

Publishers:

National Defence Academy
Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management
Vienna

in co-operation with:

PfP-Consortium of Defence Academies
and Security Studies Institutes

Author:

Prof. Enver Hasani, PhD

Managing Editor:

Capt Mag. Ernst M. Felberbauer

Facilitating Editors:

Andreas Buranich

Michael Franz

Layout:

Zeichenstelle Landesverteidigungsakademie, Vienna.

Production:

Akademiedruckerei Landesverteidigungsakademie, Vienna.

Address:

Stiftgasse 2a, 1070 Vienna, AUSTRIA

ISBN: 3-901328-81-5

CONTENTS

Abstract	7
-----------------------	----------

Chapter I

Introduction	9
---------------------------	----------

Chapter II

Fundamental Concepts	17
-----------------------------------	-----------

1. The Content and Function of the Uti Possidetis Principle.....	17
2. The Concept of International Stability.....	30
3. The End of the Cold War.....	39
4. Territorial and Ethnic Self-Determination.....	44

Chapter III

Self-Determination: From the Peace of Westphalia (1648)

to the End of the Cold War	59
---	-----------

1. Dynastic Legitimacy (1648-1815).....	59
2. The Balance of Power (1815-1914).....	62
3. The Principal Manifestations of Self-Determination between the Two Wars (1918-1939).....	69
3.1. Lenin and the Soviet Conception of Self-Determination.....	72
3.2. Wilson and his Views Regarding Self-Determination.....	80
3.3. The Aaland Islands Case	84

4.1. The Process of Decolonisation: Territorial Integrity as a Means of Preserving Territorial Integrity	94
4.1.1.The Case of Western Sahara	107
4.1.2.The Secession of Bangladesh.....	111
4.1.3.Two Failed Attempts at Secession: Katanga and Biafra.....	114
4.2. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Its Background and Beyond.....	119

Chapter IV

Self-Determination in the Former Yugoslavia:

from its Creation to its Dissolution (1918-1992) 125

1. The Origins of the 'Yugoslav Idea' and the Serbian Nationalism	125
2. The Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom: The Embodiment of the Principle of Self-Determination or the Hegemony of One Nation?	131
3. The Second World War and the Communist Conception of Self-Determination	143
4. Communist Yugoslavia: The Final Dissolution of the State.....	151
5. From Greater-Serbian Project to the Serbian Insistence on State Continuity with Former Yugoslavia	172

Chapter V

The Dissolution of Yugoslavia and

the Search for Self-Determination..... 201

1. Northern Republics (Slovenia and Croatia)
and Their 'Western Type' Self-Determination 201
2. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Former Yugoslav Republic
of Macedonia (FYROM): the Victims of the
Balance of Power Within Yugoslavia..... 211
3. Serbia's War Aims and the Future
of the Greater Serbian Project..... 219
4. Serbian Transformation of the 'Autonomous Entities' into
'Sovereign and Independent Republics':
An Arbitrary Interpretation of the International Statehood 229
5. The Dayton Model for Kosovo..... 235
- 5.1. The Kosovo Albanian Way Pursued for the
Achievement of Self-Determination..... 236
- 5.2. The End of a Sad Chapter: NATO Intervenes
to Impose (an Internal-Type of) Self - Determination
for Kosovo (March - June 1999) 239

Chapter VI

The International Community's Efforts to Prevent the Illegal and Illegitimate Way of Implementing

Self-Determination within the Territory of Former Yugoslavia.... 249

1. The European Guidelines on Recognition of New States in the
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe 249
2. Work of the Badinter Commission and its Impact on the Crisis 259
 - 2.1. Self-Determination..... 267
 - 2.2. Uti Possidetis 274
3. Rule of Law, Democracy and the Respect
for Human and Minority Rights..... 285
4. Means at the Disposal of the International Community to
Achieve its Goals Concerning Yugoslav Self-Determination 289

Chapter VII

Conclusion..... 301

Bibliography..... 315

List of Acronyms 365

Acknowledgments..... 367

About the Author..... 371