

THE ROAD TO THE DAYTON ACCORDS

A STUDY OF AMERICAN
STATECRAFT

DEREK CHOLLET

FOREWORD BY
RICHARD HOLBROOKE



Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft

Timothy William Waters



Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft:

The Road to the Dayton Accords D. Chollet, 2007-06-08 The intricate diplomacy that led to the peace agreement in Bosnia known as the Dayton Accords is here revealed in unprecedented detail Based on thousands of still classified government documents and dozens of interviews with key participants this is a comprehensive story of high level diplomacy told from the inside

Statecraft 2.0 Dennis Ross, 2025 In a world that is multipolar and America has less relative power the United States no longer has the luxury to practice statecraft badly The United States may still be the world's strongest country but it now faces real challenges at both a global and regional level The unipolar world which was dominated by America after the Cold War is gone Unlike the Soviet Union China is both a military and economic competitor and it is actively challenging the norms and institutions that the US used to shape an international order during and after the Cold War Directly and indirectly it has partners trying to undo the American dominated order with Russia seeking to extinguish Ukraine and Iran trying to undermine American presence influence and any set of rules for the Middle East that it does not dominate The failures of American policy in Afghanistan and Iraq have weakened the domestic consensus for a US leadership role internationally Traditions in US foreign policy especially the American sense of exceptionalism have at different points justified both withdrawal and international activism Iraq and Afghanistan fed the instinct to withdraw and to end the forever wars But the folly of these US interventions did not necessarily mean that all use of force to back diplomacy or specific political ends was wrong rather it meant in these cases the Bush Administration failed in the most basic task of good statecraft namely marrying objectives and means Nothing more clearly defines effective statecraft than identifying well considered goals and then knowing how to use all the tools of statecraft diplomatic economic military intelligence information cyber scientific education to achieve them But all too often American presidents have adopted goals that were poorly defined and not thought through In Statecraft 2.0 a significant update of the first edition Dennis Ross explains why failing to marry objectives and means has happened so often in American foreign policy He uses historical examples to illustrate the factors that account for this including political pressures weak understanding of the countries where the US has intervened changing objectives before achieving those that have been established relying too much on ourselves and too little on allies and partners To be fair there have not only been failures there have been successes as well Ross uses case studies to look more closely at the circumstances in which Administrations have succeeded and failed in marrying objectives and means He distills the lessons from good cases of statecraft German unification in NATO the first Gulf War the surge in Iraq 2007-8 and bad cases of statecraft going to war in Iraq 2003 and the Obama policy toward Syria Based on those lessons he develops a framework for applying today a statecraft approach to our policy toward China Iran and the Israeli Palestinian conflict The book concludes with how a smart statecraft approach would shape policy toward the new national security challenges of climate pandemics and cyber

Bosnia Remade Gerard Toal, Carl T. Dahlman, 2011-02-16 Bosnia Remade is an

authoritative account of ethnic cleansing and its partial undoing from the onset of the 1990s Bosnian wars up through the present Gerard Toal and Carl Dahlman combine a bird's eye view of the entire war from onset to aftermath with a micro level account of three towns that underwent ethnic cleansing and later the return of refugees There have been two major attempts to remake the ethnic geography of Bosnia since 1991 In the first instance ascendant ethno nationalist forces tried to eradicate the mixed ethnic geographies of Bosnia's towns villages and communities These forces devastated tens of thousands of homes and lives but they failed to destroy Bosnia Herzegovina as a polity In the second attempt which followed the war the international community in league with Bosnian officials endeavored to reverse the demographic and other consequences of this ethnic cleansing While progress has been uneven this latter effort has transformed the ethnic demography of Bosnia and moved the nation beyond its recent segregationist past By showing how ethnic cleansing was challenged Bosnia Remade offers more than just a comprehensive narrative of Europe's worst political crisis of the past two decades It also offers lessons for addressing an enduring global problem

Reversing Ethnic Cleansing through Minority Returns Rebecca A. Brubaker, 2025-02-07 Ethnic conflict is not new Nor are international attempts to prevent or contain it Reversing Ethnic Cleansing through Minority Returns examines whether and how ethnic religious and political minorities should be returned and reintegrated after conflict Its main focus is the unprecedented international attempt to re mix ethnic groups in Bosnia following the war The book scrutinizes the puzzle of why states and international organizations pursued a re mixing policy in response to ethnic cleansing in Bosnia There were multiple policy alternatives on the table at the start of the conflict Compared to these re mixing was an unlikely choice politically it was risky locally it was unpopular financially it was expensive and practically it ultimately failed Yet Washington and the United Nations chose to prioritize re mixing nonetheless justifying their choice on the grounds that it was essential for reversing ethnic cleansing and thereby re establishing a multi ethnic Bosnia More generally this book offers insights into how refugee return policies emerge evolve and solidify in a European context In doing so it contributes to a better understanding of how normative discourses transform into policy as well as offers policy recommendations for approaching the challenge of facilitating returns and reintegration following a war's end Understanding how and why such unintended norm diffusion emerged is a crucial addition to the historical record and provides an important correction to the lessons normally drawn from this precedent breaking case

How to be a Diplomat Nicholas Westcott, 2025-08-15 With the international system entering a period of extreme flux diplomacy has never been more important and how to do it successfully more relevant This book considers what diplomacy is its purpose rules structures how it is done what it involves the skills required the impact of technological and societal changes and how diplomats ensure success In short it is about handling people and problems particularly in other countries without coming to blows Drawing on the author's extensive personal experience this readable volume focuses on the practical problems diplomats regularly face such as negotiating an agreement working with a hostile government dealing with dual nationals

imprisoned for political reasons looking after local staff engaging with civil society responding to humanitarian crises and what to do if a war breaks out on your doorstep This is an invaluable training resource for anyone working at the coal face of international relations and a guide to how to navigate operate behave negotiate and survive diplomatic life Such diplomatic skills will be of wider relevance in many walks of life international commercial bureaucratic even family

The Serbs Tim Judah, 2008-10-01 Who are the Serbs Branded by some as Europe's new Nazis they are seen by others and by themselves as the innocent victims of nationalist aggression and of an implacably hostile world media In this challenging new book Timothy Judah who covered the war years in former Yugoslavia for the London Times and the Economist argues that neither is true Exploring the Serbian nation from the great epics of its past to the battlefields of Bosnia and the backstreets of Kosovo he sets the fate of the Serbs within the story of their past This wide ranging scholarly and highly readable account opens with the windswept fortresses of medieval kings and a battle lost more than six centuries ago that still profoundly influences the Serbs Judah describes the idea of Serbdom that sustained them during centuries of Ottoman rule the days of glory during the First World War and the genocide against them during the Second He examines the tenuous ethnic balance fashioned by Tito and its unraveling after his death And he reveals how Slobodan Milosevic later to become president used a version of history to drive his people to nationalist euphoria Judah details the way Milosevic prepared for war and provides gripping eyewitness accounts of wartime horrors the burning villages and ethnic cleansing the ignominy of the siege of Sarajevo and the columns of bedraggled Serb refugees cynically manipulated and then abandoned once the dream of a Greater Serbia was lost This first in depth account of life behind Serbian lines is not an apologia but a scrupulous explanation of how the people of a modernizing European state could become among the most reviled of the century Rejecting the stereotypical image of a bloodthirsty nation Judah makes the Serbs comprehensible by placing them within the context of their history and their hopes

Reassuring the Reluctant Warriors Stefano Recchia, 2015-09-04 Why did American leaders work hard to secure multilateral approval from the United Nations or NATO for military interventions in Haiti the Balkans and Libya while making only limited efforts to gain such approval for the 2003 Iraq War In Reassuring the Reluctant Warriors Stefano Recchia addresses this important question by drawing on declassified documents and about one hundred interviews with civilian and military leaders The most assertive hawkish and influential civilian leaders he argues tend to downplay the costs of intervention and when confronted with hesitant international partners they often want to bypass multilateral bodies America's top level generals by contrast are usually reluctant warriors who worry that intervention will result in open ended stabilization missions consequently the military craves international burden sharing and values the potential exit ramp for U S forces that a handoff to the UN or NATO can provide Recchia demonstrates that when the military speaks up and clearly expresses its concerns even strongly pro intervention civilian leaders can be expected to work hard to secure UN or NATO approval if only to reassure the military about the likelihood of sustained burden sharing Conversely when the military stays

silent as it did in the run up to the 2003 Iraq War bellicose civilian leaders are empowered the United States is then more likely to bypass multilateral bodies and it may end up carrying a heavy stabilization burden largely by itself Recchia s argument that the military has the ability to contribute not only to a more prudent but also to a more multilateralist U S intervention policy may be counterintuitive but the evidence is compelling Failed States and Fragile Societies Ingo Tauschweizer, Steven M. Miner, 2014-06-01 Since the end of the Cold War a new dynamic has arisen within the international system one that does not conform to established notions of the state s monopoly on war In this changing environment the global community must decide how to respond to the challenges posed to the state by military threats political and economic decline and social fragmentation This insightful work considers the phenomenon of state failure and asks how the international community might better detect signs of state decay at an early stage and devise legally and politically legitimate responses This collection of essays brings military and social historians into conversation with political and social scientists and former military officers In case studies from the former Yugoslavia Somalia Iraq and Colombia the distinguished contributors argue that early intervention to stabilize social economic and political systems offers the greatest promise whereas military intervention at a later stage is both costlier and less likely to succeed Contributors David Carment Yiagadeesen Samy David Curp Jonathan House James Carter Vanda Felbab Brown Robert Rotberg Ken Menkhaus

Overcoming Obstacles to Peace James Dobbins, 2013 This volume analyzes the impediments that local conditions pose to successful outcomes of nation building interventions in conflict affected areas Previous RAND studies of nation building focused on external interveners activities This volume shifts the focus to internal circumstances first identifying the conditions that gave rise to conflicts or threatened to perpetuate them and then determining how external and local actors were able to modify or work around them to promote enduring peace It examines in depth six varied societies Cambodia El Salvador Bosnia and Herzegovina East Timor Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo It then analyzes a larger set of 20 major post Cold War nation building interventions The authors assess the risk of renewed conflict at the onset of the interventions and subsequent progress along five dimensions security democratization government effectiveness economic growth and human development They find that transformation of many of the specific conditions that gave rise to or fueled conflict often is not feasible in the time frame of nation building operations but that such transformation has not proven essential to achieving the primary goal of nation building establishing peace Most interventions in the past 25 years have led to enduring peace as well as some degree of improvement in the other dimensions assessed The findings suggest the importance of setting realistic expectations neither expecting nation building operations to quickly lift countries out of poverty and create liberal democracies nor being swayed by a negative stereotype of nation building that does not recognize its signal achievements in the great majority of cases Page 4 of cover **Update on the Evolving Security Situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Implications for U.S. National Security** United States. Congress. House.

Committee on Armed Services,2013 The Commander-in-Chief Test Jeffrey A. Friedman,2023-12-15 In *The Commander in Chief Test* Jeffrey A Friedman offers a fresh explanation for why Americans are often frustrated by the cost and scope of US foreign policy and how we can fix that for the future Americans frequently criticize US foreign policy for being overly costly and excessively militaristic With its rising defense budgets and open ended forever wars US foreign policy often appears disconnected from public opinion reflecting the views of elites and special interests rather than the attitudes of ordinary citizens The Commander in Chief Test argues that this conventional wisdom underestimates the role public opinion plays in shaping foreign policy Voters may prefer to elect leaders who share their policy views but they prioritize selecting presidents who seem to have the right personal attributes to be an effective commander in chief Leaders then use hawkish foreign policies as tools for showing that they are tough enough to defend America s interests on the international stage This link between leaders policy positions and their personal images steers US foreign policy in directions that are more hawkish than what voters actually want Combining polling data with survey experiments and original archival research on cases from the Vietnam War through the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan Friedman demonstrates that public opinion plays a surprisingly extensive and often problematic role in shaping US international behavior With the commander in chief test a perennial point of debate in national elections Friedman s insights offer important lessons on how the politics of image making impacts foreign policy and how the public should choose its president *Our Man* George Packer,2019-05-07 Finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for Biography Winner of the Los Angeles Times Prize for Biography Winner of the 2019 Hitchens Prize Portrays Holbrooke in all of his endearing and exasperating self willed glory Both a sweeping diplomatic history and a Shakespearean tragicomedy If you could read one book to comprehend American s foreign policy and its quixotic forays into quicksands over the past 50 years this would be it Walter Isaacson The New York Times Book Review By the end of the second page maybe the third you will be hooked There never was a diplomat activist quite like Holbrooke and there seldom has been a book quite like this sweeping and sentimental beguiling and brutal catty and critical much like the man himself David M Shribman The Boston Globe Richard Holbrooke was brilliant utterly self absorbed and possessed of almost inhuman energy and appetites Admired and detested he was the force behind the Dayton Accords that ended the Balkan wars America s greatest diplomatic achievement in the post Cold War era His power lay in an utter belief in himself and his idea of a muscular generous foreign policy From his days as a young adviser in Vietnam to his last efforts to end the war in Afghanistan Holbrooke embodied the postwar American impulse to take the lead on the global stage But his sharp elbows and tireless self promotion ensured that he never rose to the highest levels in government that he so desperately coveted His story is thus the story of America during its era of supremacy its strength drive and sense of possibility as well as its penchant for overreach and heedless self confidence In *Our Man* drawn from Holbrooke s diaries and papers we are given a nonfiction narrative that is both intimate and epic in its revelatory portrait of this extraordinary and deeply flawed man and

the elite spheres of society and government he inhabited

Strategies for Approval Stefano Recchia, 2025-09-02 A thoughtful analysis of how major powers can obtain UN Security Council approval for military intervention Powerful states often seek UN Security Council approval for their military interventions to enhance legitimacy but how can they secure this approval when veto wielding permanent members have grave misgivings In this groundbreaking study of UNSC diplomacy Stefano Recchia tackles this question by drawing on hundreds of declassified documents and interviews that he conducted with top diplomats from multiple countries Recchia demonstrates that since the early 1990s powerful states facing significant opposition at the UNSC have not been able to rely solely on economic and political leverage to obtain a resolution of approval Instead they have had to combine exertions of leverage with credible signals that they would act with restraint and in line with core international norms This often required that they agree to incorporate costly limitations on the use of force such as time limits and multilateral oversight into the requested resolution Recchia argues that for better or worse accepting such constraints will be critical in the future if powerful countries including the United States are to secure UN approval in an increasingly competitive international environment

Private Military and Security Contractors Gary Schaub, Jr., Ryan Kelty, 2016-06-16 In *Private Military and Security Contractors* PMSCs a multinational team of scholars and experts address a developing phenomenon controlling the use of privatized force by states in international politics Robust analyses of the evolving multi layered tapestry of formal and informal mechanisms of control address the microfoundations of the market such as the social and role identities of contract employees their acceptance by military personnel and potential tensions between them The extent and willingness of key states South Africa the United States Canada the United Kingdom and Israel to monitor and enforce discipline to structure their contractual relations with PMSCs on land and at sea is examined as is the ability of the industry to regulate itself Also discussed is the nascent international legal regime to reinforce state and industry efforts to encourage effective practices punish inappropriate behavior and shape the market to minimize the hazards of loosening states oligopolistic control over the means of legitimate organized violence The volume presents a theoretically informed synthesis of micro and macro levels of analysis offering new insights into the challenges of controlling the agents of organized violence used by states for scholars and practitioners alike

The Milosevic Trial Timothy William Waters, 2013-12-09 The Milo evi Trial An Autopsy provides a cross disciplinary examination of one of the most controversial war crimes trials of the modern era and its contested legacy for the growing fields of international criminal law and post conflict justice The international trial of Slobodan Milo evi who presided over the violent collapse of Yugoslavia was already among the longest war crimes trials when Milo evi died in 2006 Yet precisely because it ended without judgment its significance and legacy are specially contested The contributors to this volume including trial participants area specialists and international law scholars bring a variety of perspectives as they examine the meaning of the trial s termination and its implications for post conflict justice The book s approach is intensively cross disciplinary weighing the implications for law

politics and society that modern war crimes trials create The time for such an examination is fitting with the imminent closing of the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal and rising debates over its legacy as well as the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Yugoslav conflict The Milo evi Trial An Autopsy brings thought provoking insights into the impact of war crimes trials on post conflict justice

Clinton's Foreign Policy John Dumbrell,2009-04-02 This volume is a detailed account of President Clinton s foreign policy during 1992 2000 covering the main substantive issues of his administration including Iraq Bosnia and Kosovo The book emphasizes Clinton s adaptation of the elder Bush s New World Order outlook and his relationship to the younger Bush s Americanistic foreign policy In doing so it discusses in detail such key policy areas as foreign economic policy humanitarian interventionism policy towards Russia and China and towards European and other allies defence priorities international terrorism and peacemaking Overall the author judges that Clinton managed to develop an American foreign policy approach that was appropriate for the domestic and international conditions of the post Cold War era This book will be of great interest to students of Clinton s administration US foreign policy international security and IR in general John Dumbrell is Professor of Government at Durham University He specialises in the study of US foreign policy

Ethical Foreign Policy? Chih-Hann Chang,2016-05-13 While the 1990s gave rise to a wealth of literature on the notion of ethical foreign policy it has tended to simply focus on a version of realism which overlooks the role of ethics in international affairs lacking an empirical analysis of foreign policy decision making with relation to ethical values in the post Cold War period This book addresses this gap in the literature by exploring ethical realism as a theoretical framework and in particular by looking at US humanitarian interventions at an empirical level to analyse ethical foreign policy in practice Furthermore it moves beyond the debate on legality or legitimacy of humanitarian interventions and focuses on whether a state would intervene for humanitarian purposes Chang provides a deeper understanding of ethical foreign policy in theory and practice by applying ethical realism as a theoretical framework to evaluate the Clinton administration s foreign policy on humanitarian intervention She addresses concepts of moral leadership and pragmatic foreign policy in the field of international relations in general and foreign policy analysis in particular

Ethical Foreign Policy? Dr Chih-Hann Chang,2013-03-28 While the 1990s gave rise to a wealth of literature on the notion of ethical foreign policy it has tended to simply focus on a version of realism which overlooks the role of ethics in international affairs lacking an empirical analysis of foreign policy decision making with relation to ethical values in the post Cold War period This book addresses this gap in the literature by exploring ethical realism as a theoretical framework and in particular by looking at US humanitarian interventions at an empirical level to analyse ethical foreign policy in practice Furthermore it moves beyond the debate on legality or legitimacy of humanitarian interventions and focuses on whether a state would intervene for humanitarian purposes Chang provides a deeper understanding of ethical foreign policy in theory and practice by applying ethical realism as a theoretical framework to evaluate the Clinton administration s foreign policy on humanitarian intervention She addresses concepts of moral

leadership and pragmatic foreign policy in the field of international relations in general and foreign policy analysis in particular

Subordinating Intelligence David P. Oakley, 2019-03-15 In the late eighties and early nineties driven by the post Cold War environment and lessons learned during military operations United States policy makers made intelligence support to the military the Intelligence Community's top priority In response to this demand the CIA and DoD instituted policy and organizational changes that altered their relationship with one another While debates over the future of the Intelligence Community were occurring on Capitol Hill the CIA and DoD were expanding their relationship in peacekeeping and nation building operations in Somalia and the Balkans By the late 1990s some policy makers and national security professionals became concerned that intelligence support to military operations had gone too far In Subordinating Intelligence The DoD CIA Post Cold War Relationship David P Oakley reveals that despite these concerns no major changes to national intelligence or its priorities were implemented These concerns were forgotten after 9 11 as the United States fought two wars and policy makers increasingly focused on tactical and operational actions As policy makers became fixated with terrorism and the United States fought in Iraq and Afghanistan the CIA directed a significant amount of its resources toward global counterterrorism efforts and in support of military operations

Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention A. Hehir, R. Murray, 2013-05-29 This book critically analyses the 2011 intervention in Libya arguing that the manner in which the intervention was sanctioned prosecuted and justified has a number of troubling implications for the both the future of humanitarian intervention and international peace and security

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Table of Contents Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft

1. Understanding the eBook Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft User Reviews and Ratings
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft Free and Paid eBooks
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft Public Domain eBooks
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft eBook Subscription Services
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft Compatibility with Devices
 - Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Interactive Elements Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft

8. Staying Engaged with Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Setting Reading Goals Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Road To Dayton Accords A Study In Statecraft
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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