

**University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Burch Field Research Seminar
Summer 2005**

"International Organizations and the Balkans: Focus on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)"

Dr. Robert M. Jenkins
(email: rjenkins@email.unc.edu)

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 and state-building in Southeast Europe. The course work will involve a deep look at the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, the resulting conflicts and civil wars, and the dynamics of post-war politics. A central element of these analyses is the role of international actors during the crises and in the post-conflict reconstruction processes. The reading list is designed to give students a solid grounding on developments in Serbia, Kosovo, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition, there will be three guest lectures from distinguished diplomats and professors on European institutions and security. These are designed to offer a distinctive European perspective to the course. Students will be required to keep a weekly journal and demonstrate original research skills by writing a 10-page paper during the 10-31 July stay in Vienna.

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, the main regular decision-making body of OSCE, which convenes weekly in Vienna to discuss current developments in the OSCE area and take appropriate decisions. We will also receive briefings from staff at OSCE and from the missions of member countries. During the first two weeks of August we will make a field visit to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where we will meet with staff of the OSCE missions as well as other international organizations active in those countries.

Vienna 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 attend class sessions and field trips, maintain a journal detailing their experience with and understanding of the international organizations contacted during the seminar, and produce a 10 page research paper based on original research on a topic dealing with international organizations, approved in consultation with Dr. Jenkins. Journal entries are due on

Mondays. A draft of the research paper is due on Friday, July 22. Final papers are due on Friday, July 29.

Format:

1. Seminar with Dr. Jenkins

The course will meet three days per week, Monday-Wednesday. Two separate sessions will be offered each day: 9:15-11:00 and 11:15-1:00. There will be separate readings for each session. These are listed in the course outline below.

2. Guest Lectures

Guest Lecturers will present on the topics of the European Union, European security, and the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe. Dates for these presentations are listed on the course outline.

3. Field visits in Vienna

On Thursdays will visit OSCE and the UN headquarters in Vienna. These are listed on the course outline. Additional briefings and lectures will be arranged.

4. Field visits in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

During the two week trip to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina we will meet with OSCE mission headquarters in each country as well as with OSCE regional centers and field staff. Briefings will also be gained from other international organizations

Graduate Assistant: Jennifer Walcoff

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

Readings:

- There are no **required** books. Instead, a diverse set of readings has been developed to provide background for each session. These readings are drawn from three sources:
(1) scholarly journals: many of these are available electronically through the UNC library electronic journals link, <http://eresources.lib.unc.edu/ejournal/>
Proxy server configuration will be available in the computer lab at the Diplomatic Academy, so you should have no problems accessing these readings.
(2) analytic reports drawn from think tanks and other research organizations. URLs are given for these readings on the course outline.
(3) chapters from several books. These will be available through Blackboard at <https://blackboard.unc.edu/>
The course is
2stss 2005 Sem Abroad/soc Sci.hnrs045.01s – Course ID: [HNRS045.01S.2STSS2005](#)
- Familiarizing yourself 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. Make sure you look at this site before we go to the first OSCE meeting on July 14. The *OSCE Handbook* provides an excellent overview of the history, institutions, and activities of the organization. It is available online: http://www.osce.org/publications/osce/2005/04/13858_222_en.pdf. Please visit the home pages for the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia missions, available through the field operations link on the home page: <http://www.osce.org/about/13510.html>.
 - **The Office of High Representative (OHR)** in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) web site (<http://www.ohr.int/>) has responsibility for coordination of civilian activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
 - **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/>) and Croatia.
 - **The European Union** has significant operations in the Balkans, from diplomatic activities during conflicts to financing for aid and reconstruction. For an overview, see http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/index.htm/. For the many operations in BiH see, <http://www.eubih.org/>.
 - **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** web site (<http://www.nato.int/issues/balkans/index.html>) has information on NATO activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia.
- There are a few background books that I recommend if you want to do some introductory reading. You can snoop through bookstores but will most likely need to order these. Online services should have paperback editions at good prices. Make sure you get the most recent edition.

Glenny, Misha. 1996. *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. Revised & Updated Edition. Penguin Books. *This book is a vivid account of the breakup of Yugoslavia and subsequent civil wars. Two chapters are on the reading list and will be available through Blackboard but the whole book is valuable. It is out of print but there are many used copies available. Make sure that you get the 1996 edition (there are two earlier versions that are not as complete).*

Silber, Laura, and Allan Little. 1997. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. Revised & Updated Edition. Penguin Books. *This book is more detailed and factual than Glenny's book. As a source it is invaluable. It also has an accompanying 6-part video that we will show in Vienna.*

Cohen, Lenard J. 1995. *Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's disintegration and Balkan politics in transition*. 2d. edition. Westview Press. *Cohen is very insightful, providing provides more background on the path to breakup than do Glenny or Silber and Little. We will read the first chapter (available in Blackboard).*

A Note on Computer Resources

Students will have access to the computer lab at the Diplomatic Academy. Included in the program fee are pre-paid printing allocations. In past years, many students have not used the entire allocation. However, this year we have more article readings. Rather than print articles ahead of time and carry this paper to Vienna, I encourage you to save your printing for Vienna.

Course Outline

The goal of the in-class portion of the seminar is to develop an understanding of the complexities of the breakdown of socialist Yugoslavia, the emergence of armed conflict, and post-conflict international intervention. The first week in Vienna we will analyze the background to the conflict: conceptualizing nationalist mobilization, state collapse, and state building. In the second week we will cover the basic contours of conflict and war: nationalism, independence movement, civil war, and international intervention. In the final week, we address the post-Dayton situation in Bosnia and Serbia, the conflict in Kosovo, and the contemporary interplay between domestic politics and international intervention in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Throughout the course, we seek to identify the complex and dynamic relationships between domestic and international actors.

Date	Topic & Reading
July 11	Introduction to Diplomatic Academy House Rules
July 11	<p>1. Introduction</p> <p>Reading: Máiz, Ramón. 2003. "Politics and the nation: nationalist mobilization of ethnic differences." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 9(2):195-212.</p> <p>Miliken, Jennifer, and Keith Krause. 2002. "State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies." <i>Development and Change</i> 33(5):753-774.</p> <p>Ottaway, Marina. 2002. "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States." <i>Development and Change</i> 33(5):1001-1023.</p>
July 12	<p>2. Origins of Yugoslavia</p> <p>Reading: Cohen, Lenard J. 1995. <i>Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition</i>, 2nd edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.</p> <p>Chap. 1, "The Evolution of the Yugoslav Idea: 1830-1980." Pp. 1-44.</p>
July 12	Guest Lecture: Ambassador Elisabeth Tichy-Fisslberger, Overview of the European Union
July 13	<p>3. Rise & Fall of Tito's Yugoslavia</p> <p>Reading: 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.</p> <p>Zizmond, Egon. 1991. "The Collapse of the Yugoslav Economy." <i>Soviet Studies</i> 44(1):101-112.</p>
July 13	Guest Lecture: University Professor Dr. Hanspeter Neuhold, Introduction to European Security
July 14	Field trip to OSCE Headquarters
July 18	<p>4. Post-Tito Nationalism</p> <p>Reading: Gagnon, Jr., V.P. 1994-95. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." <i>International Security</i> 19(3):130-166.</p> <p>Vujacic, Veljko. 1996. "Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism." <i>East European Constitutional Review</i> 5(4):51-61.</p>

July 18	<p>5. Conflict in Kosovo, Independence in Slovenia & Croatia</p> <p>Reading: Judah, Tim. 2000. <i>Kosovo: War and Revenge</i>. New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press. Chap. 2, "Slobodan.Milosevic@gov.yu." Pp. 33-60. Cohen, Lenard J. 1997. "Embattled democracy: postcommunist Croatia in transition." Pp. 69-121 in <i>Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe</i>, Eds. Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot. Cambridge Univ. Press. Read pp. 69-103.</p>
July 19	<p>6. War in Croatia</p> <p>Reading: 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. Miller, Robert F. 1997. "Tudjman's Victory: Croatia, The U.N., NATO, and the U.S." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 25(3):501-514.</p>
July 19	<p>7. International Response</p> <p>Reading: 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.</p>
July 20	<p>8. War in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH)</p> <p>Reading: Woodward, Susan. 1995. <i>Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War</i>. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Chap. 8, "War: Building States from Nations." Pp. 223-272. Andreas, Peter. 2004. "The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 48(1):29-51. United Nations Commission of Experts. 1994. Final Report, Annex V, "The Prijedor Report." http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/V.htm -- Read Part One and scan Part Two for details on Serb takeover (Sections IV and V)</p>
July 20	<p>9. International Response</p> <p>Reading: 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. http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf READ Pp. iii-10.</p>
July 21	Field trip to OSCE Headquarters
July 22	Guest Lecture: Dr. Erhard Busek, Stability Pact & European Union in South East Europe
July 22	***DRAFT RESEARCH PAPER DUE***
July 25	<p>10. Dayton Peace in Bosnia</p> <p>Reading: European Stability Initiative. 1999. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part One: Bosnian Power Structures." http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_4.pdf European Stability Initiative. 2000. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part Two: International Power in Bosnia." http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_8.pdf</p>

July 25	<p>11. Serbian Politics and the Kosovo War</p> <p>Reading: Sekelj, Laslo. 2000. "Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Change Without Transformation." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 52(1):57-75.</p> <p>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.com/kla8.html</p> <p>Papasotiriou, Harry. 2002. "The Kosovo War: Kosovar Insurrection, Serbian Retribution and NATO Intervention." <i>The Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 25(1):39-62.</p> <p>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 READ Pp. 11-28.</p>
July 26	<p>12. After the Kosovo War</p> <p>Reading: Yannis, Alexandros. 2004. "The UN as Government in Kosovo." <i>Global Governance</i> 10(1):67-81.</p> <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. 2003. "Serbia after Djindjic." Balkans Report No. 141. Belgrade/Brussels. 18pp. http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/serbia/reports/A400921_18032003.pdf</p>
July 26	<p>13. Post-Tudjman Croatia</p> <p>Reading: Bellamy, Alex J. 2001. "Croatia After Tudjman." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 5):18-31.</p> <p>OSCE Mission to Croatia. 2004. Status Report No. 15 on Croatia's Progress in Meeting International Commitments since July 2004. 21 November 2004. http://www.osce.org/documents/mc/2004/11/3828_en.pdf</p>
July 27	<p>14. Bosnia and the "European Raj"</p> <p>Reading: *Knaus, Gerald, & Felix Martin. 2003. "Travails of the European Raj." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 14(3):60-74.</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2003. "Bosnia's Nationalist Governments: Paddy Ashdown and the Paradoxes of State Building." Balkans Report No. 146. http://www.crisisweb.org/library/documents/report_archive/A401057_22072003.pdf</p>
July 27	<p>15. EU, ICTY and the Future</p> <p>Reading: *Peskin, Victor, and Mieczysław P. Boduszyński. 2003. "International Justice and Domestic Politics: Post-Tudjman Croatia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 55(7):1117-1142.</p> <p>Solioz, Christophe. 2004. "Bosnia and Herzegovina beyond Dayton: from Intervention toward Integration." Forum for Democratic Alternatives Working Paper 2-2004 http://www.christophesolioz.ch/papers/2004/doc/biheu.pdf</p>
July 28	Field Trip to UN Headquarters in Vienna
July 29	***RESEARCH PAPER DUE***
July 31-August 14	Field Trip to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Itinerary to follow)