

EURR 4102 / PSCI 4809F
The Balkans since 1989

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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 and society since 1989. Beginning with a discussion of the collapse of Communism in 1989, the seminar analyzes the problematic post-Communist transitions by devoting 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 20%
Participation 20%
Research Proposal 10%
Research Paper 50%

Class Presentation (20%) - 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 (20%) - 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%) – the research proposal should be no longer than four (4) pages. It should (a) identify the topic of your research paper; (b) offer a preliminary thesis to be explored; (c) provide a brief outline; and, (d) provide a preliminary bibliography that has been consulted to date. The proposal should be submitted in proper essay format. The proposal is due on October 7. A late penalty of 2% per day will be assessed, up to a maximum of 10%.

Research Paper (50%) - students are required to submit a research paper on any topic related to the post-1989 Balkans, worth 50% of the overall grade. A list of topics will be distributed to the class, although students may propose alternate subjects. Research papers should be approximately 18 pages (or circa 4,500 words) long and are due on Monday, November 25 (Week XII). Research papers can be submitted either in soft copy (via email) or hard copy (in class), although soft copy is preferred. 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.

Weekly Seminar Schedule:

Week I (September 9): Introduction to the Course

Our introductory class will review the seminar themes, readings, and course objectives.

Week II (September 16): The Revolutions of 1989

This class frames the debate regarding the post-communist transition. First, can we speak of the “Revolutions of 1989” in the Balkans? What was the nature of these Revolutions 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?

- Adrian Pop (2013), “The 1989 Revolutions in Retrospect,” Europe-Asia Studies, 65:2, pp. 347-369

- Robert C. Austin, Making and Remaking the Balkans: Nations and States since 1878 (2019), Ch. 2 (Good News, Bad News: Before and After 1989), pp. 39-66

- 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)
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Week III (September 23): The Fall of Yugoslavia: War and its Implications in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, 1989-2001

How do we account for both the dissolution of Yugoslavia beginning between 1989 and 1992 and the mass violence witnessed during its dissolution? Are the causes of state dissolution rooted in longer term factors or short-term considerations? Why are the states of the former Yugoslavia still grappling with the legacies of the war?

- Mark Biondich, The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878 (2011), Chapter 5, pp. 193-246
 - Marie-Janine Calic, "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991–1995," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 115-146
 - James Gow, "The War in Kosovo, 1998-1999," in Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative (2012), pp. 305-336
 - 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
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Week IV (September 30): The Role of the International Community in the Balkans: The EU and the US

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?

- Toby Vogel (2018), Beyond Enlargement: Why the EU's Western Balkans Policy Needs a Reset, pp. 5-30
 - 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
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Week V (October 7): The Role of the International Community in the Balkans: 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

Week VI (October 14): Thanksgiving Day (University closed/No classes today)

Week VII (October 21): Fall Break (Classes are suspended, October 21-25)

Week VIII (October 28): Democratization in the western Balkans: Croatia and Serbia

Croatia and Serbia are the two largest countries of the western Balkans. 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?

- Vassilis Petsinis, "Competing conservatisms in Serbia and Croatia," Open Democracy, 11 July 2017, pp. 1-4
- Jelena Subotić, "Building Democracy in Serbia: One Step Forward, Three Steps Back," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States (2017), pp. 165-191
- Dunja Melčić, "Building Democracy in Croatia since 1990," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States (2017), pp. 192-215
- 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

Week IX (November 4): 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?

- Claudiu Craciun, "Romania's Second Democratic Transition," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung International Policy Analysis (January 2017), pp. 1-11
- Ioana Burtea, "Divide and Conquer: How Romania Lost the War on Corruption," BIRN, December 6, 2018, pp. 1-10
- European Centre for Press and Media Freedom (2018), Media freedom in Bulgaria, pp. 3-11
- 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
- Cynthia Horne (2015), "Silent Lustration": Public Disclosures as Informal Lustration Mechanisms in Bulgaria and Romania," Problems of Post-Communism, 62:3: pp. 131-144

Week X (November 11): 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 consequences 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
- Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc and Vladimir Petrović, "The Impact of the ICTY on Democratization in the Yugoslav Successor States," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States (2017), pp. 135-162
- Rachel Kerr (2012), "Lost in translation? The ICTY and the legacy of war crimes in the Western Balkans," Centre for International Policy Studies, Policy Brief No. 19, pp. 1-5
- 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

Week XI (November 18): 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?

- Kurt Bassuener, "A Durable Oligarchy: Bosnia and Herzegovina's False Post-War Democratic Transition," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States (2017), pp. 216-255
- 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
- Réjeanne Lacroix, "Will Bosnia and Herzegovina Ever Rise Above Its Ethnic Divisions?" Fair Observer, March 22, 2019

Week XII (November 25): Democratization in the western Balkans: The Case of North Macedonia

Macedonia's transition has been plagued by poor relations with both its neighbour Greece ("name dispute") and its large Albanian minority. 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?

- Ivan Nikolovski, "Europe Must Speak with One Voice on North Macedonia," BIRN, June 3, 2019
- Sabrina Ramet, "Macedonia's Post-Yugoslav Reality: Corruption, Wiretapping, and Stolen Elections," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States, pp. 287-320
- Alan Crosby, "Macedonia at the Crossroads," RFE/RL, April 28, 2017, pp. 1-6
- 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

Week XIII (December 2): 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?

- Bárbara Matias (2019), "An Analysis of the Recent Developments in the Kosovo-Serbia Dialogue: A perspective from Brussels," Group for Legal and Political Studies Policy Analysis, pp. 4-12
- Vladimir Đorđević, "Building Democracy in the Western Balkans: The Case of Kosovo," in Building Democracy in the Yugoslav Successor States (2017), pp. 321-344
- Big Deal: Split Asunder. Civic Oversight of the Kosovo-Serbia Agreement Implementation (2015), pp. 8-59
- 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

Week XIII (December 6; Last Class):

Because of the Monday schedule and in order to make up for the absence of a Thanksgiving Day class, we will end the seminar on Friday, December 6. The instructor's office hour and the class time will be set aside for the return and discussion of seminar research papers.

Classes end on December 6, 2017

Academic Accommodations:

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

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 to 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.