

**RUES 168/PWAD 168 “Ethnic Conflict and International  
Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia”**

**Spring 2006**

**Tuesday & Thursday, 9:30-10:45  
Caldwell 208**

**Instructor: Dr. Robert M. Jenkins**

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This course focuses on factors leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia, the nature of the conflicts 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 the 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 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 20<sup>th</sup> century, with an emphasis on the past 10-15 years. In addition, we will be viewing the Peabody award-winning documentary film series, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. The accompanying book is highly recommended for the course but not required: Laura Silber, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, revised and updated edition, Penguin, 1997.

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/>). My own understanding and development of the course content is a 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 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 10-12 page written papers are required during the semester. Each paper should take the topic or theme of one course session and expand upon it by doing additional research. The instructor will work with students to select topics of interest and develop the research. The first paper is due, Friday, March 3. The second paper is due Friday, April 21.

Additionally, students will be required to take a final examination on May 2, 2006.

Final grade is a weighted average of participation (25 percent), papers (25 percent each; 50 percent total) and final exam (25 percent).

## Topics and Reading List

Date	Topic	Readings
Jan 12	Introduction	No reading
Jan 17	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 19	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 24	Interwar 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
Jan 26	World War II	Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. <i>History of the Balkans, Vol. 2, Twentieth Century</i> . Chap. 6, "Balkan authoritarian regimes: the outbreak of World War II," pp. 235-238 Chap. 7, "The Balkan states in World War II," pp. 262-273; 295-300

Jan 31	Tito's Yugoslavia	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. Zizmond, Egon. 1991. "The Collapse of the Yugoslav Economy." <i>Soviet Studies</i> 44(1):101-112.
Feb 2	<b>Ethnicity, nationalism &amp; violence</b>	<b>Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 24:423-452.</b> <b>Máiz, Ramón. 2003. "Politics and the nation: nationalist mobilization of ethnic differences." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 9(2):195-212.</b>
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. Vujacic, Veljko. 1996. "Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism." <i>East European Constitutional Review</i> 5(4):51-61.
Feb 9	Memory, fear, and 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 &amp; 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	Crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina	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.
Feb 16	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 21	War in BiH	United Nations Commission of Experts. 1994. Final Report, Annex V, "The Prijedor Report." <b>READ Part One and scan Part Two for details on Serb takeover (Sections IV and V)</b> <a href="http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/V.htm">http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/V.htm</a> Andreas, Peter. 2004. "The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 48(1):29-51
Feb 23	<b>Assessing International Intervention</b>	<b>Jackson, Robert. 2004. "International Engagement in War-Torn Societies." <i>Global Governance</i> 10:21-36.</b> <b>Regan, Patrick M. 1996. "Conditions of Successful Third Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflicts." <i>The Journal of Conflict Intervention</i> 40(No. 2):336-359.</b>
Feb 28	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.

Mar 2	International Response II	<p>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. <a href="http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ01.html">http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ01.html</a></p> <p>Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. <b>READ Pp. iii-10.</b> <a href="http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf">http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf</a></p>
Mar 7	Dayton Agreement	<p>The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (The Dayton Agreement). 1995. <a href="http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm">http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm</a></p>
Mar 9	Dayton Implementation	<p>Bieber, Florian. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments toward a more integrated state?" <i>Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs</i> 22(No. 1):205-218.</p>
Mar 21	Serbia in the 1990s	<p>Sekelj, Laslo. 2000. "Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Change Without Transformation." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 52(1):57-75.</p>
Mar 23	Kosovo conflict	<p>Judah, Tim. 2000. "The Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA-UCK." <i>Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs</i> 5(3):61-77. Available at <a href="http://www.kosovo.com/kla8.html">http://www.kosovo.com/kla8.html</a></p> <p>Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. <b>READ Pp. 11-28.</b> <a href="http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf">http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ16.pdf</a></p>
Mar 28	NATO intervention	<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>
Mar 30	Post-NATO Kosovo	<p>Yannis, Alexandros. 2004. "The UN as Government in Kosovo." <i>Global Governance</i> 10(1):67-81.</p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2005. "Kosovo: Toward Final Status." Europe Report No. 161 (January). <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/161_kosovo_toward_final_status.pdf">http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/161_kosovo_toward_final_status.pdf</a></p>
Apr 4	Post-conflict state building	<p><b>Fukuyama, Francis. 2005. "The Imperatives of State-Building." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 15(No. 2)::17-31.</b></p> <p><b>Ottaway, Marina. 2002. "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States." <i>Development and Change</i> 33(5):1001-1023.</b></p>
Apr 6	Serbia after Kosovo	<p>Judah, Tim. 2001. "Goodbye to Yugoslavia." <i>New York Review of Books</i> 48(Feb. 8, No. 2):44+. <a href="http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14056">http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14056</a></p> <p>International Crisis Group. 2003. "Serbia after Djindjic." Balkans Report No. 141. Belgrade/Brussels. 18pp. <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400_921_18032003.pdf">http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400_921_18032003.pdf</a></p>

Apr 11	Croatia after Tudjman	Bellamy, Alex J. 2001. "Croatia After Tudjman." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 5):18-31. 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.
Apr 13	Bosnia and Europe	Knaus, Gerald, & Felix Martin. 2003. "Travails of the European Raj." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 14(3):60-74. Solioz, Christophe. 2004. "Bosnia and Herzegovina beyond Dayton: from Intervention toward Integration." Forum for Democratic Alternatives Working Paper 2-2004 <a href="http://www.christophesolioz.ch/papers/2004/doc/biheu.pdf">http://www.christophesolioz.ch/papers/2004/doc/biheu.pdf</a>
Apr 18	Europe Union and Conditionality	<b>Schimmelfennig, Frank, &amp; Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2004. "Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central &amp; Eastern Europe." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 11(No. 4): 661-679.</b> <b>Knaus, Gerald, and Marcus Cox. 2005. "The 'Helsinki Moment' in Southeast Europe." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16(No.1): 39-53.</b>
Apr 20	Nationalism in Iraq	Davis, Eric. 2005. "The Uses of Historical Memory." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16(No. 3):54-68. Gunter, et al. 2004. "The Kurds in Iraq." <i>Middle East Policy</i> 11(No. 1):106-131
Apr 25	US Intervention	Dodge, Toby. 2005. "Iraqi Transitions: from regime change to state collapse." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 26(No. 4-5):705-721. Ottaway, Marina. 2005. "Back from the Brink: A Strategy for Iraq." Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Policy Brief 43, November. <a href="http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/pb43.ottaway.FINAL.pdf">http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/pb43.ottaway.FINAL.pdf</a>
Apr 27	A Final Look at Intervention	<b>Skidelsky, Robert, &amp; Michael Ignatieff. 1999. "Debate: Is Military Intervention over Kosovo Justified?" <i>Prospect</i> 42(June).</b> <b>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2003. "Lessons from the Past: The American Record in Nation-Building."</b> <a href="http://www.ceip.org/files/print/2003-04-11-peipolicybrief.htm">http://www.ceip.org/files/print/2003-04-11-peipolicybrief.htm</a> <b>Russett, Bruce. 2005. "Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace." <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> 6:395-408.</b>
May 2	<b>FINAL EXAMINATION</b>	8:00 a.m.