

**ETHNIC CONFLICT AND INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION  
IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA  
POLI/PWAD 469  
FALL 2017**

**TUESDAY & THURSDAY 12:30-1:45  
MURPHEY 115**

**Instructor: Dr. Robert M. Jenkins**  
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**Office hours: Monday 10:30-12:30, Wednesday 2:00-3:00, 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 after), political developments since the wars, 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.

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 analysis, as is (often violent) conflict surrounding the implementation of state building projects. We will address how ideology and fear are used to mobilize political actors in these processes. A final element of major significance is the impact of international intervention and 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: state building, ethno-nationalism, political mobilization, 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.

Beyond developing familiarity with major socio-political themes and gaining detailed knowledge of the Yugoslav case(s), a key goal of the course is to give students an opportunity to develop their oral and written presentation skills. Participation in class and writing assignments are designed to enable students to develop these skills.

No background in Yugoslav history or politics is assumed. Readings for the course are chosen to illustrate the basic themes of national identity, political mobilization, state building, and international intervention in the Yugoslav context over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, with an emphasis on the past 15-20 years.

During some class sessions, we will be viewing the Peabody award-winning documentary film series, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, largely available on YouTube. I strongly encourage you to watch any episodes or parts that we do not view during class. The accompanying book is recommended but not required for the course: Laura Silber, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, revised and updated edition, Penguin, 1997. Equally recommended is Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*, third revised edition, Penguin, 1996. (A valuable work specifically on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is by Steven Burg and Paul Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, which is available in electronic format through the UNC library catalog.)

Readings are listed on the Course Outline below. All students are expected to complete required readings and be prepared to discuss them during class. Graduate students are expected to be prepared to discuss the recommended readings. Undergraduate students would benefit from at least acquainting themselves with these readings.

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 latter sources. Selected readings (mostly book chapters and excerpts) are available through the course site on Sakai (<http://sakai.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:**

### **Participation**

Students are expected to attend class, having completed reading assignments in advance, and to be ready to participate in discussions. Course time will typically involve a mix of presentation by the instructor and class discussion. Students should come to class prepared for discussion by doing the assigned readings and thinking about them in light of the course themes. Graduate students are also expected to complete all recommended readings and be prepared to discuss them. Undergraduate students will benefit from an acquaintance with the recommended readings.

Keeping up with current events in the region will help put the course material in perspective and aid participation. In addition to regular news outlets (*NY Times*, *Washington Post*, *BBC*, etc.) and specialized news databases (like Lexis-Nexis), a few web sites provide regular coverage of the region:

Balkan Insight: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/> (Note: access to Premium content can be gained through UNC Library web site. Use the “Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies” link on UNC Library’s E-Research by Discipline page: <http://guides.lib.unc.edu/sb.php>)

Radio Free Europe: <http://www.rferl.org/>

Country specific sources:

Belgrade’s B92 English Service: <http://www.b92.net/eng/>

*Sarajevo Times* <http://www.sarajevotimes.com/>

*Total Croatia News* <http://www.total-croatia-news.com/>

*Kosovo 2.0* <http://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/>

*Skopje Diem* <http://www.skopjediem.com/>

## Writing Assignments

A number of writing assignments are required throughout the semester. These will include three 500-word reaction pieces to issues posed by the readings and one 1000-word and two 2500-word essays on topics assigned by the instructor. Reaction pieces are expected to be quick responses to themes presented in class discussion or the corresponding readings. Essays should be more systematic writings that incorporate an argument and analysis. A guide to writing is posted on Sakai. You are encouraged to consult with the instructor about the themes and sources for your essays.

The due dates and prompts for these assignments are listed in the table below and on the Course Outline schedule beginning on page 4. Written assignment should be submitted in electronic format (email or Sakai Dropbox) by 5:00 p.m. on the due date. Late assignments are subject to penalty.

<b>Fall 2017 Required Writing Assignments</b>		
<b>Due Date</b>	<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Prompt</b>
Sep 5	500 word reaction	Have the readings influenced your thinking about the state or nationalism?
Sep 26	2500 word essay	Analyze a dimension of nationalism or state building in Yugoslavia before 1986
Oct 12	500 word reaction	Discuss a defining characteristic of the wars in Yugoslavia
Oct 31	1000 word essay	Discuss the significance of Andreatta's arguments about international intervention
Nov 16	2500 word essay	Compare the conflicts or post-conflicts in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina
Dec 5	500 word reaction	What is the future of the Europeanization strategy in the former Yugoslavia?

Graduate students are also required to complete an additional 2500-word research paper on a topic of their own choice, developed in consultation with Dr. Jenkins. Details will be provided during the semester.

## Check Points (Quizzes)

There will be four short, in-class "Check Points" (quizzes) during the semester. Each will consist of a small number of multiple choice and fill-in-the-blank questions designed to test understanding of basic concepts from the previous class sessions and account for 15 percent of the final grade. The dates of these Check Points are noted on the Topics outline below.

## Final Exam

An in-class final exam will be administered on **Thursday, December 5, 2017, at 12:00 p.m.** It counts 15 percent toward the final grade.

## Grading

Final grade is composed of participation (20 percent), written assignments (50 percent total), Check Points (15 percent), and final exam (15 percent). Please remember that class attendance is an important component of the participation grade.

## Academic Dishonesty

Plagiarism, falsification, cheating, misrepresentation and all other forms of academic dishonesty are serious violations of the UNC Honor Code and come with severe consequences. Violations may lead to an “F” for the course. By taking this class, you are committing to comply with all aspects of the Honor Code regard to the course.

Students should review the Honor Code:

<https://studentconduct.unc.edu/sites/studentconduct.unc.edu/files/documents/Instrument.pdf>

## Students with Disabilities

I am happy to accommodate students with disabilities or medical conditions. If you have a disability or medical condition for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you should contact Accessibility Resources & Service as soon as possible. For more information call 919-962-8300, email [accessibility@unc.edu](mailto:accessibility@unc.edu) or visit <https://accessibility.unc.edu/>.

## Course Outline

<b>Topics and Reading List</b>		
<b>Date</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Readings</b>
Aug 22	Introduction	No reading
Aug 24	Thinking about the state	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. Recommended: Milliken, 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.
Aug 29	Considering ethnicity & nationalism	Calhoun, Craig. 1993. “Nationalism and Ethnicity.” <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 19:211-39. Recommended: Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. “Rethinking nationhood: nation as institutionalized form, practical category, contingent event,” pp12-22 in <i>Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe</i> .
Aug 31	<b>NO CLASS</b>	<b>Use this time to view Episode One of the documentary, <i>Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation</i>.</b>
Sep 5	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.

<b>Sep 5</b>	<b>500 word reaction due</b>	<b>Have the readings influenced your thinking about the state or nationalism?</b>
Sep 7	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.
<b>Sep 7</b>	<b>Check Point #1</b>	
Sep 12	Tito’s Yugoslavia: Federalism & Communist Legacies	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> . David A Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda, eds. Recommended: Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. <i>History of the Balkans, Vol. 2</i> . Chap. 8, “The Immediate Post-War Readjustments,” pp. 314-328. Chap. 9, “The Communist governments, 1950-1980,” pp. 384-405.
Sep 14	Ethnicity, nationalism & violence	Máiz, Ramón. 2003. “Politics and the nation: nationalist mobilization of ethnic differences.” <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 9(2):195-212. Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. “Ethnic and Nationalist Violence.” <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 24:423-452.
Sep 19	Emergent Nationalism & Uses of Memory	Vujacic, Veljko. 1996. “Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism.” <i>East European Constitutional Review</i> 5(4):51-61 Denich, Bette. 1994. “Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and Symbolic Revival of Genocide.” <i>American Ethnologist</i> 21(No. 2):367-390.
Sep 21	War in Slovenia & Croatia	Glenny, Misha. 1996. <i>The Fall of Yugoslavia: the Third Balkan War</i> . Revised & Updated Edition. Chap. 1, “The Heart of the Matter,” pp. 1-30; Chap. 4, “The Twilight Zone,” pp. 98-137. Judah, Tim. 2000. “Frankie and Badger Go to War,” pp.168-181 in <i>The Serbs: History, Myth &amp; the Destruction of Yugoslavia</i> , 2d edition.
Sep 26	Prelude to War in BiH	Burg, Steven L. 1997. “Bosnia Herzegovina: a case of failed democratization,” pp. 122-145 in <i>Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe</i> , Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, eds.
<b>Sep 26</b>	<b>2500 word essay due</b>	<b>Analyze a dimension of nationalism or state building in Yugoslavia before 1986</b>
Sep 28	War in BiH	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.” READ Part One and scan Part Two for details on Serb takeover (Sections IV and V) – Posted on Sakai: UN Commission of Experts 1994 Report: 5 Annex Va.

Oct 3	Challenges of International Intervention	Siani-Davies, Peter. 2003. "Introduction: international intervention (and non-intervention) in the Balkans," pp. 1-31 in <i>International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995</i> , edited by Peter Siani-Davies. Skidelsky, Robert, & Michael Ignatieff. 1999. "Debate: Is Military Intervention over Kosovo Justified?" <i>Prospect</i> 42 (June).
<b>Oct 3</b>	<b>Check Point #2</b>	
Oct 5	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.
Oct 10	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. <a href="http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-bosnian-war-and-the-new-world-order-1/">http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-bosnian-war-and-the-new-world-order-1/</a> Recommended: 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.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-contact-group-and-its-impact-on-the-european-institutional-structure-1/">http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-contact-group-and-its-impact-on-the-european-institutional-structure-1/</a>
Oct 12	Dayton Agreement	Caplan, Richard. 2000. "Assessing the Dayton Accord: The Structural Weaknesses of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina." <i>Diplomacy &amp; Statecraft</i> 11(No. 2, July):213-232. Browse: 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> Recommended: Chandler, David. 2005. "From Dayton to Europe." <i>International Peacekeeping</i> 12(3):336-349.
<b>Oct 12</b>	<b>500 word reaction due</b>	<b>Discuss a defining characteristic of the wars in Yugoslavia</b>
Oct 17	Serbia in the 1990s	Sekelj, Lazlo. 2000. "Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Change Without Transformation." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 52(1):57-75. 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> Recommended: Sörensen, Jens Stilhoff. 2006. "The Shadow Economy, War & State Building: Social Transformation & Re-stratification in an Illiberal Economy (Serbia and Kosovo)." <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i> 14(3):317-351.
<b>Oct 19</b>	<b>NO CLASS</b>	<b>FALL RECESS</b>

Oct 24	Development of the 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 <a href="http://www.kosovo.net/kla8.html">http://www.kosovo.net/kla8.html</a>
Oct 26	International Intervention in Kosovo	Papasotiriou, Harry. 2002. "The Kosovo War: Kosovar Insurrection, Serbian Retribution and NATO Intervention." <i>The Journal of Strategic Studies</i> 25(1):39-62. Recommended: 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> (See URL for Mar 3.)
<b>Oct 26</b>	<b>Check Point #3</b>	
Oct 31	Post-conflict state building	Jackson, Robert. 2004. "International Engagement in War-Torn Societies." <i>Global Governance</i> 10:21-36. Paris, Roland, and Timothy D Sisk. 2009. "Introduction: Understanding the contradictions of postwar statebuilding." Pp. 1-20 in <i>The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations</i> . Routledge.
<b>Oct 31</b>	<b>1000 word essay due</b>	<b>Discuss the significance of Andreatta's arguments about international intervention</b>
Nov 2	Europe Union Conditionality as Intervention	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(4): 661-679. Vachudova, Milada. 2014. "EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On." <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 52(1):122-138.
Nov 7	Transitional Justice as International Intervention	Kerr, Rachel. 2007. "Peace through Justice? The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i> 7(3):373-385. Subotić, Jelena. 2014. "Legitimacy, Scope, and Conflicting Claims in the ICTY: In the Aftermath of Gotovina, Haradinaj, and Perišić." <i>Journal of Human Rights</i> 13(1):170-185.
Nov 9	Post-war Intervention in Kosovo	Yannis, Alexandros. 2004. "The UN as Government in Kosovo." <i>Global Governance</i> 10(1):67-81. Tzifakis, Nikolaos. 2013. "The European Union in Kosovo: Reflecting on the Credibility and Efficiency Deficit." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 60(1):43-54.
Nov 14	Croatia after Tudjman	Skrpec, Dagmar. 2017. "Croatia, Russia, and the Balkan Great Game: Why the West Needs Zagreb." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> July 25, 2017. Ashbrook, John E. 2010. "Croatia, Euroskepticism, and the Identity Politics of EU Enlargement." <i>Problems in Post-Communism</i> 57(3):23-39. Recommended: Jović, Dejan. 2006. "Croatia and the European Union: a long delayed journey." <i>Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans</i> 8(1):85-103.

Nov 16	Serbia after Kosovo	Bechev, et al. 2017 “Expert react: Aleksandar Vučić wins Serbia’s presidential election.” April 3, 2017. <a href="http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/72240/">http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/72240/</a> Subotic, Jelena. 2010. “Explaining Difficult States: The Problems of Europeanization in Serbia.” <i>East European Politics &amp; Societies</i> 24(4):595-616. Editorial Board. 2012. “Populism Mirrors Impotence.” <i>Helsinki Bulletin (Belgrade)</i> 87:1-10.
<b>Nov 16</b>	<b>2500 word essay due</b>	<b>Compare either the conflict or the post-conflict period in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina</b>
Nov 21	A Debate on Intervention and Responsibility	Knaus, Gerald, & Felix Martin. 2003. “Travails of the European Raj.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 14(3):60-74. Joseph, Edward. 2007. “Ownership is Overrated.” <i>SAIS Review</i> 27(2):109-123.
<b>Nov 23</b>	<b>NO CLASS</b>	<b>HAPPY THANKSGIVING!</b>
Nov 28	A European Future for Bosnia?	International Crisis Group. 2014. “Bosnia’s Future.” Europe Report No. 232. Recommended: Juncos, Ana E. 2012. “Member state-building versus peacebuilding: the contradictions of EU state-building in Bosnia & Herzegovina.” <i>East European Politics</i> 28(1):58-75.
<b>Nov 28</b>	<b>Check Point #4</b>	
Nov 30	Serbia & Kosovo: Status and Sovereignty	Yannis, Alexandros. 2009. “The Politics and geopolitics of the status of Kosovo: the circle is never round.” <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i> 9(1-2):161-170. Beha, Adem. 2015. “Disputes over the 15-point agreement on normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia.” <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 43(1):102-121.
Dec 5	Conclusions	No new reading
<b>Dec 5</b>	<b>500 word reaction due</b>	<b>What is the future of the Europeanization strategy in the former Yugoslavia?</b>
<b>DEC 8</b>	<b>12:00 p.m. – FINAL EXAMINATION</b>	