

## *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."

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## ECONOMICS, LABOR & BUSINESS

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## *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.

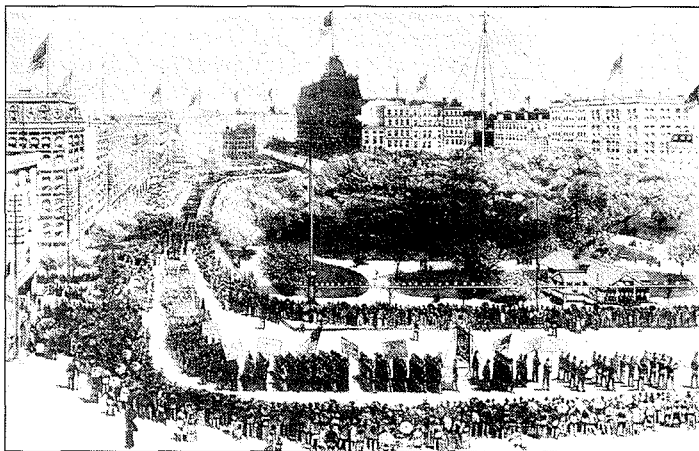
For most Americans, the first Monday in September signifies a long, sale-filled weekend and the end of summer. Labor Day—founded in 1882 in an era of labor strife—once had a much more charged meaning, recall historians Kazin, of American University, and Ross, of the University of Southern California.

"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–

20,000 marched from lower Broadway to Union Square, drawing as many as 250,000 spectators, and a mass picnic afterward in Wendel's Elm Park was also a big success. In 1884, the national Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (soon to become the American Federation of Labor, or AFL) urged "all wage workers" to observe the day. By 1886, Labor Day celebrations were taking place throughout the country.

The rising labor movement had little difficulty persuading local, state, and (in 1894) national legislators to add Labor Day to their official calendars. But few employers were eager to give workers the day off. "Consequently, for nearly two decades Labor Day was a virtual general strike in many cities," Kazin and Ross write. "In New York City, where many shops and factories remained open during the early years of the holiday, unions fined their members a day's pay for working on Labor Day. This swelled the ranks of marchers and, by 1889, forced most businesses to close for the day."



Carrying placards reading "Agitate, Educate, Organize" and "Labor Creates All Wealth," marchers pass through New York's Union Square in the first Labor Day parade in September 1882.

### *The Limits of Small Business*

For much of the 20th century, owners of small businesses have been celebrated for their heroic individualism, but their businesses still were seen as backward and inefficient. They could hardly compete very well with big busi-

nesses, which tended to be capital-intensive firms that benefited from economies of scale and technological innovations. Economists such as Robert Averitt and John Kenneth Galbraith portrayed the U.S. economy as a "dual

But with the AFL's success in obtaining widespread observance of Labor Day came a loss of control over how the holiday was to be marked. By the early 1900s, Labor Day was being transformed into a three-day celebration of leisure rather than labor, as union-sponsored parades and picnics faced new competition. The newspapers, note Kazin and Ross, "were filled with announcements of special Labor Day movies, horse races, baseball doubleheaders, yachting regattas, and inexpensive excursions to the beach or countryside." Most workers gradually came to regard the holiday as a time to be spent alone with family and friends, not "tramping in full uniform down hot city streets."

Even during the 1930s, when an upsurge in union membership and a new aggressiveness on the part of labor prompted a revival of large, public Labor Day observances, there was no simple return to the celebrations of the past. To attract as many people as possible, Kazin and Ross write, the union organizers got rid of "all vestiges of the by now rather stodgy images of grimly purposeful male craftsmen and instead filled their parades with fantasies and personalities drawn from the world of mass culture." Figures such as Popeye and the Keystone Cops, and floats depicting such exotic locales as the South Sea islands or bearing attractive young women in bathing suits now became part of Labor Day parades. Thoughts of "a proudly autonomous labor culture" had become a thing of the past. Sears and Roebuck and other retailers began incorporating Labor Day into their advertisements. "The ubiquitous Labor Day weekend sale," the historians note, "was only a short step away."

"Small Business in America: A Historiographic Survey" by Mansel G. Blackford, in *Business History Review* (Spring 1991), Baker Library 5A, Harvard Business School, Boston, Mass. 02163.