

M.Phil. in Russian and East European Studies
Academic Year 2009/10

Optional Course

South East Europe:
Politics, Economics and European Integration



Course Convenors

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Course Aims: This option concerns the recent history of South East Europe and the progress achieved by the countries in this region in integrating with the EU and other regions, such as the Black Sea. . The aim is to provide understanding of the political and economic background of and current reasons for the turbulence of the region and to assess its prospects for closer integration with EU countries. The course covers the 20th century political and economic background, the breakdown of communism and the transition to democracy and the market economy, the impact and influence of Europe on the region as well as other international and extra-regional influences. The focus is regional and cross-country, comparative and interdisciplinary, including comparative politics, international relations, political economy and contemporary history. The course also develops thematic approaches by looking at the topics of post-communist transition, EU integration, EU enlargement, ethnic conflicts and state-building.

Course Objectives: By the end of this course students will have acquired a good knowledge of the regional specificities and the links of the region with the wider European and international environment. They will have deepened into the current features of political and economic transition and on the impact of the EU's transformative power. Students are expected to engage critically with these themes and to study them conceptually and empirically. The region of South East Europe provides ample comparative examples of different political and economic trajectories as well as diverse engagements with the European Union. Students will gain a comparative and interdisciplinary overview of these diverging national experiences, the potential and the limits of the European Union to deal with more difficult cases of transition.

Teaching: Eight 1.5 hour sessions in Michaelmas Term, which include a lecture and class discussion plus four tutorials. Some of the lectures will be provided by experts in the region who will be visiting SEESOX scholars.

Course assignments:

- Two-three presentations in class (depending on students numbers)
- Four essays

Assessment

Three hour exam

Lecture/Class Topics

Week 1

A brief history of South East Europe (Carol Leonard)

- State and nation- building in a historical perspective
- Balkan wars and World War I
- The formation of Yugoslavia
- Inter-war authoritarian politics
- World War II
- SE Europe and the Warsaw Pact Countries

Week 2

Economies and Welfare Systems in the Cold War period (Christopher Davis)

- Diverse political and economic trajectories
- Different models of command (shortage) economies in the region
- Bulgarian and Romanian command economies in the CMEA
- Tito's Yugoslavia: federal, non-aligned and self-management economic model
- Albania's isolated command economy. Health and welfare challenges and achievements in the Cold War period

Week 3

Early stages of post-Communist transition (Carol Leonard, Othon Anastasakis)

- Collapse of communism in the Balkans
- The violent nature of the 1989 revolution in Romania
- Painful economic transition and economic crisis in Bulgaria
- Slow transition in Albania and the collapse of the economy
- Democratic deficits in Romania
- Organized crime in Bulgaria

Week 4

The disintegration of Yugoslavia (Othon Anastasakis)

- Political and economic reasons that led to the dissolution
- The wars in Slovenia and Croatia
- Ethnic conflicts and the war of Bosnia
- Milosevic' policy in Kosovo

Week 5

The EU's transformative power (Othon Anastasakis)

- Europeanisation and enlargement
- Political and economic criteria and the impact of conditionality
- Accession negotiations in Bulgaria and Romania
- Stabilisation and Association in the Western Balkans
- Democracy promotion, institution-building and financial assistance

Week 6

International responses to regional conflicts (Othon Anastasakis)

- International intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo
- The Dayton peace
- UNMIK administration in Kosovo
- The Ohrid agreement
- Post-conflict state-building in the region
- Military and police missions

Week 7

EU accession of Bulgaria and Romania and the prospects for the Western Balkans (Christopher Davis)

- Economic recovery and political normalization in Bulgaria and Romania
- Accession to the EU of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007: Negotiations, benefits of EU membership, and post-accession problems of weak administration and corruption
- The diversity of the EU's association with the Western Balkan states
- The positive example of Croatia
- The EU's enlargement fatigue and constitutional problems

Week 8

Other external actors in the region (Othon Anastasakis)

- The role of Greece in the region; investment, diplomatic ties with Serbia and the Macedonian question
- The role of Turkey: Political and economic relations and Muslim solidarity
- Cooperation and relationships in the Black Sea region
- Wider security and energy matters
- The role of Russia
- Comparisons with the Caucasus

Reading list for Lectures, Classes and Tutorials

Week 1: A brief history of South East Europe

- a. What general geopolitical factors were important in the slow emergence of independent states in the Balkans?
- b. The start of the First World War is related to developments in the Balkans. Link the latter with European power competition.
- c. What were the reasons for the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918 following the end of World War I? Was it a stillborn union of states from its inception?
- d. What are the common themes of inter-war auth
- e. Why and how did Yugoslavia successfully break with Russia in the "Tito Goliath" split?
- f. What were the political forces and developments that led to the solidity of the Yugoslav political regime after World War II

Reading

Crampton, R.J. (2002) *The Balkans since the Second World War*, New York, Longman

Crampton, R.J. *A Concise History of Bulgaria*

Gallagher, T (2001) *Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989: From the Ottoman to Milošević*, London, Routledge.

Glenny, M. (1999) *Balkans 1804-1999. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*. London, Granta Publishers.

Jelavich, B. (1983) *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Vol . 1 & 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Jelavich, C. and Jelavich, B. (1977) *The Establishment of the Balkan National States 1804-1920*. Seattle, Washington University Press

John R. Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe, A Century of War and Transition*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

Lampe, J, Jackson, M. (1982) *Balkan Economic History, 1558 - 1950*

Malcolm, Noel (1994), *Bosnia: A Short History*, London: Macmillan

Malcolm, Noel (1998), *Kosovo: A Short History*, London: Macmillan

Mazower, Mark (2000) *The Balkans*, London Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Pavlowitch, A. (1999) *A History of the Balkans: 1804-1945*. London, Longman

Stavrianos, L.S. (1963) *The Balkans since 1453*. New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997

Week 2: Cold War period

- a. Did the South East Europe countries have fundamentally similar or unique models of command (shortage) economies?
- b. Compare the features and performances of Bulgaria's Soviet-style command economy with Romania's national economic model and Albania's quasi-Stalinist model
- c. Was Yugoslav self-management an original model of economic development?

- d. Did political and economic forces ameliorate or exacerbate ethnic tensions in communist Yugoslavia?
- e. Assess the adequacy of the health and welfare systems in the South East Europe countries.

Reading

Boia, L (2001), *Romania*, London: Reaktion Books, pp. 111–152

Brown, J (1970), *Bulgaria Under Communist Rule*

Crampton, R.J. (2002) *The Balkans since the Second World War*

Crampton RJ (1994), *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 240–254

Davis, C. (2001a) “Reforms and performance in medical systems in the transitional states of the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe”, *International Social Security Review*, vol. 54, no. 2–3: 7–56

Davis, C. (2009) “Understanding the legacy: health financing systems in the USSR and Eastern Europe prior to Transition” in in Kutzin, J. Busse, R. and Schreyögg, J. (2009) Implementing Health Financing Reforms: Lessons From and For Countries in Transition, Geneva, World Health Organization

Gregory, P.R. and Stuart, R.C. (1988) *Comparative Economic Systems* (Third Edition), Boston, Houghton Mifflin, Chapter on Yugoslavia

Kaser, M. (1976) *Health Care in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, London, Croom Helm

Kornai, J. (1992) *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, Chapter 20 Self Management

King, Robert (1973). *Minorities under Communism*. Cambridge: Harvard UP

Lendvai, P. (1970) *Eagles and Cobwebs: Nationalism and Communism in the Balkans*. MacDonald Publishers.

Parmalee, D.E. (1989) “Yugoslavia: health care under self-managing socialism” in Field, M. (ed.) (1989) *Success and Crisis in National Health Systems: A Comparative Approach*, London, Routledge

Woodward, Susan L. *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945–1990* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995)

Week 3: Early stages of post-communist transition

- a. What caused the breakdown of communist regimes in the Balkans?
- b. In what sense is Balkan transition to democracy and market economy different from the Central and East European transition?
- c. What have the Bulgarian and Romanian experiences been called “delayed transitions”?
- d. How did the post-communist Balkan states overcome the long-lasting legacy and influence of their communist elites?
- e. Who were the political and economic actors that favoured transition?

Reading

John D. Bell (ed) (1998) *Bulgaria in transition: politics, economics, society and culture after communism*, Boulder, Colo.; Oxford : Westview

Lucian Boia, (2001) *Romania: borderland of Europe* / London : Reaktion.

Crampton RJ ,(1997) *A concise history of Bulgaria*, Cambridge UP

- Crampton RJ, *The Balkans after 1945*
- Dimitrov Vesselin, (2001) *Bulgaria: The Uneven Transition*, Routledge
- Dimitrov, V. (2000), 'Learning to Play the Game: Bulgaria's Relations with Multilateral Organisations.' *Southeast European Politics*, vol 1, no. 2 pp. 101-114
Via www.seep.ceu.hu
- Tom Gallagher, *Romania after Ceausescu: the politics of intolerance*, Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, c1995
- Emil Giatzidis, Emil (2002) *An introduction to post-communist Bulgaria: political, economic, and social transformations*, Manchester : Manchester University Press.
- Krastev Ivan, 'The Balkans: Democracy Without Choices,' *Journal of Democracy*, July 2002, Volume 13, Issue 3
- Phinnemore, D. (2001) 'Romania and Euro-Atlantic Integration since 1989: A Decade of Frustration?', in Light, D. and Phinnemore, D. (eds) *Post-Communist Romania: Coming to Terms with Transition* (London: Macmillan), pp. 245-269.
- David Phinnemore and Duncan Light, *Post-communist Romania : coming to terms with transition*, Basingstoke : Palgrave, 2001.
- Elizabeth Pond, (2006) *Endgame in the Balkans: Regime Change, European Style*, Brookings Institution Press, 2006
- Roper Steven D., (2000) *Romania: the unfinished revolution*, Amsterdam : Abingdon Harwood Academic; Marston
- Zielonka Jan and Pravda Alex, (2001) *Democratic consolidation in Eastern Europe*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001. vol 1 & 2 (Chapters on Bulgaria and Romania)

Week 4: The disintegration of Yugoslavia

- a. Was the disintegration of Yugoslavia inevitable?
- b. Why were there different national trajectories from the disintegration of Yugoslavia?
- c. Serbia has been blamed by most analyses for the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Is it fair?
- d. What was the role of the European states during the 1990s?

Reading

- Allcock, J. Explaining Yugoslavia
- Banac, I, (1984) *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell UP,
- Glenny, M, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (3rd edn. 1996).
- Gow, James, (1996), *The Triumph of the Lack of Will*
- Ignatieff, M. (2000), *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*
- Judah, Tim, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (2000).
- Lampe, J (1996), *Yugoslavia as History*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, 1994
- Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History*, 1998
- James Pettifer (ed), *The New Macedonian Question*, Palgrave, 1998
- Ramet, Sabrina Petra (1996) *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to Ethnic War*, Boulder, CO: Westview
- Silber, L, and Little, A, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (rev. edn., 1996).
- Stokes, G with J Lampe and D Rusinow. "Instant History: Recent Books on the Wars of Yugoslav Succession." *Slavic Review*, 55 (1996), pp. 135-160.
- Marcus Tanner, *Croatia*, 1997.

Robert Thomas, *Serbia under Milosevic: Politics in the 1990s*, 1999.
Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way*, 1995
Ullman, Richard, *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (1996).
Woodward, Susan, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War* (1995).

Week 5: The EU's transformative power

- a. What was the role of the EU in the Balkans?
- b. The instrument of enlargement, as an instrument for political and economic transformation in the post-communist Balkans.
- c. The impact of EU conditionality on domestic actors
- d. What was the response of the Balkan elites to the EU influence

Reading

Anastasakis, Othon & Bechev, Dimitar (2003) "EU Conditionality in South-East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Process", Policy Paper, South East European Studies at Oxford, University of Oxford

Anastasakis, Othon & Bojicic-Dzelilovic Vesna (2002) *Balkan Regional Cooperation and European Integration*, The Hellenic Observatory, The European Institute, The London School of Economics and Political Science, London

Cameron, F. and Kintis, A. (2001) 'Southeastern Europe and the European Union,' *Journal of South East European and Black Sea Studies*, vol 1, no 2, pp. 94-112.

Delevic Milica (2007) "Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans", *Chaillot Paper*, No 104

Grabbe, Heather (2001) "How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion and diversity" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 8, Issue 6, pp. 1013-1031

Heather Grabbe *The EU's Transformative Power: Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe*, Palgrave studies in European Union Politics, 2006

Hughes, James, Gwendolyn Sasse, and Claire Gordon (2004) *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe, the Myth of Conditionality*. Edited by Helen Wallace, *One Europe or Several?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan
Featherstone and Radaelli, eds., *The Politics of Europeanisation*, (Oxford University Press, 2003)

Noutcheva Gergana (2007) "Fake, Partial and Imposed Compliance; The Limits of the EU's Normative Power in the Western Balkans" *CEPS Working Document No. 274*

Phinnemore, D and Siani-Davies, P. (eds) (2002) *South-Eastern Europe and European Union Enlargement – Conference Proceedings* (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj-Napoca University Press)

Pridham, Geoffrey. *Designing Democracy, EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Schimmelfennig Frank (2007) "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe", *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 21, No 1, pp 126-141

Frank Schimmelfennig, Ulrich Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Published by Cornell University Press, 2005,

Karen Elizabeth Smith, *The use of political conditionality in the EU's relations with third countries: how effective?* EUI Working Paper SPS no. 97/7 (San Domenico (FI): European University Institute, 1997)

Smith Karen (1999) *The Making of EU Foreign Policy: The Case of Eastern Europe*, St Martin's, New York

Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005) *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*, Oxford University Press
Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*, OUP: 2006

Week 6. International responses to regional conflicts

- a. State and nation-building from abroad. Is it too ambitious a strategy?
- b. Are international administrations the solution to the post-conflict cases of Bosnia and Kosovo? Compare
- c. Democratisation and stability: compatible or complementary?

Reading

Florian Bieber and Zidas Daskalovski (ed) *Understanding the War in Kosovo*, Frank Cass. 2003
Knaus, Gerhard, Martin, Felix (2003) "Travails of the European Raj" in *Journal of Democracy* Volume 14, Number 3, pp. 60-74

Gerald Knaus and Martin Cox, "Building Democracy after Conflict: The 'Helsinki Moment' in Southeastern Europe," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005): 39-53

Kuehne, Bjoern, "From the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe to the Regional Cooperation Council – Achievements, lessons learned and future challenges" in *State building and regional cooperation in the Western Balkans: Europe's engagements twelve years after Dayton*, Foreign Policy in Dialogue, Volume 8, Issue 23, Overhaus, Maull, Harnisch (eds), Trier, Germany 2007, pp. 8-15

Ottaway Marina (2003) "Promoting Democracy after Conflict" *International Studies Perspectives* 4 pp.314-322

Tansey Oisin (2007) "Democratisation without a State: democratic Regime-building in Kosovo" *Democratisation*, 14:1, pp. 129-150

For Bosnia, read also the reports of the International Crisis Group at www.crisisweb.org And the European Stability Initiative.

On Kosovo, see the chapters on UNMIK in.

Week 7: EU accession of Bulgaria and Romania and prospects for the Western Balkans

Altmann et al (2004) "The Western Balkans: moving on", *EU-ISS Chaillot Paper* no. 70
Anastasakis Ottho "The EU's political conditionality in the Western Balkans: Towards a more pragmatic approach" in *Journal of South-East European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4, December 2008, 365-377

Bechev Dimitar, Noutcheva Gergana (2008) "The Successful Laggards: Bulgaria and Romania's EU Accession," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January 2008)

Develic, Milica, (2007) *Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans*, Chaillot Paper, No 104, Institute for Security Studies, July

Gros, D. and Steinherr, A. (2004) Economic Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Planting the Seeds, CUP, Ch. 9: From Transition to Integration: Joining the EU

Emerson Michael (2009) "Recalibrating EU policy towards the Western Balkans" *CES Policy Paper* No 175, October

Johnson A. (2001) 'Albania's Relationship with the EU: On the Road to Europe?', *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, vol 3, no. 2, pp. 171-192.

Papadimitriou, Dimitris and David Phinnemore, "Exporting europeanisation to the Wider Europe: the twinning exercise and administrative Reform in the candidate countries and beyond," *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 3, no. 2, (2003): 1-22.

Phinnemore David (2006) "Beyond 25 - The Changing Face of EU Enlargement: Commitment, Conditionality and the Constitutional Treaty", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Volume 8 Number 1 pp. 7-26

Pridham Geoffrey (2007) "Unfinished Business? Eastern Enlargement and Democratic Conditionality" FRIDE Working Paper, No 36

Pridham Geoffrey (2008) "Change and continuity in the European Union's political conditionality: Aims, approach and priorities" in *Democratization*, Volume 14, No 3, pp. 446-471

Rehn Olli (2005) "EU enlargement under stress – the policy of consolidation, conditionality and communication" Speech at the Institute for European Policy, Berlin

Rehn Olli (2008) "The EU's Smart Power in Its Region and the World"

Speech at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, Oxford

found at http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/ext/seesox/Home_files/ORSpeech.pdf

Week 8: Other external actors in the region

- a. Greek-Turkish competition and synergies in the region
- b. Russian influence: strategic or tactical?
- c. Is Kosovo a case of its own or a model to be reproduced in the Caucasus and elsewhere?
- d. How does energy affect security considerations in the region?

Reading

Brown, JF, (1993) "Turkey: Back to the Balkans" in Graham Fuller and Ian Lesser (eds) *Turkey's New Geopolitics: From the Balkans to Western China*, Westview Press, RAND

Bojicic-Dzelilovic, Vesna & Kostovicova, Denisa, (2006) The Balkans in Globalisation's throes in *International Politics*, Spring

Coufoudakis, Van, Psomiades, Harry & Andre Gerolymatos (eds) (1999) *Greece and the New Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities* Edited by. New York: Pella Publishing Co., Inc.

Greco Vincenzo, (2002) "Schools of Thought and Greek Foreign Policy", Occasional Paper ELIAMEP, http://www.eliamep.gr/admin/upload_publication/265_1en_occ.PDF

Headle James (2008) *Russia and the Balkans: Foreign Policy from Yeltsin to Putin* Columbia University Press

Kaldor Mary (2008) "The Balkans-Caucasus tangle: states and citizens" Open Democracy, http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/balkans_caucasus_tangle

Kofos Evangelos, (1999) "Greece's Macedonian Adventure: The Controversy over FYROM's Independence and Recognition", in *The New Macedonian Question*, Pettifer J (ed), St Martins Press.

Kramer, Heinz, *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States*, Brookings Institution, 2000

Kut Sule, (2000) "Turkish Policy toward the Balkans" in Makovsky, Alan & Sayari, Sabri, *op.cit.* The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, pp. 74-91

Ogutcu Mehmet, (2002) "Turkey's New Economic Diplomacy: Balancing Commercial Interests with Geopolitical Goals" in *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol 1, No 1, Spring

Tsoukalis Loukas, (1999) "Greece: Like any other country?" in *The National Interest*, Spring

Veremis Thanos, (1995) *Greece's Balkan Entanglement*, ELIAMEP