
to enter the military. Those of the affluent who did enter usually were volunteers. Indeed, of all the personnel, officers and enlisted, who died in Vietnam, 70 percent were volunteers. (Many would not have volunteered, of course, had it not been for the draft.) As the war went on, and the casualties and criticism mounted, however, this system was changed. In 1969, a draft lottery

was instituted. Fallows and some others who got low numbers then resorted to starvation and other devices to escape service in the "immoral" war. President Richard M. Nixon in 1969 began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam, and in 1973, the draft was ended. Twenty years later, the debate about who served in Vietnam, and who did not, still goes on.

The Balkan War's Shallow, Deadly Roots

"Invitation to War" by William Pfaff, in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993), 58 E. 68th St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

Many in the West believe that war in the Balkans stems from ancient and immutable hatreds, and that barbarism is somehow a natural state of affairs in that corner of the world. This fatalistic view has served to rationalize Western inaction in the former Yugoslavia, notes Pfaff, a columnist and author. Indeed, some of the combatants *do* see themselves as avenging ancient wrongs, starting with the Battle of Kosovo of 1389. But Pfaff argues that today's Balkan antagonisms are actually of relatively recent vintage. The "ethnic war" in the former Yugoslavia is being waged "among three communities possessing no distinct physical characteristics or separate anthropological or 'racial' origins. They are the same people," Pfaff writes, although they do have distinct histories.

After their liberation from the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century, the Serbs claimed primacy among the South Slavs—Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims—and tried to unite them. Serbia was chiefly responsible for the creation of Yugoslavia (the Kingdom of the South Slavs) in 1918, under a Serbian monarch. That, French historian Paul Garde has observed, was when the gulf between the Serbs and the Croats really opened. In the new state of Yugoslavia, the Serbs held absolute sway. Even so, Pfaff points out, from then until 1991—except during World War II, when Croatia's collaborationist regime made "a genocidal assault" on the Serbs—coexistence was the reality in Yugoslavia.

That long history is ignored by the Serbian nationalists, who contend that it is now impossible for Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims to associate in a single state. Serbia is seeking an ethnically pure nation, a Greater Serbia embracing all ethnic Serbs beyond Serbia's current borders. The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other hand, "is formally committed to the principles of the nonethnic, secular democratic state" in which the various groups could continue to live together. This makes the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Pfaff says, "a war of political values"—and, as such, important to the rest of Europe.

The very idea of an ethnically pure nation—a product of 19th-century German romanticism—is "a permanent provocation to war," he declares. In reality, no nation in Europe is "ethnically pure."

The Balkan war now threatens to draw in nearby countries, such as Hungary, which is concerned about the fate of several hundred thousand ethnic Hungarians inside Serbia. But the greater danger to the West is "moral and political, since [the aggression and ethnic purges] contradict the reign of order and legality produced in Western Europe . . . since the end of the Second World War." Pfaff thinks the Vance-Owen plan would only perpetuate existing evils and "intensify insecurities," and he dismisses as unworkable other proposals to protect various ethnic enclaves. The United Nations has lost its military credibility in the course of the Yugoslav affair, Pfaff says, but he urges that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization "guarantee against forcible change of those political frontiers in Eastern, East-Central and Balkan Europe that have not yet been violated but are threatened because of ethnic claims and rivalries."