

COURSE SYLLABUS

EUROPE'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH ETHNIC CONFLICT: From the League of Nations to the European Union

Instructor:

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FT 602

The birthplace of the nation-state and multi-national empires, the region of East Central Europe is unique for its heterogeneous mix of peoples who self-consciously identify with distinct nations. From the recognition of religious minorities under the Ottoman Empire and the protection of certain groups in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia to the modern interventions of NATO and the European Union in the ethnic conflicts of post-Cold War Europe, European governments have a long history of attempting to resolve the tension between state sovereignty and national self-determination through various combinations of ethnic partition, military intervention, ethnic power-sharing, and constitutional rights--with varying degrees of success. Given that many of these mechanisms are again on the policy table as possible solutions to ethnic tensions, we would benefit from examining Europe's historical record to learn which tools are likely to be most effective for resolving today's conflicts.

In order to comparatively evaluate the success of these different methods, this class will critically examine two periods in European history when minority protection became an explicit strategy for achieving and maintaining the stability of the continent. After World War I, the victorious Allied Powers redrew the political boundaries of Eastern Europe's multi-national empires and forever altered the fate of its people. To prevent ethnic retributions in the wake of this political settlement, the Allied Powers set up a system of minority protection under the League of Nations. In the end, the League failed to prevent the persecution of minorities in Poland, Hungary, Albania, and Romania in the 1920s and 1930s.

Issues of ethnic conflict and minority protection reemerged in the 1990s as the European Union prepared to open its doors to ten countries in East Central Europe. Now, the EU is looking south to the Balkans and east to CIS countries, which is home to most of the region's current conflicts. Many of these states contain minorities that have endured decades of economic or social discrimination. In the context of political transition, several groups have sought self-determination in response to ethnic fears or economic opportunities--in some cases this has escalated to violence. To ensure the stability of the region and prevent a tidal wave of migrants in the wake of EU enlargement, West European governments are working closely with NATO, the EU, the UN, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to ameliorate ethnic tension in the region. This course examines the relative success of these interventions in the belief that identifying the impact of these historic experiments will help policy makers avoid past mistakes in a future Europe as well as other regions of the world.

The goals of the course are twofold. First, it aims to familiarize students with the political, economic and social context in which ethnic conflicts in Eurasia are embedded.

In order to properly comprehend these conditions, it will be necessary to conduct an historical survey of the mixing and unmixing of European peoples over time, while mapping the competing discourses of states' and nations' rights that accompanied—and partly drove—these movements. Second, the course is designed to give students the tools to analyze critically the origins of ethnic conflicts and evaluate the competing methods of resolving these disputes. This will help to inform the construction of policies that can effectively manage existing conflicts while preventing the outbreak of new ones.

Course Requirements

- (1) Mid-term Exam (40%). Students will be given a take-home essay examination that tests their understanding of different theories of ethnic conflict and peace mediation, using case evidence in Eastern Europe as well as material covered in lectures and readings.
- (2) Final Exam (40%). As an alternative to an in-class final exam, students may write a research paper on a particular ethnic conflict in Eurasia that is either ongoing or has been terminated. The paper will analyze the war in terms of (a) what triggered the conflict, (b) why individuals chose to engage in violent conflict (is this puzzling?), and (c), why or how the war ended (if the war is ongoing, explain why the war *hasn't* ended and what method would be most effective in resolving it). Finally, the paper should address the implications of this study for existing theories of ethnic conflict and/or civil war termination.
- (3) Class Participation (10%). Students are expected to attend all the seminars and participate in class discussions.
- (4) Presentation (10%). Students will be required to give a 15-20 minute presentation on one or more class readings. A good presentation involves both a summary of the reading(s) and a critique; students are encouraged to situate the reading(s) in the broader context of theory and/or empirics on the topic.

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART ONE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Week 1. Introduction

Seminar 1: Definitions of the Nation, Nationalism and the Nation-State

J. Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.) 1994. *Nationalism: A Reader*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, excerpted writings by Renan, Stalin, and Geertz, pp. 15-21; 29-34.

Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-7.

Seminar 2: (Neo)Primordialist Theories of Nationalism

Walker Connor. 1994. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 196-209.

George Schöpflin. 1995. "Nationalism and Ethnicity in Europe, East and West," in Charles A. Kupchan (ed.) *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 37-65.

Further Reading

Elie Kedourie. 1961. *Nationalism*. New York: Praeger, pp. 1-11; 56-86.

Week 2. Theories of Nationalism (cont.)

Seminar 3: Modernization Theories

Tom Nairn. 1974. "Scotland and Europe," *New Left Review*, No. 83, pp. 57-82.

Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 53-62.

Further Readings

Anthony Smith. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-24.

Karl Deutsch. 1966. "Communication and the Concept of a People," *Nationalism and Social Communication*, pp. 96-105.

Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism," in *Thought and Change*, pp. 158-71.
Miroslav Hroch. March/April 1993. "From National Movement to the Fully-
Formed Nation," *New Left Review*, Vol. 198, pp. 3-20.

Seminar 4: Constructivist Theories

Benedict Anderson. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, pp. 1-46.

Further Readings

E. J. Hobsbawm. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 101-130.
Michael Billig. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE, pp. 37-59.
George L. Mosse. 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
Rogers Brubaker. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Peter Sahlin. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 133-167.
Partha Chatterjee. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 3. Ethnic Groups and Minorities

Seminar 5: Ethnic Groups and Boundaries

Donald Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 3-54.

Further Readings

Henry Hale. 2004. Explaining Ethnicity," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 458-485.
James Fearon. November 1999. "What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?" Mimeo, Stanford University, <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/iden1v2.pdf>.
Stuart Hall. 1989. "Ethnicity: Identity and Difference," *Radical America*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 9-20.
Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson. 1999. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 1-41.

Seminar 6: Minorities and Majorities

Rogers Brubaker. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 55-76.

Further Readings

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1993. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 1-27.

Will Kymlicka. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Allen Buchanan. 1995. "The Morality of Secession," in Will Kymlicka (ed.) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 4. Theories of Ethnic Conflict—A Framework of Analysis

Seminar 7: Masses and Elites

V.P. Gagnon, Jr. 2004. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, chap. 1.

Kaufman, Stuart. 1996. "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 108-138.

Further Readings

Valery Tishkov. 1997. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 207-227.

Paul Brass. 2003. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Clifford Geertz. 1963. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Geertz (ed.) *Old Societies and New States*. New York: Free Press

Joseph Montville. 1990. "The Pathology and Prevention of Genocide," in Vamik D. Volkan, Joseph V. Montville, and Demetrios Julius (eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships II*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 121-143.

Seminar 8: Ethnic Fears and Grievances

Barry Posen. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 103-124.

Further Readings:

David, Steven R., 1997. "Internal Wars: Causes and Cure," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 552-576.

James D. Fearon. 1998. "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in David Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 107-126.

Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder (eds.) 1999. *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*. New York: Columbia University.

Week 5. Theories of Ethnic Conflict (Cont.)

Seminar 9: Opportunism and Competition Theory

Michael L. Ross. 2004. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil Wars?" *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 1, pp. 35-68.

Further Readings:

Thomas F. Homer-Dixon. 1994. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 5-40.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. October 21, 2001. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," Working Paper, World Bank, pp. 1-32.

Fredrick Barth (ed.) 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organisation of Culture Difference*. Bergen/Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 9-38.

Olzak, Susan. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Seminar 10: Bad Neighbors and Bad Neighborhoods

Stephen M. Saideman. Spring 1998. "Inconsistent Irredentism? Political Competition, Ethnic Ties, and the Foreign Policies of Somalia and Serbia," *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 51-93.

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack. August, 20, 2006. "What Next?" *The Washington Post*.

Further Readings:

Erin K. Jenne. 2007. *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Introduction.

Stephen Saideman. Autumn 1997. "Explaining the International Relations of Secessionist Conflicts," *International Organization* 51(4), pp. 721-753.

Mary Kaldor. 1999. *New and Old Wars*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 69-89.

PART TWO: APPLICATIONS IN EURASIA

Week 6. Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe after WWI

Seminar 11: Territorial Settlements and Creation of League of Nations

Stephen D. Krasner. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 73-104.

Further Reading

C.A. Macartney. 1934. *National States and National Minorities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 212-272.

Seminar 12: Nationalist Policies in Interwar Soviet Union

Ronald Grigor Suny. 1993. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 84-126.

Further Readings

Lenin, V. I. [selected writings]. 1951. *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Yuri Slezkine. Summer 1994. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 414-452.

Week 7. League of Nations (continued)

Seminar 13: Minority Management under the League

Macartney, pp. 370-423.

Further Readings

Athanasia Spiliopoulou Åkermark. 1997. *Justifications of Minority Protection in International Law*. London, the Hague, and Boston: Kluwer Law International, 102.

Junghann, Otto. 1932. *National Minorities in Europe*. New York: Covici, Friede, Inc.

Seminar 14: Erosion and Failure of the League System

E. H. Carr. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*. London: Macmillan and Company, pp. 22-40.

Further Readings

- Eduard Beneš. January 1926. "After Locarno: The Problem of Security Today," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 4, 195-210.
- B. Bílek. 1945. *Fifth Column at Work*. London: Trinity Press.
- James Ramon Felak. 1994. *At the Price of the Republic*. Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Jacob Robinson, Oscar Karbach, Max M. Laserson, Nehemiah Robinson, and Marc Vichniak. 1943. *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* New York: Antin Press.

Week 8. Nations and Minorities in the Postwar Period

Seminar 15: Postwar Settlements and the Rebirth of National Self-determination

Antonio Cassese. 1995. *Self-determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 67-100.

Nathan Glazer. 1995. "Individual Rights Against Group Rights," in Will Kymlicka (ed.) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 123-138.

Further Readings

- Sureda, A. Rigo. 1973. *The Evolution of the Right of Self-Determination: A Study of United Nations Practice*. Leiden, Netherlands: A. W. Sijthoff.
- Brysk, Allison. 2000. *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gudmundur Alfredsson and Alfred de Zayas, "Minority Rights: Protection by the United Nations," *Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2, p. 2.
- Francesco Capotorti. 1979. *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*. New York: United Nations.
- Hurst Hannum. 1990. *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 50-73.

Seminar 16: The Collapse of Socialist Ethnofederations

Henry Hale. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse," *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 165-193.

Further Readings

Susan L. Woodward. 1995. *The Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Suny, pp. 127-160.

Mark Beissinger. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 147-199.

Valerie Bunce. 1999. Peaceful versus Violent State Dismembership: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia," *Politics and Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 217-237.

Week 9. Ethnic Conflict in Post-Cold War Eurasia

Seminar 17: The Balkans and East Central Europe

Erin K. Jenne. 2006. "Ethnic Bargaining in the Balkans: Secessionist Kosovo Versus Integrationist Vojvodina," *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Further Readings

Ramet, Sabrina Petra. 1997. *Whose Democracy: nationalism, religion, and the doctrine of collective rights in post-1989 Eastern Europe*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing.

Susan Woodward. 1996. "The West and the International Organisations," in David A. Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda (eds.) *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth*, pp. 155-176.

Bookman, Milica Zarkovic. 1992. "Economic Issues Underlying Secession: the Case of Slovenia and Slovakia," *Communist Economies and Economic Transformation*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 111-134.

David D. Laitin. 1999. *Identity in Formation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gregory F. Campbell. 2000. *The Road to Kosovo: A Balkan Diary*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Misha Glenny. 1992. *The Fall of Yugoslavia*. New York: Penguin.

Tim Judah. 2000. *Kosovo: War and Revenge*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Seminar 18: The Former Soviet Union

Svante Cornell. 2002. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective," *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 245-276.

David D. Laitin. 2001. "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 8, pp. 839-861.

Further Readings

Valery Tishkov. 1997. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Daniel S. Treisman. January 1997. "Russia's 'Ethnic Revival,' The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Postcommunist Order," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, pp. 212-49.

Monica Toft. 2003. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 10. Competing Methods of Minority Management

Seminar 19: Ethnic Partition

Downes, Alexander B. 2004. "The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 230-279.

Further Readings

Radha Kumar. January/February 1997. "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, pp. 22-34.

Chaim Kaufmann. 1997. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in Michael Brown, et al. (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 265-304.

William Durch. 1996. "Keeping the Peace: Politics and Lessons of the 1990s," in Durch (ed.) *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1-29.

Daniel L. Byman. Autumn 1997. "Divided They Stand: Lessons about Partition from Iraq and Lebanon," *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 1-29.

Robert M. Hayden. Fall 1995. "The 1995 Agreements on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Dayton Constitution: The Political Utility of a Constitutional Illusion," *East European Constitutional Review*, pp. 59-68.

Seminar 20: Forced Reintegration (Repatriating Refugees)

Barry R. Posen. 1996. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 72-111.

Further Readings

Babara E. Harrell-Bond. 1989. "Repatriation: Under What Conditions Is It the Most Desirable Solution for Refugees? An Agenda for Research," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 41-69.

Alan Dowty and Gil Loescher. 1996. "Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action," *International Security*, Vol. 21, pp. 43-71.

Jef Huysmans. 2002. "Shape-shifting NATO: Humanitarian Action and the Kosovo Refugee Crisis," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 599-618.

- Gil Loescher and James Milner. April 2004. "Protracted Refugee Situations and State and Regional Insecurity," *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 3-20.
- Julie Mertus. 2001. "Legitimizing the Use of Force in Kosovo," *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 133-150.
- B.K. Blitz. 2003. "Refugee Returns in Croatia: Contradictions and Reform," *Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 181-191.

Week 11. Competing Methods (cont.) and Conclusion

Seminar 21: Induced Devolution

- Nordquist, Kjell-Åke. 1998. "Autonomy as a Conflict-Solving Mechanism—An Overview," in Markku Suksi (ed.) *Autonomy: Applications and Implications*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, pp. 59-77.
- Arendt Lijphart. 1990. "The Power-Sharing Approach," in Joseph Montville (ed.) *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 491-509.

Further Readings

- Friedman, Francine. 1982. "Kosovo and Vojvodina: One Yugoslav Solution to Autonomy in a Multiethnic State," in Daniel J. Elazar (ed.) *Governing Peoples and Territories*. Philadelphia, PA: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Lapidot, Ruth. 1996. *Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace.

Seminar 22: Conditionality and Civic Encouragement

Judith Kelley. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 425-457.

Erin K. Jenne. 2007. "Civic Encouragement as a Strategy of Conflict Management in the New Europe," Working Paper, Central European University. (Handout.)

Further Readings

- Walter A. Kemp. 2001. *Quiet Diplomacy in Action: The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities*. The Hague: Kluwer, pp. 47-84.
- James Hughes and Gwendolyn Sasse. 2003. "Monitoring the Monitors: EU Enlargement Conditionality and Minority Protection in the CEECs," *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE)*, No. 1.
- Adam Burgess. 1999. "Critical Reflections on...East/West European Affairs" and David Chandler, "The OSCE and the Internationalisation of National Minority

Rights,” in Karl Cordell (ed.) *Ethnicity and Democratisation in the New Europe*. Routledge, pp. 49-73.

Milada Vachudova. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tesser, Lynn M. 2003. “The Geopolitics of Tolerance: Minority Rights under EU Expansion in East-Central Europe,” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 17, No. 3.