GOVT 150: WAR AND PEACE IN THE BALKANS

Fall 2020
Instructor: Paula M. Pickering
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Office Hours: Wednesdays: 11:30-1, Thursdays: 10-11:30, and by appointment

How can we explain the periods of violence and the peace that have occurred among diverse peoples in the Balkan states? Do culture and history predispose the diverse peoples of the Balkans to violence and non-democratic regimes? Or, will new generations and integration into the European Union promote democracy in the region? What role do politicians, institutions, and citizens play in inter-ethnic relations and in shaping public policy? How effective have been efforts by the international community to promote a stable peace? The conflict that has occurred in parts of the Balkans has generated the most severe violence that Europe has experienced since WWII. Understanding the factors contributing to the violence should help lead to an understanding of how best to prevent violence and address the aftermath, not just in the Balkans but also in other regions of the world that have recently experienced violence among communal groups.

COURSE GOALS. The main goal of this course is to improve the ability of students to formulate clear and logical written and oral arguments that are supported by systematically gathered evidence. This course encourages students to think scientifically and critically about readings. And finally, this course seeks to expand students’ knowledge of political developments in the Balkans and of the ways in which politicians affect inter-ethnic relations. This course satisfies W&M’s lower-division writing requirement, which is designed to help freshmen improve their writing skills. The philosophy of this course is that students learn most by doing. So we will write often and actively engage in discussion. For the research paper, students will be able to explore their curiosity by choosing their research topic. We will emphasize the process of writing by working on several stages of this process: the development of a thesis and a research plan, the writing of a draft, and the editing of a draft into a final paper. The writing of a draft and a final paper gives students the opportunity to receive feedback and to respond to it. This allows the crafting an improved paper. In addition to learning from readings, we will also view multiple documentary films in class and engage in a simulation and/or debate on international intervention into the region.

Active and informed class participation (18% of the course grade). Students are expected to attend class and to participate in an active and informed way in discussion. This means that students should come to class having completed, and having thought critically about, the required readings. Specifically, students should be prepared to discuss questions posed for each class and to discuss the authors’ arguments, the evidence the authors provide, how well the authors’ arguments hold up against alternative arguments, and how the readings relate to other course readings. Students will be expected to offer specific evidence to support their arguments. As a result, students must bring readings to class. Student preparation is also critical because the course is a small seminar that features discussion; this is not a lecture course. I also encourage students to ask questions about the readings. (See last page of the syllabus for more information on evaluating participation and any adjustment needed in the event that William & Mary shifts all classes online.)

Due to the pandemic and William & Mary’s rules for faculty, staff, and students that protect the safety of the William & Mary community, all students in this course are required to adhere to the practices specified in the University’s Healthy Together Community Statement (https://www.wm.edu/sites/pathforward/health/index.php). During this class, students are required to wear a mask and observe an appropriate social distance—>.6Ft.— from others at all times. Following these practices is the best way that we can keep each other safe and still engage in face-to-face learning. A student not following these practices will not be able to stay in the classroom. If a student becomes ill, he or she, after getting medical attention, should communicate immediately with me so that we can work together and with W&M staff on coursework.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS:
• Each student will prepare two reaction papers (three double spaced pages each) that critically and creatively reflect on readings for that day. While they may include a brief (one paragraph) summary, reaction papers must be much more than summaries. These are analytical pieces, rather than descriptive or opinion pieces. These papers should include a thesis statement, raise interesting ideas and/or questions for class discussion, and demonstrate that you have thought critically about the readings. The strongest papers have a comparative aspect. They either
compare an argument in one reading to that of another reading in that week, a previous week, or even another class (citation required). Or, they compare one author’s argument to a discussion that we have had in class or to a recent news analysis. Another possibility is to stress a common theme in several readings. Or, in your reaction, you might critically evaluate an argument or several by drawing on the work of an author or two. Issues that can be addressed include, “Does he or she marshal convincing evidence to support the thesis?” If not, how might the argument be improved? These will be spread throughout the course; a sign-up sheet will be distributed at the beginning of the course. Each student should bring his/her/their reaction paper to, and be exceptionally actively involved in, the class that discusses the readings. Several examples will be posted on blackboard. These papers are due to me 24 hours before class. These papers and ONLY these papers may be submitted by e-mail. However, the student should not consider the paper to have been successfully received until he/she/they receives an e-mail confirmation by the instructor. Otherwise, the student must submit it to Professor Pickering’s office by the deadline. (22%)

- A **one-page, in-class commentary** on the film by Tone Brinja, *We are all Neighbors*. Due 10/5 (5%).
- Find a recent article from local media in the Balkans (for example, see Access World News available via Swem website) that provides a different perspective on transitional justice than the analysis provided by either the Trbovc and Petrovic article or the Ristic’s film. Provide a one half page of bullet points not summarizing the article but articulating how the article **differently treats transitional justice** and what these differences suggest about efforts to work toward sustainable peace. Due 11/4. (3%)
- A 10-12-page research paper in which the student conducts original research that he/she/they selects and deals with one of the major themes rooted in the Balkans that is covered in this course. This paper must contain a thesis that is supported by empirical evidence and logical argumentation. The writing of the research paper includes: a **two-paged proposal** (due 10/2, 6%) a **full first draft** (due 10/21, 24%), and a **full revision** (due 11/23 at 12 p.m., 22%). The final paper, which is in lieu of a final exam, must represent a significant revision of the draft that takes into serious consideration the instructor’s comments on the draft. Students should also incorporate at least one change that they develop on their own. These changes need to be highlighted in an approximately one-paged, bullet-pointed memo that accompanies your final paper. In your final paper “track-changes” should identify your edits since the draft.

No student may pass this class without satisfying each and every segment of the above requirements. Any student who receives a “C-” or better in this course will have satisfied the lower-division writing requirement. Please read and follow the Honor Code:

https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/communityvalues/studenthandbook/honor_system/index.php.

To ensure fairness, I will not accept late papers without a note from the Dean of Students. I may make minor adjustments to the syllabus in order to improve the course or adjust it to health conditions. During class, computers must be used only for class purposes and cell phones/PDAs must be turned completely off. The last day to withdraw from a course is **October 12**.

I encourage students to come talk with me during my office hours to discuss material; ideas and sources for, as well as steps in completing, your research papers, alert me to special learning needs, or pose any questions about readings, lectures, or assignments. I am here to help you learn about how to do your best in War and Peace in the Balkans.


For guidance and assistance with writing, please contact the W&M Writing Resources Center, [http://www.wm.edu/as/wrc/](http://www.wm.edu/as/wrc/). William & Mary accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student who feels they may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility Services staff at 757-221-2512 or at sas@wm.edu to determine if accommodations are warranted and to obtain an official letter of accommodation. For more information, please see [www.wm.edu/sas](http://www.wm.edu/sas).

**Required texts:**

MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE VS. NATION-STATE
8/19, “INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE”

8/24, “WHAT AND WHERE ARE THE BALKANS?” How are the historical experiences of the Balkan region of Eastern Europe different from those of West European states? Why is it important to understand Western stereotypes of the Balkans? What are the benefits of thinking scientifically?

- Mark Mazower, The Balkans: A Short History, maps, pp. xxv-xxxviii; xxxviii (1st full para.)-xliii. [our first book]

8/26, “INTER-COMMUNAL RELATIONS BEFORE NATIONS and IN EARLY ATTEMPTS AT ‘NATION-STATES.’” How did the peoples of the Balkans define themselves before the spread of the idea of the “nation?” How did the different Balkan peoples get along during this time period? Why did the Balkan countries’ attempts to build sovereign nation-states fail in between WWI and WWII?

- Mark Mazower, The Balkans: A Short History, pp. 48-9; 54-69, 115-130.

8/31, “WWII.” “What factors encouraged nationalist extremists in WWII and what were obstacles to achieving extremists’ vision? How clear were identity groups during the genocide in WWII Sarajevo?


9/2, “THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNISM.” Why and how was communist rule established in the Balkans after WWII? How unique was the establishment and impact of the communist takeover in Yugoslavia?


9/7, “COMMUNISM’ IN PRACTICE.” What were the strengths and weaknesses of communist economic and political policies? What were the varying policies that Romania and Bulgaria used to manage diversity?

- Mazower, pp. 132-140.

9/9, “THE VIOLENT COLLAPSE OF YUGOSLAVIA.” Compare the types of evidence that Drakulic and Stokes use to explain the collapse of Yugoslavia. How did Communist Yugoslavia’s policies for managing diversity differ from Romania & Bulgaria’s?


EXITING SOCIALISM: TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY OR ITS ALTERNATIVES
9/14, “IMPORTANT CHOICES IN TRANSITION AWAY FROM SOCIALISM” What are the challenges that South East European countries face in building democracies? What choices did political leaders make to exacerbate relations between ethnic-based nations?

9/16, “NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL TRANSITION” Why did the idea of the ethnic-based nation become so politically important after the fall of communist rule?

CASES OF NON-VIOLENT AND VIOLENT CONFLICT DURING POST-SOCIALISM
9/21, “ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.” Are the data that Gagnon uses to portray relations among ethnic groups in socialist Yugoslavia of high quality? What other kinds of data would be useful to have?
• *Sharon Spray and Laura Roselle, “Ch. 3: Project Definition and Systematic Investigation,” Research & Writing In Comparative Politics, Boston: Pearson, pp. 31-46.
Swem Librarian will lead a session on conducting research for your papers. You are required to come with a written paper topic and to use Swem resources to obtain today at least one text relevant to your paper topic.

9/23, “COMPETING CLAIMS OVER BOSNIA.” What internal and external factors contributed to Bosnia’s failure to peacefully democratize? Consider whether different decisions could have created a different outcome.

9/28, “COPING WITH DIVERSITY.” Why have Romania and Bulgaria been able to peacefully manage their ethnic diversity in the post-communist period? Could the same strategies help diverse Macedonia?

9/30, “WERE THE YUGOSLAV WARS ‘ETHNIC?’” Why doesn’t Gagnon characterize the wars in Yugoslavia as “ethnic?” Do you agree with his explanation for the violence?

10/2, Friday: Paper Proposal due at Noon in Tyler 343.

10/5, “THE FORMATION AND IMPACT OF NEW BORDERS IN WARTIME CROATIA:” According to Dragojević, which came first: boundaries or ethnicized identities? Do you agree?
• In class documentary and informal written reaction to: Tone Bringa's, We are all Neighbors
THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

10/7, “THE EUROPEAN UNION AS AN ANCHOR OF DEMOCRACY?” Have the European Union’s policies for integrating Balkan states facilitated democratization and good governance in the Balkans?


10/12, “ENCOURAGING DEMOCRACY VIA GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS.” Have the strategies that the “West” has used to try to cultivate grass-roots groups in the Balkans been successful? Why or why not?


10/14, “TRYING TO REVERSE THE DESTRUCTION OF BOSNIA’S MULTIETHNICITY.” How did delayed international intervention in the Bosnian war affect conditions for building a diverse democratic state after the war? Do the plusses outweigh the minuses of intensive international intervention into post-war Bosnia?


10/19, “RULES FOR INCORPORATING MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS INTO GOVERNING: What types of rules work help mitigate tension and promote good governance in deeply divided societies?”


10/21, DRAFT RESEARCH PAPER DUE at 5 p.m. in Tyler 343—no class

10/26, “EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES IN AN ETHNICALLY DIVIDED POLITICAL SYSTEM.” Where and how do youth of different ethno-national backgrounds interact in Bosnia’s “integrated” high school in Mostar? What are some consequences of this interaction for building an inclusive post-war state?


10/28, “THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY’S RECORD IN KOSOVO/A.” What are the challenges the international community has faced in promoting the rule-of-law in post-war Kosovo? Why is there so much conflict within ethnic groups?


Prior to 11/4 class, Watch: The Unidentified by Marija Ristic, see: http://bit.ly/1mo1NxL [More information to be provided]

11/4, “PROMOTING ‘JUSTICE’ AFTER WAR” Do the strategies for promoting justice that have been adopted in post-War Balkans mesh well with local understandings of justice? What do the readings suggest would be constructive steps to take to better promote justice or social reconstruction in the region?


THE FUTURE

11/9 “RESOLVING” A NAME DISPUTE: THE CASE OF NORTH MACEDONIA. Should the agreement resulting in “North Macedonia,” be considered a successful case of non-violent conflict resolution? Why or why not?


11/11, “REFLECTING ON POLICIES TO PREVENT CONFLICT.” What are the obstacles to meaningfully discussing in schools the violence that has recently occurred within a state? Given our understanding of the roots of modern violence and evaluations of post-conflict policies in the region, what steps could Balkan politicians, civil society leaders, and peoples take to prevent further conflict?

Additional information about participation grade for War and Peace in the Balkans

In general, here is what I consider excellent participation and attendance:

- **Level of involvement:** You make a strong effort to contribute often to large and small group discussions. You kick off discussion at times, but you do not consistently dominate the room. You know when to cut yourself off and to give others a chance to speak.

- **Substance of comments:** Your comments demonstrate knowledge of the readings and not simply your own personal experience or intuition. You bring the readings to class and point us to specific pages to back your points. Your remarks build momentum, are focused and relevant. You do not speak just to get your voice on record.

- **Attendance:** You attend class every day, unless you offer a reasonable explanation such as an documented illness, family emergency, extra ordinary work commitment, or your required presence at a non-optional W&M event (e.g., class field trip).

- **Common courtesy:** You arrive on time every day and take your seat quietly if you are late. You disable your cell phone and other gadgets before class starts. You do not check email or instant messages, surf the web, do other classes’ homework, or do other similar distracting behaviors during class. You listen carefully to others when they are speaking. You respect the right of your classmates to express their analysis, even if you might disagree.

(adapted from Manna 2011)

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<th>Grade range</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>A- A (90-100)</td>
<td>--Frequent contributor in large group discussions each week. Active and engaged in small groups and paired discussions. --Comments grounded in the readings and demonstrate depth of understanding or attempts to grapple with them; ideas help to build momentum in discussions. --Has self-awareness and does not ramble or try to dominate the room. Attends class essentially every day (e.g., 0-1 absences for the semester), always brings readings &amp; is always courteous.</td>
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<td>B- B B+ (80-89)</td>
<td>--Consistent commenter each week in large group, but some runs of silence or inactivity occasionally detectable. Active and engaged in small groups or pairs, and might excel slightly more there than in the large group. Occasionally may lack good self-awareness. --Comments are helpful and draw upon readings, but less consistently so and occasionally may be more grounded in intuition or personal experience. --Attends class most days (e.g., 3 absences for the semester), brings readings most days, and is always courteous.</td>
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<td>C- C C+ (70-79)</td>
<td>--Infrequent participant each week in large group, but may be reasonably engaged in small groups. Attentive, but not involved. Often an imbalance between small group and large group effort. May have inconsistent self-awareness. --Comments are infrequently grounded in the readings; more reliant on intuition or personal experience --Absences becoming somewhat frequent (e.g., 4-5 absences for the semester), infrequently brings readings, but is always courteous.</td>
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<td>D- D D+ (60-69)</td>
<td>--Extremely rare or essentially no participation each week in large group. Rarely attentive; uses electronic device often in ways unrelated to class activities; largely uninvolved, including in small groups. May have very little self-awareness. --Hard to tell to what extent this person is trying to engage the readings because comments are so infrequent, or nonexistent. --Frequent absences (5 absences for the semester), but is always courteous.</td>
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<td>F (&lt;60)</td>
<td>--No engagement in large group discussion. During small group or paired time, still tends to work alone or be distracted, including by using electronic devices for activities unrelated to class. May demonstrate no self-awareness. --Impossible to tell to what extent the person has tried to engage the readings. --Excessive absences (6 or more absences for the semester). --May consistently fail to demonstrate courtesy.</td>
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In the event that William & Mary decides all classes must move to an on-line format, informed participation will be evaluated according to the following:

1) **Level of involvement:** You make a strong effort to contribute weekly to large group or small group discussions (in “breakout rooms” in Zoom). You kick off discussion at times, but you do not consistently dominate it. You know when to cut yourself off and to give others a chance to speak; and

2) **Substance of comments:** Your comments demonstrate knowledge of the readings and not simply your own personal experience or intuition. You bring the readings and/or notes to our on-line class and point us to specific pages to back your points. Your remarks build momentum, are focused and relevant. You do not speak just to get your voice on record. Participation could also include either the posting of a comment or a reply to a posted comment on an aspect of the week’s readings or lectures to the Blackboard’s discussion board. This comment should be made during the week that the reading is assigned and should meet the “substance of comments” expectations. I also welcome informed comments on readings, lectures, or discussions during office hours.