

# CONTENTS

FOREWORD, by Leo Tindemans vii

SUMMARY OVERVIEW xiii

---

**INTRODUCTION** **1**

**I. THE BALKAN PREDICAMENT** **13**

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR:  
FALLACIES AND REALITIES 13

Great Power Ambitions? 13

Ancestral Hatreds? 14

A Clash of Civilizations? 15

THE BREAKUP OF YUGOSLAVIA 22

The Dual Legacy of Ethnic Nationalism  
and Communism 23

The Failed Transition to Democracy 26

NATION-STATE BUILDING IN  
A MULTI-ETHNIC ENVIRONMENT 28

From Self-Determination to Secession 28

Bosnia and Herzegovina—A Nation-State  
Without a Nation? 32

MAIN ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED 35

**II. THE WAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE** **37**

PRELUDE AND WAR 37

THE LOGIC OF PEACE PLANS 42

Last Chances 43

Croatia 45

Bosnia and Herzegovina 47

TRANSATLANTIC STRAINS 55

The European Response 56

The United States 62

Russia 65

The United Nations 67

Three Errors of Western Policy 68

CONCLUSIONS 74

<b>III. COUNTRY CONDITIONS, TRENDS, AND PROPOSALS</b>	<b>77</b>
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	77
Republika Srpska	79
The Bosniak-Croat Federation	81
Trends in Bosniak Politics and Society	84
Conclusions and Recommendations	84
CROATIA	102
The Opposition in Croatia	104
Conclusions and Recommendations	106
SERBIA	107
Conclusions and Recommendations	111
KOSOVO AND SERBIA'S TANGLED ETHNIC RELATIONS	112
Kosovo	113
Conclusions and Recommendations	117
THE ALBANIANS	119
Albanians in Macedonia	119
Albanian Union?	122
Albania	123
Conclusions and Recommendations	126
MACEDONIA	127
Conclusions and Recommendations	129
BULGARIA, THE BULGARIAN TURKS, AND TURKEY	130
GREECE AND TURKEY IN THE BALKANS	132
Minorities in Greece	133
Turkey's Role in the Balkans	134
Turkey's Ethnic Entanglements	135

<b>IV. THE REGION: CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS</b>	<b>137</b>
BALKAN REGIONAL COOPERATION	140
Economic Cooperation	142
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT	144
Developing the Economies of the Region	145
DEMOCRACY: CIVIL SOCIETY AND MEDIA	148
Obstacles to Democracy	148
Civil Society	150
Independent Media	152
ETHNIC RELATIONS AND THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES	157
SECURITY	164
Arms Control and Collective Security	165
The Continuing Commitment of NATO	169
<b>EPILOGUE</b>	<b>173</b>

---

## ANNEXES

MAPS	175
The Commission's Study Missions and Meetings	179
About the Commission, its Members, Staff, and Consultants	191
About Aspen Institute Berlin and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	194
The 1913 Carnegie Endowment Commission's Report on the Balkans	198