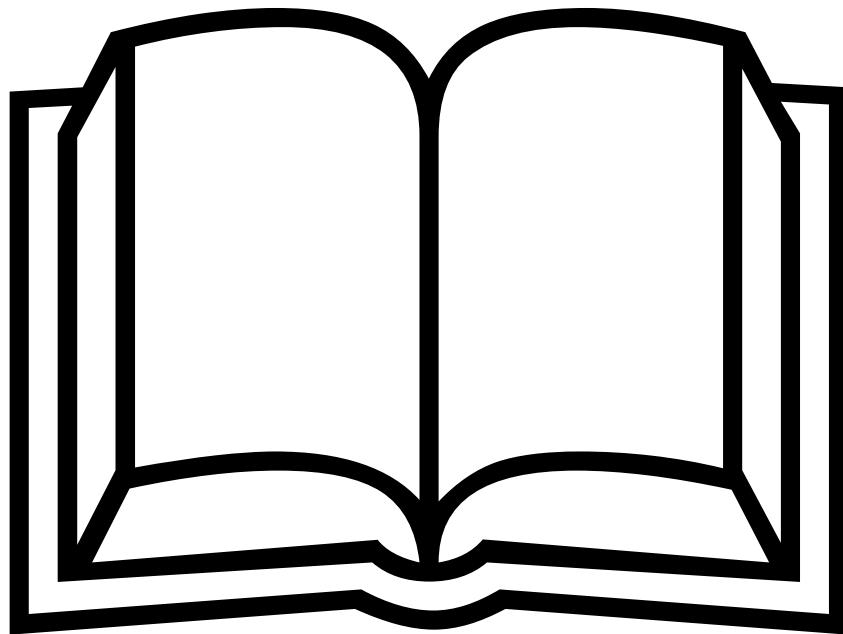


School of Politics and International Relations

PO628

Conflict Resolution in the Balkans



Autumn Term 2009

University of
Kent

Conflict Resolution in the Balkans

Module Convenor: Florian Bieber, E1.N1, Email: f.bieber@kent.ac.uk

Lecture: Mondays from 14.00 to 15.00

Seminars:

Seminar Group 1 Monday 15:00-16:00

Seminar Group 2 Tuesday 9:00-10:00

Seminar Group 3 Tuesday 11:00-12:00

Seminar Group 4 Tuesday 12:20-13:00

Office Hours:

Mondays from 16.15 to 17.15 and Tuesdays from 10.00 to 11.00 or by appointment

1. Introduction

The focus of this course is conflict and its resolution and management in the Balkans, focusing particularly on former Yugoslavia. The topic of the course is to analyse the conflicts which have occurred in former Yugoslavia since the 1990s and to discuss international efforts to manage these conflicts. The course has a three-fold objective:

First, it is intended to familiarise you with dissolution of Yugoslavia and the ensuing conflicts in Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991-1995), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995), Kosovo (1998-1999) and Macedonia (2001). While focusing on the conflicts, the course will bring in the large political and social context in which the wars took place and discuss the different forms of conflict which have emerged at different levels within the political system and society in the region.

Second, the course seeks to discuss different approaches towards conflict management and understanding ethnic conflict. Here, the focus will be on different approaches to explain ethnic mobilization and the emergence of conflict, as well as theoretical approaches to conflict resolution and how it links back to the origins of conflict.

Finally, the course will critically discuss the role of different international organizations in the management of conflict. Particularly, the role of non-conventional actors, such as complex international systems as the EU and non-governmental organizations, will receive attention. The discussions will not focus narrowly on conflict management, but also on the broader approaches and assumptions of international organizations towards the region, which include the policy of recognition during the dissolution process, post-conflict reconstruction and (semi-)protectorates (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo) and effectiveness of conditionality by the EU.

The dissolution of Yugoslavia and the wars have given rise to a rich body of literature on ethnic conflict, as well as different approaches to conflict resolution, both of which will be discussed critically in the class. This critical comparative reading of different approaches aims at sharpening the analytical skills and helps provide for a multi-faceted understanding of ethnic conflict and its resolution.

After the end of the course, you will be familiar with conflict and politics in Southeastern Europe, as well as with different approaches to conflict and conflict resolution and EU foreign policy. You will be able to apply the knowledge in other cases of ethnic conflict and will be able to analyse the enlargement process of the EU in Southeastern Europe.

2. Module Program

Date	Week	Lecture Topic	Seminar Topic
28 September	1.	The Balkans: A History of the Region, Coexistence, Conflict and Nationalism	BBC Documentary, The Death of Yugoslavia
5 October	2.	The Disintegration of former Yugoslavia	Group Work: What makes a nationalist?
12 October	3.	The Roots of Ethnic Violence in former Yugoslavia	Debate and Group Work: Dynamics of Violence
19 October	4.	Third Party Intervention and Conflict Management	Group Work: Conflict Management
26 October	5.	NO LECTURE/SEMINAR READING WEEK	
2 November	6.	International Conflict Prevention	Group Work: Analyzing the Badinter Commission Recommendations
9 November	7.	International Mediation in Former Yugoslavia	Seminar Presentations (Groups a,b,c)
16 November	8.	Peacekeeping and Peace-Plans in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Note: lecture will be held different week)	No seminar
23 November	9.	Coercive Politics and Humanitarian Intervention	Seminar Presentations (Groups c,d,e)
30 November	10.	International (Semi-)Protectorates: Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina	Seminar Presentations (Groups e,f,g)
7 December	11.	European Integration as a Tool of Conflict Resolution	Simulation: Conflict Resolution in Macedonia
XXX		DEADLINE (13.00) ESSAY	
17 December	12.	International Justice and Reconciliation	Seminar Presentations (Groups g,h, i)

3. Module Requirements

The module will be taught through lectures and seminars. Assessed work will be one essay (worth 35%); seminar presentation (15%); and an examination (50%).

Attendance and participation in the seminars is mandatory. In addition, it is expected that students read the core readings prior to each seminar and are able to discuss the readings during the seminar itself. Not reading core readings is disrespectful to the rest of the seminar participants and might impact the grade.

During the seminar in week 1, the documentary *The Death of Yugoslavia* will be screened from 9-13 on Tuesday (no seminar group on Monday). Students are expected to attend at least one hour, but are encouraged to attend as much of the period as possible, as different episodes of the documentary are shown.

There is no seminar in week 8. Instead, students are expected to attend the simulation (10-13) in week 11 for at least 2 hours.

Seminar Presentation

Students are asked to give a seminar presentation as part of a group. The group presentations are organized in the following way: During the second seminar students form **presentation teams** of three. Each group will discuss and prepare the seminar presentations together, but each student will make one presentation on the basis of the joint preparation. Each group will pick from the list of topic below and make a presentation consisting of three parts:

- a) Overview over the controversy/topic. What is the core of the issue?
introduce different perspectives and the main issue at stake
- b) Book presentation. A book review of one book which discusses this topic.
select a relevant book, present the books main argument, controversies
(consult with book reviews)
- c) One original document. Identify and present one original document.
choose an primary source, discuss the source and highlight why it is
important and how academic literature has written about it.
Example: Badinter Committee Decision

Presentation teams are formed during the second seminar and week. Please notify the module convener of the team and the topic, as well as the seminar week when you would like to present during week 2. All groups have to submit the name of the book and the primary source by week 4 for approval.

Each presentation will last for maximum **8-10 minutes** (strict time limit!) and students are encouraged to speak from notes rather than reading a written text. Presenters are also required to submit a one-page outline of their presentation to the class. There should be one hand out per group on all three parts. The outline should be 2-3 pages long and must be sent to module convenor at least **one day before the seminar**. If they are not provided ahead of time, students must supply sufficient copies for all seminar participants. The use of power-point presentations is encouraged (in which case slides can serve as handouts). **Note:** Students not showing up at the presentation or cancelling the presentation less than 24 hours prior to the presentation will receive 0, unless a formal concession is made.

Controversies and Topics for Seminar Presentations:

- a) Was Yugoslavia doomed?
- b) Was Milošević the main culprit for the wars in former Yugoslavia?
- c) What was the strategy of ethnic cleansing?

- d) EU integration has been successful in reducing ethnic conflict in the Western Balkans
- e) The conflict in Macedonia did not escalate to a war due to successful EU/NATO intervention.
- f) Ethnically divided countries, such as Bosnia and Kosovo should be partitioned.
- g) The ICTY is biased.
- h) International protectorates in Kosovo and Bosnia are undemocratic and worsen interethnic relations and stability.
- i) Was the declaration of independence of Kosovo a mistake?

Essay

Students write an essay of approximately 3,000-3,500 words answering one question related to the topics dealt with in the lectures and seminars. You will have to define your own topic and cannot take a core question noted in the outline. The topic should be discussed and confirmed with the module convenor by **week 6**. Essays have to fulfil academic standards, including appropriate references to the literature, following department guidelines.

Students must demonstrate that they have completed their coursework by submitting their essay by 3.30pm on the deadline date. In order to have their essay marked, the student must submit both a paper copy to the departmental office and an electronic copy via Moodle of their essay. At least one copy of the essay (paper or electronic) must be submitted by 3.30pm on the deadline date.

Where one copy (paper or electronic) has been submitted by this deadline, the student will have until 3.30pm the following day (or Monday if the deadline is on Friday) to submit the outstanding copy. No email notice will automatically be sent to the student to remind them of this deadline.

Students who fail to submit any copy of their essay by the deadline will be allocated a mark of 0. Students who submit one copy of the essay by the deadline, but who then fail to submit the other copy within the following 24 hours, will not have their essay marked and will be allocated a mark of 0.

You must submit both a hard copy and an electronic copy of your essay. At least one copy must be submitted by 3.30pm on the deadline date.

The essay must conform to the presentational guidelines outlined in the Department's *Guide on Essay Writing*, in the Departmental Handbook. In particular, please make sure to acknowledge all sources consulted appropriately, as outlined in the handbook. If you are uncertain and have any questions, please consult the module convenor. If you copy without references or if you do not clearly mark quotations, your paper might be plagiarising and receive a 0. Thus, do not risk it, use sources clearly and consistently. Please note that it is not acceptable to quote **wikipedia** (and related sources which copy wikipedia entries) on your essay. If you have any doubts about sources, please consult the module convenor.

What is plagiarism / duplication of material?

Common to all forms of plagiarism is that you intentionally or unintentionally present someone else's arguments, information or words as your own. **You plagiarise**, for example, **if**: 1) You **copy** sentences or parts thereof **verbatim** from any source **without quotation marks**, thereby suggesting that the copied words are your own when they are not. 2) You **paraphrase** sentences or paragraphs very **closely**. 3) You **use** arguments, information or verbatim quotes from a source **without**

acknowledging the source by providing a **reference every time** you use information, arguments or verbatim quotes from that source. Anything written or said by someone else is a **source**, including articles, books, lectures, lecture notes, web pages, dictionaries, speeches, interviews, radio and TV programmes, other students' essays, etc.

Just to make it absolutely clear:

- Every time you use a quote (i.e. you copy sentences or parts thereof verbatim) you have to use quotation marks **and** provide a reference, including the page number.
- Every time you state an argument or information from a source in your own words you have to provide a reference.

Duplication of material is a lesser known academic offence which nevertheless carries the same penalties as plagiarism. Duplication of material refers to the submission for assessment of any work or substantial parts thereof **that you have previously submitted for assessment** at the University of Kent or elsewhere **without acknowledging** that you are doing so.

What are the penalties for plagiarism and duplication of material?

The penalties are very severe. They include marks of zero for individual coursework and de-registration from university for serious or repeat offences. Additionally, any offence will be noted in your student record.

For more information on plagiarism (and referencing) please see:

The Politics and International Relations Handbook 2009-10

The universities policy on academic discipline (Annex 10 to the Credit Framework) can be found at:

<http://www.kent.ac.uk/uelt/quality/credit/creditinfoannex10.html>

Exam

Students sit a two-hour examination in which they are asked to answer two questions out of eight. Each question refers to one of the topics dealt with in the lectures and seminars throughout the module.

4. Learning Outcomes

a) Specific Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of the module, students will be able to:

- Analyse the conflicts in former Yugoslavia and international efforts of their management and resolution;
- Engaging critically with different theories of ethnic conflict and approaches to conflict resolution;
- Understand the dissolution process of Yugoslavia;
- Analyse the different level and forms of external conflict management, ranging from states, international organizations to NGOs and other actors;
- Understand key aspects of the development of EU foreign policy, focusing on different components of EU involvement in managing conflict in former Yugoslavia (from recognition, mediation to accession);
- Produce well-argued and well-informed written and well-presented oral analyses of these issues and their consequences for both the Balkans as well as for managing ethnic conflict in general.

b) Generic Learning Outcomes

- engage critically with political phenomena, including the vocabulary, concepts, theories and methods of political debate
- examine and evaluate different interpretations of political issues, events and solutions to problems
- describe, evaluate and apply different approaches involved in collecting, analysing and presenting political information
- develop reasoned arguments, synthesise relevant information and exercise critical judgement
- reflect on and manage their own learning and seek to make use of constructive feedback from peers and staff to enhance their performance and personal skills
- orally communicate ideas effectively and fluently
- communicate ideas effectively and fluently in writing
- use information and communication technology for bibliographical searches, data acquisition, data analysis and presentation
- work independently, demonstrating initiative, self-organisation and time-management
- collaborate with others and contribute effectively to the achievement of common goals

5. Literature and Reading List

a) Core Readings

Students are **strongly** recommended to read the following books below.

- Silber, Laura, and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (London: BBC/Penguin, 1996).
- Ramet, Sabrina P., *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milosevic* (Boulder: Westview, 2002, 4th edition).
- Ramet, Sabrina P., *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Break-up and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).
- Gow, James, *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London: C. Hurst, 1997).
- Cohen, Lenard, Dragović-Soso, Jasna (eds), *Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration (Central European Studies)* (Lafayette, IN.: Purdue University Press, 2007)
- Pond, Elizabeth, *Endgame in the Balkans* (Washington: Brookings Institution, U.S., 2006).
- Gallagher, Tom, *The Balkans After the Cold War* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2005).
- Mazower, Mark, *The Balkans* (Orion Publishing Co, 2002).

b) Recommended Readings

The books below constitute core texts on themes of the module and students are expected to read them in whole or partially during the module.

- Bose, Sumantra, *Bosnia after Dayton. Nationalist Partition and International Intervention* (London: Hurst, 2002).
- Burg, Steven L., Paul S. Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (Amronk/London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).
- Caplan, Richard, *Europe and the Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).
- Gagnon Jr., V.P., *The Myth Of Ethnic War: Serbia And Croatia In The 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

- Kaufman, Stuart, *Modern Hatreds. The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2001).
- Ingrao, Charles and Thomas A. Emmert, eds, *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies. A Scholars Initiative* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).
- Lake, David A., Donald Rothchild, eds. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- Paris, Roland, Timothy D. Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding. Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (London/New York: Routledge 2009).
- Siani-Davies, Peter (ed.), *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Touval, Saadia, *Mediation in the Yugoslav Wars. The Critical Years, 1990-95* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002).
- Weller, Marc, *Contested Statehood. Kosovo's Struggle for Independence* (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

c) Journals

The following journals, available at the library either in hard copy or in electronic format, contain relevant articles on the topic of the module. Also consider other more general IR and politics journals (e.g. Foreign Affairs).

- Communist and Post-Communist Studies
- East European Politics and Societies
- Ethnopolitics
- Europe-Asia Studies
- International Peacekeeping
- Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics
- Journal of Democracy
- Journal of Peace Research
- Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans
- Nationalities Papers
- Nations and Nationalism
- Problems of Communism
- Problems of Post-Communism
- Slavic Review
- South-East Europe Review
- Southeast European and Black Sea Studies

d) Electronic Resources

Balkan Academic News

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkans/>

A news list with information on Southeastern Europe, conference announcements, new literature, book reviews and other academic news. To subscribe send email to balkans-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

Radio Free Europe Newline

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

Daily summary of news on Eastern Europe. To subscribe send email to: newline2-subscribe@list.rferl.org

Balkan Insight

<http://www.birn.eu.com>

Reports and investigative news from the Balkans via email at regular intervals. Formerly part of the IWPR (www.iwpr.net) network

Southeast European Times

<http://www.setimes.com>

Daily email with news summary from Southeastern Europe.

SEE Security Monitor

<http://www.csees.net>

Daily email with key news stories, based on translations from newspapers and electronic media from Southeastern Europe.

South East European Politics

<http://www.seep.ceu.hu>

Open source journal covering Southeastern Europe 2000-2005.

Other useful electronic sources include reports on both regions by the *International Crisis Group* (www.crisisweb.org), the *European Stability Initiative* (www.esiweb.org) and the reports of the *European Institute for Security Studies* (<http://www.iss-eu.org/>). Background on conflicts and countries is available by the *Early Warning System FAST* (<http://www.swisspeace.org/fast/products.htm>) and the annual reports of *Freedom House, Nations in Transit* (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=17&year=2006>).

6. Lecture and Seminar Program

Week 1: The Balkans: A History of the Region, Coexistence, Conflict and Nationalism

- The Balkans as a historical region
- Historical legacies: The Ottoman experience and the rise of the nation state
- Nationalism and Yugoslavism
- Balkanization, Orientalism and Balkanism

Core Questions

- Are the Balkans more prone to conflict than other regions?
- Is conflict in the Balkans a 'Clash of Civilizations'?

Core Reading

- Mark Mazower, *The Balkans. A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), pp. 113-143.
- Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca/London 1994), pp. 406-416.
- Peter Siani-Davies, "International Intervention (and Non-Intervention) in the Balkans," Siani-Davies, Peter (ed.), *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Further Reading

- Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).
- John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History. Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).
- Charles Jelavich & Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1993).
- Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Vol. 2, Twentieth Century* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Stevan Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans. 1804-1945* (New York/London: Longman, 1999).
- Tom Gallagher, *Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- Walker Connor, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1992).
- Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Week 2: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

- Different theories of the dissolution of Yugoslavia
- Structural and actor-based approaches to the state dissolution
- Stage of the state disintegration
- The role of the League of Communists and the Army in the state
- Comparing the dissolution of Yugoslavia with other communist ethnofederal arrangements (Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia)

Core Questions

- Was the dissolution of Yugoslavia inevitable?
- What explains the disintegration of Yugoslavia?
- Did the dissolution of the country necessarily lead to violence?

Core Reading (read at least 2)

- Dejan Jović, "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches" *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), pp. 101-120.
- Valerie Bunce, "Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia," *Politics and Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1999), pp. 217-237.
- Lenard J. Cohen, "Disintegrative Synergies and the Dissolution of Socialist Federations: Yugoslavia in a Comparative Perspective," Lenard J. Cohen Jasna Dragović-Soso, eds, *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe. New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (W. Lafayette: Purdue UP, 2008), 365-396.

Further Reading

- Ivo Banac, "Post-Communism and Post-Yugoslavism: The Yugoslav Non-Revolution of 1989-1990," Ivo Banac (Ed.), *Eastern Europe in Revolution* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 168-187.
- Vojin Dimitrijević, "The 1974 Constitution and Constitutional Process as a Factor in the Collapse of Yugoslavia", Payam Akhavan, Robert House (eds.) *Yugoslavia. The Former and the Future. Reflections by Scholars from the Region* (Washington/Geneva: Brookings/UNRISD, 1995), pp. 45-74.
- Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions, The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Sabrina P. Ramet, *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).
- James Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military. The Yugoslav Crisis* (London: Pinter, 1992).

Week 3: The Roots of Ethnic Violence in former Yugoslavia

- The use of violence in the dissolution of Yugoslavia
- Genocide, ethnic cleansing and the political underpinnings of violence
- Different forms of violence and the mechanisms for its emergence

Core Questions

- What motives the use of violence?
- Was the violence primarily motivated by ethnicity?
- Is ethnic conflict a top-down or bottom-up phenomena?
- Was there a difference between violence and conflict in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo?

Core Reading (read at least 2)

- Marie-Janine Calic, *Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991-1995*, Charles Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert, eds, *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies. A Scholars Initiative* (W. Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 114-151.
- V.P. Gagnon Jr., *The Myth Of Ethnic War: Serbia And Croatia In The 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), conclusions.
- Roger D. Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence. Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: CUP, 2002, pp. 208-253.
- Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 165-202.

Further Reading

- Anthony Oberschall, "The Manipulation of Ethnicity: From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence and War in Yugoslavia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 6 (November 2000), pp. 982-1001.
- Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 31-69.
- Vesna Pešić, *Serbian Nationalism and the Origins of the Yugoslav Crisis* (Washington: USIP, 1995), www.usip.org/oc/sr/pesic/pesic3.html.
- Cornelia Sorabji, "A very modern War," H. Watson and R. Hinde (eds), *War: a cruel necessity: the bases of institutionalised violence* (London/New York, I.B. Tauris, 1994).
- Beverly Crawford, "The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach," Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D Lipschutz (eds), *The Myth of "Ethnic Conflict". Politics, Economics and "Cultural" Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 3-43.

Week 4: Third Party Intervention and Conflict Management

- The global rise of ethnic conflict since 1945
- Emerging strategies of external intervention into internal conflict
- Conflict resolution vs. conflict management

Core Questions

- How is ethnic conflict different from other forms of conflict (inter-state and intra-state conflict)?
- What approaches for conflict management exist?
- Can ethnic conflicts be 'resolved'?

Core Reading (Read at least 2)

- David A. Lake, Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1996), pp. 41-75.
- Louis Kriesberg, "Contemporary Conflict Resolution Applications," Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World* (Washington: USIP, 2007).
- Stephen M. Saideman, "Overlooking the Obvious: Bringing International Politics Back into Ethnic Conflict Management," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2002), pp. 63-86.

Further Reading

- Michael E. Brown, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "Internal Conflict and International Action. An Overview," Michael E. Brown et al. (eds), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, Ma./London: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 235-264.
- Timothy Sisk, *Power-Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts* (Washington: USIP Press, 1996), pp. 87-118.
- Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (London: Polity, 2006).

Week 5: Reading Week (No Lecture/Seminar)

Week 6: International Conflict Prevention

- Different forms of conflict prevention in former Yugoslavia
- The role of the High Commission on National Minorities of the OSCE in Macedonia and beyond
- Preventive peace-keeping. The experience of Macedonia

Core Questions

- Did conflict prevention fail in former Yugoslavia?
- What are the constraints to conflict prevention?

Core Readings (Read at least 2)

- Susan L. Woodward, "Costly Disinterest: Missed Opportunities for Preventive Diplomacy in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1985-1991," Bruce W. Jentleson (ed.) *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the post-Cold War World* (Lanham, Md./Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000)
- Michael S. Lund, "Preventive Diplomacy for Macedonia, 1992-1998: From Containment to Nation Building," Bruce W. Jentleson (ed.) *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the post-Cold War World* (Lanham, Md./Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
- Paul Shoup, The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and Western Foreign Policy in the 1980s, , Lenard J. Cohen Jasna Dragović-Soso, eds, *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe. New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (W. Lafayette: Purdue UP, 2008), 333-364.
- Alice Ackermann, "The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2003), 339-347.

Further Readings

- Henryk J. Sokalski, *An Ounce of Prevention: Macedonia and the UN Experience in Preventive Diplomacy* (Washington: USIP, 2003).
- Stuart Kaufman, "Preventive Peacekeeping, Ethnic Violence, and Macedonia," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 19 (1996), pp. 226-246.
- Bruce W. Jentleson, "Preventive Diplomacy and Ethnic Conflict: Possible, Difficult, Necessary," David A. Lake, Donald Rothchild (eds), *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 293-316.

Week 7: International Mediation in Former Yugoslavia

- The Declarations of Independence and the International Response
- The Beginning of EC and US intervention in former Yugoslavia
- Peace negotiations and the International Peace Conference for former Yugoslavia 1991
- The Badinter Commission and the recognition of successor states

Core Questions

- Was the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia a cause for the escalation of the war?
- Why did the peace talks in 1991 fail?
- What impact did the internal conflicts among EC members have on mediation efforts?

Documents

- Arrangement for a General Settlement: UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Paragraph 3 of Security Council Resolution 713 (1991), S/2316g, 25.10.1991
- EC Arbitration Commission (Badinter Commission). 1992. Opinion Nos. 1-3.

Core Readings (Read at least 2)

- Saadia Touval, *Mediation in the Yugoslav Wars. The Critical Years, 1990-95* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 61-86.
- James Gow, *Triumph of the lack of will: International diplomacy and the Yugoslav war* (London: C. Hurst, 1997), chapter 3-4.
- Richard Caplan, "Conditional recognition as an instrument of ethnic conflict regulation: the European Community and Yugoslavia," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2002), pp. 157-177.
- I. William Zartman and Saadia Touval, "International Mediation," Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World* (Washington: USIP, 2007).

Further Readings

- Richard Caplan, *Europe and the Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).
- David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (London: Harcourt, 1997).
- Peter Radan, "Yugoslavia's Internal Borders as International Borders: A Question of Appropriateness" *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (June 1999), pp. 137-155.
- Marc Weller, "The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo," *International Affairs*, Vol. 75, no. 2 (1999), pp. 211-251.

Week 8: Peacekeeping and Peace-Plans in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

- UN Peacekeeping Operations in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNPROFOR)
- The concept of safe-havens
- Peace-Plans for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Military intervention and the end of the wars
- Dayton Peace Agreement

Core Questions

- What prevented the success of peacekeeping operations in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?
- What are the differences between the peace plans for Bosnia?
- Why did the parties agree to the Dayton Peace Agreement and not to earlier peace plans?

Core Readings (read at least 2)

- James Gow, *Triumph of the lack of will: International diplomacy and the Yugoslav war* (London: C. Hurst, 1997), chapter 5-6, 9-11
- Susan Woodward, "International Aspects of the Wars in Former Yugoslavia," Jasminka Udovički and James Ridgeway (eds), *Burn this House. The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 215-264.
- Steven L. Burg, Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (Amronk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), chapter 5, 6.

Further Reading

- James Gow, *Triumph of the lack of will: International diplomacy and the Yugoslav war* (London: C. Hurst, 1997), chapter 7-8.
- Richard Holbroke, *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1999).
- Ivo H. Daalder, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).
- Branka Magaš and Ivo Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991-1995* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).

Week 9: Coercive Politics and Humanitarian Intervention

- Evaluating the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro
- Military intervention as a form of ending conflict
- NATO intervention in Kosovo

Core Questions

- Are sanctions an effective tool of conflict management?
- Was NATO bombardment of Serbia legitimate?
- Did the intervention in Kosovo set a precedent?

Core Readings (read at least 2)

- Bruce W. Jentleson, Yet Again: Humanitarian Intervention and the Challenges of "Never Again", Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World* (Washington: USIP, 2007).
- Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *Kosovo Report. Conflict. International Response. Lessons Learnt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 85-98, 163-200.
- James Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London: C. Hurst, 1997), pp. 298-330.
- Mark Bartolini, Kosovo and the prognosis for 'humanitarian' war, Brad Blitz, ed. *War and Change in the Balkans Nationalism, Conflict and Cooperation* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), pp. 156-168.

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- Jasna Dragović-Soso, "The Impact of International Intervention on Domestic Political Outcomes: Western Coercive Politics and the Milosevic Regime," Peter Siani-Davies (ed.), *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Vesselin Popovski, "The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention," Siani-Davies, Peter (ed.), *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Steven L. Burg, Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Amronk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), chapter 8.
- Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, *Intervention in Internal Conflicts: Legal and Political Conundrums*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, No. 15, August 2000.
- Florian Bieber and Zidas Daskalovski (eds), *Understanding the War in Kosovo* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).
- Ivo Daalder, *Getting to Dayton. The Making of America's Bosnia Policy* (Washington DC: Brookings, 2000).

Week 10: International (Semi-)Protectorates: Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina

- The establishment and evolution of the protectorates in Kosovo and Bosnia
- Managing ethnic diversity in post-conflict states
- Resolving self-determination disputes through international administration
- Final Status Discussions and Independence of Kosovo

Core Questions

- Do international protectorates create dependency on external intervention?
- Does post-conflict emphasize on ethnicity reify ethnic divisions?
- Was Kosovo independence the best solution to the conflict?

Core Readings (read at least 2)

- Patrice C. McMahon and Jon Western, "The Death of Dayton. How to Stop Bosnia From Falling Apart," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 5 (October 2009), pp. 69-83.
- Sumantra Bose, "The Bosnian State a Decade after Dayton," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.12, No.3 (2005), pp. 322-335.
- Marc Weller, "The Vienna negotiations on the final status for Kosovo," *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 4 (July 2008), pp. 659-681.
- Tim Judah, *Kosovo. What Everyone needs to know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 93-116, 140-151.
- James Ker-Lindsay, *Kosovo. The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans* (London: IB Tauris, 2009), pp. 102-126.
- Fen Osler Hampson and David Mendeloff, "Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate," Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World* (Washington: USIP, 2007).

Further Readings

- Florian Bieber, "Institutionalizing Ethnicity in Former Yugoslavia: Domestic vs. Internationally Driven Processes of Institutional (Re-)Design," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (January 2003), pp. 3-16.
- Florian Bieber, *Post-War Bosnia* (London: Palgrave, 2005).
- David Chandler, *Faking Democracy After Dayton* (London: Pluto, 1999).
- Richard Caplan, "International Authority and State Building: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Global Governance*, Vol. 10 (2004), pp. 53-65.
- Nina Caspersen, "Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? A Comparison of Conflict Resolution Strategies in Post-War Bosnia," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (2004), pp. 569-588.

- Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).
- Gerald Knaus, Felix Martin. "Travails of the European Raj," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2003), pp. 60-74.
- Žarko Papić (ed.), *International Support Policies to South-East European Countries. Lessons (Not) Learned in B-H*. Sarajevo: Open Society Foundation, 2001.
- Marc Weller, *Contested Statehood. Kosovo's Struggle for Independence* (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

Week 11: European Integration as a Tool of Conflict Resolution

- EU foreign policy and accession as tools of conflict resolution
- EC/EU involvement in former Yugoslavia
- The active and passive conflict management and reform potential of the EU

Core Questions

- Can one make a distinction between EU's foreign, conflict and accession policies?
- How did the role of the EC/EU change between 1991 and 2006?
- Is accession by itself a sufficient conflict management mechanism?
- Can the EU manage conflict after the country has joined?

Core Reading (read at least 2)

- Fraser Cameron, "The European Union Role in the Balkans", Brad Blitz, ed. *War and Change in the Balkans. Nationalism, Conflict and Cooperation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 99-109
- Gergana Noutcheva, Nathalie Tocci and Tamara Kovziridze, "Europeanisation and Conflict Resolution: Theories and Paradigms," *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 2004. Available at: www.ecmi.de/jemie
- Ulrich Sedelmeier, Frank Schimmelfennig, "Conceptualising the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe," Frank Schimmelfennig, Ulrich Sedelmeier (eds), *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: U. Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 1-28.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management," Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World* (Washington: USIP, 2007).

Further Reading

- Milada Vachudova, *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 81-104, 181-222.
- Merlingen, Rasa Ostrauskaite, eds, *European Union Peacebuilding and Policing* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Nathalie Tocci, *The EU's Role in Conflict Resolution* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Michael Emerson, Marius Vahl, Bruno Coppieters, Michel Huysseune, Tamara Kovziridze, Gergana Noutcheva, and Nathalie Tocci, "Elements of Comparison and Synthesis," *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 2004. Available at: www.ecmi.de/jemie
- Ulrich Schneckener, "Developing and Applying EU Crisis Management. Test Case Macedonia," *ECMI Working Paper*, January 2002. Available at: http://www.ecmi.de/download/working_paper_14.pdf.

- Catriona Mace, "Operation Concordia: Developing a 'European' Approach to Crisis Management?" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2004), pp. 474-490.
- Gergana Noutcheva and Michel Huysseune, "Serbia and Montenegro," *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 2004. Available at: www.ecmi.de/jemie
- Martin Brusis, "The European Union and Interethnic Power-Sharing Arrangements in Accession Countries", *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, No. 1, 2003. Available at: www.ecmi.de/jemie

Week 12: International Justice and Reconciliation

- The impact of the ICTY on conflict management and reconciliation
- Reconciliation as a strategy of conflict management
- Transitional justice and post-war history writing

Core Questions

- Does the ICTY promote confrontation with the past in former Yugoslavia?
- Can future conflict be avoided through reconciliation and 'truth-telling'?

Core Reading (read at least 2)

- John B. Allcock, The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Charles Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert, eds, *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies. A Scholars Initiative* (W. Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 346-389.
- Victor Peskin, Mieczyslaw P. Boduszynski, "International Justice and Domestic Politics: Post-Tudjman Croatia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 7 (2003), pp. 1117-1142.
- Dan Saxon, "Exporting Justice: Perceptions of the ICTY among the Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim Communities in the former Yugoslavia," *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (2005), pp. 559-572.

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- Ann-Sofi Jakobsson Hatay, *Peacebuilding and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia 1995-2004* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 2005).
- Nebojsa Bjelakovic, "Reconciliation, Truth, and Justice in the post-Yugoslav States," *Southeast European Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2-3 (2002), 163-167.
- Michael Humphrey, "International Intervention, Justice and National Reconciliation: The Role of the ICTY and ICTR in Bosnia and Rwanda," *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2003) pp. 495 - 505.
- Nataša Kandić, "The ICTY Trials and Transitional Justice in Former Yugoslavia," *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2005).

7. Background Reading

1. Historical Background

- Allcock, John B., *Explaining Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst, 2000).
- Banac, Ivo, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca/London 1994)
- Jelavich, Barbara, *History of the Balkans. Vol. 2, Twentieth Century* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Jelavich, Charles & Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1993).
- Lampe, John R., *Balkans into Southeastern Europe: a century of war and transition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Lampe, John, *Yugoslavia as History. Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).
- Pavlowitch, Stevan, *A History of the Balkans. 1804-1945* (New York/London: Longman, 1999).
- Ramet, Sabrina Petra, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1992).

2. Southeastern Europe since 1990

- Akhavan, Payam & Robert House (eds.), *Yugoslavia. The Former and Future. Reflections by Scholars from the Region* (Washington & Geneva: Brookings & UNRISD, 1995).
- Andjelić, Neven, *Bosnia-Herzegovina. The End of a Legacy* (London: Hurst, 2003).
- Banac, Ivo, "The Fearful Asymmetry of War: The Causes and Consequences of Yugoslavia's Demise," *Daedalus*, Vol. 121, No. 2, 1992, pp. 141-74.
- Bellamy, Alex J. , *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A Centuries-Old Dream?* (Europe in Change, Manchester University Press, 2003).
- Belloni, Roberto, *State Building and International Intervention in Bosnia* (London: Routledge 2007).
- Bieber, Florian, *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* (Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance), (London: Palgrave, 2005).
- Brown, Keith, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation* (Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Burg, Steven L., & Paul S. Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (Amronk, NY & London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).
- Caplan, Richard, "International Diplomacy and the Crisis in Kosovo," *International Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (1998), 745-761.
- Cohen, Lenard J., *Serpent in the Bosom: The Rise and Fall of Slobodan Milosevic* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 2002).

- Cohen, Lenard, *Broken Bonds. The Disintegration of Yugoslavia* (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 1993).
- Cordell, Karl (ed.) *Ethnicity and Democratisation in Eastern Europe* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Djokic, Dejan, ed., *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992* (London: Hurst, 2003).
- Dyker, David A. & Ivan Vejvoda (eds), *Yugoslavia and After. A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth* (London & New York: Longman, 1996).
- Gallagher, Tom, *The Balkans after the Cold War: From Tyranny to Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Gallagher, Tom, *The Balkans in the New Millennium: In the Shadow of War and Peace* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Gordy, Eric D., *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives* (Post-Communist Cultural Studies.) (College Station, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).
- Gow, James, *The Serbian Project and Its Adversaries. A Strategy of War Crimes* (London: Hurst, 2003).
- Hockenos, Paul, *Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- Jenne, Erin, "The Paradox of Ethnic Partition: Lessons from De Facto Partition in Bosnia and Kosovo," *Regional and Federal Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2009), 273-289.
- Judah, Tim, *Kosovo. What Everyone needs to know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
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- Mandlebaum, Michael (ed.), *The New European Diasporas. National Minorities and Conflict in Eastern Europe* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 2000)
- Morrison, Kenneth, *Montenegro: A Modern History* (London: IB Tauris, 2009).
- O'Brennan, John, *The EU and the Western Balkans* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Phillips, John, *Macedonia: Warlords and Rebels in the Balkans* (Yale University Press, 2004).
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- Ramet, Sabrina P., *The Three Yugoslavias. State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).
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- Roberts, Elizabeth, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (London: Hurst 2007)
- Schwanner-Sievers, Stephanie, Bernd Fischer, eds, *Albanian Identities* (London: Hurst, 2002)
- Stillhoff Soerensen, Jens, *State Collapse and the Reconstruction of the Periphery*, Berghahn
- Vladisavljevic, Nebojsa, *Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution*. London: Palgrave, 2008
- Woodward, Susan, *Balkan Tragedy* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995).

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3. Other Relevant Literature

- Brubaker, Rogers, *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996).
- Epstein, Rachel, Uli Sedelmeier, *International Influence Beyond Conditionality* (London: Routledge, 2008)
- Fukuyama, Francis (ed.), *Nation-Building Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006).
- Hartzell, Caroline, Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).
- Horowitz, Donald L. "The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict. Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1993), 18-37.
- Horowitz, Donald, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, 2nd ed.).
- Jarstad, Anna and Timothy Sisk. *From War to Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Kaufman, Chaim, *When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century*, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 2. (Autumn, 1998), pp. 120-156.
- Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Odysseys* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).
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- Snyder, Jack and Karen Ballentine, "Nationalism in the Marketplace of Ideas," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (Cambridge, Mass.-London: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 61-96.
- Snyder, Jack, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York 2000).
- Sisk, Timothy, *International Mediation in Civil Wars* (London: Routledge, 2009).