

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
Institute of European, Russian & Eurasian Studies
Faculty of Public Affairs and Management
Fall 2013
EURR 4102 - The Balkans since 1989

Dr. Mark Biondich
Office: River Building
Business Tel: (613) 288-4305
E-mail: markbiondich@hotmail.com
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 17:10 to 18:00 (or by appointment)
Seminar Hours: Wednesdays, 18:05 to 20:35 (EURUS Seminar Room)

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 Wednesday, 23 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 16 to 20 pages (circa 4,000 words) long. It is due on Wednesday, 27 November (Week XII). 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 (11 September): Introduction to the Course

Week II (18 September): Defining the Balkans: How Southeastern Europe became the Balkans

How do we define the Balkans? What characteristics or criteria demarcate the Balkans from the rest of Europe? How and when were the Balkans formed?

- Maria Todorova, "The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention," Slavic Review 53:2 (1994): pp. 453-482
 - Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, "South-Eastern Europe: History, Concepts, Boundaries," Balkanologie, 3:2 (1999): pp. 1-10
 - George Schöpflin, 'Defining South-Eastern Europe,' Balkanologie, 3:2 (1999): pp. 1-4
 - George F. Kennan, "The Balkan Crises: 1913 and 1993," in Other Balkan Wars: A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect with a New Introduction and Reflections on the Present Conflict by George F. Kennan (1993), pp. 3-16
 - Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, The Balkans: A post-Communist history (2007): pp. 1-5
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Week III (25 September): The Revolutions of 1989: The Balkan Setting

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? 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
- Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe," Journal of Democracy, 18:1 (2007): pp. 28-39
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) and Spiegel Online articles (on the 1989 revolutions in Romania and Bulgaria)
- Milenko Petrović, "The role of geography and history in determining the slower progress of post-communist transition in the Balkans," Communist and Post-Communist Studies 41 (2008): pp. 123-145
- Danica Fink-Hafner & Mitja Hafner-Fink, "The Determinants of the Success of Transitions to Democracy," Europe-Asia Studies 61:9 (2009): pp. 1603-1625

Recommended (background) reading:

- Mark Biondich, The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878 (2011), Chapter 4, pp. 155-192 (Communist regimes)
- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 5-20

Week IV (2 October): Why did Yugoslavia Fail? The Wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo, 1989-1999

We will watch part of the BBC documentary, 'The Death of Yugoslavia,' 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, or were short term considerations (e.g., the role of political elites, ideology, economic crisis, etc.) more important?

- Biondich, The Balkans, Chapter 5, pp. 193-246
 - 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
 - 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 V (9 October): Democratization in the eastern Balkans: Bulgaria & Romania since 1989 (Part 1)

We will watch the Romanian film, "12:08 East of Bucharest," ahead of our next class, when we'll discuss the transitions in Bulgaria and Romania.

Week VI (16 October): No class this week

Week VII (23 October): Democratization in the eastern Balkans: Bulgaria & Romania since 1989 (Part 2)

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 and the region?

- 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

- Janice Broun, "Rehabilitation and recovery: Bulgaria's Muslim Communities," Religion, State and Society, 35:2 (2007): pp. 105-135

- 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

Recommend (background) reading:

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

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

Week VIII (30 October) - Fall Break (28 October to 1 November) - No classes

Week IX (6 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro

Can we refer to these 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
- Elizabeth Pond, "Serbia Reinvents Itself," Survival 55:4 (2013): pp. 7-30
- Boris Begović, "The Serbian Experience in Transition," Center for International Private Enterprise (May 31, 2013): pp. 1-6
- 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) readings:

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 195-232 (Croatia) & 243-328 (Serbia)

Week X (13 November): No class this week

Week XI (20 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: The Transition in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1995

Nearly twenty years since the conclusion of the Dayton Accords (1995), Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH) remains embroiled in constitutional deadlock. 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?

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 351-404 (post-Dayton BH)
- International Crisis Group, "Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism," ICG Europe Briefing No. 70 (26 February 2013): pp. 1-20
- International Crisis Group, "Bosnia: Europe's Time to Act," ICG Policy Briefing No. 59 (11 January 2011): 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

Week XII (27 November): Democratization in the western Balkans: The Macedonian Question since 1989

How has the Macedonian Question evolved over time? How successful has the Macedonian transition been since 1989? What are the country's EU prospects?

- International Crisis Group, "Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict," ICG Europe Briefing No. 212, 11 August 2011, pp. 1-23
- 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
- Andrew Graan, "On the Politics of "Imidž": European Integration and the Trials of Recognition in Postconflict Macedonia," Slavic Review 69:4 (2010): pp. 835-858

Recommended (background) readings:

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

Week XIII (4 December): 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?

- 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
- David Cadier, "EU Mission in Kosovo (EULEX): Constructing Ambiguity or Constructive Disunity?" SAIS Transatlantic Security Paper no. 38 (June 2011): pp. 1-9
- Nikolaos Tzifakis, "The European Union in Kosovo: Reflecting on the Credibility and Efficiency Deficit," Problems of Post-Communism 60:1 (2013): pp. 43-51
- Spyros Economides et al, "Kosovo: Four Futures," Survival, 52 (2010): no. 5: pp. 99- 116

Recommended (background) readings:

- Bideleux and Jeffries, The Balkans, pp. 34-72 (Albania) & 555-580 (post-1999 Kosovo)
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Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to the Paul Menton Center by their posted deadlines.

For 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).

For 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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.