



## Peace and Conflict Studies in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo

PEAC 3005 (3 credits / 45 class hours)

SIT Study Abroad Program:

Serbia, Bosnia, and Kosovo: Peace and Conflict Studies in the Balkans

**PLEASE NOTE:** This syllabus represents a recent semester. Because courses develop and change over time to take advantage of unique learning opportunities, actual course content varies from semester to semester.

### Course Description

After 1991, as Yugoslavia began to disintegrate, new states emerged alongside each other, each with their own new political structures, and different challenges and realities to face. This course will focus on some of these changes and challenges, examining three successor states as case studies: Serbia, Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, respectively. This course will therefore examine the transition of the 1990s pertaining to the wars, and followed by an analysis of the post-Yugoslav post-war challenges. During the course, students will explore each of the case studies by focusing on the following three main areas: conflict transformation/peacebuilding, transitional justice, and memory studies. Students will use a comparative perspective to analyze internal dynamics of post-conflict studies.

The course will expose students to the social dynamics in these case studies as related to the theme of peace and conflict studies and post-Yugoslav studies. Students will have opportunities to learn outside the classroom, thus deepening their understanding and analysis of the issues discussed and read about.

### Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Show a greater understanding of how conflict, post-conflict, and post-Yugoslav dynamics have shaped the social, political, and cultural realities in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo;
- Demonstrate familiarity with scholarly analysis of Conflict Transformation: peacebuilding and reconciliation; transitional justice; and memory studies;
- Analyze country-specific data regarding local efforts to engage in processes of transitional justice and dealing with the past;
- Compare transitional justice processes in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

### Language of Instruction

This course is taught in English; during the sessions students will be exposed to vocabulary related to course content.

## Course Schedule

\*Please be aware that topics and excursions may vary to take advantage of any emerging events, to accommodate changes in our lecturers' availability, and to respect any changes that would affect student safety. Students will be notified if this occurs.

### Module I: Serbia after Milošević (I)

This module will introduce students to the main political and socio-economic dynamics and changes since the 1990s until the present. During the decade of the 1990s, as Yugoslavia was disintegrating, Serbia was engaged in all the conflicts that took place in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and finally Kosovo, culminating in the 1999 NATO intervention and bombing of the country. In the aftermath of October 5, 2000, Serbia was about to enter a new chapter of democratic transition, though changes were occurring at a slower pace than hoped and expected. Why were these changes so slow? What changes took place? Who are the main actors involved? These are some of the questions students will be introduced to in this module. Finally, students will prepare for their visit to Kosovo and begin unfolding the policies and perceptions of political elites as well as ordinary people in Serbia toward the Kosovo conflict and post-conflict issues, as well as current negotiations in Brussels.

#### Session 1: Serbia during Milošević

Dr. Vladimir Petrović will lead an introductory discussion assessing the Slobodan Milošević regime and his political system as well as what followed after his ousting on October 5, 2000 (and his extradition to the ICTY in the Hague). Was Slobodan Milošević a dictator? Was he elected in free elections by his people? How do we think of transition from socialist Yugoslavia and communism to democracy in Serbia? These and other questions will be discussed throughout this session.

#### Required reading:

Gordy, E. D. (1999). *The culture of power in Serbia: Nationalism and the destruction of alternatives*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press. Selected chapters.

#### Recommended:

Tešanović, J. (2000). *The diary of a political idiot: Normal life in Belgrade*. San Francisco: Midnight Editions.

#### Session 2: Serbia after Milošević

This session will introduce some of the main changes and developments in Serbia since 2000. Dr. Petrović will discuss and introduce some of the main challenges ahead of Serbia: from economic development to corruption; from Serbia's road to join the European Union to the attempts to transform the frozen conflict between Serbia and Kosovo; from the assassination of premier Zoran Djindjić in 2003 to the current political actors in Serbia.

#### Session 3: Field Visit: Transitional justice and dealing with the past in Serbia

This session will offer students a site visit to the Humanitarian Law Center (HLC): one of Serbia's and the region's most prominent NGOs dealing with transitional justice in the aftermath of the wars and the breakup of Yugoslavia. At HLC, students meet with Ms. Marijana Toma, the executive director of the center, who will discuss the work of HLC with students, from documenting war crimes during the wars of the 1990s to currently initiating and engaging in transitional justice and local peacebuilding initiatives. Students will also visit the HLC archives and will watch a short film about the organization.

#### Required reading:

Subotić, J. (2009). *Hijacked justice: Dealing with the past in the Balkans* (pp. 1-37). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

#### Recommended:

Méndez, J. E. (1997). Accountability for past abuses. *Human Rights Quarterly: a Comparative and International Journal of the Social Sciences, Philosophy, and Law*, 19, 2, 255-282.

#### Session 4: Serbia-Kosovo conflict analysis: From frozen conflict to post-conflict transformation

This session will engage students with an introductory analysis of the Serbia-Kosovo conflict. Who are the parties involved in the conflict? Who are the actors in the current reality? What are the main issues shaping Serb-Albanian relations? These and other questions will be unfolded based on the required readings and students' discussions and questions.

##### Required reading:

Judah, T. (2008). *Kosovo: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Selected chapters: pre-war and war.)

##### Required film:

The fall of Milošević: BBC Documentary Film

This film offers a most coherent insight into the war in Kosovo and the NATO intervention as seen through the Milošević regime days in Serbia, in the late 1990s. It offers unique footage that adds images to in-class discussions and readings. Watch the film at home and be prepared for class discussion

#### Session 5: Serbia's Kosovo policy after Milošević

As direct negotiations between Serbia's and Kosovo's premiers continue to unfold, this lecture examines the state's policy towards the Kosovo conflict in the last 13 years. In so doing, Dr. Filip Ejdus examines the main issues and claims, as seen from the Serbian perspectives toward the Kosovo conflict. From introducing the myth of Kosovo and the 1389 battle of Kosovo, to more recent developments following the 2008 declaration of independence, the session highlights current dynamics as related to Serbia's EU accession process and conflict transformation.

##### Required Reading:

Judah, T. (2008). *Kosovo: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Selected chapters: post-war.)

#### Session 6: Roundtable: Local perspectives on Kosovo's independence

Moderated by Mr. Srećko Šekeljić (*Balkanist* editor and journalist), this session invites members of young leadership of political parties in Belgrade/Serbia to discuss their local perceptions towards Kosovo's independence and the recent negotiations and agreement signed in Brussels.

##### Required reading:

Political Parties in Serbia handout (available on program's Moodle)

##### Recommended Reading:

"Serbia and Kosovo: the Path to Normalization" International Crisis Group Report, No. 223, February 19, 2013.  
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/223-serbia-and-kosovo-the-path-to-normalisation.aspx>

## **Module 2: Kosovo: State-Building and Post-Conflict Transformation**

This module takes place in Kosovo as a study visit during which students are introduced to the Kosovo-Serbia conflict. The focus is on the Kosovar Albanian as well as Kosovar Serbs and other minority communities' points of view. The module allows students to visit one of the youngest states in the world, since Kosovo declared its independence only in 2008, and learn about the challenges it faces, since it is unrecognized not only by Serbia but also by other number of EU and UN member states. State-building processes and the challenges and dilemmas they entail are explored. Additionally, students will trace the creation of new collective memories in

Kosovo in the aftermath of the 1998-99 war and the NATO intervention: what monuments are built now in Kosovo and what myths are created? What processes of transitional justice are in place? Is peacebuilding a contested issue?

#### Session 1: The History of state-building process in Kosovo: An introduction

In this session, Dr. Afrim Hoti from the University of Prishtina introduces students to the recent history, from the end of Yugoslavia to the 1998-99 war in Kosovo, from a Kosovar point of view. This overview exposes students to local narratives and discourses, main dilemmas, and challenges between the Kosovar non-violent movement led by Ibrahim Rugova and the creation of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

#### Session 2: Kosovo from international administration to independence

As a continuation and a follow-up of session 3, this session introduces students to the aftermath of the war and international intervention in Kosovo. Kosovo was governed by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), and through the 2006 Ahtisari plan, finally reached a crucial moment in the February 2008 Declaration of Independence. What was the political climate that allowed this move? What was the role of international and local actors in this declaration? Can Kosovo become a UN member state, and if so how? These and other questions introduce students to some of the most acute questions in international relations as of now: should the international community intervene in conflicts such as in Kosovo? Or Syria? What is the precedent created by the intervention in Kosovo? Or is Kosovo a case of *sui generis*?

Recommended:

Krasniqi, G. (2012). Overlapping jurisdictions, disputed territory, unsettled state: the perplexing case of citizenship in Kosovo. *Citizenship Studies*, 16, 2-4, 353-366.

#### Session 3: Roundtable: Albanian perspective on Kosovo-Serbia relations

As in the Belgrade roundtable, the Kosovo one, moderated by the SIT Prishtina coordinator, this session invites members of young leadership of political parties in Kosovo to discuss their local perceptions of the future of their society and the recent negotiations and agreement signed in Brussels.

Recommended:

Political parties in Kosovo handout (available on Moodle)

#### Session 4: Site visit to Prizren

In this session, students visit Prizren, which is among the most heterogeneous municipalities in Kosovo, with communities of Bosniaks, Turks, Roma, and Albanians. Students visit the old city of Prizren to explore its Ottoman past and the heritage of the League of Prizren, and be introduced to later developments in the city, demographic changes in the aftermath of the war, and more recent cultural developments with the founding of the DokuFest film festival, among the most cutting edge film festivals in the Balkans. The visit is followed by a group discussion.

#### Session 5: Serbs in Kosovo

In the aftermath of the war, Serbs who remained in Kosovo received a minority status. While Serbs north of river Ibar refused to recognize Prishtina's role, powers, and rule of law, south of the Ibar River, Serb communities began to transform from enclaves to local Kosovar municipalities. In this session, we may visit the municipality of Gracanica, including a visit the Gracanica Monastery and a meeting with the mayor. We may alternatively visit the Decani Monastery and meet with Father Sava Janjic, also known as the cyber monk from Kosovo.

### Session 6: Transitional Justice in Kosovo

In this session, students are introduced to current developments in implementation and introduction of transitional justice mechanisms in Kosovo. The main issues and challenges to TJ are introduced such as the problem of still missing people in Kosovo, the creation of national myths and national heroes, and the role of gender and women in these processes. Alternatively, in this session students may visit the Humanitarian Law Center (HLC), a leading local NGO in TJ issues.

Recommended:

DWP Kosovo: Dealing with the Past <http://dwp-kosovo.info>

### Session 7: Field visit: the creation of collective memories, myths and monuments in Post-War Kosovo

Students visit Gazimestan as well as the Adem Jashari Memorial in Prekaz and the KLA memorial in Marine. Prior to the visit, students participate in a discussion based on De-Lillio and Schwander-Sievers' "The Legendary Commander." The text sheds light on politics of memory in Kosovo, the post-war processes that are socially constructing memories of the war in Kosovo, as well as monuments and new mnemonic traditions. These processes are examined in the context of state and nation-building processes, as well as in the context of conflict transformation and transitional justice.

Required reading:

De-Lellio, A., & Schwander-Sievers, S. (2006). The Legendary Commander: the construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo. *Nations and Nationalism*, 12, 3, 513-529.

### Session 8: Kosovo reflection session and summary

This session is devoted to a summary of the module and a reflection session, in which students bring together theory and practice, classroom lectures and site visits.

## **Module 3: Serbia after Milošević (II)**

In this module, we continue to deepen our understanding of political and social processes in Serbia, as well as begin with the group's preparation for the next module and visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Session 1: Politics of otherness and differences in Serbia

In this session, Dr. Jelisaveta Blagojevic from the Faculty of Media and Communications (FMK) introduces a poststructuralist analytical framework for the understanding of post-Yugoslav transitions of identities and political ideologies in Serbia. The session addresses various manifestations of identity and ideology including the politics of Brotherhood and Unity and underpinnings of EU integration. This session is made out of 2 parts: 1) theoretical discussion and the particularities of their implementation in the case study of Serbia; 2) a film projection (Heated Blood) followed by a group discussion.

Required reading:

Blagojević, J. (2011). "Between walls: provincialisms, sexualities and Serbian public discourses on EU integration." In Kulpa R. & J. Mizielinska (Eds). *De-Centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives* (pp. 27-42). Burlington: Ashgate.

Film: Mamuzic, M. (Director). (2008). *Vrela krv (Heated Blood)* [Motion picture]. Serbia: Arhiteh.

### Session 2: Responsibility as a political category

In this session, Prof. Daša Duhaček from the faculty of Political Science introduces the question of responsibility as a political category. Building on Hannah Arendt's political theory, Duhaček takes students through the fascinating and challenging dilemma of a society that still struggles with the definitions of war heroes and war criminals.

Recommended:

Duhaček, D. (2006). The making of political responsibility: Hannah Arendt and/in the case of Serbia. *Women and citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 205-224). Aldershot: Ashgate.

### Session 3: Field Visit: Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia

Following the introduction to the question of responsibility as a political category, students visit a local NGO run by young Belgradians. Today's Serbia's post-war generation has to deal with the legacies of the wars of the 1990s. In their work, these activists put into action some of Duhaček's and Arendt's more theoretical discussions and share with students some of their projects such as "The Visiting Program" (building bridges between young people from Kosovo and Serbia), "The Days of Sarajevo Festival," and others.

## **Module 4: Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) after the Dayton Accords**

This module starts in Belgrade and continues in Bosnia. It allows students to understand and capture the new structures of post-Dayton BiH as divided to two entities: Republika Srpska and The Federation. The module presents current challenges, new identity constructions and peacebuilding efforts in dealing with the recent past. It also allows students a critical look on international interventions in the Western Balkans (and beyond).

### Session 1: Introduction to BiH after Dayton (in Belgrade)

In this session, Mirjana Kosić, SIT academic assistant, introduces students to the political structures in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina, created as the consequences of the Dayton accords. The session picks the discussion from the end of the war in Bosnia to the current impediments to the functioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina as one state. Students are introduced to the two entities: Republika Srpska and The Federation, their political structures and political actors. The session features a documentary film, an ISP produced by SIT Balkans Alum (Spring 2009), that discusses the question of identity and belonging among young generation in BiH.

Film:

Seigel-Boettner, Jacob, "Naši Narodi? Moji Identiteti: Four Youth Perspectives on National Identity in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina" (2009). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. Paper 692.

### Session 2: Students' led discussion: The new Bosnian mosaic

This student-led discussion is scheduled prior to the educational excursion to BiH. The aim of this session is to allow students to engage with the readings and with some of the arguments about studying peace and conflict studies in Bosnia after Dayton to reflect on the challenges and dilemmas students and scholars should be aware of.

Required reading

Bougarel, X., Helms, E., & Duijzings, G. (Eds). (2006). Introduction. *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society* (1-38). Hampshire: Ashgate.

The following sessions take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina:

### Session 3: Bosnia after Dayton: a view from Banja Luka

In this session with Mr. Djordje Tomić, a teaching assistant at the faculty of Political Science at the University of Banja Luka, students are introduced to the current burning issues in Bosnian politics as seen from Banja Luka: from the issue of the national census to the question of identity and belonging. On the same day, students meet with Tomić's students for an informal meeting in town.

Recommended reading:

Štiks, I. (2011). Being Citizen the Bosnian Way: Transformations of Citizenship and Political Identities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Cheneval, F., and S. Ramel (Eds). *Transitions: from Peace to Shared Political Identities: Exploring Pathways in Contemporary BiH*, 51, 1-2, 245-267.

#### Session 4: Field visit: OSCE mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina

Students visit the OSCE offices in Banja Luka and meet with local and international position holders in the organization. This session not only exposes students to the ongoing presence of international organizations and powers in BiH, but also makes them aware of the challenges faced by the local communities as they continue to engage with peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes, decades after the war.

#### Session 5: Dayton Agreement and transitional justice: the Sarajevo point of view

This session introduces students to the war and post-war post-Dayton politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina as seen from Sarajevo, the capital of the state as well as the political center of the federation. Mr. Adnan Huskić, walks students through the main changes the city has seen after the siege was over, and the current challenges to identity and transitional justice in BiH.

#### Session 6: The role of the international community in BiH

This session with Mr. Kurt Bassuener, of the Democratization Policy Council in Sarajevo, introduces the students to the role of the international community in BiH after the war. Through a discussion about the role of the US, the students are challenged to process their thoughts and position regarding international interventions and the international community. Mr. Bassuener, a US citizen himself, shares a knowledgeable and in-depth perspective of BiH politics and shift in international relations in the aftermath of 9/11 and the ways in which the war on terror and the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan have impacted processes in BiH and the Balkans.

Recommended:

Most recent Democratization Policy analysis paper (available on moodle)

#### Session 7: Field visit to the International Committee on Missing People (ICMP)

Students visit the Sarajevo headquarters of the ICMP. Since 2001, the ICMP has led the way in using DNA as a first step in the identification of large numbers of persons missing as consequences of armed conflict. Students are introduced to the database developed at the ICMP in BiH as well as visit the labs of the organization to discuss the role of ICMP in conflict transformation and transitional justice processes in the country and the region.

#### Session 8: Islam in BiH

Djermana Šeta, a Sarajevo based researcher and scholar, offers an introduction to Islam in BiH and in the Balkans with a focus on the ways the war, ethnic cleansing, and other processes have shaped perceptions of Islam among believers and non-believers as well the politics of identity in BiH. Following the lecture, students may visit the Gazi-Husrev Beg Mosque (Gazi Husrev Begova Džamija).

Recommended Reading:

Bringa, T. (1995). *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

#### Session 9: Field visit: The Srebrenica Memorial in Potočari

In this half-day session, students visit the Potočari Memorial Center where the war victims are buried. After a visit to the cemetery, students also visit the memorial room and are introduced to the issues by a staff member at the Memorial Center. Prior to the visit, students participate in a discussion based on the *Cry from the Grave* Film and the Duijzings' text.

Required reading:

Duijzings, G. (2006). Commemorating Srebrenica: Histories of Violence and the Politics of Memory in Eastern Bosnia. In Bougarel, X., E. Helms, & G. Duijzings (Eds). *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society* (pp.141-166). Hampshire: Ashgate.

Film:

Woodhead, L., (1999). *A Cry from the Grave*. London: BBC & Antelope Limited. Antelope.

**Module 5: Peace and Conflict Studies: Theory and Practice in the Balkans**

This module is devoted to synthesis discussions and student-led presentations allowing in-depth comparative analysis of peacebuilding and conflict transformation processes in Serbia, Kosovo and BiH. Students are divided into small groups with each group using a theoretical framework (peacebuilding/TJ/memory studies) to discuss a case study.

**Evaluation and Grading Criteria**

Description of Assignments:

Student-led class discussion (30%)

In each of the modules, readings and reflection sessions are led by students, in addition to those led by SIT staff. Student-led discussions put emphasis on text joint analysis and on synthesis sessions between readings, field visits, and lectures.

Peace and Conflict in the Balkans in-class presentation (30%)

Students sign up for a synthesis group presentation, in which they bring together the theoretical and political analysis they gained from this seminar. They may choose to focus on one of the 3 theoretical frameworks: conflict transformation/peacebuilding, transitional justice, or memory studies and focus on one of the case studies: Serbia, Kosovo, or Bosnia. They may also engage in a comparative analysis.

Reflective essay (30%)

Upon return from Kosovo, students write an essay in which they reflect on transitional justice/peacebuilding or the collective memory construction processes in post-war Kosovo. Students will have to demonstrate their understanding of the main theoretical framework and the complexities of statebuilding. The essay should be 5 to 6 pages long.

Participation: 10 %

Participation includes:

- Attendance – promptness to class and positive presence in class
- Active listening – paying attention in class and during field excursions, asking appropriate questions, showing interest and enthusiasm, entertaining contradictory perspectives, taking notes
- Self-directed learning – reading the local paper and other materials to follow local perspectives on relevant issues, discussing issues with host families and others
- Involvement in class discussions – either in small or large groups
- Group accountability during field excursions and classes
- Taking leadership roles – leading and guiding discussions in a productive direction

Assessment:

Student-led class discussion	30%
Peace and Conflict in the Balkans in-class presentation	30%
Reflective Essay	30%
Participation/Readings	10%

Grading Scale

94-100%	A	Excellent
90-93%	A-	
87-89%	B+	
84-86%	B	Above Average
80-83%	B-	
77-79%	C+	
74-76%	C	Average
70-73%	C-	
67-69%	D+	
64-66%	D	Below Average
below 64	F	Fail

### Expectations and Policies

- In addition to readings, which will be assigned for each of the units, it is also your responsibility to keep up to date with current events. At a minimum, you are required to read the *Balkan Insight* news website (<http://www.balkaninsight.com>); it is also recommended that you read daily newspapers available online in English (list available on Moodle). Familiarity with current events and a working knowledge of day-to-day political issues will be needed in the Thematic Seminar and will also help you in the process of choosing your ISP topic.
- Show up prepared. Be on time, have your readings completed and points in mind for discussion or clarification. Complying with these elements raises the level of class discussion for everyone.
- Have assignments completed on schedule, submitted on the Moodle, and done accordingly to the specified requirements. This will help ensure that your assignments are returned in a timely manner.
- Ask questions in class. Engage the lecturer. These are often very busy professionals who are doing us an honor by coming to speak.
- Comply with academic integrity policies (no plagiarism or cheating, nothing unethical).
- Respect differences of opinion (classmates, lecturers, local constituents engaged with on the visits). You are not expected to agree with everything you hear, but you are expected to listen across difference and consider other perspectives with respect.

**Academic Policies:** SIT prides itself on providing students with an experientially based program; we hold ourselves, and our students, to the highest of academic standards. Students are asked to refer to the **SIT Study Abroad Handbook** for policies on academic integrity, ethics, academic warning and probation, diversity and disability, sexual harassment and the academic appeals process.

**Disability Services:** Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Disability Services at [disabilityservices@sit.edu](mailto:disabilityservices@sit.edu) for information and support in facilitating an accessible educational experience. Additional information regarding SIT Disability Services, including a link to the online request form, can be found on the Disability Services website at <http://studyabroad.sit.edu/disabilityservices>.