

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
Institute of European, Russian & Eurasian Studies
Faculty of Public Affairs and Management
Fall 2015
EURR 4102A / PSCI 4809F
The Balkans since 1989

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Office Hours: Thursdays, 17:10 to 18:05 (or by appointment)
Seminar Hours: Thursdays, 18:05 to 20:35

This seminar will explore selected topics in Balkan politics, society and history since 1989. Beginning with a discussion of the collapse of Communism in 1989, the seminar analyzes the post-Communist transition and devotes particular attention to aspects of democratization, political violence, nation-building, and relations with and accession to the European Union. One of the main objectives of the seminar is to introduce students to current issues in Balkan studies and the recent literature about and debates surrounding particular facets of the region's contemporary politics and history. It is hoped that, upon completing the seminar, students will have a better understanding of the region, its recent past and contemporary problems, as well as its future prospects.

The course is a seminar and consists of one weekly class. A detailed schedule with readings is provided below. Seminar classes and readings are designed to complement one another; thus, reading, preparation, and attendance at weekly seminars are essential to the successful completion of the course.

Grading:

Assessment is based on a class presentation, participation, a research proposal, and a research paper. The grade distribution is as follows:

Class Presentation 15%
Participation 25%
Research Proposal 10%
Research Paper 50%

Class Presentation (15%) - each student is required to provide one class presentation for one of the weekly seminars of his or her choice, which will be assessed for 15% of the overall grade. The grade will be determined on the basis of the following criteria: (a) the content of the presentation, i.e., whether it identifies the key issues related to that week's theme; (b) the way in which the presentation engages the literature, pointing out strengths and weaknesses; and, (c) the questions it poses about the literature and weekly seminar theme. This grade will be made available within one week of the presentation.

Participation (25%) - participation is based on the following criteria: (a) regular attendance at weekly seminars; (b) contribution to the seminar discussions; and, (c) informed comments about the issues and the readings.

Research Proposal & Bibliography (10%) - students are required to submit a research proposal and bibliography, which should be no more than five (5) pages long, worth 25% of the overall grade. The proposal should identify the topic of your research paper, offer a preliminary thesis that will be explored, and put forth a preliminary bibliography that has been consulted. The proposal and bibliography are designed to get students working on their research papers as early as possible, and will be graded on clarity, thoughtfulness, style and grammar, and the works consulted. The proposals are due on or before Thursday, 15 October (Week VII). Assignments sent by fax to EURUS will NOT be accepted. A late penalty of 2% per day (including weekends) will be assessed on all late papers up to 10%.

Research Paper (50%) - students are required to submit a research paper in this course, worth 50% of the overall grade. The research paper must be 15 to 20 pages (circa 4,000 words) long. It is due on Thursday, 26 November (Week XIII). Assignments sent by fax to the EURUS will NOT be accepted. Students may submit their papers by email or in hardcopy format. A late penalty of 2% per day (including weekends) will be assessed on all late papers, up to 10%. Extensions will be permitted only for legitimate reasons, e.g., a medical or family emergency.

Seminar Readings:

Unless otherwise noted, all weekly readings are required and must be read by all students.

Weekly Seminar Schedule:

Week I (3 September): Introduction to the Course

Week II (10 September): The “Revolutions” of 1989 in the Balkans

This class frames the debate regarding transition after 1989. First, can we speak of the ‘Revolutions’ of 1989 in the Balkans, or were the events of 1989 something other than revolutions? Second, are there necessary pre-conditions that account for successful democratization? What factors might account for the seemingly more problematic transitions in the Balkans in comparison to East Central Europe?

- Adrian Pop, “The 1989 Revolutions in Retrospect,” Europe-Asia Studies 65:2 (2013): pp. 347-369
- Daniel Chirot, “What Happened in Eastern Europe in 1989?” Praxis International 10: 3-4 (1990-91): pp. 278-305
- Othon Anastasakis, “Post-1989 Political Change in the Balkan States: The Legacy of the Early Illiberal Transition Years,” Perceptions, 18:2 (Summer 2013): pp. 91-112
- Federico M. Rossi, The Elite Coup: The Transition to Democracy in Bulgaria (2012), pp. 5-16
- Sheri Berman, “How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe,” Journal of Democracy, 18:1 (2007): pp. 28-39

- Danica Fink-Hafner & Mitja Hafner-Fink, "The Determinants of the Success of Transitions to Democracy," Europe-Asia Studies 61:9 (2009): pp. 1603-1625

Week III (17 September): The Demise of Yugoslavia I: War in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, 1989-1995

We will start this class by watching part 1 of the BBC documentary, 'The Death of Yugoslavia' (circa 1 hour), which will serve as added material for the class discussion.

This class will address several broad themes, including: How do we account for both the dissolution of and violence in Yugoslavia after 1989? Are the causes of state dissolution rooted in longer term cultural, social and political factors specific to the country and region, or were short term considerations (e.g., the role of political elites, ideology, economic crisis, etc.) more important?

- Mark Biondich, The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878 (2011), Chapter 5, pp. 193-246
- Andrew Wachtel and Christopher Bennett, "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 13-43
- Gale Stokes, "From Nation to Minority: Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia at the Outbreak of the Yugoslav Wars," Problems of Post-Communism 52:6 (2005): pp. 3-20
- Marie-Janine Calic, "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991-1995," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 115-146

Recommended (background) readings:

- Jasna Dragović-Soso, "Why did Yugoslavia Disintegrate? An Overview of Contending Explanations," in State Collapse in South-eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration (2008): pp. 1-29
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Week IV (24 September): The Demise of Yugoslavia II: War in Kosovo and Macedonia, 1995-2001

This class will address several broad questions, including: How do we account for the violent conflicts in Kosovo and Macedonia between 1998 and 2001? What were the root causes?

- James Gow, "The War in Kosovo, 1998-1999," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 305-336
- Dušan Janjić et al, "Kosovo under the Milošević regime," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 275-297
- Židas Daskalovski, The Macedonian Conflict of 2001: Between successful diplomacy, rhetoric and terror (2004), pp. 1-49
- Jenny Engström, "The Power of Perception: The Impact of the Macedonian Question on Inter-ethnic Relations in the Republic of Macedonia," The Global Review of Ethnopolitics 1:3 (2002): pp. 3-17

- Kevin Adamson and Dejan Jović, "The Macedonian-Albanian political frontier: The re-articulation of post-Yugoslav political identities," Nations and Nationalism 10:3 (2004): pp. 293-311

Recommended (background) reading:

- Independent International Commission on Kosovo, The Kosovo Report (2000), pp. 33-97

Week V (1 October): Transitional Justice, Reconciliation & "Coming to Terms with the Past"

We will watch the short documentary "The Long Road through Balkan History" (circa 58 minutes), which will serve as added material for the class discussion.

- Anatoly M. Khazanov & Stanley G. Payne, "How to Deal with the Past?" Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions, 9:2-3 (2008): pp. 411-431

- Rachel Kerr, "Lost in translation? The ICTY and the legacy of war crimes in the Western Balkans," Centre for International Policy Studies, Policy Brief No. 19 (July 2012), pp. 1-5

- Dejan Jović, "Croatia after Tudjman: the ICTY and issues of transitional justice," in War Crimes, Conditionality and EU Integration in the Western Balkans (2009), pp. 13-28

- Jelena Obradović-Wochnik, "Strategies of denial: resistance to ICTY cooperation in Serbia," in War Crimes, Conditionality and EU Integration in the Western Balkans (2009), pp. 29-48

- Henri Bohnet et al, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and Coming to Terms with the Past in the Affected Countries, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) International Reports, 4 (2013): pp. 7-51

Recommended (background) reading:

- Henri Bohnet / Daniela Bojadzieva, Coming to terms with the past in the Balkans: The Lustration process in Macedonia, KAS International Reports (2011): pp. 58-70

Week VI (8 October): Democratization in the eastern Balkans: Bulgaria & Romania since 1989

Why did Romania and Bulgaria avoid the large-scale violence witnessed in the former Yugoslavia? Should we regard Romania and Bulgaria as "consolidated" democracies? If they are, was the foreign factor (EU) more important than domestic drivers? How do we account for the resurgence of populism in these countries?

We will watch the documentary "Romania - The Spectre of Tyranny" (circa 45 min), which will assist with the class discussion.

- Jacques Rupnik, "From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash," Journal of Democracy 18:4 (2007): pp. 17-25

- Maria Spirova, "The Bulgarian Socialist Party: The long road to Europe," Communist and Post-Communist Studies 41 (2008): pp. 481-495

- Venelin I. Ganey, "Bulgaria's Year of Civic Anger," Journal of Democracy, 25:1 (January 2014): pp. 33-44

- Grigore Pop-Eleches, "A party for all seasons: Electoral adaptation of Romanian Communist successor parties," Communist and Post-Communist Studies 41 (2008): pp. 465-479
- Cosmina Tanasoiu, "The Tismaneanu Report: Romania Revisits Its Past," Problems of Post-Communism, 54:4 (2007): pp. 60-69
- Holger Dix and Corina Rebegea, The Short History of the Romanian Lustration Law, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Country Reports (22 July 2010): pp. 1-5
- Cynthia Horne, "Silent Lustration": Public Disclosures as Informal Lustration Mechanisms in Bulgaria and Romania, Problems of Post-Communism, 62:3 (2015): pp. 131-144

Recommend (background) reading:

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 92-124 (Bulgaria) & 142-182 (Romania)

Week VII (15 October): Democratization in the western Balkans: Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro

Can we refer to the western Balkan states as "consolidated" democracies? Why has the transition in these states been more problematic than elsewhere?

- Sabrina P. Ramet, "Croatia and Serbia since 1991: An Assessment of Their Similarities and Differences," Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 27:2 (2011): pp. 263-283
- Nenad Zakošek, "Democratization, State-building and War: The Cases of Serbia and Croatia," Democratization 15:3 (2008): pp. 588-610
- Dejan Jović, "Croatia's EU Membership and the Future of the Balkans," in Unfinished Business: The Western Balkans and the International Community (2012): pp. 201-209
- Boris Begović, "The Serbian Experience in Transition," Center for International Private Enterprise (31 May 2013): pp. 1-6
- Transparency International, Buying Influence: Money and Elections in the Balkans (2013), pp. 2-40
- Peter van Ham, Gridlock, Corruption and Crime in the Western Balkans: Why the EU Must Acknowledge its Limits (2014), pp. 5-22

Recommended (background) readings:

- Matthias Barner, "Free, But Not Independent: The Role of the Media in South East Europe," KAS International Reports 11 (2011): pp. 56-71
- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 195-232 (Croatia) & 243-328 (Serbia)

Week VIII (22 October): No class this week (Instructor will be away)

Week IX (29 October): Fall Break (No Class This Week)

Week X (5 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1995

Twenty years since the conclusion of the Dayton Accords (1995), Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH) remains embroiled in constitutional deadlock and suffers from economic malaise. Is BH still a viable political entity? What form should a post-Dayton Accords BH take? Can reform come only through international engagement and pressure?

We will watch the short documentary “The Café: Bosnia’s Future” (47 minute documentary) prior to the class discussion.

- Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report (2014), pp. 2-36
- International Crisis Group, “Bosnia’s Future,” Europe Report N°232 (10 July 2014)
- International Crisis Group, “Bosnia’s Gordian knot: Constitutional Reform,” Europe Briefing No. 68 (12 July 2012), pp. 1-16
- Gerald Knaus and Felix Martin, “Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Travails of the European Raj,” Journal of Democracy 14:3 (2003): pp. 60-73
- William Montgomery, “The Balkan Mess Redux,” The New York Times, 5 June 2009
- Morton Abramowitz and James Hooper, “The Death of the Bosnian State,” The National Interest, 20 July 2011

Recommended (background) readings:

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 351-404 (post-Dayton BH)

Week XI (12 November): Security Sector Reform in the Balkans since 1989

Why is security sector reform (SSR) – that is, the reform of intelligence, police and military structures and civil-military relations – important in transitional societies? Why has reform been more problematic in the region, and how successful has SSR been to date?

- Ingrid Olstad Busterud, “Defense sector reform in the Western Balkans – different approaches and different tools,” European Security, 24:2 (2015): pp. 335-352
- Marina Caparini, “Comparing the Democratization of Intelligence Governance in East Central Europe and the Balkans,” Intelligence and National Security, 29:4 (2014): pp. 498-522
- Florina Cristiana (Cris) Matei, “Balancing Democratic Civilian Control with Effectiveness of Intelligence in Romania: Lessons Learned and Best/Worst Practices Before and After NATO and EU Integration,” Intelligence and National Security, 29:4 (2014): pp 619-637
- Helge Lurås, “Democratic Oversight in Fragile States: The Case of Intelligence Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” Intelligence and National Security, 29:4 (2014): pp 600-618
- Vanja Rokvić & Željko Ivaniš, “Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector in Serbia,” Problems of Post-Communism, 60:1 (2013): pp. 55-61

Recommended (background) reading:

- Florina Cristiana Matei & Thomas Bruneau, “Intelligence reform in new democracies: factors supporting or arresting progress,” Democratization, 18: 3 (2011): pp. 602-630

Week XII (19 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: Kosovo & the Albanian Question

How viable is Kosovo as a state? What are the implications of an independent Kosovo for the region and for EU foreign and security policy?

- Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Kosovo Country Report (2014), pp. 2-30
- International Crisis Group, "Serbia and Kosovo: The Path to Normalisation," ICG Europe Report N°223 (19 February 2013): pp. 1-26
- Stefan Wolff and Annemarie Peen Rodt, "Self-Determination after Kosovo," Europe-Asia Studies 65:5 (2013): pp. 799-818
- Nikolaos Tzifakis, "The European Union in Kosovo: Reflecting on the Credibility and Efficiency Deficit," Problems of Post-Communism 60:1 (2013): pp. 43-51
- Blendi Kajsiu, "Down with Politics!: The Crisis of Representation in Post-Communist Albania," East European Politics and Societies, 24:2 (2010): pp. 229-248

Recommended (background) readings:

- Marc Weller, "Kosovo's final status," International Affairs 84:6 (2008): pp. 1223-1243
- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 34-72 (Albania) & 555-580 (post-1999 Kosovo)

Week XIII (26 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: The Macedonian Question

How has the Macedonian Question evolved over time? What is the state of inter-ethnic relations today? How successful has the Macedonian transition been since 2001? What are the country's EU prospects?

We will watch the Al Jazeera documentary "What's Behind Macedonia Unrest" (circa 25 min) in class, prior to the class discussion.

- Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Macedonia Country Report (2014), pp. 2-34
- International Crisis Group, "Macedonia: Defusing the Bombs," Crisis Group Europe Briefing N°75 (9 July 2015)
- International Crisis Group, "Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict," ICG Europe Briefing No. 212 (11 August 2011), pp. 1-23
- Andrew Graan, "Counterfeiting the Nation? Skopje2014 and the Politics of Nation-Branding in Macedonia," Cultural Anthropology, 28:1 (2013): pp. 161-179
- Miroljub Shukarov, "Perceptions of Transition and the Crisis in Macedonia," Croatian Economic Survey, 14:1 (April 2012): pp. 107-131

Recommended (background) readings:

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 411-470

Week XIV (3 December): Greece since 1989

- Takis S. Pappas, "Why Greece Failed," Journal of Democracy, 24:2 (2013): pp. 31-44
- Manolis Galenianos, "The Greek Crisis: Origins and Implications," Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, 16 (2015): pp. 6-26
- Tolis Malakos, "Greece Facing Herself: The Past and Present as Fate," Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 15:1 (2013): pp. 1-15

- P. C. Ioakimidis, "The Europeanization of Greece: An Overall Assessment" (2000) South European Society and Politics 5:2 (2000): pp. 1-14
- D. A. Sotiropoulos, Civil Society in Greece in the Wake of the Economic Crisis (2014): pp. 2-11
- Georgios P. Kouretas, "The Greek Debt Crisis: Origins and Implications," Panoeconomicus, 57 (2010): pp. 1-9
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Classes end on 8 December 2015

Academic Accommodations:

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism:

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;

- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside 3304 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.