

## **Nation-Building in the Balkans**

### **Political Science 6362.10, Spring 2015**

Wednesday 5:10 – 7:00pm  
(2020 K street, Room 20)

Harris Mylonas  
406 Hall of Government (2115 G St)  
E-mail: mylonas@gwu.edu  
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 5 (February 11). Violent Policies: Ethnic Cleansing, Population Exchanges  
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.

Mazower, Mark. 2000. *The Balkans: a short history*. New York: Modern Library.

Clark, Bruce. 2007. *Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey*. London: Granta Books.

Mazower, Mark. 2004. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers.

Charles King. 2014. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### *Recommended Books:*

Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. *History of the Balkans, Vols. 1 and 2*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press.

Jenne, Erin K. 2006. *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Glenny, Misha. 1999. *The Balkans, 1804-1999: nationalism, war and the great powers*. London: Granta Books.

Kaplan, Robert D. 1994 [1993]. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. Vintage Books.

Magosci, Paul Robert. 2002. *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*. University of Washington Press.

Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

## **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:**

<i>Short Presentations</i>	January 21 and March 4
<i>Two memos</i>	March 25 and April 1
<i>Outline of final paper</i>	April 16
<i>Paper Presentations</i>	April 28 and April 29
<i>Final Paper due on</i>	May 10

## **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:

Participation	(20%)
Two memos	(20%)
Presentations	(20%)
Final Paper	(40%)

**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> 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>

## 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:**

Renan, Ernest. 1995. “What is a Nation?” in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds) *The Nationalism Reader*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 143-155.

Gellner, pp. 1-7.

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Preface)

Carolyn Stephenson. 2005. “Nation-Building”. Available at:

[http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/nation\\_building/](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/nation_building/)

Dobbins, James; Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Beth Cole DeGrasse. 2007. *The Beginner’s Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. (Read the **Foreword** and the **Summary**). Available at:

[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND\\_MG557.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG557.pdf)

#### **Recommended Reading on Concepts and Definitions:**

Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapter 1.

Connor, Walker. 1994. “When is a Nation?” Chapter 9 of *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 210-226.

Weber, Max. 1996. “Ethnic Groups,” in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 52-56.

Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: MacMillan, 1944), Chapter 1.

Frederik Barth, “Introduction,” in Frederik Barth, ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), 9-38.

Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1986) 174-208.

Paul Robert Magocsi, “The Use of History,” Chapter 5 in *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus’, 1848-1948* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 105-129 and Appendix II, “Comparative Biographies”.

Kanchan Chandra and David Laitin, “A Framework for Thinking About Identity Change,” unpublished mimeo, May 11 2002.

Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Chapter 1.

## 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'

Available at: <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-western-balkans-and-the-eu-the-hour-of-europe/>

### **US Policy and the Balkans**

Philip H. Gordon (Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs). 2012.

“U.S. Policy Toward the Balkans,” Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C. (November 13).

Available at: <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2012/200553.htm> ; Also watch the video:

<http://www.acus.org/event/us-policy-toward-balkans-discussion-philip-gordon>

### **Bilateral Disputes**

#### **-Unfinished Business: The Western Balkans and the International Community**

Available at: [http://transatlantic.sais-](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/publications/books/Unfinished%20Business%20Pdf/Unfinished_Business.pdf)

[jhu.edu/publications/books/Unfinished%20Business%20Pdf/Unfinished\\_Business.pdf](http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/publications/books/Unfinished%20Business%20Pdf/Unfinished_Business.pdf)

#### **-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>

<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/main/comment/29723/>

[http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/world/20071209\\_KOSOVO\\_FEATURE/index.html](http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/world/20071209_KOSOVO_FEATURE/index.html)

#### **-Bosnia and Herzegovina [Republica Srbska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina]**

<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/main/comment/23797/>

#### **-The Macedonian Name Dispute [Greece-FYROM]**

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/b52\\_macedonias\\_name\\_\\_\\_breaking\\_the\\_deadlock.ashx](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/b52_macedonias_name___breaking_the_deadlock.ashx)

[http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/eliamep-thesis-3\\_2009-kofos.pdf](http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/eliamep-thesis-3_2009-kofos.pdf)

Thomas Meaney and Harris Mylonas. "The Name Game," *Foreign Policy*, July 23 2009.

Harris Mylonas. 2009. "What's in a name? Quite a lot actually," *The Balkans-An International Affairs Forum Special Report*, published by the Center for International Relations, Fall, pp. 58-60.

#### **-Cyprus Occupation [Turkey-Cyprus]**

<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/turkey-accession-cyprus/article-135940>

#### **-The Slovenian-Croatian Border Dispute [Slovenia-Croatia]**

<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/slovenian-vote-clears-croatia-s-main-obstacle-eu-accession-news-494916>

## 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?*

Mazower, Mark. 2000. *The Balkans: a short history*. New York: Modern Library.

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

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 3)

## 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:**

Banac, Ivo. 1993. "Nationalism in Southeastern Europe," in *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*, pp. 107-21, 207-8.

**Recommended Reading:**

Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. *History of the Balkans, Vol. 1*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press. [Introduction, Chapters: 1, 4, 5, 7, Conclusion].

Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. *History of the Balkans, Vol. 2*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 3, 5].

Jelavich, Charles & Barbara Jelavich. 1977. *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Judah, Tim. 2000. *The Serbs: History, Myth, & the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Chapters 4, 5, 6]

Gerolymatos, Andre. 2002. *The Balkan Wars: Conquest, Revolution, and Retribution from the Ottoman Era to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Basic Books.

Glenny, Misha. 1999. *The Balkans, 1804-1999: nationalism, war and the great powers*. London: Granta Books.

Hechter, *Chapter 5*

Hupchick, Dennis P. and Harold E. Cox. 2001. *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of The Balkans*. New York: Palgrave. [Map 25-35]

Hupchick, Dennis P. 2002. *The Balkans: from Constantinople to communism*. New York: Palgrave.

Lampe, John R. 2006. *Balkans into Southeastern Europe: a century of war and transition*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pavlowitch, Stevan K. 1999. *A History of the Balkans, 1804-1945*. Longman.

Seton-Watson, R.W. 1966 [1917]. *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*. New York: Howard Fertig.

Shaw, Stanford J. 1974 [1963]. "The Ottoman view of the Balkans," in Charles Jelavich & Barbara Jelavich (eds.). *The Balkans in Transition. Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century*. Archon Books, pp. 56-80.

Stavrianos, L.S. 2000 [c1958]. *The Balkans since 1453*. London: Hurst.

Stoianovich, Traian. 1994. *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe. [Introduction, Chapters 4-8].

*The Other Balkan Wars: 1914 Carnegie Endowment Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*. 1993. A Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Ülker, Erol. 2005. 'Contextualising 'Turkification': Nation-building in the late Ottoman Empire, 1908-18', *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (4), pp. 613-636.

McGarry, John and Brandan O'Leary. 1994. "The Political Regulation of National and Ethnic Conflict," *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 47: 94-115.

Rothschild, Joseph. 1974. *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. [Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8]

Todorova, Maria (ed). 2004. *Balkan identities: nation and memory*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press.

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Suggested Film "America America" (Ottoman Empire)

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## NATION-BUILDING POLICIES

### WEEK 5 (February 11). **Violent Policies: Ethnic Cleansing, Population Exchanges**

#### **Required Reading:**

Clark, Bruce. 2007. *Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey*. London: Granta Books.

Mazower, Mark. 2004. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers. [Chapter 17, 18]

**Watch:** [http://fora.tv/2007/10/18/A\\_Troubling\\_History\\_of\\_Ethnic\\_Conflict](http://fora.tv/2007/10/18/A_Troubling_History_of_Ethnic_Conflict)

#### **Recommended Reading:**

The Ethnic Cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Staff Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1992.

Bax, Mart. 2000. "Warlords, priests and the politics of ethnic cleansing: a case-study from rural Bosnia Hercegovina," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1: 16-36.

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2009. *Territorial Conflict and Ethnic Cleansing*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.

Kontogiorgi, Elisabeth. 2006. *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia. The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922-1930*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ladas, Spethen P. 1932. *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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

Vickers, Miranda. *Between Serb and Albanian*. London: Hurst & Company, 1998.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2006. "Ethnic Exclusion in Nationalizing States," in Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Sage.

### WEEK 6 (February 18). **No class - ISA**

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

#### **Required Reading:**

Charles King. 2014. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*, W. W. Norton & Company.

Darden, Keith. Forthcoming. *Resisting Occupation in Eurasia*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Posen, Barry. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power," *International Security* 18, 2: 80-124.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "Elementary strategies of ethnic boundary making," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 31 No. 6: 1025-1055.

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Suggested Documentary Film "Technology of Evil" (Bulgaria)

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### 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:

Neuburger, Mary. 1997. "Bulgaro-Turkish Encounters and the Re-imaging of the Bulgarian Nation," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 31, Issue. 1: 1-18.

Dimitrov, Vesselin. 2000. *In Search of a Homogeneous Nation: The Assimilation of Bulgaria's Turkish Minority, 1984-1985. Journal of Ethnopolitics and minority Issues in Europe.*

Greece:

Karakasidou, Anastasia. 1993. "Politicizing Culture: Negating Ethnic Identity in Greek Macedonia," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 11:1, pp.1-28.

Rossos, Andrew and P. H. Evans. 1991. "The Macedonians of Aegean Macedonia: A British Officer's Report, 1944," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2: 282-309.

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 6)

Tsitselikis, Konstantinos. 2007. "The Pending Modernization of Islam in Greece: From Millet to Minority Status," *Südosteuropa*, 55, 4: 354-372.

Romania:

Livezeanu, Irina. 1995. *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Bulding & Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. [Introduction, Chapters 1 and 4].

Iordachi, Constantin. 2004. "Dual Citizenship and Policies toward Kin-Minorities in east-Central Europe: A Comparison between Hungary, Romania and the Republic of Moldova". In *The Hungarian Status Law: Nation Building and/or Minority Protection*, edited by Zoltán Kántor, Balázs Majtényi, Osamu Ieda, Balázs Vizi, and Iván Halász, pp. 239-269.

Turkey:

Çağaptay, Soner. 2004. "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (3): 86-101.

Ülker, Erol. 2007. "Assimilation of the Muslim communities in the first decade of the Turkish Republic (1923-1934)", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*. Available at: <http://ejts.revues.org/822>

Akturk, Sener. 2007. "Continuity and Change in the Regimes of Ethnicity in Austria, Germany, USSR/Russia, and Turkey: Varieties of Ethnic Regimes and Hypotheses for Change", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol.35, No.1: 23-24, 39-43.

Yugoslavia:

Shoup, Paul. 1963. "Yugoslavia's National Minorities under Communism," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1: 64-81.

Malcolm, Noel. 1998. *Kosovo: a Short History*. New York: New York University Press. [Chapter 14]

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 7).

Briza, Jan. 2000. *Minority Rights in Yugoslavia*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

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Suggested Film "Lamerica" (Albania)

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## 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:**

- King, Gary, Keohane, Robert, and Verba, Sidney. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton University Press, ch. 1.
- Barbara Geddes. 1990. "How the Cases you Choose Affect the Answers you Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics," *Political Analysis* 2: 131-50.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1994. "Compare Why and How. Comparing, Miscomparing and the Comparative Method," In Mattei Doggan and Ali Kazancigil (eds.), *Comparing Nations*, Blackwell: 14-34.

### **Recommended Reading:**

- Fearon, James. 1991. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," *World Politics*, 43 (2), January: 169-95.
- Robert Adcock and David Collier, "Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 95 (September 2001), pp. 529-546.

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Suggested Film " Lawrence of Arabia" (Ottoman Empire)

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## THE EXPLANATIONS

### WEEK 10 (March 25). **Domestic**

#### **A. Groups Attributes, Past Conflict, and Emotions**

- Loizos, Peter. 1988. "Intercommunal Killing in Cyprus," *Man*, 23: 639-653.

#### **B. Regime Type, Elites, and Political Ideologies**

- Glaurdic, Josip. 2009. "Inside the Serbian War Machine: The Milošević Telephone Intercepts, 1991-1992," *East European Politics and Societies*, 23: 86-104
- Mavrogordatos, George Th. 1983. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 4 and 5.
- Mazower, Mark. 2004. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers. [Chapter 21]

### **Recommended:**

- Kaplan, Robert D. 1994 [1993]. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. Vintage Books. [pages 3-70].
- Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press. [Intro, Chapters 1-4, 10-11]
- Banac, Ivo. "Political Change and National Diversity"

### Yugoslavia:

- Judah, Tim. 2000. *The Serbs: History, Myth, & the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Chapters 9-17]

Malcolm, Noel. 1994. *Bosnia: a Short History*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.  
[Chapters 12, 13, 14]  
Malcolm, Noel. 1998. *Kosovo: a Short History*. New York: New York University Press.  
[Chapters 16, 17]

Bulgaria:

Bell, John D. 1977. *Peasants in Power: Alexander Stamboliski and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 1888-1293*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Romania:

Livezeanu, Irina. 1995. *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building & Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

*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**

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1 and 2)

**Recommended Reading:**

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2009. *Territorial Conflict and Ethnic Cleansing*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.

Jenne, Erin K.. 2006. "Ethnic Bargaining in the Balkans: Secessionist Kosovo Versus Integrationist Vojvodina," *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

V.P. Gagnon, Jr. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168.

Anderson, Perry. 2008. "The Divisions of Cyprus," *London Review of Books*. Available at: [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n08/ande01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n08/ande01_.html)

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

Kymlicka, Will. 2005. "National Minorities in Post-Communist Europe: The Role of International Norms and European Integration" in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser (eds). *Ethnic Politics After Communism*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 191-217.

Koksal, Yonca. 2010. "Transnational Networks and Kin States: Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1940," *Nationalities Papers*.

**Recommended Reading:**

- Finnemore, Martha. 2003. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*, Cornell University Press, Chapter 3.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2002. "Multiculturalism and Minority Rights: West and East", *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* (JEMIE), issue #4: 1-25.  
[http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/special\\_4\\_2002.html](http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/special_4_2002.html)
- Kymlicka, Will. 2008. "The Internationalization of Minority Rights", *ICON: International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6/1 (2008), pp. 1-32.
- Misha Glenny. 1992. *The Fall of Yugoslavia*. New York: Penguin.
- Ron, James. 2003. *Frontiers and Ghettos. State Violence in Serbia and Israel*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. [Introduction and Part I]
- Todorova, Maria. 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**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 (T<sub>0</sub>, 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...*

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Suggested Film "When father was away on Business" (Yugoslavia)

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**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING****WEEK 12 (April 8). Third Party Nation-Building in the Balkans****Required Reading:**

Woodward, Susan. 2002. "On War and Peace-Building: Unfinished Legacy of the 1990s", in *Understanding September 11*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer. SRC and The New Press. Available at:

[http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/woodward\\_text\\_only.htm](http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/woodward_text_only.htm)

James Dobbins, John G. McGinn, Keith Crane, Seth G. Jones, Rollie Lal, Andrew Rathmell, Rachel M. Swanger, Anga R. Timilsina. *America's Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq*. RAND Corporation. Chapters 6 and 7. Available at:

[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1753/MR1753.ch6.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/MR1753.ch6.pdf)

[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1753/MR1753.ch7.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/MR1753.ch7.pdf)

James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Christopher S. Chivvis, Andrew Radin, F. Stephen Larrabee, Nora Bensahel, Brooke Stearns Lawson, Benjamin W. Goldsmith. 2008. *Europe's Role in Nation-Building: From the Balkans to the Congo*. RAND Corporation. Chapters 2 and 4. Available at:

[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND\\_MG722.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG722.pdf)

**Recommended Reading:**

Campbell, Gregory F.. 2000. *The Road to Kosovo: A Balkan Diary*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Carter, F.W. and H.T. Norris (eds). 1996. *The Changing Shape of the Balkans*. Westview.

Crampton, R. J. 2002. *The Balkans since the Second World War*. London; New York: Longman.

Dobbins, James; Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltschik, Anga R. Timilsina. 2005. *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq*. RAND Corporation

Judah, Tim. 2000. *Kosovo: War and Revenge*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kumar, Radha, 1997. *Divide and Fall? Bosnia in the Annals of Partition*. Verso.

Malcolm, Noel. 1998. *Kosovo: a Short History*. New York: New York University Press.

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:**

Harris Mylonas. 2012. "The Future of Euro-Atlantic Integration in the Western Balkans", in Alexander Schmemmann and Cory Welt (eds.). *Bridging Divides in Eastern Europe*. Washington, DC: PONARS Eurasia.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL. Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2012-2013.

Brussels, 10.10.2012, COM(2012) 600. (skim)

[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2012/package/strategy\\_paper\\_2012\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/strategy_paper_2012_en.pdf)

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

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Suggested Film "Pretty Village, Pretty Flame" (Yugoslavia)

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

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Suggested Films "Attilas '74" (Cyprus), "Ararat" (Ottoman Empire)

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