

**EURR 4102 / PSCI 4809F**  
**The Balkans since 1989**  
**Richcraft Hall 3110**

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Office Hours: Mondays, 17:15 to 18:05 (or by appointment)  
Seminar Hours: Mondays, 18:05 to 20:55

This seminar explores 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 problematic post-Communist transitions in the region and devotes particular attention to aspects of democratization, political violence, state- and 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. 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; 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 critically 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 (10%) - students are required to submit a research proposal with a preliminary bibliography, which should be no more than four (4) pages long, worth 10% of the overall grade. The proposal should: (a) identify the topic of your research paper, (b) offer a preliminary hypothesis, and (c) put forth a preliminary bibliography that has been consulted to date. The research proposal is designed to help students plan their research papers as early as possible, and will be graded on clarity, style and grammar, and the works consulted. The proposals are due on Monday, October 16 (Week VI). Proposals should be submitted either by email or in hard copy during the 23 October class. A late penalty of 2% per day 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. Research papers should be approximately 18 pages (or circa 4,500 words) long and are due on Monday, November 27 (Week XII). Research papers can be submitted either in soft copy (via email) or hard copy (in class). Extensions will be permitted only for legitimate reasons, e.g., a medical or family emergency. Otherwise, a late penalty of 2% per day will be assessed on all late papers, up to 10%.

### Seminar Readings:

This seminar does not use a course textbook. Weekly readings consist of scholarly articles, research reports and media articles. Unless otherwise noted, all weekly readings are required. Those readings designated as 'recommended readings' are optional and left to the discretion of the students for additional context.

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### Weekly Seminar Schedule:

Week I (September 11): Introduction to the Course

This class is reserved for introductions and a review of the seminar, readings and course objectives.

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Week II (September 18): The "Revolutions" of 1989

This class frames the debate regarding transition after 1989. First, can we speak of the "Revolutions of 1989" in the Balkans? What was their nature and what correlation is there between the events of 1989-90 and the subsequent democratization process? What factors might account for the seemingly more problematic transitions in the Balkans in comparison to Central (or East Central) Europe?

- Timothy Garton Ash, "1989!" New York Review of Books (5 November 2009)
- Adrian Pop (2013), "The 1989 Revolutions in Retrospect," Europe-Asia Studies 65:2, pp. 347-369
- Othon Anastasakis (2013), "Post-1989 Political Change in the Balkan States: The Legacy of the Early Illiberal Transition Years," Perceptions, 18:2, pp. 91-109
- Federico M. Rossi, The Elite Coup: The Transition to Democracy in Bulgaria (2012), pp. 5-16
- Irina Livezeanu, "The Unique Experience of Romania," Making the History of 1989 (2007), pp. 1-4 (with Primary Source Documents, pp. 4-13)

Recommended reading:

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

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Week III (September 25): The Demise of Yugoslavia, Part I: War and its Implications in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, 1989-1995

How do we account for both the dissolution of Yugoslavia between 1989 and 1992 and the violence witnessed between 1991 and 1995? 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, Chapter 5, pp. 193-246
- Andrew Wachtel and Christopher Bennett, "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia," in Conflict in Southeastern Europe at the End of the Twentieth Century: A Scholars' Initiative (2006), pp. 13-43
- Marie-Janine Calic, "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991-1995," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 115-146

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Week IV (October 2): The Demise of Yugoslavia, Part II: War and its Implications in Kosovo and Macedonia, 1995-2001

The Kosovo (1998-9) and Macedonia (2001) conflicts marked the end of the Yugoslav war(s) and the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. In both conflicts the "Albanian Question" loomed large. What were the causes and consequences of these conflicts?

- 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
- Lars Jerker Lock, Macedonia: A Conflict Analysis (2003), pp. 4-30

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

Recommended reading:

- Jenny Engström (2002), "The Power of Perception: The Impact of the Macedonian Question on Interethnic Relations in the Republic of Macedonia," The Global Review of Ethnopolitics 1:3, pp. 3-17

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Week V (October 9): Thanksgiving Day (University closed/No classes)

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Week VI (October 16): The Role of the International Community in the Balkans: The EU, US and NATO

The West has had a decisive impact in the Balkans since the 1990s, in terms of both state-building and democracy promotion. However, the region has again become a theatre of contestation between the West and Russia. How has the role of the EU changed over time in the Balkans? What are the present roles and objectives of the EU and other Western actors in the region and how are they shaping its political development?

- Geoffrey Pridham (2007), "Change and Continuity in the European Union's Political Conditionality: Aims, Approach, and Priorities," Democratization, 14:3, pp. 446-471

- Florian Bieber (2011), "Building Impossible States? State-Building Strategies and EU Membership in the Western Balkans," Europe-Asia Studies, 63:10, pp. 1783-1802

- Solveig Richter (2012), "Two at one blow? The EU and its quest for security and democracy by political conditionality in the Western Balkans," Democratization, 19:3, pp. 507-534

- Gorana Grgic, "The prospects of relative neglect - U.S. foreign policy in the Western Balkans under President Trump," European Leadership Network, May 19, 2017, pp. 1-3

- Steven Woehrel, Future of the Balkans and U.S. Policy Concerns (2009), pp. 3-18

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Week VII (October 23): Fall Break (No classes this week)

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Week VIII (October 30): The Role of the International Community: Russia and Turkey

- Dimitar Bechev, Russia in the Balkans: How should the EU respond? (2015), pp. 1-4

- Heather A. Conley et al, The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe (2016), pp. 1-35, 42-46 (Appendix, Bulgaria) and 57-63 (Appendix, Serbia)

- James Hughes (2013) "Russia and the Secession of Kosovo: Power, Norms and the Failure of Multilateralism," Europe-Asia Studies, 65:5, pp. 992-1013

- Alida Vračić, Turkey's Role in the Western Balkans (2016), pp. 5-34

Recommended reading:

- Ben Farmer, "Reconstruction: The full incredible story behind Russia's deadly plot to stop Montenegro embracing the West," The Telegraph (UK), 18 February 2017, pp. 1-8
- RFE/RL Podcast, "Moscow's Balkan Mischief" (27 January 2017), 50 min

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

Croatia joined NATO in 2009 and is the latest Balkan country to have joined the EU (2013) while Serbia is an EU candidate country. Are they 'consolidated' or 'semi-consolidated' democracies? Why has their transition seemingly been problematic?

- Sinisa Marcic (2015), "Informal Institutions in the Western Balkans: An Obstacle to Democratic Consolidation," Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 17:1, pp. 1-14
- 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
- Andrew Konitzer, "Croatia's party system - From Tuđmanism to EU membership," in EU integration and party politics in the Balkans (2014), pp.13-29
- Igor Bandović and Marko Vujačić, "The European question in Serbia's party politics," in EU integration and party politics in the Balkans (2014), pp. 47-67
- Nenad Zakošek (2008), "Democratization, State-building and War: The Cases of Serbia and Croatia," Democratization, 15:3, pp. 588-610

Recommended reading:

- Dejan Jović, "Turning nationalists into EU supporters: the case of Croatia," in The Western Balkans and the EU: 'the hour of Europe' (2011), pp. 33-45
- Jovan Teokarevic, "Ten years of post-Milosevic transition in Serbia: problems and Prospects," in The Western Balkans and the EU: 'the hour of Europe' (2011), pp. 59-78

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Week X (November 13): Democratization in the eastern Balkans: Bulgaria and Romania

Bulgaria and Romania joined NATO in 2004 and the EU in 2007. Should we regard them as 'consolidated' or 'semi-consolidated' democracies? How do we account for the resurgence of populism in these countries and the region?

- B. Gurov and E. Zankina (2013), "Populism and the Construction of Political Charisma Post-Transition Politics in Bulgaria," Problems of Post-Communism, 60:1, pp. 3-17
- Venelin Ganev (2014), "Bulgaria's Year of Civic Anger," Journal of Democracy, 25:1, pp. 33-44
- Maria Popova (2012), "Why Doesn't the Bulgarian Judiciary Prosecute Corruption?" Problems of Post-Communism, 59:5, pp. 35-49
- Claudiu Craciun, "Romania's Second Democratic Transition," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung International Policy Analysis (January 2017), pp. 1-11
- Cynthia Horne (2015), "Silent Lustration": Public Disclosures as Informal Lustration Mechanisms in Bulgaria and Romania, Problems of Post-Communism, 62:3: pp. 131-144

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Week XI (November 20): Transitional Justice and Reconciliation in the Balkans

The Balkan states have not only had to contend with complicated legacies of communist rule but, in some cases, with the ramifications of post-communist conflicts. How should post-communist and post-conflict societies address the legacies of violence and past injustices? How important is this for reconciliation and democratization?

- Anatoly M. Khazanov & Stanley G. Payne (2008), "How to Deal with the Past?," Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions, 9:2-3, pp. 411-431
- Vjeran Pavlaković (2010), "Croatia, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and General Gotovina as a Political Symbol," Europe-Asia Studies, 62:10, pp. 1707-1738,
- 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
- 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
- "Conflicting Memories: Ethnic Divisions Set in Stone," Balkan Insight, June 25, 2013
- Alina Hogeia (2010), "Coming to Terms with the Communist Past in Romania: An Analysis of the Political and Media Discourse Concerning the Tismăneanu Report," Studies of Transition States and Societies, 2:1: pp. 16-28

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Week XII (November 27): Democratization in the western Balkans: Bosnia-Herzegovina's development since 1995

More than 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 BH take? Can reform come only through international engagement and pressure?

- Rafael Biermann (2014), "Coercive Europeanization: the EU's struggle to contain secessionism in the Balkans," European Security, 23:4, pp. 484-508
- Bodo Weber, Substantial Change on the Horizon? A Monitoring Report on the EU's New Bosnia and Herzegovina Initiative (2017), pp. 1-37
- International Crisis Group (2014), Bosnia's Future, pp. 1-42
- Jeffrey Mankoff, "How to Fix the Western Balkans: European Integration Is Still the Best Path toward Reform," Foreign Affairs, 7 July 2017, pp. 1-7
- Timothy Less, "Dysfunction in the Balkans: Can the Post-Yugoslav Settlement Survive?" Foreign Affairs, 20 December 2016, pp. 1-7

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Week XIII (December 4): Democratization in the western Balkans: The Case of Macedonia

What is the nature of the Macedonian-Albanian conflict and how well has the Ohrid Agreement (2001) worked as a mechanism of state-building and democratic consolidation? What are the causes of Macedonia's recent apparent democratic regression?

- Alan Crosby, "Macedonia at the Crossroads," RFE/RL, April 28, 2017, pp. 1-6

- Christopher S. Chivvis (2008), "The Making of Macedonia," Survival, 50:2, pp. 141-162
- Simonida Kacarska, "The EU in Macedonian party politics - Consolidating and dividing," in EU integration and party politics in the Balkans (2014), pp.69-82
- International Crisis Group (2015), Macedonia: Defusing the Bombs, pp. 1-15
- Valerie Hopkins, "Let Them Eat Alexander the Great Statues," Foreign Policy, 19 June 2016, pp. 1-5

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Week XIII (December 8): The Albanian Question: Kosovo, Albania and relations with Serbia

What have been the implications of an independent Kosovo for the region and for EU foreign and security policy? What are the prospects of a resolution of the Serbia-Kosovo dispute in the near future?

- Big Deal: Split Asunder. Civic Oversight of the Kosovo-Serbia Agreement Implementation (December 2015), pp. 8-59
- International Crisis Group (2013), Serbia and Kosovo: The Path to Normalisation, pp. 1-26
- Etain Tannam (2013), "The EU's Response to the International Court of Justice's Judgment on Kosovo's Declaration of Independence," Europe-Asia Studies, 65:5, pp. 946-964

Recommended reading:

- Stefan Wolff and Annemarie Peen Rodt (2013), "Self-Determination after Kosovo," Europe-Asia Studies 65:5, pp. 799-818

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Classes end on December 8, 2017

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### **Academic Accommodations:**

The Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS) is a centralized collection of learning support services designed to help students achieve their goals and improve their learning both inside and outside the classroom. CSAS offers academic assistance with course content, academic writing and skills development. Visit CSAS on the 4th floor of MacOdrum Library or online at: [www.carleton.ca/csas](http://www.carleton.ca/csas).

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](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send the instructor 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*). **Requests made within two weeks will be**

**reviewed on a case-by-case basis.** After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with the instructor to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website ([www.carleton.ca/pmc](http://www.carleton.ca/pmc)) 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](http://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.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. 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. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 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.