



community have been met. I can report to the American people that we have achieved a victory for a safer world, for our democratic values, and for a stronger America.

The result will be security and dignity for the people of Kosovo, achieved by an alliance that stood together in purpose and resolve, assisted by the diplomatic efforts of Russia. This victory brings a new hope that when a people are singled out for destruction because of their heritage and religious faith and we can do something about it, the world will not look the other way.

I want to speak with you for a few moments tonight about why we fought, what we achieved and what we have to do now to advance the peace. ... We should remember that the violence we responded to in Kosovo was the culmination of a 10-year campaign by Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, to exploit ethnic and religious difference in order to impose his will on the lands of the former Yugoslavia. That's what he tried to do in Croatia and Bosnia and now in Kosovo. The world saw the terrifying consequences. ... For these atrocities, Mr. Milosevic and his top aides have been indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

For these things to happen, security must be established. To that end, some 50,000 troops

from almost 30 countries will deploy to Kosovo. Our European allies will provide the vast majority of them. America will contribute about 7,000. We are grateful that during NATO's air campaign we did not lose a single serviceman in combat.

I want to say a few words to the Serbian people tonight. I know that you too have suffered in Mr. Milosevic's war. You should know that your leaders could have kept Kosovo as a part of your country without driving a single Kosovar family from its home, without killing a single adult or child, without inviting a single NATO bomb to fall on your country.

You endured 79 days of bombing, not to keep Kosovo a province of Serbia, but simply because Mr. Milosevic was determined to eliminate Kosovar Albanians from Kosovo, dead or alive. ... Because of our resolve, the 20th century is ending, not with helpless indignation, but with a hopeful affirmation of human dignity and human rights for the 21st century. ... So tonight I ask you to be proud of your country and very proud of the men and women who serve it in uniform. For in Kosovo we did the right thing. We did it the right way. And we will finish the job.

Good night and may God bless our wonderful United States of America.

The consequences of the conflict

The establishment of Kosovo Force (KFOR)

When the fighting had stopped, the peacekeepers could move in. Ironically, in the years to follow, considerably more soldiers died in that role than during the war itself. The mandate to maintain peace is often costly. A task force of peacekeepers, Kosovo Force (KFOR), was created through the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 of June 10th, and its principal objectives were to bring about the return of a safe and secure environment for the people of Kosovo. These would be achieved through:

- the immediate and verifiable end of violence and repression in Kosovo
- withdrawal from Kosovo of military, police and paramilitary forces
- establishment of an interim administration for Kosovo, to be decided by the UN Security Council
- the safe and free return of all refugees and displaced persons, and unimpeded access to Kosovo by humanitarian aid organizations

- a political process towards the establishment of an interim political framework agreement providing for a substantial self-government for Kosovo, taking full account of the Rambouillet Agreement and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)
- the demilitarization of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)
- the stabilization and economic development of the crisis region.



▲ KFOR soldiers wave at returning Kosovo refugees

KFOR was to operate under the auspices of the UN but to remain under NATO's military command. In total, 30 countries – the 19 members of NATO and 11 “partners for peace” – pledged 48,000 troops to serve as the peacekeeping force in the area. They were to be sent there under the name “Operation Joint Guardian” and would ensure the immediate withdrawal of Serbian forces within 11 days of the signing of the agreement. The largest contingent of forces came from the UK, which contributed 13,000 soldiers. Germany sent 8,000 troops; the USA and France each contributed 7,000; and the Italians sent 5,000. Those countries willing to send soldiers to join the peacekeepers and to make a political statement of support included Switzerland, Morocco, Finland and the Ukraine. KFOR's first commander was to be Lieutenant-General Michael Jackson from the UK.

KFOR is a force designed to promote democratic values and human rights, not to destroy them.

— Jamie Shea, 1999



▲ The KFOR sectors

The task facing the soldiers of KFOR was not a combat operation but a role supporting the development of a stable and peaceful Kosovo, and to ensure that the terms of the agreement through Resolution 1244 were met. Thus, ensuring security and maintaining public order, facilitating the return of displaced persons, confiscating illegal weapons, providing medical assistance and expediting the return to a functioning political, social and economic life were all included in the mandate. Special attention had to be paid to the protection of minorities. On June 12 1999, the work began.

The five leading NATO members – the USA, the UK, France, Germany and Italy – were each given a zone or sector of Kosovo to administer, following a similar arrangement used in the Bosnian war. The British were to control the capital, Priština, and the airport. An incident happened right at the beginning of the KFOR mission that illustrated the fragility and complexities of such peacekeeping operations.



The incident at Priština, June 1999

There was a confrontation between the incoming troops of KFOR and Russian forces over control of Priština International Airport on 12 June 1999, just as the ceasefire had been agreed. The Russians were eager to secure a foothold in Kosovo, having helped to negotiate the ceasefire agreement and having been frustrated throughout the NATO campaign by their inability to influence events. Without prior warning, Russian military high command dispatched about 250 elite Russian soldiers to take control of the airfield. Upon hearing the news, General Wesley Clark, NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, asked NATO Secretary General Javier Solano if he had complete control over the mission and whether he was authorized to put soldiers on the ground. Receiving an affirmative answer, General Clark ordered the NATO troops closest to the airport to take control by force if necessary. These happened to be British soldiers under the command of Lieutenant-General Michael Jackson. Jackson wrote later in his autobiography:

I've thought about this quite a bit since, and my view is that the Russians were making a point by sending a column into Kosovo. They had been worsted in the Cold War, and there was considerable upset, even indignation, on the Russian side about NATO's expansion and the fact that the alliance had undertaken military action against Serbia without a UN Security Council resolution. The intervention was a reminder that the Russians were still players on the world stage, that they still needed to be treated with respect.

— Michael Jackson, 2007

Clark's contentious decision to challenge the Russians when they were landing soldiers at the airport in Priština was a risky manoeuvre. At the time, Clark's order was to disarm the Russian soldiers, which would have been highly confrontational. The leaders on the ground refused to do this. Instead, Jackson met the commander of the Russian force, shared a whisky with him and sorted out the potential problems. Jackson refused to enforce Clark's orders, which were to block the runway and prevent more Russian soldiers landing. Jackson reportedly told Clark, "I'm not going to start the Third World War for you" (in an interview on news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/671495.stm).



▲ Lieutenant-General Michael Jackson (right) with NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe Wesley Clark (centre) and Charles, Prince of Wales, in Kosovo



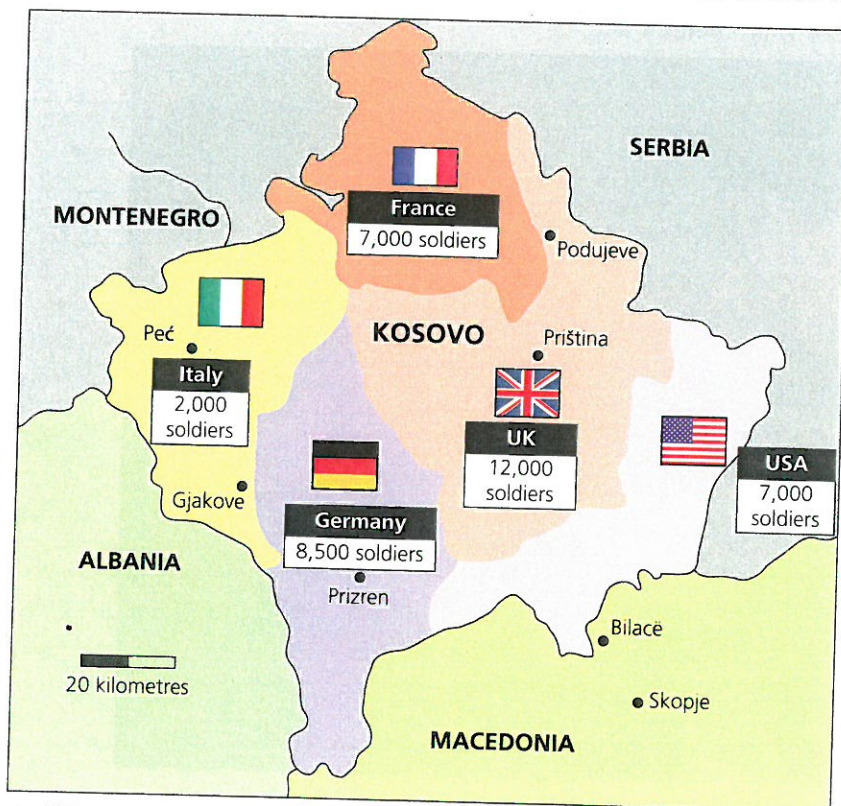
▲ American KFOR soldiers at a checkpoint near Vitina, Kosovo, in July 1999

Referring to General Clark, Jackson commented:

Wes Clark was something of a loner, a driver intensely ambitious man with a piercing stare. Often described as "tightly wound", he seemed to bring a disturbing zeal to his work. He had a reputation as a very political sort of general, antagonising his military superiors by going over their heads when they did not give him what he wanted. He was not popular among many of his colleagues, who knew him as the "Perfumed Prince". Like Bill Clinton, he had adopted his stepfather's name, and, like Bill Clinton, he came from Little Rock, Arkansas. A Vietnam veteran, Wes Clark was a highly educated man – and, again like Bill Clinton, a former Rhodes scholar.

— Michael Jackson, 2007

Clark's order to block the runway probably also served to alienate some diplomats back in the USA and contributed to the decision to bring him home early from his NATO command. The episode illustrated not only the fragility of relations between the major powers, but the strength and determination of NATO to follow through with its mission.



▲ KFOR deployments in 2000

At first, the KFOR soldiers who served in Kosovo faced all kinds of humanitarian problems in trying to establish a safe and secure environment. Technically, this meant treating everyone as fairly as possible: the Serbian soldiers in the province, the KLA guerrilla fighters, and civilians of all ethnic groups. In order to establish a safe and secure environment, we need to examine the social and economic consequences of the campaign, the damage to infrastructure in the region, as well as the refugee crisis. After the immense dislocations and deaths as a result of the Bosnian war and the break-up of the Yugoslav Federation, the allies had now committed themselves once more to administer another part of the former Yugoslav state, at great expense and for the unforeseeable future.

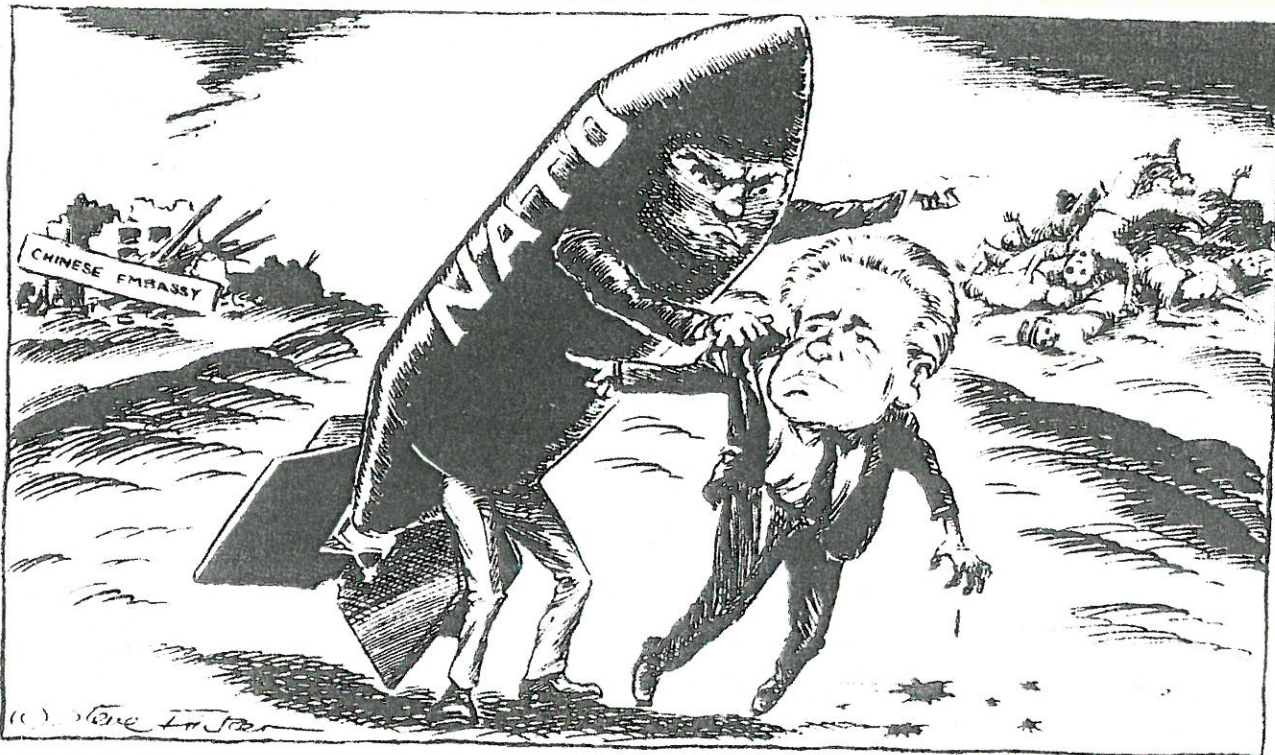


The bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade

Source skills

Source A

A cartoon by Steve Fricker on the Chinese embassy bombing, published in the UK newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*, on 10 May 1999.



▲ The man in the cartoon is President Milošević

Source B

An article entitled “Li Peng delivers speech in Belgrade”, published in the Chinese newspaper, *The People’s Daily*, on 13 June 2000.

Li Peng, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, said in Belgrade Monday that peace cannot be forged out of bombings. Referring to air strikes against Yugoslavia by a US-led NATO force last year, Li said the assault was a violation of the intent of the United Nations Charter and universally recognized norms governing international relations. The air strikes seriously threatened stability in Europe.

“Today, the gun smoke has dissipated. But, regrettably, the Kosovo issue is unresolved,” Li told a joint session of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia. “Regional conflicts and disputes

can only be resolved through peaceful consultations by parties concerned.”

Li said the US missile attack on the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade 13 months ago that killed three Chinese journalists and rendered the embassy building unusable is “a case of grave international wrongdoing seldom seen in the history of diplomacy and a gross violation of China’s sovereignty.” “The attack outraged the Chinese people,” said Li, who arrived in Belgrade on Sunday for a three-day official visit. The embassy bombing and the deaths of the Chinese journalists sparked anti-American protests in China.

Li expressed his gratitude for the help provided by Yugoslavia. China is in favour of multi-polarity because it is better than having the world dominated by one country. “Given the complexity of international affairs,

it is harmful and also impossible for any one country or a handful of countries to dominate international affairs," Li asserted.

Source C

An article entitled "NATO missiles hit Chinese embassy" by Daniel Williams published in the US newspaper, *The Washington Post*, on 8 May 1999.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/china/stories/embassy050899.htm>

BELGRADE, May 8 (Saturday) – NATO missiles plowed into the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade during a ferocious allied bombardment Friday that also struck the Interior Ministry and army headquarters and again plunged the capital city into darkness.

The official New China News Agency reported that two staff members were killed, two were missing and more than 20 injured. The strike on the embassy, which NATO acknowledged and said it regretted early today, seemed likely to complicate Western efforts to secure a diplomatic settlement to the Kosovo conflict and to raise new strains in U.S.-Chinese relations.

The government in Beijing, which has opposed the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia since it began 46 days ago, is a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, which means it could veto the peace framework the United States, its leading allies and Russia agreed to Thursday and want the council to approve. China called the council members into session today to consider the embassy bombing but the United States said the airstrikes would not stop, Reuter's news agency reported.

Earlier Friday, NATO cluster bombs struck a residential neighborhood and hospital grounds in Nis, Yugoslavia's third-largest city,

killing at least 14 civilians and wounding 30 others. NATO said later that it was "highly probable that a weapon went astray and hit civilian buildings" during an attack on a nearby airfield. Chinese television carried an extensive report on the bombing during its noon newscast. A somber announcer read an official statement condemning the "gross violation of China's sovereignty." The statement said, "the U.S.-led NATO attack used three missiles from different directions to attack China's embassy in Yugoslavia."

"We are greatly shocked by reports of NATO's bombing of the Chinese Embassy. We strongly condemn NATO's act and express our indignity," Qin said. "NATO should be held responsible for all consequences," he added, and repeated China's call for an immediate halt to the bombing.

At NATO headquarters in Brussels, alliance officials said that while each target was "meticulously planned" to minimize civilian loss of life, they acknowledged the strike on the embassy. "NATO regrets any damage to the embassy or injuries to Chinese diplomatic personnel," a statement said.

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said NATO authorities were investigating the Chinese Embassy bombing but could provide no details. "It is a heavy night [of bombing] in Belgrade," Bacon said, with the attacks focusing on "power facilities and command and control targets." Friday's attacks on Belgrade broke a four-day period of relative calm in the capital and concluded a day of relentless allied bombing across the country. At about 9:25 p.m. (3:25 p.m. EDT), power went out all over Belgrade, the result of an apparent hit on the city's electric power grid. Anti-aircraft fire lit up the clear night sky.



Source D

Anti-USA protestors in Beijing in May 1999.



First question, part a – 3 marks

In what ways does Source D confirm the information given by Li Peng in Source B?

First question, part b – 2 marks

In Source A, why is the NATO bomb pointing to the pile of bodies in the top right corner of the cartoon?

First question, part b – 2 marks

What is the message of the cartoon in Source A?

Second question – 4 marks

With reference to their origin, purpose and content, assess the values and limitations of Source B and D for anyone wanting to study what happened as a result of the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

Fourth question – 9 marks

Using the sources and your own knowledge, assess the importance of the NATO strike against the Chinese embassy in the Kosovo campaign between March 1999 and June 1999.