

**RUES/PWAD 469 “Ethnic Conflict and International
Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia”**

Spring 2008

**Tuesday & Thursday, 9:30-10:45
1005 Global Education Center**

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Office Hours: Monday, 1:30-3:00, Thursday 11:00-12:00, and by appointment

This course focuses on factors leading to the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia, the nature of conflicts in this territory throughout the 1990s, and the various efforts of the international community to end conflict and promote post-conflict reconstruction and development. We will explore how ethno-nationalist identity and mobilization have developed and transformed up to the most recent events. We will also examine the evolution of international intervention from the beginnings of conflict through current efforts. We will end by discussing implications of intervention, ethnic conflict, and nation building in Iraq.

A central theme of the course is the question of state building, the creation of institutions with a territorial monopoly on coercion, administrative structures for provision of order and extraction of resources, and political organizations that fill key positions and make policy. The role of nationalist ideology and organization in the breakdown and building of state structures is a key element of this theme, as is conflict, often violent, surrounding the implementation of state building projects. A final element of major significance is the impact of international intervention or world geopolitics, particularly the interests of Great Powers and their attempts to shape state building projects of local actors.

In addition to historical and case study material on Yugoslavia, several class sessions will be devoted to general discussions of the major themes: ethno-nationalism, state building, and international intervention. Readings for these sessions are drawn from a wide variety of social science literature that addresses these broad themes in a cross-national context. These sessions are marked in bold on the reading list below.

No background in Yugoslav history or politics is assumed. Readings for the course are designed to illustrate the basic themes of national identity, political mobilization, state building, and international intervention over the course of the 20th century, with an emphasis on the past 15-20 years. We will be viewing the Peabody award-winning documentary film series, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. The accompanying book is highly recommended but not required for the course: Laura Silber, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, revised and updated edition, Penguin, 1997. Also recommended is Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*, third revised edition, Penguin, 1996. These books are on reserve at Undergraduate Library and can be ordered from a web service.

Many of the readings for the course are available in electronic journals accessible through the library web site (<http://eresources.lib.unc.edu/ejournal/>). Others are available from web sites

maintained by think tanks and other organizations; URLs are provided for these sources. Selected readings (mostly book chapters and excerpts) are available through blackboard (<http://blackboard.unc.edu/>). Please note that my own understanding and development of the course content is a constant work in progress, so substitutions for the readings listed below are possible.

Requirements:

Students are expected to attend class and participate in discussions. Course time will typically include an initial presentation by the instructor, followed by class discussion. Students are expected to come to class prepared for discussion by doing the assigned readings and thinking about them in light of the course themes. Graduate students are required to make two presentations during the semester during the general theme sessions.

Two 10 page written papers are required during the semester. Papers should take a topic or theme from the course session and expand upon it by doing additional research. The instructor will work with students to select topics of interest and develop their research. The first paper is due, Monday, February 25. The second paper is due Monday, April 21. Both should be submitted electronically. Additionally, students will be required to take a final examination on April 29, 2008. Graduate students can substitute a third paper for the final exam.

Final grade is a weighted average of participation (15 percent), papers (30 percent each, or 60 percent total) and final exam (25 percent).

Topics and Reading List

Date	Topic	Readings
Jan 10	Introduction	No reading
Jan 15	Thinking ethnicity, nationalism, and the state	Calhoun, Craig. 1993. "Nationalism and Ethnicity." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 19:211-39. Axtmann, Roland. 2004. "The State of the State: The Model of the Contemporary State and its Transformation." <i>International Political Science Review</i> 25(No. 3):259-279.
Jan 17	Historical origins of nationalism in Yugoslavia	Lederer, Ivo J. 1969. "Nationalism and the Yugoslavs." Pp. 396-438 in <i>Nationalism in Eastern Europe</i> , Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, eds.
Jan 22	Interwar & Wartime Yugoslavia	Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. <i>History of the Balkans, Vol. 2, Twentieth Century</i> . Chap. 5, "The first postwar decade," pp. 134-157 Chap. 6, "Balkan authoritarian regimes: the outbreak of World War II," pp. 192-204; 235-238 Chap. 7, "The Balkan states in World War II," pp. 262-273; 295-300.

Jan 24	Tito's Yugoslavia	Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. <i>History of the Balkans</i> Chap. 8, "The Immediate Post-War Readjustments," pp. 314-328. Chap. 9, "The Communist governments, 1950-1980," pp. 384-405. Vejvoda, Ivan. 1996. "Yugoslavia 1945-91 – from Decentralisation Without Democracy to Dissolution." Pp. 155-176 in <i>Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth</i> . Eds., David A Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda. London and New York: Longman.
Jan 29	History and Memory in Tito's Yugoslavia	Hoepkin, Wolfgang. 1999. "War, Memory, and Education in a Fragmented Society: The Case of Yugoslavia." <i>East European Politics and Societies</i> 13(1):190-227.
Jan 31	Ethnicity, nationalism & violence	Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 24:423-452. Máiz, Ramón. 2003. "Politics and the nation: nationalist mobilization of ethnic differences." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 9(2):195-212.
Feb 5	Economic Crisis and Emergent Nationalism	Zizmond, Egon. 1992. "The Collapse of the Yugoslav Economy." <i>Soviet Studies</i> 44(1):101-112. Vujacic, Veljko. 1996. "Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism." <i>East European Constitutional Review</i> 5(4):51-61
Feb 7	Post-Tito Nationalism	Gagnon, Jr., V.P. 1994-95. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." <i>International Security</i> 19(3):130-166.
Feb 12	Nationalism, memory, and elite manipulation	.Denich, Bette. 1994. "Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and Symbolic Revival of Genocide." <i>American Ethnologist</i> 21(No. 2):367-390. Judah, Tim. 2000. <i>The Serbs: History, Myth & the Destruction of Yugoslavia</i> , 2d edition. New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press. Chap. 9, "Frankie and Badger Go to War," pp.168-181.
Feb 14	War in Slovenia & Croatia	Glenny, Misha. 1996. <i>The Fall of Yugoslavia: the Third Balkan War</i> . Revised & Updated Edition. Penguin. Chap. 1, "The Heart of the Matter," pp. 1-30; Chap. 4, "The Twilight Zone," pp. 98-137.
Feb 19	War in BiH	United Nations Commission of Experts. 1994. Final Report, Annex V, "The Prijedor Report." READ Part One and scan Part Two for details on Serb takeover (Sections IV and V) http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/V.htm Andreas, Peter. 2004. "The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 48(1):29-51
Feb 21	Assessing International Intervention	Jackson, Robert. 2004. "International Engagement in War-Torn Societies." <i>Global Governance</i> 10:21-36. Regan, Patrick M. 1996. "Conditions of Successful Third Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflicts." <i>The Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 40(No. 2):336-359.

Feb 25	First Paper Due	
Feb 26	International Response I	Weller, Marc. 1992. "The International Response to the Dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." <i>The American Journal of International Law</i> 86(3):569-607.
Feb 28	International Response II	Andreatta, Filippo. 1997. "The Bosnian War and the New World Order: Failure and Success of International Intervention." Brussels: Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Paper 1. http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ01.html Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. READ Pp. iii-10. http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf
Mar 4	Dayton Framework	The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (The Dayton Agreement). 1995. http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm Bieber, Florian. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments toward a more integrated state?" <i>Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs</i> 22(No. 1):205-218.
Mar 6	Serbia in the 1990s	Sekelj, Laslo. 2000. "Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Change Without Transformation." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 52(1):57-75.
Mar 7-16	<i>Spring Break</i>	
Mar 18	Kosovo conflict	Judah, Tim. 2000. <i>Kosovo: War and Revenge</i> . Yale Univ. Press Chap. 2, Slobodan.Milosevic@gov.yu , pp. 33-60. Judah, Tim. 2000. "The Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA-UCK." <i>Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs</i> 5(3):61-77. Available at http://www.kosovo.net/kla8.html
Mar 20	International intervention in Kosovo	Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. READ Pp. 11-28. http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf Papasotiriou, Harry. 2002. "The Kosovo War: Kosovar Insurrection, Serbian Retribution and NATO Intervention." <i>The Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 25(1):39-62.
Mar 25	Post-conflict state building	Fukuyama, Francis. 2005. "The Imperatives of State-Building." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 15(No. 2):17-31. Ottaway, Marina. 2002. "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States." <i>Development and Change</i> 33(5):1001-1023.
Mar 27	Post-war Kosovo	Yannis, Alexandros. 2004. "The UN as Government in Kosovo." <i>Global Governance</i> 10(1):67-81. International Crisis Group. 2007. "Kosovo Countdown: A Blueprint for Transition." Europe Report No. 188 (December). http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/188_kosovo_countdown_a_blueprint_for_transition.pdf

Apr 1	Serbia after Kosovo	<p>Judah, Tim. 2001. "Goodbye to Yugoslavia." <i>New York Review of Books</i> 48(Feb. 8, No. 2):44+. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14056</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2006. "Serbia's New Constitution: Democracy Going Backwards." Europe Briefing No. 44. Belgrade/Brussels. (November) http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/b44_serbias_new_constitution_democracy_going_backwards.pdf</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2007. "Serbia's New Government: Turning from Europe." Europe Briefing No. 46 (May) http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/b46_serbias_new_government_turning_from_europe.pdf</p>
Apr 3	Croatia after Tadjman	<p>Bellamy, Alex J. 2001. "Croatia After Tadjman." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 5):18-31.</p> <p>Peskin, Victor, and Mieczysław P. Boduszyński. 2003. "International Justice and Domestic Politics: Post-Tadjman Croatia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 55(7):1117-1142.</p>
Apr 8	Bosnia and Europe	<p>Knaus, Gerald, & Felix Martin. 2003. "Travails of the European Raj." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 14(3):60-74.</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2007. "Ensuring Bosnia's Future: A New International Engagement Strategy." Europe Report No. 180 (February). http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/180_ensuring_bosnias_future.pdf</p> <p>European Stability Initiative. 2007. "The Worst in Class: How the International Protectorate hurts the European Future of Bosnia & Herzegovina." http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_98.pdf</p>
Apr 10	Europe Union and Conditionality	<p>Schimmelfennig, Frank, & Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2004. "Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central & Eastern Europe." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 11(No. 4): 661-679.</p> <p>Knaus, Gerald, and Marcus Cox. 2005. "The 'Helsinki Moment' in Southeast Europe." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16(No.1): 39-53.</p>
Apr 15	Nationalism in Iraq	<p>Davis, Eric. 2005. "The Uses of Historical Memory." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16(No. 3):54-68.</p> <p>Gunter, et al. 2004. "The Kurds in Iraq." <i>Middle East Policy</i> 11(No. 1):106-131</p>
Apr 17	US Intervention & Sectarian Violence	<p>Dodge, Toby. 2005. "Iraqi Transtions: from regime change to state collapse." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 26(No. 4-5):705-721.</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2006. "After Baker-Hamilton: What to Do in Iraq." Middle East Report 60 (February) http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east_no_rth_africa/60_after_baker_hamilton_what_to_do_in_iraq.pdf</p>
Apr 21	Second Paper Due	

Apr 22	A Final Look at Intervention	<p>Skidelsky, Robert, & Michael Ignatieff. 1999. "Debate: Is Military Intervention over Kosovo Justified?" <i>Prospect</i> 42 (June).</p> <p>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2003. "Lessons from the Past: The American Record in Nation-Building." Policy Brief No. 24 (April) http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Policybrief24.pdf</p> <p>Russett, Bruce. 2005. "Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace." <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> 6:395-408.</p>
Apr 24	Conclusion	To be announced
Apr 29	8:00 a.m. – FINAL EXAMINATION	