

## THE TROIKA CHART

Comparative interests of the three big players moderating the negotiations

	USA	RUSSIA	EU
<b>RELIABLE PARTNERS</b>	ALB	SRB	ALB+SRB
<b>STRATEGIC MOTIVATION</b>	Justify 1999 military intervention, present Kosovo as 'success story'	Demystify US interventionism, back to multipolar world	Assert stability in Balkans with aim of EU integration
<b>GEOPOLITICAL MOTIVE</b>	Confirm US supremacy & interventionism	Reemerge as world power	Assure EU's unity, CFSP credibility and proactive role
<b>BASIS FOR ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION</b>	Ad hoc criteria / Pax Americana	Universal principles / International Law	Anything via UNSC
<b>SUGGESTED SOLUTION</b>	Independence, one way or another	Everything on which both sides agree	Agreement desired, if not...
<b>IF UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE</b>	Unilateral recognition	No UN approval / Unilateral reaction in other crisis regions	Internal division; pulling out from joint mission
<b>PRECEDENT</b>	Not a precedent	Precedent indeed	Precedent, but not a precedent
<b>TACTICAL MISTAKE</b>	Underestimated Russia	Late involvement in status process	Premature alignment with US
<b>WISHFUL THINKING</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Close "the Albanian question"</li> <li>· Kosovo is "successful state-building project", an example for Iraq and Afghanistan.</li> <li>· Disengage US troops</li> <li>· Demonstrate good will towards "good Muslims"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Force US to step back from publicly stated commitment to Kosovo's independence.</li> <li>· Use Kosovo as model for solving ex-USSR Russian-minority issues</li> <li>· 'Savior of international law' image</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Form common EU policy; "constructive abstentions of dissident members"</li> <li>· Remain neutral in US-Russian geopolitical wrestling.</li> <li>· Keep good relations with Serbs &amp; Albanians at the same time</li> </ul>
<b>PRESSURE TOOLS</b>	Unilateral action	Ossetia, Abkhazia, Transdnistria. Energy policy.	Blocking European integration, cutting aid funds
<b>CATALYST FOR COMPROMISE</b>	Pressure on Albanians	No hot stirring in ex-USSR	Conditioning EU perspective with Serb-Albanian agreement
<b>CONSCIENCE PROBLEM</b>	Post-war failures in Iraq, Afghanistan	Stood aside during 1999 bombing of Serbia	Chronic lack of determination
<b>CONSISTENCY PROBLEMS</b>	Pro-autonomy in Georgia, Western Sahara, Moldova...	Pro-independence in Russian minority areas outside Russia	Pro-autonomy for Catalonia, Basque Country, Georgia...
<b>SECONDARY AGENDA</b>	Tactical military presence	Energy pathways	Readmission of Kosovo refugees and organized crime members