Nation-Building in the Balkans

Political Science 6362.10, Spring 2015
Wednesday 5:10 – 7:00pm
(2020 K street, Room 20)

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Office hours: Monday 1:30 - 2:15pm and Wednesday 3:45 - 5pm

Course Goals and Description
This is a class on nation-building in the Balkans. The first half of the course is designed to provide you with basic historical knowledge on the region and an overview of “unfinished business” in contemporary Balkans. In the second half of the course, we focus on the various nation-building policies Balkan nation-states have pursued toward different non-core groups over the 19th and 20th centuries. State policies have ranged from deportation and killings, to forced assimilation or even accommodation. The main emphasis of the class is to understand the logic behind these policy choices and evaluate their consequences. Toward the end of the semester we study “third-party nation-building” conducted by international organizations in the Western Balkans.

During the semester students are introduced to the research tools they need to conduct original research. Students also learn how to formulate research questions and test hypotheses. Issues of falsifiability and external validity of arguments will be discussed. Using the reading material we will discuss various research methods (how to collect relevant data) and designs (how to maximize the information we can get from the available data). Every student will be required to write a research or policy paper on some aspect of nation-building in the Balkans using primary sources (archives, newspapers, parliamentary debates, memoirs, interviews, NGO reports).

Course Outline
WEEK 1 (January 14). What is Nation-Building?
WEEK 2 (January 21). “Unfinished Business” in the Balkans
WEEK 3 (January 28). The Geography and Peoples of the Balkans
WEEK 4 (February 4). Making Nation-States in the Balkans
WEEK 6 (February 18). No class- ISA conference
WEEK 7 (February 25). Non-Violent Policies: Assimilation and Accommodation
WEEK 8 (March 4). Midterm
WEEK 9 (March 18). Research Design
WEEK 10 (March 25). Domestic
WEEK 11 (April 1). International
WEEK 12 (April 8). Third Party Nation-Building in the Balkans
WEEK 13 (April 15). EU enlargement in the Balkans
WEEK 14 (April 22). No class-ASN conference
WEEK 15 (April 28). Make up day I - Student Presentations
WEEK 15 (April 29). Make up day II - Student Presentations

Final paper due on May 10
Texts
There are 5 books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or online). All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.


Recommended Books:

Blackboard:
This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

Course Requirements:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tr>
<td>Short Presentations</td>
<td>January 21 and March 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two memos</td>
<td>March 25 and April 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outline of final paper</td>
<td>April 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper Presentations</td>
<td>April 28 and April 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Paper due on</td>
<td>May 10</td>
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Learning Outcomes:
As a result of completing this course, students will:
1. Become familiar with the complexities of Balkan history and contemporary politics.
2. Learn how to assess writings on national history and be alert to propaganda.
3. Understand the origins of national identities.
4. Understand events caused by nationalist ideas.
5. Compose a publishable article on the topic.
6. Improve your presentation skills.
Class Policies
The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

Attendance
Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please don’t bring food. Cell phones must be turned off. Laptop volume must be set to “mute.”

Grading
There are four components to your grade:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two memos</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Paper</td>
<td>(40%)</td>
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Late Work - Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide written documentation (such as a doctor’s note if you are ill), and you must communicate with me before the assignment is due (i.e., emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me before the assignment is due.

Policy on Religious Holidays - You should notify me during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays.

Academic Integrity - By taking this course, you are agreeing to abide by the University’s Code of Academic Integrity. It states: “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” For the remainder of the code, see: http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html

If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy the Writing Center (http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/) can provide assistance on citation or other aspects of writing papers. Claiming ignorance about how or when to cite sources is not an excuse for academic dishonesty.

Support for Students outside the classroom
DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)
Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300
The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:
- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals

http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

Security
To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity call the GW Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon). If the line is unavailable, dial 911.

Your first reaction in an emergency should be to stay where you are. Evacuate only if you hear the fire alarm or someone instructs you to evacuate. If you are outdoors during an incident, proceed into the closest GW building unless you are told to do otherwise. No matter where you are on campus, the basic steps of “sheltering in place” are:

- **Shelter - in - place** in an interior room, above ground level, and with the fewest windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary. Shut and lock all windows (locking will form a tighter seal), close exterior doors, and stay away from glass doors and windows. Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able (Facilities staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible). Make a list of the people with you and call the list in to GWPD (see numbers above) so they know where you are.

Visit GW Campus Advisories [http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu](http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu) or call the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050 for incident updates. If possible, turn on a radio or television and listen for further instructions. If your email address or mobile device is registered with Alert DC, check for alert notifications. Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

**Evacuation** - We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds or if the building we are in becomes unsafe. In the event of an evacuation, please quickly gather your personal belongings (purse, keys, cell phone, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Do not use the elevator.

**Alert DC** - Alert DC provides free notification by email or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, please share the information immediately.

**GW Alert** - GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. You are encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how. Additional Information about emergency preparedness at GW can be found on GW Campus Advisories [http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu](http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu)
Course Schedule:

WEEK 1 (January 14). **What is Nation-Building?**

In this class we will discuss the terms state, nation, nationalism, patriotism, identity, ethnicity, religion, race and of course “Nation-Building”. The main goal is to understand how important conceptualization is in understanding social phenomena.

**Required Reading:**

Gellner, pp. 1-7.


**Recommended Reading on Concepts and Definitions:**


**The Contemporary Problems**

WEEK 2 (January 21). **Unfinished Business** in the Balkans

This week we are going to highlight the problems related to nation-building that still exist in the Balkans. Including geopolitical competition, bilateral disputes, EU integration, minority rights, etc.

Look at the readings below, pick one country or interstate dispute and prepare a 7-minute presentation.

**Geopolitics**
The Western Balkans and the EU: 'the hour of Europe'

US Policy and the Balkans

Bilateral Disputes
-Unfinished Business: The Western Balkans and the International Community
-The Kosovo Issue [Serbia- Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99]
http://www.state.gov/video/?videoid=207638641001
http://fpc.state.gov/145040.htm
-Bosnia and Herzegovina [Republica Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina]
-The Macedonian Name Dispute [Greece-FYROM]
http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/b52_macedonias_name___breaking_the_deadlock.ashx
-Cyprus Occupation [Turkey-Cyprus]
-The Slovenian-Croatian Border Dispute [Slovenia-Croatia]

THE HISTORY
WEEK 3 (January 28). The Geography and Peoples of the Balkans
What was the Ottoman system of rule like? -When did "the Balkans" come about? What defines them as a geographical region? -What were the various nation-building policies pursued in the Balkans? How does Mazower explain the use of these policies? Provide examples.-Are Balkan countries more violent than other countries in Europe?

(Ideally you will read the whole book, otherwise definitely read the Intro and Chapter 4)

STATE-BUILDING IN THE BALKANS
WEEK 4 (February 4). Making Nation-States in the Balkans
Where did the modern Balkan states come from? How were they created? - "Who" is planning nation-building policies within these nation-states? - "Who" decides what is the core group? - How do non-core group categories emerge?
Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:
Hechter, Chapter 5

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Suggested Film “America America” (Ottoman Empire)
NATION-BUILDING POLICIES


Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:
Laura Silber and Allan Little, Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 25-91

WEEK 6 (February 18). No class - ISA

WEEK 7 (February 25). Non-Violent Policies: Assimilation and Accommodation

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:

Suggested Documentary Film “Technology of Evil” (Bulgaria)

WEEK 8 (March 4). Midterm

Pick one country and prepare a 10-minute presentation: 1. Describe the relevant actors (core group, non-core groups), 2. Describe the various policies described in the readings. 3. Describe
the main arguments the emerge from the readings. 4. Conclude with an assessment of the success of the policies pursued.

Bulgaria:

Greece:

Romania:

Turkey:

Yugoslavia:

Suggested Film “Lamerica” (Albania)
WEEK 9 (March 18). Research Design

We will discuss how to identify empirical puzzles, formulate research questions and test hypotheses. Issues of falsifiability and external validity of arguments will be discussed. We also will discuss various research methods (how to collect relevant data) and designs (how to maximize the information we can get from the available data).

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:

Suggested Film "Lawrence of Arabia" (Ottoman Empire)

WEEK 10 (March 25). Domestic

A. Groups Attributes, Past Conflict, and Emotions

B. Regime Type, Elites, and Political Ideologies

Recommended:
Banac, Ivo. “Political Change and National Diversity”

Yugoslavia:
[Chapters 12, 13, 14]
[Chapters 16, 17]

Bulgaria:

Romania:

**Note:** By now, you should have decided which part of the Balkans you will write your paper on and what specific aspect of nation-building you would like to explain (e.g. success or failure of a national movement, spatial variation in the spread of national ideology within a country, variation in the treatment of different national minorities within a country, variation in the treatment of the same national minority across different countries, degree of national integration of a nation-state, intensity of national sentiments, etc.).

**Memo 1:** Write a memo with your empirical puzzle, research question, and a description of the dependent variable. You will have to turn in a bibliography of sources. Email me a copy by 10pm on March 19 (not more than 1 page single spaced).

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Suggested Film “Attilas 1974” (Cyprus)

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**WEEK 11 (April 1). International**

**A. Geopolitics and War**


**Recommended Reading:**


**B. Norms, Migrations, and Transnational Networks**


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Memo 2: Building on memo 1, write a memo describing how you would operationalize the key independent and dependent variables. Say something about the tradeoffs, if any, involved in the operationalizations that you propose. Make sure you also include a section where you justify your case selection. Email me a copy by 10pm on March 26 (not more than 2 pages single spaced).

To clarify what I want you to do in this memo I will give you an example:

Assume that my research question is: What accounts for the variation in the treatment of different groups or provinces by the same government in a country at time zero (T₀, e.g. First years that the country was created...)? The dependent variable (in other words, what I want to explain) is the different treatment, the policies across groups or provinces...So I have to look for the various policies implemented by the state or local administration toward different populations or regions or the territorial unit I am studying. I have to decide a way to categorize the various policies (i.e. educational, economic, etc.) and measure their intensity (e.g. non-violent, violent, extremely violent, etc). The independent variables will be factors that can help me understand why one group is treated differently than another one (similarly with provinces/villages, etc). Now once I come up with some factors that explain the variation in state policies then I can formulate them as hypotheses. For e.g. if I think that "being close to the borders" matters, then I can say H1: When a group is close to the borders then I expect the state to follow more intense nationalization strategies...etc. In this memo I want you to do something similar with the questions you are interested in...

Suggested Film “When father was away on Business” (Yugoslavia)


**Recommended Reading:**

**WEEK 13 (April 15). EU enlargement in the Balkans**

-- Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Official Candidates)
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/

-- Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99, (…Potential Candidates with “a prospect for joining”)
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/

**Required:**


**WEEK 14 (April 22). No Class- ASN Annual World Convention**

**Suggested Film “Pretty Village, Pretty Flame” (Yugoslavia)**

**WEEK 15 (April 28). Make up day - Student Presentations**

**Suggested Films “Attilas ’74” (Cyprus), “Ararat” (Ottoman Empire)**

Final Papers Due by **May 10, 2013.**