

Ethnic Conflict and Minority Rights  
in Eastern Europe  
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# Overview of Presentation

- Preliminary Questions: ethnicity, nationalism, violence
- Ethno-national violence in Yugoslavia: background, war, intervention, post-violence outcomes
- Conclusions

# What is an Ethnic Group?

- Concept somewhat “plastic”
- Broad definition: Collective with common social characteristics: culture, language, religion, race, tribe, or nation origin
- Often given in categorical manner – census grouping
- Variable sense of shared identity – expressed in symbols, myths, memories

# What are Nation and Nationality?

- Nation distinguished from ethnic group by political nature of collective/community – i. e., claim for political autonomy or statehood
- Opposing conceptions: constructed/founding vs. natural/always existing
- Nation and nationality product of modern state formation – national language, national education system, national military service
- Implies clearly demarcated territory & unified administration

# What is Nationalism?

- Nationalism is rhetoric and political action demarcating political community
- Closely associated with right to self-determination, political legitimacy based upon rule by “the people”
- Ideal political legitimacy: boundaries of people (ethnic group) coterminous with boundaries of political administration
- Ernest Gellner – combination of state formation and creation of “high cultures” (e.g., modern literature) produces nationalism

# State-Building Framework

State – set of political organizations

- Maintaining territorial control (external defense, internal order, resource extraction)
- Recognized position in international state system (claim to sovereign control)
- Representing a political community living in territory (criteria of membership)

# What is Nationalist Violence?

- Use of force to cause bodily harm or direct threat of such force
- Violence is qualitatively distinct form of conflict
- Nationalist violence usually clustered within larger cycles of nationalist contention; armed conflict typically occurs later stages of mobilization cycle

# What Leads to Nationalist Violence?

- Collapse of central authority
- Security dilemma: perceived threat triggers counter moves & preemptive attack
- Credible commitments – inability of ethnicized state leaders to commit to protect minorities
- Information asymmetry in face of high levels of ethnic solidarity
- Small disciplined conflict groups organized to carry out violence
- Cultural construction of fear



# Violent Ethnic Conflicts in Europe

- Basque Country
- Cyprus
- Northern Ireland
- Post-communist – former Soviet Union & Yugoslavia
- Share mobilized ethno-national groups with territorial disputes

# Background to Nationalist Violence in Former Yugoslavia

- Long-term economic crisis & decentralization weakened central state
- Past history of inter-group violence
- Security dilemma for minorities in new states
- Political leadership used ethno-nationalism for mobilization
- Presence of para-military and military formations
- External action/inaction: lack of will & capacity; recognition of constituent republics/nations

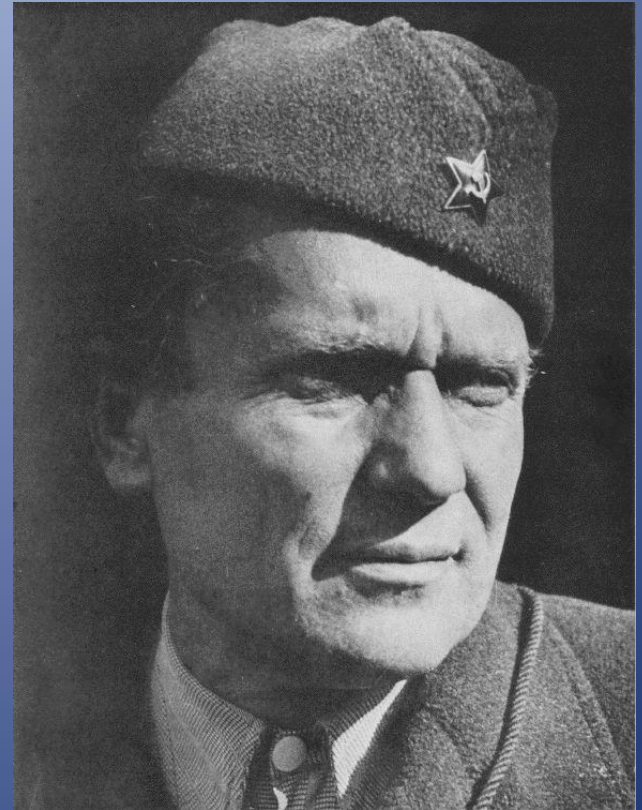
# Violent Conflicts in former Yugoslavia

- Croatia, 1991-1995
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1995
- Kosovo, 1989-???
- Macedonia, 2001



# Shared background in Communist Yugoslavia

- Communist-led anti-fascist victory of Partisans – Brotherhood & Unity
- Communist monopoly of power & ideology
- Decentralized political & economic power
- Ethnic heterogeneity
- Persistent nationalist challenges



Marshall Tito

# Federalism & Ethnicity, 1991



# Breakup of Yugoslavia

- Late 1980s Slovenian leaders press for autonomy
- 1989 Serbia revokes autonomy of Kosovo
- 1990 Breakup of League of Communists leads to multi-party elections in republics
- Nationalist parties victorious in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia
- June 1991 – Slovenia and Croatia declare independence

# Croatian Conflict, 1991-95

- Conflict between Serb minority and Croatian majority
- 1992, UN peacekeeping force deployed
- 1995 military victory of Croatian forces
- Short international supervision of final territorial integration



Destruction of Vukovar



# Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-95

- 3-sided ethnic conflict: Serbs, Croats, & Bosniaks (Muslims)
- UN humanitarian & “peacekeeping” efforts highlight international weakness
- 1995 Croatian-Bosniak military alliance & NATO bombing campaign ended war
- Dayton peace agreement brought international post-conflict intervention but also cemented ethnic power



Parliament building in Sarajevo, 1992

# Kosovo, 1989-???

- 1989, Serbia revoked autonomy
- 1990s Serbian repression & ethnic Albanian nonviolence
- 1998-99 Kosovo Liberation Army (Albanian) insurgency & Serbian counter-insurgency
- 1999, NATO intervention led to international administration
- 2008, Kosovo declaration of independence



Kosovo Liberation Army

# Macedonia, 2001

- Ethnic Albanian insurgency against Macedonian government
- Limited conflict: territory, period, casualties
- Mediation by EU & US produced political compromise



Macedonian soldier in Tetovo

# Basic Structure of Conflicts

	Bosnia	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia
<b>Length</b>	43 months: Apr. 1992 – Nov. 1995	51 months: Aug. 1991-Nov. 1995	16 months: Mar. 1998-Jun. 1999	6 months: Mar. 2001-Sep. 2001
<b>Casualties &amp; damage</b>	100,000 dead	20,000 dead	12,000 dead NATO produced casualties: 500-600	150 dead
<b>Refugees &amp; Internally Displaced Persons</b>	1.2 million refugees 1.3 IDPs	525,000 refugees 582,000 IDPs	Pre-Mar 1999: 100,000 refugees; 260,000 IDPs Mar-Jun 1999: 800,000 refugees Post-Jun 1999: 230,000 IDPs	150,000 refugees
<b>Territorial conflict</b>	Military occupation & state building	Military occupation & state building	Insurgency & air campaign	Insurgency
<b>Internal actors involved</b>	1 rump state & 2 para-states	1 state & 1 para-state	1 state & 1 insurgency	1 state & 1 insurgency
<b>Summary</b>	Deadly & disruptive conflict with three years of failed international response Political & military institutionalization of conflict cemented by peace accord	Short intense conflict with UN peace keeping & territorial stalemate Croatian military victories led to final shape of settlement – negotiated territorial integration	Increasing insurgency built on long-term hostility & ended by international military intervention International military & civilian administration established Contested declaration of independence	Short insurgency with strong international response led to brokered political agreement among ethnic political parties

# Structures of Peace Agreements

- International peacemaking (Bosnia & Kosovo) and mediation (all conflicts)
- Bosnia, Dayton Agreement: Strong military intervention (IFOR/SFOR/EUFOR); Fragmented civilian intervention – Elections priority (OSCE), human rights (OSCE), return of displaced (UNHCR), police monitoring (UN/EU), civilian coordination (OHR); State Constitution
- Croatia, Erdut Agreement: UN Transitional Administration for Danube Region integrating military and civilian roles
- Kosovo, UN SC Resolution 1244: Strong military intervention (KFOR); Civilian administration (UN), with additional roles for OSCE & EU
- Macedonia, Ohrid Agreement: political agreement requiring Constitutional & legislative changes, monitored by EU, OSCE, & others; weapons collection organized by NATO

# Peace Agreement Highlights

	Bosnia	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia
<b>Name</b>	General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton)	Basic Agreement (Erdut)	UN Security Council Resolution 1244	Framework Agreement (Ohrid)
<b>Date</b>	Nov.-Dec. 1995	Nov. 1995	Jun. 1999	Aug. 2001
<b>Key Items</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Military mission</li> <li>• Military disengagement</li> <li>• Confidence building</li> <li>• State constitution</li> <li>• Elections</li> <li>• Human Rights</li> <li>• Return of Refugees &amp; IDPs</li> <li>• International Police Supervision</li> <li>• Office of High Representative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN transitional administration</li> <li>• Return of refugees IDPs</li> <li>• Local elections</li> <li>• Human rights</li> <li>• Policing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Military mission</li> <li>• UN administrative mission</li> <li>• Withdrawal of Serbian forces</li> <li>• Demilitarization of Albanian insurgents</li> <li>• Transitional administration</li> <li>• Provisional institution of autonomous self-government</li> <li>• Policing</li> <li>• Return of refugees &amp; IDPs</li> <li>• Political solution to status</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cessation of hostilities</li> <li>• Revised law on local self-government</li> <li>• Change in appointment of police chiefs</li> <li>• Public administration representation</li> <li>• Language law revision</li> <li>• Constitutional revision – civic state, minority vote</li> <li>• Hold donors conference</li> <li>• Census</li> </ul>
<b>Timetables</b>	<p>Military mission (1 year, but later renewed)</p> <p>Demilitarization (up to 120 days)</p> <p>Elections (within 9 months)</p>	<p>Mission (1 year; renewable 1 year)</p> <p>Elections (30 days before end of mission)</p>	<p>Mission (continued without new Security Council vote)</p>	<p>Constitutional amendments, Law on local self-government: within 45 days</p> <p>Police hiring: Jul. 2002, 2003</p>
<b>Implementation</b>	<p>Military (IFOR/SFOR/EUFOR) &amp; OSCE</p> <p>Civilian: Elections (OSCE)</p> <p>Human Rights (OSCE)</p> <p>Return (UNHCR)</p> <p>Police (UN/IPTF)</p> <p>Coordination (OCR)</p>	<p>Military &amp; civilian administration (UN)</p> <p>Follow-up: policing, human rights, return (OSCE)</p> <p>Minority rights (Council of Europe)</p>	<p>Military (KFOR)</p> <p>Civilian: Administration (UN)</p> <p>Refugees (UNHCR)</p> <p>Democratization &amp; institution building (OSCE)</p> <p>Economic (EU)</p> <p>Post-independence Co-ordination (ICO)</p> <p>Rule of Law (EU)</p>	<p>State authorities &amp; political parties</p> <p><i>Invited to assist:</i></p> <p>Disarming insurgents (NATO)</p> <p>Coordination (EU)</p> <p>Census (CoE, EU)</p> <p>Return (UNCHR)</p> <p>Donors (EC, WB)</p> <p>Police (OSCE, EU, US)</p>

# Legacies of Ethnic Conflict

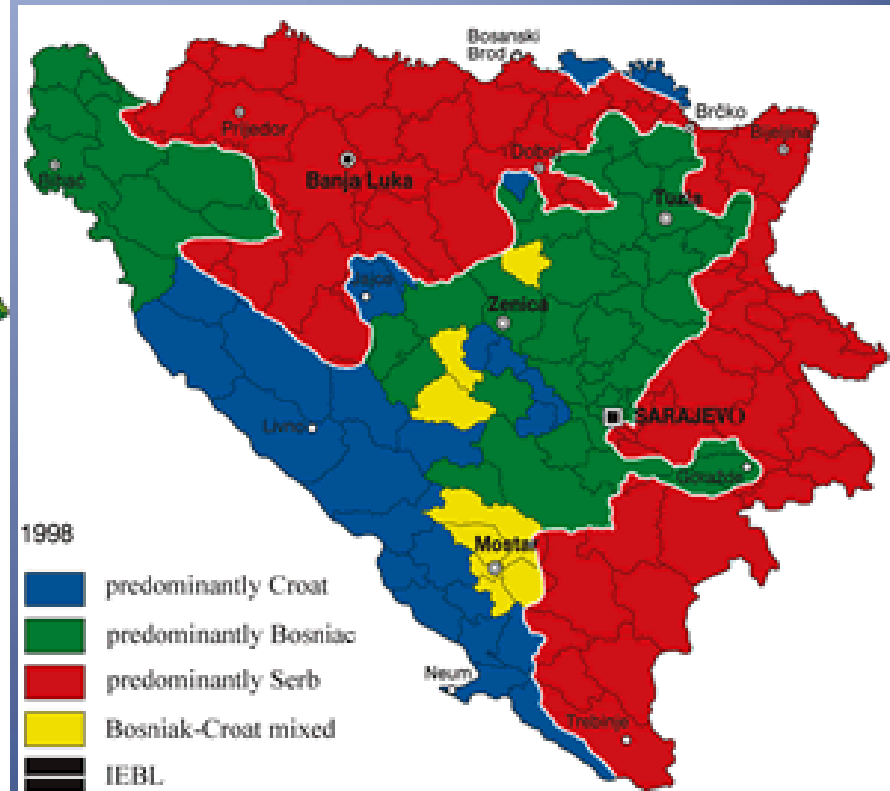
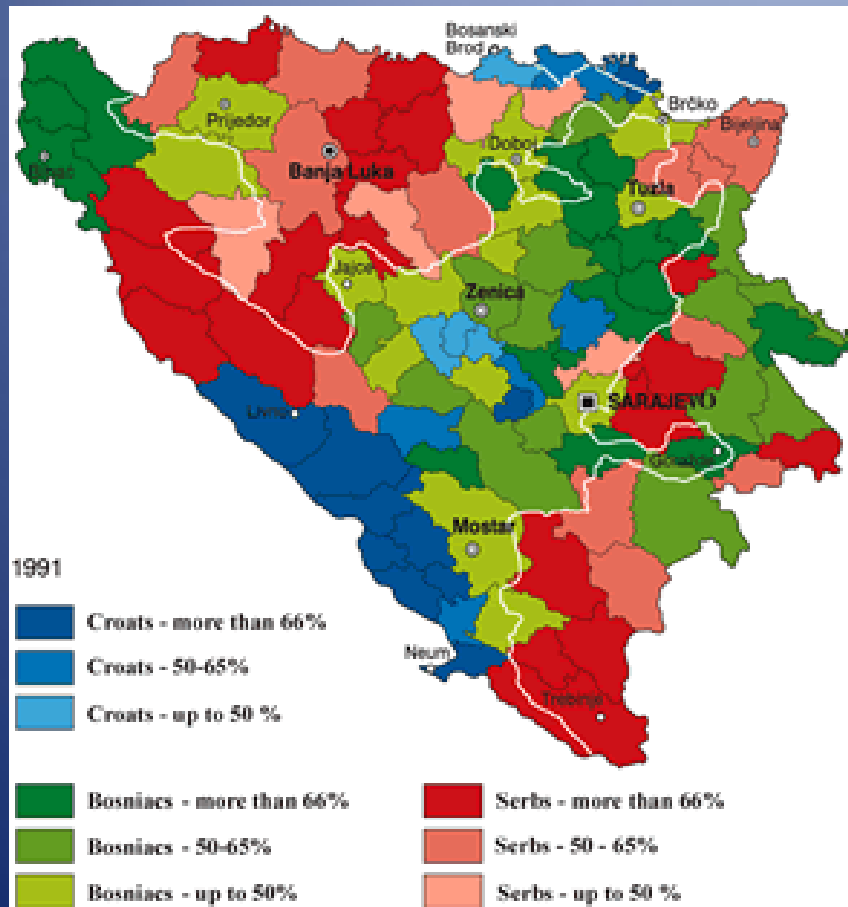
- BiH: highly ethnicized political environment; institutionalized power sharing; political parties appeal to identity issues
- Croatia: ethnic Croat political dominance; small minority of Serbs represented by single political party, participating in coalition governments; minority rights implemented 2000-01
- Kosovo: small minorities of Serbs & other groups; institutionalized representation structured by international community; Serbs largely boycott Kosovo politics
- Macedonia: ethnic identity structures politics; inter-ethnic party coalitions

# Post-Violence Ethnic Politics

	Bosnia	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia
<b>Demographic structure</b>	Bosniak, 48%; Serb, 37%; Croat 14% (2000 estimate, no census since 1991)	Croat, 88%; Serb 4.5% (2001)	Albanian, 88%; Serb, 7% (2000 estimate)	Macedonian, 64%; Albanian, 25% (2002)
<b>Constitutional structure</b>	State level created by Dayton Agreement	No changes brought by agreement	Constitution passed by Kosovo Assembly after Declaration of Independence	Ohrid Agreement proposed changes to enhance minority rights
<b>Institutional structure</b>	Fragmented: 2 Entities: Republika Srpska & Federation of BiH; FBiH – 10 cantons	Centralized state	Single parliament with local governments Parallel Serb structures in north	Centralized state with more devolved local powers post-Ohrid
<b>Political parties</b>	Ethnic based, with war-time parties still strong among Bosniaks & Croats Inter-ethnic cooperation limited to formal power-sharing	Wartime party still strong, less nationalist; single, small Serb party participates in government coalitions	Competition among both ethnic Albanian and Serbian parties; Serbs in north boycott Kosovo politics	Competition between parties within ethnic groups; coalitions across groups



# Impact of War on Bosnia's Ethnicity



# Post-War Ethnic Map of Kosovo



# Post-Violence International Intervention Compared

- BiH: complex dynamic changing over time – early military success brought peace; elections secured nationalist power & led to strengthening of civilian authority (Bonn Powers); heavy intervention to implement property law, some elements of central state; resistance to return process & state building; Europeanization limited success
- Croatia: successful transitional authority produced peaceful integration of territory; minority rights regime implemented in Danube; with political change, minority rights adopted throughout state; Europeanization adopted; EU membership nearly complete

# Intervention Compared – cont.

- Kosovo: military intervention secured peace, with exception of Mar 2004 violence; civilian administration established local political institutions but unable to maintain Serb participation; institutional capacity still in development; political process toward status settlement failed, exposing mixed goals of international actors; large EU states & US promoted independence as alternative but unrecognized by Serbia, Russia, and some EU members; EULEX rule of law mission as follow-on to UN; status contested
- Macedonia: international pressure brought negotiated political settlement; limited weapons collection success; Constitutional & legal changes increased minority rights; Europeanization process slow to evolve; EU candidate country but little movement

# Outcomes of Post-Violence International Intervention

	Bosnia	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia
<b>Intervention Outcomes</b>	Peace Property restitution Limited return of displaced Limited state building Failed constitutional changes Resistance to international authority	Peace Reintegration of territory Limited return outside Danube Minority rights regime adopted EU Candidacy & Negotiations	Peace, except Mar 2004 Development of local political institutions State building slowly developing capacity Failed status negotiations Declaration of independence Uncertain EU future	Peace Constitutional & legal revisions EU Candidacy stalled by Greece

# Summary

- Peace successful due to strong military intervention and development of regional approach
- Cooperation of local authorities most important factor ensuring success – Croatia, Macedonia
- Resistance to return of displaced remains strong throughout region, particularly to areas where ethnic control has changed – Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo
- Resistance can be overcome through coordinated administrative authority, but requires political will that is hard to mobilize -- Bosnia
- State building does not bring quick results, can face local opposition – Bosnia, Kosovo

# Conclusions

- Ethno-nationalist violence in former Yugoslavia result of breakdown of state & nationalist mobilization by political leaders
- End of war required political will by parties to violence and intervention by international actors
- Result of major violence been ethnic segregation and challenges for new states
- Post-violence EU strategy of Stabilization and Association Process yielded mixed results