
Bibliography

General works

- [1] J. B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia* (London, 2000).
- [2] M. Almond, *Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans* (London, 1994).
- [3] *Balkan Battlegrounds: A Military History of the Yugoslav Conflict, 1990–1995* (Washington DC, 2002). Detailed operational history by CIA analysts.
- [4] *Balkan Battlegrounds: A Military History of the Yugoslav Conflict, 1990–1995* (Washington DC, 2003). Annexes to [3].
- [5] C. Bennett, *Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course and Consequences* (London, 1994).
- [6] L. Benson, *Yugoslavia: A Concise History* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- [7] F. Bieber et al., *Debating the End of Yugoslavia* (Farnham, 2014). Spotlights emerging research areas.
- [8] L. J. Cohen, *Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition* (Boulder, 1995).
- [9] L. J. Cohen and J. Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (West Lafayette, 2008).
- [10] M. Crnobrnja, *The Yugoslav Drama*, 2nd ed. (London, 1996).
- [11] B. Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis, 1996).
- [12] D. Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea 1918–1992* (London, 2003).
- [13] A. Finlan, *The Collapse of Yugoslavia 1991–1999* (Oxford, 2004). Aimed at peacekeepers.
- [14] V. P. Gagnon, Jr., *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, 2004). Anti-essentialist.
- [15] M. Glenny, *The Balkans 1804–1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London, 1999).
- [16] M. Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, 2nd ed. (London, 1993).
- [17] R. M. Hayden, *Blueprints for a House Divided: The Constitutional Logic of the Yugoslav Conflicts* (Ann Arbor, 2000).

- [18] M. A. Hoare, 'The War of Yugoslav Succession', in Ramet (ed.), *Central and Southeast European Politics Since 1989*, cited in [30].
- [19] K. Hudson, *Breaking the South Slav Dream: The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (London, 2003). Example of Marxist approach.
- [20] C. Ingrao and T. A. Emmert (eds), *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative* (West Lafayette, 1st ed. 2009, 2nd ed. 2012). Attempts to collaboratively synthesize one agreed narrative.
- [21] K. Kurspahić, *Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace* (Washington DC, 2003).
- [22] J. R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was A Country*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2000).
- [23] D. B. MacDonald, *Balkan Holocausts? Serbian and Croatian Victim-Centred Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia* (Manchester, 2002). On disputes about atrocities.
- [24] B. Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-Up 1980–92* (London, 1993). Collects contemporaneous writings.
- [25] B. Magaš and I. Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995* (London, 2001). Contributions by several senior Croatian/Bosnian participants.
- [26] V. Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History of its Demise*, trans. S. P. Ramet (London, 1999). Useful for 1980s federal politics.
- [27] A. Pavković, *The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia: Nationalism and War in the Balkans*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2000).
- [28] V. Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (Oxford, 2002).
- [29] S. P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Washington DC, 2006). Compare vs. [38].
- [30] S. P. Ramet (ed.), *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989* (Cambridge, 2010). Textbook.
- [31] S. P. Ramet and L. S. Adamovich (eds), *Beyond Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Culture in a Shattered Community* (Boulder, 1995).
- [32] L. Sekelj, *Yugoslavia: the Process of Disintegration*, trans. V. Vukelić (Boulder, 1993).
- [33] L. Sell, *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Durham NC, 2002).
- [34] L. Silber and A. Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, rev. ed. (London, 1996). Based on extensive interviews.
- [35] M. Thompson, *Forging War: Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 2nd ed. (Luton, 1999).
- [36] J. Udovički and J. Ridgeway (eds), *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham NC, 1997).
- [37] F. Wilmer, *The Social Construction of Man, the State, and War: Identity, Conflict, and Violence in the Former Yugoslavia* (London, 2002).
- [38] S. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington DC, 1995). Compare vs. [29].
- [39] D. Žarkov, *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia* (Durham NC, 2007).

Historiography

- [40] I. Banac, 'The Dissolution of Yugoslav Historiography', in Ramet and Adamovich (eds), *Beyond Yugoslavia*, cited in [31].
- [41] W. Bracewell, 'The End of Yugoslavia and New National Histories', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1999), pp. 149–56.
- [42] D. Djordjevich, 'Clio Amid the Ruins: Yugoslavia and its Predecessors in Recent Historiography', in N. M. Naimark and H. Case (eds), *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Stanford, 2003). On long-term explanations.
- [43] J. Dragović-Soso, 'Why Did Yugoslavia Disintegrate?: An Overview of Contending Explanations', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe*, cited in [9]. Overview to mid-2000s.
- [44] K. E. Fleming, 'Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography', *American Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 105 (2000), pp. 1218–33.
- [45] J. Glaurdić, 'Yugoslavia's Dissolution: Between the Scylla of Facts and the Charybdis of Interpretation', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7]. On value of primary sources.
- [46] J. Gow, 'After the Flood: Literature on the Context, Causes and Course of the Yugoslav War: Reflections and Refractions', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 75, no. 3 (1997), pp. 446–84.
- [47] M. A. Hoare, 'Genocide in the Former Yugoslavia: A Critique of Left Revisionism's Denial', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 5, no. 4 (2003), pp. 543–63.
- [48] S. Jansen, 'National Numbers in Context: Maps and Stats in Representations of the Post-Yugoslav Wars', *Identities*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2005), pp. 45–68. Contextualizes population maps.
- [49] D. Jović, 'The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches', *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2001), pp. 101–20. Overview through 1990s.
- [50] S. A. Kent, 'Writing the Yugoslav Wars: English-Language Books on Bosnia (1992–1996) and the Challenges of Analyzing Contemporary History', *American Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 4 (1997), pp. 1085–114.
- [51] R. Lindsey, 'From Atrocity to Data: Historiographies of Rape in Former Yugoslavia and the Gendering of Genocide', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 36, no. 4 (2002), pp. 59–78.
- [52] S. P. Ramet, 'Disputes about the Dissolution of Yugoslavia and its Wake', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7].
- [53] S. P. Ramet, *Thinking About Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo* (Oxford, 2005).
- [54] G. Stokes et al., 'Instant History: Understanding the Wars of Yugoslav Succession', *Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 1 (1996), pp. 136–60.

Historical background

- [55] B. Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (London, 1999). Cultural determinism.
- [56] P. Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton, 2002). On Italian refugees from Istria/Dalmatia.
- [57] P. Ballinger, 'History's "Illegibles": National Indeterminacy in Istria', *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 43, pp. 116–37 (2012). Applies 'national indifference'.
- [58] I. Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, 1984).
- [59] M. Bergholz, 'Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia–Herzegovina after World War II', *American Historical Review*, vol. 118, no. 3 (2013), pp. 679–707.
- [60] I. Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800–1912* (Basingstoke, 2011). Anti-nationalist. See also [68].
- [61] J. Byford, 'The Collaborationist Administration and the Treatment of the Jews in Nazi-Occupied Serbia', in S. P. Ramet and O. Listhaug (eds), *Serbia and the Serbs in World War Two* (Basingstoke, 2011).
- [62] A. Djilas, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution 1919–1953* (Cambridge MA, 1991). See esp. for Communist Party.
- [63] D. Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London, 2007). On 1918–41 politics.
- [64] D. Djokić, *Pašić and Trumbić: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* (London, 2010). On unification.
- [65] V. Drapac, *Constructing Yugoslavia: A Transnational History* (Basingstoke, 2010).
- [66] T. Dulić, 'Ethnic Violence in Occupied Yugoslavia: Mass Killing from Above and Below', in Ker-Lindsay and Djokić (eds), *New Perspectives*, cited in [81].
- [67] T. Dulić, 'Mass Killing in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941–1945: A Case for Comparative Research', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2006), pp. 255–81.
- [68] J. V. A. Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor, 2006). See also [60].
- [69] F. Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation* (Boulder, 1996). From Ottoman era to 1990s.
- [70] I. Goldstein, *Croatia: A History* (London, 1999).
- [71] E. Greble, *Sarajevo, 1941–1945: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Hitler's Europe* (Ithaca, 2011). See also [56].
- [72] E. Hajdarpašić, 'Out of the Ruins of the Ottoman Empire: Reflections on the Ottoman Legacy in South-Eastern Europe', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 44, no. 5 (2008), pp. 715–34.
- [73] R. M. Hayden and T. D. Walker, 'Intersecting Religioscapes and Antagonistic Tolerance: Trajectories of Competition and Sharing

- of Religious Spaces in the Balkans', *Space and Polity*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2013), pp. 320–34.
- [74] M. A. Hoare, *The History of Bosnia* (London, 2007). On continuity of Bosnia.
- [75] M. A. Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War: A History* (London, 2013). Also covers Communist state-building after 1943.
- [76] M. A. Hoare, *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler's Bosnia: The Partisans and the Chetniks 1941–1943* (Oxford, 2006).
- [77] J. Irvine, 'The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [78] C. Jelavich and B. Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle, 1977). Classic work on 19th century.
- [79] D. Jović, *Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away* (West Lafayette, 2009). Focus on Communist ideology.
- [80] P. M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge MA, 2006). Rethinking of 19th-century nationalism.
- [81] J. Ker-Lindsay and D. Djokić (eds), *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia: Key Issues and Controversies* (London, 2011). Collects new research on 20th century.
- [82] A. Korb, 'Understanding Ustaša Violence', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 12, no. 1–2 (2010), pp. 1–18.
- [83] J. R. Lampe, 'The Two Yugoslavias as Economic Unions', in Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism*, cited in [12].
- [84] I. Lovrenović, *Bosnia: A Cultural History*, trans. S. W. Bičanić (London, 2001).
- [85] B. Magaš, *Croatia through History* (London, 2007).
- [86] N. J. Miller, *Between Nation and State: Serbian Politics in Croatia before the First World War* (Pittsburgh, 1997). On Croat–Serb Coalition.
- [87] P. Mojzes, *Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, 2011). Compares the 20th-century conflicts.
- [88] K. Morrison, *Montenegro: A Modern History* (London, 2007).
- [89] K. Morrison and E. Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History* (London, 2013).
- [90] P. H. Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca, 2011). Reinterpreting Yugoslav social history.
- [91] S. K. Pavlowitch, *Hitler's New Disorder: The Second World War in Yugoslavia* (London, 2008).
- [92] S. K. Pavlowitch, *The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and its Problems, 1918–1988* (Columbus, 1988).
- [93] S. K. Pavlowitch, *Serbia: The History Behind the Name* (London, 2002).
- [94] E. Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (London, 2007).
- [95] D. Rusinow, 'Reopening of the "National Question" in the 1960s', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [96] D. Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948–1974* (London, 1977).

- [97] Đ. Stefanović, 'Seeing the Albanians through Serbian Eyes: The Inventors of the Tradition of Intolerance and Their Critics, 1804–1939', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2005), pp. 465–92. On persecution of Albanians.
- [98] P. F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle, 1977).
- [99] M. Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 2010).
- [100] J. Tomasevich, 'Yugoslavia during the Second World War', in W. S. Vucinich (ed.), *Contemporary Yugoslavia: Twenty Years of Socialist Experiment* (Berkeley, 1969).
- [101] S. L. Woodward, 'The Long Intervention: Continuity in the Balkan Theatre', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39, no. 5 (2013), pp. 1169–87.
- [102] T. Zahra, 'Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis', *Slavic Review*, vol. 69, no. 1 (2010), pp. 93–119.
- [103] Z. Zlatar, 'The Building of Yugoslavia: The Yugoslav Idea and the First Common State of the South Slavs', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1997), pp. 387–406.
- [104] S. Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice in Yugoslav Socialism* (Cambridge, 1975).

The 1980s crisis

- [105] J. B. Allcock, 'In Praise of Chauvinism: Rhetorics of Nationalism in Yugoslav Politics', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1989), pp. 208–22.
- [106] J. B. Allcock, 'Rural–Urban Differences and the Break-Up of Yugoslavia', *Balkanologie*, vol. 6, no. 1–2 (2002), pp. 101–25.
- [107] R. Archer, 'Social Inequalities and the Study of Yugoslavia's Dissolution', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7].
- [108] M. Bakić-Hayden and R. M. Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics', *Slavic Review*, vol. 51, no. 1 (1992), pp. 1–15.
- [109] L. Boban, 'Jasenovac and the Manipulation of History', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1990), pp. 580–92. Compare [116].
- [110] W. Bracewell, 'Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2000), pp. 563–90.
- [111] A. H. Budding, 'Systematic Crisis and National Mobilization: The Case of the "Memorandum of the Serbian Academy"', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 22 (1998), pp. 49–69.
- [112] B. Denich, 'Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and the Symbolic Revival of Genocide', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1994), pp. 367–90.

- [113] D. Djokić, 'The Second World War II: Discourses of Reconciliation in Serbia and Croatia in the Late 1980s and Early 1990s', *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2002), pp. 127–40.
- [114] J. Dragović-Soso, *'Saviours of the Nation': Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism* (London, 2002). Also covers Slovenia.
- [115] D. A. Dyker, *Yugoslavia: Socialism, Development and Debt* (London, 1990). Socio-economic focus.
- [116] R. M. Hayden, 'Recounting the Dead: The Rediscovery and Redefinition of Wartime Massacres in Late- and Post-Communist Yugoslavia', in R. S. Watson (ed.), *Memory, History and Opposition Under State Socialism* (Santa Fe, 1994).
- [117] B. Horvat, 'The Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative', in Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism*, cited in [12].
- [118] B. Horvat, 'Two Widespread Ideological Deviations in Contemporary Yugoslav Society', *Eastern European Economics*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1984), pp. 45–57.
- [119] M. Palaret, 'The Inter-Regional Struggle for Resources and the Fall of Yugoslavia', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [120] R. Petrović and M. Blagojević, *The Migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija: Results of the Survey Conducted in 1985–1986* (Belgrade, 1992).
- [121] K. Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York, 1999). Puts Yugoslavia in eastern European context.
- [122] A. Wachtel and P. J. Marković, 'A Last Attempt at Educational Integration: The Failure of Common Educational Cores in Yugoslavia in the Early 1980s', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [123] S. L. Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945–1990* (Princeton, 1995).

Serbia under Milošević

- [124] F. Bieber, 'Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering: The Kosovo Myth from 600th Anniversary to the Present', *Rethinking History*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002), pp. 95–110.
- [125] S. Biserko, *Yugoslavia's Implosion: The Fatal Attraction of Serbian Nationalism* (Norwegian Helsinki Committee, 2012). By well-known Serbian human rights activist.
- [126] A. H. Budding, 'From Dissidents to Presidents: Dobrica Ćosić and Vojislav Koštunica Compared', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2004), pp. 185–201.
- [127] D. Bujošević and I. Radovanović, *The Fall of Milošević: The October 5th Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2003).

- [128] L. J. Cohen, *Serpent in the Bosom: The Rise and Fall of Slobodan Milošević*, rev. ed. (Boulder, 2002).
- [129] P. J. Cohen, 'The Ideology and Historical Continuity of Serbia's Anti-Islamic Policy', *Islamic Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2–3 (1997), pp. 361–82.
- [130] I. Čolović, *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia*, trans. C. Hawkesworth (London, 2002).
- [131] C. Costamagna, 'Milošević Posing as Saviour of the Communist Regime: A Reassessment', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7].
- [132] O. Fridman, "It Was Like Fighting a War with Our Own People": Anti-War Activism in Serbia During the 1990s', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 39, no. 4 (2011), pp. 507–22.
- [133] E. D. Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives* (University Park, 1999). Also integrates popular music into politics.
- [134] M. A. Hoare, 'Slobodan Milošević's Place in Serbian History', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 3 (2006), pp. 445–62. Includes critique of [79].
- [135] S. Jansen, 'Victims, Underdogs and Rebels: Discursive Practices of Resistance in Serbian Protest', *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2000), pp. 393–419.
- [136] T. Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 2009).
- [137] E. Kerenji, 'Vojvodina Since 1988', in Ramet and Pavlaković (eds), *Serbia Since 1989*, cited in [144].
- [138] A. LeBor, *Milosevic: A Biography* (London, 2002).
- [139] M. Miljković and M. A. Hoare, 'Crime and the Economy Under Milošević and His Successors', in Ramet and Pavlaković (eds), *Serbia Since 1989*, cited in [144].
- [140] G. Musić, *Serbia's Working Class in Transition 1988–2013* (Belgrade, 2013).
- [141] G. Musić, "They Came as Workers and Returned as Serbs": The Role of Rakovica's Blue-Collar Workers in Serbian Social Mobilizations of the Late 1980s', in R. Archer et al. (eds), *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslavia* (Farnham, 2015).
- [142] V. Pavlaković, 'Serbia Transformed? Political Dynamics in the Milošević Era and After', in Ramet and Pavlaković (eds), *Serbia Since 1989*, cited in [144].
- [143] N. Popov (ed.), *The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis* (Budapest, 2000). Perspectives from Serbian independent media.
- [144] S. P. Ramet and V. Pavlaković (eds) *Serbia since 1989: Politics and Society Under Milošević and After* (Seattle, 2005).
- [145] B. Šušak, 'An Alternative to War', in Popov (ed.), *Road to War*, cited in [143].
- [146] R. Thomas, *Serbia under Milošević: Politics in the 1990s* (London, 1999).
- [147] M. Upchurch and D. Marinković, *Workers and Revolution in Serbia: From Tito to Milošević and Beyond* (Manchester, 2013). On workers' movement.

- [148] N. Vladislavljević, *Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution: Milošević, the Fall of Communism and Nationalist Mobilization* (Basingstoke, 2008). New angle on 1980s public mobilization.
- [149] M. Živković, *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginary in the Time of Milošević* (Bloomington, 2011). Anthropology of culture.

The Slovenian and Croatian wars of independence

- [150] N. Arielli, 'In Search of Meaning: Foreign Volunteers in the Croatian Armed Forces, 1991–95', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–17.
- [151] N. Barić, 'Before the Storm: Croatian Efforts to Integrate Republic of Serb Krajina from Early 1992 to August 1995', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7]. By author of key work in Croatian on RSK.
- [152] F. Bieber, 'The Role of the Yugoslav People's Army in the Disintegration of Yugoslavia: An Army without a State?', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [153] B. Bilić and V. Janković (eds), *Resisting the Evil: (Post-)Yugoslav Anti-War Contention* (Baden-Baden, 2012). On peace activism. See also [160].
- [154] R. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, 1996). Constructivist.
- [155] M. J. Calic et al., 'Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991–95', in Ingraio and Emmert (eds), *Confronting*, cited in [20]. Compare [163].
- [156] C. Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans: Nationalism and the Destruction of Tradition* (London, 2002).
- [157] N. Caspersen, 'Belgrade, Pale, Knin: Kin-State Control over Rebellious Puppets?', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 59, no. 4 (2007), pp. 621–41.
- [158] T. Cushman, 'Collective Punishment and Forgiveness: Judgments of Post-Communist National Identities by the "Civilized" West', in S. G. Meštrović (ed.), *Genocide After Emotion: The Postemotional Balkan War* (London, 1996).
- [159] T. Cushman, *Critical Theory and the War in Bosnia and Croatia*. Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies 13 (Seattle, 1997).
- [160] A. Dević, 'Anti-War Initiatives and the Un-Making of Civic Identities in the Former Yugoslav Republics', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1997), pp. 127–56. See also [153].
- [161] T. Dulić and R. Kostić, 'Yugoslavs in Arms: Guerrilla Tradition, Total Defence and the Ethnic Security Dilemma', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, no. 7 (2010), pp. 1051–72.
- [162] J. Glaurdić, 'Inside the Serbian War Machine: The Milošević Telephone Intercepts, 1991–1992', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2009), pp. 86–104.

- [163] J. Glaurdić, 'Review Essay: Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2010), pp. 294–309. Severe criticisms of 1st ed. of [20].
- [164] E. D. Gordy, 'Destruction of the Yugoslav Federation: Policy or Confluence of Tactics?', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [165] J. Gow, *The Serbian Project and its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes* (London, 2003). Developed from advice to ICTY prosecutors.
- [166] H. Grandits and C. Leutloff, 'Discourses, Actors, Violence: The Organisation of War-Escalation in the Krajina Region of Croatia 1990–91', in J. Koehler and C. Zürcher (eds), *Potentials of Disorder* (Manchester, 2003).
- [167] M. Hadžić, 'The Army's Use of Trauma', in Popov (ed.), *Road to War*, cited in [143].
- [168] P. Hockenos, *Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars* (Ithaca, 2003). On diaspora nationalism.
- [169] J. Horncastle, 'Reaping the Whirlwind: Total National Defense's Role in Slovenia's Bid for Secession', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2013), pp. 528–50.
- [170] M. Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (London, 1993). On nationalism in world politics.
- [171] D. Jović, 'The Slovenian–Croatian Confederal Proposal: A Tactical Move or an Ultimate Solution?', in Cohen and Dragović-Soso (eds), *State Collapse*, cited in [9].
- [172] R. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History* (New York, 1993). Travel writing with one chapter on Croatia.
- [173] P. Kolstø and D. Pauković, 'The Short and Brutish Life of Republika Srpska Krajina: Failure of a De Facto State', *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2014), pp. 309–27.
- [174] C. S. Lilly and J. A. Irvine, 'Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia, 1990–1997', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2002), pp. 109–44.
- [175] T. Mastnak, 'The Slovene Story', *Praxis International*, vol. 4 (1993), pp. 373–88. On civil society.
- [176] M. Milivojević, 'The Armed Forces of Yugoslavia: Sliding into War', in Ramet and Adamovich (eds), *Beyond Yugoslavia*, cited in [31].
- [177] R. Mills, 'Fighters, Footballers and Nation Builders: Wartime Football in the Serb-Held Territories of the Former Yugoslavia, 1991–1996', *Sport in Society*, vol. 16, no. 8 (2013), pp. 945–72.
- [178] J. Mostov, 'Sexing the Nation/Desexing the Body: Politics of National Identity in the Former Yugoslavia', in T. Mayer (ed.), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London, 2000).
- [179] V. Pavlaković, 'Symbols and the Culture of Memory in Republika Srpska Krajina', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 41, no. 6 (2013), pp. 893–909.
- [180] J. J. Sadkovich, 'Patriots, Villains, and Franjo Tuđman', *Review of Croatian History*, vol. 2 (2006), pp. 247–80. Defends Tuđman.

- [181] L. Spaskovska, 'Landscapes of Resistance, Hope and Loss: Yugoslav Supra-Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism', in Bilić and Janković (eds), *Resisting the Evil*, cited in [153].
- [182] M. Spegelj, 'The First Phase, 1990–1992: The JNA Prepares for Aggression and Croatia for Defence', in Magaš and Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995*, cited in [25]. By first Croatian defence minister.
- [183] F. Strazzari, 'The Decade Horribilis: Organized Violence and Organized Crime along the Balkan Peripheries, 1991–2001', *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2007), pp. 185–209.
- [184] A. Tus, 'The War in Slovenia and Croatia up to the Sarajevo Ceasefire', in Magaš and Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995*, cited in [25]. By Croatian Army chief of staff at time.
- [185] O. Žunec, 'Operations Flash and Storm', in Magaš and Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995*, cited in [25].

Post-independence Slovenia and Croatia

- [186] J. Ashbrook, 'Politicization of Identity in a European Borderland: Istria, Croatia, and Authenticity, 1990–2003', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 39, no. 6 (2011), pp. 871–97. On Istrian challenge to Tuđman.
- [187] C. Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991* (Farnham, 2010).
- [188] A. J. Bellamy, *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A Centuries-Old Dream?* (Manchester, 2003). On contestedness of national identity narratives.
- [189] J. Benderly and E. Kraft (eds), *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects* (New York, 1994).
- [190] M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London, 1995). Some discussion of Croatia.
- [191] D. Brentin, "'A Lofty Battle for the Nation": The Social Roles of Sport in Tuđman's Croatia', *Sport in Society*, vol. 16, no. 8 (2013), pp. 993–1008.
- [192] J. Dedić et al., *The Erased: Organized Innocence and the Politics of Exclusion* (Ljubljana, 2003). Critiques consequences of Slovenian citizenship laws.
- [193] D. Fink-Hafner, 'Slovenia Since 1989', in Ramet (ed.), *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, cited in [30].
- [194] J. Gow and C. Carmichael, *Slovenia and the Slovenes: A Small State and the New Europe* (London, 2000).
- [195] L. Hansen, 'Slovenian Identity: State-Building on the Balkan Border', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1996), pp. 473–95.

- [196] R. Iveković, 'The New Democracy: With Women or without Them?', in Ramet and Adamovich (eds), *Beyond Yugoslavia*, cited in [31].
- [197] V. Jalušič, 'Troubles with Democracy: Women and Slovene Independence', in Benderly and Kraft (eds), *Independent Slovenia*, cited in [189].
- [198] T. Radanović Felberg and L. Šarić, 'Discursive Construction of Language Identity through Disputes in Croatian and Montenegrin Media', *Scando-Slavica*, vol. 59, no. 1 (2013), pp. 7–31.
- [199] M. Razsa and N. Lindstrom, 'Balkan is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman's Croatia', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2004), pp. 628–50.
- [200] D. Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies: Antipolitical Essays*, trans. C. Hawkesworth (London, 1998). Anti-nationalist.
- [201] G. Uzelak [Uzelac], 'Franjo Tuđman's Nationalist Ideology', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1998), pp. 449–72. Discourse analysis.
- [202] Z. Volcic, "'The Machine that Creates Slovenians': The Role of Slovenian Public Broadcasting in Re-Affirming and Re-Inventing the Slovenian National Identity", *National Identities*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2005), pp. 287–308.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

- [203] N. Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: The End of a Legacy* (London, 2003). Short-term background.
- [204] P. Andreas, *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Ithaca, 2007). Covers UN and also organized crime.
- [205] I. Armakolas, Ioannis. 'The "Paradox" of Tuzla City: Explaining Non-Nationalist Local Politics during the Bosnian War', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 63, no. 2 (2011), pp. 229–61.
- [206] E. Bećirević, *Genocide on the Drina River* (New Haven, 2014). 'Maximalist' approach to defining genocide against Bosniaks.
- [207] E. Bećirević, 'The Issue of Genocidal Intent and Denial of Genocide: A Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2010), pp. 480–502. See also [368].
- [208] M. Bell, *In Harm's Way: Bosnia: A War Reporter's Story*, 3rd ed. (London, 2012). Memoir.
- [209] B. Bogdanović, 'The City and Death', trans. M. H. Heim, in J. Labon (ed.), *Balkan Blues: Writing out of Yugoslavia* (Evanston, 1995). Rural-vs.-urban interpretation.
- [210] X. Bougarel, 'Yugoslav Wars: The "Revenge of the Countryside" Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1999), pp. 157–75.

- [211] X. Bougarel, 'Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea', in Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism*, cited in [12].
- [212] T. Bringa, *Being a Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village* (Princeton, 1995). Focus on pre-war.
- [213] S. L. Burg and P. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (London, 1999). Focus on military/political institutions.
- [214] D. Campbell, 'Atrocity, Memory, Photography: Imaging the Concentration Camps of Bosnia – The Case of ITN Versus Living Marxism, Part 1', *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1–33.
- [215] D. Campbell, *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis, 1998). Deconstructionist.
- [216] N. Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of 'Ethnic Cleansing'* (College Station, 1995).
- [217] N. Cigar and P. Williams, *Indictment at The Hague: The Milošević Regime and Crimes of the Balkan Wars* (New York, 2002).
- [218] M. Coward, 'Urbicide in Bosnia', in S. Graham (ed.), *Cities, War and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics* (Oxford, 2004).
- [219] J. Crampton, 'Bordering on Bosnia', *GeoJournal*, vol. 39, no. 4 (1996), pp. 353–61. Critiques ethnicity/territory nexus.
- [220] J. Divjak, 'The First Phase, 1992–1993: Struggle for Survival and Genesis of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina', in Magaš and Žanić (eds), *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995*, cited in [25]. By a senior ARBiH general 1992–94.
- [221] R. J. Donia, *Radovan Karadžić: Architect of the Bosnian Genocide* (Cambridge, 2014). Currently most detailed work on wartime RS.
- [222] R. J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London, 2006).
- [223] R. J. Donia and J. V. A. Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York, 1994). Defence of Bosnian multi-ethnicity. See also [240].
- [224] A. Galijaš, 'What Do We Know About the *Lebenswelt* of Yugoslavs?', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7]. On Banja Luka.
- [225] J. Gow et al. (eds), *Bosnia by Television* (London, 1996). Comparative study of news.
- [226] H. Griffiths, 'A Political Economy of Ethnic Conflict: Ethno-Nationalism and Organised Crime', *Civil Wars*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1999), pp. 56–73.
- [227] R. Gutman, *A Witness to Genocide: The First Inside Account of the Horrors of 'Ethnic Cleansing' in Bosnia* (Shaftesbury, 1993). See also [254].
- [228] H. Halilovich, *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-Local Identities in Bosnian War-Torn Communities* (Oxford, 2013).
- [229] M. A. Hoare, 'The Bosnian War's Forgotten Turning Point: The Bihać Crisis of Autumn 1994', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2011), pp. 88–114.
- [230] M. A. Hoare, *How Bosnia Armed* (London, 2004). Short-term military background.

- [231] J. W. Honig and N. Both, *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime* (London, 1996).
- [232] J. Hyndman, 'Preventative, Palliative, or Punitive? Safe Spaces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia, and Sri Lanka', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2003), pp. 167–85.
- [233] C. Ingrao et al., 'Safe Areas', in 2nd ed. of Ingrao and Emmert, *Confronting*, cited in [20].
- [234] V. Janković, 'International Peace Activists in the Former Yugoslavia', in Bilić and Janković (eds), *Resisting the Evil*, cited in [153].
- [235] H. Karčić, "'Fear Not, For You Have Brothers in Greece": A Research Note', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2008), pp. 147–52. On Greek volunteers.
- [236] V. Kesić, 'A Response to Catharine MacKinnon's Article "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide"', *Hastings Women's Law Journal*, vol. 5 (1994), pp. 267–80. Compare vs. [239].
- [237] L. Kurtović, 'The Paradoxes of Wartime "Freedom": Alternative Culture during the Siege of Sarajevo', in Bilić and Janković (eds), *Resisting the Evil*, cited in [153].
- [238] I. Maček, *Sarajevo under Siege: Anthropology in Wartime* (Philadelphia, 2009). Ethnography.
- [239] C. MacKinnon, 'Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace', *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, vol. 4 (1993), pp. 59–86. Compare vs. [236].
- [240] R. Mahmutćehajić, *The Denial of Bosnia* (University Park, 2000). See also [223].
- [241] N. Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, updated ed. (London, 1996).
- [242] R. Mills, 'Velež Mostar Football Club and the Demise of "Brotherhood and Unity" in Yugoslavia, 1922–2009', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, no. 7 (2010), pp. 1107–33.
- [243] J. Mujanović, 'Princip, Valter, Pejić and the Raja: Elite Domination and Betrayal in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *South-East European Journal of Political Science*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2013), pp. 106–20.
- [244] J. Mustapha, 'The Mujahideen in Bosnia: The Foreign Fighter as Cosmopolitan Citizen and/or Terrorist', *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 17, no. 6–7 (2013), pp. 742–55.
- [245] L. J. Nettelfield, 'Research and Repercussions of Death Tolls: The Case of the Bosnian Book of the Dead', in P. Andreas and K. M. Greenhill (eds), *Sex, Drugs and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict* (Ithaca, 2010).
- [246] C. A. Nielsen, 'Surmounting the Myopic Focus on Genocide: The Case of the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2013), pp. 21–39. On limitations of debate over genocide recognition.
- [247] D. Rohde, *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2012).
- [248] M. Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley, 1996).
- [249] C. R. Shrader, *The Muslim – Croat Civil War in Central Bosnia: A History* (College Station, 2004). Attempts to hold ARBiH responsible.

- [250] A. Stiglmayer (ed.), *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Lincoln, 1994). See also [239].
- [251] E. Tabeau and J. Bijak, 'War-Related Deaths in the 1992–1995 Armed Conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Critique of Previous Estimates and Recent Results', *European Journal of Population*, vol. 21, no. 2–3 (2005), pp. 187–215. ICTY figures.
- [252] G. Toal and C. T. Dahlman, *Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal* (Oxford, 2011). Deconstructs ethno-territorial assumptions.
- [253] M. Velikonja, *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, trans. R. Ng'inja (College Station, 2003).
- [254] E. Vulliamy, *Seasons in Hell: Understanding Bosnia's War* (London, 1994). See also [227].
- [255] I. Wesselingh and A. Vaulerin, *Raw Memory: Prijedor, Laboratory of Ethnic Cleansing*, trans. J. Howe (London, 2005).
- [256] H. Yamashita, *Humanitarian Space and International Politics: The Creation of Safe Areas* (Aldershot, 2004).

Diplomatic aspects

- [257] M. Banks and M. Wolfe Murray, 'Ethnicity and Reports of the 1992–95 Bosnian Conflict', in T. Allen and J. Seaton (eds), *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence* (London, 1999). Critiques Western media representation of ethnicity.
- [258] D. Campbell, 'Apartheid Cartography: The Political Anthropology and Spatial Effects of International Diplomacy in Bosnia', *Political Geography*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1999), pp. 395–435. See also [252].
- [259] D. Conversi, 'German-Bashing and the Breakup of Yugoslavia', *Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies* 16 (Seattle, 1998). Compare vs. [260].
- [260] B. Crawford, 'Explaining Defection from International Cooperation: Germany's Unilateral Recognition of Croatia', *World Politics*, vol. 48, no. 4 (1996), pp. 482–521. Compare vs. [259].
- [261] D. N. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Nashville, 2009). Severely criticized by [45].
- [262] J. Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe: Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia* (New Haven, 2011). New archival diplomatic history.
- [263] J. Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London, 1997).
- [264] N. Gowing, 'Real-Time TV Coverage from War: Does It Make or Break Government Policy?', in Gow et al. (eds), *Bosnia by Television*, cited in [225].
- [265] P. Hammond, *Framing Post Cold-War Conflicts: The Media and International Intervention* (Manchester, 2007). Accuses media of anti-Serb bias.

- [266] L. Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (London, 2006). On 'Balkan violence' and 'genocide' discourses.
- [267] G. Kent, *Framing War and Genocide: British Policy and News Media Reaction to the War in Bosnia* (Cresskill, 2006). Argues media relativized the war.
- [268] S. Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (London, 2002). Defends intervention to prevent genocide.
- [269] P. Radan, 'The Badinter Arbitration Commission and the Partition of Yugoslavia', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1997), pp. 537–57.
- [270] B. Radeljić, *Europe and the Collapse of Yugoslavia: The Role of Non-State Actors and European Diplomacy* (London, 2012). On EC and Catholic Church.
- [271] D. Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (New York, 1996).
- [272] B. Robison, 'Putting Bosnia in Its Place: Critical Geopolitics and the Representation of Bosnia in the British Print Media', *Geopolitics*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2004), pp. 378–401.
- [273] B. Simms, *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia* (London, 2002).
- [274] E. Vulliamy, 'Bosnia: The Crime of Appeasement', *International Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 1 (1998), pp. 73–91. By journalist who reported from Omarska.

Kosovo

- [275] N. Chomsky, *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* (London, 1999). See also [265].
- [276] E. A. Dauphinée, 'Rambouillet: A Critical (Re)Assessment', in F. Bieber and Z. Daskalovski (eds), *Understanding the War in Kosovo* (London, 2003).
- [277] A. Di Lellio and S. Schwandner-Sievers, 'The Legendary Commander: The Construction of an Albanian Master-Narrative in Post-War Kosovo', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2006), pp. 513–29. On memory of Jashari.
- [278] E. Herring, 'From Rambouillet to the Kosovo Accords: NATO's War against Serbia and its Aftermath', *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 4, no. 3–4 (2000), pp. 224–45. Early overview.
- [279] M. Ignatieff, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (London, 2001).
- [280] T. Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, 2002).
- [281] T. Keenan, 'Looking like Flames and Falling like Stars: Kosovo, "the First Internet War"', *Social Identities*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2001), pp. 539–50.
- [282] J. Ker-Lindsay, *Kosovo: The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans* (London, 2009). On 1999–2008.
- [283] M. Koskeniemi, "'The Lady Doth Protest Too Much": Kosovo and the Turn to Ethics in International Law', *Modern Law Review*, vol. 65, no. 2 (2002), pp. 159–75.

- [284] D. Kostovicova, *Kosovo: The Politics of Identity and Space* (London, 2005).
- [285] G. Krasniqi, 'Revisiting Nationalism in Yugoslavia: An Inside-Out View of the Nationalist Movement in Kosovo', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7].
- [286] N. Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History*, 2nd ed. (London, 1999).
- [287] J. E. Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War* (Berkeley, 1999). On 1980s.
- [288] J. Pettifer, *The Kosova Liberation Army: Underground War to Balkan Insurgency, 1948–2001* (London, 2012).
- [289] B. Pula, 'The Emergence of the Kosovo "Parallel State," 1988–1992', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2004), pp. 797–826.
- [290] S. Schwandner-Sievers, 'Invisible – Inaudible: Albanian Memories of Socialism after the War in Kosovo', in M. Todorova and Z. Gille (eds), *Post-Communist Nostalgia* (Oxford, 2010).
- [291] S. Schwandner-Sievers, 'The Bequest of *Ilegalja*: Contested Memories and Moralities in Contemporary Kosovo', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 41, no. 6 (2013), pp. 953–70. On Albanian underground movement.
- [292] D. Triantaphyllou, 'Kosovo Today: Is There No Way Out of the Deadlock?', *European Security*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1996), pp. 279–302.
- [293] M. Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo* (London, 1998).
- [294] M. Weller, 'The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo', *International Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2 (1999), pp. 211–51.

Macedonia

- [295] A. J. Bellamy, 'The New Wolves at the Door: Conflict in Macedonia', *Civil Wars*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2002), pp. 117–44.
- [296] K. Brown, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation* (Princeton, 2003). Compare [302].
- [297] C. S. Chivvis, 'The Making of Macedonia', *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2008), pp. 141–62.
- [298] L. M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (Princeton, 1995).
- [299] R. Dimova, 'Consuming Ethnicity: Loss, Commodities, and Space in Macedonia', *Slavic Review*, vol. 69, no. 4 (2010), pp. 859–81.
- [300] R. Hislope, 'Between a Bad Peace and a Good War: Insights and Lessons from the Almost-War in Macedonia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2003), pp. 129–51.
- [301] V. P. Neofotistos, *The Risk of War: Everyday Sociality in the Republic of Macedonia* (Philadelphia, 2012). Anthropological.
- [302] H. Poulton, *Who Are the Macedonians?*, 2nd ed. (London, 2000). Compare [296].
- [303] L. Spaskovska, 'The Fractured "We" and the Ethno-National "I": The Macedonian Citizenship Framework', *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3–4 (2012), pp. 383–96. Assesses Ohrid Agreement.

Consequences

- [304] D. Arsenijević (ed.), *Unbriable Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Fight for the Commons* (Baden-Baden, 2015). On popular protest.
- [305] C. Baker, 'Prosperity without Security: The Precarity of Interpreters in Postsocialist, Postconflict Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Slavic Review*, vol. 71, no. 4 (2012), pp. 849–72. On peacekeeping and employment.
- [306] R. Belloni and F. Strazzari, 'Corruption in Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo: A Deal among Friends', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 5 (2014), pp. 855–71.
- [307] S. Bose, *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention* (Oxford, 2002).
- [308] X. Bougarel et al. (eds), *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society* (Aldershot, 2007). Argues for ethnographic approach.
- [309] R. Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (Oxford, 2005).
- [310] D. Chandler, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton*, 2nd ed. (London, 2000).
- [311] D. Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London, 2006).
- [312] J. N. Clark, 'Giving Peace a Chance: Croatia's Branitelji and the Imperative of Reintegration', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, no. 10 (2013b), pp. 1931–53. On veterans.
- [313] G. Duijzings, 'Commemorating Srebrenica: History and the Politics of Memory in Eastern Bosnia', in Bougarel et al. (eds), *The New Bosnian Mosaic*, cited in [308].
- [314] M. Eastmond, 'Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Everyday Life in War-Torn Societies', *Focaal*, vol. 57 (2010), pp. 3–16. On concepts of reconciliation.
- [315] E. D. Gordy, *Guilt, Responsibility and Denial: The Past at Stake in Post-Milošević Serbia* (Philadelphia, 2013).
- [316] J. Greenberg, *After the Revolution: Youth, Democracy, and the Politics of Disappointment in Serbia* (Stanford, 2014).
- [317] E. Helms, 'The Gender of Coffee: Women and Reconciliation Initiatives in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Focaal*, vol. 57 (2010), pp. 17–32.
- [318] E. Helms, *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Madison, 2013).
- [319] P. Higate and M. Henry, *Insecure Spaces: Peacekeeping, Power and Performance in Haiti, Kosovo and Liberia* (London, 2009).
- [320] S. Horvat and I. Štikš (eds), *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics after Yugoslavia* (London, 2015). New left-wing critiques.
- [321] A. Hromadžić, *Citizens of an Empty Nation: Youth and State-Making in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Philadelphia, 2015).

- [322] A. Hromadžić, 'Discourses of Trans-Ethnic Narod in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2013), pp. 259–75. See also [349].
- [323] C. Hughes and V. Pupavac, 'Framing Societies: International Pathologisation of Cambodia and the Post-Yugoslav States', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 6 (2005), pp. 873–89. Comparative argument about international intervention.
- [324] S. Jansen, 'Cosmopolitan Openings and Closures in Post-Yugoslav Antinationalism', in M. Nowicka and M. Rovisco (eds), *Cosmopolitanism in Practice* (Aldershot, 2008).
- [325] S. Jansen, 'If Reconciliation is the Answer, Are We Asking the Right Questions?', *Studies in Social Justice*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2013), pp. 229–43. See also [314].
- [326] S. Jansen, 'The Privatisation of Home and Hope: Return, Reforms and the Foreign Intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 30, no. 3–4 (2006), pp. 177–99.
- [327] S. Jansen, 'Refuchess: Locating Bosniac Repatriates After the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 17 (2011), pp. 140–52. On refugee return.
- [328] S. Jansen, 'The Violence of Memories: Local Narratives of the Past After Ethnic Cleansing in Croatia', *Rethinking History*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2002), pp. 77–93.
- [329] A. Jeffrey, *The Improvised State: Sovereignty, Performance and Agency in Dayton Bosnia* (Oxford, 2012).
- [330] S. Kappler and O. Richmond, 'Peacebuilding and Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Resistance or Emancipation?', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 42, no. 3 (2011), pp. 261–78.
- [331] G. Knaus and F. Martin, 'Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Travails of the European Raj', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2003), pp. 60–74. Likens OHR to British imperial rule in India.
- [332] R. Mac Ginty and O. P. Richmond, 'The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 5 (2013), pp. 763–83.
- [333] J. Mannergren Selimović, 'Making Peace, Making Memory: Peacebuilding and Politics of Remembrance at Memorials of Mass Atrocities', *Peacebuilding*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2013), pp. 334–48.
- [334] F. Markowitz, *Sarajevo: A Bosnian Kaleidoscope* (Urbana, 2010). On post-war identities.
- [335] M. Mikuš, '"State Pride": Politics of LGBT Rights and Democratisation in "European Serbia"', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2011), pp. 835–51.
- [336] A. Mujkić, 'We, the Citizens of Ethnopolis', *Constellations*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2007), pp. 112–28. Critiques Dayton.
- [337] L. J. Nettelfield and S. E. Wagner, *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide* (Cambridge, 2014). On survivors and memory.
- [338] C. A. Nielsen, 'Stronger than the State? Football Hooliganism, Political Extremism and the Gay Pride Parades in Serbia', *Sport in Society*, vol. 16, no. 8 (2013), pp. 1038–53.

- [339] J. Obradović-Wochnik, *Ethnic Conflict and War Crimes in the Balkans: The Narratives of Denial in Post-Conflict Serbia* (London, 2013).
- [340] R. Paris, 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2010), pp. 337–65.
- [341] M. Pugh, 'Postwar Political Economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Spoils of Peace', *Global Governance*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2002), pp. 467–82.
- [342] M. Pugh, 'Rubbing Salt into War Wounds: Shadow Economies and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Kosovo', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2004), pp. 53–60.
- [343] J. Sardelić, 'Antiziganism as Cultural Racism: Before and After the Disintegration of Yugoslavia', in T. Agarín (ed.), *When Stereotype Meets Prejudice: Antiziganism in European Societies* (Stuttgart, 2014). On prejudice against Roma.
- [344] M. Schäuble, *Narrating Victimhood: Gender, Religion and the Making of Place in Post-War Croatia* (Oxford, 2014). On Dalmatian hinterland.
- [345] C. Sorabji, 'Managing Memories in Post-War Sarajevo: Individuals, Bad Memories, and New Wars', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1–18.
- [346] A. H. Stefansson, 'Homes in the Making: Property Restitution, Refugee Return, and Senses of Belonging in a Post-war Bosnian Town', *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006), pp. 115–39.
- [347] A. H. Stefansson, 'Urban Exile: Locals, Newcomers and the Cultural Transformation of Sarajevo', in Bougarel et al. (eds), *The New Bosnian Mosaic*, cited in [308].
- [348] G. Toal, "'Republika Srpska Will Have a Referendum": The Rhetorical Politics of Milorad Dodik', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2013), 166–204.
- [349] H. Touquet, 'Multi-Ethnic Parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Naša Stranka and the Paradoxes of Postethnic Politics', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2011), pp. 451–67. See also [322].
- [350] G. Visoka, 'The "Kafkaesque Accountability" of International Governance in Kosovo', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2012), pp. 189–212.
- [351] D. Zaum, 'Post-Conflict Statebuilding and Forced Migration', in A. Betts and G. Loescher (eds), *Refugees in International Relations* (Oxford, 2011).

War crimes trials

- [352] J. B. Allcock et al., 'The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia', in Ingrao and Emmert (eds), *Confronting*, cited in [20].
- [353] T. Banjeglav, 'Dealing with the Past in Post-War Croatia: Perceptions, Problems, and Perspectives', in Simić and Volčić (eds), *Transitional Justice*, cited in [378].

- [354] F. Bieber, 'Do Historians Need a Verdict?', in Waters (ed.), *Trial*, cited in [387].
- [355] D. Buss, 'Prosecuting Mass Rape: *Prosecutor v. Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac and Zoran Vuković*', *Feminist Legal Studies*, vol. 10 (2002), pp. 91–9.
- [356] J. N. Clark, 'Courting Controversy: The ICTY's Acquittal of Croatian Generals Gotovina and Markač', *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2013), pp. 399–423.
- [357] J. N. Clark, 'The "Crime of Crimes": Genocide, Criminal Trials and Reconciliation', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2012), pp. 55–77.
- [358] J. N. Clark, 'Reconciliation through Remembrance? War Memorials and the Victims of Vukovar', *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2012), pp. 116–35.
- [359] R. J. Donia, 'History and the Court: The Role of History at the ICTY', *Prilozi*, vol. 41 (Sarajevo, 2012), pp. 13–20.
- [360] S. Drakulić, *They Would Never Hurt a Fly: War Criminals on Trial in The Hague* (London, 2004).
- [361] E. Elias-Bursać, *Translating Evidence and Interpreting Testimony at a War Crimes Tribunal: Working in a Tug-of-War* (London, 2015).
- [362] J. Gow et al. (eds), *Prosecuting War Crimes: Lessons and Legacies of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia* (London, 2014).
- [363] J. Gow and M. Michalski, 'Prosecuting with Pictures: Two Decades of Experience and Evolution', in Gow et al. (eds), *Prosecuting*, cited in [362].
- [364] J. Hagan, *Justice in the Balkans: Prosecuting War Crimes in the Hague Tribunal* (Chicago, 2003).
- [365] H. K. Haug, 'Debating the End of Yugoslavia in Post-Milošević Serbia', in Bieber et al. (eds), *Debating*, cited in [7]. On Koštunica's TRC.
- [366] R. M. Hayden, 'Bosnia's Internal War and the International Criminal Tribunal', *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1998), pp. 45–64. Argues ICTY mischaracterized Bosnian war.
- [367] M. A. Hoare, 'Bosnia-Herzegovina and International Justice: Past Failures and Future Solutions', *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2010), pp. 191–205.
- [368] M. A. Hoare, 'A Case Study in Underachievement: The International Courts and Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2011), pp. 81–97. Argues ICTY not proactive enough.
- [369] M. A. Hoare, 'Genocide in the Former Yugoslavia before and After Communism', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, no. 7 (2010), pp. 1193–214.
- [370] R. Hodžić, 'Living the Legacy of Mass Atrocities: Victims' Perspectives on War Crimes Trials', *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2010), pp. 113–36. See also [379].