

Course manual  
Joint Master's Programme in  
International Humanitarian Action

University of  
Warsaw

# Conflicts and Crises in Eastern Europe

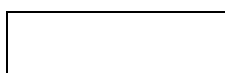
Semester 3



Aix-Marseille  
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**Credits awarded:** 4 ECTS, equivalent to 100 work hours (1 ECTS = 25 hours)

**Period:** Third semester

**Venue & hours:** Room 416 Collegium Iuridicum I, Tuesdays 16:45-18:15, from 8 November 2016

## 1. Introduction

The module is an element of the (Core Course, 4 ECTS) / third component (Regional Perspective- Eastern Europe , 30 ECTS) of the NOHA Joint Master's Degree in International Humanitarian Action to be completed during the first/second semester. It forms a recognised part of the curriculum and is a requirement for obtaining the NOHA Master's degree.

The main objective of the module is to present the complexity of the main challenges to the regional security of Eastern Europe. The region's contemporary dynamics are analysed from the historic, socio-political, cultural and geopolitical perspectives. Recently solved (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo) as well as still frozen conflicts (e.g. Transnistria, Gorny Karabakh) are in focus of the module. The prospects for regional stability are evaluated with account of the existing tinderboxes (e.g). The aim of the module is to acquire knowledge and improve skills for regional expertise – crucial for organising humanitarian action in Eastern Europe.

## 2. Learning outcomes

In conformity with the learning outcomes set out by the NOHA network, students should achieve the following learning outcomes by the end of this module:

- specialised knowledge about genesis, dynamics and resolutions of conflicts in the region of Eastern Europe
- a critical understanding of incentives for tensions as well as cooperation in Eastern Europe. Has innovative expertise on current problems and challenges to the security in the region
- a thorough knowledge of historical, political, cultural and economical background of the processes in Eastern Europe
- ability to interpret and critically analyse data, information and experience concerning Eastern Europe. Shows high skills to contextualize the obtained data. Has demonstrated a range of coaching and management skills to carefully assess the relevant factors for crisis and conflicts
- ability to formulate independent views in regard to Eastern Europe, support them with elaborate arguments, using a broad range of approaches and theoretical perspectives, formulate coherent conclusions and make a synthetic summary of these conclusions

- specialised problem-solving skills combining interdisciplinary knowledge and understanding of the complexity of the situation of crisis-affected people in Eastern Europe

### 3. Course material

Course material will be provided by the module coordinator in an electronic version or are to be found in the library of NOHA. For the details see point 5.

Useful links: [www.osw.waw.pl](http://www.osw.waw.pl)

### 4. Teaching and learning methodology

The programme of the module is divided into four stages. Stage I consists of weeks 1-3 which are introductory lectures on the historical dynamics of the region. This stage is concluded with a **student task** *Symbols sometimes mean more than words*. Each student is to choose a particular text of culture (a film, book, painting, poster etc. ) which, in his/her opinion reflects well the characteristics features of Eastern/Central Europe. Each student prepares a max 7-minute long presentation.

Stage II (weeks 4-8) includes the analysis of conflicts which have taken place since the end of the cold war. **Student task**: in this stage each student chooses one conflict and prepares a presentation (oral form) on this particular case in accordance with the following scheme:

- time frame of the conflict
- genesis of the conflict
- final settlement or – in absence of such – a potential settlement of the conflict

Max. 30-minute long presentation

Week 8 assumes discussing still existing potential for crises and conflicts in the region. This class will be organised as a **student debate**.

Stage III (weeks 9-11) combines theory with practices. Weeks 9-11 are dedicated to introductory lectures on basics of international negotiations. During Week 12 students put their knowledge into practice and conduct **simulations** (under the coordinator's supervision) **of negotiations** of one of the previously analysed conflicts (Nagorno-Karabakh). This exercise is the final preparation for the exam.

Stage IV (week 13): Students take an **exam** which will have a form of negotiations. Students are divided into 2-4 parties (e.g. the Ukrainian government, Donetsk separatists, Russia, EU, US) and negotiate the settlement of the Ukrainian crisis. The coordinator has a passive role during the exam, i.e. observes and evaluates performance of students.

### 5. Programme and training activities

#### Class 1 (Monday, November 7, time: 3.00-4.30)

##### 1. Eastern, Central or Central-Eastern Europe: attempts to define the region

## Readings

### Optional:

- Judy Batt, Introduction: Regions, State and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe, "Regional & Federal Studies" 2002, vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 1-14.

### Class 2 (Monday, November 7, time: 4.45-6.15)

#### 2. The legacy of the past in Central Europe: geopolitical dynamics of the region in the historic perspective

- *Conflicts, changes of borders and mass migration*
- *"Pulsating" sovereign states and nation-building processes*
- *The factor of external powers: Russia, Habsburg Empire, Prussia, Ottoman Empire, France*
- *The complex of the West, the fear of the East*

## Readings

### Optional:

- Joseph Rothschild, Nancy M. Wingfield, *Return to Diversity. A Political History of East Central Europe Since WWII*, Oxford University Press 2000.
- Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe. Enemies, Neighbours, Friends*, Oxford University Press 1996, pp. 223-274.

### Class 3 (Monday, November 14, time: 3.00-4.30)

#### 3. Central Europe in the post-Yalta global order

- *The Autumn of the Nations*
- *Regional integration processes*
- *Heading for the EU and the NATO*

## Readings

### Optional:

- Ronald D. Asmus & Alexandr Vondra, *The Origins of Atlanticism in Central and Eastern Europe*, "Cambridge Review of International Affairs" 2005, vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 203-216.
- Attila Agh, *The Politics of Central Europe*, SAGE 1998, pp. 1-83.
- Stanislav Kirchbaum [ed.], *Central European History and the EU*, Palgrave Macmillan 2007, pp. 32-60.
- *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, III edition, 2013.

**Student Task** *Symbols mean sometimes more than words.*

Each student is to choose for this week a particular text of culture (a film, book, painting, poster etc.) which, in his/her opinion reflects well the characteristics features of Eastern/Central Europe. Each student prepares a **max 7-minute long presentation**.

### Class 4 (Monday, November 14, time: 4.45-6.15)

#### 4. The fall of Yugoslavia: from the independence of Slovenia to the secession of Kosovo

- *The internal and external factors of the fall of the Yugoslavia*
- *The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995)*
- *Assessing the Dayton Accord*
- *The secession of Montenegro*
- *Oktobarska revolution in Serbia (2000)*
- *The Kosovo crisis (1999) and its implications for the regional security*

## Readings

### Compulsory:

- Alexandros Yannis, The Creation and Politics of International Protectorates in the Balkans: Bridges over Troubled Waters, "Journal of International Relations and Development" 2002, vol. 5, No 3., pp. 258-274.
- Petya Nitzova, The Bosnian crisis: Anatomy of the conflict, "Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies" 1993, vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 507-512.
- Ioannis Armakolas, The 'Paradox' of Tuzla City: Explaining Non-nationalist Local Politics during the Bosnian War, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2011, vol. 63, No. 2, pp. 229-261.
- Tom Gallagher, 'This farrago of anomalies': The European response to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-95, "Mediterranean Politics" 1996, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 76-94.
- Nathalie Tocci, The EU and Conflict Resolution. Promoting Peace in the Backyard, Routledge 2007, pp. 78-99.

**Optional:**

- Jeffrey S. Morton et al, Reflections on the Balkan Wars: Ten years after the breakup of Yugoslavia, Palgrave Macmillan 2004, pp. 3-21, 93-118.
- Richard Ullman [ed.], The World and Yugoslavia Wars, 1996, pp. 9-41.
- Robert Bideleux, Ian Jeffries, The Balkans. A post-Communist History, Routledge 2007, pp. 329-404, 512-580.
- Labinot Greiçevci, EU Actorness in International Affairs: The Case of EULEX Mission in Kosovo, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" 2011, vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 283-303.
- Alistair J. Shepherd, 'A milestone in the history of the EU': Kosovo and the EU's international role, "International Affairs" 2009, vol. 85, No. 3, pp. 513-530.
- Francine Friedman, The Muslim Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with reference to the Sandzak of Novi Pazar): Islam as national identity, "Nationalities Papers" 2000, vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 165-180.
- Eds. Soeren Keil, Zeynep Arkan, The EU and Member State Building: European Foreign Policy in the Western Balkans, Routledge 2014.

**Student task:** presentation (max. 30-minute long) of the analysis of this conflict (**see point 4**)

**Class 5 (Monday, November 21, time: 3.00-4.30)**

**5. The sources of instability in the peripheries: the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia and Albania**

- *The crisis in Macedonia (2001) and international reaction*
- *Albania in 1997: a case of a failed state?*
- *The Albanian factor in the Western Balkans*
- *Balkan Muslims and the impact of the global Jihad*

**Readings**

**Compulsory:**

- Stuart J. Kaufman, Preventive peacekeeping, ethnic violence, and Macedonia, "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism" 1996, vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 229-246.
- Alex J. Bellamy, The new wolves at the door: Conflict in Macedonia, "Civil Wars" 2002, vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 117-144.
- The crisis in Albania, "Strategic Comments" 1997, vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 1-2.
- David L. Phillips, Albania, "American Foreign Policy Interests" 2005, vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 309-330.
- Danuta Gibas-Krzak, Contemporary Terrorism in the Balkans: A Real Threat to Security in Europe, "The Journal of Slavic Military Studies" 2013, vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 203-218.

**Optional:**

- Robert Bideleux, Ian Jeffries, The Balkans. A post-Communist History, Routledge 2007, pp. 22-73, 405-470.
- Paul Kubicek, Another Balkan humpty-dumpty: Putting Albania back together, "European Security" 1998, vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 78-91.

- Risto Karajkov, Macedonia's 2001 ethnic war: Offsetting conflict. What could have been done but was not?, "Conflict, Security & Development" 2008, vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 451-490.
- Maria-Eleni Koppa, Ethnic Albanians in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia: Between nationality and citizenship, "Nationalism and Ethnic Politics" 2001, vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 37-65.

**Student task:** presentation (max. 30-minute long) of the analysis of this conflict (**see point 4**)

**Class 6 (Monday, November 21, time: 4.45-6.15)**

### **6. The crumbs of a fallen empire: Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, the Russo-Georgian war (2008)**

- *The Soviet legacy in the conflicts*
- *The phenomenon of quasi-states*
- *The major power rivalry: Russia, US, EU*
- *Was the Russo-Georgian conflict a proxy conflict with the West?*

#### **Readings**

##### **Compulsory:**

- Matthew Sussex [ed.], *Conflict in the former USSR*, Cambridge University Press 2012, pp. 64-118.
- Nicu Popescu, *EU Foreign Policy and Post Soviet Conflicts*, Routledge 2011, pp. 38-115.

##### **Optional:**

- Vlada Tkach, *Moldova and Transnistria: Painful past, deadlocked present, uncertain future*, "European Security" 1999, vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 130-159.
- Theodor Tudoroiu, *Unfreezing failed frozen conflicts: a post-Soviet case study*, "Journal of Contemporary European Studies" 2015.
- Gwendolyn Sasse, *The European Neighbourhood Policy and Conflict Management: A Comparison of Moldova and the Caucasus*, "Ethnopolitics" 2009, vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 369-386.
- Nathalie Tocci, *The EU and Conflict Resolution. Promoting Peace in the Backyard*, Routledge 2007, pp. 126-149.

**Student task:** presentation (max. 30-minute long) of the analysis of this conflict (**see point 4**)

**Class 7 (Monday, November 28, time: 3.00-4.30)**

### **7. The harbinger of the new global order? The conflict in Ukraine**

- *Ukraine: destined to stay an object of a power game?*
- *The annexation of Crimea*
- *Hybrid war: a new phenomenon?*
- *Established powers, rising powers and declining powers' interests and actions in the Ukraine*
- *Visible features of the emerging new world order*

#### **Readings**

##### **Compulsory:**

- Marko Bojcun, *Origins of the Ukrainian Crisis*, "Critique" 2015, vol. 43, No. 3-4, pp. 395-419.
- Alexander Buzgalin, *Ukraine: Anatomy of a Civil War*, "International Critical Thought" 2015, vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 327-347.
- Oscar Jonsson & Robert Seely, *Russian Full-Spectrum Conflict: An Appraisal After Ukraine*, "The Journal of Slavic Military Studies" 2015, vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 1-22.
- Andrei Tsygankov, *Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy*, "Post-Soviet Affairs" 2015, vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 279-303.
- Nadezhda K. Arbatova & Alexander A. Dynkin, *World Order after Ukraine*, "Survival. Global Politics and Strategy" 2016, vol. 58, No. 1, pp. 71-90.

##### **Optional:**

- Hanna Shelest, After the Ukrainian crisis: Is there a place for Russia?, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies" 2015, vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 191-201.
- Hans van Zon, Ethnic conflict and conflict resolution in Ukraine, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" 2001, vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 221-240.
- Anton Bebler, Freezing a Conflict: The Russian—Ukrainian Struggle over Crimea, "Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs" 2014, vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 63-73.
- John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal & Vladimir Kolosov, The rise and fall of "Novorossiia": examining support for a separatist geopolitical imaginary in southeast Ukraine, "Post-Soviet Affairs" 2016.
- Elise Giuliano, The Social Bases of Support for Self-determination in East Ukraine, "Ethnopolitics" 2015, vol. 14, No. 5, pp. 513-522.
- Sam Robertshaw, Why the EU got the Ukrainian crisis wrong, "Global Affairs" 2015, vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 353-343.
- Andrei Fursov, Thirty Days That Changed the World, "Russian Politics and Law" 2015, vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 47-72.
- Andriy Portnov, Ukraine's "Eurorevolution", "Russian Politics and Law" 2015, vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 6-27.

**Student task:** presentation (max. 30-minute long) of the analysis of this conflict (**see point 4**)

**Class 8 (Monday, November 28, time: 4.45-18.15)**

#### **8. Looking for tinderboxes: the main challenges to the regional stability**

- *Ethnic minorities and secessionism*
- *Unsettled situation of the Roma*
- *Political populism*
- *Region's entanglement in the rivalry of the major powers*

#### **Readings**

##### **Compulsory:**

- C.J. Dick, J.F. Dunn & J.B.K. Lough, Potential sources of conflict in post-communist Europe, "European Security" 1993, vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 386-406.
- Nadia Alexandrova-Arbatova, Security relations in the Black Sea region: Russia and the West after the Ukrainian crisis, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies" 2015, vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 129-139.
- David M. Crowe, The Roma in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Questions of Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Peace, "Nationalities Papers" 2008, vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 521-552.
- Bartek Pytlas, Radical-right narratives in Slovakia and Hungary: historical legacies, mythic overlaying and contemporary politics, "Patterns of Prejudice" 2013, vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 162-183.
- Judy Batt, Transcarpathia: Peripheral Region at the 'Centre of Europe', "Regional & Federal Studies" 2002, vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 155-177.
- Tamas Korhecz, Vojvodina - the next stage of the dismantling process?, "Cambridge Review of International Affairs" 1999, vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 153-167.
- Sergey Markedonov, De facto statehood in Eurasia: a political and security phenomenon, "Caucasus Survey" 2015, vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 196-206.

##### **Optional:**

- Arjan Hilaj, The Albanian National Question and the Myth of Greater Albania, "The Journal of Slavic Military Studies" 2013, vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 393-413.
- Paul Robert Magocsi, The Birth of a New Nation, or the Return of an Old Problem? The Rusyns of East Central Europe, "Canadian Slavonic Papers" 1992, vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 199-223.
- Zsolt Enyedi, Paternalist populism and illiberal elitism in Central Europe, "Journal of Political Ideologies" 2016, vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 9-25.
- Dominik Tolsdorf, Russia, the USA and the EU and the conflicts in the wider Black Sea region: the potential for multilateral solutions in the wake of the Ukraine conflict, "Global Affairs" 2015,

vol. 1, No. 4-5, pp. 421-430.

- Paul Robert Magocsi, The heritage of autonomy in Carpathian Rus' and Ukraine's Transcarpathian region, "Nationalities Papers" 2015, vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 577-594.

**Student task:** This class will be organised as a **student debate**, in which each student, using the suggested material, should prepare his stand regarding one of the potential crises.

#### **Class 9 (Tuesday, December 6, time: 3.00-4.30)**

##### **9. Negotiations: the core concepts**

###### **Readings**

###### **Compulsory:**

- Christopher W. Moore, Peter J. Woodrow, Handbook of Global and Multicultural Negotiations, 2010, pp. 3-20.

#### **Class 10 (Tuesday, December 13, time: 3.00-4.30)**

##### **10. Determinants of negotiations: psychology, ideology, culture (styles of negotiations)**

###### **Readings**

###### **Optional:**

- Raymond Cohen, Negotiations Across Cultures. International Communication in an Interdependent World, Washington, D.C. 1997, pp. 9 – 43
- Catherine Lee, The New Rules of International Negotiations, 2007.
- Richard Gesteland, Cross-Cultural Business Behavior. A Guide for Global Management, Copenhagen 2012.

#### **Class 11 (Tuesday, December 20, time: 3.00-4.30)**

##### **11. Strategies, tactics, techniques of negotiations.**

###### **Readings**

###### **Compulsory:**

- Christopher W. Moore, Peter J. Woodrow, Handbook of Global and Multicultural Negotiations, 2010, pp. 61-76.

###### **Optional:**

- Catherine Lee, The New Rules of International Negotiations, 2007.
- I. William Zartman, Maureen R. Berman, The Practical Negotiator, Yale University Press 1982.
- Victor A. Kremenyuk (ed.), International Negotiation. Analysis, Approaches, Issues, Oxford 1991

#### **Class 12 (Tuesday, January 10, time: 3.00-4.30)**

##### **12. Simulation of negotiations: the case of Nagorno-Karabakh (student task)**

###### **Suggested Readings:**

- Elena Pokalova, Conflict Resolution in Frozen Conflicts: Timing in Nagorno-Karabakh, "Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies" 2015, vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 68-85.
- Laurence Broers, From "frozen conflict" to enduring rivalry: reassessing the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, "Nationalities Papers" 2015, vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 556-576.
- Thomas de Waal, Remaking the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process, "Survival" 2010, vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 159-176.
- Alec Rasizade, Azerbaijan's prospects in Nagorno-Karabakh, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 2011, vol.13, No. 2, pp. 251-231.
- Svante E. Cornell, Turkey and the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh: a delicate balance, "Middle Eastern Studies" 1998, vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 51-72.
- Kamer Kasim, American Policy toward the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict and Implications for its Resolution, "Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs" 2012, vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 230-244.
- Arie Vaserman & Ram Ginat, National, territorial or religious conflict? The case of



Nagorno-Karabakh, "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism" 1994, vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 345-362.  
- Rouben A. Zargarian, Principles for conflict resolution in Nagorno Karabakh, "International Peacekeeping" 1999, vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 129-133.

**Student task:** students put their knowledge into practice and conduct simulations (under the coordinator's supervision) of negotiations of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. This exercise is the final preparation for the exam.

With the help of the coordinator students are casted in roles (e.g. main negotiator, security advisor, strategist, spokesman). During the process of negotiations students are to achieve goals set for them by the coordinator.

### **Class 13 - EXAM (Tuesday, January 17, time: 3.00-4.30)**

Students take an **exam** which will have the form of negotiations. Students divided into 2-4 parties (e.g. the Ukrainian government, Donetsk separatists, Russia, EU, US) negotiate the settlement of the Ukrainian crisis. The coordinator has a passive role during the exam, i.e. observes and evaluates performance of students.

### **Class 14 (Tuesday, January 24, time: 5.30-6.15)**

Evaluation of the exam. Final marks.

## **6. Workload**

The approximate total workload (including compulsory readings, preparing presentations and simulations) is around 100 hours. The workload is smaller in the introductory classes and more intensive in the weeks 4-8.

## **7. Assessment methods**

The fundamental condition of receiving a graded pass is the presence during classes. Student has a right to be absent twice and only during these weeks when she/he does not perform a presentation (!).

During the course students are expected to prepare 4 different tasks, differing in form and difficulty:

- presenting a text of culture (10%)
- presentation of the analysis of a particular conflict (30%)
- participation in a debate (10%)

By being active (covering compulsory readings, asking questions, comments, participating in discussions) during classes a student can increase his final mark by 10%

Overall point from the tasks: 50%

Exam (40%)

System of grades:

55 % - 3 (pass)

75 % - 4 (good)

90 % - 5 (very good)

## **8. Assessment criteria**

While assessing the overall performance of a student, the coordinator takes into account the number of absences, activity during classes (preparing compulsory readings) and the performance in tasks. Since the exam has a specific form of staged negotiations, it is strongly recommended to collect as much as possible points during the semester. However, the points collected during the course will not be taken into account, should the student not take part in the exam.

## 9. Appendices

*[Any supporting documents to explain parts of the module more in detail.]*