
Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Foreword</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>Acronyms</i>	xvi

Part I. Introduction

1. Introduction	3
I. Structural comparabilities between the USSR and Yugoslavia	6
II. Conceptual premises	8
III. The organization of the book	10
2. The disintegration of the communist federations of East-Central Europe and the Soviet Union, 1989-92	12
I. Introduction	12
II. State building in East-Central Europe	13
III. The relationship between the republics and the centre	17
IV. <i>Glasnost</i> and the re-emergence of nationalist tensions in the Soviet Union	20
V. The CSFR: towards a loose confederal structure?	25
VI. Yugoslavia: disintegration through war	29
VII. The future political map of East-Central Europe	30
VIII. What is a nation? What is a state?	32

Part II. Ethno-federalism under communism

3. The idea of the multinational communist federation: early Bolshevik theory and practice	39
I. The tsarist legacy on nationality and the Russian state	39
II. Bolshevik doctrine on nationality and the Russian state	43
III. The reality of the multinational communist federation	49
IV. Conclusion: the other side of the coin—form and function	55
4. Constants in the Yugoslav polity, 1918-54	57
I. Introduction	57
II. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1918-29	58
III. Nationalism and federalism in royalist and communist Yugoslavia, 1929-54	68
IV. Conclusions	77

5. Communist reform and ethno-federal stability	79
I. Introduction	79
II. De-Stalinization: the consequences and limits of Khrushchev's power	83
III. Reform and federalism in Tito's Yugoslavia	89
IV. Conclusions	94
6. Restoration and degeneration of the ethno-federal party-state	96
I. Introduction	96
II. The Brezhnev restoration, 1964–82	98
III. Soviet ethno-federalism and the 1977 Constitution	105
IV. The implosion of the Titoist state	107
V. Conclusions	115
Figure 6.1. Schematic representation of the stability of US and Soviet societies	97

Part III. The disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia

7. Gorbachev and the disintegration of the USSR	119
I. Introduction	119
II. Western views on the Soviet nationality issue	120
III. Gorbachev's programme of reform	126
IV. The defection of Russia	135
V. Conclusions	143
8. The disintegration of the Yugoslav state, 1987–91	144
I. Introduction	144
II. Overture: the Serbian–Albanian conflict in Kosovo	145
III. Milosevic's 'putsch'	148
IV. Serbia's policy towards its autonomous provinces and the rest of Yugoslavia	151
V. Milosevic's strategy	155
VI. The Serbian–Slovenian conflict over policy in Kosovo and Yugoslavia	158
VII. Croatia chooses sides	162
VIII. The 14th Congress of the LCY: a watershed in Yugoslav politics	164
IX. Slovenia's road to independence	165
X. Croatia follows suit	168
XI. Conclusion: confederation or disintegration?	169
9. The wars of Yugoslav succession, 1991–95	174
I. Introduction	174
II. The position of the Yugoslav People's Army	174
III. The Serbian backlash in Croatia	177

IV.	Efforts to preserve a federal state by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic	182
V.	The war in Slovenia	183
VI.	Croatian reactions to the war in Slovenia	186
VII.	Public opinion in wartime Serbia	187
VIII.	Towards a 'Greater Serbia' and the Serbian-Croatian war	189
IX.	Borders and populations	195
X.	Conclusions	197
Figure 9.1.	Maps showing ethnic divisions in the former Yugoslavia, before the break-up in 1991, and areas of control after the Dayton General Framework Agreement, as of November 1995	194
10.	The disintegration of Bosnia and Herzegovina	200
I.	Introduction	200
II.	Serb rejection of power sharing in Bosnia and Herzegovina	202
III.	The rise and fall of the Muslim-Croat alliance	205
IV.	Serbian and Croatian plans to split Bosnia and Herzegovina	209
V.	Fighting between Croats and Muslims	212
VI.	The real civil wars: Serb against Serb, Croat against Croat and Muslim against Muslim	215
VII.	Conclusions: towards Croat-Muslim reconciliation?	217
 Part IV. International consequences of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the USSR		
11.	The international setting of Soviet and Yugoslav disintegration	221
I.	Introduction	221
II.	The optimism of 1989-91	225
III.	The emergence of Russian nationalism	232
IV.	Conclusions	240
12.	The Yugoslav wars, 1991-93: a case study of post-cold war international politics	242
I.	Introduction	242
II.	The international setting	243
13.	European reactions to the break-up of Yugoslavia	251
I.	Introduction	251
II.	EC policy towards the post-Yugoslav conflicts	257
III.	The EC and the wars of Yugoslav succession: the early stages	259
IV.	The EC's instruments: economic and political pressure	262
V.	Military intervention and historical ties	266
VI.	Germany and the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia	269

VII. A note on the Badinter Commission	275
VII. Conclusion: EC policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina	281
14. The role of the United Nations in the former Yugoslavia	284
I. Introduction	284
II. UN diplomatic efforts to solve the conflict in Croatia	285
III. UN operations in Croatia, 1991–95	287
IV. UN efforts to prevent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina	290
V. The UN embargo on delivery of weapons	295
VI. Economic sanctions	300
VII. Conclusions	302
15. US policy towards Yugoslavia: from differentiation to disintegration	303
I. Postwar US–Yugoslav relations, 1948–90	303
II. US–Yugoslav relations, 1990–93	307
III. A note on the question of genocide	324
16. Russian foreign policy and the wars in the former Yugoslavia	327
I. Introduction	327
II. Soviet and Russian reactions to the disintegration of Yugoslavia	334
III. Post-coup Russian policy towards the former Yugoslavia	337
IV. Conclusion: towards the Contact Group	345
17. After empire: Russia and its neighbours in the CIS and East–Central Europe	350
I. Introduction	350
II. Russia's geopolitical retreat, 1989–91	351
III. Russian reaction to the loss of empire	352
IV. The military and Russian foreign policy	354
V. East–Central Europe is different	369
VI. Conclusion: some policy implications	375
Part IV. Conclusions and bibliography	
18. Conclusions	
I. Introduction	381
II. Ethno-federalism and political development	381
III. Ethno-federalism and the Russian Federation	385
IV. The collapse of the communist federations and the end of the cold war	393
Figure 18.1. The 89 'subjects' of the Russian Federation	386
Bibliography	403
Index	420