

A New Munich In Yugoslavia?

"Peacekeeping in the New Europe" by James E. Goodby, in *The Washington Quarterly* (Spring 1992), Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1800 K St. N.W., Ste. 400, Washington, D.C. 20006.

After Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in June 1991, the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army, supported by Serbian militias, swept into Serbian-populated areas of Croatia, and civil war broke out between Serbs and Croats. For months, the European Community (EC) tried to stop the fighting—but without success. In that failure, declares Goodby, a former foreign service officer who is now a professor at Carnegie Mellon University, lie important lessons for the United States and a Europe that is reshaping itself in the wake of the Cold War.

The experience in Yugoslavia, Goodby says, shows that it is time "to think about the unthinkable—international intervention in internal struggles." The prospects of ending the conflict were never bright, Goodby notes, since the Serbs and Croats "seemed to prefer slaughtering each other to compromise," and the leaders of Serbia and Croatia did not appear to be far-sighted statesmen. Faced with such intransigence, the EC's diplomacy was fatally weakened by its obvious unwillingness to use force to impose a peace. Without an active U.S. role—still a necessity if force is to be used despite all the post-Cold War talk of European unity, Goodby says—the EC could not reach a consensus. Some members, notably France, did seem favorably disposed toward such a step, but Britain and others were reluctant to send troops even to preserve a cease-fire.

"The tragedy of Yugoslavia was allowed to

mount in intensity and to become a disastrous precedent for all the other disputes in Eastern Europe," the former foreign service officer writes, "while the Community denied itself anything like the ultimate argument. The possibility that force would be used to deny military objectives to an attacker or to exact punishment for violations of a cease-fire by irregular forces was a consideration that neither Serbs nor Croats ever had to face."

An uncertain peace finally came to Croatia earlier this year after the battered combatants agreed to a United Nations cease-fire. But only *after* the cease-fire—and after the deaths of 6–10,000 people, mostly civilians—was a UN peacekeeping force deployed in Croatia. Since the cease-fire, conflict has erupted in newly-independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, where ethnic Serbs, who are in the minority and favor unity with Serbia, have been battling Muslims and Croats.

Goodby allows that intervention in European civil conflicts would be risky. It might, among other things, "lead the nations of Europe to take sides against each other, with disastrous results." But the risks of inaction may be greater. If the Yugoslavian experience ultimately shows that "borders can be changed by force so long as the struggle is between successor states to a former union," Goodby warns, that "could be as deadly a lesson as Munich was in its time."

ECONOMICS, LABOR & BUSINESS

The Transformation Of Labor Day

"America's Labor Day: The Dilemma of a Workers' Celebration" by Michael Kazin and Steven J. Ross, in *The Journal of American History* (Mar. 1992), 1125 Atwater, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind. 47401-3701.

For most Americans, the first Monday in September signifies a long, sale-filled weekend and the end of summer. Labor Day—founded in 1882 in an era of labor strife—once had a much more charged meaning, recall historians Kazin, of American University, and Ross, of the University of Southern California.

"Labor Built This Republic, Labor Shall Rule

It" and "The Government Must Own the Railroads and Telegraphs" were among the defiant slogans at the first Labor Day celebration, held 110 years ago in New York City. It was staged by the socialist-oriented Central Labor Union as a way of bringing diverse workers and activists together and of displaying the labor movement's might to the general public. Some 10–