

**University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Burch Field Research Seminar
Summer 2003**

**"International Organizations And The Balkans: Focus On The Organization
For Security And Cooperation In Europe (OSCE)"**

Dr. Robert M. Jenkins
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This seminar combines course work with experiential learning to investigate the structure and dynamics of international organizations (IOs) and their role in conflict resolution and democracy building in post-communist Europe. The course work will involve lectures and discussion about the historical evolution of communism in Yugoslavia, the conflicts surrounding the breakup of Yugoslavia, international intervention in response to these conflicts, and general overviews of European security institutions and policy toward the Balkans.

The experiential learning will focus on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a regional security organization that has taken an active role in post-communist democracy, human rights, and peace building activities. The seminar will visit meetings of the Permanent Council of OSCE, the main regular decision-making body of OSCE, which convenes weekly in Vienna to discuss current developments in the OSCE area and to make appropriate decisions. We will also receive briefings from staff at OSCE and from the missions of member countries. In June and July we will make a field visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where we will meet with staff of the OSCE mission as well as other IOs active in that country.

To enhance understanding of the challenges facing post-communist countries and factors behind international intervention in them, we will first look at history of communism in Yugoslavia. Attention is then turned to the conflicts that developed in Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and the response of international organizations to these conflicts. An assessment of the evolution of international responses will be made. Comparison is made between the experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina and later interventions in Kosovo and Macedonia.

Location:

The Diplomatic Academy of Vienna
Favoritenstrasse 15A
A-1040 Vienna, Austria
Phone: 43-1-505-7272
<http://www.da-vienna.at/>

Requirements:

Students are required to maintain a journal detailing their experience with and understanding of the international organizations contacted during the seminar. Journal entries are due on

Mondays. Additionally, students must write a 20-25 page research paper on a topic dealing with international organizations, approved in consultation with Dr. Jenkins.

Format:

1. Lectures from the academic staff of the Diplomatic Academy

Monday-Wednesday, 9:15-11:00. A series of lectures covering the history of Austria, European political and economic institutions, EU enlargement, European security architecture, international legal and economic institutions, and European-US relations. Lectures are provided by both permanent and visiting faculty members of the Diplomatic Academy. See the separate listing of topics and lecturers.

2. Seminar by Dr. Jenkins

Monday-Wednesday, 11:15-1:00. A seminar described in the course outline below.

3. Field visits

On Thursdays will visit OSCE and other international organizations in Vienna. Additional briefings and lectures will be arranged. There will be a two week trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Graduate Assistant: Rosa Magnusdottir

Rosa is a Ph.D. student in History and will be living at the Diplomatic Academy.

Readings:

- Two books are required. They should be ordered from an on-line service.

Glenny, Misha. 1996. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. Penguin.
Bose, Sumatra. 2002. *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. Oxford Univ. Press.

- Additional readings will be drawn from the Internet and other sources.
- Familiarity with the web sites of the key international organizations involved in the Balkans is required.
 - **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** web site (<http://www.osce.org/>) includes much important information on structure and operations as well as a collection of historical documents.
 - **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** web site (<http://www.nato.int/>) has information on NATO activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia.
 - **The Office of High Representative (OHR)** in Bosnia-Herzegovina web site (<http://www.ohr.int/>) has responsibility for coordination of civilian activities in

Bosnia-Herzegovina. During our trip to BiH we will pay particular attention to the activities of the Reconstruction and Return Task Force (<http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/rrtf/>).

- **The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)** has been active in refugee return in the countries of the conflict (<http://www.unhcr.ch/>). We will meet with UNHCR representatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina (<http://www.unhcr.ba/>).
- **The European Union** (<http://www.europa.eu.int/>) has been involved in diplomatic activities in the Balkan conflicts and is a major source of financing for aid and reconstruction. An overview of activities is available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/index.htm/.

Course Outline

1. The Rise and Fall of Communism in Yugoslavia (June 2-4)

The rise of nationalism in Yugoslavia and the mobilization to violence are examined. We note that independence moves by Slovenia and Croatia bring a Serbian response and violence erupts. The international community is unable to avoid tragedy.

Reading:

Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, pp. 1-137.

Woodward, Susan. 1996. "The West and the International Organisations." Pp. 155-176 in *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth*. Eds., David A Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda. London and New York: Longman.

◆ June 5, Visit to OSCE Permanent Council meeting and Briefings from OSCE Secretariat Staff

Closely examine this document at the OSCE web site:

OSCE Handbook.

<http://www.osce.org/publications/handbook/>

Review these documents at the OSCE web site:

"Final Act" of the 1975 Helsinki Summit

<http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/helfa75e.htm>

1990 Paris Summit establishing the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe"

<http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/helfa75e.htm>

"Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Era" from the 1994 Budapest Summit

<http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/buda94e.htm>

2. The wars of independence and the end of Yugoslavia (June 9-11)

We discuss how the Bosnia conflict emerged from developments in Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia. Failed attempts by the international community are examined. Ultimately the General Framework Agreement (Dayton Peace Agreement) brings the Bosnian conflict to an end.

Reading

Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, pp. 138-292.

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/>

- ◆ **June 12, Statement of Proposed Research Topic and Tentative Bibliography due**
- ◆ **June 12, Visit to OSCE Permanent Council meeting and Briefings from OSCE Secretariat Staff**

Review the field activities of the OSCE at the organization web site
(http://www.osce.org/field_activities/).

3. The Dayton Peace Agreement and International Intervention (June 16-18)

International intervention to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina leads to the General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Peace Agreement). The peace agreement creates a complex architecture of international intervention. We review the agreement, the structure created, and problems that arise.

Reading:

Bose, Sumantra. 2002. *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. Pp. 1-148.

Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf>

The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (The Dayton Agreement). <http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm>

- ◆ **June 19, presentations by experts and practitioners.**

4-5. Field Trip: International Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina (June 21-July 5)

After Dayton tremendous challenges remain for the international community. How does the implementation of the peace agreement proceed? What are the roles of the international organizations? How do these IOs coordinate their activities? We take our questions into the field and meet with field mission staff from a number of organizations.

Reading:

International Crisis Group. 2002. "The Continuing Challenge of Refugee Returns in Bosnia& Herzegovina." Balkans Report No. 137. 41pp.

http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/bosnia/reports/A400847_13122002.pdf

International Crisis Group. 2001. "Bosnia: Reshaping the International Machinery." 23pp.

http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/bosnia/reports/A400499_29112001-1.pdf

European Stability Initiative. 1999. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part One: Bosnian Power Structures." 18pp.

http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI_rep_bosnia10.pdf

European Stability Initiative. 2000. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part Two: International Power in Bosnia." 64pp.

http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI_rep_bosnia07.pdf

European Stability Initiative. 2001. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part Three: The end of the nationalist regimes and the future of the Bosnian state." 27pp. http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI_rep_bosnia04.pdf

◆ June 21-July 5, field trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Review the web sites of international organizations active in Bosnia-Herzegovina (top of syllabus).

6. Assessing the International Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina (July 7-9)

After Dayton tremendous challenges remain for the international community. How does the implementation of the peace agreement proceed? What are the roles of the international organizations? What are the successes and failures of international intervention? What challenges remain? We evaluate our field experiences.

Reading:

Bose, Sumantra. *Bosnia after Dayton*. Pp. 149-281.

◆ July 10, field trip to United Nations headquarters in Vienna.

Review the web site of US Mission to the UN headquarters in Vienna and of the UN Offices in Vienna

<http://www.usun-vienna.usia.co.at/>

<http://www.un.or.at/>

7. Kosovo Conflict & the fall of Milošević (July 14-16)

We examine the Kosovo conflict in light of the Bosnia conflict. What are the similarities and differences? Does the international community appear to have learned any lessons? What will be the final status of Kosovo? We also briefly examine the fall of Milošević and subsequent political developments in Serbia.

International Crisis Group. 2002. "A Kosovo Roadmap (I): Addressing Final Status." Balkan Report No. 124. Priština/ Brussels. 23pp.

http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/kosovo/reports/A400561_01032002.pdf

Mertus, Julie. 2001. "Legitimizing the Use of Force in Kosovo." *Ethics and International Affairs* 15(No. 1, April):133-150. <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/pdf/mertus.pdf>

**Posen, Barry. 2000. "The War for Kosovo." *International Security* 24(4):39-84.

NATO. no date. "NATO's role in relation to the conflict in Kosovo."

<http://www.nato.int/kosovo/history.htm>

International Crisis Group. 2003. "Serbia after Djindjic." Balkans Report No. 141.

Belgrade/Brussels. 18pp.

http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/serbia/reports/A400921_18032003.pdf

Judah, Tim. 2001. "Goodbye to Yugoslavia." *New York Review of Books* 48(Feb. 8, No. 2):44+.

Schmidt Hansen, Kenneth. 2000. "The fall of Milosevic and the Kosovo Problem." Danish

Institute of International Affairs (DUPI) Working Paper No. 2000/9. 12pp.

<http://www.dupi.dk:80/webtxt/WP0009.pdf>

◆ **July 14, Draft of Research Paper due**

◆ **July 17, Visit to OSCE Permanent Council meeting and Briefings from OSCE Secretariat Staff**

8. Macedonia & the future of Southeast Europe (July 21-23)

The Macedonian crisis of 2001 raised the specter of another conflict in the region. How did the international community respond and is there any hope for a broader regional settlement?

Schnekener, Ulrich. 2002. "Developing and Applying EU Crisis Management: Test Case Macedonia." European Centre for Minority Issues Working Paper #14. 43pp.

http://www.ecmi.de/doc/download/working_paper_14.pdf

*Hislope, Robert. 2002. "Organized Crime in a Disorganized State: How Corruption Contributed to Macedonia's Mini-War." *Problems of Post-Communism* 49(No. 3):33-41.

Judah, Tim. 2001. "Greater Albania?" *New York Review of Books* 48(May 17, No. 8):35+.

East West Institute, in partnership with the European Stability Initiative. 2001. "Democracy, Security And The Future Of The Stability Pact For South Eastern Europe: A Framework For Debate." 37pp.

<http://www.esiweb.org/>

◆ **July 24, Final Research Paper due**