundaries of some sort and not tightly integrated into adjacent core states. Core agents may be involved in frontier politics, but their involvement is often indirect. Under these conditions, the rules states make for themselves, and that international actors make for states, do not fully apply, granting frontier agents substantial autonomy.[14] Until core polities close the frontier and extend central authority, they often choose to influence events through clandestine frontier allies operating with little respect for the law.[15] Frontiers are thus weakly institutionalized and often chaotic settings prone to vigilantism and paramilitary freelancing.[16] In the American West, for example, over 300 different vigilante groups were active between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries,[17] taking the law into their own hands and using lynching, whipping, and other extra-legal methods to establish dominance.[18] Frontiers permit and even promote intensely destructive and graphic violence.

The results are illustrated by the American experience.[19] When the frontier was open and indigenous populations were unincorporated into the U.S. polity, they were targeted for dispossession and massacre. Once the frontier was subject to central state regulation, by contrast, aboriginals were locked in reservations, where they were policed and oppressed,

but not killed outright. They had lost their freedom and land, but their new institutional setting shielded them from the final act of physical destruction. By passing from frontier to reservation, surviving Native Americans were spared utter liquidation.[20]

Part I of the book applies the notion of frontiers to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992–93, arguing that international politics inadvertently helped transform Bosnia into a frontier vis-à-vis Serbia. In April 1992, Western powers recognized Bosnian independence, transforming what had been an internal Yugoslav boundary into a sovereign, international border. Although ethnic Serbs on both sides of the border protested, international pressure compelled Serbian authorities to publicly acknowledge the new line as a meaningful boundary. At the same time, however, key Belgrade authorities sought to shape Bosnian events by supplying Bosnian Serbs with logistical and military support and encouraging the dislocation of non-Serb populations. The Bosnian frontier was external to the Serbian core, but was still heavily, albeit clandestinely, influenced by Belgrade's decisions. Bosnian Serb combatants and Serbian cross-border paramilitaries served as clandestine frontier agents and carried out most of Bosnia's ethnic cleansing.

The importance of Bosnia's institutional setting is graphically illustrated by the fate of non-Serb populations living just over the border within Serbia proper. Although Serbian paramilitaries harassed and intimidated these populations, they did not employ Bosnia-style methods of forced displacement. Bosnian frontier met Serbian core at the border, where Serbian nationalism was transformed into a very different regime of violence. Frontier led to death or dispossession, but core offered some crucial protections.

### *Ghettos: The Ambiguity of Unequal Inclusion*

Experts generally view ghettos as impoverished neighborhoods segregated by religion, race, or ethnicity. One scholar defines African American ghettos as "excluded from economic and social privileges, deprived of social esteem, and unable to influence the . . . rules which define their participation within the wider society," and similar themes of segregation, marginalization, and disempowerment are invoked by others as well.[21] Viewed from another perspective, however, the ghetto's fate is less clear-cut; the ghetto *is* incorporated into the dominant polity, albeit with ambivalence and disdain. Due to their halfway status, ghettos are segregated and repressed, but rarely liquidated outright. Ghettos are more

heavily institutionalized settings than frontiers, and are therefore objections of policing, not ethnic cleansing or genocide. Ghetto critics are right to emphasize the ills of poverty, crime, and broken families, but this perspective obscures the ghetto's remarkable ability to survive and to receive some of the benefits available to more favored populations, including a minimum of legal protection. Despite marginalization, ghetto residents remain alive and in their homes, presenting a perpetual challenge to the dominant society. While sheer survival is indubitably cold comfort to ghetto victims, it remains an analytically crucial point. In other words, frontiers are precariously perched on the *edge* of the dominant polity, whereas ghettos are situated squarely *within* it. Frontier residents can be expelled or killed, but ghetto residents can only be harshly policed.

The ambivalent status of the ghetto was dramatized during U.S. urban unrest in the 1960s, when largely white police shot, detained, and beat largely black ghetto residents.[22] Despite the crisis atmosphere, however, the authorities did not deploy their most awful methods. National Guardsmen were deployed against "organized agitators" and "revolutionaries," but physical liquidation was never on the agenda.[23] The authorities might dispatch more police, adopt more aggressive policies, and imprison more people, but they could not expel or kill ghetto residents en masse.

The notion of the ghetto is relevant to our story because of the West Bank and Gaza's relationship with Israel, which never officially annexed these regions (except East Jerusalem) after 1967, but did tacitly incorporate them as subordinate parts of the Israeli polity. Western powers did not openly endorse Israel's tacit annexation, but did not firmly support Palestinian sovereignty either, merely pressing Israel to respect Palestinian human rights. When the Palestinian uprising began, consequently, Palestinians were harshly policed but not ethnically cleansed.

## DESPOTIC VS. INFRASTRUCTURAL REGIMES OF POWER

Why are ghettos policed, not destroyed? Thinkers such as Anthony Giddens, Michel Foucault, Michael Mann, and Charles Tilly offer some tentative answers.[24] In the pre-modern period, sovereigns used intense but sporadic violence against internal rebels, believing that a few dramatic punitive acts would keep others in line. Modern states, conversely, cut back on the intensity of methods, shifting to smoother but more comprehensive regimes of control. Although the modern state's ability to

shape society has increased enormously, the sheer deadliness of domestic state coercion has declined.[25] Scholars offer different interpretations of this trend, but historical sociologist Michael Mann's distinction between despotic and infrastructural power seems particularly useful. Mann writes that pre-modern despots could do as they wished with their victims, but they had less access to powerful technologies of control over society at large.[26] Modern "infrastructural" states, by contrast, can penetrate society and implement their policies more widely, but are also obliged to operate within certain recognized moral and legal limits. Modern states, Mann notes, cannot "brazenly kill or expropriate their [internal] enemies" without exciting intense opposition, and they cannot change fundamental rules of state behavior at will.[27] As infrastructural power grows, in other words, despotic power declines. Social theorist Anthony Giddens views this as an increase in the "scope" of state power at the expense of intensity, while French social philosopher Michel Foucault writes of transitions from "punishment" to "discipline."[28]

What prompted this shift? Some argue it stems from the material interests of capitalists seeking predictable, routinized, and low-key methods of rule to promote trade, while others suggest it stemmed from shifts in the balance of state-society power. As rulers demanded greater loyalty, taxes, and military service from their citizens, the latter discovered they could successfully press sovereigns to modify their ways. Still a third group believes that state elites initiated the shift themselves to rationalize and improve techniques of mass control. Regardless of the precise explanation, most agree that an important change in state-society relations took place during the move from pre-modern to modern European statehood, forcing states to become increasingly bound by rules they themselves created.

Infrastructural power relies on centralized control over the means of violence. In states with low infrastructural capacities, the means of coercion are broadly dispersed through the population, but when sovereigns successfully concentrate the means of violence, infrastructural power rises. Ironically, however, centralized coercion does not grant states unlimited powers, but is rather associated with rules, regulations, and norms limiting the state's methods against the now defenseless citizenry. Under infrastructural regimes of power, weaponless citizens are to be policed, not destroyed. Clearly, any notion that modern infrastructural power *invariably* limits state repression is wrong, since some states with high infrastructural power massacre their own populations. As the examples of Nazi Germany and Rwanda demonstrate, powerful state

apparatuses can be used to commit genocide against their own citizens.[29] Yet broadly speaking, the more securely the state dominates society, the more incentives it faces to reduce its reliance on despotic methods.

This trend is illustrated by the Soviet experience, where Stalin's tyranny was eventually replaced with a smoother system of control. Post-Stalinist "socialist legality," one observer writes, "was not wholly without content when it came to restraining regime behavior," since Soviet internal security forces often went to "extraordinary lengths . . . to pretend—sometimes it seems almost to themselves—that the rules [were] being followed."[30] As theorists of the modern state might anticipate, increased Soviet infrastructural control eventually limited its resort to despotic methods. Like other high-capacity states, the post-Stalinist Soviet Union adopted a more encompassing, but less spectacularly brutal, regime of social control. Importantly, this suggests that states will be reluctant to openly flout laws they themselves have created. Nevertheless, it seems clear that some institutional settings are more conducive to one type of regime over another. Densely institutionalized settings such as ghettos are areas of high infrastructural power, explaining the state's reliance on police-style or infrastructural methods. Weakly institutionalized arenas such as frontiers, conversely, are subject to lower levels of infrastructural strength, leading to more despotic regimes of power.

Most of us would probably prefer to face infrastructural rather than despotic state power, just as ghetto ethnic policing seems preferable to frontier-style cleansing. Still, it would be wrong to regard the shift from despotism to infrastructural regimes of violence as an unproblematic improvement, a point often made by those skeptical of modernization's benefits. As Foucault persuasively argues, pervasive modern disciplinary techniques can be more invasive than occasional acts of kingly punishment.[31] Despotism is explicit, dramatic, and awful but is often irregular and fleeting. Infrastructural power is less blatant, by contrast, but often penetrates social life to a much greater extent. Policing, moreover, excites less broad condemnation, as Palestinians have discovered.

## INTERNATIONAL NORMS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOVEREIGNTY

International norms help explain how particular institutional settings emerge and function.[32] In a world of global journalism, instant communications, and transnational human rights networks, internal wars are subject to intense international scrutiny.[33] Nowhere is this more true

than in Bosnia and Palestine, where the conflicts were subjected to systematic international intervention and mediation. Serbian and Israeli decision makers constantly sought to shape, respond to, and evade global scrutiny, making international forces an integral part of our story.

There has been an explosion of transnational norm making and activism in relation to a broad array of issues such as women's rights, immigration, and human rights.[34] This trend is being driven by intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank, as well as nongovernmental organizations such as Transparency International, Greenpeace, and Human Rights Watch. Studies show that as the density of international norms and networks grows, states feel compelled to at least *try* to demonstrate to global audiences that they are modern, civilized, and efficient, adopting approved global rules and models of action.[35] Many of these global norms have been so internalized by state agents that they pass without notice, becoming constitutive of state action.[36] Others, including human rights, are often less thoroughly internalized, serving only as externally imposed constraints on policy.

In April 1992, the sovereignty norm helped create a Bosnian frontier because Western powers chose to recognize the Bosnian republic's borders as sovereign, forcing Serbia to officially disengage. This severed Bosnia from Serbia's formal control (through the Yugoslav federation), promoting frontier-like conditions. In 1988, conversely, Palestinian demands for independence were rebuffed by the same powers. Instead, Western powers applied the norm of human rights to the West Bank and Gaza, promoting Israel's use of ethnic policing. Greater Western support for Bosnian sovereignty, ironically, helped prepare the ground for more intense Serbian despotism.

### *Human Rights*

The treaties, norms, and conventions surrounding the notion of human rights increasingly play an important role in global affairs, and states are under more pressure than ever before to appear respectful of their populations' dignity and rights.[37] In a sense, human rights norms represent the codification and dissemination of the rules and regulations produced by infrastructural power. Even if states do not actually wield infrastructural control over a given area, they feel pressured to use policing and law enforcement tactics, since that is what human rights norms require. Increased global human rights pressures are evident in the global media's

use of the term. Between 1982 and 1994, for example, the Reuters World Service registered a 500 percent increase in stories with the words "human rights," while the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) registered a 600 percent increase. Other agencies, such as China's Xinhua's press service, witnessed even more dramatic growth.[38] The number of international nongovernmental organizations dealing with human rights, moreover, is also on the increase. From only 33 such international groups in 1953, the numbers rose to 79 in 1983, and 168 a decade later.[39]

These changes are reconfiguring the global normative environment, with important consequences for smaller but significant regional powers such as Serbia or Israel.[40] Forced into a subordinate position vis-à-vis global (but often Western-dominated) rule makers, regional and local powers are obliged to take human rights into consideration.[41] Semi-democracies such as Serbia, Israel, Mexico, Turkey, and Indonesia also have vocal human rights organizations of their own, lending global norms even greater domestic resonance. Local and global human rights activists often collaborate, infusing one another with information, resources, and legitimacy.[42] In these cases, global human rights norms and norms of domestic infrastructural power are mutually reinforcing. These two sources of restraint in heavily institutionalized settings—domestic infrastructural power and international human rights norms—are analytically distinct but mutually reinforcing.

### *Sovereignty*

Sovereignty, a second and more established global norm, is also highly relevant to our story. Sovereignty divides territory into exclusive chunks of property, affecting styles of state violence in contradictory ways.[43] In our two cases, sovereignty helped trigger violence by providing Serbian and Jewish nationalists with powerful grievances. Since both countries' internationally recognized borders excluded coveted lands, nationalists in each felt duty bound to change their country's boundaries. In both cases, moreover, frustrated sovereignty claims provided incentives for ethnic cleansing. Some Serbian nationalists believed their claim over Bosnia would be bolstered by removal of the non-Serb population, while some Jewish Zionists held similar views regarding Palestine. Thus in one important sense, sovereignty served as a catalyst for Serbian and Israeli violence.

At the same time, sovereignty constrained repression by enhancing each state's infrastructural power in contested areas, creating the pre-

conditions for policing, rather than cleansing. Broadly speaking, infrastructural power is strengthened by international recognition of a state's right to be sovereign ruler over a given piece of territory. Without such recognition, states are constantly anxious that their claim to rule will be undermined.[44] To clarify, it is helpful to distinguish between sovereignty's empirical and juridical aspects.[45] Empirical sovereignty is the state's actual physical ability to control territory, expropriate the means of violence, administer the population, and shape social and political life. Juridical sovereignty, by contrast, is the theoretical right states have to do such things, and this is achieved through diplomatic practices, treaties, and international norms. States earn empirical sovereignty, conversely, through physical violence, control, and administration.[46] Infrastructural control is based chiefly on mechanisms of empirical sovereignty, but cannot endure without juridical recognition.[47]

A second way in which sovereignty promotes policing over cleansing is through its link to the global human rights norm. The two norms have become increasingly intertwined, creating a "package deal" in which governments gain juridical rights to territory in return for a commitment to treat the population appropriately.[48] Although actual policies obviously diverge substantially from international standards, no state can remain entirely indifferent.

Finally, sovereignty promotes policing by making it difficult for governments to disclaim responsibility for rogue internal violence. Given human rights pressures, governments are often tempted to argue that private actors are responsible for illegal violence, but the spirit of juridical sovereignty complicates this effort.[49] Sovereigns are expected to have expropriated the means of violence from the citizenry in their own territory, and actions by lawless private forces undermine the state's legitimacy, a fate most rulers seek to avoid.

## INVENTING WITHIN LIMITS

Until now my discussion appears to suggest that institutional settings somehow dictate state action through preexisting institutional routines, norms, or logics of appropriateness. Such a determinist understanding of repression, however, would be misguided. As this book's case studies demonstrate in detail, states respond creatively to rules and institutional settings, taking structural constraints into consideration while simultaneously devising new methods of violence.[50] State repression is not cleanly produced by institutional rules, but is rather created through a

chaotic negotiation process in which soldiers, police, and paramilitary gunmen work with, around, and through institutional rules.[51] At the same time, however, room for maneuver is not unlimited, and institutional settings do matter. As French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu suggests, social action is a process of "invention within limits."[52] To discover how this works in practice, we must closely examine the nuts and bolts of repression in individual settings of violence.

PART ONE

# Patterns of Serbian Violence

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS DISCUSS THREE distinct arenas of Serbian state violence. The first is Bosnia during 1992 and 1993, when Serbian officials tacitly encouraged semi-private Serbian nationalists to engage in ethnic cleansing as part of an undercover effort to secure disputed lands. The second arena includes ethnically mixed regions of Serbia known as the Sandžak and Vojvodina. In both regions, the Serbian state blocked Serbian national radicalism to a certain extent, capping levels of private Serbian paramilitary violence. The third arena is Kosovo, where Serbia moved from ethnic policing in 1990–97 to ethnic cleansing in 1998–99. Serbia's style of violence in Bosnia, Sandžak/Vojvodina, and Kosovo diverged because these three were very different sorts of institutional settings. Before launching into a detailed discussion of each arena, however, I begin with a theme common to all three: Serbia's nationalist resurgence in the 1980s and early 1990s.

In 1979 the Yugoslav economy began to crash, plunging the country into political and economic crisis. The economy had been heavily dependent on Western credit, so when repayment conditions tightened, the national debt skyrocketed. These economic pressures metamorphosed into *nationalist* struggles, however, largely due to Yugoslavia's federal arrangements, which generated tendencies toward nationalist conflict.

Over the years, Yugoslavia's communist party[1] had responded to domestic calls for political liberalization by decentralizing the country along republican lines, granting progressively more powers to individual party branches in each of the country's six republics, as well as to the two autonomous provinces within Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina. By the late 1970s, decentralization had spawned a loosely allied set of republican-based territorial oligarchies, each of which enjoyed significant autonomy. Inter-oligarchy conflicts tended to become nationalist, however, because each republic (with the exception of Bosnia) was associated with one of Yugoslavia's constituent nations.[2] By devolving power to the republics and then defining them in national terms, the Yugoslav leadership had inadvertently hardwired nationalism into the federal political system. Conflicts between regional bureaucracies could easily escalate into national struggles whenever republican leaders mobilized their bureaucracies and public opinion.[3] With only a weak federal structure cutting

*across* republican boundaries, there was limited opportunity for the emergence of an all-Yugoslav identity.[4] Although the communist party as a whole was committed to suppressing nationalist sentiment, its efforts were constantly undercut by the country's built-in drift toward nationalist conflict.

Serbia's unique administrative position within socialist Yugoslavia generated particularly strong incentives for nationalist mobilization. In 1974, Yugoslavia's rulers finalized a new constitution codifying amendments made during the 1967–71 period, giving significant powers to Serbia's internal provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, which were granted a vote in federal *and* republican forums. Thus Serbia, unlike other republics, was unable to fully control its own territory and was often contradicted by Kosovo and Vojvodina in federal forums. Serbian nationalists also complained that ethnic Serbs were punching below their proper political weight because many of their number were scattered throughout Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Vojvodina. Although (according to Serb estimates) ethnic Serbs comprised some 40 percent of former Yugoslavia's general population, some Serbs complained that these numbers were not matched by concomitant political power at the federal level. In the words of sociologist Veljko Vujačić, Serbia was an "incomplete hegemon" despite the central role it had played in Yugoslav politics earlier in the century.[5] As nationalist Serbian intellectuals often argued, Serbs had suffered enormously during the last 200 years, first in wars against the Ottoman occupiers, then in World War I battles with the Habsburgs, and finally in World War II struggles with the Ustaše, the fascist Croatian party.[6] Yet despite these sacrifices, the nationalists said, Yugoslavia's communist-created political system kept Serbia down.

Tensions between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo highlighted Serbia's perceived predicament. Kosovo holds a central place in Serbian history, national identity, and literary thought as the heart of the medieval Serbian empire, the site of Serbia's most symbolically important (albeit practically insignificant) battle with the Ottomans, and the place from which some Serbs fled into exile in the seventeenth century.[7] Between 1945 and 1966, Kosovo's Albanians were often ruled harshly by a Serb-dominated communist party branch, but after 1968, decentralization permitted ethnic Albanians in some instances to gain the upper hand, creating a tense atmosphere for members of the province's ethnic Serb minority. In the early 1980s, Serbian discontent was exacerbated by the economic crisis and ethnic Albanian efforts to transform Kosovo into a full republic. Some local Serbs already felt discriminated against in the

distribution of public resources and feared that if Kosovo became a republic, their plight would only worsen. Increasingly, a number of Serbian journalists and writers published articles alleging that ethnic Albanians were waging a deadly campaign of violence, harassment, and terror against Kosovo's Serbs.[8] As a result, the Serbian communist leadership in Belgrade felt trapped. If it cracked down on ethnic Albanians, other republics would accuse it of national chauvinism, and if it curtailed the province's autonomous powers, Yugoslavia's broader federal balance would be disrupted. If the party failed to support Kosovo Serbs, however, leaders would face bitter condemnation from Serbian patriots and nationalists. As the leadership dithered, Kosovo's Serbs launched a rare and highly successful social movement. Aided by nationalist intellectuals and concerned parliamentarians in Belgrade, Kosovo Serbs managed to radicalize the Serbian political environment, pushing their grievances to the forefront of Serbia's political stage.

Increased debate in Belgrade over Kosovo dovetailed with the heightened profile of Serbia's nationalist counter-elite, a diverse group of dissidents who had long criticized the Yugoslav communists for oppressing Serbia, suppressing democracy, and downplaying communist atrocities during and after the Second World War.[9] Prior to the mid-1980s, this group consisted of disunited strands of nationalists, radical Marxists, democratic liberals, Serbian patriots, and others, but toward the mid-1980s, these strands began to coalesce in an increasingly cogent nationalist critique of communism and Yugoslav federalism. In particular, leading intellectuals wrote prolifically about once-taboo subjects such as Serbian suffering and longing for national and territorial unity. Writers even began to depict World War II Serbian royalists in a more positive light, casting doubt upon the communist party's official version tagging royalist Četnici as fascist collaborators. Although these views violated the communist party's ban on national chauvinism, Belgrade had a tradition of intellectual tolerance, and Serbia's post-Tito leadership was loathe to wrangle with the increasingly popular nationalists. The nationalist revival encouraged the Kosovo Serb protest movement; the counter-elite wanted to weaken the communists, and Kosovo Serbs wanted the authorities to defend their rights. Together, the two pushed Serbian politics rightward, generating a groundswell of anticommunism, patriotism, and increasingly radical nationalism.

The Serbian communist party branch was thus simultaneously engaged in internal debates over Kosovo, inter-republic struggles, and the broader Yugoslav economic crisis. Then, a faction led by party func-

tionary Slobodan Milošević launched a bid for party supremacy, at a time when Serbian nationalist critiques played an increasingly central role in intraparty discussions.[10] Milošević argued in party forums that Serbian republican rights were being violated and that the existing leadership was not fighting back. Some of Milošević's opinions were made public, and his use of the nationalist counter-elite's arguments resonated with many in the broader Serbian public. Milošević's faction ultimately came to power in a 1987 party vote overturning the old guard and appointing Milošević party secretary, and soon after, he mounted a broad-based campaign to revitalize the party and coopt nationalist themes. His efforts included direct appeals to Serbian popular opinion, a tactic hitherto ignored by Yugoslavia's more conservative communist leadership. Helped by Serbian activists from Kosovo, a reinvigorated Serbian communist party organized street rallies stressing the urgency of fighting for Serbian political rights, as well as the somewhat contradictory need to return to communism's early years, when altruism and sacrifice were central motivating themes. In mass rallies termed an "antibureaucratic revolution," Milošević attacked the traditional party bureaucracy for complacency and selfishness. More concretely, he criticized the independent provincial party leadership in Kosovo and Vojvodina for crippling Serbia through obstructionism during federal votes, and failing to defend legitimate ethnic Serb and republican interests. Milošević soon managed to revoke many of Kosovo and Vojvodina's constitutional powers, promising that Kosovo Serbs would no longer be subordinate to ethnic Albanian communist party cadres. In so doing, Milošević satisfied one of the Serbian nationalist counter-elite's most pressing demands.

Although analysts tend to see Milošević's efforts purely in nationalist terms, his message was in fact more complex. As Serbian political scientist Slobodan Antonić argues, Milošević adopted a Janus-faced style in which he stressed a return to communist fundamentals for one set of supporters and promoted Serbian national rights for another. "At each public appearance," Antonić writes, "Milošević displayed both faces."[11] According to sociologist Veljko Vujačić, Milošević fashioned a unique left-right combination, which broadened his appeal to include Serb citizens from across the political spectrum. By coopting the nationalist counter-elite's message, Milošević captured much of their popular appeal.

In the period immediately preceding the 1990 collapse of Yugoslav communism, the Serbian communist party branch had thus become an energetic, popular, and confident group. It had preformed well during the

antibureaucratic revolution, demonstrated its popular appeal, proved its nationalist credentials, and distanced itself from the stigmatized old guard. Unlike communist successor parties in other Yugoslav republics, Serbia's Socialist Party survived the 1990 multiparty vote with enough support to lead Serbia into the new multiparty era.[12]

At the same time, post-1990 voting patterns and opinion polls suggest that patriotic and nationalist sentiment was relatively strong in Serbia. During 1990–93, for example, ethnic Serbs consistently voted for self-consciously Serbian parties. Small non-nationalist or non-Serbian parties fared relatively poorly,[13] suggesting that ethnicity was the best predictor of voting preferences.[14] According to a poll by the Belgrade Institute for Social Sciences, "Intolerance and national homogenization" became "important characteristics of political life in Serbia after 1989," with a 1993 finding of "hyper-patriotism" among 67 percent of the voting public.[15] Another poll revealed that 89 percent of the republic's ethnic Serbs viewed ethnic Serbs favorably, compared to 81 percent disliking ethnic Albanians, 75 percent disliking Muslim Slavs, and 74 percent disliking ethnic Croats.[16] A similar 1995 poll demonstrated only minor changes.[17]

Toward the end of 1991, when the specter of Bosnian independence loomed large, concern within the Serbian republic for the fate of Bosnia's ethnic Serb population increased. A 1992 poll indicated that 50 percent of respondents within the Serbian republic supported extending political and material assistance to ethnic Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. In 1993, 56 percent favored creating a league of ethnically Serb states, including the Bosnian Serb–held territories.[18] In the same year, 75 percent of the Serbian public thought its government's attempts to protect ethnic Serbs living in Bosnia and Croatia were a priority or a highly desirable goal, and 68 percent thought Bosnian Serbs should keep all or most of the land they had conquered during the 1992 fighting.[19]

There is no reliable polling data on public attitudes for the 1980s, and we cannot definitively say that ethnic Serbs in the early 1990s were more nationalistic than before. It seems likely, however, that Yugoslavia's breakup, the antibureaucratic revolution, the Serbian nationalist revival, and perceived external security threats made ethnic Serbs increasingly experience feelings of antagonism toward their non-Serb neighbors. Although contested, nationalism was clearly a powerful force in Serbian political life.

Ironically, however, popular commitment to democracy in Serbia *also* grew stronger during the 1990–93 period. How does rising Serbian ethnocentrism square with increased popular commitment to democratic

rule? Analyst Nicholas Miller, for one, argues that Serbian voters were democratically united in favor of aggressive nationalism. "While Serbian politicians differ on many important economic and political issues," Miller says, "the national question is not often one of them."[20] Although Serbia might have been *internally* democratic in the early 1990s, he argues, the "democracy that most Serbs honestly espouse is collective and exclusive." Miller, in other words, suggests that Serbian democracy for ethnic Serbs was offset by their contempt for ethnic others.

There was, however, some real disagreement among Serbs over concrete policy choices. Aleksander Pavkovich distinguishes between the "Serbian national idea," defined primarily as support for Serbian political and territorial unification in the early 1990s, and "Serbian national ideologies," or strategies aimed at achieving national unity.[21] Whereas no explicitly Serbian party could afford to abandon the notion of Serbian unification, card-carrying nationalists expressed substantial differences over the best possible ways to achieve that goal, including disagreements over where the borders of a unified Serbia should lie.

There is polling data to support Pavkovich's notion, suggesting that while the ethnic Serbs in Serbia proper broadly supported Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia and did not want non-Serbs in Serbia to gain too much power, they also disagreed over how best to achieve those goals. In October 1992, shortly after the first wave of Bosnian ethnic cleansing peaked, over 60 percent of ethnic Serbs supported dialogue and mutual concessions with Serbia's own ethnic minorities, including ethnic Albanians, Croats, and Muslim Slavs. Only 14 percent thought the state should respond with the energetic use of force to "any attempt by minorities [within Serbia] to change any aspect of their present position." Over 60 percent supported prosecution of Serbian ultranationalists seeking to evict Croats from their homes in Vojvodina.[22] A 1995 survey of ethnic Serbs living in Serbia found only limited support for pushing ethnic Albanians out of Kosovo, a remarkable finding given the ethnic cleansing campaign launched against Albanians in 1999. Only 17 percent of 200 persons polled favored Albanian depopulation, and 62 percent supported a solution that left ethnic Albanians in their homes and governed by the same laws that applied to Serbs.[23] The Serbian public was also of two minds when it came to the use of force in Bosnia. In 1990, well before the Bosnian war began, a survey showed only 24 percent believing "Serbia" should be militarily redefined to include any territory where ethnic Serbs lived.[24] In October 1992, only 2.6 percent thought that Serbia should send arms and men to support the Bosnian

Serbs, and a similarly small percentage favored direct military intervention in Bosnia by the newly reduced, rump Yugoslavia army.[25]

Serbia's political leaders also voiced divergent views on policy, ranging from nationalist ultra-radicalism to quasi-liberal moderation. The radical hard edge was spearheaded by Vojislav Šešelj, a former anticommunist dissident whose Serbian Radical Party consistently sought to outflank Milošević's Socialists from the right. The Radicals performed well in the 1992 elections, polling 22 percent of the popular vote to Milošević's 29 percent.[26] Throughout the early 1990s, Šešelj consistently used inflammatory language to advocate Greater Serbia positions, arguing that the delineation of Serbia's western borders was the country's main challenge and supporting the use of force, either by the Yugoslav federal army or Serbian republican forces, to expand Serbian territory.[27] Šešelj also advocated a hard line against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, calling on the government to crush unrest with "all possible means"[28] and threatening non-Serbs with deportation.[29] He proposed granting Bosnian Muslims only 18 percent of Bosnia's territory, keeping the rest for Bosnia's Serbs, and using "all means" to crush Bosnian Muslim "fundamentalists."[30]

A second militant voice was that of Vuk Drašković, a famed writer who launched some of the first attacks on the Serbian communist party's alleged mishandling of the Kosovo conflict. Later, Drašković distinguished himself by being the first prominent actor to introduce blatantly anti-Islamic rhetoric into modern Serb nationalist discourse and was among the first to use anti-Muslim language publicly in the Sandžak, the partially Muslim area within Serbia and Montenegro.[31] In 1989, Drašković began promoting Greater Serbia, but then reversed course in 1991, warning it would prove impossible to divide Bosnia along ethnic lines and protesting the Croatian war.[32] By early 1992, Drašković was simultaneously a nationalist and an antiwar activist, complaining the fighting had ruined Serbia.[33] Dobrica Ćosić, another prominent nationalist and anticommunist, was also ambivalent, although unlike Drašković, he never publicly protested the war. Ćosić advocated Serb unity and support for Bosnian Serbs in Belgrade, but never specified how he would handle the presence of non-Serbs and never used the violent terminology of Vojislav Šešelj. The Belgrade nationalist counter-elite, in other words, did not speak with one voice when it came to translating Serbian nationalism into concrete policies.

Milošević, the ex-communist leader, developed a synthesis of socialist and nationalist ideas, alternately invoking a return to early commu-

nism and emphasizing Serbian national rights. Milošević's rhetoric was often ambivalent, never clearly advocating war and ethnic cleansing, but never fully supporting peace and nonviolence either. In 1990, Milošević promised to give "material and moral support" to ethnic Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, but said nothing explicit about military aid.[34] He also did everything he could to rhetorically separate himself from events in Bosnia, promising to fully respect non-Serb rights in Serbia. In 1990 Milošević attacked radical nationalists, calling Drašković and Šešelj "hotheads"[35] and keeping public distance from them and other extremists throughout the early 1990s, even while tacitly using them as paramilitary enforcers.[36] According to political scientist Zoran Slavujević, Milošević's Socialists were "consistently inconsistent," voicing nationalist concerns one week and using the language of multinational tolerance the next.[37] Milošević himself never clearly articulated his preferences, keeping the public guessing as to how far he might go in support of Greater Serbia. As sociologist Eric Gordy notes, Milošević can rightly claim to have never publicly advocated the nationalist positions articulated by his colleagues and allies.[38]

Despite the rise of nationalism in popular discourse, in other words, there was no clear public consensus over how best to achieve Serbian national goals. The ultranationalist right used harsh language suggestive of ethnic cleansing, but others adopted a less militant line in public. Milošević's rhetorical caution exemplifies this ambivalence. Serbia's leadership was indubitably nationalist, but that did not translate into a consistent bundle of clear policy choices. To understand why ethnic cleansing took place in some areas but not others, we must examine the diverse range of institutional settings in which Serbian nationalist discourse, and its subsequent violence, was embedded.

CHAPTER 2

# Bosnian Frontier Formation

Bosnia was transformed into a frontier in the spring of 1992 when it escaped formal Yugoslav control and won international recognition of its independence. Serbia had by then become the dominant player in the collapsing Yugoslav federation, and international acceptance of Bosnian sovereignty meant that the republic was slipping from Serbia's formal political orbit. The result was not true Bosnian independence, however, but rather frontier-like status vis-à-vis its powerful Serbian neighbor. Bosnian actions played a key role in this process, but similar challenges to Serbian concerns were occurring elsewhere, including in Kosovo and the Sandžak. It was Western support for Bosnian sovereignty that proved crucial, transforming Bosnian efforts into a successful bid for independence. In their support, Western powers were vaguely well meaning, hoping to prevent war by prohibiting Serbian cross-border intervention. These commitments were not backed by military muscle, however, and no Western troops were deployed to enforce the new Bosnia-Serbia border.

Serbia's official links to the region were thus severed by international fiat, which denied Serbian (or Yugoslav) juridical sovereignty over Bosnia. Had this not been the case, Serbia might have occupied or annexed portions of Bosnia, building an infrastructural regime of power. International insistence on Bosnian sovereignty blocked that option, however, and Serbia responded by covertly backing frontier-style ethnic cleansing. This chapter discusses why Bosnia was able to attract international sup-

port for its independence, despite international norms militating against secessionism.[1]

## INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF BOSNIAN SOVEREIGNTY

The Bosnian frontier emerged in full form on April 6 and 7, 1991, when first the U.S. and then the European Community recognized its sovereignty.[2] Until late 1991, Bosnia's largely Muslim leadership was reluctant to demand independence, realizing the move would provoke war. Prior secessionist successes by Slovenia and Croatia made it difficult for Bosnia to stay put, however. These two northern Yugoslav republics had begun their own escape soon after Yugoslavia's first multiparty elections in 1990–91, with first Slovenia and then Croatia declaring the intention to secede. Yugoslav federal troops intervened first in Slovenia during summer 1991, but Western European diplomats quickly intervened, convincing Yugoslav generals to withdraw. Soon after, tensions erupted into fighting in Croatia, with some federal troops lending a helping hand to local Serb militias. European mediators intervened yet again, and in December 1991, a European arbitration commission accepted requests by the Slovenian and Croatian republican governments for international recognition of their territorial sovereignty. UN peacekeepers were deployed to monitor a second Yugoslav federal withdrawal.

Bosnia's Muslim leadership sought European recognition on December 23, 1991, over the objections of Bosnian Serb leaders hoping to remain in the slimmed-down Yugoslavia. Bosnian Serbs could not understand why, if Yugoslavia's territory was being divided up, they couldn't take part of Bosnia with them. The international insistence on dividing up Yugoslavia according to its old republican boundaries seemed to them irrational and unjust, privileging republican rights over those of nations, and placing ethnic Serbs in Bosnia at a distinct disadvantage.

Why were Slovenia and Croatia so eager to secede? Above all, the broader Yugoslav drift toward nationalism, centered largely on the country's republican entities, was affecting all political units in the federation, but Slovenia and Croatia also had strong economic incentives to secede. Slovenia, as the richest and most likely to gain European Community membership, was particularly eager to rid itself of the other, less successful, Yugoslav republics, and the Slovenian communist party was the most explicitly pro-sovereignty in the mid-1980s. The Croatian party branch was also intrigued by the notion, but its commitment to secession developed later, largely due to the legacy of 1967–71, when the

party purged an earlier generation of nationalists from its ranks. Toward the end of the 1980s and in 1990, however, Croatian nationalists earned increasing popular support. Croatia faced economic incentives similar to those of Slovenia, and both republics were made anxious by the tone of Milošević's antibureaucratic revolution.

Slovenian and Croatian secessionism was also part of a broader Eastern European phenomenon. The end of the Cold War had made it seem possible for some formerly communist states to join the European Community, generating massive pressures throughout the region. Within Yugoslavia, this resulted in inter-republican competition, with each portraying itself as more "European" than the others.[3] Discourse in Slovenia and Croatia reflected this phenomenon as Catholic politicians portrayed themselves as more civilized than the Orthodox Serbs, whom they characterized as an unsophisticated and violent people "corrupted" by their long subjection to Ottoman rule.

In 1990, Yugoslavia's first multiparty elections gave secessionists enormous energy. As a plethora of new parties jostled for popular support, each republic's political agenda was swept toward nationalism and secessionism, leading to a spiraling security dilemma. Ethno-nationalist sentiments on all sides fed off each other, and as activists within each group prepared to confront the others, levels of mutual threat and suspicion increased.[4]

## AN INTERNATIONAL WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

Little of this would have mattered had the international environment not been unusually conducive to the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia. A set of unique circumstances had emerged in the early 1990s, creating a window of opportunity for the northern Yugoslav republics.[5] Slovenian and Croatian elites skillfully took advantage of that window, maneuvering with great skill to maximize Western European support for their independence. The more republican elites pushed, the larger the international window became.

Chief among these international factors was Yugoslavia's declining geopolitical significance. During the Cold War, Western allies were committed to Yugoslavia's territorial integrity as a bulwark against Soviet expansion. This, of course, was no longer a priority after the Soviet collapse. Second, Western Europe was becoming an increasingly autonomous political actor, with special emphasis on the newly united Germany. With the United States preoccupied with the Gulf War and

post-Soviet crises, an explicit burden-sharing agreement gave Western Europe priority over relations with Eastern Europe, and Germany was central to this effort. Thus if Slovenia and Croatia could gain allies in Germany, they would be well on their way toward securing Western support for independence.

The third change was the increased salience of two key themes in European political discourse. German unification and the later Baltic independence movements had promoted the theme of "small states liberating themselves from communist hegemonies," and Croatia and Slovenia worked hard to portray their desire for independence within that context. Their representatives argued that the non-Serbian republics were being oppressed by the Belgrade-based Serbian communists, who were unwilling to set them free. They also emphasized their commitment to nonviolence, easing Western Europe's fears of post-communist violence. Thus when Yugoslav federal forces swung into action in Slovenia and then Croatia, they seemed to be crossing a West European red line, transforming Serbia and the Yugoslav army into perceived aggressors. Key European decision makers saw Croatia and Slovenia as oppressed states struggling to liberate themselves from violent communists, not as secessionists bent on disrupting the international legal system.

Still, neither Croatia nor Slovenia would have been able to take advantage of international conditions had they not enjoyed support from key constituencies within Austria, Switzerland, and Germany. In those countries, allies lobbied for Slovenian and Croatian liberation and in Germany, successfully pushed the government into recognizing Slovenian and Croatian independence. The politics of recognition became enmeshed in domestic German struggles, with Slovenian and Croatian independence being compared to German reunification efforts. This interpretation was boosted, in turn, by Germany's Croat émigré community, Vatican lobbying, and media support. Yugoslav dissolution had become entangled in German domestic politics, with important ramifications for all former Yugoslav republics.[6]

Once the Bosnian fighting began, Western players and an array of international organizations protested Serbian cross-border intervention. In May 1992, the UN Security Council accepted Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia into the General Assembly as full member states, confirming earlier U.S. and European actions.[7] The Council condemned both Croatia and Serbia for their Bosnian interference and demanded that the (by then) Serbian-controlled Yugoslav federal army be withdrawn, dis-

banded, or disarmed.[8] Throughout April and May, however, Western intelligence services, reporters, and human rights groups amassed evidence of continued Serbian interventions, and on May 30, 1992, the Security Council ordered UN member states to cut commercial ties with Serbia and Montenegro, the only two republics left in the Yugoslav federation.[9] The West and the UN took Bosnian sovereignty seriously enough to impose sanctions, but would not send troops to police Bosnia's new borders. Serbia was not unmoved by these measures, launching an immediate effort to publicly disengage from the Bosnian conflict even while maintaining covert links.

## SERBIA'S RHETORICAL DISENGAGEMENT

Angered at Western support for Bosnian sovereignty, Belgrade tried to make the best of a bad situation. If Bosnia was now a foreign country, then Serbia hoped it could evade responsibility for Bosnian fighting. Belgrade thus tried its best to convince external critics that it was disengaging from its troubled neighbor, strengthening the frontier creation process initiated by international recognition of Bosnia's sovereignty.

In many ways, the situation and Belgrade's response to it represented a continuation of communist-era norms of republic mutual noninterference.[10] Decentralization had created strong inter-republican boundaries, with each maintaining its own communist party branch, central bank, governing agencies, and internal security services. Although federal agencies bore overall security responsibility, individual republics controlled events on their own turf. Serbian security services could operate in Bosnia only in violation of Yugoslav law and tacit domestic norms. When the Bosnian war began in April 1992, this noninterference norm was strengthened by international recognition.

In March 1992, Serbian officials signaled their intent to leave Bosnia to its own devices by announcing a plan to create a new Yugoslavia out of Serbia and Montenegro.[11] Throughout March, officials discussed the new country's constitution while studiously avoiding mention of Bosnian Serbs.[12] A new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was officially created on April 27, and its leaders promised they harbored no irredentist aspirations.[13] By the end of May, Belgrade officials were explaining to UN officials that they had no jurisdiction in Bosnia, and no ability to affect Bosnian combatants.[14] On May 20, the day the UN Security Council imposed punitive sanctions, Serbia's ruling Socialist Party said it was

maintaining "full solidarity" with Bosnian Serbs but was also committed to avoiding any intervention in Bosnian affairs in an effort to preserve the "heart of the Serbian people."[15]

Belgrade officials regularly contrasted Serbia's putative ethnic harmony with Bosnia's vicious ethnic war. "National freedoms, equality and inter-ethnic tolerance are . . . the strategy of Serbia,"[16] one top official promised, and the new Yugoslav federal assembly vowed that minorities would enjoy vigorous human rights protections.[17] On May 20, remarkably, the Yugoslav presidency ended the official state of war declared twelve months before, saying that the country's national security problems had been resolved.[18] As accounts of Bosnian ethnic cleansing intensified, Serbian president Slobodan Milošević proudly noted that in Serbia proper, ethnic minorities were not being forced to flee, because "integrity and property [are] not endangered here."[19]

A third disengagement tactic included Serbian efforts to mark its new boundaries with Bosnia. Two weeks after Bosnian independence, the new federal Yugoslav customs agency designated official border crossings between Serbia and the new Bosnian state, noting that cross-border travelers would henceforth require passports or identity cards.[20] A week later, the agency announced it had established full customs control over Yugoslav territory and was restricting transportable items.[21] Travelers were warned by *Borba,* a popular Belgrade daily, that they could cross only at designated crossings,[22] while *Politika,* a pro-government paper, wrote that special federal border units would soon begin patrolling Yugoslavia's new boundaries.[23]

A fourth and crucial step was Belgrade's withdrawal of the Yugoslav federal army from Bosnia, dividing the force into a new Yugoslav army, composed of ethnic Serbs from Serbia and Montenegro, and a Bosnian Serb entity, consisting solely of ethnic Serbs from Bosnia. Earlier in 1992 the army had been reluctant to withdraw into Serbia or divide into two units, promising it would remain in Bosnia for as long as Bosnian Serbs so desired.[24] International pressure had forced a shift in policy, however, and on May 4, 1992, rump Yugoslavia announced it would complete its troop withdrawal within fifteen days.[25] The new FRY military, one leading official promised, had no further business in Bosnia.[26] In reality, some 80 percent of the old federal army's soldiers reportedly remained in Bosnia, since senior officers had mostly deployed Bosnian Serbs to the region early on.[27] As a result, officials explained they had not really left "the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the mercy of the Croat-Muslim paramilitary formations."[28]

Fear of Western military strikes was a key reason for the army's withdrawal.[29] In April, the progovernment Serbian daily *Politika* warned of a Gulf War–style "Balkan Storm" aimed at pushing Serbia out of Bosnia,[30] while *NIN*, a popular Serbian weekly, observed that "official Belgrade, confused and frightened, is now displaying a desire to avoid any serious confrontation with America and its principal allies, at any cost."[31] The Yugoslav vice president said he feared a military attack, warning of air strikes rather than ground troops.[32] The Yugoslav air force commander anticipated attacks from NATO air bases in Italy and the Sixth Fleet, urging Serbs to fight back "to the last person" if necessary.[33] Military specialist James Gow, moreover, notes that in the spring of 1992 "it was widely believed both in Western Europe and in certain parts of Yugoslavia that an intervention force was under discussion . . . it was certainly taken as a real cause for fear [in Belgrade]." [34] Belgrade's decision to withdraw federal troops from Bosnia sought to reassure Western audiences that the new Yugoslavia would respect Bosnia's territorial integrity.

All this was entirely consistent with what Serbian officials had been publicly telling international diplomats all along. During negotiations over Bosnia in February and March 1992, Serbian officials told Western negotiators that while they opposed Bosnian sovereignty for fear of compromising Bosnian Serb rights, they would never intervene militarily to enforce their views. Serbia's role in the Bosnian crisis, Milošević assured a UN mediator, "can only be a constructive one, because our commonly known stand is that we support a peaceful solution of this crisis."[35] On another occasion Milošević promised that Serbia would cooperate with the UN, since Serbia was itself part of that "world organization" and wanted to abide by its rules.[36] Hoping to appear internationally cooperative and fully respectable, official Serbia consistently denied any intent to use force in creating a Greater Serbia.[37]

Serbian officials also denied encouraging or permitting cross-border paramilitary involvement in Bosnia. Irregular Serbian formations were entirely illegal, according to the Serbian prime minister, and the government was making every effort to prevent "armed individuals" from entering Bosnia.[38] The "occasional appearance of armed individuals and groups," another official said, is a "marginal phenomenon subject to strict control."[39] As reports of paramilitaries crossing into Bosnia escalated, Milošević emphatically stated that the Serbian republic was in full control of its territory and that it was effectively blocking all attempts by

would-be paramilitaries to cross the border into Bosnia.[40] This effort was even rhetorically supported both by ultranationalist Vojislav Šešelj, who vowed his followers were in no way involved in Bosnia, and by another key paramilitary leader, Željko Ražnatović, popularly known as Arkan.[41] Throughout the spring and summer of 1992, when Serbian cross-border paramilitary activism was at its height, Serbia repeatedly stressed its commitment to blocking irregular forces.[42]

Serbian officials even began to criticize Bosnian Serb leaders, especially their well-publicized shelling of Sarajevo.[43] On May 30, the Serbian government said those responsible for indiscriminately shelling Muslim neighborhoods should be punished, complaining that Bosnian Serb bombardments caused great bitterness in Serbia.[44] The Serbian-dominated Yugoslav presidency protested Bosnian ethnic cleansing,[45] and two days after the UN imposed sanctions, demanded that Bosnian Serbs cease all bombardments of Sarajevo.[46] Shortly after, the rump Yugoslav assembly condemned all forms of ethnic cleansing and called on the Bosnian Serb leadership to rein in Serbian irregulars.[47]

Bosnian Serb leaders cooperated, telling observers they were fully independent of Serbia. In March 1992, Radovan Karadžić, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), warned Serbia to keep out of Bosnian affairs since "accusing Serbia has become the fashion." Bosnian Serbs, he said, needed nothing more than Serbian moral support, noting that Milošević "does not even know about many of our actions."[48] Although Bosnian Serb leaders originally hoped to join Serbia and Montenegro in the new Yugoslavia, they soon backed off, realizing this was not possible in the short run. Instead, they called for an independent Bosnian Serb state.[49] Karadžić categorically denied planning to link Bosnian Serb lands with Serbia, saying the newly created borders between Bosnia and Serbia would remain unchanged.[50] As the fighting intensified, Karadžić rejected claims of Serbian involvement, saying he and his colleagues were "avoiding contacts" with Belgrade.[51] Asked whether Milošević might disown him because of Bosnian Serb actions, Karadžić replied that since he was not a member of the Serbian state, he could not be disowned. He was answerable, he said, to the Bosnian Serb people only.[52]

The Bosnian Serb leadership was thus willing to assume responsibility for the war and ethnic cleansing, refusing to publicly implicate Serbia. Although Western powers had forced Bosnian sovereignty on unwilling Serbs, political elites on both sides of the new border quickly gave way, publicly accepting the division between Serbia proper and Bosnian

Serbs. The result, however, was a clandestine, cross-border Serbian effort to bolster the Bosnian Serbs' military and political position.

During spring 1992, Bosnia slipped from formal Yugoslav (and de facto Serbian) control through a combination of its local and international efforts. Due in large part to Slovenia and Croatia's remarkable ability to gain Western support for their independence, Bosnian sovereignty became a very real possibility. A unique confluence of events had overturned the Western-dominated international community's typical aversion to changing international borders, and Bosnian requests for sovereignty were ultimately granted in April 1992. Although both Bosnian Serbs and Serbia proper were firmly opposed to Bosnian independence, they pursued very different policies, at least at the rhetorical and diplomatic level. Bosnian Serbs declared their intent to create their own mini-state on parts of the old Bosnian republic and went to war to secure territorial and military dominance. Serbia and its junior federal partner Montenegro, by contrast, expressed their willingness to accept international fiat. They claimed that they no longer were involved politically or militarily in Bosnia's affairs, and that they were determined to prevent the infiltration of Bosnia by Serbia-based nationalist paramilitaries. The border between the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia, Belgrade said, would be respected as a legitimate international boundary. Although Serbia had little intention of respecting that border in practice, its rhetorical commitment to Bosnian sovereignty confirmed the new country's exit from Serbia's official domain of control, creating conditions for a new, frontier-like setting vis-à-vis Serbia. Serbia and its junior federal partner, Montenegro, exercised substantial de facto influence over Bosnian events in 1992 and 1993 while simultaneously pursuing plausible deniability of that involvement vis-à-vis its own citizens and international observers.

CHAPTER 3

# Ethnic Cleansing on the Bosnian Frontier

Serbian disengagement from Bosnia severed overt links between Serbian nationalism in Bosnia, on the one hand, and Serbian (and Montenegrin) state organizations, on the other. Within Serbia proper, nationalism was promoted, upheld, or maintained by the police, the interior ministry's state security agency, and the newly reduced federal Yugoslav army. Those agencies could not function openly inside Bosnia, however, generating a demand for alternative organizational forms satisfied by the Serbia-based paramilitaries, local Bosnian Serb crisis committees, and clandestine cross-border agents. These bodies filled the gap between Serbian territorial aspirations, which transcended Serbia's official borders, and the global norm of sovereignty, which bottled Serbia up within internationally recognized lines. Given Western efforts to uncover evidence of Serbian intervention in Bosnia, these frontier agencies had to keep their distance from Belgrade, granting them substantial autonomy. In return, however, they forfeited claims to international acceptance or long-term stability. Once Serbia reintegrated into the international system, it disowned its frontier allies, exposing some to international stigmatization, isolation, and even war crimes prosecution. Paramilitaries thrived in Bosnia's frontier-like setting, but disappeared once institutional conditions changed.

## THE SERBIA-BASED PARAMILITARIES

The paramilitary phenomenon appeared first in the summer 1991 battles between local Serb militias and Croat republican forces.[1] A typical newspaper article described the former Yugoslavia as a "land where former football hooligans and neo-fascist ganglords run riot with assault rifles and mortar bombs instead of boots and bottles."[2] Another talked about a "bizarre assortment of soldiers of fortune, self-styled dukes, guerrillas and local warlords,"[3] while a third spoke of "the Duke, the King of Slavonia, Captain Dragan . . . and many other colorful characters. . . . They govern, plunder and defend their patches of land in exchange for fairly nominal pledges of loyalty to distant governments." The paramilitaries, this account argued, had become "cult heroes in their local towns, mopping up unemployment among the jobless youth and, as a result, winning far more popularity than their leaders in Belgrade and Zagreb."[4] By the end of the Croatian war, paramilitaries on all sides of the conflict had made a tremendous impression on journalists and citizens alike. Units such as Kapetan Dragan's "Ninjas from Knin" (Knindže), Željko Ražnatović's "Tigers" (Tigrovi), Mirko Jović and Dragoslav Bokan's "White Eagles" (Beli Orlovi) and "Dušan the Mighty" forces (Dušan Silni), and Vojislav Šešelj's "Chetniks" (Četnici) became household names.

When the Bosnian war began in April 1992, reports of Serbian paramilitary activities accelerated. As a typical account reported, the Bosnian war "is being waged by a kaleidoscope of militias, armies and freelance groups. Accurate numbers are impossible to ascertain, loyalties overlap, and who really controls whom, if anyone, is a moot point."[5] Journalists were eager to discover links between paramilitaries in Bosnia and Serbian officials in Belgrade, because the West had spoken out strongly against direct Serbian cross-border intervention. Hinting at a Belgrade-Bosnian connection, one British daily wrote that as

> Bosnia is ripped apart at its ethnic seams, a notorious band of Serbian veterans of the dirtiest fighting in neighboring Croatia is leading the assault. The warlords, usually products of Belgrade's underworld, are television celebrities, icons of national heroism for many Serbs, and powerful players on the republic's political stage. . . . Fighters annexing territory for the self-styled Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina declare their allegiance to "Arkan," "the Duke," or Jović—two underworld figures and a political thug. But the militia also provides a front for crack [Serbian] professional soldiers masquerading as local volunteers.[6]

Many experts believe the paramilitaries played a key role in ethnic cleansing, particularly along the Serbian border with eastern Bosnia. One comprehensive UN study, for example, found that reports of atrocities co-varied with the number of individual paramilitaries in a given region. The report identifies fifty-five different ethnic Serb paramilitary groups and sixty-seven different municipalities in the former Yugoslavia that experienced ethnic Serb paramilitary activities, the overwhelming majority of which were in Bosnia.[7] These irregulars were often the first troops to engage Bosnian Muslim and Croat civilians firsthand, and it was during this time that many killings and other atrocities occurred. The Yugoslav federal army, which was officially in Bosnia until May 14, 1992, lent artillery and logistical support to the irregulars, but kept its direct involvement in the dirtiest events to a minimum. Federal regulars often surrounded Bosnian Muslim villages, cutting them off from the outside world, but reportedly preferred to leave actual village occupations, mopping-up, and civilian abuses to paramilitary fighters.[8] Once the federal army withdrew into rump Yugoslavia, leaving the new Bosnian Serb army behind, that pattern continued.

The paramilitary moment in Bosnia was short-lived. By the end of 1992, the Serbia-based paramilitaries were being squeezed out by regular Bosnian Serb forces, which no longer tolerated the existence of unruly, semi-autonomous forces. According to Colonel Dragutin, a military advisor to the Republika Srpska administration in 1997, all "self-organized defense units" were disbanded on Bosnian Serb territory by August 1992.[9]

Most of the Serbia-based paramilitaries clustered around charismatic individuals associated with extreme Belgrade nationalists. Men such as Mirko Jović and Dragoslav Bokan of the Serbian National Defense Party (SNO; Srpska Narodna Odbrana), Vojislav Šešelj of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS; Srpska Radikalna Stranka), and Vuk Drašković of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO; Srpski Pokret Obnove) were all politically active national figures, as well as energetic paramilitary organizers. Jović and Bokan formed the White Eagles and Dušan the Mighty groups at the end of 1990; Šešelj created the Serbian Četnik Movement, first in 1990 and then later, with official support, in 1991; and Drašković created the Serbian National Guard in 1991.

A fourth key organizer, Željko Ražnatović (Arkan), was in a category by himself. Although he later displayed minor political ambitions, Arkan initially had no autonomous political base and was not a member of the nationalist counter-elite, although he adopted some of their symbols.[10]

Instead, Arkan was reportedly close to Yugoslav intelligence services, Serbian state security, and perhaps even to Slobodan Milošević himself, setting him off from the other paramilitary leaders, who saw themselves as Milošević's rivals. Building initially on supporters of the Belgrade soccer team Red Star, Arkan founded the Serbian Voluntary Guard (Srpska Dobrovoljačka Garda; referred to also as the Tigers) in October 1990. According to one analysis, Serbian state security officials originally asked Arkan to create the Tigers to monitor the other Serbian paramilitaries.[11]

Most of the larger, Belgrade-based groups were first created in 1991 to fight alongside the Yugoslav Federal Army and local Serb militias in Croatia. According to some reports, the groups were integrated into the federal army's battle plan in 1991, and as one observer notes, the alliance between the formerly communist Yugoslav army and the nationalist paramilitaries "marked a major shift in the ideological orientation of the army . . . to one which accommodated groups dedicated to the Serbian nationalist cause."[12] Although there were tensions between the regular and irregular forces, they apparently overcame their differences during key operations, such as the November 19, 1991, conquest of the Croatian town of Vukovar. When the Croatian war ended, some paramilitaries demobilized, only to reemerge once the Bosnian fighting began in spring 1992. According to two Belgrade journalists, Serbian irregulars fighting in Croatia had their own separate organizational structure that was "different than the organization of regular army units. They had their own special platoons, units, battalions and divisions. They appointed their own commanders in the field. . . . They had different insignia from the military . . . they had their own flags and emblems, and they always went to church before battle."[13] Belonging to the most radical strands of Serbian nationalism, the paramilitaries' official ideology was fiercely anticommunist, populist, and strongly right wing. Their leaders vowed to defend ethnic Serbs from genocide in Croatia and Bosnia, saying they were only doing what the Serbian state itself was afraid or unwilling to do. Since Serbian police or Yugoslav troops were not adequately protecting ethnic Serbs, these self-styled patriotic volunteers felt obliged to step in.

During 1991–92, the Belgrade-based militia leaders spoke of the need for a new Serbian army to replace the communist-tainted federal force in order to protect diaspora Serbs. Although the irregular commanders agreed to work with Milošević temporarily, they regarded his Serbian Socialist Party as an incompetent ex-communist band unwilling to resist

Western pressure. Although the regime provided them with weapons, money, and a territorial base within Serbia, it could not be trusted. Milošević's Socialists, for their part, encouraged paramilitary sallies into Bosnia as a way of contributing to the Bosnian Serb war effort and bolstering their nationalist credentials without openly flouting Western directives.

The Croatian and Bosnian wars provided a unique opportunity for Serbian nationalists such as Drašković, Jović, Šešelj, and Bokan. Most had their headquarters in Belgrade, but they recruited widely throughout Serbia and Montenegro, sending busloads of volunteers to the front lines. The most effective organizer was Vojislav Šešelj, who received significant support from the Socialist regime until a 1993 dispute. Šešelj reportedly sent 5,000 men to Croatia and as many as 30,000 to Bosnia, although some experts use lower estimates.[14] According to another source, Arkan's Tigers had between 1,000 and 1,500 combat personnel.[15] Other groups seem to have mustered a few thousand all told, with their ranks fluctuating over time and space.

A number of smaller fighting groups were also formed by lower ranking political entrepreneurs from Serbia.[16] The Yellow Wasps, for example, were a group of some sixty men who came together in spring 1992 to fight in Zvornik, a Bosnian border town. One of their commanders was a judo teacher from Šabac, a town near Belgrade, while the other was his auto mechanic brother. Both had fought in Croatia with Vojislav Šešelj's forces, but when the Bosnian war began they decided to organize their own autonomous group. In addition to targeting Zvornik's Muslims, they also reportedly extorted wealthy local Serbs, angering the Bosnian Serb authorities.[17] Bosnian Serb forces eventually cracked down on the Wasps, forcing them back to Serbia.[18] Another example is that of Dušan Petrović, an ethnic Serb from Serbia who established himself in the eastern Bosnian town of Višegrad after fighting in Croatia.[19] Petrović later said that he had worked closely with local Bosnian Serb army commanders and Yugoslav army officers in Serbia. "We got everything" from Yugoslav army bases, Petrović explained, including "arms, camouflage uniforms, and food." In return, Petrović's men occasionally guarded convoys running between Serbia and Višegrad. Petrović's group was eventually forced to close down by another small-time paramilitary leader, Milan Lukić, commander of Višegrad's Četnik Avengers. "Lukić wanted to take my group from me," Petrović recalled, "but I resisted." Petrović refused to join Lukić, he said, because Lukić was a freelancer, fighting outside the control of the Bosnian Serb army.

"We fought bravely under the army," Petrović said. "We didn't want to be under Lukić." Lukić, for his part, reportedly recruited his fighters from a café he owned in Obrenovac, a Serbian town near Belgrade. Lukić's original cadre, according to one study, "consisted of relatives, colleagues, and individuals recruited from the clientele of his café."[20]

The ethnic cleansing of the Bosnian town of Zvornik, located just over the river from Serbia proper, illustrates the paramilitaries' effect on Bosnia. Zvornik, a town of some 80,000, was approximately 60 percent Muslim in early 1992 and was strategically important because it commanded a major artery leading from Serbia proper into Bosnian Serb territory.[21] On April 8, the day after European recognition of Bosnian sovereignty, ethnic Serb paramilitaries attacked Zvornik, crossing the border from Serbia proper. The initial assault was led by Arkan's irregulars, the Serbian Voluntary Guards, and Arkan himself was reportedly in charge, appearing to some witnesses as if he was independent of both local Bosnian Serb authorities and nearby Yugoslav federal troops. The second assault wave included less elite paramilitaries such as the Serbian Četnik Movement and the White Eagles.

Obrad, a Serbian reporter from the Serbian daily *Politika,* was on the Serbian side of the river when the fighting began. He followed the second wave into Zvornik, recalling that the paramilitaries "looked like a bunch of gangs. All the scum of Serbia were there, and it was total chaos."[22] Obrad made his way to the office of Zvornik's territorial defense chief, Marko Pavlović, the man theoretically in charge of the local Serbian military effort. Pavlović was all but powerless, however, since none of the paramilitaries felt obliged to follow his instructions. "I felt almost sorry for him," Obrad said. "He didn't have any of his own men and the paramilitaries weren't listening to him. They were a bunch of bandits, threatening him as well."

The paramilitaries quickly subdued Zvornik's Muslim resistance, looting and killing civilians. Arkan's troops were more disciplined and professional, leaving the town soon after its conquest. New irregulars came and began searching empty homes more thoroughly for valuables. Differences arose between the local Serb authorities and the paramilitaries. The authorities were issuing safe passage permits to Zvornik's Muslims, encouraging them to flee in a relatively orderly manner. The paramilitaries did not respect the permits, however, grabbing civilians as they exited the police station, ripping up their passes, physically abusing them, and even taking some to impromptu detention camps. According to one report, "The various para-military units maraudering [*sic*] around

Zvornik all had unlimited freedom of action (terrorizing the civilian population, randomly performing executions and arrestations [*sic*])." Refugee testimony indicated that the "paramilitary units only accepted the authority of their own respective 'leaders,' . . . [while] many of the less strictly organized para-military groups regarded their complete freedom of action as a kind of 'remuneration' for their work."[23] Obrad noted in his diary that several paramilitary commanders active in the Croatian fighting had reappeared in Zvornik.[24] There was "Miroslav, from Šešelj's paramilitary, who was commander of a big unit," as well as "Peđa, from Arkan's unit." Obrad estimated a total of some 5,000 Serb fighters dispersed through the town and surrounding villages. In areas where fighting had ended, Serb irregulars were loading trucks with looted refrigerators and other appliances. Obrad noted a hierarchy of looters, with Arkan's men enjoying preferential access to the most lucrative assets, such as gold and cash. Next came the Serbian Četnik Movement and White Eagles, who seized the larger appliances. Bringing up the rear were local militias and the smaller Serbia-based paramilitaries, who were forced to settle for whatever remained. "These guys stripped the wires out of the walls and dismantled windows and door frames," Obrad said.

The Zvornik ethnic cleansing model was repeated throughout the spring and summer of 1992, as paramilitaries from Serbia proper swept through eastern Bosnia, beginning with northern towns such as Bijeljina and then moving south along the Drina River toward Zvornik, Foča, Goražde, and Višegrad, as well as numerous smaller villages. From their bases along the Bosnia-Serbia border, men from the larger paramilitary formations sallied forth to join smaller local militias, jointly consolidating Bosnian Serb military power in much of eastern Bosnia and forcing out much of the Bosnian Muslim population.[25]

## THE BOSNIAN SERB CRISIS COMMITTEES

The Bosnian Serb crisis committees, or Krizni Štabovi, were created from fragments of former Bosnian municipal governments. Although analysts often focused on Serbian political elites in capital cities, these were often removed from events on the ground during the first part of the war. Communications were poor and many areas were virtual islands, cut off from Belgrade or Pale by irregular transportation and military blockade. Northwest Bosnia, for example, was isolated by Bosnian Muslim troops from Serbia and much of eastern Bosnia until the summer of 1992, when Serb troops broke through. As Balkan specialist Susan Woodward notes,

"Competing militias and gangs marauded, only loosely linked to centers of command and control," and "lack of communication affected the command and control of both the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government armies and emphasized the dominance of local territorial forces."[26] Nothing resembling a smooth, centralized state structure existed in the emerging Bosnian Serb republic during the spring and summer of 1992. During the first months of the war, regional power was often shaped by the crisis committees, which served as focal points for local leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), municipal officials, territorial defense officers,[27] local police, and even commanders of nearby Yugoslav federal units. Crisis committee members also occasionally met and worked with local Bosnian Serb paramilitary leaders.[28] The latter were distinct from the Serbia-based irregulars, who were linked to Belgrade and whose geographic scope was much broader. The crisis committees could flourish only on the frontier; had the Republic of Serbia not been obliged to publicly disengage from Bosnia, Serbian military and political power likely would have been concentrated in Belgrade. The crisis committees were vehicles for local Bosnian Serb political or military strongmen who might never have become prominent if Serbia had directly and openly dominated Bosnia with its own troops. Owing no direct allegiance to Serbia and maintaining only sporadic connections to central Bosnian Serb political leaders, the crisis committees presented themselves as the authentic, grassroots voice of the Bosnian Serb nation.

### *The Bosnian Serb Autonomous Regions*

The crisis committees emerged from the Serbian autonomous regions (Srpske Autonomne Oblasti), Bosnian Serb municipal coalitions created chiefly by Serbian Democratic Party activists in 1991 and early 1992.[29] Local government in Bosnia, like elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, was a highly organized affair with a mayor, municipal executive committee, legislative assembly, police chief, and local territorial defense coordinator. The municipal coalitions were founded in autumn 1991, when Bosnian Serb activists responded to the Croatian fighting by creating their own political structures. At the center of each of five autonomous regions was a large municipality, typically controlled by the Serbian Democratic Party, which was then joined by other nearby Serb-majority municipalities or by Bosnian Serbs living in Muslim-majority municipalities.[30] In Olovo, for example, a Muslim-majority municipality in central Bosnia, Bosnian Serb political activists declared in Septem-

ber 1991 that the town's Serbian Democratic Party branch had voted to join the Romanija autonomous region, "following a poll and meetings held in Serbian villages."[31] The Olovo municipality was controlled by the Muslim Party of Democratic Action,[32] but local Serbian Democratic Party activists nonetheless planned to attach Olovo to the Romanija autonomous region.

At first, Bosnian Serb leaders rejected separation from Yugoslavia, viewing the federation as sole effective guarantor of ethnic Serb security and rights. The Romanija autonomous region spokesman, for example, announced that the "Serbian people will never allow any separation from their homeland of Serbia."[33] Three other autonomous regions declared in October 1991 that they would not recognize laws made in Sarajevo, but would instead respect Yugoslav law.[34] In November 1991, the Serbian Democratic Party organized a plebiscite in which Bosnian Serb voters elected to stay in Yugoslavia.[35]

When Serbia began to disengage from Bosnia in early spring 1992, however, Bosnian Serb leaders shifted gears, pressing instead for an independent state alongside Bosnian Muslim and Croat entities.[36] According to Nenad Kecmanović, a former Bosnian Serb politician, "Independence and the notion of a separate state came very late in the game. The first idea was simply to stay in Yugoslavia and to have recognized control over certain areas inside Bosnia."[37] When the European Community recognized Bosnian sovereignty on April 7, 1992, Serbian autonomous region leaders gathered to declare independence, calling their new state the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, later renamed Republika Srpska.[38]

### *Creating the Autonomous Regions*

Each autonomous region had a central crisis committee controlling lower-tier committees at the municipal and submunicipal levels. The result was a pyramid of Bosnian Serb functionaries tied together by their common loyalty to the Serb national cause, linked only loosely to Serbian Democratic Party headquarters, and even more loosely to Belgrade. The crisis committee network was interlaced at every level with a hodgepodge of police, territorial defense, army, and paramilitary forces. Although the police and territorial defense were nominally under the Bosnian government and the Yugoslav federal army, they drew closer to local Bosnian Serb leaders as the crisis unfolded.

The Bosnian police had begun to dissolve into ethnically pure units

after nationalist parties ran in Bosnia's November 1990 elections. Local governments often came under the sway of one or another ethnic group, and then maneuvered to create ethnically loyal police units. On March 31, 1992, the fledgling Bosnian Serb interior ministry announced the creation of all-Serbian "public security centers" for each of the five autonomous regions.[39] A newspaper sympathetic to the Sarajevo government described the move as a "putsch" by Serbs in the Bosnian police, demonstrating that "the Serbian Democratic Party is determined to round out its own state in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whoever has the police in a particular area exercises authority de facto." The autonomous regions and their new security centers, the paper charged, were using classical "revolutionary methods" to grab hold of disputed territory.[40] In municipalities where Serbs were a majority and already controlled the local government, Muslim officers were often fired or marginalized, and in areas where Muslims dominated, Bosnian Serb police officers often formed independent units.

Local Serbian Democratic Party activists, often linked to crisis committees, occasionally created militias of their own. In the northwestern town of Banja Luka, for example, local party activists organized the Serbian Defense Forces (Srpske Odbrambene Snage), also referred to as the Red Berets. Stanica, a local political activist and former Bosnian Serb army intelligence officer, explained that the Serbian Defense Forces had been a small "popular force aimed at enforcing public security in Banja Luka."[41] She said they were given weapons by the Serbian Democratic Party, which was intent on "arming the people for self-defense." An additional source of power for crisis committees were local paramilitaries organized by businessmen and political entrepreneurs, who contributed to the national cause while also protecting their assets in an uncertain environment. In the Banja Luka area, for example, a well-known businessman, Veljko Milanković, recruited and armed the Wolves from Vučjak (Vukovi sa Vučjaka).[42] By his own account, Milanković was a financial backer of the Serbian Democratic Party, and when fighting began in Croatia, Milanković sent the Wolves to support Serb fighters, moving them back to Bosnia when tensions there mounted.[43] Their first Bosnian operation, Milanković said, was the occupation of a local television transmitter, allowing the Serbian Democratic Party to replace broadcasts from Zagreb and Sarajevo with news from Belgrade. The Wolves' commander said his activities were coordinated with the head of the Bosanska autonomous region, its information minister, and the local police chief, all of whom were crisis committee members.

Milanković portrayed himself as a patriot, but Major Stanko, a Banja Luka–based former officer in the Bosnian Serb army, saw things differently. "Only riffraff and thieves" joined the Wolves, Stanko alleged, attracted by the prospect of looting. "Those men had joined up early to steal during the Croatian fighting," he charged, "and wanted to continue the same here by stealing from Muslims."[44] Stanko's view was seconded by Nikola, a low-ranking Bosnian Serb soldier from the Banja Luka region who said that although the Wolves had fought bravely in Croatia, they later engaged in ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka.[45] Stanica, the former Bosnian Serb intelligence officer, said that the Wolves' main function was to guard Milanković's property and business interests. "It was a chaotic time," she explained, "and rich men like Milanković wanted to protect their money."[46]

A detailed study of wartime events in two Bosnian towns—Doboj and Teslić—revealed extensive links between crisis committee functions, local paramilitary commanders, and Serbian Democratic Party activists.[47] The study claimed that local Bosnian Serb political leaders, police chiefs, party leaders, officials, and civilians had established an "underground mafia-type network" in the early stages of the war, noting the central role of Milan Ninković, president of the Doboj town branch of the Serbian Democratic Party and head of the municipal executive council. Ninković, the study charged, was a principal organizer of ethnic cleansing in Doboj, maintaining contacts with paramilitaries through his brother, who managed two local businesses and procured weapons. In the town of Teslić, the report said, Milovan Mrkonjić, chief of the local territorial defense, was one of five ethnic cleansing organizers working with commanders of local paramilitaries such as the Red Berets and "Predo's Wolves."

### *Crisis Committees and the Ethnic Cleansing of Prijedor*

The ethnic cleansing of Prijedor municipality is one of the better-documented examples of forced displacement by Bosnian Serb crisis committees.[48] During the first months of the war, Prijedor, situated deep within the Bosanska Krajina autonomous region, was cut off from Serbia proper and other Bosnian-Serb areas, and initial ethnic cleansing efforts were done mostly by local forces. The 1990 municipal elections had left the Muslim Party of Democratic Action in charge of Prijedor's municipal assembly, although the Serbian Democratic Party gained a significant portion of assembly seats.[49] Muslims were therefore in positions

of local authority, controlling the Prijedor police force and radio station, while ethnic Serbs were the majority in many surrounding villages. By early 1992, most of Prijedor's neighbors had joined the Bosanska Krajina autonomous region, isolating Muslim-controlled Prijedor. The nearby town of Banja Luka was not only the capital of Bosanska Krajina, but also a thriving center of Serbian Democratic Party activity and a major headquarters for the Yugoslav federal army, which was increasingly pro-Serbian.

Tensions mounted during 1991, especially after fighting began in nearby Croatia. In February 1992, Prijedor's Serbian Democratic Party activists created their own parallel municipality and a crisis committee composed of retired policemen, teachers, the owner of a local transportation firm, and the head of the local Serbian Democratic Party branch.[50] Bosnian Serbs also created an autonomous police force led by Simo Drljača, an ethnic Serb officer and crisis committee member who created a series of all-Serb security centers, separate from four existing Muslim-controlled police stations. According to a local Bosnian Serb paper, Serbian Democratic Party activists asked Drljača to create the new force in late 1991, and after "half a year of illegal work," Drljača had created thirteen new police stations and mobilized "1,775 well-armed persons" willing to "undertake any difficult duty in the time which was coming." On the night of April 29, 1992, Drljača's men seized the central police station, the radio transmitter, and municipal headquarters.[51] According to one Bosnian Serb leader, the action sought to preempt an impending Bosnian Muslim attack. The local Yugoslav federal army commander quietly supported the coup, although publicly he said events in Prejidor were an internal municipal affair over which he had no jurisdiction.[52] According to UN researchers, the Prijedor crisis committee was "an instrument of gaining complete control" over Prijedor, for arming local Serbs, blocking Muslim communications, and mobilizing men into the nascent Bosnian Serb army. Its most important function, however, was to persistently argue "that the Serbian people as such were threatened by the non-Serbs."[53] Once the coup was over, the crisis committee expanded to include the head of the local Serbian Democratic Party branch, the local Yugoslav army commander, the new territorial defense commander, the new chief of police, the new mayor, the president of the local Serbian Red Cross, and managers of local, state-owned industries.[54] The new committee thus drew together diverse strands of local power, with the Serbian Democratic Party assuming political leadership, the police and territorial defense providing coercive manpower,

and the Yugoslav federal army providing weapons and a secure environment. Drljača later said relations between his policemen and the Serbian Democratic Party were "satisfying" during the coup, since "everyone did his job," but later soured when the party tried to infringe on police authority. Relations first with the Yugoslav federal army and then with the new Bosnian Serb army, conversely, were always "excellent."[55]

Muslims were forced out of Prijedor municipality through a variety of mechanisms. The Muslim territorial defense forces in the nearby village of Kozarac, for example, were attacked by local Bosnian Serb paramilitaries and Prijedor territorial defense troopers, reportedly with support from the Yugoslav federal army. Muslim villagers were sent to nearby detention camps, and survivors of that experience were later deported.[56] In Prijedor town, displacement was more gradual. Muslims were first fired from their jobs and ordered to wear distinctive armbands, and were later arrested and sent to camps. Men were interrogated and questions about armed activities and political plans were accompanied by torture and, in some cases, murder. Physical conditions in the men's camps were atrocious. Muslim women, elderly men, and children were sent to other locations where conditions were slightly better.

UN investigators are unsure who, precisely, was overall leader of Prijedor's ethnic cleansing. The detention camps were clearly under the local police, although some military police from the new Bosnian Serb army were involved as well. At one point, the UN report charges the Yugoslav federal army with overall responsibility for events, saying the crisis committee had been appointed by the military.[57] Elsewhere, however, UN investigators suggest the crisis committee was in charge, while on still other occasions, they argue for Serbian Democratic Party responsibility. Clearly, all these bodies played major roles, but the identity of the person or agency controlling events, if there was one, remains unclear.

## CLANDESTINE CROSS-BORDER ACTIVISTS

Confusion over who was in charge of ethnic cleansing in Prijedor mirrors the larger confusion over command-and-control within the entire Serb war effort in Bosnia. Was Belgrade directly responsible for the ethnic cleansing, as so many allege, or was it organized locally by Bosnian Serb extremists, as the Serbian state's defenders argue?

The previous chapter discussed vigorous Serbian efforts to publicly disengage from Bosnia, but given broad Serbian nationalist sentiment, Belgrade also felt compelled to remain supportive of Bosnian Serbs. Al-

though some of Slobodan Milošević's colleagues might have been willing to cut the Bosnian Serbs off, the Serbian far-right opposition, as well as a significant constituency within the ruling Socialist Party itself, felt differently. Serbian leaders groped their way toward a solution, fashioning a series of plausibly deniable, clandestine connections to Bosnia. When Western analysts saw through the ruse, Serbia's leaders were unpleasantly surprised, having failed to comprehend the full extent of Western intelligence-gathering abilities, which diplomats would not divulge for fear of compromising their sources.[58]

Much effort has been devoted to proving the role of Belgrade in general, and Slobodan Milošević in particular, in planning and executing the ethnic cleansing. From a legal point of view, the extreme difficulty of this effort is frustrating. Sociologically, however, the difficulty is telling: *The very fact that the Serbian leadership's responsibility is difficult to prove suggests that secrecy and plausible deniability are what made the ethnic cleansing policy feasible, appropriate, and cost-effective for the Serbian regime in 1992–93*. At the time, Serbia was intent on regaining its international legitimacy, and this required that it try to appear uninvolved in the Bosnian fighting.

### *Visions of Control*

At one extreme, critics view Milošević as the sole architect of Bosnian ethnic cleansing, managing the bulk of the deadly process.[59] The image these critics promote is of a smoothly functioning death machine spreading out from Belgrade to individual far-flung Bosnian camps and killers. Military analyst Milan Vego, for example, argued that although Belgrade authorities did their best to muddle events, there was in fact an unbroken chain of command running from the Supreme Defense Council in Belgrade, through the Yugoslav army's General Staff, down to the Bosnian Serb army.[60] A similar interpretation was offered by a leading U.S. war reporter in Bosnia, Roy Gutman, who said the death camps, mass killings, and rapes were all planned in detail by the Yugoslav federal army and Slobodan Milošević.[61] Milošević, Gutman says, was in charge throughout, despite efforts to hide his involvement through the federal army's withdrawal.[62] At the other end of the spectrum are vehement denials offered by Serbian leaders, who argued from spring 1992 on that Serbia had nothing to do with Bosnian Serb actions, paramilitary activities, or ethnic cleansing. A third interpretation rejects both extremes, suggesting instead that although Milošević encouraged and supported

the Bosnian Serb war effort, he only set the general tone by providing guidance and weapons. Sonja Biserko, the head of Belgrade's Helsinki Commission for human rights, believes that "Bosnia got away from Milošević; I think he started something he didn't know how to stop."[63]

Bosnia was a confusing place in 1992, with a multitude of paramilitaries, army units, and local leaders wielding political and military power. The confusion may have been carefully crafted to mask centralized control, but may also have reflected the actual state of affairs, in which, as one UN team wrote, "regular armies in the process of constituting or reconstituting themselves could not [remain in] control until they had reached a sufficient level of organization."[64] According to Nataša Kandić, director of the Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Center and a noted war crimes investigator, there "may in fact be no one chain of command" for the Bosnian atrocities.[65] Investigations are especially difficult because there are no written orders available for scrutiny. "Can you imagine anyone stupid enough to write down an ethnic cleansing order?" asked Boro, a veteran Belgrade war correspondent. "Everyone knew this was a crime. You will never find an official or officer who put his name to an order to kill or ethnically cleanse."[66]

*Serbia's Military Line*

We may never know with certainty which particular vision of Serbian control is correct. A group of journalists and experienced war observers, however, have developed a plausible scenario known as the Military Line (Vojna Linija) hypothesis. It argues for the existence of an unofficial network of ruling Socialist Party members, interior ministry officials, and army officers, all of whom held positions of power and supported the general goal of advancing Bosnian Serb interests and pushing Muslims and Croats out of Serb-held areas. This circle was an unofficial policy group and its activities were never documented, regularized, or legitimated by the wider Serbian body politic. In late 2001, international war crimes investigators indicted former Serbian president Slobodan Milošević for genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and their charge sheet is essentially a summary of the Military Line model, with some added details.[67]

The Military Line was first discussed in print by Tim Judah, a Belgrade-based British correspondent.[68] In Judah's words, it was an informal group of senior Serbian republican security officials and individuals within the Yugoslav federal army (the JNA) who sought to help eth-

nic Serb organizations, first in Croatia, and then in Bosnia, carve out their own enclaves. Eventually, these areas were to be annexed to Serbia or a slimmed-down Yugoslavia. Julian Borger, another British reporter, wrote that the Military Line was a parallel chain of command allowing Milošević to privately control Serb-based paramilitaries and Bosnian Serb forces.[69] According to both journalists, the group's main coordinator was Jovica Stanišić, then head of the Serbian interior ministry's clandestine service, known as state security, or SDB (Služba Državne Bezbednosti). His chief aides were Radovan Stojičić (also known as Badža), an officer in the Serbian ministry of interior's uniformed public security, and Franko Simatović (known as Frenki), a senior officer in the plainclothes state security agency. The two men reportedly trained and armed the Serbia-based paramilitaries and even traveled with them to the battlefields in Croatia and Bosnia. Borger writes that Stojičić, Simatović, and other key leaders stood at the apex of a pyramid coordinating Belgrade's plans in Bosnia and Croatia, while Judah adds the names of two key Yugoslav federal officers, General Andrija Biorčević, commander of the Novi Sad Corps, and Colonel Ratko Mladić, commander of the Knin garrison.[70] British reporter Julian Borger also stressed the role of Mihalj Kertes, a leading member of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party, who distributed guidance and weapons to Serbian Democratic Party officials in Bosnia and Croatia. Misha Glenny, a third British journalist, added more details on Kertes' activities, writing that in 1990 and 1991, Kertes ran a major weapons distribution program, shipping "hundreds of thousands" of weapons and boxes of ammunition on lorries into Bosnia, with special emphasis on Bosanska Krajina and eastern Herzegovina.[71]

Borger's article was based on interviews with anonymous informants and Branislav Vakić, a Serbian Radical Party legislator and former paramilitary commander. Vakić, like other Radical Party members, publicly broke ranks with Milošević in 1993, accusing him of betraying the Serbian national cause. According to Vakić, Serbian officials such as Stojičić and Simatović helped supply, train, and coordinate Radical Party irregulars in Croatia and Bosnia. Vakić made similar claims in an interview with Serbian newspaper reporters, asserting that the Radicals had supplied thousands of volunteer fighters with fuel and uniforms given to them by Yugoslav military police and naming a string of helpful federal officers and Serbian interior ministry officials.[72]

Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Šešelj lent credence to the Military Line hypothesis, telling Serbian newspapers his men had relied heavily on the Serbian interior ministry during the war. His volunteers, Šešelj

said, belonged to "special units" of the Serbian police under the command of Kertes and Simatović.[73] Šešelj elsewhere supplied other crucial details, saying Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević "gave us money and munitions and volunteers from Serbia and Montenegro and told us to fight for greater Serbia,"[74] and that all Serbian forces in Bosnia were directly commanded by the Serbian president.[75] In 2001 further evidence from Milošević himself appeared to support Šešelj's claims. Soon after his arrest by the international war crimes tribunal, Milošević claimed he had diverted Serbian government funds during the Bosnian war to finance Serbian militias in Bosnia and Croatia.[76]

I found fragments of additional evidence supporting these claims. A former U.S. State Department official involved with Bosnia, for example, said he believed the 1992 ethnic cleansing campaign was directed from Belgrade by Serbian state security. In the first months of the Bosnian war, he said, "state security operatives fanned out across Bosnia initiating, leading, and controlling the fighting in different districts."[77] The United States had satellite imagery and radio intercepts in support of his claim, he said, but refused to specify details. Boro, the veteran Belgrade war correspondent, painted a similar picture. "State security sent men to each Bosnian municipality looking for trusted persons who would act as allies," he explained. "These 'trusted persons' would be told that the area needed to be secured for reasons of convoy security or military strategy, and that as a result, the Muslims needed to be cleared out." At times, local police chiefs ran the operations, while on other occasions, hospital directors or mayors were the major coordinating figures. "You'll never find one method or one chain of command for ethnic cleansing," Boro explained, "because in each area, the person or group responsible for carrying out the ethnic cleansing was different. Each commander used a different method based on the different tools he had."[78] Aleksandar, a war correspondent for *Vreme*, a liberal Serbian weekly, said state security typically recruited men with assets such as warehouses, trucking companies, or municipal jobs. "Those people were most useful because they could store weapons and provide vehicles when necessary," Aleksandar explained.[79]

Miroslav, a young man who fought with an elite Serb military unit in Croatia, recounted an experience supporting Aleksandar's account of Belgrade's clandestine mobilization and coordination efforts.[80] In early 1991, Miroslav said, a local merchant in his village was recruited by Yugoslav federal military intelligence agents as their local contact. "I don't know why he was chosen," he said. "Perhaps because they trusted him,

or because he was generally respected by everyone." The merchant organized a local group of men who trained together in 1991 in preparation for fighting with Croat republican forces. Every week, Miroslav recalled, the group would go to the woods where they would be met by a representative of Yugoslav military intelligence, who occasionally delivered a truckload of weapons. Although Miroslav's experiences took place in Croatia, similar mechanisms may well have been used in Bosnia.

The most compelling evidence for Serbia's cross-border role, however, came directly from Daniel Snidden, an Australian Serb with a military background who trained Serbian militias in Croatia.[81] Snidden said Serbian state security agents approached him in Belgrade during 1991 and requested that he assess the potential of local Serb militias in Croatia. Later, state security asked Snidden to organize a training course; his trainees, schooled at the "Alpha center" in the Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia, became elite members of the local ethnic Serb army, and some even volunteered to fight in Bosnia. In a separate conversation, Colonel Stevo, one of Snidden's aides, claimed Snidden's fighters were directly controlled by Serbian state security. The men were given official state security identification cards and dog tags, Colonel Stevo said, and Snidden himself received his orders directly from Belgrade.[82] "Other units may have been under the local Serb authorities," Colonel Stevo claimed, "but we were the direct responsibility of Serbia."

Most of the men recruited by Serbian state security were not as glamorous as Daniel Snidden, who later ran a famed veterans' assistance group in Belgrade. Dragutin, a former truck driver, was at the very bottom of the Military Line's network.[83] When I met him in early 1997, Dragutin worked for another and much smaller veterans' association in Belgrade, lobbying the Serbian government on behalf of former paramilitary fighters. Prior to that, he said, he had fought in Croatia and Bosnia. In a series of meetings, Dragutin gradually revealed details about his recruitment by Serbian state security, explaining they originally approached him "because my father had been a police chief in his town." He said state security was searching for men whom they could trust to fight for the Serbian people, and were recruiting heavily among Dragutin's acquaintances in 1990–91. "Everybody was either an agent, working part time for state security, or pretending to be an agent," he recalled. Some men were true patriots, he said, but others simply sought war booty. "People said you could make money in the field," Dragutin explained. I learned more details about Dragutin's activities from Tomo, an ethnic Serb from Krajina who said he had worked for local Serb mil-

itary intelligence in Croatia. Tomo said he had met Dragutin several times during the war while the latter made truck deliveries for Serbian state security.[84] "There were lots of guys like him," Tomo said, "working either for state security or KOS [Yugoslav federal army intelligence], driving around the country, delivering things and helping make things happen."

Dragutin's tale underlines the importance of the Serbian police for the Military Line. His father had been a police chief, making him visible and trustworthy to state security recruiters, but recruitment was not just limited to the sons of trusted officers. Journalist Julian Borger interviewed a former Belgrade police chief who said Serbian convicts were occasionally recruited to fight in return for reduced sentences.[85] His claim was supported by Miroslav Mikuljanac, a *Borba* reporter who said he met former convicts on Serbian Radical Party busses heading toward the Croatian fighting in 1991.[86] The men were told their sentences would be cut if they fought and had been sent so quickly to the front that "they hadn't even been given a chance to call home and tell their mothers." Mikuljanac accompanied the Radical Party irregulars from Belgrade to Croatia, where they received Yugoslav army weapons and joined other ethnic Serb fighters at the front.

Obrad, the Serbian journalist, explained that when the fighting began, Serbian police "turned to the people they knew best for help: informers and criminals."[87] It was a natural move, in many ways; secrecy was of the utmost importance, and the criminal underworld was particularly well suited to the work. Borivoje, a respected Belgrade criminal defense lawyer, said the Serbian police had "slowly crossed the line from working with informers to gain information about criminals, to recruiting informers to act as paramilitaries outside of Serbia."[88] Borivoje's argument was supported by Belgrade's former police chief, who told British journalist Julian Borger that "in using criminals, for example as informants, there is always a narrow line you walk along. The police here crossed that line by a mile."[89]

### *Bosnian Serb Lobbyists in Serbia*

Not all Serb support for the Bosnian Serb military effort flowed through criminals and underworld agents, however, and not all of it was initiated by the Belgrade regime. The Serbian national enterprise was immensely popular in some quarters, and many covert cross-border links were generated by Serbian citizens concerned for Bosnian Serbs' well-being. Serb

politicians and intellectuals such as Dobrica Ćosić, the famed writer, pressed the Bosnian Serb case in Belgrade, lobbying the ruling Socialist Party to supply Bosnian Serbs with food, fuel, and other items. Bosnian Serb supporters viewed Serbia's official disengagement as a terrible betrayal of cherished co-nationals in dire need. Indeed, some activists did more than send humanitarian supplies. The Belgrade-based Association of Bosnian Serbs in Serbia, for example, was allegedly a clandestine conduit for arms and men, as well as food, fuel, and clothing. The group's board included some of Serbia's leading public figures, including executive director Gojko Đogo, a famed nationalist poet. Đogo was reportedly an unofficial Bosnian Serb representative in Belgrade, speaking to Milošević on their behalf, mobilizing support in the Serbian press, and perhaps even helping to send paramilitary fighters.[90] Đogo himself, however, refused to speak about the issue, saying only that "some things should be reserved for a discussion years from now."[91] The association had branches across Serbia, based in municipal offices, sports halls, and other public facilities. During the war, it collected money, blankets, clothes, and medical supplies, coordinating what Đogo called a "tremendous" popular response. Đogo said his association enjoyed support from all Serbian political parties, including Milošević's Socialists. "The regime has their spies in our association," he said, "but we have our spies among them as well."

Through the Military Line, top Serbian officials generated a network capable of transferring influence and coercion from Serbia into Bosnia. Secrecy was vital because the West had designated the Bosnian border as a sovereign boundary, barring Serbia from openly intervening. Secrecy also provided Serbia with plausible deniability, which in turn facilitated an ethnic cleansing policy for which the Serbian government hoped it could evade responsibility. Plausible deniability was bolstered by the chaos and confusion caused by the breakdown of normal state controls, and the emergence of a frontier-style institutional environment in Bosnia. Although a slim coordination chain appears to have stretched from Belgrade to Bosnia through the Military Line and its lower-ranking operatives, the extent of Belgrade's actual control over individual events remains unclear.

To some degree, Serbia's ties to Bosnia were actively constructed by the Serbian regime, but to some extent, they existed sui generis. Here, the regime's contribution was to tolerate the continued existence of those ties and to lend a helping hand when possible. In the spring and summer of

1992, Serbs in Bosnia and Serbia were connected through multiple links, and it would have required substantial political effort to sever those ties entirely.[92] Together, Serbian state and society helped construct a complex cross-border network that linked Serbian core to Bosnian frontier, despite conditions of breakdown and chaos. The next chapter explores repertoires of nationalist violence within the Serbian core, where the state pursued a radically different set of policies toward non-Serb populations.

CHAPTER 4

# Ethnic Harassment in the Serbian Core

The ability of institutional settings to shape repertoires of state violence was dramatized in 1992 and 1993 when Serbian paramilitaries returning home periodically from Bosnian fighting behaved quite differently within the borders of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Although local, republican, and federal officials all permitted and perhaps even encouraged the ethnic harassment of non-Serb minorities living in Serbia and Montenegro, they blocked Bosnia-style ethnic cleansing by paramilitaries. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the Sandžak and Vojvodina, two ethnically mixed areas along Serbia and Montenegro's western borders.

The Serbian state prevented mass expulsions on its own territory and that of Montenegro (which was then largely under Belgrade's sway) because it enjoyed high levels of infrastructural power in its domestic sphere. Non-Serbs in Sandžak and Vojvodina did not launch armed rebellions or carve out semi-autonomous zones, and Western powers did not grant sovereignty to would-be non-Serb secessionists. The Western argument was that since the Sandžak and Vojvodina were internal regions within Serbia and Montenegro, not republics, they were not entitled to independence. With its empirical and juridical sovereignty over these areas assured, the Serbian state worked to prevent private Serbian nationalists from using Bosnia-style methods within the Serbian core. As noted in Chapter 1, strong and well-functioning states are loathe to permit violent paramilitary freelancing on their own territory, and Serbia

was no different. For similar reasons, the state would not violate its own laws by engaging itself in ethnic cleansing. Serbia was less troubled by ethnic harassment, on the other hand. It disciplined terrified minorities and encouraged some to flee, but did not trigger acute criticism from local and international human rights monitors.

Serbia's non-use of ethnic cleansing in its core territories was remarkable given powerful incentives *in favor* of ethnic cleansing. In the early years of the Croat and then Bosnian wars, Serbian nationalist passions were running high, semi-private paramilitaries were mobilized, and Serbian state-supported ethnic cleansers were active against Muslims and Croats living just beyond Serbia's official borders. Yet despite all this, ethnic minorities in the new Yugoslavia were neither massacred nor forced en masse from their homes, in marked contrast to the plight of their co-nationals in Bosnia. The Serbian core had molded Serbian nationalism to fit its own logic of appropriateness, smoothing down its sharpest edges to avoid international and domestic criticism. The impact of this on the lives of non-Serbs was tremendous. In 1992 and 1993, the boundary between Serbian core and Bosnian frontier was, quite literally, a border between life and death.

## SANDŽAK'S STYMIED PARAMILITARIES

The Sandžak, divided between Serbia and Montenegro, is a mountainous region bordering on Bosnia with a population of some 500,000 split between Muslim Slavs, ethnic Serbs, and Montenegrins, with Muslims officially comprising slightly over 50 percent.[1] Strategically, Sandžak links Albania and Kosovo, to the east, with Bosnia, to the west. During the Bosnian war the region was a favorite jumping-off point for Serbian paramilitaries, who used its small, mountainous roads to quietly slip into Bosnia. Paradoxically, however, these gunmen did not systematically attack Muslims in the Sandžak itself.

Had institutional settings not mattered, Serbian officials are likely to have encouraged Serbian irregulars to ethnically cleanse the region. Authorities worried that a thriving Sandžak Muslim secessionist movement, allied to the nearby Bosnian Muslim Party of Democratic Action (SDA), might eventually form the centerpiece of the so-called Green Belt, an allegedly hostile, Muslim-controlled arc encircling Serbia on three sides. As one Serbian military journal warned, Muslim Slavs coveted Sandžak as "the important link of the Muslim chain that should connect the Islamic centers Sarajevo and Istanbul."[2] Sandžak, moreover, was Serbia's only

Map 3. Within the Serbian core: The Sandžak

land link to the Adriatic Sea, and if Sandžak's Muslim secessionists were successful, Serbia's strategic position could be gravely endangered.

Serbian fears of Sandžak secession and rebellion were not entirely unfounded. Sandžak's Muslims, like those of Bosnia, identified themselves politically as members of Yugoslavia's Muslim nationality, implying that

at least some of their number believed in their right to territorial self-determination.[3] During Yugoslavia's 1990 multiparty elections, Muslims in both Sandžak and Bosnia had voted heavily for the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Muslim nationalist party, whose leader, Alija Izetbegović, said Bosnia had legitimate territorial interests in Sandžak and encouraged Sandžak Muslims to demand autonomy from Serbia and Montenegro.[4] Between 1990 and 1992, when the Bosnian war erupted, the SDA's definition of "Bosnian territory" occasionally referred to the Sandžak,[5] and some of the party's most committed activists came from the mountainous region.[6] In October 1991, the party organized a Sandžak referendum in support of autonomy and the right to secede,[7] and in March 1992, a leading Sandžak Muslim politician openly threatened secession if Serbia refused to grant the region autonomy.[8] Throughout 1992 and 1993, the Sandžak SDA branch pressed for greater territorial rights, including autonomy and/or secession. It was only some years later, after consistent Western disinterest, that political activists quietly dropped secession from their agenda. The specter of Sandžak secession in the early 1990s, therefore, was quite real.

In Belgrade, the Serbian nationalist counter-elite had their own reasons for supporting Sandžak's ethnic cleansing. As was true for Kosovo, nationalists cherished Sandžak as a historical center of Serbian culture, politics, and religion, fearing that a politically self-confident Sandžak Muslim community posed a major threat to Serbia's heritage. During the 1980s, nationalist spokesmen such as Vuk Drašković placed Sandžak's Muslims high on their list of enemies, warning in February 1988 of the alleged "rage of offensive and intolerant Islam in Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Sandžak," as well as of the "vampire rebirth of" Islamic law and the "Jihad strategy of creating an Islamic state in the Balkans."[9] In 1990, Drašković organized a large demonstration in Novi Pazar, Sandžak's unofficial capital, warning Muslims their arms would be "cut off" if they dared raise a non-Serbian flag.[10] As Serbia's rulers became increasingly nationalistic themselves in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they increasingly referred to Sandžak as an integral part of Greater Serbia. Both Serbian officials and private Serbian nationalists, in other words, had reason to resent the Muslim presence in Sandžak, a fact recognized by concerned international actors when the Bosnian war began. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) urgently deployed monitors to the region in 1993, responding to repeated warnings of impending genocide by Sandžak's Muslim leaders.[11]

Sandžak's Muslims, in sum, conceived of themselves as a distinct po-

litical community, sought territorial self-determination, and appealed to Western powers for succor. Given these circumstances, ethnic cleansing would appear to have offered a quick and easy solution for Serbia and the newly reduced Yugoslav federation that it led. If paramilitaries could have quickly pushed Sandžak's Muslims out through Bosnia-style violence, state officials would have resolved a thorny strategic problem and placated the Belgrade nationalists. The Sandžak attacks might have been explained away or even partially concealed amidst the fog of war, as the Bosnian conflict was then raging only miles away. Belgrade's decision *not* to engage in ethnic cleansing in the Sandžak, therefore, is an empirical puzzle requiring explanation.

## WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN

As noted above, a key difference between Sandžak and Bosnia was the former's inability to attract Western support for sovereignty. When combined with the lack of a credible Muslim insurgency in the Sandžak, this kept the area under Serbian infrastructural control, maintaining the integrity of the Serbian core. Western powers did extend some human rights oversight, however, reinforcing the Serbian state's tendency to project an image of law and order in its own territory. In response to complaints by Sandžak leaders, Western diplomats repeatedly expressed their interest in human rights conditions in the area, pressing the authorities to restrain private Serbian nationalists and reign in Serbia's police forces. The results, some Sandžak leaders believe, were life-saving: "If we hadn't managed to attract international attention to Serbian actions here," said Nedim, a Party of Democratic Action leader, "we would have been killed or driven out of our homes."[12] Nijaz, another party activist, explained that before the war, "the Western world had no idea there were Muslims living in Sandžak." But when the Bosnian fighting began, "they learned of our existence, and began to visit. Parliamentarians from all over the world came, learning that we lived here and that our rights were being violated. We had contacts with the Red Cross, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and many visits from international embassies." That internationalization, he said emphatically, "was the only reason we weren't cleansed."[13] According to these activists, international engagement with Sandžak through the human rights norm served as a crucial brake on Serbian nationalist ambitions. International actors were determined to grant sovereignty only to former Yugoslav republics, not to internal regions such as Sandžak,

but as an integral part of the Serbian core, Sandžak triggered Western human rights interest, with non-trivial results.

## ETHNIC HARASSMENT

State-tolerated violence in the Sandžak never rose above the level of ethnic harassment, a terrifying phenomenon that nonetheless did not entail Bosnia-style forced displacement, sexual violence, and massacres. Paramilitaries, as noted above, used Sandžak as a rear base during 1992 and 1993 because of its proximity to eastern Bosnia and its remote, mountainous terrain. Far from Belgrade-based diplomats and journalists, Serbian irregulars could quietly cross the Bosnian border, hiding their violation of Serbia's official zero-tolerance policy on paramilitary infiltration. As fighting continued through 1992, however, the paramilitaries' increasingly resented exempting Sandžak's Muslims from attack. The Muslim population on both sides of the border shared family ties and political affiliations, some Sandžak Muslims had gone to Bosnia to fight, and Serbian nationalist rhetoric did not distinguish carefully between Muslims in Serbia/Montenegro and those in Bosnia. More importantly, perhaps, many of Sandžak's Muslims owned prosperous shops and businesses, presenting the paramilitaries with a tempting economic target. From the paramilitary perspective, it was unclear why they should pursue two separate policies for what was essentially the same group of people.

Local police, municipal authorities, and Serbian state officials, on the other hand, felt somewhat differently. Sandžak was located within the Serbian core, and paramilitary freelancing would violate Serbian law, disrupt central state control, and attract unwanted international attention. State and paramilitary interests converged on Bosnia, in other words, but diverged in the Sandžak. As state representatives and paramilitaries tacitly negotiated the boundaries of acceptable anti-minority violence in the Sandžak, practices of ethnic harassment emerged. The state tolerated and perhaps even encouraged low-level violence against Sandžak's Muslims, but refused to let the Serbian irregulars go too far. When they threatened to seize control of Sandžak territory and take blatant action against local Muslims, the state felt compelled to crack down.

### *Pljevlja's Aborted Paramilitary Coup*

Events in Pljevlja, a small Sandžak town near the Bosnian border, are a case in point. The government allowed Serbian irregulars to use Pljevlja

in 1992 and 1993 as a staging ground, providing them with access to local Yugoslav army barracks and, allegedly, to weapons. When Pljevlja's irregulars intimidated and harassed local Muslims, moreover, local, republican, and federal authorities turned a blind eye, hoping perhaps that the violence would force Pljevlja's Muslims out. Once the paramilitaries took more resolute action, however, seizing control of the town and announcing their intent to force Muslims out en masse, the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav authorities sent reinforcements and swiftly defused the attempted coup. Pljevlja's Muslims were frightened and suffered material loss, but they were not killed or forcibly evicted from their homes in large numbers.

Pljevlja's central paramilitary organizer in 1992 and 1993 was Milika (Čeko) Dačević, leader of the Pljevlja branch of the Serbian Četnik Movement. "There were many paramilitaries at that time in the town," recalled Dino, a local Muslim political leader, "but Čeko brought them all together."[14] In addition to his charismatic appeal, Čeko's ties to the Belgrade-based nationalist radical, Vojislav Šešelj, seemed crucial. "Čeko was Šešelj's designated man in Pljevlja," recalled Stevo, a Montenegrin journalist, "and was also close to the Serbian ministry of interior."[15] This very agency, it will be recalled, was home to the plainclothes Serbian state security apparatus, linchpin of the Belgrade-to-Bosnia network. Čeko, in other words, was a middle-tier operative of the clandestine Serbian Military Line.

Estimates of Čeko's following vary from dozens to thousands. Zoran, Pljevlja's mayor throughout the 1990s, insisted that Čeko had successfully mobilized only a "few dozen unemployed people, riff raff from Pljevlja and from all across Serbia."[16] Muslim leaders in the town, however, put the numbers at several thousand. Čeko himself claimed in an interview to control 4,000 men, including Bosnian Serb fighters from across the nearby border.[17] Čeko used Pljevlja as his rear base, according to the same report, traveling "regularly to the town of Goražde, just 40 miles away in Bosnia," returning "with loot to sell in the local market, including video recorders and refrigerators."

Zoran, Pljevlja's mayor, dismissed Čeko as a local troublemaker bent on stirring up anti-Muslim violence, saying the paramilitary leader was a "criminal and a pathological thief" who falsely presented himself as defender of the Serbian people, "but really only cared about stealing the homes and businesses of Muslims." Milan, one of Zoran's senior aides, called Čeko "an ignorant, uneducated man who attracted stupid and violent criminals."[18] He recalled that Čeko used to "scream that all the

Turks [a derogatory term for Muslims] should get out, or be killed. He was trying to stir up the least educated, the unemployed, into attacking the Muslims." Čeko's favorite saying, according to the mayor, was that "Pljevlja was a small town, and that there was only room for Serbs, not Turks." Čeko, it seemed, wanted to apply Bosnian frontier logic to Pljevlja, resisting distinctions between Muslims living in the Sandžak and those in Bosnia. Muslims were Muslims, and they should be forced out. Serbia and its smaller federal partner Montenegro, however, felt differently, distinguishing between Muslims on the Bosnian side of the border, whom Čeko was entitled to attack, and Muslims on the Yugoslav side, who were off-limits.

Muslims from Pljevlja believe that in 1992 and 1993, Čeko was politically influential at the local level. "Čeko did as he liked in town, and the state could do nothing about it," said Dino, the Pljevlja Muslim political activist. "Even the mayor was afraid of him." The authorities would not criticize him in public and did not protest when Čeko's irregulars threatened Muslims in the street, smashed their store windows, and gave strident anti-Muslim speeches. It seemed that in the summer of 1992, Čeko's power was even beginning to rival that of the mayor. "Increasingly, it looked like Pljevlja and the surrounding areas belonged to Čeko and others like him, not to the state," recalled Stevo, the Montenegrin journalist then covering events. As one Western reporter wrote at the time, "While the police say they could arrest him [Čeko] . . . if they wanted, he and his followers appear to do what they like. For example, despite a line of several hundred cars for gasoline at the local station—which had a sign up saying no gasoline was left—Mr. Čeko was able to go straight to the front of the line where he was immediately, and deferentially, served."[19] Some Muslim leaders recalled that Čeko even warned he might "annex" Pljevlja to the adjacent Bosnian Serb state, adding that they believed many of Pljevlja's policemen supported Čeko's beliefs.

The irregulars, or perhaps some of their local sympathizers, soon began a campaign of nighttime bombings aimed at Muslim businesses. "The Serbs wanted us out," said Dino, the local Muslim political activist, explaining that the "state, Čeko, the mayor, everyone, wanted no Muslims in Sandžak at all, and especially not in Pljevlja, so close to the border." Some Muslims feared that ethnic cleansing was about to begin. Nusret, a prominent local Muslim businessman, said that "the state first fired Muslims from state businesses, then accused us of being disloyal secessionists, and finally turned to Čeko, telling him to terrify us into flee-

ing with his bombings. If that didn't work, they were planning to kill us."[20] Yet while local authorities may have privately hoped the Muslims would leave, they did not tolerate open attacks on the Yugoslav side of the border, since that would contradict Belgrade's efforts to portray the new federal Yugoslavia as an orderly, law-abiding area. The paramilitaries appeared to understand this constraint, if only instinctively, targeting their bombs so as to cause no casualties. The nighttime bombings terrified local Muslims, but did not trigger a vigorous state response.

In early August 1992, however, Čeko's men went too far, triggering a state crackdown. The drama began with Čeko's arrest by local policemen for a minor infraction. When his fighters learned the police might hold Čeko overnight, they launched a coup. "It was a very precise military operation," recalled Senad, an official in Pljevoja's local Muslim aid agency.[21] "They seized the radio station, cut communications, blocked the roads leading into town, and even put machine gun nests in the hills above the town." Pljevlja's Muslim population was terrified, hiding in their homes as irregulars in the street shouted slogans against the police, the Yugoslav federation, and Muslims. "Čeko's men were demanding that we leave and that our homes be given to Serbs," Senad claimed. "They wanted this place to look like Bosnia, where Muslims' property and lives are worthless." Pljevlja seemed on the verge of slipping into frontier-like status, and a wave of deadly, Bosnia-style ethnic cleansing seemed poised to begin.

The state's response, however, was both swift and unequivocal. Momir Bulatović, then president of Montenegro and Slobodan Milošević's close political ally, flew to Pljevlja in a helicopter, accompanied by a high-ranking officer of the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav army. The two men negotiated with Čeko in the mayor's office while Yugoslav military reinforcements were deployed around town. Yugoslav federal president Dobrica Ćosić, a famed Serbian nationalist and intellectual, provided moral support and pressed Vojislav Šešelj, Čeko's political superior in Belgrade, to counsel restraint. The combined pressure worked, and the paramilitaries de-escalated in return for Čeko's release. Federal forces continued to patrol the area, gradually reasserting central state control. Čeko's fighters continued to sally forth into Bosnia, but refrained from threatening Pljevlja's Muslims too openly. Some local Muslims fled but most remained, and no homes were destroyed or looted.

The attempted coup was a dramatic illustration of the state's resolve to block ethnic cleansing in the Serbian core. Čeko and his men were cross-border predators, attacking Muslims in Bosnia with Serbian and

Yugoslav federal support. Inside Serbia and Montenegro, however, local, republican, and federal officials were uncomfortable with blatant rampages against Sandžak's Muslims. Seeking to uphold Yugoslavia's lawful image at home and abroad, officials felt constrained to suppress openly predatory paramilitary activity in their own backyard. They were willing to tolerate nighttime bombings, but would not permit more drastic measures. Officials had effectively had set a cap on anti-Muslim violence in Pljevlja, preventing it from rising above the level of ethnic harassment. When Čeko's men threatened to physically tear Pljevlja from the core and attach it to the Bosnian frontier, the state cracked down. The border thus functioned as a signaling mechanism, defining different areas for ethnic cleansing and harassment. Two institutional settings had been created—a Bosnian frontier and a Serbian core—and they powerfully shaped Serbian repertoires of state violence.

*Priboj Municipality.*

Pljevlja was not the only Sandžak border town where cross-border paramilitaries pushed the envelope, attacking small numbers of Sandžak Muslims in a tacit process of negotiation with local and national authorities. Priboj, an ethnically mixed municipality located directly adjacent to the Serbia-Bosnia boundary, witnessed several cases of paramilitary intimidation and even murder. The most deadly attacks, however, took place in remote corners distant from Priboj town. By keeping to the municipality's geographic margins, the paramilitaries made a concession to state officials concerned with preserving the integrity of Serbia's core.

I visited Priboj after first interviewing Muslim political leaders in Novi Pazar, the unofficial Sandžak capital, for whom distinctions between violence in Bosnia and the Sandžak were problematic.[22] To emphasize the intensity of Sandžak Muslim suffering, the leaders equated their community's fate with that of Bosnia's Muslims. "In 1992 and 1993, a nationalistic, dictatorial Serbian regime did not want to see Muslims living in the Sandžak," explained Sead, a leading Muslim politician in the Sandžak.[23] "They did everything they could to kill us, murder our people, and thus force us to flee. What they did here is similar to what happened in Bosnia." As Dženan, a Novi Pazar human rights activist said, "The state pretended that it was at peace, not at war, but they conducted a genocide right here in the Sandžak. They did it in Bosnia, and they did it here."[24] For Novi Pazar's Muslim political activists, the parallels with Bosnia were clear: Muslims were attacked in Bosnia to force

them from their homes, and Muslims were victimized in Sandžak for similar purposes.

Interestingly, however, both men realized the evidence did not entirely support their claims. Their hometown of Novi Pazar, for example, was still a Muslim-majority city in 1997, signaling the Sandžak had not been emptied of its Muslim population. Muslims had been intimidated, marginalized, and discriminated against, but most remained alive in their homes. Total wartime casualty figures for Sandžak's 200,000 Muslims, after all, were only a few dozen. To resolve this apparent contradiction, the leaders encouraged me to travel to Sandžak's border regions, including both Priboj and Pljevlja. "Go there and you will see proof of the Serb genocide," Sead urged. But the very fact that I had to go to Sandžak's *border* with Bosnia signaled that anti-Muslim violence *inside* the Serbian core was heavily influenced by institutional settings. Although Muslims throughout Sandžak were intimidated and harassed, evidence of direct violence could be found only along the border, where Serbian core met Bosnian frontier.

Once I visited Priboj, moreover, I found the violence was even more targeted, discriminating, and calibrated then I had imagined. Not only was it restricted to Sandžak's border regions, but it had focused sharply on Muslims who fell into one of two categories: persons caught by paramilitaries as they strayed onto Bosnian territory, or persons living in remote border villages. Other Muslims were untouched, although many feared for their lives, were humiliated by anti-Muslim propaganda, and lost their public sector jobs. Local Muslims had suffered enormously but had not experienced the same repertoires of violence encountered by their co-nationals living nearby in Bosnia.

In Priboj, I was told that a Belgrade-based Serbian paramilitary, the White Eagles, had recruited heavily among local Serbs during 1992. The town's proximity to the border, moreover, had made it something of a gathering place for other Serbian irregulars. Priboj town's 12,000 Muslims, who represented less than a third of the overall population, were acutely aware of the paramilitaries' presence. Sejo, a local Muslim politician, recalled that 1992 was a "terrifying period. Nationalist paramilitaries were everywhere, marching in the streets with their guns and uniforms. They cursed us and made all kinds of horrible statements about us."[25] Safet, a Priboj café owner of Muslim origin, recalled paramilitaries being "everywhere, often drinking and eating in the town. If they saw a Muslim in a café, they would say to the owner, 'Why do you allow Turks in here?' And if they saw a Muslim and Serb together in a café, they said to the Serb, 'Why are you drinking with filthy Turks?' "[26] Mehmet, an-

other Priboj Muslim leader, said the town was then a place of "state terror. Muslims were being killed without any compunction. Those so-called paramilitaries were all over, but in reality, they were an arm of the state."[27] According to a Western reporter visiting Priboj in November 1992, local Serbs believed Muslims were terrorists, while Muslims felt terrorized by ethnic Serb paramilitaries. In Priboj, he wrote,

> hate letters are circulating among Serbs. . . . "Serbs, you must leave Muslim cafes because they are preparing cocktails that will make you sterile," reads one of the hate letters. "Each Muslim has been assigned his own Serb to liquidate." . . . The main Serb paramilitary force around Priboj is the White Eagles, a Belgrade-based group that last spring led assaults on Muslim towns in Bosnia. In August, an elderly man in . . . Višegrad, eighteen miles northwest of here, gave a detailed account of having watched members of the White Eagles take Muslim residents to a bridge, kill them and throw their bodies in the Drina river.[28]

Yet while Priboj was a site of anti-Muslim intimidation and harassment, the violence never escalated into ethnic cleansing. Despite the paramilitary presence, anti-Muslim propaganda, public sector discrimination, and border proximity, Muslims were never killed within Priboj town itself.

Individual Muslims were abducted and/or killed in the general *vicinity* of Priboj, however, in particularly remote geographical corners. In choosing these sites, the attackers signaled their actions should not be interpreted as severe challenges to the Serbian core's integrity and law-and-order image. As long as the nationalists did not kill their victims deep within Serbia's domestic sphere, Sandžak officials could keep up legal appearances. In what follows, I describe two types of paramilitary attacks on the margins of Priboj municipality: hit-and-run raids by "unidentified gunmen" on remote Muslim villages, and paramilitary abductions of Muslim commuters who strayed onto Bosnian territory.

### *Hit-and-Run Raids*

In early October, 1992, gunmen rampaged through Sjeverin, a remote Muslim village adjacent to the Bosnian border, wounding scores and causing substantial property damage. Hundreds of villagers fled, walking on foot through the mountains to Priboj town. "The Muslims' flight," a reporter wrote, "alarmed the federal authorities in Belgrade, committed to preventing the spread of ethnic cleansing across the Bosnian border. Yugoslav federal troops were ordered to reinforce special police units assigned to push the Serb irregulars out of the border vil-

lages."[29] Gunmen launched a second hit-and-run attack on February 18, 1993, firing mortars at Kukurovići, another remote village. Three Muslims were killed, others were wounded, and the village's 1,000 residents fled to Priboj town, telling Serbian human rights workers that their assailants were Yugoslav federal reservists trying to push them away from the Bosnian border.[30] Serbian officials denied the charge, saying the attackers were paramilitary infiltrators from Bosnia.[31] The government sent reinforcements but said it was impossible to entirely seal the remote area to infiltration from Bosnia.[32] By focusing on remote border villages, the attackers—regardless of their true identity or patrons—were carefully avoiding a blatant challenge to Sandžak's law-and-order image. As long as the attackers did not descend from the mountains into Priboj town itself, the integrity of the Serbian core remained relatively intact.

### *Abductions*

The second category of attacks-on-the-margins is even more illustrative of the power of institutional setting. In 1992 and early 1993, gunmen carried out two highly publicized abductions of Sandžak Muslims near Priboj municipality, seizing a total of thirty-eight men. Although the evidence is slim, it is widely believed by local Muslims that the men were subsequently killed. Significantly, the abduction sites were carefully chosen so that they took place on slivers of *Bosnian* territory protruding into Serbia. The victims had strayed across the slivers because of the Bosnia-Serbia boundary's circuitous trajectory, which forced commuters to briefly pass through what had become in 1992 sovereign Bosnian territory.

The first kidnapping took place on October 22, 1992, when a commuter bus en route to Priboj from a small border village was stopped by paramilitaries as it crossed Bosnian territory. The gunmen searched the bus and forced off seventeen Muslim passengers, carting them off in a truck allegedly belonging to an ethnic Serb in nearby Priboj town.[33] The second attack took place on February 27, 1993, in Štrpci, a small village where the Belgrade-Bar railway briefly dips into Bosnia. The gunmen boarded the train, searched for Muslim passengers, and pulled off twenty-one persons, who then disappeared without a trace.[34]

Many observers suspect Milan Lukić, commander of a White Eagle contingent in the nearby Bosnian town of Višegrad, of organizing both abductions.[35] His precise motivations remain unclear, but observers offer different, equally plausible, theories. Some say Lukić hoped to use

the men for a prisoner swap that went bad, while others say he hoped to ransom the prisoners off. Still others argue that Lukić, together with powerful patrons in the Belgrade establishment, were trying to drag Yugoslavia into the Bosnian war. Many Muslims in Priboj think the abduction was a tacit threat signaling them to flee the region. Newspaper reports say Lukić came to Bosnia from Serbia early on in the war, embarking on a spate of killings of Bosnian Muslims and Serbs who tried to restrain him. The paramilitary leader appeared to enjoy close relations with Serbian and Yugoslav federal officers based near Priboj, who supplied him with weapons and other logistical support.[36]

Lukić's relations with the Republic of Serbia and the new Yugoslav federation were complex, however, exemplifying patterns of both cooperation *and* conflict. Although the paramilitary commander had powerful patrons in Serbia, other officials seemed concerned lest Lukić import Bosnia-style methods into the Sandžak.[37] Yugoslav federal forces had a sharp confrontation with Lukić right after the October 1992 Sjeverin bus abduction, for example, arresting him over the protests of his men, who vowed to kill local Sandžak Muslims in retaliation if Lukić was not set free. According to a local Serbian reporter, "Fingers were on the triggers all night" as paramilitaries tensely negotiated with government forces.[38] Lukić was released and was later seen traveling regularly between Bosnia and Yugoslavia, stopping off in Priboj. Still, he seemed to respect the integrity of the Serbian core, ensuring his next abduction again took place in Bosnian territory.

The official response to both kidnappings was sensitive to the institutional terrain in which they had occurred, tacitly rewarding the paramilitaries for their restraint in the Serbian core. In an interview, Predrag, Priboj's former mayor, stressed that the attacks took place in *Bosnia,* not *Serbia,* and that they were therefore not his responsibility. "Those terrible attacks were tragic," Predrag said, "but it is important to remember they did take place in the sovereign territory of another country. We can't be responsible for that."[39] At the time of the incident, Predrag told local Muslims, "The kidnapping happened on the territory of an internationally recognized state over which we have no jurisdiction."[40] As one Serbian parliamentarian noted approvingly, "Bosnia-Herzegovina is a recognized country. Therefore, it is legally difficult to launch an investigation on its territory."[41] The Serbian justice minister also noted that the abductions had taken place on the territory of "another state which is recognized and sovereign," and where "Serbia had no jurisdiction."[42] Slobodan Milošević took care to address the abductions himself,

emphasizing legal limitations posed by the kidnappers' use of Bosnian territory. "The moment I learned about the kidnapping," Milošević told Muslim representatives, "I personally contacted the highest authorities of . . . [Bosnia-Herzegovina] and received their firmest assurances . . . that the kidnapped citizens should be found and returned and . . . that the culprits should be caught and brought to trial." The problem, Milošević stressed, was that the Serbian police were "powerless on the other side [of the border]."[43] In emphasizing their inability to investigate crimes that took place inside *Bosnia,* Serbian authorities were essentially turning the tables on the international community, which had recognized Bosnian independence against their wishes. If Bosnia was now its own country, how could anyone hold Belgrade responsible for crimes committed on the wrong side of the boundary?

The Sandžak abductions received significant domestic and international publicity, compromising the Belgrade authorities' law-and-order image. Sandžak Muslims demonstrated in front of local officials' offices, demanding information and protesting in Belgrade and the Montenegrin capital.[44] Antiwar groups in Belgrade rallied to the cause, using the abductions in their own struggle against Serbian nationalism. Local papers of all political persuasions carried the story, which remained a mainstream Belgrade news item throughout 1993 and 1994. In response, Serbian officials reassured the public they were doing everything they could to locate the missing men, even though matters were complicated by the fact that the crimes had occurred on sovereign Bosnian territory. Slobodan Milošević promised he would move "heaven and earth, leaving no stone unturned" to find the abducted persons, and Husein, a Muslim political activist from Prijepolje, recalled that "everyone from the president on down made it very clear that they took this case seriously."[45] The republican governments of Serbia and Montenegro created investigative commissions and checked with Bosnian Serb authorities, but allegedly unearthed no new information. Sandžak Muslim leaders suspect that government officials know who the kidnappers are but refuse to prosecute for fear of revealing clandestine state ties to cross-border paramilitaries.

Serbian officials were discomfited by kidnappers' public challenge to their law-and-order image. Explained Jasmina, a Belgrade journalist and human rights investigator,

> At that time, it was very unusual for twenty people to disappear like that in Serbia. You must understand how major an event it was. We were not at war, according to the government, and we were not involved in the Bos-

> nian fighting. It is very important to realize that the people who disappeared were Serbian citizens, even if they were Muslims. Serbian citizens!! Milošević promised the families of the missing he would turn over heaven and earth to find their relatives. Given the circumstances, he of course had to say that.[46]

Thus the same state that clandestinely helped organize ethnic cleansing in Bosnia felt obliged to publicly explain what actions it was taking to address the abduction of thirty-eight Muslims from Serbia proper.

The Serbian government had helped cross-border irregulars displace, wound, and kill thousands of Muslims inside Bosnia, but inside Sandžak, only 50 Muslims were killed out of a potential 200,000 victims. Both Muslim communities lived in Serb-controlled space, but their fates proved vastly different due to the effects of institutional setting. Belgrade's commitment to Serbian nationalism and covert cross-border operations was coupled with its desire to project an orderly, lawful image in its domestic sphere, and this had dramatic repercussions for repertoires of state violence. The Serbian-Bosnian border powerfully shaped Serbian conduct by separating Bosnian frontier from Serbian core.

### VOJVODINA'S RESHAPED CRISIS COMMITTEES

In Sandžak, non-Serbs were cowed by private Serbian paramilitaries, but in Vojvodina, an ethnically mixed province near Belgrade, non-Serbs were intimidated by the local equivalent of Bosnia's crisis committees. As was true in the Sandžak, the Serbian state blocked nationalists in Vojvodina from developing into full-blown, Bosnia-style ethnic cleansers. This trend is perhaps best illustrated by events in Hrtkovci, an ethnically mixed village in the province. In the summer of 1992, Serbian nationalists created a local version of the Bosnian crisis committees to force ethnic Croats from their homes, and while many did eventually leave, the Serbian radicals did not use Bosnian-style violence, resorting instead to harassment. Ethnic Croats suffered tremendously, but like their Sandžak Muslim counterparts, were spared Bosnia's frontier horrors.

Vojvodina, one of Serbia's richest regions, had been ethnically mixed for centuries. According to the 1991 census, 57 percent of its residents were ethnic Serbs, along with 22 percent Hungarians, 7 percent Croats, and 14 percent other.[47] Vojvodina was incorporated into Yugoslavia from the Habsburg empire after World War I and was designated in 1945 an "autonomous province" within Serbia. In the late 1980s, however, Vojvodina, along with Kosovo, was subjected to Serbian adminis-

trative centralization, and a new 1990 constitution revoked many of Vojvodina's powers.[48] In reaction, a handful of Vojvodina activists began to lobby for "cultural autonomy." And while they insisted they had no secessionist intentions, Belgrade authorities resented their claims as precursors to secession. Vojvodina bordered Croatia, Serbia's arch-enemy, as well as Hungary, which had supplied weapons to Croatia during the 1991 fighting.[49]

Occasional secessionist appeals from Vojvodina radicals reinforced the authorities' fears.[50] These attracted no international support, however, and territorial independence was never on any credible political agenda. Like Sandžak, moreover, Vojvodina offered no armed opposition to Serbian rule, leaving the state's empirical and juridical sovereignty entirely intact.

### *Hrtkovci*

Thousands of Serbs fled the Croatian fighting in late 1991, settling in Vojvodina at the Serbian state's request.[51] Hrtkovci, a Croat-majority village located some thirty-five miles west of Belgrade, was slated to accommodate several thousand refugees. Before the influx, some 2,600 of the village's 3,800 residents were ethnic Croats, but tensions soon mounted as the ethnic Serb population grew. Rumors spread that Belgrade officials had told displaced Serbs to evict Croats from their homes. Hrtkovci's Croats were on occasion threatened with beatings and even death if they refused to flee.[52] Children were harassed in school, a few night-time grenades were thrown into Croat gardens, and fistfights erupted in public places. A similar pattern emerged in several other Croat-majority villages. "Croats here were terrified," recalled Father Dejan, an official in Novi Sad's Catholic church. "They kept coming to see me and asking what to do. Within weeks or months after the Serb refugees arrived, the Croat population had begun to flee."[53] The intimidation first began in the villages of Slankamen and Beška, and then moved on to Hrtkovci.

In Belgrade, Vojislav Šešelj was a key supporter of the Vojvodina eviction efforts, arguing in May 1992 that the solution to Serbian refugees' housing problems was "to give them the addresses of the Croats in Serbia, and to give the Croats the addresses of abandoned Serb houses in Croatia. Then a population exchange will take place, even if under pressure."[54] Such plans were blatantly illegal, of course, and officials from Serbia's ruling Socialist Party condemned them harshly.[55] Still, there were

reports that Šešelj's representatives met Serbian refugees at the border, helping them to identify Croat homes for eviction.

Unofficially, some Serbian officials appeared to tacitly support Šešelj's eviction campaign. Father Dejan thought that national security considerations were paramount; Serbian state security, in particular, he said, feared that Vojvodina's Croats would become a fifth column.[56] Stanimir, a senior member of Vojvodina's anti-nationalist party, the League of Vojvodina Social Democrats, believed the evictions sought to change the province's electoral balance of power. "It was straight electoral politics," Stanimir claimed. "Milošević wanted to get rid of anybody whom he couldn't trust to vote for him."[57]

Tensions crested in Hrtkovci after a large, Šešelj-led rally in the village on May 6, 1992, when nationalist spokesmen demanded in no uncertain terms that local Croats pick up and leave. Thousands of Serbian Radical Party supporters, including many recent Serbian refugee arrivals, attended, according to Father Dejan, and many "marched in full Četnik uniform."[58] One speaker went so far as to read out the names of alleged Croat traitors, warning them to flee Hrtkovci as soon as possible.

### *"Soft" Ethnic Cleansing*

As we saw in Chapter 3, the Bosnian Serb crisis committees operated quite differently than the Belgrade-based paramilitaries. The latter were external actors loyal to national Serbian figures, functioning outside the normal structures of state and municipal authority. Paramilitaries used violence of the most direct kind, displaying little interest in local laws, regulations, or other bureaucratic tools. The crisis committees, by contrast, emerged from existing local authorities, relying on mechanisms of local administration and governance to enforce ethnic cleansing. Whereas the Sandžak town of Pljevlja had experienced a failed paramilitary coup, Vojvodina's Hrtkovci village was home to an aborted nationalist crisis committee.

Hrtkovci's crisis committee experience was created when the head of the local Radical Party branch, Ostoja Sibinčić, was elected chief of the local council in 1992 with the help of Serb refugees from Croatia. Local councils were on an administrative tier below municipalities, encompassing either neighborhoods or villages. After Šešelj's May 1992 demonstration, Sibinčić organized a new vote for council leadership and was elected its leader, granting him substantial administrative power. "The local police were either cooperating with him or were scared of

him," recalled Father Sreten, a local Catholic priest.[59] "He did what he wanted, said what he wanted, and no one could stop him." What Sibinčić desired above all was to force out Hrtkovci's Croat population and to move Serb refugees into those homes. According to the Novi Sad priest, Father Dejan, Sibinčić was "one of many fingers belonging to one hand in the region," that of Radical Party leader Vojislav Šešelj. "In every village with Croats there was a kind of Sibinčić. In one village, it was the chief of police. In another, it was head of the local council. In each place, another person carried out the plan of ethnic cleansing."[60] In July 1992, Sibinčić changed Hrtkovci's name to Srboslavci, or Serbian Glory, and his supporters sprayed anti-Croat slogans and broke windows in Croat homes.

Surprisingly, however, Sibinčić's activities triggered a substantial degree of resistance from some ethnic Serbs. Hrtkovci was a relatively large village and enjoyed close ties to Novi Sad, the provincial capital; as anti-Croat measures escalated, a Hrtkovci member of the nationalist but anti-Milošević Serbian Renewal Movement contacted the League of Vojvodina Social Democrats in Novi Sad, pleading for support against Sibinčić's campaign. The Social Democrats had earlier polled some 20 percent of Vojvodina's votes, and therefore constituted a local political force of some note. "We sent faxes to Western embassies, newspapers, Belgrade antiwar organizations, and talked with government authorities," recalled Stanimir, the Social Democrat politician in nearby Novi Sad.[61] Croats and anti-nationalist Serbs from Hrtkovci, in other words, used Vojvodina's League of Social Democrats to trigger international human rights scrutiny, just as Muslim activists had done in the Sandžak. Sovereignty for Vojvodina was not on the international agenda, but human rights monitoring was.

International human rights reflexes were swift. In summer 1992, Western reporters descended on Hrtkovci, writing a flurry of articles on the impending spread of ethnic cleansing to Vojvodina.[62] The Serbian press then picked up on the story. First, the Serbian daily *Borba* published several lengthy articles, and then other mainstream media followed suit, prompting a delegation of Belgrade intellectuals to mobilize and meet with federal officials and visit Hrtkovci, where they spoke with Sibinčić, local police, and residents. Most importantly, perhaps, longtime Serb residents of Hrtkovci joined the protests, publicly defending their Croat neighbors and blaming Sibinčić and the recent Serb refugees from Croatia for the troubles.[63]

In August 1992, the combined pressures bore fruit. Serbian police of-

ficers arrested Sibinčić and four Serb refugees from Croatia, charging them with illegal firearm possession and disturbing the peace. On May 5, 1993, Sibinčić received a six-month suspended sentence. Another nationalist received a three-month suspended sentence, while three others were cleared of all charges. The sentences were light, but they sent a message to Sibinčić and his colleagues in Vojvodina, warning them to tone their methods down. Yet while Sibinčić's most blatant intimidation efforts subsided, his harassment campaign ultimately worked. By the end of 1992, most of Hrtkovci's Croat population had fled.

Still, though Sibinčić and his allies had pushed many Croats from Vojvodina, the modalities of their displacement were quite different than in Bosnia. Only a handful of persons died in the process, and the eviction campaign was not accompanied by Bosnia-style atrocities. There were no concentration camps in Vojvodina, no large-scale murders, rapes, or torture. Hrtkovci's Croats did experience physical and psychological threats that prompted them to flee, but it was "soft" ethnic cleansing, as Nataša Kandić, director of Belgrade's Humanitarian Law Center, termed events.[64]

Serbian repertoires of violence shifted from Bosnia-style violence to "soft" ethnic cleansing as a result of Vojvodina's institutional setting. Vojvodina, like Sandžak, was part of the Serbian core, and no major international actor claimed otherwise. Vojvodina residents did not mount an armed rebellion, unlike their Kosovo counterparts in 1998–99, appealing instead to international human rights monitors. As a result, Sibinčić and his fellow Serbian radicals knew they could not count on state support if they initiated a wave of Bosnia-style violence. Once his threats against Croats were publicly condemned, moreover, Sibinčić's freedom of maneuver was further reduced. Opponents of Sibinčić's ad hoc crisis committee discovered opportunities for meaningful political protest, since they lived in a country then eager to project a clean-hands image to the world and its citizenry. Protestors could approach the press, officials, and foreign embassies and complain about Sibinčić's actions, and it was in the state's interests to respond, at least partially. As a result, ethnic harassment, rather than ethnic cleansing, was Vojvodina's dominant repertoire of violence.

The potential for Bosnia-style ethnic cleansing in the Sandžak and Vojvodina endured throughout 1992 and 1993. During those years, paramilitaries from Serbia proper repeatedly crossed from Serbia into Bosnia and back, unleashing a wave of death and deportation against Bosnia's

non-Serbs. Within Serbia and Montenegro proper, however, these same men acted quite differently. Whereas the Serbian state secretly encouraged ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, it prevented similar efforts within the Serbian core itself. There, Serbian officials did not eliminate nationalist violence altogether, but did reshape its contours dramatically, pushing it toward ethnic harassment, a pernicious but quite different phenomenon from ethnic cleansing.

Why did the Serbian state differentiate so sharply between Serbia proper (and Montenegro), on the one hand, and Bosnia, on the other? Had Serbia tolerated ethnic cleansing within its own internationally recognized territory, it would have risked its domestic credibility and claim to international legitimacy. Serbia would have had to openly acknowledge it had lost its monopoly over violence to private actors, or would have had to publicly acknowledge its use of ethnic cleansing on its own behalf, violating both domestic laws and international norms. In either case, important institutional rules would have been violated, compromising the state's claims to legitimacy at home and abroad. In 1992 and 1993, Serbia still cared deeply for its image. By 1998–99, as the next chapter demonstrates, issues of international image became less salient for Serbia due to serious challenges in Kosovo. In the early 1990s, however, Serbia was still hoping for integration into the Western-dominated international community, and was still genuinely concerned with avoiding responsibility for ethnic cleansing in its own territory.

Conclusive proof will have to await opening of Serbian state archives or interviews with key officials, but it is likely that many Serbian efforts to cap nationalist violence at ethnic harassment were produced by deliberate, conscious policy choices. There must have been discussions in the ruling Socialist Party, the Serbian interior ministry, and elsewhere, in which the costs and benefits of allowing private notionalists to operate inside Serbia were discussed and weighed. At the same time, however, it is likely that the Serbian state often reacted instinctively to subdue the nationalists. As paramilitaries or homegrown crisis committees emerged within the Serbian core, state bureaucrats mobilized the police, judiciary, and other law enforcement agencies to suppress nationalist freelancers, to project a law-and-order image, and to transform repertoires of nationalist violence.

Public protests and the media played a key role in triggering these mechanisms for defending the institutional integrity of Serbia's core. Had the Štrpci kidnappings or Hrtkovci expulsions never been publicized, Serbian officials are not likely to have mobilized the police, army, and ju-

dicial system to divert the nationalists. This was perhaps clearest in Vojvodina, where two isolated villages with no outside political support—Slankamen and Beška—were quickly and quietly cleansed by Radical Party activists. It was only when Sibinčić began his activities in Hrtkovci that tolerance for outright violence stopped. Some Hrtkovci residents had allies among opposition parties in Vojvodina's capital, Novi Sad, and these politicians took courageous actions that helped trigger international and domestic scrutiny of the Hrtkovci events.

The push toward ethnic harassment did not always require political struggle, however. Unlike their counterparts in Bosnia, it seems unlikely that Serbian Radical Party activists inside Serbia ever seriously contemplated creating concentration camps in Vojvodina. And while paramilitary leaders such as Čeko Dačević may have considered massacring Muslims in Sandžak's border towns, there is no indication that he, or any other paramilitary leader, ever seriously considered doing the same in the rest of the Sandžak region, in areas further from the Bosnian border. Thus the logic of what was possible and appropriate in the Serbian core was also determined through deeply internalized, taken-for-granted operating routines.

CHAPTER 5

# Kosovo's Changing Institutional Fate

In spring 1999, Serbia attempted to ethnically cleanse Kosovo because the province had become an internal frontier. Through a combination of local armed insurgency and international diplomatic and military action, Serbia's infrastructural power in the province was severely undermined, prompting its resort to extreme despotism. Although many observers had anticipated such a campaign since the early 1990s, Serbia had waited until the decade's end to make its move; until March 1999, Kosovo had been a ghetto within Serbia. Like Sandžak and Vojvodina, Kosovo remained firmly lodged within the Serbian core for most of the 1990s, granting Serbian authorities both juridical and empirical sovereignty over the contested area. Once ethnic Albanian insurgents and Western powers launched a combined and intense challenge to Serbian sovereignty in 1999, however, Kosovo seemed poised to exit Serbia's orbit. Kosovo was "externalized," much as Bosnia had been in 1992, leading to similarly awful results.

Full-scale ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was triggered by the NATO air war on March 24, 1999. As NATO warplanes struck at Serbia's heartland, Yugoslav federal troops, Serbian police, and sundry paramilitaries began to expel ethnic Albanian civilians with devastating efficiency. The heaviest outflow occurred between March 31 and April 8, 1999, when Serbian forces expelled roughly 400,000 ethnic Albanians.[1] By early June, over 863,000 persons, representing almost half of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian population, had fled or been driven across provincial borders,

while another 500,000 were displaced within the province itself.[2] During spring and early summer 1999, Serbian troops killed an estimated 10,000 ethnic Albanian civilians and insurgents,[3] while NATO bombs slew some 500 Serb civilians and 600 troops.[4]

Were it not for the importance of institutional settings, Serbia is likely to have ethnically cleansed Kosovo much earlier. Ardent Serbian nationalists had begun complaining bitterly of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian threat as early as 1981, when demonstrations in Kosovo favoring republican status for the autonomous province had rocked the country.[5] During the late 1980s and early 1990s, moreover, the plight of Kosovo's ethnic Serb community was central to the Serbian nationalist revival, providing justification for Slobodan Milošević's anti-bureaucratic revolution and administrative centralization. Despite powerful anti-Albanian sentiments, however, the Serbian state comprehensively forced Kosovo's ethnic Albanians out only years *after* the rise of Serbian nationalism and the beginning of Yugoslavia's wars. An analysis of Kosovo's changing institutional fortunes can explain this delay.

## FROM CORE TO FRONTIER: AN OVERVIEW

Kosovo's institutional setting went through three distinct phases. In tracing changes over time rather than space, this chapter differs from its predecessors, which contrasted coterminous Serbian violence in different locales. Kosovo's first phase lasted from 1989 to 1997, when Serbia bolstered its grip over the province and deployed methods of ethnic policing. A second, transitional, phase began in 1998, when ethnic Albanian guerrillas threatened Serbia's empirical sovereignty by capturing pockets of rural territory for short periods of time. The third began in spring 1999, when Serbia was expelled from the international community and a combined NATO and ethnic Albanian assault fundamentally threatened Serbia's juridical and empirical sovereignty.

It is vital that we recognize the very different Serbian repertoires of violence in each phase. During the first period, Serbia stuck to ethnic policing in Kosovo, despite its simultaneous use of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Kosovo's predicament in this period, in other words, resembled that of Vojvodina and the Sandžak. During the second phase, Serbian troops displaced as many as 300,000 persons, but still did not escalate to full-scale ethnic cleansing.[6] Despite widespread rural suffering, the bulk of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians remained in place, and Kosovo's urban areas remained largely undestroyed.[7] It was only in the third and final phase

that Serbia used Bosnia-style methods in Kosovo, seeking to comprehensively empty the province of its unwanted population. It is only by clearly distinguishing between each of these three periods that we can identify the precise causes of Serbia's varying violent repertoires in Kosovo.

## PHASE I: ETHNIC POLICING, 1989–97

Serbia began to tighten its grip over Kosovo in the late 1980s during Slobodan Milošević's campaign for territorial and administrative centralization. In 1987, Milošević's Kosovo allies purged the local communist party branch of rivals, and in 1989, the central party branch in Serbia initiated sweeping changes to the province's constitutional status, essentially revoking its autonomy. In April 1990, the party dissolved Kosovo's provincial interior ministry altogether and fired its 4,000 ethnic Albanian police officers.[8] Soon after, Serbian authorities disbanded Kosovo's parliament and declared a state of emergency. In July 1992, Belgrade abolished the province of Kosovo, creating a new territorial-administrative unit, Kosovo-Metohija, or "Kosmet." Kosovo was now fully incorporated into Serbia's newly centralized administrative structure, bolstering the state's infrastructural control. Kosmet's parliament was composed chiefly of ethnic Serbs, since ethnic Albanians boycotted elections and refused to serve in Kosmet bodies. Instead, they recognized the authority of Kosovo's former parliament and participated in a host of unofficial governing efforts in education, health, and foreign affairs.[9]

In 1990, Kosovo's former ethnic Albanian parliamentarians convened to declare Kosovo a full Yugoslav republic, a move not broadly recognized either within the federation or internationally. Had Kosovo succeeded on this count, it might have been eligible for secession and international recognition. In May 1991, parliamentarians elected Ibrahim Rugova, head of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK), as Kosovo's new "president," a post not recognized by Serbian authorities in Belgrade.[10] When Slovenia and Croatia demanded international recognition of their own independence in 1991, ethnic Albanian politicians followed suit, organizing an autumn referendum in support of sovereignty. In May 1992, privately organized elections gave the Democratic League a majority in the province's unofficial assembly, and League representatives pressed Western countries to recognize Kosovo's sovereignty. The province remained tightly controlled by Serbia, however; Kosovo Alba-

nians continued to pay Serbian taxes, and Albania was the only country to recognize Kosovo's independence. At that point, Kosovo did not launch an armed insurrection against Serbia, leaving the latter's juridical and empirical sovereignty intact. Kosovo remained firmly controlled by Belgrade, and like Sandžak and Vojvodina, experienced police-style repression, not ethnic cleansing.

### *The Albanian Electoral Boycott*

Serbia's tight embrace of Kosovo held hidden dangers for the Belgrade regime, however, since ethnic Albanians were also Serbian citizens with the right to vote. With an estimated 800,000 eligible voters, Kosovo might have played a key role in internal Serbian politics, perhaps even helping to defeat Milošević's Socialist Party. The Democratic League promoted a comprehensive electoral boycott, however, hoping to delegitimize Serbian rule, which it viewed as an illegal occupation. Even had the League been interested in cooperating with Serbia's anti-Milošević opposition, it would have been hard-pressed to find compatible allies, since many of Milošević's rivals were just as nationalist and suspicious of ethnic Albanians as the ruling Socialists. As prominent Kosovo politician Adem Demaçi noted in 1996, "We know that if Albanians entered the [Serbian] parliament, which would mean legalizing our occupation, we could jointly with the opposition bring down Milošević. But the irony is that what these small [Serbian] opposition parties offer to Albanians is still worse."[11] Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were largely uninterested in working with either Serbian politicians or Serbian electoral processes.[12] Indeed, many believed that as long as Milošević remained in power, their chances of earning international support for their independence remained high.[13] The Democratic League's electoral boycott had far-reaching implications. Only 15.6 percent of voters in Kosovo's capital Priština participated in the 1993 national elections, compared to 61.3 percent for Serbia as a whole. But since most Priština voters were ethnic Serbs supporting Milošević's Socialists, the regime received a significant electoral assist from the ethnic Albanians' boycott. The Socialists gained twenty-one parliamentary seats from only 60,000 Priština votes, compared to sixteen seats from 255,071 votes in Belgrade, meaning that the boycott had effectively reduced the electoral price of a Socialist seat in Priština to 2,855 votes, compared to almost 16,000 in Belgrade.[14] With Milošević's party earning only 123 of 250 Serbian parliamentary seats, Kosovo's electoral windfall was an important part of the Socialist Party's victory.

### *Empirical Sovereignty: Serbia's Monopoly of Violence*

Without an effective monopoly over violence, however, Serbia's efforts to administratively tighten control over Kosovo would have come to naught. Juridical sovereignty might have lent Serbia some ability to dominate, but an effective armed challenge might have easily undercut its control. Until 1998, though, there was no real ethnic Albanian insurgency, and Serbian forces effortlessly kept the province under central control. Serbia's efforts in this were greatly aided by the LDK's commitment to unarmed resistance, a decision largely prompted by Serbia's 1990 confiscation of Kosovo's territorial defense armory.[15] As Democratic League leader Ibrahim Rugova explained in 1993, "The police have become Serbianised and Serbian militia units have moved into our region," creating a situation in which the "balance of forces is so lopsided we don't have the means for defending ourselves." Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, Rugova said, had therefore "opted for a peaceful course to show, in particular Europe, that we're not helping to destabilise the Balkans."[16]

Rugova's position then seemed quite reasonable to many, as nonviolent protests had brought the Berlin wall down shortly before and had secured independence for the Baltic states. Kosovo's leaders appeared optimistic that similar results could be achieved against Serbia. The Bosnian example, moreover, demonstrated that armed struggle was an entirely risky proposition. LDK leaders therefore chose passive resistance, hoping their reward would eventually come in the form of Western recognition of Kosovo's sovereignty. In the short term, however, Serbia's grip over the province tightened.

### *Juridical Sovereignty and the International Human Rights Norm*

Serbia's juridical sovereignty was bolstered by the West's disinterest in supporting Kosovo's claims for independence. As was true for the Sandžak and Vojvodina, the Western rationale was that only Yugoslav *republics,* not regions, were entitled to secede.[17] Shortly after its 1992 recognition of Bosnian independence, a U.S. representative declared that "Serbian actions in Kosovo represent one of the worst *human rights* problems in Europe,"[18] signaling her government's intent to apply the human rights norm to the region, not sovereignty. In subsequent years, international officials of various stripes all insisted that Kosovo must remain within Serbia, albeit with its autonomy restored and its residents'

human rights guaranteed. In December 1992, the United States strengthened its human rights commitments by warning Serbia of a military strike if it initiated Kosovo hostilities.[19] The American threat was not aimed at securing Kosovo's sovereignty, but at preserving a modicum of ethnic Albanians' human rights. Throughout the 1990s, Western diplomats applauded the Democratic League's restraint while avoiding any discussion of independence. The ethnic Albanian leadership was not invited to the 1995 Dayton peace negotiations on Bosnia, and Kosovo's self-declared state remained virtually unrecognized.[20] Western insistence on human rights for Kosovo, however, propelled nongovernmental bodies to organize myriad Kosovo activities around the human rights norm, and international agencies remained heavily engaged with the province through monitoring, information gathering, and transnational lobbying. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, later known as the OSCE, sent human rights monitors to Kosovo in 1992, where they stayed until ejected by Serbia in July 1993.[21] Private groups such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International regularly visited Kosovo to gather information and write reports, pushing Western governments to confront Serbian abuses. "Since human rights violations are the one subject on which the international community is unanimous and vocal," one leading nongovernmental group noted, "human rights monitoring is given extremely high priority and attention in Kosovo."[22]

Ethnic Albanian politicians in Kosovo cheerfully cooperated with the human rights monitors, hoping their interest would eventually trigger international support for Kosovo's sovereignty. Many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo mistook Western human rights interest as tacit support for independence, a misunderstanding that continued at least until the 1995 Dayton conference.[23] Hopeful that the notion of an independent Kosovo might eventually gain broad global backing, the Democratic League resolved to continue with nonviolent resistance and appeals to international human rights monitors. Thus while Kosovo resisted incorporation into Serbia and lobbied vigorously for international recognition, it did not physically challenge Serbian military supremacy on the ground.

### *The Specter of Serbian Despotism*

Although Kosovo's position within the Serbian political core led to policing, not war, many initially feared otherwise. "When diplomats look on the map for the next Balkan flash point," one journalist confidently opined, Kosovo "is where their finger falls," while another argued that

Kosovo's forced depopulation was next on Belgrade's agenda due to the proximity of international borders to Kosovo's population centers.[24] This concern was fueled by warnings from ethnic Albanian political leaders, who drew parallels between their plight and that of Bosnia. Ibrahim Rugova, for example, said in 1993 that Serbia's "ultimate goal" was to "create their own cleansed territory here in Kosovo, a territory without a people. They do not even want to have us as slaves."[25] Bujar Bukoshi, another top LDK official, wrote that Kosovo was potentially "more dangerous" than Bosnia, and that Serbian ethnic cleansing had begun in Kosovo "long before the first Muslim villages were attacked in Bosnia."[26] Yet since Serbia continued to use policing rather than Bosnia-style depopulation, ethnic Albanian politicians developed new terms to describe Serbian policy, including "institutionalized" or "quiet" ethnic cleansing.[27] As evidence, they pointed to the emigration of some 300,000 Kosovo Albanians during the 1990s to escape Serbian police repression, military conscription, and job-related discrimination.[28]

When it became evident that Serbia was *not* about to forcibly empty the province, however, foreign observers began to describe Kosovo as a "time bomb" that had failed to explode.[29] By 1997, the correlation between Kosovo's position within the Serbian core and police-style repression seemed solid, taking Kosovo off the West's crisis agenda. As one Kosovo-based Western aid worker said in winter 1997, "Kosovo is no longer a major worry for us."[30] As long as Kosovo remained securely trapped within Serbia, ethnic cleansing seemed unlikely, and Western powers were content to call for improvements in Serbia's human rights record. Like Sandžak and Vojvodina, Kosovo seemed destined to languish indefinitely under Serbia's thumb, spared Bosnia-style destruction while experiencing a harsh, police-style regime of national domination. Arbitrary arrests, torture, press restrictions, house searches, and myriad bureaucratic harassments were widespread, but there was no violent ethnic cleansing.[31]

### *The Paramilitary Threat*

The persistence of Serbian infrastructural power during this phase was highlighted by the failure of semi-private Serbian paramilitaries to carry out their threats. "Serbian ethnic cleansers [in Kosovo] are itching to have a go," the *Economist* observed in 1993, but were being held in check by a Serbian government concerned with international opinion.[32] Kosovo's position within the core was a barrier to private nationalist violence, much as it was in both the Sandžak and Vojvodina.

The threat of Kosovo paramilitary violence was persistent, however. In 1990, ultra-radical Vojislav Šešelj publicly voiced his support for ethnic Albanian expulsions, specifying later that 300,000 "illegal [Albanian] immigrants" should be forcibly removed.[33] In late 1991, he proposed organizing and arming ethnic Serbs in Kosovo for upcoming battles, and later that same year, the Serbian interior ministry did in fact distribute thousands of light weapons. By the decade's end, local Serbs reportedly held almost 75,000 government-issued rifles.[34] Other demonstrations of paramilitary fierceness included efforts by Dragoslav Bokan's White Eagles, who paraded through downtown Priština in April 1992 and then opened up a recruitment office;[35] Šešelj's Četniks, who marched through ethnic Albanian villages in 1993;[36] and Arkan's Tigers, who drove through downtown Priština and Podujevo in 1995.[37] To maintain their credibility, the Belgrade-based paramilitaries publicly demonstrated their commitment to Kosovo's ethic Serb community, but Kosovo's institutional setting also constrained their actions, preventing them from using Bosnia-style methods. The resemblance to Sandžak is striking.

Displays of anti-Albanian sentiment crested just before Serbia's 1992 national elections, when Arkan and Šešelj campaigned heavily for the Serbian vote in Kosovo. Competing for the ultra-radical mantle, the two men pushed the political rhetoric to new and dangerous heights. Setting up base in Priština, Arkan drove through Kosovo with armed supporters, promising local Serbs he would aggressively suppress ethnic Albanian secessionists.[38] A "key element in Arkan's [1992 electoral] strategy," Miranda Vickers writes, "was to . . . mobilize support for a cleansing program," a theme also promoted by Vojislav Šešelj.[39] "Kosovo is Serbian and will stay Serbian," Arkan promised at one 1992 rally, vowing that "none of our sacred land will be given to the Albanians." More ominously, he warned that "those who look towards Tirana [Albania's capital] will be expelled."[40] Arkan and Šešelj's electoral successes among local Serbs in 1992 prompted ethnic Albanian politicians to warn again that ethnic cleansing was imminent.[41] Yet despite the threats and weapons, Serbian officials blocked paramilitaries from resorting to massacres or forced depopulation. With its sovereignty over Kosovo guaranteed, the state was unwilling to tolerate paramilitary freelancing.

## PHASE II: LOCALIZED ETHNIC CLEANSING (1998)

In early 1998, Serbia's empirical rule over Kosovo was weakened by a surprisingly successful guerrilla movement, the Kosova Liberation Army

(KLA). The group had gradually made its presence felt during 1996–97, but became a significant force only in February and March 1998. Until that time, ethnic Albanians favoring armed struggle had been effectively marginalized by Rugova's Democratic League, but as Rugova's policies lost credibility, the radicals gained in strength. Kosovo's transition to frontier-like conditions, in other words, was nourished by Rugova's declining political fortunes and the collapse of his political strategy.

Like many post-Yugoslav parties, the Democratic League was a broadly based nationalist movement comprising both former ethnic Albanian communists and longtime anticommunist dissidents. As Serbian centralization efforts unfolded in the early 1990s, Kosovo's ethnic Albanians closed ranks behind the League, and for some years, the party's political hegemony was uncontested. Its position was weakened in 1995 following the Dayton peace conference, however, which ended the Bosnian war without reference to Kosovo's sovereignty.[42] At the same conference Western powers had recognized the Bosnian Serb region, Republika Srpska, as a non-sovereign entity within Bosnia, signaling to Kosovo Albanians that denials notwithstanding, the West tacitly rewarded violent secessionism, not restraint. Bosnian Serbs had fought and earned partial international recognition, but Kosovo received nothing.

Critics of the LDK had become increasingly vocal in 1994, with some demanding more vigorous (but still nonviolent) action against Serbian authorities.[43] In 1996, Adem Demaçi, a leading ethnic Albanian political figure, proposed combining more aggressive protests against Serbian rule with more limited political demands.[44] Rexhup Qosja, another nationalist iconoclast, also supported greater confrontation, but insisted on remaining committed to full Kosovo independence.[45] Demaçi and Qosja's critiques of the LDK strategy were uncommonly blunt, but they stopped well short of advocating armed insurrection.[46] Splits within the Democratic League itself appeared in 1997, with two key LDK leaders, Hydajet Hyseni and Fehmi Agani, joining Demaçi and Qosja in advocating for more aggressive political activism.[47]

Kosovo was soon to be enveloped in armed struggle, but for a brief moment in 1997, it seemed that the LDK's critics might unleash a more proactive wave of unarmed resistance against Serbia.[48] In September, thousands of ethnic Albanian students defied both the LDK and Western diplomats, demonstrating for the right to attend ethnic Albanian schools, and for the first time in seven years, protesters were back on Kosovo's streets, dramatizing their claims and challenging the Serbian authorities. Serbian police reacted with disproportionate force, but the protests attracted interna-

tional attention and raised local morale. The demonstrations continued during the fall, and one particularly brutal police response in December 1997 spurred prominent Serbs, including the Serbian Patriarch himself, to criticize the government's actions. In early 1998, however, student protestors were eclipsed by the rising KLA guerrilla movement.

### *The Origins of Kosovo's Armed Rebellion*

During the early and mid-1990s, there was some indication that at least a handful of Kosovo Albanians were planning armed rebellion. In 1993, Serbian police arrested 100 men, including fifteen former military officers, charging them with creating a clandestine ethnic Albanian defense ministry for the shadow Kosovo state.[49] The authorities said the group was part of Rugova's LDK, but the League's leaders denied the charge. In 1994 and 1995, Serbian forces arrested an additional 400 persons, including dozens of former ethnic Albanian police officers, charging them with membership in a secret police force.[50] Human rights groups said the trials were unfair and relied on coerced information, but there seems to have been some merit to the Serbian claims.[51]

One small but important group was the Popular Movement for Kosova, or LPK,[52] which emerged from a 1993 split within the radical Popular Movement for the Republic of Kosova (LPRK), active since the late 1970s.[53] Supported initially by communist Albania, the LPRK began with a leftist critique of Yugoslav socialism, arguing it had become complacent. The LPRK's most pressing concern was self-determination for Kosovo, however, not social reform. Following the province's 1981 wave of demonstrations, Serbian and Yugoslav authorities arrested or forced into exile most LPRK cadres.[54]

In the early 1990s, a handful of LPRK activists initiated limited training exercises in northern Albania, some of which were reportedly coordinated with LDK official Bujar Bukoshi, then prime minister of Kosovo's Bonn-based government-in-exile.[55] From Europe, Bukoshi had more freedom than his colleagues in Kosovo to explore the potential for armed resistance. These early efforts soon petered out, however, and the training camps were disbanded. The dearth of arms, money, and international support seemed overwhelming. Would-be fighters had few modern weapons, and the Albanian authorities were unwilling to permit arms smuggling. Low-key training in remote mountainous areas was one thing, but weapons acquisition and cross-border infiltration into Kosovo was far too risky.

In 1993, the LPRK split into the Popular Movement for Kosova (LPK), rooted in Europe's Kosovo diaspora, and the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova (LKCK), based more heavily in Kosovo itself. The Popular Movement seized the initiative, creating the Kosova Liberation Army during a secret 1993 Macedonian meeting.[56] Conditions were still not right for a serious armed effort, however, as the small KLA had few members, modern weapons, and no territorial safe haven alongside Kosovo. Although Albania was a logical platform for cross-border activities, the government remained unsupportive.[57] Albania's politicians were sympathetic to Kosovo's plight, but feared antagonizing Serbia as well as Western powers. Instead, they promoted both human and sovereignty rights for Kosovo in international venues, provided Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League with international connections, and helped open an LDK office in Tirana. In 1992, Albania's sympathies for Kosovo had been briefly bolstered by contributions to Albanian Democratic Party leader Sali Berisha, who won the country's first post-communist elections. Soon after, however, Berisha backtracked to reassure Western diplomats, and in 1994, Berisha abandoned the notion of Kosovo independence altogether, throwing his support behind a plan for Kosovo's territorial autonomy within Serbia.[58]

## *Piercing Kosovo's Borders*

The Albanian state's ability to block cross-border movements evaporated in spring 1997, however, when the country's popular financial pyramid schemes collapsed amidst accusations of corruption, mismanagement, and fraud.[59] Massive economic losses, coupled with popular disgust with Berisha's rule, sparked waves of antigovernment protest. The machinery of the Albanian state seemed to disappear overnight as crowds stormed municipalities, police stations, and military bases, flooding illegal markets with looted weapons. One estimate calculated 500,000 assault rifles offered at $100 per unit,[60] while another counted a million weapons at under $15.[61] Whatever the true price, Kosova Liberation Army fighters gained unexpected access to massive amounts of cheap, modern arms. Of equal importance, parts of northern Albania slid from central control, becoming an area where "armed gangs with assault rifles . . . roam freely," and where the "police and officials are corrupt or powerless."[62] Under such conditions, KLA activists could easily reinforce their presence along the Kosovo border.[63] Popular support for the KLA in Albania's north was widespread, as many locals had family

in Kosovo. For the first time, the pieces began to fall in place for the guerrillas: weapons, a secure territorial base, and access to Kosovo's borders.

### *The KLA Insurgency Begins*

Serbia began to move away from ethnic policing only in 1998, when the ethnic Albanian insurgency finally began to disrupt Serbia's iron grip over the province. The KLA had assumed responsibility for attacks on ethnic Serbs as early as April 1996, earning them a "terror group" designation by Serbian and Western officials. Until 1998, however, the fighting did not take on serious proportions. Serbian officials counted thirty-nine persons slain by ethnic Albanian guerrillas between 1991 and 1997, with the bulk of those coming in 1996 and 1997.[64] In 1997, the KLA informed Albanian-language papers it was the national liberation movement's "armed wing,"[65] and the organization's first public appearance came on November 28, 1997, at a funeral for an ethnic Albanian slain by Serbian police in a gunfight. Three masked men in military fatigues delivered a short speech favoring independence to 20,000 mourners and then slipped away, sparking widespread enthusiasm.[66] Serbian officials took the KLA threat seriously, jailing dozens for alleged military activities in 1997, but the Democratic League dismissed the group's attacks as Serbian provocations.[67]

Toward the end of 1997, local gunmen claiming KLA ties stepped up attacks in the Drenica region, chipping away at Serbia's monopoly over violence. In late January, Serbian police raided Donji Prekaz village, home to the KLA-affiliated Jashari clan, but were repulsed by gunfire. A larger Serbian force returned in early March, destroying the Jashari compound entirely and killing fifty-eight persons, including twenty-eight women and children.[68] Serbian forces launched similar operations in Likošane and Čirez villages, killing twenty-six.[69] In each case, the police shelled residential areas, executed prisoners, and looted valuables. One Serbian officer reportedly acknowledged that security forces had gotten "out of hand," with more killings averted at the last minute by a senior commander.[70]

Serbian intelligence initially assumed the KLA to be a small guerrilla faction whose activities could be easily crushed. Belgrade leaders reportedly debated using specialized units, which would have granted the KLA political significance, or deploying regular forces, which would have played down the group's importance. The government chose the latter, but according to Zoran Kusovac, "The only tactics regular troops

knew was to pound any suspected 'terrorist resistance' with all means available."[71] The result was a bout of spectacular brutality and, contrary to Serbian expectations, a dramatic upsurge in rebellious sentiment. The KLA had begun with only a few hundred members, drawing on a handful of extended families and activists smuggled from abroad. Once Serbia began killing civilians and combatants alike in early 1998, however, the group's ranks swelled dramatically.[72] This remarkable growth stemmed from a combination of factors. First, the KLA's political colleagues in the LPK had reportedly organized loose networks of supporters in Kosovo since 1993, and these became active once the fighting began. More importantly, the notion of armed rebellion apparently enjoyed considerable support in rural Kosovo, where the urban elite's preference for passive resistance had been discredited.[73] Third, the Drenica killings prompted entire social networks, such as extended families and rural LDK chapters, to enlist en masse. "Once the rebellion erupted," Hedges writes, "local LDK leaders immediately picked up weapons and became commanders of village units," while villages "formed ad hoc militias that, while they identify themselves as KLA, act independently."[74] As a result, intra-KLA coordination became a serious problem as autonomous groups sprang up wholesale throughout the countryside.[75] At the same time, however, the notion of armed struggle remained unconvincing for some key urban intellectuals, as well as some leaders of extended families.[76]

The KLA's initial funding reportedly came from drug trafficking, money laundering, and migrant smuggling,[77] with one source estimating in early 1999 that half the KLA's budget was drug related.[78] In March 1999, British reporters "established that police forces in three Western European countries . . . are separately investigating growing evidence the drug money is funding the KLA's leap from obscurity to power."[79] Although some of this was speculation based on the growing European prominence of Albanian-speaking drug traders, the Kosovo Liberation Army most likely did draw at least some funds from criminal activities.[80] The Serbian killings in Drenica, however, broadened the KLA's appeal among the large Kosovar Albanian diaspora, making it easier to raise legal funds there.[81] Until then, the 800,000 to 1 million strong community[82] had mostly donated to the LDK's fund-raising agency.[83] With money and arms becoming increasingly available, KLA convoys began infiltrating the Kosovo border from northern Albania, often in columns as large as 200 horses and 1,000 persons.[84] Between January and September 1998, according to the Serbian authorities, border guards killed

90 suspected KLA infiltrators and captured 947 rifles, 161 light machine guns, 33 mortars, 55 mines, 3,295 grenades, and almost 350,000 rounds of ammunition.[85] Serbian control over Kosovo's boundaries was beginning to slip, and a central pillar of Kosovo's ghetto status was crumbling.[86] A second threat to Serbian domination was the decline in its empirical sovereignty in Kosovo itself. Here, the KLA enjoyed some early successes in summer 1998, holding up to 40 percent of rural Kosovo for short periods.[87] At one point, "The asphalt belong[ed] to the Serbian security forces and forest paths to the UCK [KLA]."[88] This established the KLA as a political player to be reckoned with, but civilians paid a heavy price. With Kosovo no longer fully under Serbian control, Serbian forces began to shift from ethnic policing to cleansing.

*Partial Ethnic Cleansing*

Serbia's effort to retake lost areas began in May 1998 as troops sought to seal Kosovo's border with Albania by forcibly depopulating villages near the boundary line.[89] Some 15,000 civilians fled to Albania, a further 30,000 trekked into Montenegro, and others walked deeper into Kosovo. Serbian forces began a second offensive in late July 1998, assaulting KLA-held regions in the province's interior.[90] They retook Mališevo, one of two towns held by the Kosova Liberation Army,[91] and by mid-August, had recaptured much of the province's territory.[92] The KLA's retreat stemmed from inferior firepower and poor coordination, as the guerrillas were divided into three distinct and often acrimonious groups. As a result of the Serbian offensive, some 300,000 of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians fled into the surrounding hills. Serbian forces perpetrated several massacres, including two late September incidents in Gornje Obrinje and Golubovac.[93] Overall, Serbian forces killed some 2,000 ethnic Albanians, including both combatants and civilians, and destroyed or damaged 43 percent of homes in 210 rural communities.[94]

Most of the targeted areas, however, were suspected guerrilla transit routes or bases.[95] For the most part, Serbian forces did not kill or destroy in areas where they still enjoyed empirical sovereignty, such as Kosovo's cities, attacking chiefly peripheral areas held by the insurgents. Areas of fragmented authority became objects of localized ethnic cleansing or bloody Serbian reprisals, while areas of uncontested Serbian dominance remained objects of ethnic policing. The Kosovo ghetto was collapsing, but not entirely. Serbia still projected infrastructural power

in many heavily populated areas, sticking to ethnic policing rather than cleansing.

*The International Human Rights Norm in Action*

Following the embarrassment of their Bosnian failures, Western leaders were determined to be more forceful with Serbia over Kosovo.[96] NATO leaders repeatedly argued they must not be humiliated by Serbia, and roundly chastised Serbia for its excessively violent response to the KLA rebellion.[97] The six-country "Contact Group," composed of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Britain, and the United States, issued increasingly tough warnings, threatening sanctions and even military action if Serbia did not accept mediation and negotiations. For the Contact Group, the preferred solution was an internationally mediated agreement for Kosovo's autonomy within Yugoslavia, which would sideline the KLA, reduce Serbian troop levels, and maintain Serbian juridical sovereignty over the province.

On March 9, 1998, the Contact Group warned Serbia to begin negotiations or face sanctions, but an April 1998 referendum in Serbia supported the government's refusal, triggering limited sanctions. In late March, the UN Security Council imposed a comprehensive arms embargo on Serbia and Montenegro.[98] After Serbia's May 1998 offensive, Western commentators increasingly discussed the possibility of air strikes on Serbian targets, and on June 15, NATO warplanes flew over Albania and Macedonia in a show of force. Western diplomacy intensified in August and September, both threatening and cajoling Serbia to cease military operations. The fate of the internally displaced civilians in Kosovo's hills was high on the international agenda as aid officials warned of a looming humanitarian catastrophe. Serbian representatives periodically signaled their willingness to negotiate, but Serbian ground forces continued their offensive.

In late September 1998, the Security Council ordered Serbia to cease its fire, withdraw troops, and begin negotiations. On October 16, Western threats produced a Serbian agreement to halt its offensive, withdraw some forces, and permit refugee return. Most importantly, Serbia agreed to allow some 2,000 unarmed OSCE representatives to monitor cease-fire compliance and human rights conditions in Kosovo. Although Serbian military forces had managed to retake much territory before the cease-fire began, Milošević's agreement to international observers cost him heavily at home, drawing the ire of Serbian nationalists.[99]

The OSCE monitors remained in Kosovo until March 20, 1999, Serbia withdrew some troops, and the fighting did die down. Neither side halted military preparations, however, using the time to organize themselves for a future offensive, with the KLA's mobilization in northern Albania and parts of rural Kosovo matched by a Serbian buildup along Kosovo's Serbian borders. "As far as one can tell," one analyst suggests, "neither side fully abided" by the October peace deal, and "the KLA quickly recovered from the battering it received from the Serbs in the summer fighting."[100] KLA ambushes against Serbian forces continued, while Serbian retaliations were brutal. One such retaliation in mid-January 1999 was particularly noteworthy, killing forty-five persons in the village of Račak, many execution-style. The massacre prompted a U.S. ultimatum to Serbia: sign a Western-designed peace treaty in Rambouillet, France, or face NATO air strikes. When the Rambouillet summit failed, the OSCE withdrew its monitors.

Serbia's harsh offensive had triggered vigorous international human rights attention and threats of Western air strikes against Serbia. It did not, however, push the West to challenge Serbia's juridical sovereignty over the province, although increased discussion of an international military presence in Kosovo, coupled with vague promises to negotiate Kosovo's final status later on, signaled a tendency to drift in that direction. Still, Kosovo's Albanian leaders had failed to convince Western powers to substitute the sovereignty norm for human rights. Unlike Bosnia, Croatia, or Slovenia, Kosovo was still located *within* Serbia, and was thus unable to successfully lobby for international recognition.

### *Assessing Serbia's 1998 Violence in Kosovo*

Although some dubbed Serbia's 1998 repertoires of violence "ethnic cleansing," they were in fact quite different than the violence to come. During 1998, Serbia did not seek to expel Kosovo's ethnic Albanians from the province altogether, choosing instead to raid villages suspected of supporting the KLA; in response, many villagers fled into the hills. Although this certainly was forced displacement of a sort, it did not amount to a wholesale ethnic cleansing effort. Most importantly, Serbian forces did not move against Kosovo's urban population. The state's monopoly over violence was threatened in several key rural areas and that, for the most part, was where Serbian efforts were focused. Thus by the fall of 1998, Serbian authorities were pursuing a bifurcated strategy in which piecemeal rural cleansing existed alongside ethnic policing in the

cities. This mixed approach was sparked by changes in Kosovo's institutional conditions, the most important of which was Serbia's increasing loss of empirical sovereignty over parts of the province. The Kosovo Liberation Army had created semi-autonomous pockets and pierced the Kosovo ghetto's walls, but Serbia's loss of control was sporadic and localized, as were its ethnic cleansing operations.

Another factor inhibiting full-scale ethnic cleansing was the Western world's unwillingness to cut Serbia off entirely. By insisting they still recognized Serbia's juridical sovereignty in Kosovo and by continuing to negotiate with Serbian officials, Western powers and international institutions signaled their acceptance of Serbia as part of the international community. This was expressed most powerfully in October 1998, when the OSCE sent unarmed monitors into Kosovo, thereby respecting Serbian rights over the province.

These monitors, however, created a major contradiction for international actors. Their job was to record events on the ground in detail, bringing the media, human rights organizations, and Western governments into immediate and intimate contact with the effects of Serbian state violence. With this level of proximity, it was difficult for Western governments to downplay Serbian human rights abuses in the name of stability. Given the power of international human rights norms and the density of human rights groups clustered around Balkan events, Serbian massacres were bound to excite tremendous international attention, pushing Western governments to take concrete action. The monitors brought the reality of Serbian massacres to key Western audiences in a way that was difficult to ignore.

There is little doubt that Serbian operations against suspected KLA supporters in 1998 and 1999 were entirely brutal affairs. At the same time, however, Kosovo suffered equally or less than other areas of the world during those same years.[101] Those conflicts did not have hundreds of human rights monitors on the scene, however, with a direct line to powerful diplomatic offices and Western journalists. The discourse and actors of the international human rights norm had by now fully enveloped and penetrated Kosovo and Western agencies concerned with Balkan events, transforming Serbian massacres into major international political events.

## PHASE III: FULL-SCALE DEPOPULATION (SPRING 1999)

Despite its partial loss of empirical sovereignty over Kosovo, Serbia had not yet moved to full-scale ethnic cleansing by spring 1999, suggesting

that as long as Western powers recognized Serbian juridical sovereignty over the province, despotism was not an attractive option. Serbia, it seemed, still had too much to lose by pushing its own citizens out of territory that it lawfully ruled. Once Western powers questioned Serbia's juridical sovereignty over Kosovo by launching the air war, however, the region was no longer fully part of the Serbian core, and Belgrade lost all semblance of restraint. This is a controversial claim, as it suggests that NATO bears indirect responsibility for Serbian ethnic cleansing. It was hotly denied by NATO representatives, who say that Serbia was already in the process of ethnically cleansing the province when NATO intervened. Most available evidence, however, suggests otherwise.

The best data come from the OSCE, whose monitors were on the ground until four days before the NATO air war began. Its report says Serbian ethnic cleansing began in earnest when its monitors withdrew on March 20, and escalated dramatically when the air raids began.[102] A *New York Times* report makes a similar claim, saying the Serbian attack "kicked into high gear on March 24, the night NATO began bombing Yugoslavia."[103] My own interviews along the Albanian border lend credence to this view. According to dozens of refugees from Kosovo's urban centers, Serbian troops began emptying the region's towns for the first time on March 25. Drawing on my research, Human Rights Watch wrote on March 30, 1999, that "the Yugoslav government evidently made a decision over the weekend [of March 25–27] to 'cleanse' the region of ethnic Albanians."[104] Indeed, the rate of ethnic Albanian depopulation in April and May 1999 was *ten times* greater than during the most intense Serbian offensives of 1998.[105]

Western politicians and NATO officials were uncomfortable with these facts, as they suggested the air war endangered the very people they were trying to protect. On March 28, 1999, President Clinton denied the NATO bombings were accelerating Serbia's expulsions, and NATO officials said shortly thereafter that the air war had only pushed Serbian forces to speed up an existing expulsion plan.[106] As evidence, officials pointed to Serbian troop mobilizations in Kosovo in January 1999[107] and a secret Serbian plan, "Operation Horseshoe."[108] According to the German government, Belgrade devised Horseshoe in late 1998 and set it in motion during January 1999, months *before* the NATO air war began.[109] The plan allegedly ordered Serbian forces to begin attacking Kosovo from the north, east, and west, forcing the population to flee southward.[110] In June 1999, KLA soldiers and British reporters in Kosovo said they had discovered proof of Horseshoe amidst captured Serbian documents.[111]

The notion that NATO's intervention only slightly accelerated an ongoing Serbian expulsion campaign is radically at odds with Western intelligence assessments *prior* to the air war, however. In early 1999, U.S. intelligence officials believed that an upcoming Serbian offensive in Kosovo would be a limited attack. According to experts on U.S. military policy, the Central Intelligence Agency did not even "prominently raise the possibility" of systematic depopulation in the months leading up to the air assault. The commander of NATO's Serbia war operations agreed, saying, "We never expected that the Serbs would push ahead with the wholesale deportation of the ethnic Albanian population."[112] At least some U.S. officials continued to maintain this position after the NATO air war began, despite the embarrassment it caused their government. Five days after the air campaign began, a Pentagon spokesman said no one "could have foreseen the breadth of this [Serbian] brutality," contradicting his own president, who had stated one day earlier that the United States had intervened precisely because it *knew* a Serbian ethnic cleansing offensive was imminent.[113] In fact, the evidence suggests that prior to the war, most U.S. analysts believed Serbia would at the very worst expel some 350,000 persons from their homes, repeating their 1998 actions.[114] The dearth of humanitarian provision along Kosovo's borders lends credence to this view. According to UN relief workers, Western governments did not warn of a mass flow of refugees prior to the air war.[115] It is also true that no supplies had been pre-positioned along Kosovo's borders prior to the launching of NATO's air war.[116]

Was there, then, any Serbian expulsion plan at all? According to Serbian reporter Braca Grubačić, editor of a respected English-language newsletter in Belgrade, there was no preconceived plan. "There were vague ideas about expulsions" prior to the NATO attack, he said, but no premeditated ethnic cleansing scheme. Once the bombing began, however, Serbian troops and paramilitaries "just did it," since there was a broad Serbian attitude of "we'll fuck 'em if they start."[117] This argument is indirectly supported by retired German general Heinz Loquai, who claims "Operation Horseshoe" was a German government invention aimed at legitimating its controversial participation in the Kosovo war.[118] According to Loquai, German intelligence obtained vague reports via Bulgarian security sources of Serbian plans for Kosovo and then repackaged the rumors as the full-blown "Operation Horseshoe."

The speed and efficiency with which Serbia carried out the expulsions, however, makes the notion of an entirely spontaneous effort seem unlikely. Serbian operations were too rapid, systematic, and coordinated to

have been thrown together, in the heat of war and at the last moment, by impetuous Serbian fighters. Some careful planning must have been in place before the air war, even as only one of several possible scenarios. A reasonable interpretation of events is that Serbian officers, like their counterparts worldwide, prepared different scenarios for different contingencies during late 1998 and early 1999. A substantial military offensive aimed at clearing certain pro-KLA areas of fighters and their civilian supporters is likely to have been prepared for spring 1999, as most Western intelligence officials seem to have anticipated. A broader and more comprehensive effort to empty Kosovo of all ethnic Albanians is also likely to have been on the drawing boards, however, just in case the opportunity arose. As I argued in the introduction to Part I, the Serbian national idea contained a bundle of multiple and conflicting interpretations, and there was no single, cohesive set of tactics for achieving Serbian national goals. Rather, there were multiple possibilities and interpretations, only some of which were translated into action at specific times by particular institutional settings.

Operation Horseshoe, or its functional equivalent, was set in motion in March 1999 because Kosovo's institutional setting had been dramatically transformed by NATO's determined military intervention. "NATO's bombing," a Brookings Institution study argues, "lifted a constraint on the Serb leader that may have been operative until that point. Before that point, [Milošević] had an incentive to keep NATO from attacking him. Once the attack was under way, however, he no longer had that same reason to hold back."[119] In institutional terms, the NATO air strike expelled Serbia from the Western-dominated "international community" and appeared deeply threatening to Serbia's juridical and empirical sovereignty over the province. Although Kosovo was still theoretically located within the Serbian core (a status NATO officially said it had no intention of changing), it appeared on the verge of escaping Serbia's orbit through a combined KLA/NATO effort. Kosovo's ghetto status was evaporating, transforming the region into a Bosnia-like "frontier." With the West finally bombing Belgrade, Serbia no longer could expect any benefits from holding back. It had been isolated from the Western-dominated international community and thus could not expect any gain from continuing to observe any vestige of norms against forced deportation.

Why, specifically, did Serbia pursue ethnic cleansing in Kosovo? First, the notion of changing the ethnic balance in disputed regions was a powerful strand of Serbian political discourse. Many in Serbia saw continued

Serbian rule over Kosovo as the only way to protect local ethnic Serbs and preserve the country's national heritage. Kosovo's ethnic Albanian majority, in this view, presented an acute political, military, and demographic threat. Beyond this fundamental point, however, Serbia seemed to have additional tactical considerations. First, it hoped to weaken NATO's resolve by destabilizing Macedonia and Albania.[120] With Italy, Germany, and other European countries fearful of being forced to accept more refugees, moreover, Serbian decision makers may have also gambled that the mass outflow might drive a wedge between the United States and its European allies. Third, Serbia hoped to defeat the KLA by reducing its pool of potential supporters.[121] Although in spring 1999 all areas of Kosovo experienced ethnic cleansing, pro-KLA regions were hardest hit.[122] And finally, Serbian military planners may have hoped to hinder a NATO ground invasion by crowding the roads with refugees. These tactical considerations all backfired, however, as televised images of refugees provided powerful justification for NATO's intervention, boosting popular support in Europe and the United States for the war.[123]

In previous chapters, we saw different manifestations of Serbian nationalism spread over different geographic locales. Chapter 3 discussed the most virulent manifestations of Serbian nationalism in Bosnia, arguing that the region's frontier-like setting led to ethnic cleansing. Chapter 4, by contrast, showed a less despotic manifestation of Serbian nationalism within the Serbian core, where semi-private paramilitaries and nationalist crisis committees were partially constrained by the Serbian state.

The events described in this chapter condense these experiences into one geographic locale, the disputed province of Kosovo, where institutional settings changed over time, not space. Between 1989 and 1997, Kosovo was firmly controlled by Serbia and was tightly integrated into the Serbian core. The West extended the norm of human rights to the province, but steadfastly refused to recognize ethnic Albanian pleas for Kosovo's independence. At the same time, there was a lack of a serious armed insurgency on the ground; the result of these combined circumstances was that Serbian empirical and juridical sovereignty was maintained. Although this left ethnic Albanians trapped under a harsh regime of ethnic policing, it also shielded them from Bosnia-style ethnic cleansing. As had been true in the Sandžak and Vojvodina, semi-private Serbian nationalists threatened extreme violence against Kosovo, but did not follow through with action—or not, at least, until conditions changed.

In 1998, Kosovo's institutional setting shifted dramatically following an effective ethnic Albanian insurgency threatening Serbia's empirical sovereignty over the province. Pockets of rural territory became no-go areas for Serbian forces, and KLA rebels managed to seize as much as 40 percent of the territory for a short time. Kosovo's ghetto status was disrupted, although not entirely dismantled, and Serbian ethnic cleansing was pernicious but piecemeal. Some rural areas were violently depopulated, but others were not, and Kosovo's urban concentrations were not touched. This all changed in 1999, when the withdrawal of OSCE monitors and the NATO air war cut Serbia off from its last ties to the world community and presented the regime with a serious challenge to its control over Kosovo. As had been true for Bosnia, the province was being dramatically and quickly "externalized" by Western action, and again, Serbia responded with ethnic cleansing. Having lost infrastructural control over Kosovo, ethnic cleansing, not ethnic policing, became Serbia's repertoire of violence.

Luckily for Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, the West had greater conviction in 1999 than in 1992. Whereas Bosnia was abandoned to its fate by vaguely well-meaning but entirely undercommitted Western powers in April 1992, Kosovo was not. NATO's intervention was indirectly responsible for the Serbian assault on civilians, but NATO troops eventually saw the task through and brought the refugees home. Some 10,000 ethnic Albanians paid with their lives, however, and hundreds of thousands had lost their homes and possessions.

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Part I chronicled the rise of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s and early 1990s and the subsequent waves of state-supported or tolerated violence in Bosnia and Serbia proper. Those waves, however, were by no means uniform. Rather than seeing "Serbian nationalist violence" as a homogeneous phenomenon, I have sought to highlight the varieties in repertoires of Serbian state violence across different institutional settings. In Bosnia, Serbian nationalism led to ethnic cleansing during 1992–93, the first terrible year of the Bosnian war, but in the Serbian core, ethnic cleansing did not occur until 1998–99, and then only in Kosovo.

Contemporary Serbian nationalism contained both radical and more moderate strands. The most radical elements, which conventional Western wisdom has most come to associate with Serbia, defined membership in the Serbian community in purely ethnic terms and was committed to

establishing a Greater Serbian state. In that vision, non-Serbs had little hope of fair treatment. More moderate strands of Serbian political discourse were influenced by the longtime existence of a Serbian republic within the socialist and anti-nationalist Yugoslavia, and the insertion of that republic in a wider global context. For states in the post–World War II world, be they communist or liberal, membership in the global universe of moral obligation was at least formally defined by universalistic criteria, including notions of law and order and bureaucratic due process. This phenomenon was increasingly reinforced by global-level norms of human rights.

Serbian nationalism in the 1980s, like many similar ideologies, was an amalgam of both radical and moderate strands, or perhaps more accurately, of national-particularism and universalism. The two coexisted uneasily, and neither achieved lasting hegemony. Radical particularism was victorious in some areas at some times, while strands of universalism had the upper hand elsewhere. Within Serbia proper the state enjoyed unrivaled infrastructural powers, and was thus unwilling to let extreme national particularism reign supreme. Serbia's ethnic cleansing of areas under its juridical and empirical sovereignty would have demolished its identity as a modern, liberal, or socialist state, and would have led to its exile from the wider community of nations. Neither could the Serbian state abandon nationalism altogether, however, because the ruling elite maintained power through its legitimating discourse, and because a nationalist counter-elite was waiting impatiently in the wings. A Serbian government that openly repudiated the Serbian people and abandoned diaspora Serbs altogether risked sparking a substantial domestic political challenge.

In 1992 and 1993, a unique set of events created an institutional setting that led to a despotic regime of power in Bosnia, permitting the most radical strands of Serbian nationalism to predominate. The trigger was the ability of Slovenia and Croatia to win international recognition of their sovereignty, which paved the way for Bosnian independence. Once the West applied the norm of sovereignty, rather than human rights, to Bosnia, the stage was set for the creation of frontier-like conditions. In April 1992, Bosnia was internationally recognized as a sovereign entity distinct from rump Yugoslavia, composed of Serbia and Montenegro, creating two separate institutional entities. Western powers expected sovereignty would insulate Bosnia from Serbian nationalism, but the exact opposite took place.

By separating Bosnia from Serbia, the West provided the radical

strand of Serbian nationalism an opportunity to free itself from the constraints of international and domestic norms. Chaos reigned in Bosnia, but the new, Western-imposed border absolved Serbia from legal responsibility for events. As a result, Serbian nationalism could grow to its fullest and most awful dimensions. On the frontier, membership in the universe of moral obligation was defined by Serbian nationalists in purely particularistic terms, leading to the forced removal of non-Serbs from the newly sovereign Bosnia. The institutional setting facilitating this moment of ethnic cleansing was the frontier, while its mechanisms were the paramilitaries, crisis committees, and the covert, cross-border network linking Belgrade to Bosnia.

Inside the Serbian core, things were very different. Here, the Serbian state remained constrained by national and international norms, which, for a time, reinforced the universalistic strands of Serbian political discourse. With its infrastructural power still high and its juridical and empirical sovereignty ensured, Serbia allowed norms of responsibility, law, order, and universal citizenship to predominate.

Throughout most of the 1990s, communal membership in Serbia was a complex affair. Purely national criteria were still strongly supported, and many non-Serbs lived in a state of threat and discrimination. But as citizens of a Serbian state seeking to project an image of multiethnic harmony to itself and to the world, they could lay claim to protection of a sort from state authorities. Unlike non-Serb Bosnians, the non-Serb citizens of Serbia and Montenegro had a platform from which they could defend themselves. They had rights as citizens of the Serbian state, and these could not be entirely withdrawn without the collapse of the state's legitimacy on both the domestic and international fronts. In Kosovo, this system was undermined in 1998–99 due first to the KLA insurgency, and then to NATO's intervention. With both its empirical and juridical sovereignty over the province under threat, Serbia abandoned its remaining commitments to universalism and unleashed a cruelly intense wave of ethnic cleansing.

International diplomacy and norms played crucial roles in the entire process. Both the frontier and the core were internationalized arenas: On the Bosnian frontier, that internationalization took place through the rapid and surprising consolidation of Bosnia as a full-fledged sovereign state and the grafting of the sovereignty norm onto the Bosnia-Serbia border. Inside the Yugoslav/Serbian core, internationalization was already in place in the state's investment in its "citizenship" in the international community. Even non-Serb populations in Sandžak, Vojvodina,

and Kosovo were partially protected by international human rights norms. Internationalization held the Serbian state accountable for events in its territory, forcing it to restrain radical nationalism. On the Bosnian frontier, however, the opposite took place. In Kosovo, international human rights norms initially helped protect ethnic Albanians from forced depopulation, but as Serbian retaliations for KLA actions became increasingly brutal, human rights pressures forced the West toward military intervention.

Another possibility existed for dealing with the demographic and political challenges posed by non-Serbs in Bosnia, Kosovo, and elsewhere. If Serbs wanted to maintain a radically nationalist notion of communal membership without expelling the non-Serb population, they could have defined Muslims and Croats as subjects with few legal rights, creating a two-tier political hierarchy. Non-Serbs would have occupied the lower tier as subordinate subjects, being permitted to stay on their land, but with severely restricted political and legal rights. In order to create such a formalized two-tier system, however, Serbs would have needed at least the tacit permission of international forces, and more specifically, the large Western powers.

Part II deals with precisely one such system: Israel and the Palestinian territories it occupied beginning in 1967. Here, the Jewish-Israeli population, defined in purely ethno-national terms, controlled some 2 million non-Jews with few political and few legal rights. Palestinians were officially inscribed into the Israeli control system as subordinate subjects, leaving them trapped inside the bureaucratic fabric of the Jewish state, exposing them to harsh ethnic policing while simultaneously shielding them from ethnic cleansing. The institutional setting in which this took place was the Palestinian ghetto, whose construction and methods of operation are the topic of the following chapters.

PART TWO

# Patterns of Israeli Violence

PART II FOCUSES ON REPERTOIRES OF Israeli violence, implicitly comparing their style, organization, and results to the Serbian patterns explored in Part I. My goal is to explain why Israel engaged in ethnic policing rather than ethnic cleansing during the 1988 Palestinian uprising, despite the potential for more despotic measures. My explanation focuses on institutional setting: whereas Bosnia was a frontier vis-à-vis Serbia, Palestine was constituted as an ethnic ghetto within Israel, which exercised infrastructural control over the West Bank and Gaza. When combined with international human rights pressures, this regime of power led to ethnic policing, rather than forced depopulation.

As I did in the Serbian case study, I support my claims by exploring within-case variations, exploring varying repertoires by the same state in different institutional settings. In particular, I note that while Israeli forces used police-style methods in Palestine, they used more despotic methods in Lebanon. Both Palestine and Lebanon were militarily occupied by Israel, but the former was folded into the fabric of the Israeli state through policies of de facto annexation. Although Palestine's internalization made it more difficult to escape Israeli control, it also offered some basic protections. Lebanon, by contrast, was not integrated into Israel's zone of infrastructural power, and was therefore exposed to sporadic bouts of intense violence and Israeli intervention through paramilitary proxies.

I begin by describing the rise of radical Jewish nationalism during the late 1970s and 1980s, tracing the phenomenon to the availability of new Arab lands for colonization, intra-elite Jewish conflicts, and social protest from marginalized Jewish constituencies. Chapter 6 charts the emergence of a regime of Israeli infrastructural power in Palestine, while Chapter 7 analyzes repertoires of Israeli ethnic policing in 1988, the first and most intense year of the uprising. Chapter 8 examines within-case Israeli variations by studying its repertoires in Lebanon, which were more intense, but much less comprehensive, than in Palestine. It also looks at partially aborted attempts by Jewish paramilitaries to introduce their own brand of nationalist violence into the West Bank and Gaza during the 1980s. Had institutional conditions been otherwise, these groups, along with some supporters in the Israeli state apparatus, might

have become the functional equivalent of Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb entity.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, Jewish nationalists became increasingly radicalized, focusing on the alleged Palestinian demographic threat to Zionism and the need for securing Israeli control over Judea and Samaria, their term for the Palestinian West Bank. Devoted to creating and maintaining a Jewish nation-state in historic Palestine, Zionism in all its manifestations was nationalist by definition. Still, as had been true in the Serbian case, there was substantial disagreement among Zionists over how best to implement the national program. Although both left and right Zionists favored some form of continued Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, there were important differences of style and emphasis. The left-leaning Labor Party favored a more cautious colonization strategy and piecemeal military withdrawal, while the right-leaning Likud supported comprehensive Jewish settlement efforts and long-term control over all, or virtually all, Palestinian lands.

In the late 1970s, the Jewish political scene drifted rightward following profound changes in the domestic balance of political power. The Labor Party, which had led the Zionist movement and Israel for over forty years, was unseated in the 1977 elections by its arch-rival, the Likud bloc, which deftly fused radical nationalism with religious and ethnic protest.[1] As political scientist Ian Lustick notes, the Likud victory "brought to power men and women committed above all else to reshaping the state in conformance with norms of integralist, irredentist nationalism and active messianism."[2] This group revolutionized Israeli-Palestinian politics, sending tens of thousands of Jewish settlers into heavily populated Palestinian areas, annexing land, and consolidating Israel's control over the West Bank and Gaza. Importantly for our purposes, the new coalition included a number of leaders devoted to the notion of "transferring" Palestinians from their homes. Some spoke of "voluntary transfer" through payments and not-so-subtle legal pressures, but the specter of forced deportation often lurked beneath the surface. As we saw in the Serbian case, however, few political leaders were willing to openly discuss forced expulsions.

The nationalists' desire to see Palestinians leave the Land of Israel, as some referred to the area encompassing Israel proper and the West Bank, did not begin with Israel's radical right revival in the 1970s. Some scholars suggest that much of what passed for radical Zionist thought in the

contemporary era, including land colonization and population transfer, originated in early mainstream Zionist thought. Indeed, Israel's most outspoken proponent of transfer in the 1980s, the former general-turned-politician Rehava'am Ze'evi, argued that Zionism was in its essence "a transfer movement," citing Labor's role in expelling "hundreds of thousands of Arabs" during the 1947–49 war.[3] Some historians would agree with Ze'evi's claim, recalling that the notion of Palestinian "transfer" tempted leading Zionists of all persuasions prior to the creation of Israel in 1948. According to Nur Masalha, for example, pro-transfer policies were embraced in the first half of this century "by almost all shades of [Zionist] opinion, from the . . . Right to the Labor left," including "virtually every member of the Zionist pantheon of founding fathers and important leaders."[4] But while tacit support for ethnic cleansing may have been part of the Zionist legacy, contemporary Jewish nationalism, like its Serbian counterpart, was a complex phenomenon, with multiple interpretations coexisting uneasily under the same roof. Just as Serbian radical nationalism emerged in the late 1980s in response to communist decline and internal Serbian political struggles, so radical Zionism emerged in the same period following tensions within the Jewish-Israeli polity.

The most important change in Israeli domestic politics during the 1970s was increased activism by lower-class Sephardic Jews, whose protest against Ashkenazi political, economic, and cultural dominance became a powerful political force. Their resentment dated to the 1950s, when hundreds of thousands of Sephardic Jews immigrated to Israel from Asia and North Africa, encountering discrimination upon arrival by Labor-controlled state agencies. The new arrivals were sent to large and uncomfortable transit camps, escape from which was often possible only by accepting relocation to the poorest or least desirable locations.[5] More significantly, perhaps, the largely Ashkenazi Labor movement, which controlled much of Israeli industry and the country's employment offices, channeled Sephardics toward low-skilled industrial and agricultural work, regarding the newcomers from Arab countries as unskilled or "uncivilized" labor. Ashkenazi immigrants, by contrast, tended to fare much better.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Sephardic Jews did not launch sustained social protests, largely due to their dependence on Labor-controlled employment and welfare agencies. By the mid-1960s, however, their reliance on government services had declined, and by the early 1970s,

Sephardic protests were changing the face of Israeli politics, including street demonstrations, aggressive social movements, and a powerful critique of Ashkenazi dominance.[6] In the 1977 elections Sephardic voters voted heavily for Likud, and Labor never regained its political predominance.[7]

Israel's political scene might not have changed so dramatically, however, had Labor's long-standing alliance with the Zionist national-religious movement not come to an end. For decades, Labor had led the Zionist movement and Israel with the help of the smaller but influential religious Zionists, whose main political vehicle was the National Religious Party (NRP). Although Labor was a secular movement, it found common ground with NRP elites willing to support Labor's goals of a Jewish state, land colonization, and state-led economic development. In return, Labor granted religious groups important concessions, including their own network of publicly funded schools. The alliance was far from harmonious, however, with tensions occasionally erupting into bitter religious-secular debates. For religious politicians, Labor's grip on the Zionist movement was often galling, as it relegated them to junior status in a largely secular movement.

Labor's dominance was grounded in its control of public industry, the military, and the civil service, as well as in the reservoir of cultural capital it had amassed during Zionism's state-building era. Having led the Zionist movement through early colonization and war, Labor's cultural and political capital was vast. If religious Zionists could not claim a similarly impressive record of military and settlement-building achievements, they were destined to remain junior partners in a Labor-dominated Israel.

The 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the occupation of new Palestinian lands provided religious Zionists with the opportunity they needed. Secure in their pre-state pioneering credentials, Labor had little to prove, favoring a limited Jewish colonization effort in the West Bank. The National Religious Party's "young guard," conversely, was eager to press ahead with wide-scale Jewish settlement, realizing they faced a unique opportunity to bolster their political standing.[8] Drawing on an innovative interpretation of standard Jewish texts, the NRP's young guard argued the West Bank was integral to the sacred Land of Israel and should therefore be massively and swiftly settled by Jews in order to hasten the Messiah's coming. In so doing, the young guard borrowed a page from Labor's book, mimicking their prestigious pre-state land colonization by aggressively claiming Palestinian territory for the Jewish nation. This

time, however, it would be religious Zionists who would reap the political rewards, not the secular leftists.

The young guard created their own powerful social movement, Gush Emunim, or Bloc of the Faithful, and developed an ideology merging Labor's pre-state colonization rhetoric with messianic Jewish nationalism.[9] Although many Labor activists sympathized with the latter-day pioneers, Labor's leaders were generally loathe to lend unreserved support to the colonization efforts. In 1976, disputes over colonization and other issues prompted the National Religious Party to break with Labor and ally itself with Likud, which favored a more aggressive settlement policy. The historic pact between Labor Zionists and religious Jewish nationalists was finally over.

The Sephardic working class was conservative but not necessarily religious and had no natural inclination to work with the largely Ashkenazi religious Zionists. These two unlikely partners were drawn together, however, through skillful maneuvering by yet another Ashkenazi political force, the Likud, which fused Sephardic and national-religious ambitions into a powerful new synthesis. The Likud bloc was led by the Herut faction, heir to Zionism's right-wing "Revisionist" movement. Both Herut and Labor were led by Ashkenazi Jews, but they were rooted in very different ideological traditions. Labor Zionism was a child of nationalist but left-leaning Eastern European thinkers, while the Revisionists drew on the quasi-fascist Polish intellectual tradition.[10] Unlike the National Religious Party, Herut was never a Labor Zionist ally.[11]

The Labor-Revisionist and later Labor-Herut rivalry was intense, obscuring their shared commitment to fundamental national goals. The main differences were tactical. The Revisionists and Herut favored aggressive military and diplomatic action against Zionism's opponents, while Labor preferred a more nuanced, low-key approach. At its root the rivalry was political, as both Labor and the Revisionists viewed themselves as Zionism's rightful leaders. By advocating Greater Israel and anti-Labor positions in the 1970s, Likud appealed to both the national-religious and Sephardic protest camps. Labor had subordinated both for too long, and Likud won the 1977 national elections by promising each greater participation and social respect.[12]

The post-1977 Zionist right included both secular and religious political parties, ranging from the mainstream right, such as the Likud and the Nationalist Religious Party, to the more radically nationalist Tehiya, Kach, and Moledet parties. It is difficult to determine where "mainstream right" ended and "radical right" began, however, since the two

drew so close together during the 1980s. As political scientist Ehud Sprinzak notes, the power of Israel's radical right should be measured in terms of its influence over mainstream rightist parties such as Likud and the National Religious Party, rather than by its electoral strength per se. By the end of the 1980s, Sprinzak argues, "approximately a quarter of the leaders and members of the Likud look[ed] at the world . . . through the ideological and symbolic prism of the radical right," together with "hundreds of thousands of Israelis."[13] The radical right had successfully shaped Israel's entire political discourse, forcing right, center, and left to shift further rightward.

The Likud bloc was the political right's main vote-getter, polling 20 to 30 percent of the Jewish electorate throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. The National Religious Party gradually lost ground to smaller religious parties, dropping from 10 percent in 1977 to a low of 3 percent in 1984.[14] Further to the right was Tehiya, a combined secular and religious party, which polled 6 to 8 percent during the 1980s, and Moledet, which ran first in 1988 on a pro-"transfer" policy, gaining 2 of 120 parliamentary seats.[15] Even further rightward was Kach, which earned one parliamentary seat in 1984 with 1.2 percent of the vote, but attracted growing support thereafter, polling 9 percent in 1985 surveys and anticipating five to seven seats in the next national elections. Kach was eventually banned from running in national elections by Israel's Supreme Court because of its openly racist and violent agenda.[16] In 1986, however, polls suggested that as many as 46 percent of Israel's Jews supported elements of Kach's political agenda, and in 1988, 22 percent believed far-right parties such as Kach, Tehiya, and Moledet offered "the best solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict."[17]

Underpinning Israel's rightward shift was Gush Emunim, a broad-based social movement with strong links to political elites, religious schools, civil servants, and the military. Ehud Sprinzak terms this Gush Emunim's "invisible realm," tracing its origins to years of close cooperation between the Gush and successive right-wing governments.[18] Gush sympathizers assumed positions throughout the Israeli civil service during the 1980s, granting the movement substantial influence over education, cultural activities, budgets, and planning. In Ian Lustick's view, Jewish radicalism was produced largely by Gush Emunim's efforts to naturalize Israeli rule over the West Bank and Gaza and to persuade Jews to support a Greater Israel agenda. Lustick's work charts a broad effort by Likud and the Gush to "encourage Jews to settle in all parts of the territories, encourage Arabs to emigrate from them, and strip as many legal,

administrative and psychological meanings as possible from the pre-1967 Green Line" dividing Israel proper from the occupied lands.[19] Official maps were altered to include Palestine as part of Israel, radio and TV stations were instructed to use the biblical terms "Judea and Samaria" when referring to the West Bank, and the Israeli legislature banned contacts between Israelis and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Jewish activists promoted nationalist themes of various kinds, all of which shared some form of anti-Palestinian sentiment, latent or explicit. Palestinians were portrayed as dangerous, anti-Semitic conspirators; foreign interlopers on Jewish land; descendants of the Israelites' biblical rivals, the "Amalek"; or as a potential fifth column.

By the end of the 1980s, Ehud Sprinzak argues, 25 percent of Jews supported the radical right's core views, partaking of a sociocultural "cult" that combined "extreme attitudes regarding the indivisibility of the Land of Israel, bitter hostility towards Arabs," and belief in the necessity of "never-ending war against the PLO," joined by "a constant siege mentality" and "enthusiastic utterances about religious redemption."[20] But the radical right's power was even greater, since it had become "a very influential school . . . pushing the entire Israeli right toward greater ultra-nationalism, greater extra-legalism, greater militarism, greater ethnocentrism, and greater religiosity."[21] Israeli scholar Ofira Seliktar labeled the phenomenon Israel's "New Zionism," noting that all Zionist parties, including Labor and the more radical left, adopted increasingly anti-Palestinian positions during the 1980s to keep pace.[22]

A series of 1988 polls conducted by Israeli sociologist Sammy Smooha are illustrative of Israel's political orientation during the 1980s. He found that 35 percent of Israel's Jews supported continued Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza, believing that if Palestinians disagreed, they should "keep quiet or leave the country," while an additional 21 percent thought Israel should rule over the West Bank and Gaza and that "Arabs . . . should accept what Jews decide." Some 56 percent of the Jewish-Israeli public, in other words, supported a rigidly stratified political system.[23]

In his discussion of Jewish nationalism, Charles Liebman distinguishes between "territorial nationalism," which advocated continued Jewish control over the West Bank and Gaza; "ethnic nationalism," defined as anti-Arab racism; and what he called "cultural nationalism," defined as a single-minded preoccupation with Jewish culture, values, and norms. These three strands merged in the early 1980s, Liebman argues,

and Israeli Jews overall became increasingly committed to "national pride, territorial expansion, hostility to other nations, and the elaboration of the national interest as a supreme social value."[24] Alarmed, Liebman registered growing incidents of anti-Arab verbal and physical abuse by Jewish civilians and police, as well as growing support among Jews for "restricting the civil rights of Arabs and/or of expelling them."[25] In a series of opinion surveys, Jews supported high levels of social distance between themselves and Palestinians and engaged in anti-Arab stereotyping. Liebman cited a 1984 poll demonstrating 70 percent support among Jews for residential segregation and 53 percent support for educational segregation. Smooha's 1988 polls found 49 percent of Jews reporting they "almost never" had contact with Arabs, 76 percent saying they had no Arab friends, and 61 percent opposed to the general notion of Arab-Jewish friendship.[26] The surveys also revealed that 68 percent of Israeli Jews were unwilling to work under an Arab supervisor, 44 percent believed Arabs would never reach Jewish levels of economic development, and that 38 percent believed Arabs were "primitive."[27]

On the whole, Israeli Jews were particularly hostile toward Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza, but many also held discriminatory views toward Palestinians living within Israel proper.[28] In 1984, 42 percent of Jews aged fifteen to eighteen believed that Israel's Palestinian citizens should have their rights curtailed, including their right to vote; 55 percent thought they should not be allowed to criticize the government; and 48 percent believed they should be barred from public office. Some 64 percent, moreover, believed that if Israel eventually annexed the West Bank and Gaza Strip, that region's Palestinians should be prevented from voting in Israeli elections.[29] Given these findings, it is not surprising that Smooha's 1988 surveys revealed overwhelming support among Israeli Jews for unequal public policies based on national or ethnic criteria. Some 76 percent believed Israel should be a homeland for Jews only, 73 percent believed the state should discriminate in favor of Jews, and only 19 percent believed it should treat all citizens equally, regardless of nationality. Indeed, the mere existence of Israeli Palestinian citizens was questioned by many, with almost 60 percent being opposed or holding "reservations" about their continued presence.[30] Sizeable segments of the Jewish public also supported harsh military action against non-citizen Palestinians in Lebanon, the West Bank, and Gaza. In 1988, 88 percent favored air force strikes on PLO bases in Lebanon, 36 percent supported revenge attacks on Palestinian refugee camps, and 71 percent believed Israel was justified in trying to "liquidate the PLO in Lebanon."[31]

Importantly, the notion of forcibly expelling Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza gained increasing support among Israeli Jews during the 1980s. As Lustick notes, "The idea of transferring Arabs en masse out of the country" passed from "the realm of the unthinkable . . . to the policy of choice" for those Israeli Jews favoring West Bank and Gaza annexation.[32] Polls indicated growing sympathy for expulsion schemes, although in a country saturated by opinion surveys of varying quality, extreme caution is advisable in interpreting results. In the early 1980s, one set of polls argued that some 15 percent of Jews supported expulsion through financial inducement or coercion. That figure rose to 22 percent in 1984, 35 percent in 1985, and 52 percent in 1989.[33] In 1986, another poll found, 43 percent viewed outright West Bank annexation and Arab expulsion as the most "acceptable" solution to the Israeli-Palestinian imbroglio, with 30 percent deeming it the "most favored" option.[34] Even Palestinians with Israeli citizenship were targets for pro-expulsion sentiment, with 22 percent of Jews believing Israel's Palestinian citizens should be "forced to live outside of Israel," and 42 percent believing that "Israel should seek and use any opportunity to encourage Israeli Arabs to leave the state."[35] Remarkably, the survey found that only 24 percent of Israel's Jews disagreed with the prospect entirely.

To be sure, other surveys revealed less significant support for Palestinian expulsions, including a 1988 finding of only 25 percent in favor of either expulsion or "extensive" violence against rebellious Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.[36] Polls on politically and morally sensitive topics are always subject to variation due to differences in survey wording and current events. It is possible that surveys revealing lower levels of pro-expulsion sentiment provided other options on their questionnaire, while those demonstrating higher support mentioned expulsion as a measure of "last resort," once other policies had clearly failed. Regardless of which figures we use, however, the evidence indicates the growth of a substantial Jewish constituency in favor of Palestinian ethnic cleansing during the 1980s.

At the same time, Israel's political elites also began discussing expulsion schemes more openly. Two of the most radical right-wing parties, Kach and Moledet, made expulsion an explicit part of their platforms, while Tehiya proposed to "resettle outside of the Land of Israel" some 500,000 Palestinians prior to signing a regional peace deal. According to Tehiya leader Yuval Ne'eman, Israel should annex all Palestinian territories and extend citizenship only to a handful of its non-Jewish residents, using what he called "accepted legal and civilized methods" to

"reduce the dimensions of the Arab population in the Jewish state, or at least its political impact." As such, Ne'eman believed that Tehiya's plans were different from those of the extremist Kach party, whose agenda used even more graphically violent rhetoric.[37]

Israel's mainstream right-wing parties never officially supported Palestinian expulsion, although there is evidence suggesting that the idea was increasingly mentioned in private.[38] In 1988, pollsters discovered that 40 percent of the Likud central caucus supported transfer as a method of last resort. Another survey revealed that 36 percent of Likud's voters were in favor of either expulsion or extensive anti-Palestinian violence.[39] Indeed, it seems that as many as two-thirds of Israel's pro-expulsion constituency were also Likud voters.[40] At times, some Likud leaders did openly voice support of transfer schemes, as in the case of one parliamentarian who said Palestinians with Israeli citizenship should leave the country, or a second legislator's comment that a mutually agreeable transfer scheme "should not be excluded" from discussion.[41] In 1989, Binyamin Netanyahu, a senior Likud party member and later prime minister, complained of the government's failure to take advantage of international crises to carry out "large-scale" expulsions at a time when "the damage to [Israel's public relations] would have been relatively small," but still believed that there were "opportunities to expel many people."[42]

As a general rule, Israeli officials were careful not to voice pro-transfer sentiment in public. There are indications, however, that at least some authorities were conducting behind-the-scenes transfer discussions. In 1980, Aharon Yariv, a parliamentarian and former head of Israeli military intelligence, warned there was widespread support for "exploiting" a war between Israel and its neighbors to forcibly expel 700,000–800,000 Palestinians.[43] Other indicators include 1987 comments by Likud deputy defense minister Michael Dekel that Western powers had a "moral and political" responsibility to help Israel transfer Palestinians from the West Bank to Jordan, since there was no other way of resolving the Palestinian-Israeli dispute.[44] In 1988, Yosef Shapira—then government minister and senior member of the National Religious Party—proposed paying Palestinians to leave the West Bank and Gaza for good.[45] He floated the scheme following a 1987 survey that found 62 percent of Jewish rabbis in West Bank and Gaza settlements believing Palestinians should be "encouraged" to leave, 15 percent supporting outright expulsions, and only 10 percent rejecting transfer entirely.[46] In-

deed, some right-wingers seemed to almost hope for a major war that might permit Israel to engage in forced expulsions.[47]

In the years prior to the 1987 Palestinian uprising, a segment of Israel's Jewish public and leadership were intrigued by the notion of resolving Israel's security and demographic dilemmas through forced depopulation. Like all nationalists, Zionists shared a broad set of core beliefs, including the prioritization of one national community's interests over others and efforts to link state, nation, and sacred territory. There were differences of interpretation regarding the manner in which these goals were to be achieved, however, and only one segment of the leadership and population were willing to take the logic of Jewish nationalism to its most radical conclusion. Under appropriate institutional conditions, this interpretation might have developed into a full-blown policy of ethnic cleansing, much as Serbian radicalism did in Bosnia and, later, in Kosovo. Yet as the following chapters suggest, the ethnic cleansing option became less viable due to Palestine's changing institutional setting. As the area became an ethnic enclave within a broader, Jewish-controlled space, the notion of forced expulsions became less realistic. The more Palestinians were securely trapped within Israel's embrace, the less likely their ethnic cleansing became. The next chapter discusses Israel's policy of de facto annexation after 1967, which gradually embedded Palestinians within the bureaucratic fabric of the Jewish state, showing that Israel devised a regime of infrastructural power to secure long-term control over Palestine, inadvertently creating subordinate and partially protected wards of the Israeli polity.

CHAPTER 6

# Creating the Palestinian Ghetto

Just prior to the first Israeli-Arab war, Zionist leader David Ben Gurion warned against extending citizenship to Palestinians slated to live in the new, UN-designated Jewish state. Citizenship for the new state's Arab community, Ben Gurion believed, would mean that in wartime, "it would only be possible to imprison [the Palestinians]," rather than to expel them.[1] When fighting erupted soon after, the relevance of his comments became clear, as Jewish troops participated in the often forced removal of some 750,000 Palestinians over international borders in a campaign that today would be termed ethnic cleansing. By 1949, only 150,000 Palestinians remained in the fledgling Jewish state.[2]

During the 1967 war, however, Israeli forces chose a different path. Although as many as 300,000 Palestinians left the West Bank or were deported during or immediately after the fighting, most stayed put. Israel did not offer them citizenship, but it did issue official identity cards and register them as wards of the Israeli military. As Ben Gurion had feared in the late 1940s, this inadvertently hardwired Palestinians into the Israeli state and bureaucracy, constraining the country's options for removing them. Israel had never intended to grant Palestinians a protected niche, using the identity cards and other methods of surveillance as techniques of domination and control.[3] By spinning a powerful web of infrastructural power to control Palestinian territory and population, however, Israel unwittingly transformed Palestinians into semi-protected, quasi-members of the polity.

## EMBEDDING PALESTINE WITHIN ISRAEL

After the 1967 war, Israel's overriding political concern was to balance its desire for more Palestinian *land* with the unwelcome presence of actual *Palestinians*. Groping for a solution, officials devised plans for a Palestinian "enclave," "self-governing region," "autonomous area," or even "mini-state." The details of each scheme were different, but they shared the goal of gaining as much Palestinian land with as few Palestinians as possible. As Israel searched for a solution, some politicians recognized the risks involved in creating a permanent Palestinian enclave in the West Bank surrounded by Israeli settlers and troops. In 1967, for example, one cabinet minister protested, "We can't say that it [the West Bank] is all ours, and that in the middle we are going to make a ghetto for 1 million Arabs, informing them, 'do as we tell you.' " Or as another minister warned, international anti-colonial sentiment was such that it was impossible to create "a piece of territory inhabited mostly by Arabs whose security and foreign relations we control." Who, the minister asked incredulously, would tolerate such a colonial anachronism?[4] For the most part, however, Israeli leaders pushed these dilemmas aside, avoiding substantive discussion of the contradiction between land and population. By the late 1970s, observers began to speak of Israel's "creeping annexation" of Palestinian lands and by the mid-1980s, a generation of Jewish-Israelis had grown up assuming that the West Bank and Gaza were integral parts of Israel. A subordinate Palestinian enclave had become reality, although it was never officially acknowledged as such by either Jewish or Palestinian political elites.

From 1967 to 1987, Israel consolidated its infrastructural regime of power over Palestine by sealing the enclave's external borders, crushing internal armed resistance, rationalizing its mechanisms of control, and integrating its economy.

### *Sealing the Ghetto's Borders*

As the Kosovo case made clear, an area's effective transformation into a ghetto-like enclave requires that its borders be effectively controlled by the dominant state. Shortly after the 1967 occupation, Israel realized it could not properly control the West Bank unless it had sealed its boundaries. Palestinian guerrillas, like their Kosova Liberation Army counterparts years later, understood this fact all too well. If the guerrillas could not maintain a physical link to the homeland, their credibility and effec-

tiveness would be imperiled.[5] Palestinian fighters chose to try to penetrate the West Bank's border with Jordan because of that country's substantial Palestinian refugee population and the length of the boundary. The largest Palestinian guerrilla group, Fatah, was the first to launch cross-border raids, and its (modest) battlefield success near the border town of Karameh provided it with thousands of new recruits, prompting other Palestinian groups to mount their own cross-border infiltration efforts.[6]

To a significant extent, Palestinian guerrillas modeled their cross-border efforts on the experiences of Algerian and Vietnamese guerrillas.[7] Jordan, in this view, was to become a North Vietnam–style rear base, while the West Bank was to be the "South Vietnam" battlefield. In those years, Palestinians often situated their struggle within the larger global anti-colonial and anti-Western movement. The 1969 Fatah mission statement, for example, noted that the "struggle of the Palestinian people, like that of the Vietnamese . . . and other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is part of the historic process of the liberation of the oppressed peoples from colonialism and imperialism."[8] The Algerian example was of particular relevance, as Algeria had just won independence from French colonial rule, and cross-border efforts had been integral to the process.[9] Algerian leaders, moreover, played a key role in promoting the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964.[10] The Vietnam war was still ongoing during Fatah's early years, and cross-border infiltration was a crucial theme there as well. Drawing on these experiences, Palestinian guerrillas hoped to mount a similar effort along the Jordanian border, slipping across the valley floor, hiking up through Israeli-controlled foothills, and then joining armed supporters in the West Bank highlands.

Israel launched a vigorous border patrol effort, destroying Palestinian border villages, laying minefields, building fences, plowing tracking roads, and laying ambushes.[11] It was aided by the terrain, which was not conducive to guerrilla infiltration. As one British journalist noted, "The West Bank is not Vietnam," since its mountains "are empty and stony. Movement is easy to spot and control. Crossing the river Jordan, infiltrators have to climb out of the deep valley, to labor up rocky slopes carrying heavy arms and equipment."[12] Equally debilitating were political complications. Jordan eventually proved inhospitable, as the monarchy was eager to maintain good relations with the United States, Britain, and even Israel.[13] In 1970–71 Jordanian troops moved against the guerrillas, forcing them flee to Lebanon in a series of events known to Palestinians

as "Black September."[14] Thereafter, Israel and Jordan worked jointly, if unofficially, to patrol their shared boundary, effectively sealing the West Bank off from external guerrillas. Shlomo Gazit, then a senior Israeli military officer in the West Bank, noted that "if not for this [Israeli] success in sealing the borders—i.e., had terrorists been able to infiltrate arms past the borders, or had terrorist bands been able to penetrate and establish themselves inside the territories—then internal security problems would most certainly have been of an entirely different nature."[15] And, he might have added, the Palestinian ghetto would never have emerged.

### *Suppressing Internal Armed Resistance*

At the same time, Israeli forces were vigorously stamping out military challenges within the Palestinian enclave itself. As Serbia discovered in Kosovo during 1998, a state cannot legitimately claim a monopoly over organized violence if it loses empirical sovereignty. After 1967, therefore, Israeli attempts to suppress armed Palestinian resistance from within the West Bank and Gaza became crucial to the Israeli control efforts, as well as becoming a vital way station on the road to Palestinian ghetto formation.

In summer 1967, Fatah leader Yasser Arafat infiltrated the West Bank, hoping to organize an internal armed insurgency. Arafat and his colleagues traveled the West Bank for months, and although they did recruit some willing supporters, their campaign largely failed.[16] Local Palestinian elites feared Israeli and Jordanian reprisals, and the guerrillas' support within the broader Arab world was weak. Israel's counterinsurgency apparatus, led by its internal security services (known then as the Shin Bet, or Sherutei Bitachon), was also tremendously effective. Together, these factors militated against a successful armed insurgency, and by 1971, Israel had effectively eliminated all serious external and internal armed challenges to its rule, wedging the Palestinian enclave firmly within its walls. As Black and Morris explain,

> [Israel's] sealing of the border with Jordan meant that the West Bank was almost completely cut off from the outside world; its population—a large part of the Palestinian people—isolated and controlled by their occupier. There were no "no-go" areas for the Israelis, no "liberated zones" where resistance could flourish. . . . This [Israeli] success prevented the Palestinians from launching a people's war at the very moment that their ideology required it.

As a result, they note, the Palestinian occupied territories "never became Algeria or Vietnam."[17] Although these models had originally inspired the Palestinian guerrilla movement, circumstances militated against their Middle Eastern application. Israel had cut Palestine off from the outside world and Palestinian insurgents were unable to mount an effective armed challenge from within. The West Bank and Gaza were not formally part of Israel; increasingly, however, they were being drawn into the state as subordinate members of the Israeli polity.

### *Rationalizing Israel's Control Mechanisms*

Israeli military and civilian agencies also cast a tightly woven administrative web across the West Bank and Gaza, setting up a centralized hierarchy of commands and responsibilities and incorporating the region into Israel's bureaucracy.[18] This rationalization of control was a key source of Israel's growing levels of infrastructural power in Palestine. As a first step, Israeli forces established a grid of regional jurisdictions, leaving no corner of the West Bank and Gaza without a military commander. In 1981, the army placed the West Bank under the military's Central Command and folded Gaza into the southern equivalent, merging Palestine into the army's administrative framework for Israel proper. More importantly, the government extended the authority of Israel's civilian ministries to Palestine soon after the occupation began. "Once the territories had been occupied," Gazit explains, "there was no point in establishing a separate machinery alongside the regular civilian administration of Israel's government ministries . . . it was both necessary and desirable that one control center should direct . . . activity in Israel and the territories . . . any separation . . . would have created thorny problems of coordination."[19] Thus, for example, the Israeli ministry of health took responsibility for Palestinian hospitals, while the ministry of internal affairs issued Palestinians identity cards and travel documents. Formally, Israel's civilian bureaucrats worked in Palestine only through the military command, but in practice, Israel was developing a new military-civilian hybrid tying Palestine to Israel's civilian bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic incorporation was matched by the military government's urge to enumerate, monitor, and survey as many Palestinian objects as possible. In 1970, for example, the military published an exquisitely detailed report on the Palestinian economy and population, listing the precise number of licensed carpenters, printing presses, fire trucks, and water wells.[20] The report even made detailed inventories of

Palestinian workshops for cement, furniture, cigarettes, soap, metals, olive products, and sweets.[21] Nothing was too small to count, and no object was too minor to register. Perhaps most significant in this respect was the state's registration of the Palestinian population itself and its creation of detailed document-verification procedures.[22] Each Palestinian received a numbered card from the state that had to be carried at all times, facilitating the military's ability to track dissidents and rebels.

Israeli administrative control soon became a double-edged sword, however, since by inscribing Palestinian lives and assets into Israel's bureaucratic registries, those entities were transformed into objects of state responsibility. As Israeli leader Ben Gurion had warned in 1947, Israel's decision to issue identity papers to Palestinians eventually served as a constraint on Israeli policy. Identity papers did not entitle Palestinians to political rights within Israel, but they did create a bureaucratic status that would, eventually, be transformed into a diluted form of polity membership. If a Palestinian disappeared, the authorities could not deny his or her existence, since that person was registered with the ministry of interior; villages or property could not be destroyed at will, since they had been given an official bureaucratic niche, and by counting, registering, and controlling them, Israel had assumed a modicum of moral and legal responsibility for their fate.

Israel's imposition of an elaborate "law-and-order" structure in Palestine was another key mechanism for rationalizing state power. Immediately upon seizing the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, for example, the military proclaimed that "the Israel Defense Forces have today entered this area and assumed responsibility for security and maintenance of public order."[23] Soon after, Israeli civilian police were deployed into the area, inserting Israeli officers over local Palestinian personnel.[24] The military's legal division generated comprehensive laws regulating most aspects of Palestinian life, and by 1992, the authorities had issued over 1,300 new laws and regulations.[25] Some of those laws were entirely appropriate to Palestine's status as occupied military territory, but others seem to have been driven by an urge to rationalize, control, and administer. The first category includes Order #329, which defined the term "infiltrator," and Order #1099, which specified the powers of Israeli prison guards. The second, more intrusive category includes Order #306, which determined the number of Palestinian sheep-grazing permits, and Order #1147, which specified the military permits Palestinian vegetable growers were required to obtain.

Legal scholars debated the precise status of the occupied territories

and Israel's rights and obligations as an occupying power.[26] Israeli representatives, for example, rejected the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to the West Bank and Gaza, arguing that sovereignty had been disputed prior to 1967, and that the territories were therefore "administered" lands whose political status was to be determined. Palestinian and international scholars disputed this interpretation, regarding it as justification for colonization and annexation. Another debate focused on the jurisdiction and fairness of the Israeli Supreme Court. Israel's defenders highlighted the court's rulings against Israeli military actions as evidence of Israel's respect for legality, while critics noted that the judges rarely argued with the military on any point of substance, suggesting that the court's main job was to legitimize Israeli rule.

Regardless of their merits, these debates obscured a broader institutional point. Israel had acknowledged its legal responsibility for events in Palestine, informing domestic and international audiences that the region was under its empirical and juridical sovereignty. As the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem pointed out, "Since 1967, the IDF [Israeli military] has borne overall responsibility for maintaining law and order in the [occupied] Territories. International law obligates, therefore, the IDF to protect the life, person, and property of all Palestinians under its control."[27] Had the region been constituted as a frontier, Israeli officials would not have been obliged to accept responsibility for it. Palestinian interests were subordinated to those of Israel, but Jewish domination was enacted through public laws, regulations, and administrative decisions. Palestinian subordination was "lawfully" conducted in full public view, presenting a very different model than that of Bosnia, where non-Serbs were assaulted by clandestine, irregular militias operating through illegal channels.

### *Integrating the Ghetto Economy*

After 1967, Israeli increasingly folded the Palestinian economy into that of Israel, transforming the West Bank and Gaza into dependent, labor-exporting enclaves. The first steps were taken soon after the war, primarily at the instigation of the then–Israeli defense minister, Moshe Dayan, who issued permits to Palestinians seeking work in Israel. Dayan's plan was to stabilize the occupation and provide the military with tools to punish Palestinians should they choose to rebel. "If Hebron's electricity grid comes from our [Israeli] central grid and we are able to pull the plug and thus cut them off," Dayan once explained, "this

is clearly better than a thousand curfews and riot-dispersals."[28] In 1983, that vision became reality when Palestinian municipalities were hooked up to the Israeli telephone and electricity systems.[29] When the Intifada began in late 1987, Israeli control over these and other essential services proved crucial.

As former West Bank military officer Shlomo Gazit acknowledged, Israel guided the process of economic integration to maximize benefits for Jewish economic and political interests. "Political considerations" led government ministers "to prefer . . . the Israeli economy over the needs of the territories," he wrote, and ministers were reluctant to "subordinate, even in the slightest, Israeli (perhaps even Jewish) economic interests for the good of the Arabs living in the territories." The Israeli government did so because it recognized that "its electorate lay entirely" within Israel.[30] Palestinians were drawn into Israel's economy, but only at its bottommost rungs. Some Palestinian enterprises competing with Israelis were denied permits, while others were driven out of business entirely by state-subsidized Jewish industries. As the two economies drew closer together, the effects of unequal competition proved increasingly prejudicial to Palestinian self-sufficiency.[31]

One of the most dramatic consequences was a marked shift in Palestinian employment patterns. In 1982, some 75,000 Palestinians worked for Jewish employers, but by the late 1980s, the number was closer to 100,000, representing almost 30 percent of the Palestinian labor force. "Non-citizen" Arabs, according to two Israeli sociologists, had become the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" for the Jewish economy, performing the lowest paid, most physically taxing, and least intellectually demanding jobs. Palestinian occupational segregation was "extreme," they said, noting that Palestinians were dramatically "overrepresented at the bottom of the occupational ladder and underrepresented in the higher-status occupations."[32] With few legal rights, Palestinians were non-unionized and open to Jewish exploitation. "Non-citizen Arabs" were "placed at the end of the job queue, . . . [tended] to hold the least desirable jobs . . . [and found] work conditions even less negotiable than other subordinate groups," largely due to their "unique legal and political status" as non-citizen wards of Israel.[33] Although some Palestinians initially benefited from Israeli jobs, the economy as a whole developed a long-term and ultimately debilitating dependency.[34] When times turned bad, Palestinian laborers found themselves at the mercy of Israeli employers, border patrols, and economic cycles, while Jewish businessmen found alternative sources of cheap and compliant labor. By 1987, the

West Bank and Gaza had become almost "fully integrated 'provinces' of the Israeli economy," according to an Israeli economic team.[35]

Israel's efforts to consolidate its control had locked Palestine securely within the confines of the state. Its borders were sealed, its internal insurgents were crushed, and its bureaucratic, legal, and economic infrastructures were closely tied to those of Israel. Palestine might yet have wrenched itself from ghetto status had it succeeded in convincing Western powers and international institutions to support its cause. If NATO and the UN had behaved with Israel as they had with Serbia, threatening sanctions if Israel did not withdraw, things might have turned out differently. International forces did not pursue this course, however, despite some sympathy for the Palestinian cause and intense Palestinian diplomatic efforts.

## PALESTINIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND THE GLOBAL ARENA

Paradoxically, Palestinians registered remarkable international diplomatic successes in the 1970s and early 1980s. By December 1987, when the Intifada began, the PLO was heavily embedded in international media and bureaucracies, gaining observer status at the UN and other international agencies, speaking regularly to representatives of elite global media outlets, and receiving quasi-diplomatic recognition by dozens of countries. This process was capped in November 1988 when the PLO's self-proclaimed "State of Palestine" was recognized by 120 UN member-states.

These remarkable achievements were blunted, however, by the refusal of major Western powers to exercise the same kind of pressure on Israel that would later be deployed against Serbia. The Security Council did not order Israel to withdraw from occupied lands, NATO did not threaten air strikes, and the great powers did not impose economic sanctions. The most significant Western countries refused to recognize the Palestinian state, calling instead on Israel to respect Palestinian human rights and begin political negotiations. In fact, Western countries seemed most interested in keeping Israel firmly in control of the West Bank and Gaza until a final deal was struck. The PLO had placed its case before international audiences, but it could not win entry to the inner circle of Western-authorized, internationally recognized sovereign states. As such, its diplomatic achievements were far less substantial than those of the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia, which earned full recognition as a sovereign state in April 1992.

*Building a Diplomatic Coalition: The PLO and Arab States*

In 1947, following vigorous debates between Jews, British colonialists, and Palestinians, a UN commission proposed creating a Palestinian state on 41 percent of mandatory Palestine. Discussions of Palestinian statehood faded after 1947–49, however, as Jewish forces had seized some 70 percent of the region, while Jordan and Egypt had taken the rest. Autonomous Palestinian forces played only a small role in the fighting, and until 1967, Palestinians were treated by all sides as marginal players. This trend dovetailed with the intellectual thrust of pan-Arabism, which emphasized Arab unity over the interests of particular Arab groups. Resolution of the Israeli-Arab imbroglio was supposedly the responsibility of the entire Arab world, not of the Palestinians themselves.

An initial effort to create separate Palestinian organizations was launched in Kuwait in 1959, when a handful of Palestinians formed the Fatah guerrilla group. The faction remained politically marginal, however, as long as Arab states claimed a lead role in dealing with Israel. Other refugees created Palestinian unions in Egypt and the Persian Gulf, but these too remained outside the political mainstream. The PLO was founded in 1964, adding weight to the notion of an autonomous Palestine, but the organization remained heavily constrained by Egypt, its chief supporter. Guerrilla groups such as Fatah were not yet in control of the PLO, and the organization did not become a state-seeking body until 1967, when military defeat discredited the pan-Arabist movement.

Autonomous Palestinian politics began in earnest after the war, starting with a wave of anti-Israeli guerrilla attempts. Their manifest goal was to defeat Israeli military forces, but their more important (latent) goal was to create a distinct Palestinian national identity centered around notions of armed struggle and self-reliance.[36] Although the guerrillas spoke of liberating all of mandatory Palestine (including Israel proper), they mostly used infiltration operations to promote their organizations, raise funds, mobilize Palestinians, and win Arab recognition. Within a short time, the strategy paid off, and in July 1968, Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) gained half the seats in the PLO's legislative body.

Although the PLO's guerrilla efforts against Israel were largely ineffectual, the organization's diplomatic and political initiatives fared much better. In 1973, the PLO persuaded Arab states to secretly recognize it as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and one year later, that recognition was made public.[37] From then on, the PLO's monopoly

over Palestinian representation was largely uncontested by Arab states, save for the occasional Jordanian challenge.[38] Equally important was the PLO's ability to garner support in the West Bank and Gaza, where it faced stiff Israeli and Jordanian political opposition. In 1976, Israel encouraged municipal elections in the occupied areas, hoping to generate a more accommodating local leadership but was alarmed to discover broad support for pro-PLO candidates. Nine years of occupation, social change, and PLO political mobilization had pulled popular opinion away from Jordan.[39] In years to come Israel, the United States, and Jordan would sporadically seek to replace the PLO with alternative local elites, but the organization remained hegemonic until the rise of Hamas in the late 1980s.[40] Cumulatively, the 1974 Arab recognition and the 1976 municipal elections signaled the PLO's monopolization of Palestinian representation, laying the groundwork for a powerful diplomatic appeal for international recognition.

### *Gaining International Credibility: Gradual PLO Support for a Small State*

Given international sympathies for Israel and the UN 1947 partition plan, some PLO leaders understood that international support for their cause depended on their willingness to drop their claim to both Israel proper and the newly occupied lands. Before the 1967 war, however, Palestinian politicians had been unwilling to cede the land taken by Israel during 1947–49, calling instead for Israel's complete dismantling.[41] When Israel gained control over still more Palestinian land during the 1967 war, however, Palestinian discourse changed, and after 1973, Fatah and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) floated the notion of a West Bank and Gaza "mini-state." The scheme was contested by other PLO factions and some Arab states, however, who saw it as an unacceptable concession.[42]

Fatah continued to moderate its stance, however, beginning with the hazy notion of a "fighting national authority" on any part of Palestine evacuated by Israeli troops, and then moving in 1976 toward a West Bank mini-state as an "interim phase." In 1978, Fatah went even further, saying it would make peace with Israel if granted a West Bank state.[43] Fatah wanted Israel to first recognize Palestinian political rights and withdraw its troops, however, and this Israel would not consider. Both sides were driven by internal debates that made compromise difficult: Israelis willing to cede land were blocked by nationalists seeking perma-

nent control over the West Bank, while the PLO was similarly split between pragmatists and maximalists. Fatah was the PLO's dominant faction, but it could not compel the loyalty of smaller Palestinian groups.[44]

In the 1970s, the PLO created a large bureaucracy and semi-state apparatus in Lebanon, which helped it develop broader international links.[45] The movement had thousands of paid functionaries and militia as well as quasi-state services such as health and education, even enjoying empirical sovereignty of sorts over some parts of Beirut and south Lebanon. Although the organization could not claim juridical sovereignty over a well-defined piece of territory, it had enough territory to encourage the growth of even more bureaucratic functions. By the time Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, sympathetic observers often referred to the PLO as a "state in waiting." All that it required was physical access to the West Bank and Gaza, coupled with international recognition of its sovereignty. Although the 1982 war removed the PLO's territorial base from Lebanon, its bureaucracy survived, albeit in reduced form.

### *The PLO's Global Alliances*

The PLO's growing willingness to accept a small West Bank and Gaza state was partly motivated by its growing international connections. During the 1950s and early 1960s, Israel had enjoyed strong ties to Western countries, socialist states, and the decolonizing world. That began to change with the 1956 Arab-Israeli war, however, during which Israel joined with the former colonial powers against Egypt. The 1967 occupation of more Palestinian land definitively changed Israel's international stature as Arab states, working with Palestinian representatives, argued that Israel was a colonial-settler regime akin to South Africa, Rhodesia, and Mozambique. Following Egypt's break with the Soviets in 1972, the Kremlin drew closer to the PLO, seeking an alternative source of Middle Eastern influence.[46] In 1978, the Soviets recognized the PLO as Palestine's sole legitimate representative, advocating a broad Geneva peace conference with the PLO, Soviets, Israelis, and Western powers.

Changes in the UN's composition also enhanced the PLO's diplomatic fortunes. When the UN voted for Palestinian partition in 1947, the body had some fifty members, with pro-Israel views predominating. By the late 1960s, however, the number of members had tripled, and once the PLO and Arab states made inroads with socialist and formerly colonial states, their support in the General Assembly grew, spurred on by the global Southern protest movement, which took on the Palestinian cause

as its own.[47] The PLO, along with Arab support, had successfully framed its struggle as part of the South's broad struggle for global justice.

### *UNRWA and Palestinian Bureaucratic Embeddedness*

Palestinians were also increasingly integrated into the international scene through the specialized UN agency created to manage Palestinian refugees. Although the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was first created by Western powers to contain Palestinian frustration, it eventually metamorphosed into a far-flung international interest group with strong sympathy for the Palestinian cause.[48]

After the 1947–49 war, UNRWA registered some 914,000 Palestinians as refugees, over half of whom resided in refugee camps. There were 1.3 million registered refugees in 1965, and over 2.25 million in 1988, 65 percent of whom still lived in camps.[49] UNRWA registration cards were cherished documents as they proved their owner's entitlement to repatriation or compensation. Over time, the UN refugee agency developed substantial administrative muscle to support its network of camps, educational institutions, and health facilities, with a 1987 budget of $178 million and a workforce of over 18,000. UNRWA had developed a strong and international bureaucratic presence.

Although the UN agency could not prevent the camps' militarization or protect their residents from attack, it did provide Palestinians with a global and internationally legitimized bureaucratic niche linking Palestinians to the UN, international media, and transnational agencies. It was the PLO's guerrilla operations and diplomatic efforts, however, that transformed that niche into an object of substance. UNRWA and PLO efforts were mutually reinforcing, promoting the Palestinians' international profile and linking them to flows of information, resources, and legitimacy. UNRWA camps could not be attacked without officials taking note and reporting on events; camp residents could not be killed without officials registering and protesting their deaths; and UNRWA staffers often raised Palestinian concerns before UN bodies and commissions, as well the global media.

### *The PLO's Diplomatic Achievements*

In 1974, Arafat told the UN General Assembly he was willing to negotiate with Israel, and in response, it recognized Palestinians as "a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace," instructing

the UN Secretary General to "establish contacts with the Palestinian Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine."[50] General Assembly resolution 3236 strengthened the PLO's monopoly over international representation despite opposition by Israel and its closest Western allies. Throughout the 1970s, the PLO sent numerous diplomatic missions abroad, gaining recognition from 130 states, UN observer status, and a state-like identity in international fora. In 1980, the PLO even gained a measure of Western European support, with the European Community recognizing Palestinian rights to self-determination. Repeated contacts between the PLO and European leaders from Austria, Spain, Italy, Greece, and elsewhere added weight to the 1980 resolution. By the decade's end, the PLO had clearly made powerful allies in important places.

These successes should have assured the PLO of international support for its sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, especially with the precedent for Palestinian statehood set by the 1947 UN partition plan. That the UN Security Council did not order Israel to withdraw or face punitive sanctions is best explained by the strength of Israel's own alliances. Most importantly, Israel was able to rebuff international criticisms by relying on vigorous U.S. intervention. As such, Israel's campaign for territorial expansion proved more resilient than that of Serbia, which failed to win international backing.

### *Israel's International Alliances: Thwarting the PLO's Drive for Recognition*

Israel's unwillingness to cede control over the West Bank and Gaza relied heavily on American promises to block international Palestinian advocacy.[51] In 1975, the U.S. administration promised Israel it would not speak to the PLO unless the organization unilaterally recognized Israel's right to exist. Although this vow was momentarily broken during Carter's presidency, it was reactivated soon after following pressure from Israel's American supporters.[52] U.S. ties with Israel, by contrast, grew exponentially during the 1970s and 1980s, transforming Israel into the largest recipient of American assistance. Funds to Israel went from 5 percent of America's total foreign aid bill in 1951–69, to 35 percent in the late 1970s, dropping to 20 percent during the 1980s.[53] Israel's share of foreign military assistance was even higher, reaching 60 percent during the mid-1970s, and then dropping to 30 to 40 percent during the 1980s. By 1991, the U.S. aid bill to Israel since 1948 had reached $77 billion in

1991 dollars. American popular opinion bolstered Israel's alliance with the superpower, outweighing public support for the Arab world by a factor of four. During the 1980s, surveys suggested that 40 to 50 percent of Americans were explicitly pro-Israeli, while the overwhelmingly majority was opposed to the PLO.[54]

Scholars offer different explanations for America's special relations with Israel.[55] One school stresses cultural and political similarities between the two countries, while another highlights Israel's strategic importance. Indeed, U.S. aid to Israel skyrocketed during the Nixon administration, when officials became convinced that Israel was an important Cold War ally.[56] A third school emphasizes pro-Israeli lobbyists in the United States, who have allegedly pushed successive administrations to support Israel at the expense of America's national interests.[57] Israel, in this view, relies on the American Jewish community's devotion to Zionism, superior organizing skills, and substantial resources. The American-Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC), for example, wielded a $15 million budget and a staff of 150 in the mid-1990s, demonstrating its ability to isolate and even drive from office politicians critical of Israel. Indeed, fully half of Democratic Party "soft money" and presidential campaign funds during the 1980s and 1990s came from Jewish contributors, and Jewish voters play an important electoral role in seven key states.[58] Although Israel is rarely the only or even the major interest of politically active American Jews, it remains substantially important.

Regardless of which explanation one adopts for the phenomenon, it is clear that Israel enjoyed extraordinary levels of support from the United States, and that this dramatically affected Palestine's international opportunities. Unlike Bosnia, which enjoyed rapid access to sovereign status following American and West European support, Palestine was blocked by Washington.

### *1988: The PLO's Unsuccessful Plea for Statehood*

After almost a year of rebellion in the West Bank and Gaza, the PLO proclaimed Palestinian statehood on November 15, 1988, accepted Israel's right to exist, endorsed the 1947 UN partition plan, renounced terrorism, and accepted UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. Yasser Arafat repeated the move on December 14, 1988, at the UN General Assembly, earning recognition from 104 states and support from 150 for PLO participation in negotiations with Israel. After additional wrangling, the U.S. government finally agreed to open a political dialogue with the PLO.[59]

These diplomatic achievements, however, were not coupled with serious international pressure on Israel to withdraw its forces. Western powers and the UN Security Council were at best willing to push Israel toward negotiations while applying human rights oversight to Israeli actions. The United States and its West European allies refused, however, to threaten Israel the same way they would threaten Serbia four years later. The PLO's international prominence ensured that Palestinian demands could not be ignored, but Israel's alliance with the United States prevented the PLO from winning recognition of Palestinian sovereignty where it counted, that is, in Washington, NATO headquarters, and in the UN Security Council. Unlike Bosnia, which was saved from a formal Serbian (or Federal Yugoslav) military occupation in 1992, Palestine remained firmly under Israeli control.

To be sure, Palestinian global prominence did translate into international scrutiny of Israeli behavior in the occupied lands. Newspapers, human rights groups, and international politicians all called on Israel to respect Palestinian human rights, with important effect. Israeli actions against Palestinians were intensely debated in the international media and diplomatic arenas. Still, the PLO could not leverage those discussions into effective international pressure on Israel to withdraw. The world applied the international norm of human rights, not sovereignty, to the West Bank and Gaza, with dramatic implications for Israeli repertoires of violence.

By the late 1980s, scholars recognized that Israel and Palestine had developed a hybrid relationship defying easy conceptualization. Portraying Israel as "military occupier" and Palestine as "occupied land" did not capture the nuanced nature of Israel's relations with Palestine, since the latter had become deeply embedded within the fabric of the Israeli state. Analysts describing Jewish-Palestinian relations as an instance of "international conflict," however, were also wrong, since it was unclear where the state of "Israel" ended and "Palestine" began. Scholars developed a range of terms to explain the relations, invoking different intellectual and theoretical traditions. Some, for example, preferred the sense of parity implied by the notion of a Jewish-Palestinian "inter-communal struggle."[60] Others spoke of an Israeli "Herrenvolk" democracy in which Jews ruled over Palestinians in an outright system of national domination. Israeli scholar Meron Benvinisti, for example, wrote that "the Palestinian problem has now been internalized" within Israel, and Palestinians "have become a permanent minority" within Israeli-ruled

territory.[61] This joint Jewish-Arab space had a "rigid, hierarchical social structure based on ethnicity," and Jews "hold total monopoly over governmental resources, control the economy, form the upper social stratum and determine the education and national values and objectives of the republic."[62] Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimmerling concurred, writing in the late 1980s that Jewish domination had been "routinized" in an unequal "control system" that contained an "inferior caste" of Palestinians with few economic, political, or social rights.[63] Some believed Israel's "creeping annexation" of Palestine had progressed so far as to make true separation impossible.[64] Those hoping the West Bank and Gaza might still escape Israeli control, by contrast, used terms borrowed from anticolonial discourse, suggesting that like other colonial regimes, Israeli rule in Palestine would eventually crumble.[65] A third terminology was employed by sociologists such as Gershon Shafir, who argued the West Bank and Gaza were "settlement frontiers" for Jewish colonizers.[66]

In this book, by contrast, I use the term "ghetto" to describe Palestine's post-1967 status in order to capture the region's ambiguous, neither-in-nor-out position. "Frontier" implies externalization, but "ghetto" implies subordination and incorporation, helping us to better understand Israel's non-use of ethnic cleansing when the Palestinian uprising began. As Baruch Kimmerling and others warned in the late 1980s, "large scale expulsions" of Palestinians by Israel "might become a real option under certain conditions."[67] This prediction was plausible, however, only if Palestine's institutional setting resembled a frontier. If Palestine was a ghetto, by contrast, Israel's non-use of ethnic cleansing is easier to comprehend. Ghettos, after all, are policed, not destroyed.

The next chapter analyzes Israel's repertoire of ethnic policing in some detail. Drawing on interviews with Israeli military veterans, I probe tactics used by Israeli security forces to discipline, disperse, imprison, and monitor Palestinian ghetto rebels.

CHAPTER 7

# Policing the Ghetto

The first Palestinian revolt against Israeli rule, or Intifada, began in December 1987 with the organization of popular committees, mass demonstrations, and stone throwing (or occasional firebombing) against Israeli troops. Israel's military and border police responded with a harsh, police-style repertoire including mass incarcerations, coercive interrogations, and widespread beatings.[1] Jewish paramilitary vigilantes often joined in, criticizing the military's restraint and initiating their own assaults. Although Israeli leaders discussed the notion of using overwhelming military force to crush the uprising, the ghetto acted as a constraint, limiting Israel's options.[2] The military did not destroy large numbers of Palestinian homes, massacre, or generate waves of refugees, and while vigilantes threatened greater force, the state kept a cap on their actions, much as Serbian forces did in the Sandžak, Vojvodina, and Kosovo (before 1998).[3]

## ISRAELI REPERTOIRES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Israel's reliance on ethnic policing in Palestine rather than more despotic repertoires was a function of institutional context. The next chapter looks at Israeli tactics in Lebanon, which were more destructive than anything used in Palestine during the late 1980s; here, I juxtapose Israel's 1988 policing efforts in the West Bank and Gaza with its earlier repertoires of violence in the same area, when Palestine was not configured as

a ghetto. When Palestinian lands were constructed as frontiers, not ghettos, Israeli methods were quite different.

To take an example from the 1947–49 war, Jewish soldiers conquering the West Bank village of Ad Dawayima killed some 80 to 100 persons, including women and children, according to Israeli sources cited by historian Benny Morris, slaying children "by breaking their heads with sticks." Surviving villagers were forced into their homes, which troopers then dynamited around them. According to an Israeli trooper who claimed he was an eyewitness, one of the soldiers "boasted that he had raped a woman and then shot her," while another woman, "with a newborn baby in her arms, was employed to clean the courtyard where the soldiers ate," and was later killed, along with her child.[4] In another instance, again according to sources cited by Morris, Jewish troops killed hundreds of civilian curfew violators in the Palestinian town of Lydda, and then shot dead "dozens of unarmed detainees in the mosque and church compounds in the center of town."[5] Following that, soldiers forced all Palestinian residents from the town. According to Morris, "All the Israelis who witnessed the events agreed that the [Lydda] exodus, under a hot July sun, was an extended episode of suffering for the refugees," during which hundreds died and many were "stripped of their possessions" by Jewish troopers.[6] Elsewhere, Israeli forces displaced Palestinians by "advancing while shooting" into villages and urban neighborhoods, "shelling" and "firing in all directions" in residential areas.[7] Because these areas were not configured as ghettos within Israel when hostilities began, Israeli forces were free to engage in ethnic cleansing, much like their Serbian counterparts did in Bosnia decades later.

During the 1950s, Israeli forces adopted a shoot-to-kill policy along its borders with the West Bank and Gaza to stop Palestinian infiltration. Although some of the slain infiltrators were guerrillas, others were refugees seeking to return home.[8] In the country's southern border regions, according to a senior Israeli officer, every "stranger" caught within eight kilometers on either side of the boundary was to be shot on sight; along Israel's eastern border with the West Bank, soldiers were ordered to shoot anyone without a special pass.[9] Israel's reprisal policy against West Bank villages in the 1950s and 1960s is also of interest. The policy was adopted as a response to Palestinian guerrilla attacks, and by striking heavily at both Arab combatants and civilians, Israel hoped to persuade the guerrillas to accept their 1947–49 loss. The reprisals were at times ferocious, far outstripping anything contemplated by Israel when the West Bank was configured years later as a ghetto.

In 1953, for example, following a deadly Palestinian raid in central Israel, the Israeli Central Command ordered its commandos to "attack and temporarily . . . occupy" the West Bank village of Qibya (which had little connection to the prior Palestinian attack) and two other locations, and to "carry out destruction and maximum killing, in order to drive out the inhabitants of the village from their homes."[10] In Qibya, soldiers blew up forty-five buildings and killed sixty villagers, mostly women and children. According to a contemporary report by *Time* magazine, Israeli troopers in Qibya "shot every man, woman and child they could find, and then turned their fire on the cattle. After that, they dynamited forty-two houses, a school and a mosque. The cries of the dying could be heard amidst the explosions."[11] Israeli forces "moved from house to house, blowing in doors, throwing grenades through the windows, and 'cleaning out' the rooms with light weapons fire. Inhabitants who tried to flee their homes were gunned down in the alleyways."[12] In 1966, Israel topped the Qibya events with a raid on the West Bank village of Samu', destroying 118 homes and killing twenty-one Jordanian soldiers.[13]

These incidents are of interest here only because of the stark contrast they pose to Israel's later repertoires of violence in the same area. When the West Bank was external, Israeli forces used despotic tactics, including ethnic cleansing. Once it was transformed into a ghetto, however, Israel's methods changed.

## SAVAGE RESTRAINT IN PALESTINE

Israel's 1988 ethnic policing efforts sparked outrage among human rights activists and critics.[14] In response, Israel's defenders noted the multitude of regulations, norms, and orders restraining their military's resort to deadly force in the West Bank and Gaza.[15] In effect, these rules were the nuts and bolts of Palestine's institutional (ghetto) setting, which combined Jewish national domination with a heavy dose of legalism and police-style principles. The resulting repertoire of violence was one of savage restraint; harsh and painful, but limited.

Israeli repertoires of violence in Palestine were constrained through four key institutional mechanisms. First, the army circulated detailed rules of engagement governing the use of lethal force, and while these were classified, they seemed to generally comply with accepted police procedures.[16] Second, the army's bureau of Internal Affairs investigated allegations of military wrongdoing, providing a bare minimum of ac-

countability for Israeli field troops.[17] Third, all coercive actions were authorized by military orders and emergency regulations aimed, in theory, at preserving law and order while protecting Jew and Arab alike.[18] Finally, Israel's Supreme Court, parliament, journalists, and international human rights monitors regularly scrutinized military action. Israel's critics said these constraints were largely meaningless, arguing they were used chiefly to legitimize acts of Israeli repression. Israel was systematically beating Palestinian protestors, torturing prisoners, using lethal gunfire, imposing draconian curfews, denying freedom of movement, and imposing myriad petty harassments on oppressed Palestinians.

At first glance, these two positions seem irreconcilable. For Israel's defenders, the state was using legitimate policing methods in a restrained and relatively regulated manner, restoring law and order to an unruly environment. For its critics, Israeli forces were running amuck, disregarding legal constraints while viciously oppressing Palestinians. Both defenders and critics examined the same Israeli practices, but emerged with vastly different interpretations.

Upon closer examination, however, it becomes clear that Israel's methods included both restraint *and* brutality. As Israel's defenders tacitly noted, the security forces' suppression of the Palestinian Intifada was "restrained" in that it did not include ethnic cleansing or wholesale destruction, methods used years earlier when Palestine was differently configured. Yet Israel's methods were also "savage," as any casual observer could discern in the field. The following account illustrates this dual policy of savage restraint. According to witnesses interviewed by al-Haq, a respected Palestinian human rights group, Israeli troops in early 1988 grabbed a seventeen-year-old Palestinian whom they suspected of throwing stones, and began

> dragging the young man along on his back, kicking him over his entire body, stamping on his abdomen and genitals, punching him with their fists, and pounding him with wooden truncheons. The boy's head, face and neck were entirely covered with blood, and his nose was obviously broken. He had deep, bleeding gashes on his forearms. The Israeli soldiers pulled him upward and as the boy began to stand, one soldier kicked him twice in the genitals. As the boy doubled over in pain, another soldier kicked him under the chin and the boy fell backward. As he sat on the ground, three soldiers delivered several punches to his face and neck. . . . One Israeli soldier held the boy's arm outward and struck it repeatedly with a wooden truncheon. They then handcuffed him to the door, and one soldier took the boy's head in his two hands and bashed his head as hard as he could repeatedly against the door . . . [which was] covered with the boy's blood.[19]

This mixture of restraint (the soldiers did not kill the boy) and savagery (the soldiers tortured the boy) is understandable when we realize that ethnic policing methods were produced by the ghetto's regulatory mechanisms. Israel's concern for the appearance of law and order, its Internal Affairs investigations, its legal framework, and the presence of external monitors were all components of the West Bank and Gaza's ghetto-like setting. Each rule, norm, and regulatory device imposed limits beyond which Israeli violence could not go, but simultaneously generated incentives for new forms of "appropriate" violence. The cumulative result was Israel's 1988 policy of ethnic policing, as I illustrate below. As noted in the Preface, my analysis is based on some one hundred interviews with Palestinians for two book-length Human Rights Watch reports, as well as forty-five interviews with Israeli veterans. Some of these informants are quoted in the text below. [20]

## CLEARING PALESTINE'S ROADS

In ghetto-like environments, legally constituted state authorities can plausibly claim full control over the enclave only if they can they break up concentrations of rebellious residents into smaller and more manageable groups.[21] In the Palestinian ghetto, consequently, much of the initial Israeli anti-Intifada effort focused on dispersing Palestinian demonstrations and reimposing Jewish control over Palestinian public space, with special emphasis on what the army called the "Palestinian street." If the military could effectively control Palestine's main roads and thoroughfares, it believed it could control the ghetto more broadly.

Palestinian roads became hotly contested arenas when Intifada activists realized that the best way to protest Israeli rule was to limit Jewish traffic through the enclave. Palestinian activists couldn't enter Israel proper to demonstrate or attack government offices, and economic boycotts of Israeli products had little effect. Segregated in their ethnonational pocket through strict Israeli pass-and-permit systems, bureaucratic controls, and checkpoints, Palestinians could best disrupt Israeli rule by preventing Jewish vehicles from passing freely through their own areas.[22]

Palestinian barricades posed huge problems for the military because they threatened the well-being of Jewish settlers, one of Israel's most powerful political constituencies. Settlers were furious at the disruption the barricades caused to their lives and efforts to normalize Jewish rule in Palestine. The barricades also posed an acute logistical problem for the

military, since the thousands of troops scattered throughout the West Bank and Gaza relied on a steady stream of military traffic. Palestinian efforts forced army transports to move about in convoys, complicating schedules and posing serious threats to drivers. The barricades also constrained the activities of Israel's internal security service, the Shabak.[23] The clandestine agency, fluent in the fault lines of Palestinian society, had for years controlled ghetto life through a vast network of patronage, informers, administrative deprivations, and interrogation centers.[24] Until this point, its efforts had proved remarkably effective, permitting Israel to rule Palestine with only a few thousand armed men during the 1970s and 1980s. Underlying the Shabak's power was its ability to quickly locate and detain Palestinians, but the roadblocks threatened to throw the whole system into disrepair. The arrest-and-interrogation nexus, linchpin of the Israeli control system, was rapidly unraveling. "The Shabak can't do anything without the army," explained Colonel Avi, a senior military commander in Hebron during 1988.[25] "How can the Shabak go into the village and arrest someone if the village is blocked off? If you need a company or two [of soldiers] to break into the village, to arrest the rioters, how can the Shabak get into the village? How can the Shabak order people to come to interrogation? It can't. It needs the army for that." Shabak interrogators were the moving force behind the Israeli control system in Palestine, but the Intifada was making it impossible for them to do their job. The military had to find a way to break through so that the Shabak police could continue to make arrests.

The Palestinian challenge to Jewish traffic was also a symbolic threat to Israeli power. If the army wasn't able to ensure that Jewish settlers and soldiers could go where they wished, the state's claim to wield an effectively monopoly over administration and governance would be imperiled. Eventually, Palestinian claims for sovereignty might find greater support internationally, forcing Israel to withdraw. The military was therefore determined to reassert control, and as a result, many anti-Intifada activities revolved around the battle for Palestine's roads.

Veterans spoke at length about the intimate relationship between the Israeli perception of restoring "law and order" and the army's effort to dominate the roads. Colonel Yossi, a battalion commander stationed in Gaza during 1988, said his orders were to "impose order" and demonstrate military control.[26] It was essential to ensure that the main traffic arteries were open. As Colonel Yiftach, a battalion commander in Gaza, said, "What we wanted was for there to be quiet in our area. When the area is quiet the regional commander gets off my back, the chief of staff

gets off the regional commander's back, and the prime minister gets off the chief of staff's back."[27] Quiet, in turn, was defined as the absence of Palestinian road blockages.

The military devised two general road-clearing tactics. The first was a limited effort aimed at breaking up blockages and pushing rebels off major roads. The second was a broader, more punitive campaign that sought to deter stone throwers and street protestors by bringing the battle to Palestinian neighborhoods, towns, and villages. The first tactic had a "defensive" aura about it, while the second seemed more "offensive."

Colonel Yiftach was a proponent of limited road defense. "I didn't believe that it was necessary to go into each shitty alley. What does it matter to my ass? We needed to guard the main roads." As long as the demonstrators were kept away from major traffic arteries used by Jews, Yiftach felt his job was done. He therefore deployed his men largely along the main roads, refraining from entering the surrounding neighborhoods. Colonel Yiftach believed that aggressive military patrols off the main roads, in smaller Palestinian alleyways, created more trouble than they were worth. Colonel Yossi, the other Gaza-based battalion commander, preferred the more intrusive policy, explaining that his men needed to penetrate the most remote alleys and deepest refugee camp corners. Palestinians were "like children . . . like everyone who rebels . . . in adolescence . . . they always need to feel where the limit is, where [adult] contact is. When we pulled back to the main roads, they came to fight us on the main roads, and it was a harder struggle. It was much easier to fight with them inside [their refugee camps] than to allow demonstrators to reach main roads."[28]

Both tactics had parallels in an earlier and more despotic era. "Road defense" resembled the Israeli border patrol's ambushes against infiltrators during the 1950s, while the more "aggressive" effort followed the logic of retaliatory raids during the same era. Palestine had been since transformed from frontier to ghetto, however, and fully despotic methods were no longer appropriate. Israeli troops devised alternatives that caused suffering while reducing the number of slain Palestinians to a minimum.

### *"Defensive" Measures along Palestine's Main Roads*

Colonel Amit's early 1988 experiences in the southern West Bank exemplify tactics of road "defense." Then a colonel in the paratroop reserves, Amit was sent in January 1988 to join Intifada-repression efforts near

Hebron.[29] One evening, Amit recalled, he was ordered to patrol the Jerusalem-Hebron thoroughfare, a major transportation artery, and stop stone throwers from approaching the road across a boulder-strewn field. Colonel Amit said his first plan was to speak to village leaders in the adjacent Palestinian village.[30] "I told them, 'If your people leave the road alone, we'll stay out of your village.' " In the early hours of the morning, however, several dozen Palestinian protestors tried to cross toward the main road, passing through the Israeli troops. Colonel Amit resolved the road "would be the last line of defense. I wouldn't let them get to the road. . . . Blocking the road would be worse than anything else. If they had succeeding in blocking the main artery between Hebron and Jerusalem, then what? . . . This would be the last spot. If they broke us there, then the army itself and the entire system would be broken."

Having determined the urgency of his task, Colonel Amit decided to use a small-caliber rifle to defend the road.[31] At first, he said, he fired warning shots in the air, but then took aim at the protestors themselves. "So you say [to yourself], come on, stop, stop, and they keep on coming." And Colonel Amit continued to fire his rifle. In less than an hour, Amit said he killed four Palestinians and wounded seventeen, including some gravely injured by shots to the spine. Amit said he aimed at the legs, but hit the upper body when the Palestinians suddenly turned or dropped for cover. Today, Colonel Amit sees his preoccupation with defending the road as strange but says it made sense at the time.

Although Amit's experience was similar in form to the border patrol's shoot-to-kill policies in an earlier era, it differed in crucial ways. First, his goal was to defend Jewish traffic through the Palestinian enclave, rather than to secure Israel's international borders. Second, Colonel Amit used a .22 rifle to minimize casualties. Third, he allegedly tried to wound, rather than kill, the stone throwers. As in the beating case described above, Amit's actions combine a mixture of police-style restraint with cold-blooded brutality. He killed four persons and wounded seventeen, even though their crimes hardly merited the punishment. At the same time, however, he could have killed many more. Had Colonel Amit been stationed in another institutional setting—Lebanon, for example—he might have shot to kill without a moment's hesitation, given the prevalence of different norms. As he noted, "You're talking about people's rights [in the West Bank and Gaza]. But on the Jordanian or Lebanese border," soldiers shoot to kill without question. "What about those persons' rights?" Institutional setting was key, and Palestine was a ghetto, not a frontier. Colonel Amit's mixture of restraint and savagery

was produced by Palestine's ghetto setting, where non-Jews were oppressed but also partially protected.

### *Preemptive Punitive Action: Colonel Eytan's Nighttime Raid*

The punitive style of road protection was exemplified by the 1988 experiences of Colonel Eytan, then stationed in the northern West Bank. During the first months of the uprising, Jewish traffic along the main Nablus-area axis was disrupted repeatedly by Palestinian stone throwers from Hawara and Beita, two roadside villages. Colonel Eytan, then "advisor for Intifada affairs" for the regional military command, had unsuccessfully tried to prevent further road protests.[32] Exasperated, Colonel Eytan turned to the Israeli secret service for a list of suspects and resolved to teach them a lesson by raiding the two villages, arresting the suspects, and breaking their arms and legs. He chose several infantry platoons for the task, including one led by Lieutenant Dan, a regular army platoon commander.[33] On the evening of January 19, 1988, Lieutenant Dan's platoon entered the village of Beita, declared a strict curfew, arrested twelve youths on Colonel Eytan's list, and drove them to a nearby field. Amir, then a private soldier in Lieutenant Dan's platoon, recalled that the soldiers were told (by their officers, he thought) to deliver precise blows to prisoners' kneecaps. Otherwise, Amir explained, "you could hit the bone for an hour and nothing would break."[34] In the field, Lieutenant Dan told his men to break the suspects' limbs with newly issued truncheons. Since he was under orders not to kill, Lieutenant Dan stressed that the beatings should avoid the victims' stomach and face. "There was a lot of screaming," Lieutenant Dan recalled. The next evening Dan's men did the same in the village of Hawara.

Previously, Colonel Eytan had distributed truncheons to encourage his troops to conceive of themselves as police rather than combat soldiers. The soldiers used the clubs so forcefully, however, that they kept breaking. Eventually, Colonel Eytan ordered the quartermaster to distribute iron bars instead of clubs. Colonel Eytan said that in the context of the times, his decision to break Palestinians' arms and legs was not as strange as it might appear. There was much talk among the higher echelons of the need to "smash" Palestinian demonstrations and "break" the demonstrators' wills. To the men involved, the escalation to breaking individual demonstrators' arms and legs did not seem particularly dramatic.

Colonel Eytan had been given the task of keeping his sector's roads

open and physically dispersing Palestinian demonstrators while minimizing his resort to deadly force. His soldiers were detaining hundreds of Palestinians each week, but the jails were overflowing, and the military justice system was overburdened. Under those circumstances, selective targeting of key suspects seemed rational and effective. Colonel Eytan's scheme is also of note because it was an adaptation of Israel's punitive raiding policy from the 1950s and 1960s, when the West Bank was an Israeli frontier. In those years, Israeli forces might have destroyed Hawara and Beita or killed its inhabitants, but now that Palestine had become a ghetto, that was unthinkable. Instead, Eytan's troops tried to break the Palestinians' arms and legs, avoiding murder but inflicting pain.

Amit's and Eytan's experiences suggest that Israel's preoccupation with law and order, defined as the physical dispersal of Palestinian gatherings near roads, heavily shaped the contours of Israeli violence. These officers and others employed two broad tactics—road defense and punitive raids—and both were adaptations of more deadly patterns of Israeli military violence. As we shall see below, Jewish extremists tried to push the army to use far more drastic methods, viewing any policy that left Palestinians in their homes as a failure. The law and order preoccupation, however, kept ethnic cleansing off the agenda. Law and order was incompatible with despotism, and so the army focused instead on securing Palestine's roads, using methods heavily constrained by Palestine's ghetto-like setting.

### *Incarceration*

In early 1988, mass incarceration of Palestinians seemed to provide a more encompassing solution to Israel's ghetto control problems. If Palestinians were blocking the roads, why not simply put them in prison? Extensive incarceration had the dual attraction of removing protestors from circulation while also fitting nicely into a policing paradigm. What could be more police-like than putting criminals behind bars? If the military was eager to bolster its law-and-order image, incarceration seemed enormously worthwhile. Imprisonment was also a useful alternative to deadly force, helping Israeli officials project a calm, legalistic, and police-like aura. The ghetto setting, in other words, generated symbolic incentives for mass incarceration.

Before the Intifada, the number of Palestinians detained by Israel hovered at around 5,000 on any given day. That number more than doubled in the first year of the uprising, however, and by 1989, some 14,000

Palestinians were full-time prisoners, plus several hundreds held in temporary holding facilities. The army built five new prisons and recruited thousands of troops to serve as guards, creating a large new prison bureaucracy. By 1989, Israel was imprisoning some 1,000 persons out of every 100,000 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, making the region the most heavily imprisoned society in the world (among countries assembling such data).[35] By way of comparison, Israel proper had only 110 prisoners per 100,000 in 1989, the United States had 426, Northern Ireland had 120, and South Africa had 240, while the Western European average was below 100.[36] At the height of the 1950s Gulag era, the Soviet Union had 1,423 prisoners per 100,000.[37] The Palestinian experience, in other words, was closer in per capita terms to the Gulag than to apartheid South Africa.

Incarceration began with an arrest by Israeli soldiers, who were authorized to detain Palestinians on the slimmest of grounds. Sometimes, male Palestinians were arrested without being suspected of a concrete, specific offense. On other occasions, they were arrested on suspicion of throwing stones, building roadblocks, or displaying Palestinian flags. After detention, prisoners were taken to holding facilities in regional command posts scattered throughout Palestine, and these were crowded, dirty, and unpleasant. Former detainees and at least one soldier recalled that the holding pens often stank of unwashed bodies, defecation, and urine, since multiple prisoners used an open bucket in tightly enclosed spaces. The stench was often so strong that detainees felt they were suffocating.[38] Miriam, an administrative officer responsible in 1988 for tracking West Bank Palestinian detainees, acknowledged that conditions could be difficult, since "we didn't always have a suitable place to keep them [the prisoners] before bringing them to central prisons."[39] The army resorted to using metal storage containers, which in summertime became highly efficient conductors of heat. After one or two weeks in the pens, detainees were screened by investigators; some were sent to more intensive Shabak interrogation, while the rest were taken for quicker questioning sessions with police or military interrogators, sent to batch trials for conviction, or released.

During the first year of the Intifada, prison guards often abused detainees. Itai, a reservist who spent a month guarding prisoners in Gaza City, recalled that

> their way of behavior, the soldiers there [in the prison], it was barbaric. You could see it in the way everyone who would go through the place would give people blows, a blow here, a blow there. The group who was supposed to take the guys to the court in Gaza were issued with truncheons. On the

> way to the court, they would try their truncheons out on someone and it was . . . it was something really terrible.
>
> Every night, they would bring in new people . . . like trash in trash carts. They would pile them up inside the trucks, throw them . . . on the road, lift them up in a line—they are tied, of course—and then start to make them march. . . . On the way, what they go through on the way . . . They get beaten up there, really badly beaten up. I don't even know how to describe those beatings.[40]

In interviews, other detention camp veterans related similar stories.[41]

Had Palestine's ghetto setting not prevented Israel from using more direct methods, prisons might not have assumed so central a role in Israel's coercive repertoire. As is true in today's United States, where prison plays a crucial role in the lives and imagination of poor African American males, incarceration became a central part of the Palestinian male experience. The detention camps, in turn, spawned related evils such as overcrowding, guard abuse, and inter-prisoner disputes.[42] Had the West Bank and Gaza's institutional setting not channeled Israel toward policing, prisons would not have assumed such a central role.

### *Military Courts and Coercive Interrogations*

Palestinians arrested by the military were occasionally imprisoned without trial, but "administrative detention," as it was called, was restricted under both Israeli and international law. Military prosecutors had to prove the detention was necessary, relying often on secret intelligence supplied by the Shabak. Human rights activists protested the secret hearings, saying they violated detainees' legal rights.[43] Time and again activists challenged the authorities' use of secret evidence, making administrative detentions costly and complex affairs. Prison without trial, therefore, could not be used against most of the thousands of Palestinians arrested each month in broad military sweeps. Instead, these had to be charged, tried, and duly sentenced in military court. As a result, the army relied heavily on its military court system to generate convictions and project a lawful image.

Israeli authorities had created a network of military tribunals in army bases throughout the West Bank and Gaza, and judges were often Israeli lawyer reservists.[44] Defendants were represented by Palestinian or, occasionally, Jewish lawyers, while prosecutors were sent by the military's Judge Advocate General's office. Israeli authorities often pointed to the tribunal as a major legitimating device, arguing that its adversarial sys-

tem ensured that justice duly guided the Israeli military's relations with Palestinians. Orlee, a military prosecutor, said the courts often tried to protect prisoners' rights. The problem was that Palestinian defense lawyers were dispirited and poorly trained. "It was really absurd," she said, "they didn't even know basic rules." She clamed prisoners suffered as a result of this incompetence.[45] As thousands of Palestinians poured into the military justice system in 1988, however, the use of torture to produce confessions shot up overnight. Israel interrogated some 5,000 Palestinians each year from 1988 to 1993, and many of these were tortured.[46]

Military justice promoted the use of torture for a variety of reasons. Unlike civilian courts in Israel, military prosecutors relied heavily on confessions for conviction, since other evidence was generally unavailable. Palestinians did not volunteer information and material evidence was hard to gather, since most every trip by soldiers to the West Bank and Gaza involved some kind of confrontation. Tribunals, consequently, accepted confessions as evidence for conviction provided there was a "scintilla" of corroborating evidence. As my Human Rights Watch report noted in 1994, "The extraction of confessions under duress, and the acceptance into evidence of such confessions by the military courts, form the backbone of Israel's military justice system. . . . Because a defendant's signed statement is almost sufficient to convict . . . interrogators have strong incentives to obtain such a statement."[47] Israeli interrogators applied tremendous pressure on Palestinians to incriminate themselves and others, as there was no other way to satisfy the requirement for a legal trial.

I managed to interview one military policeman who had participated in interrogations during 1988. Omri, a sergeant who spent thirty days of reserve duty in the al-Fara'a detention camp in 1988, recalled interrogating eight to ten Palestinians per day.[48] He said that hundreds of prisoners were brought to al-Fara'a each day by infantry units patrolling the northern West Bank, most of whom were young males suspected of minor offenses. The prisoners were handcuffed, blindfolded, and ordered to wait their turn, immobile, in the central courtyard, while Omri and his colleagues worked with six other police interrogators in special rooms located nearby. Their goal, he recalled, was to get information and a signed confession so that the prisoner's file could be sent on to prosecutors. As Orlee explained, military prosecutors wanted open-and-shut cases. She spoke highly of an interrogator known as "Maradona," who had a reputation among Palestinians for abuse. "He would really

do very nice files," she recalled, and would "very much tie up loose ends, not like lots of other [interrogators]." Prosecutorial desire for more detailed confessions, however, translated into more coercive interrogations.

When prisoners wouldn't cooperate, Omri recalled, the policeman made a signal and Omri began to hit suspects with "a club, foot, anything . . . beatings like I can't describe. Just beating and beating. . . . We hit them everywhere—head, face, mouth, arms, balls." The only guidance Omri received was to "try and not kill them." Many of the detainees, he said, had "broken arms, legs, teeth." "If the beating didn't help anymore, because he [the prisoner] was about to die," Omri said, and the detainees still did not supply the desired answers, the interrogators poured an astringent liquid on the open wounds. Then, he recalled, "they just screamed and screamed. Screams like I've never heard before." Omri provided uniquely vivid perpetrator testimony, but his claims were supported by other veterans such as Itai, the Gaza City prison guard. When Israeli interrogators were at work Gaza prison, Itai recalled, there were "screams which until today, when I sleep at night, I hear them inside my ears all the time . . . horrible screams."[49]

Torture is common to most violent conflicts, and there is nothing particularly special about its application in Palestine. It assumed a particularly important role in Israel's ethnic policing repertoire, however, because of constraints imposed by Palestine's ghetto-like conditions. Since soldiers could not kill or deport large numbers of Palestinians, they turned to incarceration. Imprisonment, however, had to be conducted so that it appeared to respect norms of due process. Yet since Palestinian witnesses would not cooperate with military investigations, prosecutors felt obliged to rely on confessions to convict. And because prisoners would not confess voluntarily, interrogators extracted confessions through torture. Ghetto mechanisms of legal oversight and police-style restraint, in other words, created incentives for violence during incarceration and interrogation.

### *Israel's Beating Policy*

Not all Palestinian protestors could be sent to prison, since legal complications made arrest, imprisonment, and conviction a costly investment. As Colonel Eytan explained, "There just wasn't enough room in the jail for all the people we arrested." Or as Efraim, an Israeli soldier who served in the Gaza Strip, noted, soldiers were often reluctant to arrest stone throwers because of the time and bother involved. Suspects

had to be dragged back through Palestinian neighborhoods, and forms had to filled out.[50] Yet the rules also prevented soldiers from simply shooting protestors down, forcing Israeli officers to constantly search for nonlethal techniques. As Colonel Avi recalled, most debates during the first months of the uprising were about how to keep the number of Arab deaths down while still making them suffer. Israel prime minister Yitzhak Rabin had this position in September 1988, noting that Israel's "purpose is to increase the number of [wounded] among those who take part in violent activities but not to kill them. . . . I am not worried by the increased number of people who got wounded, as long as they were wounded as a result of being involved actively by instigating, organizing and taking part in violent activities."[51]

Lethal force was not prohibited entirely, of course, as Shimon, a former infantry private, observed. He said officers wanted to reduce the number of causualties, but authorized deadly force against Palestinians who covered their faces. These, he said, were considered terrorists, with all that entailed.[52] Yet the cumulative result was clear. Despite Israel's overwhelming firepower, the large number of demonstrators, and constant confrontations, soldiers killed only 204 Palestinians between December 9, 1987, and November 15, 1988, the most intense phase of the uprising. At the same time, however, Israeli troops injured over 20,000 Palestinians.[53]

How did the institutional setting reduce lethal force in practice? At the most general level, military commanders realized that high casualty rates might cause political complications for Israel internationally. Given Palestine's status as an encapsulated enclave, Israel's responsibilities were clear and unambiguous. With human rights scrutiny playing a key role in Israel's international relations, large numbers of Palestinian deaths would be a political liability. A second reason was linked to Israel's ethnic policing infrastructure. As noted above, military actions were controlled and monitored by the army's bureau for Internal Affairs. For reasons of manpower and economy, the bureau decided to limit investigations to cases of lethal force. As Lieutenant Arik, an Internal Affairs officer explained, "There were so many incidents every day, we had no way of investigating everything. We needed to devise a way of reducing the caseload. So we decided to investigate only when there was a death. We investigated the other stuff, beatings and harassment, far less frequently. We just didn't have the manpower."[54] Consequently, Internal Affairs conducted 170 investigations of army-caused deaths between December 9, 1987, and the end of September 1988, a figure roughly equal to the total num-

ber of Palestinians slain by the military.[55] Most veterans were cognizant of this limitation, realizing that as long as they did not kill, their actions were unlikely to be investigated. Internal Affairs inquiries did not lead to severe punishments, but they did complicate soldiers' lives. Overall, the focus on lethal force limited the number of slain Palestinians while generating a search for nonlethal methods. Mass incarceration was complex and unwieldy, so soldiers sought alternatives that were quick and efficient. Soon, this led to the army's policy of beatings.[56]

It seems likely that the notion of physically punishing large numbers of Palestinian demonstrators emerged from the experience of rank-and-file soldiers in the first weeks of the uprising. Frustrated at regulations barring them from shooting demonstrators dead outright, soldiers began using their fists and rifles to hit any Palestinian they could catch. The notion of inflicting maximum pain while avoiding Internal Affairs scrutiny traveled quickly up the hierarchy, however, for it seemed to provide just the solution commanders were looking for. As Colonel Avi noted, the soldiers' assault rifles had a warlike aura, while wooden clubs created a law-and-order image. "When you're with a club," he said. "it's like the police. Police all over the world have clubs; it's like a legitimation of sorts."[57]

On January 19, 1988, the Israeli defense minister warned Palestinians that soldiers would adopt a policy of "force, might and beatings" if they continued to rebel.[58] Although he later qualified the statement, saying he never intended to authorize indiscriminate violence, field troops understood otherwise. Colonel Avi showed me a copy of an order from the army's Central Command dated January 1988, instructing commanders "to beat rioters" *(lahakot mitpar'im)*. As Colonel Yiftach recalled, the orders were "to hit in order to punish. Whoever throws a stone, if you catch him, he can't throw stones anymore."[59] And as Efraim recalled of his time in Gaza. "We used to just beat anyone we wanted. . . . if anyone ran from us . . . we grabbed him and beat him."[60] Often, the beating ended right there, but in other cases, it continued, as soldiers crowded around to vent their frustrations on whomever they had caught.

There was considerable ambiguity in the orders, which did not precisely define a beating's modalities. Some officers thought the blows should stop as soon as prisoners were handcuffed, while others viewed the violence as an ongoing process. Many soldiers pulled Palestinians into side streets and savagely beat them there. "You are supposed to hit the prisoner where and when you catch him," one officer explained, but if a crowd gathered to watch, "you have to take him aside" and hit him

there.[61] The violence quickly spiraled out of control. As two Israeli military correspondents wrote,

> There were countless instances in which young Arabs were dragged behind walls or deserted buildings and systematically beaten all but senseless. . . . No sooner had the order gone out than word of excesses, unjustified beatings, even sheer sadism echoed back from the field . . . before long reports flowed in of soldiers thrashing people in their own homes just for the hell of it. Proof that whole families fell victim to the truncheons was readily observed in the hospitals, where women, children and the elderly were brought in for treatment.[62]

Veterans described how they implemented the beating policy. At first they tried to hit only young males, whom they assumed to be the main source of resistance, but the violence rapidly escalated. The problem, soldiers said, was that they never knew for sure who had thrown stones at them. Chasing suspects down an alleyway, soldiers often happened across a group of Palestinians; not knowing for sure whether these were the guilty ones, they grabbed them and physically punished them anyway. To many soldiers, it seemed that every Palestinian supported the uprising; thus, every Palestinian became a target. A beating's intensity was often shaped by soldiers' levels of stress; the more difficult their day, the more brutal a beating they gave. Intensity also varied by unit when individual groups tried to cultivate a tough image by using more violence than others. Status struggles were also important, as some of the worst violence was done by low-status support troops eager to show front-line colleagues that they too could wield violence.

## HIDDEN PRACTICES

In 1988, tensions between formal rules and actual practices were a recurring theme in the Israeli military, much as they would be in any large bureaucratic organization. Generally speaking, formal rules are often generated for reasons other than pure efficiency, and workers often chafe at restrictive and seemingly illogical regulations. More often than not, workers decouple practices from regulations, generating tacit working norms that grant them greater flexibility and autonomy.[63] To avoid triggering management offensives against hidden practices, workers hide their practices and respect certain key limits.

When responding to critics, Israel's representatives often highlighted the army's formal regulations, dwelling on "managerial" rules rather than actual practices. For example, they noted that army violence was

governed by reasonable, police-style regulations, compliance with which was enforced by legal experts and Internal Affairs investigators. As one legal officer argued, the army's "Rules of Engagement in Judea, Samaria [West Bank] and Gaza are in accordance with Israeli criminal law, with the rulings of the Supreme Court, and have been approved by the IDF Advocate General and the Attorney General's Office."[64] Closer examination undermines the image of a disciplined organization, as soldiers routinely violated military regulations, treating Palestinians as they pleased. Low-level troopers fashioned their own tacit practices, and these were quite distinct from formal blueprints. As one trooper noted in a newspaper interview,

> Every battalion works out its own set of norms. . . . Every battalion commander is the sovereign of the area [under his command]. Every company commander is the mukhtar [traditional headman] of a village or two, and every soldier manning a roadblock is a little god. He decides what to do: who will be allowed through and who won't be. Try to understand that every person there has considerable leeway when it comes to making decisions.
>
> The best description I can find for what's going on there is total chaos. . . . There are simply no [rules] governing the implementation of orders, behavioral norms, and methods of punishment.[65]

His chaotic vision dovetails with the stories I heard in my own interviews with Israeli veterans. Individual units rotated frequently, and each new batch of troopers brought their own particular forms of repression. Some were relaxed disciplinarians, while others would deal harshly with perceived infractions. This inconsistency was reproduced up and down the hierarchy. Each unit would be responsible for staffing dozens of patrols and checkpoints, each of which was commanded by someone else. Viewed from up close, it seemed that individual soldiers, noncommissioned officers, and junior commanders enjoyed enormous autonomy to deal as they pleased with Palestinians. Israeli ethnic policing was not only harsh, but was also inconsistent.

The image of chaos is also deceptive, however, just as it would be were one so immersed in the "trees" of the informal shop-floor regime that one missed the "forest" of the capitalist economy. Informal practices and hidden innovations, after all, do not necessarily imply lack of structure. Workers can be autonomous at one level while remaining within broad managerial parameters at another. This was clearly the case for the Israeli military, where soldiers developed hidden practices but also remained within certain boundaries. Troopers devised unique tortures for Palestinians they encountered, but dared not go too far lest they trigger an in-

quiry. These boundaries were so deeply ingrained as to be virtually invisible, however, and most media attention was focused on the leeway soldiers enjoyed within ghetto-imposed boundaries.

## CONTROLLING ISRAELI VIOLENCE

Israeli violence against Palestinians was located at the center of a series of concentric circles. The inner circle was staffed by "shop-floor workers," or line soldiers, while the outer ring was populated by legal norms and regulations, including the Geneva Conventions, and social actors, such as jurists, journalists, human rights activists, and diplomats. Intermediary rings were occupied by senior officers, Internal Affairs investigators, and the Judge Advocate General's office. These mid-range circles functioned as transmission belts, conveying the norms and regulations of the ghetto setting to the rank and file. This middle circle regulated Israeli military behavior, imposing broad parameters within which troopers were free to devise new methods of violence, abuse, and repression. Some of those boundaries, such as the ban on mass killings or deportations, were so deeply entrenched that they rarely occasioned notice. Others, such as those regulating the precise modalities of physical beatings, were more hotly debated.[66]

Internal Affairs investigators were rarely involved in violent events themselves, appearing only after the fact to question the soldiers involved and, on very rare occasions, Palestinian witnesses.[67] As a result, disciplinary activities were often carried out by field officers who fended off Internal Affairs while meting out on-the-spot punishments such as suspension of privileges. They did so because they knew that if they failed to remain within the broad guidelines of ethnic policing, word would seep out to Internal Affairs. Both soldiers and field officers detested Internal Affairs investigators, whom they scorned but also feared.

Soldiers received detailed instructions and rules of engagement in written booklets and oral briefings, the general thrust of which was to place violence within a policing framework. Soldiers raged at the rules, which complicated their lives. Regulations governing the use of lethal force against "fleeing suspects," for example, ordered them to first cry out, "Stop or I will shoot!" Then they were to fire warning shots in the air, and only after that, to aim gunfire at the fleeing suspect's legs. When carried out faithfully, this was a cumbersome and complex process that soldiers bitterly resented. Many ignored the three-part procedure altogether, while others performed all three stages simultaneously. Lieu-

tenant Aviad, a former infantry lieutenant, explained that "what I and others would do is order one soldier to yell, 'stop or I'll shoot!' I would order a second soldier to fire in the air, if we even bothered with that. Then I would take the best shot in the patrol and tell him to shoot toward the suspect . . . all three would do what they were supposed to do at the same time. That way no one could say that he didn't hear a warning shout or didn't see a shot fired into the air."[68] Other rules were equally detested. Soldiers were allowed to shoot Palestinians only if they felt their lives were in danger, but how was one to define a "life-threatening" situation? For some it only meant when directly attacked by gunfire; for others, it meant when anyone appeared ready to throw something at them. Lieutenant Aviad claimed that Israeli soldiers could, in fact, kill Palestinians when they wanted to in the Palestinian territories. What was required, he said, was to conduct the shooting in such a way that it could somehow be excused under existing open fire regulations. As long as the shooter could manufacture a legal excuse, investigators would not question the incident too closely.[69]

The rules reduced levels of lethal force, but also pushed troops to design practices of violence that would evade legal censure. Soldiers formed small cliques that would go out on patrol together, devising punitive methods that could be easily denied in an inquiry. Shimon, for example, suspected that some of his colleagues had engaged in unauthorized violence while on patrol, and then hidden the details from others.[70] Efraim, the Gaza trooper, claimed that as many as half of his company participated in "cliques" of this sort. "There was an unwritten set of regulations that had no connection to the official procedures." he said, "Tight little social groups did stuff that no one else would know about. The sergeants preferred these [groups] because they were more effective." Efraim recalled one exercise that his clique devised to "teach the Arabs a lesson" in a refugee camp in southern Gaza. When confronting demonstrators, he said, the orders were to put special tubes on their rifles that allowed them to fire rubber bullets. When the officers weren't looking, however, he and his friends loaded their rifles with live ammunition. "The officers never realized," Efraim claimed.[71]

Senior officers were aware of the informal regime. Field commanders said their ability to monitor all of their far-flung men was limited. Even Colonel Avi, who claimed to have been well-informed, acknowledged that "there could be tens of incidents I don't know about."[72] Other officers recalled keeping an eye on specific soldiers whom they felt were liable to wreak havoc when unobserved. Officers often blamed other units

for the worst violence. Reserve paratroop colonel Yiftach, for example, said regular-army soldiers were most abusive. In the Golani infantry brigade, the "atmosphere was to smash . . . to really punish them [Palestinians]," even among the officers.[73]

Field troops constantly tested the limits of army and state regulators, trying to see how far they could go without attracting censure. This was particularly true for beating incidents, which were the most common form of Israeli repression during 1988. The key problem in beating, according to senior informants, was that the rules were open to interpretation and manipulation. Soldiers were instructed to cease using force once a suspect's arms and legs were tied, but it was the troopers who decided when the Palestinian was properly subdued.[74] As a result, many soldiers delayed putting the handcuffs on, beating detainees all the while; others simply ignored the rule and hit prisoners whenever they wanted. The only absolute rule was that prisoners should remain alive.

When soldiers went too far and killed someone in a blatantly illegal way, Internal Affairs stepped in, signaling that the line had been crossed. As a result, there were a few isolated cases through which the wider Israeli public became aware of the beating policy. In 1989, for example, four soldiers stationed in the Gaza Strip were court-martialed for killing a middle-aged Palestinian, El-Shami Hani Ben Dib, on August 2, 1988. The four soldiers had chased a stone thrower into Ben Dib's home but didn't catch the culprit. Instead, they hit Ben Dib with rifle butts and clubs, kicked him, and then jumped on his prostrate body from a nearby bed. They then took Ben Dib to base, where he slowly died of internal bleeding. Ben Dib, blindfolded and bound, lay on the base floor while passing soldiers cursed him, hit him, and ignored pleas for help. In June 1989, the four soldiers were convicted of brutality rather than manslaughter. So many men had hit Ben Dib, the judges said, it was impossible to determine responsibility for the killing.[75] The trial publicly exposed what many troopers already knew. An informal regime of hidden practices reigned in the ghetto in which soldiers, both in front-line combat units and in the rear echelons, had wide latitude. From a sociological perspective, it is important to note how the Ben Dib event reinforced the boundaries of acceptable ethnic policing: torture was permissible, blatant murder was not. Thus of the 204 Palestinians killed by Israeli forces from December 9, 1987, to November 24, 1988, only three died of beating injuries.[76]

This chapter began with a description of early Israeli violence in Palestine, when the area was not yet configured as a ghetto. Consequently, Is-

rael's methods ranged from ethnic cleansing to destructive raids. These early tactics stand in stark contrast to Israel's policing repertoire in the same region years later, in 1988. Although painful and abusive, ethnic policing left Palestinians alive and in place. As long as Israel's juridical and empirical sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza remained secure, it would use ethnic policing, despite support for more drastic measures among the Jewish public and some political elites.

In 1988, there was a mutually reinforcing relationship between ghettos rules, on the one hand, and ethnic policing tactics on the other. Each regulation seeking to limit Israeli violence spawned a new form of less intense, but nonetheless painful, violence. Restrictions on ethnic cleansing and mass killings led to imprisonment, torture, and punitive beatings, while Internal Affairs investigations helped shape a hidden regime of unofficial violent practices. The violence penetrated all areas of Palestinian life, but its intensity was limited. The Palestinian ghetto population experienced pervasive pain and suffering, but also remained, alive and in place, on their land. Their ghetto-like institutional setting guaranteed their continued survival and ongoing ability to present a demographic challenge to the Jewish national program.

CHAPTER 8

# Alternatives to Policing

Ethnic policing was the dominant Israeli repertoire in Palestine, but other, more despotic, alternatives existed as well. One of these was grounded in semi-private Jewish paramilitaries in the West Bank, some of which were strongly supportive of the notion of "transferring" Palestine's non-Jewish population. Yet as was true in the Serbian case, the Israeli state refused to tolerate ethnic cleansing by paramilitary freelancers in territories under its official control. Israeli officials did, however, permit the sort of ethnic harassment witnessed in Sandžak and Vojvodina. The situation was different in Lebanon. In Lebanon, configured institutionally as a frontier vis-à-vis Israel from 1968 until the year 2000, Israeli forces were unconstrained by Palestine's ghetto regulations and therefore developed a more despotic repertoire of violence.

This chapter thus illustrates the importance of institutional context in two ways. First, it argues that Palestine's ghetto-like environment created incentives for the Israeli state to cap levels of Jewish paramilitary violence in the West Bank and Gaza, despite the willingness of some Jewish nationalists to go further. There were Jewish ideologies, individuals, and organizations that might have instigated more despotic violence, but these were nipped in the bud by Palestine's institutional environment. The more firmly Palestine was locked within Israel's legal, military, and bureaucratic embrace, the more Israel felt constrained to use ethnic policing against its rebellious population.

Second, this chapter examines Israeli activities in an entirely differ-

ent geographic and institutional arena. Although Israel's violence in Lebanon did not reach Bosnian proportions, there were similarities. Israeli forces did resort to indiscriminate shelling of densely populated urban areas, and Israel's intelligence services did work with unsavory local paramilitaries, much as the clandestine Serbian Military Line did in Bosnia during 1992–93. In 1982, some Israeli leaders hoped that deadly acts of violence by those irregular allies would trigger the mass flight of Palestinians from Lebanon. Israel certainly did not attempt genocide in Lebanon, however, and it did not comprehensively empty that country of its civilian population. I use the Lebanon case here as an illustration of the importance of institutional context, not as a precise Bosnian parallel.

## JEWISH MILITIAS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

Much of Bosnia's ethnic cleansing, it will be recalled, was led by crisis committees, partially autonomous networks of local authorities and police. These had their parallel in Palestine in the form of Jewish settlers' regional councils and militias, which combined nationalist ideology with some military strength. The councils and militias initiated vigilante violence against Palestinians in the 1980s, but did not develop further. Although Israel permitted and even encouraged Jewish ethnic harassment, it blocked more extreme measures, just as Serbia had done within its core.

Israel created six regional councils in 1979 to serve the needs of West Bank and Gaza settlers, of which there were 250,000 (including in East Jerusalem) in 1988. The councils assumed an increasing number of responsibilities during the 1980s, levying taxes from Jews, legislating bylaws, and resolving minor inter-settler disputes. More importantly, perhaps, the councils took control of zoning procedures, working with the state to extend national control over Palestinian land. By the mid-1980s, veteran Israeli analyst Meron Benvinisti notes, "the councils, with the active assistance of the military government and the Israeli government," had "assumed quasi-governmental status."[1] In 1984, settlers created an umbrella organization known as Moetzet Yesha (the Council of Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza). Moetzet Yesha became a powerful political lobby, working directly with legislators to protect and promote settler interests. Although Moetzet Yesha covered the geographic area where Palestinians lived, it made no attempt to incorporate Palestinians, focusing exclusively on its Jewish constituency. In this it differed

from the Israeli state and military, both of which partially incorporated Palestinians as subordinate subjects. Had the West Bank and Gaza slipped from official Israeli rule, Palestinians would have confronted Moetzet Yesha without the protective shield of ghetto-style incorporation.

What were Moetzet Yesha's intentions vis-à-vis Palestinians? Many settlers were not religiously motivated, but their political bodies were often staffed by deeply committed members of Gush Emunim.[2] The Gush, it will be recalled, was a Jewish social movement dedicated to colonizing Greater Israel. Although its roster of full-time activists was limited, it could rapidly mobilize hundreds of thousands of supporters. More importantly, the movement enjoyed substantial economic, military, and political support from allies in the Israeli government, military, and civil service.[3] According to Lustick, some 30 to 35 percent of Israeli Jews sympathized with Gush ideology in the late 1980s, including its support for the "subjugation and expulsion" of Palestinians.[4] The Gush was a radicalizing force, spreading support for anti-Palestinian measures. Broadly speaking, Gush beliefs were that Jews were the chosen people, Palestinians had no national rights, the West Bank was promised to Jews by God, and that the Messiah would come only when Jews had settled Greater Israel and defeated Palestinian political challenges.[5] Infused with this thinking and divorced from administrative responsibilities for Palestinians, Moetzet Yesha was a potentially lethal force when it came to the West Bank's Arab population.

During the 1980s, a vocal minority of Gush activists supported ethnic cleansing. As noted previously, cabinet minister Yosef Shapira polled settler rabbinical leaders in 1987 and found that 62 percent favored using "any means at our disposal" to push "gentiles" from the Land of Israel. A few months later, government officials, right-wing intellectuals, Moetzet Yesha leaders, and Gush activists conducted a detailed discussion of Palestinian "population transfer."[6] As one Gush intellectual argued in 1987, "Transfer is not a dirty word," adding that "evacuation of the Land [of Israel] from its Arab residents is . . . a Zionist task of utmost importance." There was "no middle road," he warned.[7] Although there was no pro-transfer consensus within the Gush, its vision was broadly shaped by its view of Palestinians as "Amalekites," the Jews' biblical enemies.[8] Biblical passages speak of killing Amalekites and "blotting out" their memory, and some radical Gush activists drew on these statements to justify anti-Palestinian extremism. Others sympathized with the notion of Arab transfer but preferred to wait until a major war to carry out

the plan. In the meantime, they advocated granting Palestinians the biblical status of "guests" and using economic and administrative pressures to encourage their flight.

### *Settler Paramilitaries*

Gush ideology grew increasingly important when Moetzet Yesha began to develop its own militia. The government had granted Jewish colonies the status of border settlements, authorizing them to receive military weapons for purposes of self-defense. The state also hired security coordinators to recruit and lead settler patrols and to work with nearby military units. During the 1980s, these militias extended their operations from settlement perimeters to fields, access roads, and Palestinian villages. Eventually, the forces were incorporated into the Israeli army as "territorial defense auxiliaries."[9] The southern West Bank Judea Company, for example, was given military-issue personnel carriers, weapons, and communications equipment. Its peacetime brief was to patrol locally, but in practice, this meant policing nearby Palestinian villages, earning the Judea Company a reputation for brutality.[10] Mindful of settler attitudes toward Palestinians, army commanders sent the militias to Lebanon rather than the West Bank when the Intifada began. In 1990, however, the government ordered the units back into Palestine following pressure from conservative legislators.[11] Occasionally, the militias engaged in vigilantism against Palestinians, sometimes in response to Palestinian stone throwing, but other times as a "deterrent." Jewish militias attacked Palestinians 384 times between 1980 and 1984, killing 23 persons and injuring 191.[12] The attacks were necessary, advocates said, because the Israeli military was not firmly committed to controlling Palestinians.[13] On the whole, settlers supported the vigilantes and the Israeli police did little to crack down.[14] Broad support for right-wing ideology among government elites and the Jewish-Israeli public was also helpful, as was a committed core of far-right nationalist radicals.[15]

Some militia members tried to go much further. In the early 1980s, nationalists created a clandestine "Jewish underground" and tried to assassinate Palestinian political leaders. Its members included Gush activists and former military officers, and it received tacit support from mainstream politicians and active-duty military officers.[16] Although the group was broken up by Israel's security services, clandestine anti-Palestinian violence remained a real possibility. In 1987, a leading Israeli

correspondent warned that given the opportunity, settler militias might try to "cause the flight of Arabs eastward"—that is, initiate ethnic cleansing.[17]

The Intifada triggered a new wave of militia attacks in 1988–89, killing thirty-two Palestinians.[18] As one settler leaflet explained, the Intifada had prompted Jewish militias to "initiate and organize various activities in reaction to Arab terrorism."[19] Alarmed by the militias' boldness, liberal Israeli legislators warned the government that Jewish settlers were undermining military authority in Palestine.[20] Settler forces were developing a "strong desire for independent activity," they said, carving up the West Bank into separate militia jurisdictions and creating command and control capacities. In the military, it seemed that some officers, especially those in middle echelons, supported settler radicalism.[21] Overall, however, the military was made uneasy by militia freelancing. The army was sovereign in Palestine, and it was unwilling to permit excessive militia violence.[22] Ethnic policing crowded out other alternatives, frustrating the militias and their government allies.

If Western powers had forced the Israeli army to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza, however, much as it forced Serbian troops to leave Bosnia, the region's institutional environment would have changed. It was in this spirit that a group of militia activists began discussing the State of Judea, their term for an all-Jewish West Bank mini-state.

### *The State of Judea: An Aborted "Republika Srpska"?*

Following the PLO's 1988 declaration of statehood, activists from Kach and Moetzet Yesha increasingly feared that the government might withdraw troops from Palestine under international pressure.[23] They resolved to prepare for this eventuality by laying the foundations of a Jewish West Bank mini-state, using Moetzet Yesha's administrative framework and militias as its base. Kach took the lead, raising funds to create shadow cabinet offices, postage stamps, identification cards, and passports. They were joined by some Gush Emunim activists, although many considered the group's plan unrealistic and extreme. Researcher Ilan Lagziel suggests that the scheme "received widespread support among the [Jewish] residents of Judea and Samaria [West Bank]" and was viewed by a committed group of Nablus-area settlers as a viable political alternative.[24] On January 18, 1989, hundreds of activists convened to declare their intention of creating a State of Judea if the Israeli army withdrew from the

West Bank. Organizers promised they were "not fighting against the State of Israel and the army," and that their sole intention was to take over the West Bank if the military pulled out. "We have the means, in terms of weapons, and our people have a military background," the organizers explained.[25] They never specified what steps they might take against West Bank Palestinians, but given Gush ideology, ethnic cleansing was a possibility.

Many observers viewed the State of Judea as a radical fringe phenomenon. Instead of dismissing the scheme as politically insignificant, however, I suggest regarding it as evidence of an alternative organizational form whose growth was stunted by the surrounding institutional setting. Like the 1991 Bosnian "Serbian autonomous regions" discussed in Chapter 3, Moetzet Yesha was a radical-nationalist municipal grouping with aspirations to statehood. The State of Judea never took on Bosnian proportions, however, because of the environment in which it operated. As long as the Israeli state had both juridical and empirical sovereignty over the West Bank, Jewish "crisis committee" type organizations could not flourish.

Radical Jewish nationalists existed in the Palestinian ghetto, just as extremist Serbian groups existed in the Serbian core. Sandžak and Kosovo experienced paramilitary radicalism, while Vojvodina had a nascent Serbian crisis committee. Those areas were firmly controlled by Serbia, however, and the state refused to tolerate nationalist freelancing on its territory. Israel, similarly, had Moetzet Yesha and its associated militias. And, although the Israeli army tolerated the militias' attempt to conduct ethnic harassment, it blocked serious efforts to create a more despotic repertoire of violence. With Palestine configured as a ghetto, ethnic cleansing was not a viable option.

## ISRAEL'S LEBANON FRONTIER

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Lebanon was home to guerrillas whose presence triggered intense Israeli violence. Unlike the West Bank and Gaza, however, Lebanon was never encapsulated within Israel, serving instead as a frontier of sorts vis-à-vis the Jewish state. Subsequently, Lebanon was subjected to more destructive tactics than the ghetto. There was a silver lining in this cloud, however, as Israeli forces never exercised the same type of encompassing infrastructural regime in Lebanon that they wielded in Palestine. Israel's Lebanese tactics were destructive and spectacular, but sporadic and uneven.

*Israel's Lebanon Repertoire*

A recent example of Israeli violence, Lebanon-style, took place in mid-April 1996, when Israeli shells slammed into a UN compound near Qana village, killing 102 Lebanese civilians. The incident took place during Israel's Grapes of Wrath campaign, a fifteen-day operation involving 600 air sorties, 25,000 artillery shells, 154 slain civilians, and 400,000 displaced persons.[26] Grapes of Wrath was billed by Israel as a retaliation for attacks by the Islamist group Hezbollah, whose rockets had caused property damage in northern Israel and sent thousands fleeing southward.[27] Israel blamed the Qana deaths on the victims themselves, saying they had ignored warnings to flee the area; those who remained in the region did so "at their own risk, because we assume they're connected with Hezbollah." A radio broadcast by the Southern Lebanese Army (SLA), an Israeli militia ally, had listed forty-five villages by name, warning that "any presence in these villages will be considered a terrorist one, that is, the terrorists and all those with them will be hit."[28] Grapes of Wrath was a repeat of Israel's 1993 Operation Accountability, another punitive campaign that killed 120 civilians, displaced 300,000, and damaged over 17,000 homes.[29] In the 1990s, these dramatic displays of Israeli anger were accompanied by dozens of smaller attacks; in 1995 alone, according to UN estimates, Israel fired 37,000 artillery shells into Lebanon.[30]

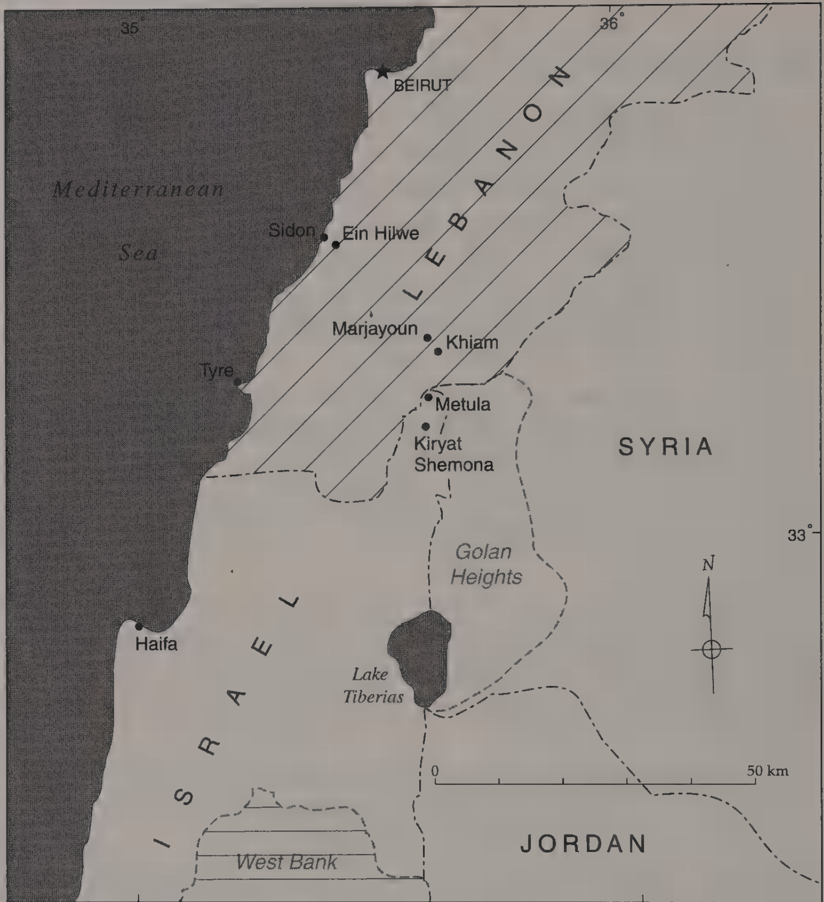
As noted in the preface, Israel's Lebanon policies present an intriguing puzzle. In recent decades, Israel treated Lebanon to more intense doses of violence than Palestine, even though Hezbollah and other Lebanon-based guerrillas posed far *less* of a threat to Israel or Zionism than did West Bank and Gaza Palestinians. This is especially true in the early and mid-1990s, when Palestinian Intifada tactics shifted from unarmed demonstrations to more deadly bomb attacks.[31] In 1996, moreover, Palestine's Islamist Hamas group launched a series of successful suicide bombs against Jewish towns, proving itself more of an immediate military threat than Hezbollah. Still, Israeli forces did not use the same devastating methods against the West Bank and Gaza that they did in Lebanon.[32]

This puzzle is comprehensible when we factor in Lebanon's and Palestine's different institutional contexts. The sovereignty norm, coupled with Israel's disinterest in annexing Lebanon, constituted it as a counterinsurgency frontier vis-à-vis Israel, an arena that Israel sought to influence but not incorporate. The lack of a clearly enforced sovereign boundary between Israel and Palestine, on the other hand, helped transform Palestine into an internal ghetto.

### *The Origins of Israel's Lebanon Counterinsurgency Frontier, 1968–78*

Lebanon began serving as Israel's counterinsurgency frontier in June 1968, when Palestinian organizations launched their first guerrillas against Israel from Lebanese territory, and Israel responded with a ground attack on a small Fatah base.[33] In 1969, Palestinian guerrillas and the Lebanese government signed an agreement permitting Palestinian fighters to attack Israel from a limited area of south Lebanon.[34] The Lebanese government had originally opposed Palestinian actions from its territory, but later bowed to local and pan-Arab sentiment. After Jordan's crackdown on Palestinians in 1970–71, the guerrillas made Lebanon their new center, carving out state-like structures in Beirut-area refugee camps.[35] The PLO's administrative headquarters were in Beirut, but it deployed hundreds of fighters to the south, where they enjoyed some support from local Palestinian refugees as well as pro-Palestinian Lebanese factions.[36]

Southern Lebanese were soon trapped between PLO guerrillas on the one hand and Israeli counterinsurgency forces on the other.[37] British journalist Robert Fisk writes that Israel's attitude was straightforward: "If the Lebanese villagers allowed armed Palestinians to take shelter among their homes, then they would be made to pay for it in blood. The only way to avoid Israeli attack was to eject the Palestinians from their villages," something some Lebanese were either unwilling or unable to do, although by the late 1970s, Lebanese Shi'ite militias fought pitched battles with Palestinian factions.[38] In the early 1970s, Israeli forces regularly shelled the south and launched frequent search-and-destroy patrols by ground forces; these actions, Fisk writes, were "usually against civilian targets and always with results quite out of proportion to the original Palestinian attack," initiating a "pattern that would be expanded, developed and perfected with ferocity over the coming fifteen years."[39] Villages that did not expel Palestinians experienced particularly intense bombardment. Lebanese officials reported an average of 1.4 daily Israeli attacks in 1968–74, and an average of seven daily raids in 1975.[40] Israel's warplanes were particularly deadly, especially when attacking refugee camps. One June 1974 camp attack, for example, killed 27 and wounded 105, while a May 1975 raid killed 60 and wounded 140.[41] Israeli shelling drove many southern Lebanese northward, with one source estimating "tens of thousands" of displaced persons in the early 1970s and another speaking of 30,000 displaced households, or 150,000–300,000 persons.[42]




Map 4. Israel and South Lebanon

Israeli officials said the raids were retaliations for PLO violence, but in keeping with Israel's deterrence doctrine, its blows were more painful than those of the guerrillas. PLO forces killed 282 Israeli civilians and 250 soldiers from 1967 to July 1982, while Israel slew 3,500–5,000 civilians from 1973 to July 1982 alone. Israeli forces killed an additional 12,000–15,000 during its summer 1982 invasion, losing only 360 soldiers in return.[43] When Lebanese Shi'ites launched their own guerrilla war against Israel in the mid-1980s, Israeli leaders were surprised at the depth of popular southern Lebanese resentment against them.[44] At the same time, some southern Lebanese came to bitterly resent the Palestinian guerrillas, many of whom behaved arrogantly and attracted deadly Israeli reprisals.[45]

Lebanon collapsed into civil war in 1975, following rising tensions between Muslims, Palestinians, Druze, and Christians.[46] The Israeli-Palestinian fighting and PLO involvement in local Lebanese conflicts played a powerfully destabilizing role. Lebanese Christian factions were furious with PLO mobilization, which threatened to upset the country's confessional balance, undermine Christian power, and trigger Israeli reprisals.[47] In particular, the Christian militias were concerned because Palestinians had joined forces with leftist Muslim militias of the Lebanese National Movement. (Later on, the PLO's alliance with its Lebanese allies was disrupted, fueling the civil war even further.)[48] The civil war destroyed the Lebanese state, divided the country into warring fiefdoms, and caused tens of thousands of deaths.

### *Operation Litani and Its Aftermath*

On March 14, 1978, following a brutal Palestinian attack on Jewish civilians in northern Israel, thousands of Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in an assault dubbed "Operation Litani."[49] The effort killed between 1,000 and 2,000 civilians, including seventy-five in a single air strike on an Abassiya mosque. Thousands were wounded, while 200,000–285,000 persons fled northward.[50] *Washington Post* journalist Jonathan Randal wrote that Israeli "destruction was on a scale known well in Vietnam," while Israeli scholar Yair Evron noted that Operation Litani caused "a mass civilian migration" in which "tens of thousands fled their homes" and "much property was destroyed," and involving "many casualties."[51] Randal estimates Israeli gunfire damaged or destroyed 6,000 homes and that "half a dozen villages were all but leveled in a frenzy of violence."[52] The destruction stemmed in part from Israel's reluctance to send troops into Palestinian-held neighborhoods without first using heavy artillery.

Operation Litani ended in withdrawal, but Israeli raids continued in an effort to keep the PLO from moving southward. Israeli warplanes killed 235 civilians in a May 1979 air raid, drove 50,000 northward on June 9, killed 309 and wounded 1,011 in July, and pushed another 170,000 northward on August 21. Overall, Israeli forces hit Lebanon 1,020 times between January and July 1979.[53] The attacks continued over the next two years and on July 17, 1981, Israel unleashed its most powerful barrage to date, destroying ten apartment buildings in West Beirut, killing 90–175 persons, and injuring 400–600.[54] Soon after, the PLO and Israel reached a cease-fire agreement that endured until June 1982.

During the 1970s, Israel came to view Lebanon as an arena where it was appropriate to use intense violence to punish civilians and guerrillas, and to convince Lebanese villagers to reject a Palestinian presence. At the same time, however, such methods were *not* considered appropriate in the West Bank and Gaza. Lebanon was external to Israel's formal zone of responsibility, separated by a sovereign border from the norms and laws of Israeli state and society. As Israeli rights group B'Tselem noted, the Israeli public debate "almost completely ignored the suffering and injustice inflicted on Lebanese civilians," suggesting that unlike West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, Lebanese civilians were not "part of the collective Israeli consciousness."[55] And, whereas there was public discussion of Palestinian human rights during the 1980s and 1990s, Israeli society had little to say about Lebanese civilians. Paradoxically, Israel's de facto annexation of Palestine implied a greater sense of Israeli responsibility for its inhabitants. By contrast, Israel was able to influence southern Lebanon through punitive operations, and it never sought comprehensive control. The frontier status of Lebanon, coupled with Israel's disinterest in annexing Lebanese territory, promoted sporadic acts of intense violence rather than infrastructural methods of surveillance and policing. Parts of Lebanon, in other words, took on some of the frontier characteristics that Bosnia assumed vis-à-vis Serbia in the early 1990s. Southern Lebanon was a peripheral zone of indeterminate status vis-à-vis Israel, whose armed forces used punitive sorties to drive out their civilian and militia enemies. The Israeli state made no effort to settle southern Lebanon with Jewish settlers, however, or to incorporate Lebanese land into its legal or bureaucratic fabric. Unlike the Palestinian ghetto, there was no Lebanese enclave trapped within the broader Israeli state.

Hundreds of thousands of southern Lebanese were "cleansed" northward by Israeli forces, but unlike Serbian actions in Bosnia, this was not part of a broader Israeli agenda of state expansion and demographic change. Israel had no intention of incorporating southern Lebanon into Greater Israel. Southern Lebanon was emptied of much of its civilian population due to Israeli counterinsurgency efforts, unlike Serbia's clandestine effort to re-engineer Bosnia's ethno-national composition.

### *The 1982 War*

An assassination attempt in 1982 against Israel's London ambassador triggered an Israeli invasion dubbed Operation Peace for Galilee by its

planners. Its goal, broadly speaking, was to destroy the PLO's organizational infrastructure in Lebanon.[56] Although the group did not pose a threat to Israel's existence, it was able to harass civilians and represented a diplomatic and psychological challenge to Israel's long-term control over the West Bank and Gaza. As Khalidi noted, PLO leader Yasser Arafat had become "a head of state in all but name, more powerful than many Arab rulers. His was no longer a humble revolutionary movement, but rather a vigorous para-state, with a growing bureaucracy administering the affairs of Palestinians everywhere, and with a budget bigger than that of many small sovereign states."[57] Given their long-term plans for West Bank settlement and annexation, Israeli officials saw the PLO's growing stature as deeply problematic.[58] During the 1982 invasion, Israeli forces used violence on a grander scale than ever before, but also worked closely with local militia allies. According to some reports, Israeli leaders hoped—and perhaps even engaged in concrete planning—to engineer the expulsion of Palestinians from Lebanon.

Israeli warplanes began the war with a June 4 series of air raids, killing 45 and wounding 150.[59] Two days later, Israeli armored columns began advancing through southern Lebanon, including 90,000 troops, 2,600 armored vehicles, and hundreds of warplanes and artillery.[60] As was true during Operation Litani, Israeli commanders planned to limit their own casualties by first shelling suspect urban areas. As Israeli scholar Avner Yaniv noted, officers decided to use "masses of artillery" and intense air support, "even at the cost of heavy civilian casualties among the Palestinians and the Lebanese."[61] This tolerance of non-Jewish casualties, coupled with the Palestinian habit of basing guerrilla forces in urban areas, led to widespread loss of civilian life.[62] According to one Israeli trooper, orders instructing infantrymen to respect civilian life seemed meaningless when refugee camps were first "mercilessly shelled and bombed."[63] As Israeli academic Yehoshua Porat wrote, "The heavy bombardments, the enormous destruction and the high number of casualties" established a "most horrifying moral principle: Jewish blood is worth more than any other blood."[64] As another Israeli journalist opined, one of the war's central themes was "massive harm to Lebanon's innocent civilian population."[65]

Casualty rates attest to the invasion's intensity. Lebanese officials put the summer 1982 death toll at 18,000, of whom 2,000 were combatants, estimating an additional 30,000 injured; other sources argued for 12,000–15,000 civilian deaths and 40,000 wounded.[66] Israel's casualty toll for the same period was 368 dead and 2,383 wounded, all combat-

ants.[67] Lebanese property damage was also quite extensive. A June 1982 UN report, for example, reported that Israeli forces destroyed 35 percent of the houses in the Bourj el-Shemali refugee camp, 50 percent in El-Buss, 70 percent in Rashidiye, and 100 percent in Ein Hilwe; in Shatila camp, over 90 percent of the homes were destroyed or badly damaged, while all structures in the Bourj el Barajneh camp were entirely destroyed. Overall, estimates put damages at $12 billion, with 500,000–800,000 internally displaced persons.[68]

Witnesses seemed awed by the ferocity of Israel's actions. Reporter Avraham Rabinovich wrote that the effects of shelling on Tyre and Sidon were "numbing," while Robert Fisk reported that air attacks on Sidon "must have been among the most ferocious ever delivered on a Lebanese city . . . it looks as if a tornado has torn through the residential buildings."[69] Some of the worst damage occurred in Ein Hilwe refugee camp, where Israeli correspondents wrote that a "thick, black cloud of dust and smoke hung" as Israeli "artillery and planes pounded away . . . on and on . . . for days."[70] In his diary, Israeli officer Dov Yermiya wrote that "the quantity of bombs and shells" that Israeli forces poured into Ein Hilwe reminded him of World War II, while another Israeli reporter wrote that the camp had been transformed by shelling into "two square kilometers of twisted broken rubble, putrid rubbish and torn and shattered personal belongings." According to Lebanese authorities, the bombing killed some 600 persons.[71] Israeli forces used similar tactics against other camps, saying they contained underground guerrilla facilities. Cluster, fragmentation, and phosphorous munitions were reportedly used in populated areas, with painful results.[72] Media reports suggested some Israeli officers had opposed the indiscriminate bombardments, but that their opposition gave way due to their fear of Israeli infantry casualties.[73]

This violence was taking place in Lebanon, not Palestine, highlighting the importance of institutional context. Had such methods been used in the ghetto, Israel would have been tearing at the very fabric of its own state. When aimed at Palestinians or Lebanese living beyond a sovereign border, however, no such trauma was involved. Israel's Lebanon offensives targeted external enemies situated beyond Israel's zone of empirical and juridical sovereignty, and thus did not disrupt established patterns of internal state governance. That Ein Hilwe was externalized while the West Bank camps were situated in the ghetto, however, was historical accident.

Israeli forces drove farther north, reaching Beirut on June 12, besieging 20,000 guerrillas and 300,000 civilians until August 21, when the

PLO withdrew under a United States–brokered deal.[74] Israeli artillery initially focused their fire on Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut's southwest, but when that failed to compel a PLO surrender, they began firing at the rest of West Beirut, with devastating effect. In early August, an *International Herald Tribune* report said that Israeli forces were "pounding heavily" Beirut's residential areas, trapping residents without the money to flee.[75] On August 1, 4, and 12, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal wrote that Israeli forces "subjected West Beirut to punishment so intensive and indiscriminate that terror was the result." August 12, according to Israelis Schiff and Ya'ari, was "a nightmare in which the saturation bombing came on top of a massive artillery barrage," killing at least 300 residents.[76] On August 8, a British report said U.S. embassy cables to Washington observed that "tonight's saturation shelling was as intense as anything we have seen. There was no 'pinpoint accuracy.' . . . It was not a response to Palestinian fire. This was a blitz against West Beirut. . . . The magnitude of tonight's action is difficult to convey."[77] On August 16, journalist J. Michael Kennedy wrote that "whole neighborhoods" had disappeared, saying that Beirut had become a "city of broken concrete, flattened apartment buildings and death."[78] Lebanese officials estimate that in Beirut, 5,525 persons died and 11,139 were wounded from early June to September 2, 1982. According to the International Red Cross, 80 percent of those casualties were civilian.[79]

### *Israel's Expulsion Plans for Lebanon's Palestinian Refugees*

As we saw in the previous chapters, the notion of ethnic cleansing or "Arab transfer" was increasingly discussed within Jewish nationalist circles in the 1980s. The number of Israelis interested in pursuing this option vis-à-vis Palestinians in the West Bank and, possibly, the Gaza Strip mounted throughout this period, even garnering support from some governing elites. Yet while at least some preconditions for an ethnic cleansing option for Palestinians did exist within Israel, movement in that direction was stymied by Palestine's ghetto-like institutional environment.

The Lebanese counterinsurgency frontier, however, presented a different set of constraints and possibilities, and according to some Israeli sources, there were wartime plans to forcibly deport many, if not all, of the Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon.[80] If Israeli leaders did have a scheme to deport Lebanon's 350,000-strong Palestinian refugee community, it would have been a logical outgrowth of Israel's broader effort to eliminate the PLO as an organizational and ideological force. As noted

above, the Palestinian group had developed substantial bureaucratic, military, and diplomatic weight during the 1970s, projecting a "state in waiting" image that threatened Israel's plans for long-term control over the West Bank. A few statistics demonstrate the depth of the PLO's presence. According to Yezid Sayigh, for example, Fatah, the main PLO faction, had 10,000 salaried bureaucrats, 16,200 fighters, and 25,000 part-time militia in 1980–81. Smaller PLO factions employed several more thousands, while another 7,000 men and women worked outside Lebanon.[81] In 1980, the PLO's welfare services supported 20,000 Palestinian families, ran three large orphanages, eleven day care centers, and a society for the blind. A PLO industrial agency employed 5,000 full-time workers in forty-six workshops throughout Lebanon, offering vocational training to 30,000 in 1982, with reported earnings of $40 million.[82] According to Rex Brynen, the PLO's budget was in the "hundreds of millions of dollars," with much of that going to social and administrative programs.[83] Although these activities were headquartered in PLO buildings in West Beirut, they were rooted in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and other coastal towns. Without its refugee base, the PLO's quasi-state image would wither away.

Israeli governments were eager to ensure continued Jewish control over the West Bank and Gaza, but the PLO's international profile, coupled with its bureaucratic weight, presented a credible political alternative. A key Israeli goal for the 1982 war, therefore, was to destroy the PLO's Lebanon institutions in the hope that this would deal a fatal blow to the broader Palestinian nationalist cause.[84] Israel's military chief said as much in July 1982, noting that Israel's Lebanon war was "part of the struggle over the Land of Israel,"[85] and as Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon elaborated, "the more we damage the PLO infrastructure, the more the Arabs in Judea and Samaria and Gaza will be ready to negotiate with us."[86] Israel, in other words, launched its 1982 attack on *Lebanon* to resolve a policy issue in *Palestine*. In a pattern that repeated itself throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Israel used more intense methods in Lebanon, even though its real target was Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

Hints of a possible Israeli plan to expel Palestinian civilians from Lebanon came first from prime minister Menachem Begin on June 10, 1982, four days after the war began, when he reportedly used the term "transfer" in describing Israeli war aims.[87] On June 18, according to reserve officer Dov Yermiyah's published war diary, cabinet minister Yaakov Meridor told a group of Israeli troops in Lebanon that Palestinian refugees "must be pushed away eastward, toward Syria; let them go

over there, but do not let them come back." On August 26, Meridor told a press conference that Israel hoped to "relocate" Palestinian refugees to "other regions."[88] Further suggestion of an expulsion campaign came from Ariel Sharon during the siege of Beirut, when he allegedly referred to Palestinian neighborhoods in the city as "terrorist camps" that needed to be "cleaned out, utterly destroyed," and "razed to the ground," despite their being home to some 85,000 persons. Their civilian residents, Sharon said, should "move on elsewhere." According to Israeli correspondents Schiff and Ya'ari, Sharon proposed bombing the camps for a week and then sending in Israel's local militia allies.[89]

The existence of a tacit Israeli plan to expel at least some of Lebanon's Palestinian refugees was also indicated by its policy of post-conflict refugee camp reconstruction. In the country's south, Israeli forces initially blocked camp reconstruction efforts, and on June 13, 1982, the officer in charge of civilian affairs in southern Lebanon explained that the destruction of Palestinian camps "should be regarded as an inadvertent but welcome achievement."[90] Indeed, Israeli forces reportedly helped complete camp destruction by bulldozing surviving structures. According to international human rights campaigners, Israel's policy indicated it hoped "to push the Palestinian people out of the occupied zones and even out of Lebanon."[91] A final suggestion of possible Israeli intentions comes from the Sabra and Shatila killings, discussed below, which may have been linked to a broader deportation plan devised, at least in part, by Israel's militia allies.

Israel did not always act brutally in Lebanon, of course, and Israeli society was not uniformly in favor of despotic violence. Indeed, Jewish protests against the September 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacres and the Lebanon war demonstrated clearly that many Israelis opposed their government's policy. Israel, like Serbia, was a complex, multifaceted society, containing both radical and more moderate tendencies. Zionist ideology, like all nationalist frameworks, included both radicals and pragmatists. Neither Israel nor Zionism was *essentially* prone to intense violence.

## ISRAEL'S PARAMILITARY ALLIES IN LEBANON

The Israeli military kept a lid on paramilitaries in the West Bank and Gaza, but pursued a different policy in Lebanon. As an external zone, Lebanon was a better environment for Israeli cooperation with private militias, and Israel's security services there developed close links to two

semi-autonomous forces. The first, based in two Christian enclaves led by Lebanese army majors Saad Haddad and Sami Shidiak, was dubbed The Army of Free Lebanon, later known as the Southern Lebanese Army.[92] The second, located in East Beirut and Mount Lebanon, centered on the 5,000-strong Lebanese Forces, the armed wing of the Christian Maronite Phalange party.[93] When the Lebanese civil war began in 1975, Israeli security agencies developed ties to both groups as a counterweight to the PLO, and over time, the militias became involved in troubling abuses. Like Serbia, Israel denied responsibility for the militias' actions, saying they occurred beyond Israel's zone of juridical or empirical sovereignty. There is evidence, however, suggesting that Israel maintained vibrant, if often covert, ties to the Lebanese militias.[94]

### *Haddad's Southern Lebanese Army*

Details of Israel's early links to Lebanese Christian irregulars along Israel's northern border come from Beatte Hamizrachi, an Israeli journalist linked to both parties.[95] When the 1975 civil war began, Lebanese army Major Saad Haddad moved to the south, where he soon initiated contacts with Adal, the Israeli army's planning and liaison unit for southern Lebanon.[96] Headquartered in the Israeli border town of Metula, Adal officers hoped to build up the region under Haddad's control to act as a buffer against the PLO and its Lebanese allies. Adal began as a small, unofficial group of intelligence officers, but it eventually became an influential body, due largely to its ability to influence the southern Lebanese militias. Haddad first met with Adal representatives in November 1976, and within months, his men were using Israeli uniforms, weapons, and funds.[97]

With Israeli encouragement, Haddad enlarged his enclave during the late 1970s, taking over both Christian and Shi'ite areas. His methods were occasionally brutal, as in the case of an October 7, 1976, massacre of fifty prisoners in Marjayoun, or the 1978 killing of prisoners in el-Khiam village during Israel's Operation Litani.[98] Looting, Hamizrachi writes, was the "unwritten law" of the land, allowing the victors to "do with the possessions of the vanquished" as they pleased.[99] Although Adal's involvement in the massacres and theft is unclear, Hamizrachi believed the Israelis wielded considerable control over Haddad's men. "Adal orders," Hamizrachi flatly stated, "were *always* carried out."[100]

A second border enclave was commanded by former Lebanese army major Sami Shidiak, with headquarters in the village of Rumeish D'bil.

Although Adal officers worked with both Shidiak and Haddad, they reportedly found the former less cooperative. Again, there were reports of atrocities, as in the case of Shidiak's March 1978 attack on Maround a-Ras village, where his forces, bolstered by reinforcements transported into the area by Israeli forces, allegedly perpetrated killings and sexual assaults.[101] Israel helped link Shidiak and Haddad's enclaves during Operation Litani, creating a border strip that would, after 1985, form the basis for Israel's unofficial "security zone" under Haddad's successor force, the Southern Lebanese Army (SLA).

Israel's relations with the border militias grew increasingly close during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1999, a top Israeli official admitted that the army and the SLA "coordinated their military activity," while Yossi Peled, former head of Israel's northern military command, went a step further, stating that Israeli officers "set goals for the SLA . . . assigned them missions . . . and supplied training."[102] Israel paid SLA members a salary of $300–$500 per month, transferring a total of $108.2 million to the border militia from 1995 to 1999 alone.[103] Although the Israeli government argued it had no "effective control" over the group and was not responsible for SLA abuses, a report by the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem stated otherwise, arguing that the "responsibility of Israel for SLA acts is clearer than that of Yugoslavia for acts of the Serb militia in Bosnia-Herzegovina."[104] Reported SLA abuses included massacres, indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas, and torture in its Khiam prison, used chiefly for Lebanese suspected of anti-Israeli activities.[105] In 1999, an SLA commander indirectly acknowledged that harsh interrogation methods were used in Khiam, telling an Israeli journalist that one "would be lying" if one were to claim that "there were no beatings going on there."[106] Israel denied responsibility for Khiam goings-on, saying its representatives were not involved in the prison's interrogations.[107] In 1999, however, an Israeli commander acknowledged that his officers made monthly visits to Khiam to disburse some $30,000 in SLA salaries, and that Israeli security agents "collaborate with SLA personnel, and even help them in professional instruction and training." The officer denied, however, that the agents participated in the "frontal interrogation" of Khiam prisoners.[108] Details on the SLA's links to Israel's security services were supplied by a whistle-blower in Israel's Liaison Unit for Lebanon (LUL), the successor to Adal, who said the unit was a "shadow organization that supervises and commands the SLA," providing an Israeli advisor for every SLA officer. In Khiam, he claimed, Israeli agencies had placed "an instructor from the military police to ad-

vise the SLA jailers and administrators."[109] Despite official Israeli denials, in other words, Israel's links to the border militia appear to have been close.

*Israel's Beirut-Area Allies*

The Lebanese border irregulars were Israeli creations, but the militias based in Beirut and Mount Lebanon were major political actors in their own right. The Lebanese Forces, armed wing of the Maronite Christian Phalange party, were led by the Jemayels, a prominent Lebanese family, while the Tigers, another militia, were run by the Chamouns. In the 1970s and early 1980s, both militias strongly opposed the PLO's presence in Lebanon, largely because of the group's support for the Maronites' Muslim rivals. In 1975, Phalange representatives contacted Israeli diplomats in Europe, requesting arms and munitions, and Israel's foreign intelligence agency, along with military intelligence, initiated an increasingly robust supply-and-coordination effort.

Fighting between PLO and Maronite forces grew particularly bitter during 1975 and 1976, and civilians were prime targets on both sides. A 1976 Lebanese Forces massacre of Palestinians in Beirut's Karantina refugee camp triggered a PLO massacre in Damour two days later,[110] and in response, a coalition of Lebanese Forces and Tigers besieged the Palestinian refugee camp at Tel al-Zatar, calling on their Israeli contacts to lend a helping hand. In July 1976, Israeli officers, including Adal commander Fuad Ben-Eliezer, met with Lebanese Force commanders in a position overlooking Tel al-Zatar. "Seated in the upper command post," Israeli correspondents Schiff and Ya'ari recount, "Ben-Eliezer watched as the Phalangist gunners fired quantities of shells into the camps," many of which "had come in Israeli aid shipments."[111] Later that month, Israel delivered armored vehicles to the Christians, helping them penetrate the camp's perimeter. On July 24, according to Palestinian historian Yezid Sayigh, shells from one such armored vehicle destroyed a building and killed 250 refugees hiding in its basement.[112] On August 9, Lebanese Forces and Tigers overran the camp, massacring 1,000–2,000 persons. Thousands more died during the siege, and the camp was razed to the ground.[113] Israel's supporting role in these events, however, was rarely discussed. Like Serbia, Israel was covertly involved in supplying paramilitary forces operating just beyond its borders. As was true for the ethnic Serb militias in Bosnia, the Lebanese paramilitaries were involved in severe human rights abuses. Israel's global alliances were very different

from those of Serbia, however, and its cross-border paramilitary ties generated less international criticism.

After the Likud government was reelected in 1981, Israel intelligence agencies developed even closer ties to their Lebanese Forces allies. The militias initially held back during Israel's 1982 invasion, but they moved to consolidate power over Beirut once the PLO agreed to withdraw in mid-August. With Israeli forces ringing the Lebanese capital, the Phalangists arranged for their leader, Bashir Jemayel, to assume the Lebanese presidency. Jemayel was assassinated by unknown killers on September 14, however, throwing the Christian militias, and their Israeli allies, into disarray. In an effort to reassert its control over Beirut events, Israel sent its forces into West Beirut, violating its United States–brokered deal with the PLO. One of its first operations was to encircle the Palestinian camps in Sabra and Shatila, where, according to Israeli leaders, Palestinian militiamen were still holed up.[114] Acting upon Israel's request, the Lebanese Forces entered the camps, killing 700–3,000 Palestinian civilians.[115] As Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk writes, "Terrorized refugees . . . reported witnessing barbaric acts. They described the relentless manhunt through the streets of the camps conducted by small groups of militiamen . . . entire families were taken from shelters and murdered on the spot . . . women were repeatedly violated and physically mutilated."[116] Israeli officials denied responsibility for the atrocities, but an Israeli commission of inquiry castigated senior commanders and politicians, including defense minister Ariel Sharon, saying they bore substantial but indirect responsibility for the killings.[117] The officers had ordered Israeli forces to besiege the camps, sent the militias in, provided illumination and perimeter security, blocked any escape, and then permitted the killings to continue when reports of mass killings first emerged.

On September 28, the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* reported that the Sabra and Shatila killings appeared to have been part of a broader plan to expel Palestinians from Lebanon. The idea, the paper said, was to "create panic and provoke an exodus, *en masse,* of Palestinians towards Syria."[118] An Israeli official made a similar claim, saying Christian Lebanese militias hoped the massacres would provoke the "panicked flight of Palestinians from the Beirut refugee camps to northern or southern Lebanon, creating a new demographic and territorial balance in Lebanon's capital."[119] According to a Beirut newspaper, the Christian-led Lebanese government had hoped to reduce the Palestinian refugee population from 300,000 to 50,000. The Israeli commission of inquiry argued that Phalangist leaders "proposed removing a large portion of the

Palestinian refugees from Lebanese soil" and did "not conceal their opinion that it would be necessary to resort to acts of violence in order to cause the exodus of many Palestinian refugees from Lebanon."[120] None of these sources discussed Israeli involvement in the militia's expulsion schemes. Given the above-mentioned evidence for a possible Israeli-backed deportation effort, however, it is possible that the Sabra and Shatila events were, at the very least, a Phalangist interpretation of their shared goals with Israel.

Israel, in sum, worked closely with paramilitary allies during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, chiefly as a way of fighting its enemies in Lebanon. The irregulars resorted to an array of despotic measures, including massacres and attempted ethnic cleansing. Israel's links to these groups suggest that institutional conditions permitting, it was capable of building the type of cross-border links that Serbia developed in 1992 with the Bosnian militias. Like Serbia, Israel could work with irregulars if the relationship was discrete, and if their victims were located beyond Israel's zone of overt and empirical control. The Israeli state's ties to the Lebanese irregulars were thus very different from its links to Jewish militias in Palestine, who acted as military auxiliaries and vigilantes. In Palestine, the Israeli military placed an effective cap on Jewish militia violence, much as Serbia did in the Sandžak and Vojvodina.

This chapter has suggested there were tangible alternatives to Israel's ethnic policing repertoire in the West Bank and Gaza, where Jewish militias discussed—but did not even come close to launching—a real ethnic cleansing effort. Although the irregulars had the requisite ideology, weapons, administrative capacities, and official allies, they were constrained by the Israeli state, which refused to tolerate Lebanon-style violence in Palestinian lands under its direct control.

Differences in Israel's treatment of Lebanon and Palestine are striking. Although Lebanon was exposed to more intense Israeli methods, it also enjoyed greater freedom from direct Israeli control. Israeli forces wrought occasional havoc in the country but then disappeared, returning at irregular intervals to punish wrongdoers. The Israeli army in Lebanon was distant but ferocious, striking with great intensity but then withdrawing, making little effort to penetrate, embrace, or dominate Lebanese society. In the West Bank and Gaza, by contrast, Israel worked much harder to create a smooth system of control, devising a more all-encompassing grid of state power. As a result, Palestine ghetto residents were spared Lebanon-style destruction, but found their lives managed to

a far greater extent by Israeli policies and desires. Israel, in other words, punished Lebanon through acts of despotism, but comprehensively disciplined Palestine through techniques of infrastructural power.

Imagine: what if the international community had ordered Israel to withdraw from Palestinian lands? It is conceivable that Jewish militias would have launched an ethnic cleansing effort with the tacit support of at least some members of the Israeli army and bureaucracy. For those doubtful of Israel's capacity to participate in such a campaign, events in Lebanon should give them pause. There, Israel relied on methods far more despotic than those used in Palestine; its shelling killed or displaced large numbers of civilians, and its militia allies were involved in severe human rights abuses. None of this, of course, proves that Israel or its allies would have ethnically cleansed Palestine given the chance. The Lebanon experience is suggestive, however, especially when substantial pro-transfer sentiment within certain Israeli constituencies is taken into account. At the very least, it provides cause for concern when Israeli-Palestinian fighting in the West Bank and Gaza escalates.

Conventional wisdom in North America argues that Israel, like other strong Western allies, is inherently incapable of the type of awful violence wielded by Serbian forces in Bosnia. Given Israel's democratic political regime, its cultural sensitivities, and tragic experiences in the Holocaust, the Jewish state is simply incapable of unleashing ethnic cleansing, either directly or through paramilitary proxies. Israel's Lebanon experiences, by contrast, suggest that under appropriate institutional conditions, Israel—like many other states—is capable of extreme despotism. The cases explored in this and other chapters suggest that state violence is dramatically shaped by the institutional setting in which it takes place, and that in thinly institutionalized arenas, ethnic cleansing is a very real possibility.

# Conclusion

This book's central question has been "Why did Serbia support ethnic cleansing in Bosnia during 1992, whereas Israel engaged in ethnic policing in Palestine during 1988?" My answer has focused on the importance of context or "institutional setting." Bosnia and Palestine were structured as different types of institutional environments, channeling repertoires of nationalist state violence in different directions. By spring 1992, Bosnia had become a frontier vis-à-vis Serbia, whereas Palestine (in 1988) was a ghetto within Israel. These different institutional configurations shaped Serbia's and Israel's repertoires of violence and responses to challenges by ethno-national rivals. The more a specific territory and population were openly and fully controlled by the state, the more security forces relied on methods of ethnic policing, rather than ethnic cleansing. Paradoxically, in other words, Serbia's and Israel's "national enemies" were shielded from the most intense forms of violence when they were firmly wedged within the dominant state's grasp. At the margins of Serbian and Israeli state power, by contrast, these enemies tended to face more intensely despotic patterns of state violence.

To some, the very nature of my question might have seemed strange. On what grounds do I compare Bosnia's atrocities with Palestine's experience? It is precisely those varying patterns of behavior, however, that should be explained. In investigating whether a comparison of Bosnia to Palestine is legitimate, we need to explore nationalist beliefs and tendencies within Serbia and Israel, and to analyze other instances of Ser-

bian and Israeli violence. If there is at least some overlap between Serbian and Israeli nationalist ideologies, on the one hand, and between Serbian and Israel policies, on the other, then the comparison is justified.

In this book, I have argued that such an overlap does indeed exist. Exploring Serbian public opinion on questions of nationalism, Serb-Muslim relations, and Bosnia, we found that while Serbs may have been vaguely committed to a narrow notion of collective identity emphasizing ethnic Serb-ness, there was no clear consensus on how best to deal with non-Serb outsiders in Bosnia and elsewhere. Like most nationalist ideologies, Serbian nationalism set general goals for itself, including the unification of all Serbs under one state, but was not always clear on the means by which that goal was to be achieved. Serbia had its moderates and radicals, and while both may have been Serb nationalists, they offered different schemes for resolving acute political, demographic, and military dilemmas.

Empirically, the Serbian state deployed different styles of violence, and these varied by institutional setting. In Bosnia, the most extreme versions of Serbian nationalism were realized by crisis committees and paramilitaries, but in Vojvodina and the Sandžak, somewhat more moderate visions won out. Serbian police kept a nascent crisis committee in Vojvodina in check, and local Croats were not killed or expropriated outright. Instead, they were clandestinely harassed and intimidated, leading to "soft" ethnic cleansing. A similar process occurred in the Sandžak, used by Serbian paramilitaries as a rear base for their Bosnian operations. When the paramilitaries seemed poised to launch a rampage against Sandžak's own Muslim community, however, the authorities intervened. This was particularly noteworthy given that the same officials helped the paramilitaries in their nearby Bosnian ethnic cleansing activities. In Kosovo, moreover, ethnic policing, rather than cleansing, prevailed until 1998–99, when Serbia's grip over the region began to weaken. As parts of Kosovo escaped Serbian control, the most virulent strains of nationalism found expression.

The overall Serbian record, therefore, is mixed. Ideologically, ethnic Serbs were nationalistic but not uniformly committed to ethnic cleansing. Empirically, the Serbian state deployed different styles of repression, depending on whether it was acting in central or peripheral regions. Overall, Serbian nationalism was more destructive at the margins of the state's zone of control.

The Israeli case was similarly complex. Ideologically, Zionists were a mixed bag of nationalist radicals and moderates, and while both held ex-

clusionary views of some sort vis-à-vis Palestinians, they did not agree over how best to implement their beliefs. Radicals supported intense violence, including ethnic cleansing, but moderates sought more subtle tactics of domination. Empirically, the Israeli record was similarly varied. In the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli forces used ethnic policing, a pernicious but less despotic policy, resorting to beatings, mass incarcerations, and torture. Jewish militias, moreover, launched vigilante-style attacks, relying on the Israeli state for arms and protection. As was true in Serbia, however, official security forces kept nationalist paramilitaries in check, preventing them from using despotism in the state's zone of empirical and juridical control. In Lebanon, however, the Israeli record was different. In that frontier-like setting, Israeli forces used intense force, made alliances with local militias, and generally used more despotic measures. Repertoires of Israeli violence varied dramatically, in other words, depending on the context in which they were deployed. Lands firmly dominated by Israel were policed, but those outside of Israel's overwhelming control were subjected to greater doses of despotism.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

Conventional wisdom suggests that when faced with a threat, states use the most efficient methods to get the job done. This book has suggested an alternative approach, emphasizing the role of institutional settings, legality, and norms. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia was feasible in 1992–93 because of the region's frontier-like qualities. Ethnic policing was a more viable approach for Palestine in 1988, conversely, because of its ghetto-like status. Rather than closely analyzing day-to-day politics in Belgrade and Jerusalem, I have focused on actual methods used in distinct territorial regions, believing that only detailed examinations of concrete instances of violence can explain broader macro-level trends.

As we have seen, institutional settings interacted with nationalist ideologies in important ways. Conventional wisdom as well as some scholarly analysis begins with the content of nationalist ideology, examining public or elite support for this or that policy, and then using those findings to explain state behavior.[1] This book, by contrasts, argues for an interaction effect between ideology and institutional setting. As the empirical record demonstrates, both Serbia and Israel were capable, contextual conditions permitting, of embarking on either radical or more moderate violent strategies. Both were Janus-faced entities, containing the potential for both ethnic cleansing and more subtle methods of dom-

ination. Different institutional settings selected out radical or moderate elements from the spectrum of options, linking ideology and state policy. Taken on its own, nationalist ideology is a necessary but insufficient determinant of violence.

Frontiers and ghettos are specific types of institutional settings, representing different points on continuums of state violence and power. Frontiers are outlying territories where central political authority is thin, formal rules don't apply, and states maintain their power through despotic methods. Ghettos, by contrast, are ethnic or national enclaves securely trapped within the dominant state. While ghetto populations are oppressed and disadvantaged, they enjoy some basic protections, enduring in a strange netherworld in which they are neither fully in, nor fully out of, the dominant polity. Shielded from utter destruction, they are exposed to more subtle and infrastructural methods of control.

## INTERNATIONAL NORMS: SOVEREIGNTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In both the Serbian and Israeli cases, it was not obvious which areas would ultimately wind up in or outside the dominant state. We tend to accept boundaries as given, barely noticing their presence. This may often be justified, since most states have clearly defined boundaries, but others do not, including both Serbia and Israel. In the periods under discussion, these states were still defining their borders and engaging in bitter territorial struggles with national rivals.

When socialist Yugoslavia began to collapse in 1990, it was clear that the question of boundaries would be highly problematic, as different ethnic groups were scattered across the federation's internal boundaries. As the federation broke apart, all areas, in theory, were up for grabs. The legacy of socialist Yugoslavia's internal borders, coupled with international intervention, transformed Sandžak, Vojvodina, and Kosovo into internal provinces of Serbia, but made Bosnia an external frontier. Powerful Western countries decided that only republican boundaries would become sovereign, investing the Bosnia/Serbia border with an importance it had not hitherto enjoyed. At this point, different styles of Serbian state coercion emerged, transforming internal areas into zones of policing, and external areas into arenas of destruction. International forces had hoped to protect Bosnia by recognizing its sovereignty, but had instead helped unleash the most horrendous forms of Serbian nationalist violence.

In the Israel/Palestine case, questions over what was truly internal

were equally acute. Neither Palestine nor Lebanon officially belonged to Israel, as that country's de jure borders were the 1948 cease-fire lines. Israel had occupied the West Bank and Gaza during the 1967 conflict, but it left most of the West Bank and Gaza as "administered" territories whose status was to be determined at some later date. In practice, however, Israel gradually enveloped Palestine, incorporating it as an ethnonational ghetto within the Jewish state.

International forces played a key role in Palestine's ghettoization. When Serbia objected to Bosnian independence, Western powers threatened it with attack and sanctions, but Israel's disrespect for Palestinian sovereignty was treated with feeble criticism and tacit compliance. Paradoxically, however, the greater support Western powers gave to Bosnia resulted in greater levels of destruction, since nationalist states use more despotic violence at the margins of power. The more Palestine was ensnared within Israel's bureaucratic grip, the more Israel was obliged to treat it as an object of policing, not war.

Part of this is attributable to the increased salience of human rights norms. States are increasingly pressed to demonstrate a modicum of care and responsibility for their populations, risking censure and stigmatization when they kill or forcibly expel their citizens. This has become especially true since the 1970s, when an explosion of human rights organizations, discourse, and networking began. A global regulatory system monitoring state violence has come into being, influencing the ways in which states behave. The clearer the state's responsibilities and the more pervasive its control in a given region, the more it will seek to curb "excesses" by its coercive forces when fighting civilian populations. The greater the state's infrastructural power, the more it will try to curb the most blatantly despotic behavior of its security forces. Not all states care equally about their international legitimacy, however, and not all states exercise infrastructural powers over their de jure territories. Those that do tend to be in the core or semi-peripheral regions of the globe, suggesting a trend in the global organization of state violence: the more states control their own territory and the closer they are to international flows of legitimacy, the more they will resort to police-style behavior in areas over which they exercise empirical and juridical control.

## THE LIMITS OF WORLD POLITY ANALYSIS

The spread of international norms has attracted increasing scholarly interest, especially among analysts working in the world polity tradition.[2]

These analysts argue that a global system of ideas, legitimate models, and organizational structures, derived chiefly from Western models, have become broadly constitutive of states, state interests, and state practices. The world polity, in other words, is a Western-derived institutional setting on the grandest of scales.

Such studies typically involve large-sample studies that persuasively document processes of global convergence, showing that structural homogenization is sweeping the world as more states sign international treaties and hook up to global flows. This diffusion process is accelerated by the work of intergovernmental bodies such as the International Monetary Fund, as well as nongovernmental organizations such as Greenpeace, Transparency International, and Human Rights Watch.

States now broadly conform to a small number of generic models, adopting constitutions that define the relationship between citizens and the state, valuing education and economic development, and creating bureaucratic machineries to promote women, science, the environment, and education. Although homogenization has escalated dramatically since the Cold War's end, the process was first initiated by European colonialism. Decolonization shrugged off overt Western political domination, but retained many Western structures and narratives. Like scholars of cultural globalization, world polity theorists see an increasingly homogenous globe imitating a handful of Western-devised models.[3]

World polity scholars rarely explore local variations on global themes, however, and as one leading ethnologist notes, often have little to say about the "link between models or norms on the one side and concrete practices on the other."[4] On the ground, after all, the practice of liberal democracy in Sweden, the United States, and Russia is remarkably different, as savvy local actors devise their own unique paths through globally mandated rules. As a result, local variations on global themes are best explored through detailed investigations of individual cases. The ethnic cleansing and ethnic policing efforts described in this book are examples of such innovations, as Serbian leaders and Israeli decision makers manipulated the global rules of sovereignty and human rights to further their own agendas. Bosnian sovereignty was not supposed to provoke Serbian ethnic cleansing, while Palestinian human rights lobbying efforts were not intended to encourage Israeli ethnic policing. In each case, nationalist states both conformed to and violated international norms.

## EXTENDING THE ANALYSIS, CONTROLLING FOR OTHER VARIABLES

Qualitative, case-oriented explanations of state behavior are supposed to accomplish two tasks. First, they must account for empirical variation within the cases under consideration. On that count, this study, structured explicitly as an explanation of both Serbian-Israeli variations and varying patterns within each case, has, hopefully, proved its worth. Using the concepts of ghetto, frontier, core, and institutional setting, this book has provided a plausible account of varying Serbian behavior in Bosnia, Kosovo, the Sandžak, and Vojvodina, and of Israeli behavior in Palestine and Lebanon.

At the same time, our explanations are also expected to provide generalizeable tools—frameworks or arguments for a broader universe of cases. This task, however, is far more complex, as it becomes difficult to control for other important variables. For sure, a cursory glance at recent conflicts demonstrates the importance of institutional settings and boundaries. Apartheid South Africa, for example, used graphic methods of destruction to combat enemies in Mozambique and Angola, but used police-style tactics to suppress challengers within its own boundaries. Although the latter were harsh and discriminatory, they were less drastic than the warlike methods used beyond South Africa's international boundaries.[5] In Russia, troops used awful violence in Chechnya, but shifted to less destructive methods in neighboring Ingushetia, despite the presence of Chechen rebels there.[6] In Croatia, violence against Serbs in the contested Krajina region was far harsher than against Serbs living in Zagreb. It seems likely that these variations can be explained by the concept of institutional setting, norms, and empirical and juridical sovereignty.

Because of my focus chiefly on Serbia and Israel, however, a number of other variables faded into the background. Take, for example, the importance of international norms. In both cases under consideration, I have argued for the importance of world opinion, both on issues of sovereignty and on respect for human rights. Not all states, however, are as concerned as Serbia and Israel about their global image, nor do all states care about their prospects for inclusion within the Western-dominated "international community." In the late 1980s, for example, Iraq flouted virtually every human rights norm possible during its repression of northern Kurds, and its behavior may not be explainable with the tools provided here.[7] Yet even if this is true, it does not invalidate the argument

advanced in this book. Instead, it suggests that Iraq is a particular kind of state, one that is wealthy enough to ignore global public opinion, and one that cares little for Western human rights sensibilities.

Another variable controlled for in the Israel-Serbia comparison is state strength. In both cases, the state in question was internally coherent, had a tradition of law and order, and had the capacity to enforce its sovereignty over its territory. Many states, however, are not as strong as that. In Africa, the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere, many states are weaker, largely because of the end of Cold War patronage.[8] In these cases civil war, warlord politics, and internal strife are not produced by the exclusionary intentions of strong states such as Serbia and Israel, but by the lack of any coherent state structure at all. The analysis advanced in this book does little to explain these sorts of violent conflict.

Finally, both the Serbian and Israeli cases took place in the same moment in world historical time, the late 1980s and early 1990s. As a result, my analysis effectively controlled for variations in international tolerance of norm violations, especially in the arena of human rights. As noted earlier, international human rights monitoring grew increasingly aggressive in the 1970s. By the end of the Cold War, the international human rights norm and its organizational carriers had become remarkably effective at stigmatizing and shaming strong, Western-oriented governments such as Serbia and Israel that abused human rights. As noted in the Introduction, the density of the human rights movement makes the difference between "ghetto" and "frontier" particularly important. This scrutiny would not have happened thirty or forty years ago. Thus the argument I developed here is especially useful for analyzing current conflicts. To be sure, some states get away with greater human rights violations than others, even at the same point in the historical development of the global human rights system of norms, activist networks, and information flows. All states at a given point in history will have to contend with the same broad global human rights conditions, but each state's particular relationship to those conditions may vary.

This book's main contribution is to underline the importance of bureaucratic inclusion or exclusion during times of violent conflict. In the contemporary era, strong, capable states immersed in a nationally exclusive ideology are not likely to use ethnic cleansing against "outsider" populations that are partially included within the polity. This is true even when important segments of the state, its military, and the majority population favor drastic measures. In frontier-style regions, by contrast, states are more likely to resort to extreme repertoires. In making this ar-

gument, however, I do not mean to suggest that other variables, including regime type, intensity of insurgent challenges, and position within the international system are not also important.[9]

## BINARY OPPOSITIONS OR A CONTINUUM OF VIOLENCE?

My analysis has implicitly relied on a series of binary oppositions: ghetto vs. frontier, ethnic cleansing vs. ethnic policing. I used these binaries because such stark contrasts are useful in helping us generate interesting theories and categories of social action. Binary oppositions underscore the characteristics of each case, helping us comprehend that which is most significant about different categories of social action. At the same time, however, these oppositions can also distort our perception of reality, forcing messy, complex events into inappropriately constraining boxes.[10]

Looking back on the cases discussed in this book, I would say that the binary comparisons of ghetto/frontier, ethnic cleansing/policing are relevant chiefly to the Bosnia/Palestine comparison. When we examine internal variations within the Serbian and Israeli cases, by contrast, the outlines of a more nuanced continuum of violence emerge. Israeli repertoires of violence in Lebanon, for example, are by no means identical to those used in Bosnia, although there is some interesting overlap. Importantly, I used the term "counterinsurgency frontier" to describe Lebanon's status. Israel had no intention of ethnically cleansing all of southern Lebanon and replacing its Arab population with Jews. Another intermediary set of sub-cases appeared in the discussion of Sandžak and Vojvodina, where Serbian repertoires of violence resembled in some aspects Israel's methods in Palestine, but also differed substantially. Serbia's measures were not nearly as harsh or as controlling as those of Israel, and thus I labeled them "ethnic harassment," rather than "ethnic policing."

Kosovo presents an interesting combination of the ethnic policing and cleansing models. Here, the same geographic area went from one binary category to another in a very short time as institutional conditions changed from ghetto to frontier. From 1989 to 1997, Serbian forces adopted a straightforward ethnic policing repertoire in Kosovo, much as Israel did in Palestine. The year 1998 was one of transition, and in 1999, Serbia resorted to full-scale ethnic cleansing, much as it had done in 1992 in Bosnia. Although Palestine, as we saw in Part II, went through a similar radical transformation, its metamorphosis took decades. If we were to rearrange the cases in this book along a *continuum* of state violence, the cases of ethnic harassment in Sandžak and Vojvodina would be situ-

ated at one extreme, while Bosnia and Kosovo (during 1999) would be situated at another. Yet since my main goal was to underline the importance of the exclusion/inclusion variable, this book has focused chiefly on the binary opposition terminology of ethnic policing/cleansing, or ghetto/frontier.

## PREDICTING FUTURE CONFLICTS

My initial explanatory framework was developed in the mid-1990s, some years before Serbia's ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. When the Serbian repertoire shifted in 1998 and 1999, however, its trajectory was consistent with my explanation. As Serbia had demonstrated early on in the Sandžak and Vojvodina, it would not resort to ethnic cleansing in territories under its empirical and juridical sovereignty, nor would it permit paramilitary freelancing. As the Bosnian case demonstrated, however, the most radical tenets of Serbian nationalism were bound to emerge in areas where Serbian power was least secure. As Kosovo moved from center to the margins of Serbian state power, the danger of outright destruction mounted. When NATO launched its air war in March 1999, therefore, Serbia's ethnic cleansing effort was, unfortunately, to be expected. Kosovo was on the verge of escaping Serbian domination, the West had turned against Serbia, and international human rights sensitivities no longer mattered. When NATO resolved to send no ground troops to physically protect Albanian civilians from Serbian assault, the Bosnian tragedy repeated itself once again. This time, however, the West was more committed to reversing ethnic cleansing, and Kosovo's refugees did eventually return home. Their homes and lives had been shattered, but reconstruction was a real possibility.

Israel's recent interventions in the West Bank and Gaza are also consistent with this book's explanatory framework. The 1993 Osło declaration of principles created islands of Palestinian sovereignty, and these expanded as Israel withdrew from a handful of densely populated towns, as well as some 70 percent of the Gaza Strip. Oslo, in other words, had begun to reverse Palestine's ghetto status. As Palestinians increasingly moved to the margins of Israel's zone of control, however, the threat to their physical security worsened. When the second Palestinian uprising erupted in fall 2000, the implications of their transformation from ghetto to frontier became clear. Today, Israeli commandos mount shoot-to-kill raids in regions controlled by the Palestinian authority, missiles strike Palestinian towns, and helicopters use machine guns

against mixed civilian and military targets. None of these methods would have been used during the first Intifada, when Palestine was situated squarely within Israel's zone of control. Palestine is now suspended between ghetto and frontier, and Israeli methods have adapted accordingly.

## HAS PALESTINE BECOME "LEBANONIZED"?

The extent to which Israeli commentators now speak of the West Bank and Gaza as "foreign" and "hostile" lands is quite remarkable.[11] Israeli discourse in the 1980s spoke of law-and-order, police-style enforcement in Palestine, but now the language has shifted to that of war and counterinsurgency. The region has been reconstructed, both discursively and in practice, as an object of war. In the immediate future, this is bound to produce Israeli escalation. Once Lebanon was viewed as an object of counterinsurgency, Israel pounded it with artillery, airplanes, and commandos, leading to tremendous destruction and loss of life. At the same time, however, Lebanon was never smoothly integrated into the Israeli zone of control, and Israel's Lebanon presence was never routinized to the same extent as in the West Bank and Gaza. Lebanon, moreover, was never perceived by Jewish Israelis as a natural extension of the Israeli state. Although Greater Israel proponents sporadically argued for a Lebanese colonization effort, they have never pursued it in a politically serious fashion. As a result, Israeli forces could eventually withdraw from Lebanon in the year 2000 virtually overnight without triggering a crippling internal political crisis.[12] Lebanon's "foreign" and "warlike" designation resulted in great suffering but also helped it escape colonization and full-scale subordination.

Until the 1990s, Israel's attempt to incorporate Palestine through policies of creeping annexation enormously complicated the notion of Israeli withdrawal. Jewish settlement activities were an important part of this process, but were not the only factor. Jewish youth groups organized field trips through Palestine, the West Bank and Gaza were included as parts of Israel on most maps, and Palestine was given Jewish biblical names—Judea and Samaria—to symbolize its status as part of Greater Israel. Some even began to believe the region was slated for permanent Israeli control and that the struggle for a Palestinian state would necessarily give way to struggles for Palestinian civil rights *within* Israel.

With this in mind, one of the most significant outcomes of the first Palestinian uprising was its ability to blunt this process of ideological and

physical incorporation. After the first Intifada, many Jewish Israelis discovered that the Green Line separating Israel proper from the West Bank and Gaza was a meaningful, if contested, boundary. The second uprising, which began in fall 2000 and is still ongoing, has intensified the externalization and defamiliarization of Palestine for Jewish Israelis. This book's findings suggest that the more Palestine is viewed by Israelis as a "foreign," external zone where war rather than policing is appropriate, the greater are Palestine's long-term prospects for escaping Israeli rule. Whether this happens before Palestinians are partially, or even fully, ethnically cleansed, however, is anyone's guess.

In this respect, the increased popular support for transfer among Israeli Jews in 2001 and 2002 is particularly noteworthy. Support for expulsions dipped in the 1990s, but has returned to near-record highs in recent years. In 1991, according to a Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies survey, 38 percent of Israeli Jews supported transfer for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, while 24 percent supported the same for Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. In 2002, by contrast, 46 percent supported transfer for the population of Palestine, with 31 percent in favor of similar measures for Israel's Palestinian citizens. The latter figure climbed to 60 percent when the survey question was worded in a more "roundabout" way.[13] As one leading liberal commentator suggested in spring 2002, "the spirit of expulsion" was increasingly "infiltrating public discourse" in Israel.[14] Other analysts disagreed with this assessment, however, noting the existence of polls suggesting that the Israeli public was moving in a more liberal direction overall, despite periodic tactical moves rightward at times of acute crisis.[15] One possible interpretation of these apparently contradictory findings is that Jewish Israelis are so deeply frustrated that they are desperate for a solution of any kind, including *either* transfer or a political solution.

The analysis advanced here suggests that one useful response to national exclusion is to work for a more inclusive definition of the "nation." That is, groups excluded from a dominant nationality—for example, Palestinians, Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, or Sandžak's Muslim Slavs—could focus their political energies on forcing their oppressors to grant them an equal footing through democratization, de-nationalization, or consociational constitutional agreements. Rather than tacitly acquiescing in efforts by Serbian or Jewish nationalists to define the "nation" in exclusionary ways, oppressed ghetto groups could mount movements for civil and political equality, as did blacks in the United States or South Africa. Sadly enough, however, few of the excluded populations

discussed in this book chose that path. In the Kosovo case, ethnic Albanians chose not to participate in Serbian elections during the 1990s, opting instead for efforts to create their own state. In 1999 this strategy finally paid off, but only after great sacrifices were made. Is it possible that some of this suffering could have been avoided had ethnic Albanians chosen to make their homes within Serbia and exercised their right to vote? Already partially incorporated into the state, ghetto residents can pursue legal, electoral, and public relations strategies to achieve real equality; frontier populations, by contrast, are far more vulnerable, as they must rely wholly on military means of defense.

Do Palestinians have similar options? Unlike ethnic Albanians, Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza have never been considered citizens of the state controlling their lives, even during their tacit incorporation into the Israeli state. As a result, they did not enjoy the same electoral opportunities as did ethnic Albanians and had fewer legal means to contest their exclusion. At the same time, however, Palestinian efforts remained uniformly focused on securing an independent, sovereign state in the West Bank and Gaza; they rarely considered the option of building upon the advantages offered by their quasi-inclusion within Israel. Although such efforts would have been enormously complex, they cannot have been more difficult or dangerous than the attempt now under way to create a viable and sovereign Palestinian state through diplomatic and military means. Indeed, for many Zionists, the notion of several million civil-rights-seeking Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza is far more threatening to the Jewish national agenda than an independent Palestinian state. Both Zionist hawks and doves are eager to maintain Israel's predominantly Jewish character, and most recognize that this requires ensuring a Jewish demographic majority. As Aryeh Naor, a former cabinet secretary, said in spring 2002, Israel's greatest nightmare is that "one day, there will appear a Palestinian Nelson Mandela in the West Bank who will demand 'one man, one vote.' That will be the end of Israel as a Jewish democracy."[16] Yet today it seems more unlikely than ever that Palestinians will seek inclusion within Israel, or that Israelis would ever entertain such an idea. Although a "one state" solution with a civil rights agenda might have been feasible in the late 1970s, long before the first Palestinian uprising, it does not seem to have any chance of attracting significant support from either Jewish left-wing figures or Palestinian political leaders. All that remains to hope for is a stable two-state solution, but it seems equally likely that the West Bank and Gaza will become a semi-permanent counterinsurgency frontier for

Israel, much like Lebanon was for some three decades. At the very worst, Israel's pro-transfer constituency may, at some point in the not-too-distant future, finally find an opportunity to promote a radical solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, ensuring their dream of a secure Jewish majority through ethnic cleansing.

# Notes

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2. In autumn 2000, a second Palestinian uprising broke out, dubbed the Al Aqsa Intifada. See the conclusion for a brief discussion.

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7. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

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## INTRODUCTION

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## CHAPTER 1

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27. Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," 90.

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35. See Paul Kevin Wapner, *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), for global normative environments.

36. For the rationalist-constructivist debate in international relations, see Martha Finnemore, *National Interests;* Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly*, 32 (December 1988): 379–396; Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory," *International Security*, 20: 1 (1995): 39–51; and Friedrich Kratochwill and John Gerard Ruggie, "International Organizations: A State of the Art on the Art of the State," *International Organization*, 40: 4 (1986): 753–775.

37. For a regime-based analysis of international human rights, see Rhoda E. Howard and Jack Donnelly, "Human Dignity, Human Rights, and Political Regimes," *American Political Science Review*, 80: 3 (1986): 801–817; for a transnational network analysis, Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders;* for human rights as a global social movement, see Jackie Smith, "Transnational Political Processes and the Human Rights Movement," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 18 (1995): 185–219; and for an organizational sociology perspective, see James Ron, "Varying Methods."

38. For details, see James Ron, "Varying Methods," 280.

39. Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, 11.

40. See Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, 117–119, for a discussion of the conditions under which states become vulnerable to international human rights pressures. For specific case studies, see Thomas Risse et al., *The Power of Human Rights.*

41. Noam Chomsky, *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1999), aptly notes that human rights rhetoric is often wielded as a tool of Western domination. But as William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), argues, human rights discourse can also hinder Western alliances with authoritarian client regimes.

42. The relationship between local and international human rights workers can also be quite exploitative. These inequalities should not obscure the effects of their collective efforts, however. For a brief foray into this sensitive topic, see Lisa Hajjar, "Problems of Dependency: Human Rights Organizations in the Arab World—An Interview with Abdullahi An-Naim," *Critiquing NGOs: Assessing the Last Decade: Middle East Report* #214 (spring 2000).

43. For sovereignty, see Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital.*

44. David Strang, "Anomaly and Commonplace."

45. Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist."

46. Youssef Cohen et al., "The Paradoxical Nature of State Making."

47. Lawrence S. Eastwood Jr., "Secession: State Practice and International

Law after the Dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia," *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law,* 3: 2 (1993): 299–349; and David Strang, "Anomaly and Commonplace."

48. For sovereignty and human rights conditionality, see Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

49. In Colombia, for example, government officials argue that illegal violence is often done by independent paramilitaries, rather than state security forces. See Human Rights Watch, *The Ties That Bind: Colombia and Military-Paramilitary Links* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000).

50. See Iaac Balbus, *The Dialectics of Legal Repression: Black Rebels before the American Criminal Courts* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973).

51. For a theoretically sophisticated application of this insight, see Michael N. Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

52. Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

## PART ONE

1. Formally known as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

2. Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Muslims were defined as constituent nations. Albanians, Hungarians, and Turks were classified as "national minorities" because they were considered to have their own nation-states elsewhere.

3. Mark Baskin, "Crisis in Kosovo," *Problems of Communism,* 32: 2 (1983): 61–74; Laslo Sekelj, *Yugoslavia: The Process of Disintegration* (Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, 1993); and Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy.*

4. See Walker Connor, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). For Yugoslav identity, see Duško Sekulić, Garth Massey, and Randy Hodson, "Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review,* 59 (February 1994): 83–97.

5. Veljko Vujačić, "Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serb Nationalism," *East European Constitutional Review,* 5: 4 (1996): 52.

6. In *Communism and Nationalism,* Veljko Vujačić argues that wrenching nineteenth- and twentieth-century experiences made Serbs particularly receptive to nationalist mobilization.

7. Dušan Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles* (Belgrade: Plato, 1992); Thomas Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389* (New York: East European Monographs, 1990); and Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000). For a critique of Serbian historiography on Kosovo, see Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

8. Julie Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War* (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1999); and Sabrina Pedro Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–91* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

9. See Jasna Dragovic, "Les intellectuels serbes et la 'question' du Kosovo, 1981–87," *Relations Internationales,* 89 (spring 1997): 53–70; Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals;* Aleksander Pavkovich, "Intellectuals into Politicians: Serbia 1990–1992," *Meanjin,* 52: 1 (1993): 107–116, and his "The Serb National Ideal: A Revival, 1986–1992," *Slavonic and East European Review,* 72: 3 (1994): 440–455; and Veljko Vujačić, *Communism and Nationalism.*

10. Analysts are split between those who see Serbian nationalism during this period as an autonomous force in its own right, and those who see it as an object of elite manipulations.

11. Slobodan Antonić, *Serbia between Populism and Democracy: Political Processes in Serbia, 1990–93* (Belgrade: Institute for Political Studies, 1993). In Serbo-Croatian.

12. Ognjen Pribičević, "The Serbian Exception: Why Communists Never Lost Power," *Uncaptive Minds* 7:3 (1995–6): 119–125.

13. The Reform Alliance, which later became the Civic Alliance, was the only explicitly a-national party. The Democratic Party was not originally constituted as a nationalist party, but became increasingly so during the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. The Muslim-led Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Albanian Democratic League of Kosova (LDK), and the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians were all parties whose voters were non-Serb minorities.

14. Srbobran Branković *Serbia at War with Itself: Political Choice in Serbia 1990–1994* (Belgrade: Sociological Society of Serbia, 1995), 66–67.

15. Zoran Lutovac, "Political Culture of Serbia in Light of Minority-Majority Relations" (Unpublished paper, Belgrade, Institute for Social Sciences, 1997); and Dragomir Pantić, "Voters' Value Orientations," in Vladimir Goati, ed., *Challenges of Parliamentarianism: The Case of Serbia* (Belgrade: Institute for Social Sciences, 1995), 107.

16. Stan Markotich and Patricia Moy, "Political Attitudes in Serbia," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 15 April 1994.

17. The Belgrade-based Institute for Social Studies conducted 2,000 interviews in Serbia and Montenegro, excluding Kosovo. For details, see Zoran Lutovac, "Political Culture of Serbia."

18. Srbobran Branković, *Serbia at War with Itself,* 112, 107.

19. Stan Markotich and Patricia Moy, "Political Attitudes in Serbia."

20. Nicholas Miller, "Serbia Chooses Aggression," *Orbis,* 38: 1 (1994): 63.

21. Aleksander Pavkovich, "The Serb National Idea," 440–441.

22. For both figures, see Srbobran Branković, *Serbia at War with Itself,* 111.

23. Julie Mertus, *Kosovo,* 317–320.

24. Srbobran Branković, *Serbia at War with Itself,* 111. In autumn 1991, respondents seemed confused as to how best to define Serbia. Some 47 percent thought Serbian citizens should fight only to defend the Serbian republic's borders, and should refrain from fighting in Croatia, but 64 percent supported fighting for Krajina and Slavonija, two Serb-majority areas in Croatia, suggesting that where "Serbia" began and ended was then quite unclear. In spring 1992, when

Milošević backed the creation of a rump Yugoslavia that clearly did not include the Serb-held lands in Bosnia and Croatia, that confusion began to clear up. For details, see Srbobran Branković, *Serbia at War with Itself,* 112, note 11.

25. Srbobran Branković, *Serbia at War with Itself,* 112.

26. Vladimir Goati, *The Challenges of Parliamentarianism,* 270. The Socialists received a disproportionate number of parliamentary seats because of Serbia's first-past-the-post electoral system.

27. "Šešelj Says 'All Serb Territories Must Be Liberated' before UN Troops Arrive," *Tanjug,* 23 November 1991, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 26 November 1991], EE/1239/C1/1.

28. "SRS Election Manifesto: Šešelj on a Greater Serbia and No US Interference," *Tanjug,* 21 May 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 25 May 1992], EE/1389/C1/1. The Radical Party reportedly discussed the creation of a Serbian state encompassing present-day Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and parts of Croatia and Macedonia.

29. "Muslim Arrested after Assassination Attempt against Vojislav Šešelj," *Tanjug,* 25 May 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 30 May 1992], EE/1394/C1. Most ethnic Albanians boycotted the elections and refused to cooperate with a census. Many Sandžak Muslims had relatives fighting in Bosnia and were often accused of indirectly supporting the Bosnian Muslims. They too, might easily have been included in Šešelj's plans.

30. "Serbian Radical Party's Šešelj Says Krajina Must Be Part of New Yugoslavia," *Tanjug,* 23 January 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 27 January 1992], EE/1288/C1/1; and "Vojislav Šešelj Ready to Oppose 'Muslim Fundamentalists' in Bosnia-Hercegovina," *Radio Belgrade,* 2 March 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 7 March 1992], EE/1323/C1/1.

31. Dragan Milivojević, "Recent Yugoslav History in the Words of Contemporary Yugoslav Writers: Vuk Drašković, Slavenka Drakulić, and Slobodan Blagojević," *Serbian Studies,* 9: 1 (1995), 128; and Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals,* 396.

32. Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals,* 399–401.

33. Robert Thomas, *Serbian Politics.*

34. Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals,* 366.

35. "Serbian Četnik Movement Refused Registration," *Tanjug,* 9 August 1990, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 13 August 1990], EE/0841/B/1.

36. Ognjen Pribičević, "The Serbian Exception."

37. Zoran Slavujević, "Election Campaigns," in Vladimir Goati, ed., *Challenges of Parliamentarianism,* 161.

38. Eric D. Gordy, *Culture of Power in Serbia,* 17.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Laurence S. Eastwood Jr., "Secession."

2. The European Community later became the European Union. The following description draws on Milan Andrejevich, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: In

Search of Peace," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 5 June 1992; Robert Hayden, "The Partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1990–1993," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 22 May 1993; Patrick Moore, "The International Relations of the Yugoslav Area," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 1 May 1992; Marc Weller, "The International Response to the Dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," *American Journal of International Law,* 86: 3 (1992): 569–607; and Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy.*

3. Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review,* 54: 4 (1995): 917–930.

4. For theoretical and empirical investigations of security dilemmas in Bosnia and elsewhere, see Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival,* 35:1 (1993): 27–47; and Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy.*

5. For an overview of global responses to the early years of the Yugoslav crisis, see Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy.* For in-depth treatments of Germany's position, see Beverly Crawford, "Explaining Defection from International Cooperation: Germany's Unilateral Recognition of Croatia," *World Politics,* 48: 4 (1996): 482–521. For U.S. policy, see David C. Gompert, "The United States and Yugoslavia's Wars," in Richard D. Ullman, ed., *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996); and Warren Zimmermann, "Yugoslavia: 1989–1996," in Jeremy Azrael and Emil Payin, eds., *U.S. and Russian Policymaking with Respect to the Use of Force* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1997). For Russia, see Suzanne Crow, "Russia's Response to the Yugoslav Crisis," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 24 July 1992, and her "Reading Moscow's Policies toward Rump Yugoslavia," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 6 November 1992. For Europe overall, see Nicole Gnesotto, "Lessons of Yugoslavia," *Challiot Paper 14* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies,1994); Catherine Guicherd, "The Hour of Europe: Lessons from the Yugoslav Conflict," *Fletcher Forum on World Affairs,* 17: 2 (1993): 159–182; and Trevor C. Salmon, "Testing Times for European Political Cooperation: The Gulf and Yugoslavia, 1990–1992," *International Affairs,* 68: 2 (1992): 233–253.

6. See Beverly Crawford, "Explaining Defection," for details.

7. UN Security Council resolutions 753 and 754, 18 May 1992, and 755, 20 May 1992.

8. UN Security Council resolution 752, 15 May 1992.

9. UN Security Council resolution 757, 30 May 1992.

10. Sabrina Pedro Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–91* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

11. "Serbia, Montenegro Discuss Constitutional Issues," *Tanjug,* 17 March 1992, available through the Federal Broadcast Information Service (hereafter FBIS) [cited 18 March 1992], EEU-92-053.

12. "Prime Minister Božović Comments on Goals," *Tanjug,* 24 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 27 March 1992], EEU-92-060.

13. "Republic of Yugoslavia Declaration," *Tanjug,* 28 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 29 April 1992], EEU-92-083.

14. "Yugoslavia Sends Letter to UN," *Tanjug,* 26 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 27 May 1992], EEU-92-102.

15. "Serbian Socialist Platform Outlined," *Politika,* 21 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 3 June 1992], EEU-92-107.

16. "SPS Says Inter-Ethnic Relations Protected," *Tanjug,* 21 April 21, available through FBIS [cited 22 April 1992], EEU-92-078.

17. "Republic of Yugoslavia Declaration," *Tanjug,* 28 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 29 April 1992], EEU-92-08.

18. "Presidency Annuls Immediate War Danger Decision," *RTB Television Network,* 20 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 21 May 1992], EEU-92-099.

19. "Milošević Confirms Continuity of New FRY," *Politika,* 7 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 15 May 1992], EEU-92-095.

20. "International Border Crossings Set Up," *Tanjug,* 30 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 1 May 1992], EEU-92-085.

21. "Full Customs Control Established," *Tanjug,* 5 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 7 May 1992], EEU-92-089.

22. "New FRY Border Posts, Regulations Detailed," *Borba,* 5 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 6 May 1992], EEU-92-095.

23. "Determination of New Borders of FRY Viewed," *Politika,* 23 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 3 June 1992], EEU-92-107.

24. "Gen. Aksentijević on Army's Role in Bosnia," *Mladina,* 18 February 1992, available through FBIS [cited 23 March 1992], EEU-02-056.

25. "FRY Citizens to Leave Bosnia," *Tanjug,* 4 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 5 May 1992], EEU-92-087.

26. "Presidency Asks Bosnian Leaders to Absorb JNA," *Tanjug,* 5 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 6 May 1992], EEU-92-088. See also "JNA Said to Begin Withdrawal to FRY," *Tanjug,* 7 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 8 May 1992], EEU-92-090, where it was announced that the pull-out "means that the Yugoslav head of state and the JNA need no longer concern themselves with military questions in Bosnia-Herzegovina." For a statement to the same effect by the Serbian minister of defense, Marko Negovanović, see "Defense Minister: JNA Withdrawal to End 20 May," *RTB Television Network,* 19 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 20 May 1992], EEU-92-098. See also "Kostić Discusses Breakup of SFRY," *Pobjeda,* 17 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 4 June 1992], EEU-92-108; and, "Uzice Troops Pull Out of Višegrad Region," *Borba,* 20 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 4 June 1992], EEU-92-108.

27. "[Slobodan Milošević] Blames Muslim, Croat Leaders for Bosnia," *Tanjug,* 10 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 11 May 1992], EEU-92-091.

28. "Kostić Comments on Withdrawal," *Tanjug,* 5 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 6 May 1992], EEU-92-088.

29. Three years later, Borislav Jović, a former senior Serbian politician, said Slobodan Milošević had forced the federal army to withdraw to avoid being labeled internationally as aggressors.

30. "Further Military Action Considered Unlikely," *Politika,* 19 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 28 April 1992], EEU-92-082.

31. "Differences in Negotiating with U.S. Discussed," *NIN,* 24 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 14 May 1992], EEU-92-094.

32. "Kostić Comments on Foreign Military Intervention," *Radio Beograd Network,* 26 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 27 May 1992], EEU-92-

102; and "Kostić Discusses Possible Military Action," *Radio Beograd Network,* 1 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 2 June 1992], EEU-92-106.

33. "Air Defense Chief on U.S. Military Intervention," *Tanjug,* 1 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 2 June 1992], EEU-92-106.

34. James Gow, "The Use of Coercion in the Yugoslav Crisis," *The World Today,* 48: 11 (1992): 198.

35. "Vance, Milošević Hold Talks on Bosnian Conflict, Appeal for Cease-Fire," *Tanjug,* 15 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 16 April 1992], EEU-92-074.

36. "Milošević Discusses Sanctions, Resignation Option," *London ITV Television Network,* 3 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 4 June 1992], EEU-92-108.

37. "Jovanović Foresees 'No Problems,' " *Radio Beograd Network,* 16 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 17 April 1992], EEU-92-075.

38. "Božović Denies Territorial Claim," *Tanjug,* 22 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 22 April 1992], EEU-92-078.

39. "Government Issues Statement on CSCE Document," *Radio Beograd Network,* 24 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 24 April 1992], EEU-92-080.

40. "Milošević Comments on Peace Talks, U.S. Policy," *RTB Television Network,* 23April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 24 April 1992], EEU-92-080.

41. "Šešelj Denies Existence of Paramilitary Forces," *Tanjug,* 23 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 24 April 1992], EEU-92-08. Three weeks later Šešelj equivocated, saying his Serbian Radical Party was "continuing to extend all forms of support and aid to the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina . . . the Serbs can therefore set up their own army . . . and . . . fight for their own interests." "Radical Party Official Welcomes EC Withdrawal," *Radio Beograd Network,* 14 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 15 May 1992], EEU-92-095. Ražnatović's promise appeared in "Arkan: Only Bosnian SDG Members in Sarajevo," *Borba,* 30–31 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 10 June 1992], EEU-92-112.

42. For example, see "Jovanović Presents Government's Reply to EC," *Radio Beograd Network,* 24 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 27 April 1992], EEU-92-081. For an example of a similar statement in the month of June, see "Letter Sent to UN's Ghali on Sanctions," *Tanjug,* 5 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 8 June 1992], EEU-92-110.

43. "Presidency Examines UN Documents on Situation," *Tanjug,* 25 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 27 May 1992], EEU-92-102.

44. "Government Condemns Continued Bombing of Sarajevo," *Tanjug,* 30 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 1 June 1992], EEU-92-105.

45. "Presidency Terms UN Draft Resolution 'Unjust,' " *Tanjug,* 30 May 1992, available through FBIS [cited 1 June 1992], EU-92-105.

46. "Presidency Urges Cease-Fire on Bosnian Serbs," *RTB Television Network,* 2 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 3 June 1992], EEU-92-107.

47. "Presidency Issues Appeal to Yeltsin," *Tanjug,* 4 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 5 June 1992], EEU-92-109.

48. "Karadžić Comments on Division of Republic," *Borba,* 16 March 1992,

available through FBIS [cited 30 March 1992], EEU-92-061; "Leaders Examine EC Involvement in Republic," *NIN,* 13 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 30 March 1992], EEU-92-061. This argument seems patently false, as the next chapter suggests.

49. "Serbian Republic's Constitution Declared," *Politika,* 28 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 9 April 1992], EEU-92-069; and "SDA [*sic*] Chairman Karadžić Hails New Serb State," *Tanjug,* 7 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 9 April 1992], EEU-92-069.

50. "Karadžić Calls for Partition," *Le Figaro,* 23 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 24 April 1992], EEU-92-080.

51. "Karadžić, Krajišnik Hold News Conference," *Radio Sarajevo Network,* 18 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 20 April 1992], EEU-92-076. Karadžić also said that "as far as Serbia itself is concerned, we want to stand aloof from that matter, because accusing Serbia has become the fashion in the world at large and in Europe. In this phase, at this moment, we do not need Serbia except when it comes to moral support. At this moment, we are sufficiently strong economically." "Karadžić Comments on Division of Republic," *Borba,* 16 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 30 March 1992], EEU-92-061.

52. "[Karadžić] Says Serbs Prepared for 'Compromise,' " *Tanjug,* 12 June 1992, available through FBIS [cited 15 June 1992], EEU-92-115.

## CHAPTER 3

1. For Serbian paramilitary activities, see Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995); James Gow, "Military-Political Affiliations in the Yugoslav Conflict," *RFE/Radio Liberty Research Report,* 15 May 1992; Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia in the 1990s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 93–106; United Nations, *Final Report of the U.N. Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992),* S/1994/674 (New York: United Nations, 1994), Annex III; and Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, "War Crimes and Individual Responsibility: A *Prima Facie* Case for the Indictment of Slobodan Milošević," in *The War Crimes Trials for the Former Yugoslavia: Prospects and Problems* (Briefing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe CSCE, 28 May) (Washington, DC: CSCE, 1996).

2. Branko Milinković, "Yugoslavia: Who Is in Charge of This War," *Inter Press Service,* 18 November 1991.

3. Andrej Gustincic, "Yugoslav Conflict Creates Bizarre Assortment of Folk Heroes," *Reuters North American Wire,* 20 August 1991.

4. Marcus Tanner, "Assassination Divides Serbs," *Independent* (London), 7 August 1991.

5. Tim Judah, "Kaleidoscope of Militias Fights over Bosnia," *Times* (London), 30 May 1992.

6. Philip Sherwell, "Serbia's Warlords Walk Tall in Benighted Bosnia," *Sunday Telegraph* (London), 26 April 1992.

7. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex IIIA, para. 24.

8. Former U.S. State Department official with access to classified intelligence,

interview by author, Washington, D.C., March 1998. See also Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, *The War Crimes Trials,* 7; and Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia,* 54–55.

9. Colonel Dragutin, interview by author, Banja Luka, May 1997.

10. A brochure published by Arkan's Serbian Voluntary Guards, for example, includes numerous references to Serbian history, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and royalist symbols.

11. Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia,* 94. Arkan was later killed by unknown gunmen in Belgrade. For details of Arkan's career, see the international tribunal's indictment. ("The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Željko Ražnatović," case # IT-97–27, 30 September 1997. Available online at www.un.org/icty/ind-e.htm.)

12. Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia,* 99.

13. Miroslav Mikuljanac and Gradiša Kapić, "Exiting with Trumpets and Cameras," *Borba,* 21 November 1993. In Serbo-Croatian.

14. For the higher estimate, see Cvijetin Milivojević and Miroslav Mikuljanac, *Šešelj's Jail Circle* (Belgrade: Mimeo, 1994). In Serbo-Croatian.

15. James Gow, "Military-Political Affiliations," 22.

16. Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia,* 98–99.

17. Louise Branson, "Scapegoat Goes into the Dock," *Times* (London), 20 November 1994. The Wasp commanders were indicted by Serbian republican authorities for war crimes in 1994 (Šabac District Court indictment dated 28 April 1994, doc. #398/93). Additional information was supplied by Dragoljub Đorđević, lawyer for the defense, in an interview by the author in Belgrade on 31 May 1997. See also Human Rights Watch, *War Crimes Trials in the Former Yugoslavia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1995), 41–45.

18. Đorđević, interview by author.

19. Details of Petrović's case come from videotaped testimony given by Petrović to Danilo Burzan, member of the Montenegrin parliament. The tape was made in 1996 but never publicized. I viewed it in Podgorica in June 1997.

20. Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia,* 99.

21. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Human Rights, *Report on Ethnic Cleansing Operations in the Northeast-Bosnia City of Zvornik from April through June 1992* (Vienna: Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 1994).

22. Obrad, interview by author, Belgrade, 26 May 1997.

23. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, *Report on Ethnic Cleansing,* 23.

24. Obrad, interview.

25. Estimates of Bosnia's overall war dead vary widely, ranging from tens to hundreds of thousands. For a lower estimate, see SIPRI *International Yearbook 1996* (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1996), 24, estimating total (all ethnic groups, civilians, and combatants) deaths between 1992 and 1995 at 25,000–55,000. A similarly low estimate can be found in George Kenney, "The Bosnia Calculation," *New York Times Magazine,* 23 April 1995. In 1997, however, Kenny wrote of 100,000 war casualties; see George Kenney, "Take off the Blinders on Bosnia," *Los Angeles Times,* 5 June 1997. Kenney is a controversial figure, however, as discussed in Mary Battiata, "War of the Worlds," *Washington Post,* 30 June

1996. A senior UNHCR official in Geneva with extensive Bosnia responsibilities told the author in February 1996 she thought 70,000 was the correct estimate for all wartime (1992–95) casualties. In his book on the Bosnian conflict, British reporter Tim Judah says a reasonable casualty estimate is 75,000–80,000 dead overall from 1991 to 1995, including 60,000 Bosnian Muslims and 15,000–20,000 Bosnian Serb casualties (Tim Judah, *The Serbs*, 361, note 29).

For higher end estimates, see the figure of "more than 160,000" deaths and 2.5 million displaced in the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights *Annual Report 1997: Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Vienna: International Helsinki Federation, 1997), 1; or the U.S. State Department's estimate of 250,000 slain and 3 million displaced in *Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 1997), 1. Some argue these numbers are based chiefly on Bosnian government estimates from December 1992 (Patrick Bishop, "Combatants Play Numbers Game with Bosnia's Body Count," *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 May 1995). Ilijas Bošnjović, "Half of Bosnia without an Address," *Oslobođenje*, 24–31 August 1995 (English translation available online at http://www.cdsp.neu.edu/info/students/marko/oslob/oslob6.html), argues for 279,000 deaths, 50 percent of which were Muslim, 32.5 percent Serb, and 11 percent Croat; of 2.5 million displaced, Bošnjović says, 1.24 million were Muslim, 730,000 were Serb, and 377,000 were Croat.

26. Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy*, pp. 265–266.

27. The former Yugoslavia had a territorial defense system parallel to the Yugoslav federal army. Each municipality had a territorial defense commander charged with mobilizing local reservists in times of crisis. The command-and-control structure linking the local territorial defense forces, republican governments, and the Yugoslav federal army shifted frequently during 1945–90. For details, see James Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992).

28. Human Rights Watch, *Deadly Legacies: The Continuing Influence of Bosnia's Warlords* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996).

29. The Serbian Democratic Party was formed in Sarajevo in 1990 as a branch of the Croatian Serbian Democratic Party, largely in response to the establishment of the Bosnian Muslim-led Party of Democratic Action and the Bosnian Croatian Democratic Union. Its initial leadership drew on Bosnian Serb intellectuals from Sarajevo.

30. The Serbian autonomous region of Herzegovina was created on September 12, 1991; Bosanska Krajina on September 16; Romanija on September 17; and North-Eastern Bosnia on September 19. For details, see James Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 34.

31. "Serbian Villages in Olovo Municipality to Join Autonomous Region," *Tanjug*, 24 September 1991, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 26 September 1991], EE/1187/B/1.

32. Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy*, 226, fig. 8.1.

33. "Romanija Serbs Determined to Stay with Serbia," *Tanjug*, 17 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 18 March 1992], EU-92–053.

34. "Serbian Autonomous Regions Oppose Decision on Bosnia-Herzegovina's

Sovereignty," *Tanjug,* 15 October 1991, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 17 October 1991], EE/1205/B/1.

35. James Gow, *Triumph,* 34.

36. James Gow, "The Use of Coercion."

37. Nenad Kecmanović, interview by author, Belgrade, 13 March 1997. Kecmanović, a well-known Sarajevo figure, was asked to lead the Serbian Democratic Party. He refused and fled to Belgrade during the first months of the fighting.—

38. "Serb Plan to Occupy Bosnia 'Leaked Out,' " *Vjesnik,* 3 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 21 April 1992], EEU-92–077.

39. "Ministry Sets Up Internal Security Centers," *Tanjug,* 31 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited 1 April 1992], EEU-92–063.

40. "Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs in Bosnia Seen as 'Putsch,' " *Oslobođenje,* 2 April 1992, available through FBIS [cited 20 April 1992], EEU-92–076.

41. Stanica, interview by the author, Banja Luka, May 1997. Reference to the "Serbian Defense Forces" was also made in United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, para. 194, which reported that the unit trained in the Kozara military barracks in Banja Luka and participated in the takeover of Banja Luka as well as Prijedor.

42. Vučjak mountain was the unit's headquarters. Unit members reportedly wore a White Wolf patch on their left shoulder.

43. "Wolves from Vučjak, Colonel Veljko Milanković," *Duga,* 24 October 1992. In Serbo-Croatian.

44. Major Stanko, interview by author, Banja Luka, May 1997.

45. Nikola, interview by author's assistant, Banja Luka, May 1997.

46. Stanica, interview by author.

47. Human Rights Watch, *Deadly Legacies.* This document drew heavily on Western military intelligence.

48. Most of the material for this section comes from United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V. See also Human Rights Watch, *The Unindicted* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997), and the international tribunal indictments of Bosnian Serb authorities in Prijedor, "The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Simo Drljača and Milan Kovačević," case # IT-97–24, 13 March 1997. Available online at www.un.org/icty/ind-e.htm.

49. According to the United Nations report, the Party of Democratic Action won thirty seats, the Serbian Democratic Party won twenty-eight, and the Croatian Democratic Union won two. Independent left-wing parties won the remaining thirty municipal assembly seats. According to the 1990 census, Prijedor's population numbered 47,745 Serbs, 49,454 Muslims, and 6,300 Croats. By 1993, Prijedor's numbers had changed dramatically, with only 6,124 Muslims and 3,131 Croats in the town, versus 53,637 Serbs. Thus some 43,000 Muslims had fled, been deported, or were killed.

50. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, paras. 113–114.

51. Cited in United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, para. 136. Original interview published by Siniša Vujaković in *Kozarski Vjesnik,* 9 April 1993.

52. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, para. 168.

53. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, paras. 178–179.
54. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, paras. 170–171.
55. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, para. 176.
56. For details of the Kozarac events, see *Opinion and Judgement: The Prosecutor v. Duško Tadić* (The Hague, Netherlands: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 1997), available online at http://www.un.org./icty/970507jt.html.
57. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex V, para. 177.
58. Former State Department official, interview by author, Washington, D.C., March 1998. See also Thom Shanker and Charles Lane, "Bosnia: What the CIA Didn't Tell Us," *New York Review of Books,* 9 May 1996, 10.
59. For examples, see Wayne Bert, *The Reluctant Superpower: United States Policy in Bosnia, 1991–1995* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); James Gow, *Triumph;* Roy Gutman, *A Witness to Genocide* (New York: Macmillan, 1993); Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Michael Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Milan Vego, "Federal Army Deployments in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Jane's Intelligence Review,* 4: 10 (1992): 445–46; and Warren Zimmerman, *Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers* (New York: Random House and Times Books, 1996).
60. Milan Vego, "Federal Army Deployments," 445–446.
61. Roy Gutman, *A Witness to Genocide.*
62. Roy Gutman, interview by author, Washington, D.C., February 1997.
63. Sonja Biserko, interview by author, Belgrade, April 1997.
64. United Nations, *Final Report,* Annex III, para. 20.
65. Nataša Kandić, interview by author, Belgrade, February 1997.
66. Boro, interview by author, Belgrade, March 1997.
67. "The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Slobodan Milošević—Bosnia Herzegovina," case #IT-01–51, 22 November 2001. Available online at www.un.org/icty/ind-e.htm.
68. See Tim Judah, *The Serbs,* 170, for specific mention of the Military Line. More generally, see 168–203.
69. Julian Borger, "Milošević Case Hardens," *Guardian,* 3 February 1997.
70. Julian Border, "Milošević Case Hardens," and Tim Judah, *The Serbs,* 170. See also Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia,* 93.
71. Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1992), 150.
72. "Četnik Duke," *Telegraf,* 28 September 1994. In Serbo-Croat. Vakić gave the *Telegraf* interview soon after a Serbian police crackdown on Serbian Radical Party activists. For details of the radicals' split with Milošević, see Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia.*
73. Cvijetin Milivojević, "I Am Ready, Awaiting Arrest," *Spona,* 18 December (1993), in Serbo-Croatian, translated in Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, *The War Crimes Trials,* 7.
74. Cited in Mark Brennock, "Right Wing Rally Features Ominous Battle Cries," *Irish Times,* 9 September 1996.
75. "Serbian Radical Party Leader Says Belgrade Gave Orders to all Serbian

Fighters," *Hungarian TV1*, 28 January 1996, available through the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 30 January 1996] EE/D2522/A.

76. Michael Mann, *The Dark-Side of Democracy*, Chapter 14.

77. U.S. State Department official, interview.

78. Boro, interview.

79. Aleksandar, interview by author, Belgrade, February 1997.

80. Miroslav, interviews by author, Belgrade, March and April 1997.

81. Daniel Snidden, interview by author, Belgrade, March 1997.

82. Colonel Stevo, interviews by author, Belgrade, February and March 1997.

83. Dragutin, interviews by author, Belgrade, February, March, and April 1997.

84. Tomo, interviews by author, Belgrade, March and April 1997.

85. Julian Borger, "Milošević Case Hardens." The police chief, Marko Nicović, spoke at greater length about paramilitary recruitment in Dragan Bujošević, "The Sporting Life of the 'Grey Fox,' " *NIN*, 12 April 1996, in Serbo-Croatian, as cited in Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, *The War Crimes Trials*, 17.

86. Miroslav Mikuljanac, interview by author, Belgrade, April 1997.

87. Obrad, interview.

88. Borivoje, interview by author, Belgrade, March 1997.

89. Julian Borger, "Milošević Case Hardens."

90. Vladan Vasilijević, interview by author, Belgrade, 15 February 1997. Vasilijević, who has since passed away, served briefly on a state-created war crimes commission in 1992 and was widely regarded as an informed observer of Serbian involvement in Bosnia and Croatia. His allegation regarding paramilitary fighters, however, is difficult to verify.

91. Gojko Đogo, interview by author, Belgrade, May 1997.

92. Separation between Serbia and Bosnia was politically difficult, but certainly not impossible. In fall 1994, for example, Milošević's regime did cut many ties to the Bosnian Serbs, chiefly due to international pressure.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Fabian Schmidt, "The Sandžak: Muslims between Serbia and Montenegro," *RFE/RL Research Report*, 11 February 1994, 29–35.

2. Quoted in James Rupert, "Borderland Braces for Ethnic War; Serb Militias Active in Muslim Region," *Washington Post*, 29 May 1993.

3. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia officially recognized a Muslim nationality in the 1970s. For more on Muslim Slavs in Bosnia, see Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

4. Lenard Cohen, *Broken Bonds*, 144.

5. Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy*, 301.

6. Lenard Cohen, *Broken Bonds*, 279.

7. Milan Andrejevich, "The Sandžak: The Next Balkan Theater of War?" *RFE/RL Research Report*, 27 November 1992.

8. "Sandžak Muslims Confer with Carrington," *Borba,* 23 March 1992, available through FBIS [cited on 30 March 1992], EEU-92–061.

9. Cited in Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals,* 395.

10. Audrey Helfant Budding, *Serb Intellectuals,* 396.

11. "Sandžak Official Calls for Deployment of UN Forces Following Incidents," *Radio Belgrade,* 20 February 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 22 February 1993], EE/1619/C1.

12. Nedim, interview by author, Sandžak, May 1997.

13. Nijaz, interview by author, Prijepolje, May 1997.

14. Dino, interview by author, Pljevlja, May 1997.

15. Stevo, interview by author, Podgorica, June 1997.

16. Zoran, interview by author, Pljevlja, May 1997.

17. Louise Branson, "On the Line with Serbia's Bold Weekend Warriors," *Sunday Times* (London), 16 August 1992.

18. Milan, interview by author, Pljevlja, May 1997.

19. Roger Cohen, "Montenegrin Town, All but at War, Shows Danger That Fight Will Spread," *New York Times,* 13 September 1992.

20. Nusret, interview by author, Pljevlja, May 1997.

21. Senad, interview by author, Pljevlja, May 1997.

22. Interviews by author, Novi Pazar, February 1997.

23. Sead, interview by author, Novi Pazar, February 1997.

24. Dženan, interview by author, Novi Pazar, February 1997.

25. Sejo, interview by author, Priboj, February 1997.

26. Safet, interview by author, Priboj, February 1997.

27. Mehmet, interview by author, Priboj, February 1997.

28. Blaine Harden, "Prelude to Ethnic Cleansing Is Heard in Serbia," *Washington Post,* 11 November 1992.

29. Yigal Chazan, "Serbian Brutality Revives Old Fears," *Guardian,* 9 November 1992.

30. Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight Report No.* 22 (Belgrade: Humanitarian Law Center, 1994).

31. "Police Still Searching for Attackers of Sandžak Village," *Yugoslav Telegraph Service,* 24 February 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 1 March 1993], EE/1625/C1.

32. "Yugoslav Army to Reinforce Border Patrols after Priboj Kidnapping," *Tanjug,* 26 October 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 28 October 1992], EE/1523/C1/1.

33. "Fate of Abducted Muslims Uncertain; Human Rights Minister Memić Protests," *Tanjug,* 23 October 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 24 October 1992], EE/1520/C1/7. See also Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight Report No. 22;* "Kidnapped!" *Vreme*, 3 January 1994, in Serbo-Croat; "Silence Wrapped around Fear," *Borba*, 9 November 1992, in Serbo-Croat.

34. "Serbs and Muslims Removed from Train on Belgrade-Bar Line," *Serbian Radio,* 28 February 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 2 March 1993], EE/1626/C1.

35. See Lukić's international war crimes tribunal indictment for details of his

activities ("The Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Milan Lukić, Sredoje Lukić, and Mitar Lukić," case #IT-98–32-I, 26 October, 1998. Available online at www.un.org/icty/ind-e.htm).

36. "Captain Pendurević Has Nothing to Do with the Kidnapping Case. Passengers Were Kidnapped and Killed by Milan Lukić," *Dnevni Telegraf,* 26 August 1996; "Everyone Knew That Lukić Was a Thug, but No One Dared to Stand Up to Him and Say: 'Enough!' " *Dnevni Telegraf,* 27 August 1996; "Lukić and Pendurević Were on Blood and Knife. Vinko Used to Say: If I Kill Him, They Will Kill Me, Saying I Killed a Serb," *Dnevni Telegraf,* 28 August 1996; "I Have No Connection with the Štrpci Kidnapping Case. I Met Lukić Only Once in My Life, and I Did Not Accept Him into My Unit," *Dnevni Telegraf,* 9 September 1996. All articles in Serbo-Croatian.

37. Zoran Šaponjić: "Paramilitaries Are All Around," *Borba,* 25 October 1992, as well as his "Night of the Triggers," *Borba,* 28 October 1992; "No Witnesses against Lukić," *Borba,* 29 October 1992. All articles in Serbo-Croatian.

38. Zoran Šaponjić, "Night of the Triggers."

39. Predrag, interview by author, Priboj, February 1997.

40. Zoran Šaponjić, "Paramilitaries All Around."

41. Zoran Prijević, "Kidnapped Muslims Alive?" *Borba,* 19 November 1992. In Serbo-Croatian.

42. "Yugoslav, Serbian and Local Authorities Call on Muslims to Return to Sjeverin," *Tanjug,* 31 October 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 3 November 1992], EE/1525/C1/6.

43. Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight Report No.* 22.

44. "Prijepolje Muslims Protest about Train Kidnapping inside Bosnia," *Serbian Radio,* 2 March 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 6 March 1993], EE/1630/C1.

45. Husein, interview by author, Prijepolje, February 1997.

46. Jasmina, interview by author, Belgrade, May 1997. Jasmina had worked as an investigator in the Sandžak for Belgrade-based human rights groups.

47. Stan Markotich, "Vojvodina: A Potential Power Keg," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 19 November 1993. In 1992, after Croatia won its independence, many ethnic Croats left Vojvodina. Project on Ethnic Relations, *Fact-Finding Mission on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Serbia/Yugoslavia and the Situation of Serbs in Croatia* (Unpublished paper, Belgrade, Forum on Ethnic Relations, n.d.), sets the percentage of Croats in Vojvodina at 3.5.

48. Zoran Lutovac, "Political Culture of Serbia"; Stan Markotich, "Vojvodina"; Patrick Moore, "The Minorities' Plight Amid Civil War," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 13 December 1991; and Hugh Poulton, "Rising Ethnic Tension in Vojvodina," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 18 December 1992.

49. Milan Andrejevich, "Vojvodina Hungarian Group to Seek Cultural Autonomy," *Report on Eastern Europe,* 12 October 1990; Edith Oltay, "Hungarians in Yugoslavia Seek Guarantees for Minority Rights," *Report on Eastern Europe,* 20 September 1991; and "Hungarians under Political Pressure in Vojvodina," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 3 December 1993.

50. See, for example, "Proposal for New Vojvodina Status," *Borba,* 25 February 1992, available through FBIS [cited 16 March 1992], EEU-92-051.

51. Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight Report No.* 22, 3–7, 61–86.

52. Father Dejan, interview by author, Novi Sad, June 1997; and Stanimir, leader in the League of Vojvodina Social Democrats, interview by author, Novi Sad, June 1997.

53. Father Dejan, interview.

54. Cited in Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight on Human Rights Violations in Times of Armed Conflict* (Belgrade: Humanitarian Law Center, 1995), 6, note 4.

55. "Socialist Party of Serbia Condemns Demand for Expulsion of Croats," *Tanjug*, 3 April 1992, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 6 April 1992], EE/1348/C1/1.

56. Some Vojvodina Croats served in the Yugoslav federal army during the fighting in Croatia, but were suspected by Serbian nationalists of disloyalty. Among other reasons, Vojvodina Hungarians seemed suspect to some Serbs because of the Hungarian government's weapons sales to Croatia.

57. Stanimir, interview.

58. Father Dejan, interview.

59. Father Sreten, interview by author, Hrtkovci, June 1997.

60. Father Dejan, interview.

61. Stanimir, interview.

62. For example, Carol Williams, "In Serbia, Standing Up to the Ethnic Cleansers," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 August 1992; Ray Moseley, "Ethnic Bullies Terrorize Town's Non-Serb Residents," *Chicago Tribune*, 31 July 1992; Jonathan Landay, "Non Serbs Are Forced from Vojvodina Region," *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 July 1992; Vesna Perić Zimonjić, "In the Village of Hrtkovci," *Inter Press Service*, 28 July 1992; Ken Kasriel, "Tales of Forced Exodus of Non-Serbs from Vojvodina," *Inter Press Service*, 29 July 1992; "Terror Campaign to Force Out Non-Serbs," *Agence France Presse*, 22 May 1992; and Thom Shanker, " 'Cleansing' Abuses Pit Serbs against Serbs," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 September 1992.

63. For details, see Humanitarian Law Center, *Spotlight on Human Rights Violations in Times of Armed Conflict*, 62–65.

64. Nataša Kandić, interview.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Barry R. Posen, "The War for Kosovo: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy," *International Security*, 24: 4 (2000): 63.

2. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), *Kosovo/Kosova: As Seen, as Told: The Human Rights Findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission* (OSCE: Vienna, 2000), available online at http://www.osce.org/kosovo/reports/hr, 98; and Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2000), 108–111.

3. Two major studies argue that Serbian forces killed 10,000 ethnic Albanians (civilians and fighters) during spring 1999. The first, authored by the American Bar Association's Central and East European Law Initiative and the Amer-

ican Association for the Advancement of Science, is entitled *Political Killings in Kosovo/Kosova* (Washington, DC: American Bar Association and American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2000) and is available online at http://hrdata.aaas.org/kosovo/pk/toc.html. The second, Paul B. Spiegel and Peter Salama, "War and Mortality in Kosovo, 1998–1999: An Epidemiological Testimony," *Lancet,* 355: 9222 (24 June 2000): 2204–2209, says 12,000 ethnic Albanians died from February 1998 to June 1999. Since most observers agree that 2,000 died between January 1998 and March 1999, this would again suggest a figure of 10,000 for spring 1999. For a discussion of the Kosovo casualty debate, see Julian Borger, "The Last Indignity for These Sufferers Is to Be Disbelieved," *Guardian,* 25 August 2000; and Serge Halimi and Dominique Vedal, "Media and Disinformation," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (English edition), March 2000. In 2001, hundreds of bodies of ethnic Albanians were discovered in Serbia. See "Serbian ex-Minister Denies Role in Hiding War Crimes Evidence," *Agence France Presse,* 9 July 2001.

4. For an estimate of 500 civilian deaths by NATO bombing, see Human Rights Watch, *Civilian Deaths in the NATO Air Campaign* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000). That report also quotes Yugoslav government officials as estimating between 1,200 and 5,000 civilian deaths, but a U.S. newspaper cites a Yugoslav official estimating 2,000 civilian deaths in Serbia as well as 600 Serbian soldiers. See Richard Boudreaux, "The Path to Peace: For Many Serbs, No Sense of Guilt over Atrocities," *Los Angeles Times,* 2 July 1999. Serbs from Kosovo say that as many as 1,300 ethnic Serbs were abducted and probably killed by ethnic Albanians after the war. For details, see Rory Carroll, "Missing Serbs Sharpen Kosovo's Pain," *Guardian Weekly,* 30 August–5 September 2001.

5. For Kosovo's 1981 protests, see Mark Baskin, "Crisis in Kosovo," *Problems of Communism,* 32: 2 (1982): 61–74; and Michele Lee, "Kosovo between Yugoslavia and Albania," *New Left Review,* 140 (July–August 1983): 62–91.

6. During June and July 1998, some 20,000 ethnic Albanians were expelled or fled into Albania and Macedonia (personal communication with former Human Rights Watch researcher Fred Abrahams, February 2001). According to p. 98 of the OSCE's *Kosovo/Kosova,* 350,000 persons were cumulatively displaced by Serbian forces within Kosovo by the end of 1998.

7. John Kifner, "U.N. Survey Finds Wide Destruction in Kosovo Villages," *New York Times,* 10 July 1999. The survey noted that in contrast to spring 1999, Serbian forces in 1998 did not destroy Kosovo's urban areas.

8. Amnesty International, *Kosovo: The Evidence* (London: Amnesty International, 1998), 30. See also International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, *From Autonomy to Colonization: Human Rights in Kosovo 1989–1993* (Vienna: International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 1993), 7–8.

9. Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); International Helsinki Federation, *From Autonomy;* Denisa Kostovicova, *Parallel Worlds: Response of Kosovo Albanians to Loss of Autonomy in Serbia, 1986–1996* (Keele, U.K.: Keele University Institute for European Studies, 1997); and Michael Salla, "Kosovo, Non-violence, and the Break-up of Yugoslavia," *Security Dialogue,* 26: 4 (1995), 427–438.

10. The Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) was founded in December

1989. It claimed 600,000 sympathizers during the early 1990s and won more than 76 percent of the vote in its unofficial May 1992 elections to the parallel Kosovo parliament. Rugova was elected head of the LDK in 1989. For details, see International Crisis Group, *Kosovo Spring*, available online at wysiwyg:// report.332/http://www.cri . . . ects/sbalkans/reports/koso2repa.htm, 28.

11. Cited in Gazmend Pula, "Modalities of Self-Determination: The Case of Kosova as a Structural Issue for Lasting Stability in the Balkans," *Sudosteuropa*, 45: 4–5 (1996): 40.

12. For a sympathetic but critical review of ethnic Albanian positions on Serbian domestic politics, see Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance*.

13. Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance*, 75.

14. Eric D. Gordy, *Culture of Power*, 57.

15. The Yugoslav federal army only gained partial control over Slovenia and Bosnia's territorial defense stores before the conflicts began in those areas. Although it confiscated most of Croatia's stockpiles, Croat representatives managed to purchase arms abroad, boosting their ability to fight local ethnic Serb militias and Yugoslav federal forces. For more on access to weapons and the Yugoslav wars of secession, see Peter Andreas, "The Clandestine Political Economy of War: Lessons from the Balkans," paper presented to the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2001.

16. International Crisis Group, *Kosovo Spring*, 23.

17. As we saw in earlier chapters, the ban on recognizing regions as sovereign states also affected ethnic Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, ethnic Croats in Bosnia and Serbia, and Muslim Slavs in Serbia.

18. "U.S. 'Deeply Concerned' over Situation in Kosovo," *Agence France Presse*, 13 April 1992. (Emphasis added.)

19. Tim Judah, *Kosovo*, 73. See also Michael Evans, "West Issues 'Hands Off' Ultimatum on Kosovo," *Times* (London), 17 December 1992.

20. Although Albania did have diplomatic relations of a sort with the LDK-led parallel government for Kosovo, it claimed not to have recognized Kosovo's declaration of independence. See Ismije Beshiri, "Kosovar Independence Lacks International Backing," *Transition*, 22 (March 1996): 52–54.

21. "Ex-Yugoslavia: U.N. Security Council Upholds Monitors in Kosovo," *Inter Press Service*, 9 August 1993.

22. International Crisis Group, *Kosova Spring*, 17.

23. Tim Judah, *Kosovo*, 92.

24. Robert Marquand, "Kosovo Province: Balkans' Next Flash Point?" *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 December 1992; and Robert Kaplan, "The Next Balkan War," *Guardian*, 22 December 1992.

25. "Ibrahim Rugova Says Serbs' Goal in Kosovo Is an Ethnically-Cleansed Territory," *Deutschlandfunk*, 13 May 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 17 May 1993], EE/1690/C1. See also "Albanians in Kosovo Suffer Persecution, UN Human Rights Group Told," *Albanian Telegraph Agency*, 20 October 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 22 October, 1993], EE/1826/C1. Visiting representatives of the UN Center for Human Rights were told that "the Serbian regime in Kosovo is silently carrying out ethnic cleansing." For similar views by Albanian officials, see Henry

Kamm, "Albania Fears 'Ethnic Cleansing' May Spread to Kosovo Next," *New York Times,* 13 June 1992.

26. Bujar Bukoshi, "Kosovo's Plea for Help," *Christian Science Monitor,* 30 June 1993.

27. "Albanian Agency Chronicles 'Open Terror' by Serbia in Kosovo," *Albanian Telegraph Agency,* 15 June 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 19 June 1993], EE/1719/C1; and "Carnegie Endowment Breakfast Briefing with Ibrahim Rugova," *Federal News Service,* 16 February 1993.

28. Serbian authorities dismissed many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo's public sector, creating economic hardship and unemployment.

29. Fabian Schmidt, "Kosovo: The Time Bomb That Has Not Gone Off," *RFE/RL Research Report,* 2: 39 (1993).

30. International Committee of the Red Cross official, interview by author, Priština, March 1997.

31. For details of Serbian human rights violations during this period, see Amnesty International's reports, *Ethnic Albanians—Victims of Torture and Ill-Treatment by Police in Kosovo Province* (London: Amnesty International 1992); *Ethnic Albanians—Trial by Truncheon* (London: Amnesty International, 1994); and *Police Violence in Kosovo—The Victims* (London: Amnesty International, 1994). See also Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights Abuses in Kosovo 1990–1992* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992), and *Open Wounds: Human Rights Abuses in Kosovo* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); and International Helsinki Federation, *From Autonomy to Colonization.*

32. "Kosovo: Cleansing Up," *Economist,* 6 November 1993, 68.

33. "Branch of Serbian Četnik Movement Set Up," *Tanjug,* 30 June 1990, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 7 July 1990], EE/0810/B/1; and Liam McDowall, "Serbs Accused of Pushing Albanians Out of Kosovo," *The Associated Press,* 15 February 1993. Another article in the Albanian press argued that Šešelj planned to deport 670,000 Albanians. See "Serbs Attack Milošević's Policy over Kosovo," *Rilindja,* 23 May 1995, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 25 May 1995], EE/2312/C1. For more on Šešelj's views, see his 1995 essay, translated by the Kosova Crisis Center and available online at http://www.alb-net.com/cleansing/htm.

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35. For the White Eagle parade, see Maggie O'Kane, "Kosovo Majority Walks Softly on a Battlefield-in-Waiting," *Guardian,* 26 August 1992. For the recruitment office, see Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian,* 259.

36. "Šešelj's Četniks Demonstrate in Village Near Gjilan in Kosovo," *Albanian Telegraph Agency,* 22 August 1993, available through BBC Summary of World Broadcasts [cited 27 August 1993], EE/1778/C.

37. "Arkan Bares His Teeth," *Transition,* 6 September 1996, 2.

38. "Citizen Arkan," *Economist*, 6 February 1993.

39. Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian*, 267.

40. Yigal Chazan, "Arkan's Assault on the Political Front," *Guardian*, 17 December 1992.

41. Anthony Robinson, "Kosovo PM Seeks Help for Serbia's 'Next Target': A Warning of War Spreading," *Financial Times*, 6 January 1993.

42. Details available in Elaine Sciolino and Ethan Bronner, "How a President, Distracted by Scandal, Entered Balkan War," *New York Times*, 18 April 1999.

43. Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance;* and Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian*, 281–284.

44. Gazmend Pula, "Modalities."

45. Janusz Bugajski, "The Kosovar Volcano," *Transitions* (October 1997), 67–68 .

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47. International Crisis Group, *Kosovo Spring*, 30.

48. Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance.*

49. Yigal Chazan, "Kosovo's Albanians on Trial in Serb-Dominated Courts," *Inter Press Service*, 21 December 1993.

50. Fabian Schmidt, "Show Trials in Priština," *Transition* (November 1995).

51. Tim Judah, *Kosovo*, 90.

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53. Gazmend Pula, "Modalities," 401. For a different view, see Christophe Chiclet, "Aux origines."

54. According to the Federation of American Scientists, some 6,000 political activists from twenty different organizations fled Kosovo after the 1981 demonstrations, including the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Kosova, the New Movement for the Liberation of Kosova, the Federation of Trade Unions of Kosova, the World Union of Kosova, the Bali Kombatare, and the New Communist Party of Kosova. See http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/kosovo_back.htm.

55. Tim Judah, *Kosovo*, 111.

56. The KLA is known in Kosovo as the UÇK, short for *Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës.*

57. Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer, *Albania: From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 142–165.

58. Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer, *Albania*, 163–164.

59. Guz Xhuda, "What Brought Anarchy to Albania," *Jane's Intelligence Review,* 1 June 1997.

60. Zoran Kusovac, "KLA: Braced to Defend."

61. Tim Judah, "War by Mobile Phone."

62. Chris Hedges, "Kosovo Rebels and Their New Friend," *New York Times,* 9 June 1998.

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64. Milan Milošević, Ljubomir Stajić, and Milan V. Petković, "Some Aspects of Contemporary Terrorism" (Belgrade: Serbian Police Academy and Yugoslav Army, 1998). English version available online at http://www.fas.org/irp/world/serbia/docs/aspekti_e.html.

65. Gregory Mayer, "Shadowy 'Liberation Army' in Kosovo," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur,* 7 March 1998.

66. Carsten Hoffman, "Albanian Liberation Army Takes on Serbs in Kosovo," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur,* 13 December 1997; and International Crisis Group, *Kosovo Spring,* 48.

67. "Kosovo Ethnic Albanian Leader Denies Knowledge of Terror Group," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur,* 5 December 1997.

68. Human Rights Watch, *Humanitarian Law Violations in Kosovo* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), 28.

69. Human Rights Watch, *Humanitarian Law Violations,* 18–26.

70. Guy Dinmore, "Serbian Forces Accused of Slaughter," *Financial Times,* 3 March 1998.

71. Zoran Kusovac, "KLA: Braced to Defend."

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73. International Crisis Group, *Kosovo's Long, Hot Summer.*

74. Chris Hedges, "Kosovo's Next Masters?" 29, 40.

75. Tammy Arbuckle, "Unhealthy Climate in Kosovo as Guerrillas Gear Up for a Summer Confrontation," *Jane's International Defense Review,* 32 (February 1999): 59–61.

76. Zoran Kusovac, "Different Realities."

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78. Roger Boys and Eske Wright, “Drugs Money.”

79. Roger Boys and Eske Wright, “Drugs Money.”

80. Tim Judah, *Kosovo,* 70. Albania’s opening to international commerce in 1992 transformed it into a key route for drugs heading from Turkey to Europe. Albania’s importance was bolstered by the war in Bosnia and sanctions on Serbia, which disrupted established courier routes.

81. “Albanian-Americans Help Fund the KLA,” *Agence France-Presse,* 20 February 1999.

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88. International Crisis Group, *Kosovo’s Long, Hot Summer,* 15.

89. Merita Dhimgjoka, “Refugee Exodus as Serbs Shell and Burn,” *Irish Times,* 4 June 1998; and Human Rights Watch, *Violations of Humanitarian Law,* 38.

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95. Amnesty International, *Kosovo: The Evidence,* 43; Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO’s War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2000), 112; and OSCE, *Kosovo/Kosova,* 38.

96. An overview of the U.S. perspective is available in Elaine Sciolino and Ray Bonner, “How a President, Distracted by Scandal, Entered Balkan War.”

97. Noam Chomsky, *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1999), 134–137.

98. UN Security Council resolution 1160, 31 March 1998.

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106. For Clinton's statement, see Noam Chomsky, *The New Military Humanism,* 82. For NATO officials, see Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly,* 112.

107. For reports of Serbian troop buildups in Kosovo after January 1999, see Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly,* 88–89, 94.

108. See Tony Paterson, "Germany Gives Details of Covert Plan," *Times* (London), 9 April 1999.

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111. "New Documents Point to Kosovo Crimes," *United Press International,* 28 June 1999.

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113. Cited in Noam Chomsky, *The New Military Humanitarianism,* 82.

114. U.S. National Security Advisor Samuel Berger supplied this estimate during a February 2000 interview, as cited in Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly,* 302, note 25.

115. Quoted in Tim Judah, *Kosovo,* 240.

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118. John Goetz, "Serbian Ethnic Cleansing Scare Was a Fake, Says General," *Sunday Times* (London), 2 April 2000.

119. Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly,* 107.

120. "War with Milošević: A Week Is a Long Time in a War," *Economist,* 3 April 1999, 17–18.

121. Barry R. Posen, "The War for Kosovo," 54–55.

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123. Richard Boudreaux, "Europeans Hardened by Reports of Serb Atrocities," *Los Angeles Times,* 1 April 1999.

## PART TWO

1. The two main Jewish ethnic groups are Ashkenazis, who hail from Europe and North America, and Sepheradis, who originate in the Middle East and North Africa.

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3. Rehava'am Ze'evi, "The Lost Zionism," *Svivot* (December 1993): 54, 57, in Hebrew. For a critique of Ze'evi's argument, see Anita Shapira, "Katznelson Taken Out of Context," *Israeli Democracy* (winter 1987): 39–40.

The mass, and in many cases forced, exodus of Palestinians during the 1947–1949 war is by now recognized in specialist academic circles. Debates still rage, however, over the extent of Israeli responsibility and premeditation. For details, see Simha Flapan, "The Palestinian Exodus of 1948," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 16: 4 (1987): 3–26; Walid Khalidi, "Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 18: 1 (1988): 3–70; Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 27–158; Benny Morris, "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israel Defense Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948," *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 22 (January 1986): 5–19; "Yosef Weitz and the Transfer Committees, 1948–49," *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 22 (October 1986): 522–561; "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *The Middle East Journal,* 40 (winter 1986): 82–109; and Benny Morris, *The Birth;* Nafez Nazzal, *The Palestinian Exodus from the Galilee, 1948* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978); Ilan Pappe, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947–1951* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 47–134; and Tom Segev, *1949: The First Israelis* (New York: Free Press, 1986). The extent to which the Palestinian exodus resulted from a pre-war Zionist expulsion plan is still debated. See Benny Morris, "Revising the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," and Laila Parsons, "The Druze and the Birth of Israel," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For earlier iterations of this discussion, see articles by Norman Finkelstein, Nur Masalha, and Benny Morris in the *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21:1 (1991).

4. Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought 1882–1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), 2. Following Masalha's book, historian Benny Morris investigated more closely Zionist thinking in the 1920s and 1930s, and concluded that "thinking about the transfer of all or part of Palestine's Arabs out of the prospective Jewish state was pervasive among Zionist leadership circles long before 1937," when a British colonial commission recommended partition and population transfer to settle Jewish-Arab tensions. Pro-transfer sentiment among Zionist leaders continued throughout the 1940s, but Morris is uncertain how firmly

these attitudes governed Jewish military behavior during the 1947–49 war. (Benny Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," 41.)

5. Joseph Massad, "Zionism's Internal Others: Israel and the Oriental Jews," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 25: 4 (1996): 53–68; Uri Ram, *The Changing Agenda of Israeli Sociology: Theory, Ideology and Identity* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 97–148; and Shlomo Swirski, *Israel: The Oriental Majority* (London: Zed Books, 1989). Israeli scholars increasingly use the term "Mizrachi" or Easterner to denote Jewish immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa. For the construction of Mizrachi identity, see Aziza Khazoom, *The Origins of Ethnic Inequality among Jews in Israel* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1998).

6. Dvora Bernstein, "The Black Panthers: Conflict and Protest in Israeli Society," *Megamot,* 25 (1979): 64–80. In Hebrew.

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8. Gershon Shafir, "Changing Nationalism and Israel's 'Open Frontier' on the West Bank," *Theory and Society* 13:6 (1984): 803–827. See also Eliezer Don-Yehiya, "Stability and Change: The National Religious Party and the Young Guard's Revolution," *Medina, Mimshal Ve-Yachasim Beinleumiim,* 14 (1979): 25–52, in Hebrew; and Menachem Friedman, "The National Religious Party in Change—Background to Its Electoral Losses," *Medina, Mimshal Ve-Yachasim Beinleumiim,* 20 (1982): 104–122, in Hebrew.

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12. In appealing to Sephardic voters on ethnic grounds, Likud successfully skirted the fact that it was just as Ashkenazi as its arch-rival, Labor.

13. Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 13.

14. Ofira Seliktar, *New Zionism and the Foreign Policy System of Israel* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), 144.

15. Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance,* 167, 169.

16. For details, see Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, "Thorns in Your Eyes: The Socio-Economic Basis of Rabbi Kahane's Electoral Support," *Medina, Mimshal Ve-Yachasim Beinleumiim,* 25 (1986): 127, in Hebrew; and Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance,* 246.

17. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 551; and Sammy Smooha, *Arabs and Jews in Israel: Change and Continuity in Mutual Intolerance* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), 71.

18. Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance,* 124–136.
19. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 356.
20. Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance,* 16.
21. Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance,* 14.
22. Ofira Seliktar, *New Zionism.*
23. Sammy Smooha, *Arabs and Jews,* 70.
24. Charles S. Liebman, "Jewish Ultra-Nationalism in Israel: Converging Strands," in William Frankel, ed., *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1985* (London: Associated University Press, 1986), 31.
25. Charles S. Liebman, "Jewish Ultra-Nationalism," 41.
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30. Sammy Smooha, *Arabs and Jews,* 58, 149 , 52.
31. Sammy Smooha, *Arabs and Jews,* 67.
32. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 403. See also Avishai Ehrlich, "Is Transfer an Option?" *Israeli Democracy* (winter 1987): 36–38.
33. Charles S. Liebman, "Jewish Ultra-Nationalism," 42; and Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 540, note 50, citing surveys by Israeli pollster Hanoch Smith, as reported in *Ha'aretz* on November 10, 1989.
34. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 403.
35. Sammy Smooha, *Arabs and Jews,* 111, 152.
36. Gad Barzilai and Efraim Inbar, "The Use of Force: Israeli Public Opinion on Military Options," *Armed Forces and Society,* 23 (fall 1996): 56. For another low-end estimate, see Giora Goldberg, Gad Barzilai, and Efraim Inbar, *The Impact of Intercommunal Conflict: The* Intifada *and Israeli Public Opinion* (Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute, 1991).
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40. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 551.
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## CHAPTER 6

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24. Some Palestinian policemen remained in the force until the 1988 uprising, when many resigned their posts.

25. Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC), *Israeli Military Orders in the Occupied Palestinian West Bank, 1967–1992* (Jerusalem: JMCC, 1993).

26. For two opposing views, see Esther Rosalind Cohen, *Human Rights in the Israeli-Occupied Territories, 1967–1982* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985); and Raja Shehadeh, *Occupier's Law* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1989). For more on the relationship between the Israeli judiciary and the Palestinian territories, see Yoav Dotan, "Judicial Rhetoric, Government Lawyers and Minority Rights: The Case of the Israeli High Court of Justice During the Intifada," paper presented at the Hebrew University Law Faculty, February 1997; David Kretzmer, *The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002); and Ronen Shamir, "Landmark Cases and the Reproduction of Legitimacy: The Case of Israel's High Court of Justice," *Law and Society Review* 24: 3 (1990): 781–805.

27. B'Tselem, *Law Enforcement*, 37.

28. Reuven Pedatzur, *Triumph of Confusion*, 159.

29. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States*, 360.

30. Shlomo Gazit, *The Carrot and the Stick*, 82.

31. For overviews of the Palestinian economy under Israeli control, see

George T. Abed, ed., *The Palestinian Economy: Studies in Development under Prolonged Occupation* (London: Routledge, 1988); Arie Arnon, Aron Spivak, Israel Luski, and Jimmy Weinblatt, *The Palestinian Economy: Between Imposed Integration and Voluntary Separation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); and Sarah Roy, *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995).

32. Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein, *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Noncitizen Arabs in the Israeli Labor Market* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1987), 29.

33. Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein, *Hewers of Wood,* 42.

34. The other major source of income was remittances from relatives working in the Gulf oil states. During the oil boom of the 1970s Palestinians found numerous opportunities for work in the Gulf, and many of Palestine's most educated and talented people left. In the 1980s, however, those positions contracted and remittance income dropped substantially.

35. Arie Arnon et al., *The Palestinian Economy,* 12.

36. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 206–207.

37. Shaul Mishal, *The PLO under Arafat: Between Gun and Olive Branch* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 19.

38. Jordan opposed formal recognition of the PLO as sole legitimate Palestinian representative in 1974, but was outvoted by other Arab states.

39. Emile Sahliye, *In Search of Leadership: West Bank Politics since 1967* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1988).

40. Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

41. Some PLO factions, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), differentiated between Jews and Zionists, arguing that if Jews living in Palestine accepted the notion of a secular democratic state, they could remain. Fatah initially supported the democratic secular state notion but said Jews who immigrated to Palestine after 1948 must leave. Fatah later moved toward a two-state solution. See below.

42. Shaul Mishal, *The PLO under Arafat,* 24–97; Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 333–357; and Matti Steinberg, "Arafat's PLO: The Concept of Self-Determination in Transition," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 9:3 (1987): 85–98, and his "The Pragmatic Stream of Thought within the PLO According to Khalid al-Hasan," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 11: 1 (1989): 37–57.

43. Shaul Mishal, *The PLO under Arafat,* 52.

44. Fatah was not able to keep the Palestinian national movement united (see William B. Quandt, "Palestinian and Algerian Revolutionary Elites"). In 1974, the Palestine Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and others pulled out of the PLO, fearing that Fatah was willing to forego too many core Palestinian demands.

45. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle.*

46. John C. Reppert, "The Soviets and the PLO: The Convenience of Politics," in Augustus Richard Norton and Martin H. Greenberg, eds., *The International Relations of the PLO.*

47. Avi Becker, "UN North-South Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 10: 1 (1988): 44–59; Kemal Kirisci, *The PLO,* 54–58; and William Ofuatey-Kodjoe, "Third World Perspectives at the United Nations: The Problem for Israel," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 10: 1 (1988): 114–123.

48. Abraham Ashkenazi, "The International Institutionalization of a Refugee Problem: The Palestinians and UNRWA," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 12: 1 (1990): 45–75; and Benjamin N. Schieff, *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

49. Abraham Ashkenazi, "The International Institutionalization," 50.

50. United Nations, *United Nations Monthly Chronicle,* 11: 11 (1974): 36–37.

51. William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, DC, and Berkeley: The Brookings Institution and University of California Press, 1993).

52. Kathleen Christison, "Bound by a Frame of Reference, Part II: U.S. Policy and the Palestinians," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 27: 3 (1998): 20–34.

53. Michael Beenstock, "The Determinants of U.S. Assistance to Israel," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 14: 1 (1992): 65–97.

54. Eytan Gilboa, *American Public Opinion toward Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987).

55. Michael Barnett, "From Cold Wars to Resource Wars: The Coming Decline in U.S.-Israeli Relations?" *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 13: 3 (1991): 99–119.

56. J. J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996); and A. F. K. Organski, *The 36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

57. For books critical of the Israeli lobby in America, see George W. Ball and Douglas B. Ball, *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1992); Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1989); Mohammed Rabie, *The Politics of Foreign Aid: U.S. Foreign Assistance and Aid to Israel* (New York, Praeger, 1988); and Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

58. J. J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power,* 276, 266–267.

59. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 623–634. See also Gideon Levy, "Returning from Algiers," *Ha'aretz,* 25 November 1988. In Hebrew.

60. Shmuel Sandler, "The Protracted Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Temporal-Spatial Analysis," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations,* 10: 4 (1988): 54–78.

61. Meron Benvinisti, *West Bank Data Project,* 62.

62. Meron Benvinisti, "The Second Republic," *Jerusalem Post,* 7 January 1987.

63. Baruch Kimmerling, "Boundaries and Frontiers of the Israeli Control System," 270, 272–273.

64. Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 9–20.

65. See Michael Palumbo, *Imperial Israel: The History of the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza* (London: Bloomsbury, 1990).

66. Gershon Shafir, "Changing Nationalism and Israel's 'Open Frontier' on the West Bank."

67. Baruch Kimmerling, "Boundaries and Frontiers," 277.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Ilan Peleg, *Human Rights in the West Bank and Gaza: Legacy and Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 177–185, lists some of the relevant human rights reports. See Chapter 1, note 8, for sources on the Intifada's origins and trajectory.

2. For Israeli deliberations about using greater force, see Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Intifada,* 136–137.

3. Israeli forces killed approximately 860 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza from early 1988 to December 1990, according to SIPRI, *International Yearbook 1991* (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1991), 353. The source also cites a UN estimate of 60,000 Palestinian wounded. According to Israeli military sources, Israeli soldiers wounded 13,100 Palestinians in the first thousand days of the uprising. Palestinian sources, however, estimate more than 100,000 serious injuries by Israeli forces during that same time. See Ian S. Lustick, "Writing the Intifada," 566.

4. Benny Morris, *The Birth,* 222–223.

5. Benny Morris, *The Birth,* 206.

6. Benny Morris, *The Birth,* 210.

7. Benny Morris, "Zionist Transfer: A Conversation with Dr. Benny Morris," *Svivot* (December 1993): 72. In Hebrew.

8. Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars, 1949–56* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1993), 124.

9. Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars,* 126.

10. Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars,* 245, quotes an Israeli brigade commander saying he received the order from the Israeli Central Command.

11. "Israel: Massacre at Kibya," *Time Magazine,* 26 October 1953, 34. For the Israeli commander's view that the killings were a mistake, see Ariel Sharon and David Chanoff, *Warrior: The Autobiography of Ariel Sharon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 89.

12. Benny Morris, "The Israeli Press and the Qibya Operation, 1953," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 25: 4 (1996): 41.

13. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 138.

14. See for example, al Haq, *Punishing a Nation: Human Rights Violations during the Palestinian Uprising, December 1987–1988* (Ramallah, West Bank: al Haq, 1989).

15. State of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Israel's Measures in the Territories and Human Rights* (New York: Israeli Consulate, 1990); Colonel David Yahav, *Israel, the "Intifada" and the Rule of Law* (Jerusalem: Israel Ministry of Defense Publications, 1993); and Gen. Amnon Straschnov, *Justice under Fire:*

*The Military Judicial System during the Intifada* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharanot, 1994). In Hebrew.

16. Middle East Watch, *A License to Kill: Israeli Undercover Operations against "Wanted" and Masked Palestinians* (New York: Middle East Watch, 1993), 42–60.

17. "Internal Affairs" refers to Metzach, the Hebrew acronym for Mishtara Tsvait Chokeret, or Investigative Military Police. The unit belongs to the Israeli armed forces' Military Police and makes its recommendations to the Judge Advocate General. See Middle East Watch, *A License to Kill*, 189–192.

18. State of Israel, Ministry of Justice, "The Rule of Law in the Areas Administered by Israel," *Israel National Section of the International Commission of Jurists* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Justice, 1981).

19. Al Haq, *Punishing a Nation*, 27–29.

20. Most of the author interviews with veterans were conducted during the summer of 1994 in Israel. The interviews took place in Hebrew and lasted from one to four hours. A smaller number were conducted in 1992 and 1993 under the auspices of Human Rights Watch.

21. See Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, *Ghetto Revolts*, for this dynamic.

22. See Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: How They Succeed, Why They Fail* (New York: Knopf, 1979), for a discussion of disruption.

23. Shabak is a Hebrew acronym for Sherut Bitachon Klali, or General Security Services. Earlier, the agency was known as the Shin Bet, short for Sherutei Bitachon, or Security Services.

24. Ian Black and Benny Morris, *Israel's Secret Wars*, 237–281.

25. Colonel Avi, interview by author, Tel Aviv, 27 June 1994.

26. Colonel Yossi, interview by author, Jerusalem suburb, 4 July 1994.

27. Colonel Yiftach, interview by author, Tel Aviv, 11 July 1994.

28. Colonel Yossi, interview.

29. Colonel Amit, interview by author, Jerusalem, 6 July 1994.

30. Villages in Palestine were theoretically governed by a state-authorized headman, or mukhtar, many of whom had working relations with Israeli occupation authorities. During the uprising, mukhtars were often challenged by younger and more politicized Palestinian leaders.

31. The army had concluded that the .22 caliber rifles were less lethal than regular assault rifles, which fired a 5.56 mm bullet that caused extensive damage to internal organs. The weapons were distributed to snipers and officers, who were instructed to shoot at demonstration organizers.

32. Colonel Eytan, interview by author, Israeli settlement in the West Bank, 22 June 1994.

33. Lieutenant Dani, interview by author, Jerusalem suburb, 13 July 1994.

34. Amir, interview by author, Tel Aviv, 11 July 1994.

35. This figure excludes the Palestinian population living in Jerusalem. The West Bank and Gaza had approximately 1.5 million Palestinian residents in 1989.

36. Middle East Watch, *Prison Conditions in Israel and the Occupied Territories* (New York: Middle East Watch, 1991).

37. Nils Christie, *Crime Control as Industry* (London: Routledge, 1994), 33.
38. Most combat troops had little contact with the pens.
39. Miriam, interview by author, Jerusalem, winter 1993.
40. See remarks by Itai, quoted under a different name in B'Tselem, *The Interrogation of Palestinians during the Intifada: Ill-Treatment, "Moderate Physical Pressure," or Torture?* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1991), pp. 128–129. I also interviewed Itai in northern Israel, 12 July 1994.
41. See also Ari Shavit, "Ansar Camp: Activity Report," *Ha'aretz*, 3 May 1991. In Hebrew. Several veterans, as well as many Palestinians, spoke in interviews of prison-related abuse.
42. B'Tselem, *Collaborators in the Occupied Territories: Human Rights Abuses and Violations* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1994), 63–70; and Middle East Watch, *Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel's Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994), 205–208.
43. B'Tselem, *Detained without Trial: Administrative Detention in the Occupied Territories since the Beginning of the Intifada* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1992).
44. For Israel's military tribunal system, see B'Tselem, *The Military Justice System in the West Bank* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1989); Lisa Hajjar, *Authority, Resistance, and the Law: A Study of the Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming); Amnesty International, *The Military Justice System in the Occupied Territories: Detention, Interrogation and Trial Procedures* (London: Amnesty International, 1991); Paul Hunt, *Justice? The Military Court System in the Israeli-Occupied Territories* (Ramallah: al Haq and the Gaza Center for Rights and Law, 1987); and Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, *A Continuing Cause for Concern: The Military Justice System of the Israeli-Occupied Territories* (New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1993).
45. Orlee, interview by author, Tel Aviv, July 1994. See also Colonel David Yahav, *Israel, the "Intifada," and the Rule of Law.*
46. B'Tselem, *The Interrogation of Palestinians during the Intifada: Follow-Up to the March 1991 B'Tselem Report* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1992), 10. For more on the interrogation system, see Amnesty International, *Torture and Ill-Treatment of Political Detainees* (London: Amnesty International, 1994); B'Tselem, *The Interrogation of Palestinians;* Stanley Cohen, "Talking about Torture in Israel," *Tikkun*, 6: 6 (1991): 23–31, 88–90; Middle East Watch, *Torture and Ill-Treatment;* and James Ron, "Varying Methods of State Violence."
47. Middle East Watch, *Torture and Ill-Treatment*, 2.
48. Omri, interview by author, June 1993. See excerpts of the interview with the same soldier, identified as "A.M.," in Middle East Watch, *Torture and Ill-Treatment*, 305–309.
49. B'Tselem, *The Interrogation of Palestinians*, 127.
50. Efraim, interview by author, Tel Aviv, fall 1992 and 27 June 1994.
51. Cited in al Haq, *Punishing a Nation*, 19.
52. Shimon, interview by author, Jerusalem, 26 July 1994.
53. Al Haq, *Punishing a Nation*, 12–14.
54. Arik, phone interview by author, Jerusalem, winter 1993.

55. Al Haq, *Punishing a Nation,* 53.

56. Other attempts at finding less-than-lethal options include resorting to tear gas, plastic- and rubber-coated bullets, and gravel-spewing cannon.

57. Colonel Avi, interview.

58. Cited in al Haq, *Punishing a Nation,* 23.

59. Colonel Yiftach, interview.

60. Efraim, interview.

61. Cited in Amnon Straschnov, *Justice under Fire,* 229–230.

62. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Intifada,* 150–151.

63. John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Cerèmony," in Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism,* 41–62.

64. Cited in Middle East Watch, *A License to Kill,* 219.

65. *Ha'aretz* interview cited in al-Haq, *Punishing a Nation,* 20.

66. For details, see Amnon Straschnov, *Justice under Fire.*

67. For a critical review of Internal Affairs investigations, see Middle East Watch, *The Israeli Army and the Intifada: Policies that Contribute to the Killings* (New York: Middle East Watch, 1991).

68. See also Middle East Watch, *A License to Kill,* 168–169.

69. Lieutenant Aviad, interview.

70. Shimon, interview.

71. Efraim, interview.

72. Colonel Avi, interview.

73. Colonel Yiftach, interview.

74. Colonels Avi and Rossi, interviews.

75. Details come from an unofficial court transcript made by members of *Yesh Gvul,* an Israeli antiwar group. I thank Glenn Frankel for making this document available to me.

76. Al Haq, *Punishing a Nation,* 12.

## CHAPTER 8

1. Meron Benvinisti, *West Bank Data Project,* 40.

2. Ian S. Lustick, *For the Land,* 64; Ilan Peleg, *Human Rights,* 22–43.

3. Ehud Sprinzak, it will be recalled, termed this Gush Emunim's "invisible realm."

4. Ian S. Lustick, *For the Land,* 15.

5. Ian S. Lustick *For the Land,* 15.

6. Ian S. Lustick, *For the Land,* 179. For Shapira's poll, see Ariel Ben Ami, "Arabs Should be Encouraged to Emigrate, Say 62 Percent of Rabbis in Judea and Samaria."

7. Moshe Ben Yosef, "In Support of Transfer," *Nekuda,* 109: 14 (April 1987): 16. In Hebrew.

8. Danny Rubenstein, *On the Lord's Side;* Nur Masalha, *A Land;* Ian S. Lustick, *For the Land.*

9. Meron Benvinisti, *West Bank Data Project,* 41.

10. Meron Benvinisti, *West Bank Data Project,* 41.

11. Hagar Segal, "The Cat Guarded the Milk Nicely," *Hadashot,* 27 April 1990. In Hebrew.

12. Palestine Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC). *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories: 1980–1984* (Jerusalem: PHRIC, 1985), 15.

13. Rehavam Ze'evi, "The Government Abandoned the Settlers to Stones and Explosives," *Nekuda* 89: 26 (July 1985): 12. In Hebrew.

14. David Weisburd, *Jewish Settler Violence: Deviance as Social Reaction* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); and State of Israel, Office of the Attorney General, *The Karp Report: An Israeli Government Inquiry into Settler Violence against Palestinians on the West Bank* (unofficial English translation) (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984).

15. Ilan Lagziel, *Political Violence on the Extreme Right in Israel: Kach from the Kahane Assassination until the Oslo Accords* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1994). In Hebrew.

16. Haim Segel, *Dear Brothers: The History of the Jewish Underground* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1987), in Hebrew; and Ian S. Lustick, *Unsettled States,* 368.

17. Ze'ev Schiff's article appeared in *Ha'aretz,* 21 February 1987, as cited by Shevah Shtern, "The IDF without Yesha," *Nekuda,* 109: 14 (April 1987): 15. In Hebrew.

18. B'Tselem, *Law Enforcement.*

19. B'Tselem, *Law Enforcement,* 26.

20. The parliamentarians wrote two letters about Jewish militias. The first, dated 13 February 1989, was sent by Yossi Sarid and Dedi Zucker to Israeli Attorney General Yoseph Harish. The second, dated 22 February 1989, went to Minister of Justice Dan Meridor, Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev, and Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin. Both are on file in the B'Tselem archives.

21. Uri Ben Eliezer, "Is a Military Coup Possible in Israel? Israel and French-Algeria in Comparative Historical-Sociological Perspective," *Theory and Society,* 27: 3 (1998): 311–349. For one incident in which soldiers joined settlers in a vigilante raid, see B'Tselem, *Law Enforcement,* 56–58.

22. Ehud Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Split Delegitimization," in Tore Bjorgo, ed., *Terror from the Extreme Right* (London: Frank Cass, 1995).

23. Ilan Lagziel, *Political Violence,* 53–68.

24. Ilan Lagziel, *Political Violence,* 55.

25. Ilan Lagziel, *Political Violence,* 55.

26. Amnesty International, *Unlawful Killings during Operation "Grapes of Wrath"* (London: Amnesty International, 1996); Major-General Franklin Van Kappen, *Report Dated 1 May 1996 of the Secretary-General's Military Advisor Concerning the Shelling of the United Nations Compound at Qana on April 18, 1996* (New York: United Nations, 1996), S/1996/337; Human Rights Watch, *Civilian Pawns: Laws of War Violation and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996), and *"Operation Grapes of Wrath": The Civilian Victims* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997).

27. Israel Defense Forces, *IDF Response to the UN Report on the Qana Incident* (Tel Aviv: IDF Spokesman's Office), 9 May 1996.

28. Human Rights Watch, "*Operation Grapes of Wrath*," 5.

29. Human Rights Watch, *Civilian Pawns*, 5–6, 8.

30. Human Rights Watch, *Civilian Pawns*, 48–49. From the end of July 1993 to the end of November 1999, according to B'Tselem, Israeli forces and Lebanese militia allies killed at least 355 civilians. From July 1985 to the end of November 1999, by contrast, Lebanese groups killed nine Israeli civilians. See B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations of Human Rights of Lebanese Civilians* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 2000), 59.

31. See, for example, a 1992 Israeli army statement that Palestinians were increasingly using weapons, cited in B'Tselem, *Activity of the Undercover Units in the Occupied Territories* (Jerusalem: B'Tselem, 1992), 111.

32. When the second Palestinian uprising broke out in fall 2000, Israel began to employ Lebanon-style methods against the West Bank and Gaza. See the book's concluding chapter for details.

33. Yair Evron, *War and Intervention in Lebanon: The Israeli-Syrian Deterrence Dialogue* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 28–30.

34. The agreement was dubbed "the Cairo Accord." For details, see Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival*, 48–52; and Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 40–42.

35. For overviews of Palestinians in Lebanon, see Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival;* and Mordechai Lahav, *Fifty Years of Palestinian Refugees: 1948–1999* (Tel Aviv: Rosh Tov, 2000), 481–488, in Hebrew.

36. In 1995, there were 344,545 registered Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA], *Guide to UNRWA* [Vienna: UNRWA, 1995], 7). For PLO-Lebanese relations, see Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege: P.L.O. Decision-Making during the 1982 War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 18–41.

37. Augustus Richard Norton and Jillian Schwedler, *External Intervention and the Politics of Lebanon* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy, 1984), 7.

38. Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1990), 74. Although many southern Lebanese were initially sympathetic to the Palestinian guerrillas, some eventually turned against them, leading to armed clashes between the PLO and Amal, the Shi'ite Lebanese militia. See Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival*, 133–136.

39. Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security*, 45; and Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation*, 74.

40. Walid Khalidi, *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1979), 124.

41. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle*, 341.

42. Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventurers and the War in Lebanon* (New York: Viking, 1983), 198–199; and Beate Hamizrachi, *The Emergence of the South Lebanon Security Belt: Major Saad Haddad and the Ties with Israel, 1975–78* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 34.

43. Israeli casualties reported by Michael Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut: Why*

*Israel Invaded Lebanon* (London: Zed Press, 1983), 130; Lebanese casualties reported by Walid Khalidi, *Conflict and Violence,* 124. For similar numbers, see Sean McBride, Richard Falk, Kader Asmal, Brian Bercusson, Geraud de la Pradelle, and Stefan Wild, *Israel in Lebanon: Report of the International Commission to Inquire into Reported Violations of International Law by Israel during Its Invasion of Lebanon* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983), 18. One official Israeli estimate counts 1,064 persons killed by Palestinians in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza between 1965 and June 1982 (Mordechai Gichon, "Peace for Galilee: The Campaign," *IDF Journal,* 1:2 [December 1982]: 23). This figure does not distinguish between combatants and civilians, and includes Palestinians killed by other Palestinians for suspected cooperation with Israeli authorities.

44. For discussions of Lebanese Shi'ite militias, see Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Chibli Mallat, *Shi'i Thought from the South of Lebanon* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University, Center for Lebanese Studies, 1988); Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); and Shimon Shapira, "The Origins of Hizballah," *Jerusalem Quarterly,* 46 (spring 1988): 115–130.

45. Mordechai Lahav, *Fifty Years,* 484.

46. For Lebanon's civil war, see Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation;* Elisabeth Picard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 2001); Tabitha Petran, *The Struggle over Lebanon* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987); and Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon, 1970–1985* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985). For the PLO's role in the 1975–76 fighting, see Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 79–106.

47. France had extended Lebanon's borders in the early 1920s to include large numbers of Muslims, and a 1943 national pact set confessional quotas for government and legislative bodies. The influx of largely Sunni Muslim Palestinians in 1948 changed the demographic balance, even though Palestinians were denied Lebanese citizenship.

48. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 19–123; and Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege,* 18–41.

49. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 427, cites Palestinian estimates of 25,000–30,000 Israeli troops and 300 tanks. Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security,* 72, estimates 7,000 men, as do Jehuda Wallach and Moshe Lissak, *Carta's Atlas of Israel: The Third Decade 1971–1981* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1983), 117. Wallach and Lissak also report that Israeli troops fought with 4,000 "terrorists." Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 164, says there were 10,000 Israeli troops.

50. Augustus Richard Norton and Jilliam Schwedler, "External Intervention," estimate 1,000 deaths. Lebanese police sources, cited in Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 427, say 2,000 dead and 285,000 displaced. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 164, estimates 200,000 displaced civilians, while Mordechai Lahav, *Fifty Years of Palestinian Refugees,* 481, says 67,000 Palestinian refugees fled northward—but does not discuss Lebanese civilians—and speaks of $310,000 in damages. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* mentions the Abassiya raid on 427.

51. Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way,* 209; and Yair Evron, *War and Intervention,* 82.

52. Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way,* 209, 217. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary or Survival,* 125, counts six villages destroyed and eighty-two damaged, while Walid Khalidi, *Conflict and Violence,* 128, tallies 7,700 homes completely or partially destroyed. In their *Carta's Atlas of Israel,* 117, Jehuda Wallach and Moshe Lissak report, "Many villages in which terrorists found shelter absorbed heavy artillery bombardments, and as a result, hundreds of homes were destroyed and thousands of residents fled northwards."

53. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 495.

54. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 149–150; Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 236.

55. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 4.

56. For the official Israeli view of the war, see the articles in "Peace for Galilee," a special edition of the *IDF Journal,* 1:2 (December 1982). The journal is published by the Israeli military spokesman's office.

57. Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege,* 29.

58. Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege,* 46; and Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 3, 6–9. According to Israeli academic Yehoshua Porat, the PLO's respect for a 1981 cease-fire agreement had Israeli leaders increasingly worried about the organization's international credibility. By destroying the PLO's territorial and institutional base, Israeli leaders hoped to push the PLO toward terrorism and isolate them internationally. (Yehoshua Porat, "A Preliminary Political Summary," *Ha'aretz,* June 25, 1982, in Hebrew.)

59. Helena Cobban, *The Palestine Liberation Organization,* 120.

60. Michael Jansen, *The Battle for Beirut,* 4. For more on Israel's Lebanon war, see Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival;* Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation;* Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Anchor, 1990); Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege;* Franklin P. Lamb, *Reason Not the Need: Eyewitness Chronicles of Israel's War in Lebanon* (Nottingham, U.K.: Russell Press, 1984); Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon;* Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle;* and Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984).

61. Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security,* 103.

62. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 141.

63. Daniel Gavron, "A Soldier's Protest," *Jerusalem Post,* July 9, 1982.

64. Yehoshua Porat, "A Preliminary Political Summary."

65. Mordechai Oren, "The War That Was—Notable Achievements and One Great Blot," *Al-Hamishmar,* 16 June 1982. In Hebrew.

66. The official Lebanese estimate of 18,000 dead and 30,000 wounded is cited in Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 540; Benny Morris, in *Righteous Victims* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 703, footnote 247, cites similar sources, but says there were 19,085 dead. Michael Jansen, *Battle for Beirut,* 25, supplies the figures of 12,000–15,000 slain civilians and 40,000 wounded. Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 19, 52–53, speak of 17,835 persons (both combatants and civilians) killed from 4 June 1982 to the end of August 1982. The Sabra and Shatila casualties, estimates of which range from 700 to 3,000 (see below), do not figure in this tally. An official Israeli source wrote that most of these estimates were "blatant examples of biased media reporting." See Louis Williams, "Peace

for Galilee: The Context," *IDF Journal,* 1:2 (December 1982): 8. On p. 28 of the same journal, Mordechai Gichon says that Israeli forces killed only 276 persons in southern Lebanon.

67. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 540.

68. UNRWA report of June 23, 1982, cited in Michael Jansen, *Battle for Beirut,* 19; Shatila estimate in Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 540; $12 billion figure and estimate of displaced in Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 31, 19. Mordechai Lahav, *Fifty Years,* 482—speaking only of Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon—writes that 80,000–90,000 homes were destroyed, and that 175,000 refugees were in need of emergency assistance.

69. Avraham Rabinovich, "Hope among the Ruins," *Jerusalem Post Magazine,* 18 June 1982; Robert Fisk, "Hundreds Lie Dead in the Cellars of Sidon," *Times* (London), 19 June 1982.

70. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 27, estimates 25,000 Palestinians lived in the camp; Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 141–150, count 35,000; and Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 71–72, estimate 60,000. Schiff and Ya'ari say Israeli officers encouraged Ein Hilwe's civilians to leave before attacking, but Sean McBride et al., drawing on Palestinian testimonies, say Israeli officers delivered vague evacuation instructions only four days after the shelling began. Quote on bombardment from Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 148.

71. Dov Yermiya, *My War Diary: Israel in Lebanon* (London: Pluto, 1983), 27; for a reporter's observation, see David Richardson, "Ein Hilwe—A Refugee Camp Reduced to Rubble by Bombing," *Jerusalem Post,* 9 July 1982. Lebanese government casualty estimates appeared in Christopher Walker, "Secrets beneath a Flattened Refugee Camp," *The Times* (London), 9 July 1982.

72. Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 95, 99.

73. Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 33, 38.

74. Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 143–161.

75. Charles T. Powers, "Chronicle of a Bombardment: Day 50 of the Israeli Siege in Beirut Is the Worst," *International Herald Tribune,* 3 August 1982.

76. Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way,* 254; Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 225. Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security,* 147, estimated 128 dead and 400 wounded from that day's bombing.

77. The cable is cited in Robin Wright, David Blundy, Henry Brandon, and Mark Hosenball, "Beirut: Liquidation of a City," *Sunday Times* (London), 8 August 1982.

78. J. Michael Kennedy, "West Beirut: A Worried Look into the Future," *International Herald Tribune,* 16 August 1982, p. 13.

79. Beirut casualty estimates supplied by Lebanese daily *An-Nahar,* 2 September 1982; 80 percent estimate by ICRC official John de Salis. As quoted in Robin Wright et al., "Beirut."

80. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 240. See also Yair Evron, *War and Intervention,* 110.

81. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 459. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 42, estimates the number of Fatah fighters on the eve of the 1982 invasion at only 10,000.

82. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 140; and Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 460.

83. Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 140.

84. Yair Evron, *War and Intervention,* 109; Kirsten E. Schulze, *Israel's Covert Diplomacy in Lebanon* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998), 122; and Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security,* 143.

85. "The Chief of Staff: The War for Beirut—A Struggle for Eretz Israel," *Ha'aretz,* 9 July 1982. In Hebrew.

86. Christopher Walker, "Israel's Second Front on the West Bank," *Sunday Times* (London), 5 August 1982.

87. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 240.

88. Dov Yermiya, *My War Diary,* 48; and Edward Walsh, "Israel No Longer Talks of Moving Refugees," *Washington Post,* 9 December 1982.

89. Sharon's words cited in Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 211. Data on camp population from Yitzhak Kahan, Aharon Barak, and Yona Efrat, *Final Report: The Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut* (New York: Karz-Cohl, 1983), 15.

90. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 240.

91. Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 133, 138. After the Sabra and Shatila killings Israel reversed course, allowing refugees to stay put. See Edward Walsh, "Israel No Longer Talks of Moving Refugees."

92. See Yossi Beilin, *Guidebook for Leaving Lebanon* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz Hameuchad, 1998), in Hebrew; B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 7–18; and Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence.*

93. The 5,000 figure from Yitzak Kahan, Aharon Barak, and Yona Efrat, *Final Report,* p. 7. For an overview of Lebanese militias, see Judith Harik, *The Public and Social Services of the Lebanese Militias* (Oxford, U.K.: Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford University, 1994). For more on Maronite militias and the Lebanese Forces, see Marie-Christine Aulas, "The Socio-Ideological Development of the Maronite Community: The Emergence of the Phalange and the Lebanese Forces," *Arab Studies Quarterly,* 7: 4 (1985): 1–27; Elaine C. Hagopian, "From Maronite Hegemony to Maronite Militancy: The Creation and Disintegration of Lebanon," *Third World Quarterly,* 11: 4 (1989): 101–117; Walid Phares, *Lebanese Christian Nationalism: The Rise and Fall of an Ethnic Resistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 1995); and Lewis W. Snider, "The Lebanese Forces: Their Origins and Role in Lebanese Politics," *Middle East Journal,* 38: 1 (1984): 1–33.

94. For an early overview of militia activities in Lebanon during and immediately after the 1982 invasion, see Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 118–124.

95. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence.*

96. Adal is the Hebrew language acronym for Ezor Drom Levanon, or "Region of Southern Lebanon." When the Israeli security zone was established in 1985, Adal became the Lebanon Liaison Unit, which effectively took command of the Southern Lebanese Army.

97. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 73, 79.

98. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 168, puts the number of slain civil-

ians at thirty, while Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way,* 218, estimates seventy deaths. He also discusses two additional massacres carried out by Haddad's men during the Litani Operation, killing a further thirty civilians.

99. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 90, 124.

100. Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 130, emphasis in original.

101. Subsequently, Israel helped Shidiak move to Israel and open a business. See Beatte Hamizrachi, *The Emergence,* 108, 112–113.

102. State attorney's affidavit to the Israeli High Court of Justice; Peled's statement cited in B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 14.

103. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 14.

104. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 18.

105. Amnesty International, *The Khiam Detainees: Torture and Ill-Treatment* (London: Amnesty International, 1992); Amnesty International, *Israel's Forgotten Hostages: Lebanese Detainees in Israel and Khiam Detention Center* (London: Amnesty International, 1997); Aviv Lavie, "Camp Where People are Concentrated," *Ha'Ir* (Tel Aviv), January 17, 1997, in Hebrew.

106. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 21, citing SLA colonel 'Akel Hashem.

107. Amnesty International, *The Khiam Detainees,* and Aviv Lavie, "Camp Where People Are Concentrated."

108. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 20–21.

109. B'Tselem, *Israeli Violations,* 15.

110. Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation,* 99.

111. Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 20.

112. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 400.

113. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle,* 396–401; Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 103, estimates 3,000 died during the siege and subsequent massacre.

114. For the Sabra and Shatila events, see Weston E. Burnett, "Command Responsibility and a Case Study of the Criminal Responsibility of Israeli Military Commanders for the Pogrom at Shatila and Sabra," *Military Law Review,* 107 (1985): 71–189; Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation,* 359–400; Michael Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut,* 91–110; Loren Jenkins, "The Massacre: Witnesses Describe Militiamen Moving through Israeli Lines," *Washington Post,* 20 September 1982; Yitzhak Kahan, Aharon Barak, and Yoni Efraft, *Final Report;* Amnon Kapeliouk, *Sabra and Shatila* (Belmont, Mass.: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1983); Fergal Keane, "The Accused," BBC-Panorama, June 17, 2001, available online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/panorama/transcripts/transcript_17_06_01.txt; Franklin P. Lamb, ed., *Reason Not the Need,* 537–631; Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 162–186; and Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War,* 250–285.

115. According to Yitzhak Kahan et al., *Final Report,* 45, Israeli intelligence sources estimated 700 killed; the International Committee of the Red Cross, according to Sean McBride et al., *Israel in Lebanon,* 176, estimates 2,750 dead. For estimates of up to 3,000 casualties, see Jonathan C. Randal, *Going All the Way,* 15–16.

116. Amnon Kapeliouk, *Sabra and Shatila,* 41.

117. Yitzhak Kahan, Aharon Barak, and Yona Efrat, *Final Report,* 56–57.

For Israeli military command responsibilities, see Westen E. Burnett, "Command Responsibility." For a recent discussion of Sharon's role, see Fergal Keane, "The Accused."

118. Ze'ev Schiff, "Massacre Was Designed to Cause Palestinians to Flee from Beirut and Lebanon," *Haaretz,* September 28, 1982. In Hebrew.

119. "The Phalangists and the Struggle for Control over Lebanon," *Skira Hodshit,* 29: 9 (1982), 18. In Hebrew.

120. *L'Orient le Jour* (Beirut), September 27, 1982, cited in Rex Brynen, *Sanctuary and Survival,* 228, note 10. See also Yitzhak Kahan et al., *Final Report,* 9.

## CONCLUSION

1. For a popular example of this approach, see Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage, 1997). A similar approach to the Serbian case is adopted by Michael Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). For a critical discussion, see Christopher R. Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86–124.

2. John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez, "World Society"; Martha Finnemore, *National Interests;* and Connie McNeely, "Constructing the Nation State."

3. World polity theorists differ from scholars of cultural globalization in that they view worldwide processes of institutionalization in "harder" organizational terms. The world polity is not just a system of eurocentric ideas, but a more durable structure of both material and ideational elements.

4. Michael Burawoy et al., *Global Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 3.

5. For South African violence in Mozambique and Angola, see Victoria Brittain, *The Death of Dignity: Angola's Civil War* (London: Africa World Press, 1998); William Minter, *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique* (London: Zed Books, 1994); and Alex Vines, *Renamo: Terrorism in Mozambique* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

6. Author observations, Ingushetia, November 1999. I was in the region as research consultant to Human Rights Watch.

7. Human Rights Watch, *Iraq's Crime of Genocide: The Anfal Campaign against the Kurds* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994).

8. For civil war as a result of collapsed states, see Steven R. David, "Internal War: Causes and Cures," *World Politics,* 49: 3 (1997): 552–576; William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 1999); and Yahya Sadowski, *The Myth of Global Chaos* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1998). For an important case study, see Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

9. I thank Susan Stokes for this argument.

10. I thank Gay Seidman for this observation.

11. See, for example, Daniel Ben Simon, "Road to Hell," *Ha'aretz* (English edition), 17 November 2000; Amos Harel, "IDF's Intifada Tactics Amount to Separation—Green Line Fortifications Start to Look Like Lebanon Border," *Ha'aretz* (English edition), 8 January 2001; Israel Harel, "Lebanon Comes to Gilo," *Ha'aretz* (English edition), 16 November 2000; and Arieh O'Sullivan, "Israel, PA, Now in 'Armed Conflict,' " *Jerusalem Post,* 11 January 2001. See also James Ron, "The Second Palestinian Uprising: Cause for Optimism?" *Middle East Policy,* 8: 1 (2001): 73–80.

12. Hala Jaber and Mounzer Jaber, "Fin d'occupation au Liban Sud," *Le Monde Diplomatique,* July 2000.

13. Amnon Barzilai, "More Israeli Jews Favor Transfer of Palestinians, Israeli Arabs—Poll Finds," *Ha'aretz* English edition, 12 March 2002. The poll was based on a sample of 1,264 Jewish-Israeli adults surveyed in April 2002 through personal interviews.

14. Tom Segev, "A Black Flag Hangs over the Idea of Transfer," *Ha'aretz* English edition, 10 April 2002. See also Ben Lynfield, "Israeli Expulsion Idea Gains Steam," *Christian Science Monitor,* 6 February 2002; Yossi Klein, "Displaced People," *Ha'aretz* English edition, 24 April 2002; Meron Benvinisti, "The Homeland Purified of Arabs," *Ha'aretz,* 26 Sept. 2002; and a range of other recent sources cited in Elia Zurek, "Demography and Transfer: Israel's Road to Nowhere," unpublished manuscript, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, 2002.

15. According to one set of mainstream Israeli polls, for example, 70 percent of Jewish Israelis in spring 2002 supported political negotiations (of a sort) with Palestinians, while over 60 percent supported the creation of a Palestinian state. See Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar, "From Barak to Sharon: The Demise of 'Oslo' in the Israeli Public," paper presented to the Association for Israel Studies annual meeting, Vail, Colorado, 26–28 May 2002. Smooha's most recent polling data are also relatively optimistic, showing that the number of Jewish Israelis committed to expelling Palestinians with Israeli citizenship dropped from 22.2 percent in 1980 to 13.7 percent in 2001. Sammy Smooha, "Long-Term Trends of Change in the Mutual Attitudes of Arabs and Jews in Israel," paper presented to the Association for Israel Studies annual meeting, Vail, Colorado, 26–28 May 2002.

16. Aryeh Naor, a cabinet secretary for right-wing Israeli governments in the 1980s, now teaches at Ben Gurion University. He is considered a pragmatist on the right-of-center political spectrum, and is an advocate of unilateral Israeli-Palestinian separation on the West Bank in order to preserve Israel's Jewish majority. As such, he differs from Zionism's more radical wing, which proposes the notion of transfer. Naor made these comments in a plenary session of the Association for Israel Studies annual meeting, Vail, Colorado, 26–28 May 2002.

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