

Rutgers University
Department of Modern Greek Studies
Department of Political Science

Spring 2015
M and W 2:15 – 3:35 PM
Loree Hall 022

489:XXX/790:XXX: Politics and Culture in Greece and the Balkans

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Office Hours/Location: TBA

Course Overview

This brand new course offered jointly between the Program in Modern Greek Studies and the Department of Political Science seeks to examine the patterns of political, social, and cultural developments in the formation and development of modern statecraft in the Balkans. This course will specifically examine developments in Greece, Serbia (Yugoslavia), and Turkey, with additional attention to Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Cyprus.

The course will serve two large purposes:

- To provide a comprehensive coverage of Balkan history and socio-political development from the nineteenth century to the present time.
- To examine the Balkan region as an area study for nation-building and democratization.

At the present time, debates on nation-building and democratic transitions are ever present in academic arguments and current events. As such, we will examine a region of the world that received considerable attention in the 1990s but has been all but ignored in light of recent developments in the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Far East.

Specifically, we will investigate the conditions of political development of ethnic communities breaking away from the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, the rise of national identity, the role of historical memory, and path dependent legacies that continue to influence contemporary political issues today in both the region and in relation with the European Union.

More modern topics will examine Greece's transition to democracy in the mid-1970s, the political and economic conditions that contributed to the fragmentation of Yugoslavia in the 1980s and subsequent disintegration in the 1990s, Greece's relationship with the European Union, particularly its economic problems since 2008, the future of Serbian and Turkish EU membership, an assessment of democratic development in Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, and conflict resolution over disputed territory in Bosnia, Cyprus, and Kosovo.

It is important to note that this course is multidisciplinary. While the primary starting point for examining the Balkans will be rooted in theories of democratic transitions, there will be a heavy emphasis based on historical texts, anthropological studies, and multifaceted forms of expression in literature, poetry, art, and music. It is only when the nature of each ethnic community is examined from many angles that one can come to a comprehensive understanding of the society

Requirements:

Students' final grade evaluation is determined by the following criteria:

- Five 4 – 5 page reading evaluations (25% of your grade – 5% each)
- One take home midterm (20% of your grade) given Week 6, due Week 7
- One 15 – 20 page paper (30% of your grade) due Week 15
- Outline and draft of research paper (5% of your grade) due **Week 13**
- Class and website participation (20% of your grade)

The reading evaluations are designed to both reduce the overall amount of work that “piles up” in one grading criterion, and to keep you up to date with readings and discussions. You are required to write a 4 – 5 page (double spaced) paper each for any five out of the ten total sections. These assignments should identify the primary arguments and major questions raised by the authors of each piece. As the semester progresses, you are also encouraged to note, where appropriate, comparisons and contrasts with topics either from previous readings or class discussions. While small, these papers are your strongest vehicle for understanding the material and preparing you for larger assignments. Each paper is worth 5 points and is due at the **beginning** of each new section. So for instance, the evaluation on “**Theories of Nationalism and State Formation**” is due in class and uploaded to Sakai by Monday of Week 4. Note the dates on the syllabus. You may choose to write a sixth paper if you need a few more points by the end of the semester.

The take home midterm comprises a series of short essay questions of about 5 pages each. Like the reading evaluations, the midterm aims to test your critical thinking skills and comprehension of the material. You are to select **two** questions from the pool of **five**.

Your writing assignment is a full-length research paper that requires you to incorporate material from class with outside information. This requires you to consult sources from the Rutgers library and materials from trustworthy online sources. Part of your assignment is to work with me developing your ideas through designing an outline and rough draft that I will look over before final submission. This is to ensure you are consulting the right material and organizing your paper into a coherent argument. Thus, you should think about your topic shortly after the midterm.

Editorial note: I have not yet decided whether to give students questions prompts or let them come up with topics of their own.

Class participation is accumulated throughout the semester through *active engagement*. This includes speaking in class discussion, posting online comments, successfully answering unannounced quizzes and short writing assignments, and coming to office hours (if necessary). Each time a student “participates”, a point will be awarded, with a maximum of 20 to be earned by the end of the semester. Please note that attendance is not related to participation. You can have a perfect attendance record but if you remain silent, you are not “participating”.

Readings

Students are required to purchase the following text:

- Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers: 1804 – 2011*. New York: Penguin Books, 2012

All other readings are available on our Sakai site.

Course Learning Objectives and Policy Statements

As mentioned above, the primary objective of this class is to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of early modern state building in Southeastern Europe amid the decline of the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires, and in relation to broader European political, social, economic, and cultural trends and interests. This course also serves broader theoretical objectives in focusing on the following studies:

- The challenges of state sovereignty in weak societies
- The politics of collective and national identity
- The role of state-sponsored political culture
- The foundations of modern statecraft along pre-modern claims to territory and resources
- The role of external actors in assisting in state collapse and supporting disputed territories

As such, the Balkans serves as a case study to issues that can be applied elsewhere such as the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, and northern Africa. The student who successfully completes this class will attain, in addition to knowledge of a little-known region of Europe, skills in the following fields that can be used elsewhere:

- Comparative historical analysis of the development of modern states and societies in a non-Western setting
- Engagement in process tracing of state development through a series of precursory critical junctures and events
- Understanding of the role of culture, and more importantly cultural cleavages in the formation of a socially constructed and tenuously shared sense of national identity
- Critical analysis of the role of state leadership and its relationship with external powers in order to understand the particular decisions made during rapid socio-political change
- Development of an independent argument through an intensive writing assignment that draws from a multiple variety of interdisciplinary sources.

A Recorded Course

A significant portion of this class will be digitally video recorded for future use in multimedia learning. As such, there is a possibility that students will appear on camera and their comments will be recorded. University policy requires me to inform students the class will be recorded as well as indicate which rows and seats will be within the “camera range”, giving you the chance to sit elsewhere if you do not wish to be on camera. Videos of lectures with presentations will eventually be posted online but not via our Sakai site and will have no connection to the current class, nor function as a component to any grade requirement.

Policy Statements

Attendance: Attendance is mandatory and will be taken at the beginning of each class. The student is responsible for obtaining any and all work missed. Two or more unexcused absences may affect your overall course grade. Four or more unexcused absences may result in you failing the class. Any absence due to illness or previous engagement must be accompanied by a doctor's note or other official letter explaining the reason for not being in class. Excused absences will be given in the event of holidays of religious observance, serious conditions that require medical care, required attendance in court or other government bodies, and participation in intercollegiate athletic events. Students taking part in the latter should notify me with documentation before the dates they will not be in class. Four or more unexcused absences may risk you failing the course. For the official University Attendance Policy, see <http://sasundergrad.rutgers.edu/academics/courses/registration-and-course-policies/attendance-and-cancellation-of-class>.

Academic Integrity: Academic integrity encompasses standards of honesty and truth. For the student this largely entails ensuring all work presented is their own with full credit being given to all sources and materials used and consulted in their projects. With the pervasiveness of the Internet and the ability of students to obtain material from an array of digitized sources, prevention of plagiarism is more important than ever. Cases of plagiarism are in clear violation of academic integrity and will be dealt with in accordance to the severity of the case. For a complete description of Rutgers' Policy on Academic Integrity, its descriptions and penalties, see: http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/AI_Policy_9_01_2011.pdf

Students with Disabilities: This course meets standard University policies and provisions with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy. Students with documented disabilities with the University and are in need of certain academic accommodations should notify me as soon as possible with an official note from the Rutgers Office of Disability Services. Information on disability support can be found at <http://disabilityservices.rutgers.edu/>. All information will be kept strictly confidential.

Grading Evaluations

Grading evaluation criteria for both writing assignments and online posts are described below. While each student's input is particular, the provided guidelines should give one a basic idea of what roughly determines grade awards.

Grading Evaluation Criteria				
	OUTSTANDING (A)	GOOD (B+/B)	SATISFACTORY (C+/C)	UNSATISFACTORY (D/F)
Paper Assessment	Student is able to produce a written argument that is clear from the Introduction, and provides solid analysis throughout.	An argument is present but tends to rely more on provided description from readings than a clear and independent analysis.	Attempts at creating an argument fall short with simple summarization of material or repetition of one or two ideas with little to no explanation. No clear idea or thesis is presented on the first page, and no definitive conclusion is reached by the end.	Paper has little to no focus from start to finish. Independent analysis is either completely lacking or focuses on something entirely different from the question(s) asked.
	Little to no grammatical mistakes or errors in syntax.	Overall writing is good, but a few and noticeable spelling, grammatical errors and syntax are present. Student may put a book title in quotes instead of italicize and vice versa.	Grammatical mistakes are present with no indication the student performed any proofreading or Spellcheck. Material is improperly cited both within the paper and in the bibliography	Multiple spelling errors, grammatical errors, sentence errors, broken sentences, awkward writing, paragraphs that end mid-sentence, paragraphs with two sentences, gratuitous spacing to "pad" page limits.
	Organization of material has a logical flow from inquiry to hypothesis to investigation and finally to argument based on deductive and/or inductive reasoning.	Organization of material is largely clear, but paper is largely divided into describing one case at a time instead of providing some analytical synthesis.	Paper is largely unorganized with no logical flow of ideas from one point to another. Topics in paragraphs abruptly shift focus. Paragraphs are more than a page long and provided information is tangential.	No rhyme or reason to organization. Paper has no logical flow of argument or focus.
	Use of readings and class notes is thorough and contributes to the student's own reasoning.	Readings and class notes are cited and helps to provide the student with understanding the material. A bibliography is also present at the end.	Little to no use of readings, or student relies on only one source, usually class notes. Student also uses Wikipedia, the Dictionary, or an online encyclopedia for material that is covered in class.	Paper either ignores citing any readings or quotes entire paragraphs instead of providing the student's own thoughts. Cited material is anything but class-based material.
	Use of readings and class notes are properly cited throughout the paper and a full bibliography is provided at the end.	Paper is a bit short of the requested word count/page limit, or exceeds word count/page limit because of summarization.	Paper fall significantly short of the requested word count/page limit	Paper is extremely short of word/page limit by at least half. No proper bibliographical material is provided.
				Turnitin indicates large parts of the paper has been copy/pasted from somewhere else.
	PARTICIPATION POINT AWARDED FOR:		PARTICIPATION POINT DENIED BECAUSE	
Online Participation	Post demonstrates that the student has done the reading and understood the material being addressed. Post clearly connects with a point raised in the lectures or derived from at least one of the assigned readings.	Post shows little to no connectivity with the topic question, nor gives any indication the information provided has any connectivity with or relevancy to assigned readings and lectures.		
	Post relies on material dervided from class (as mentioned above) but also provides personal insight and thinking instead of simply repeating material <i>verbatim</i>	Posts are short, undeveloped comments that don't move the discussion forward. Posts are only a few sentences, or simply "agree" with what was said above. Students should not be rewarded with participation points for short comments while others take more time to write out one's thoughts and ideas.		
	Interactions with other students follow basic protocols of "netiquette", which may including disagreeing or even arguing with another, but the tone of writing remains professional and refrains from insults, <i>ad hominem</i> attacks, and other types of "trolling".	Interaction with other students becomes unprofessionally confrontational. Usage insults, foul language, <i>ad hominem</i> attacks, and other types of "trolling" are used in lieu of an intelligent post.		

Readings and Class Schedule

Introduction

Week 1: Read the syllabus, buy the textbook, familiarize yourself with website.

Section I: The Balkans Under Ottoman Rule (1371 – 1804)

Week 2:

- Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 1960), pp. 234 – 313

Recommended

- Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. 1, chapter. 1: "Balkan Christians under Ottoman Rule", (Cambridge University Press, 1983) pp. 39 – 62; 72 – 98; 113 – 126

*****It is strongly recommended that you begin the readings for Section II this week too. While each individual reading assignment is not long, nor difficult to comprehend, there are a lot of them.**

Section II: Balkan National Reawakenings and Great Power Interests (1804 – 1918)

General History (to be read throughout weeks 2 - 7)

- Misha Glenn, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers*, 1804 – 1999.
 - Chapter 1, pp. 1 – 57
 - Chapter 2, pp. 120 – 127
 - Chapter 3, pp. 163 – 168; 192 – 200; 216 – 248
 - Chapter 4, pp. 298 – 306
 - Chapter 5, pp. 323 – 331; 378 – 392
- John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel, From 1831 to the Present*. (New York University Press, 2002) chapter 1, "A Regime to Suit the Nation", pp. 11 – 43

Week 3: Theories of Nationalism and State Formation

- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983), ch. 5, "What is a Nation?" pp. 53 – 62
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso Press, 1983), ch. 5, "Old Languages, New Models", pp. 67 – 82

Week 4: Reconstruction of Identities: Adamantios Korais and Vuk Karadžić

- John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel, From 1831 to the Present*.
 - Chapter 12, "Shaping a Nation", pp. 227 – 241
 - Chapter 13, "Demarcating the Past", pp. 236 – 241
 - Chapter 14, "The Return of the Hellenes", pp. 242 - 248
- Stephen Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism*, (Columbia University Press, 1942) chapter 2, "Language and National Regeneration", pp. 45 – 83
- Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić: Literacy, Literature, and National Independence in Serbia*, (University of Michigan, 1986)
 - Chapter 4, "Karlovcı and Belgrade", pp. 45 - 62
 - Chapter 5, "Buda, 1810: Serbia 1810 – 1813" pp. 63 – 78

- Alexis Politis, "From Christian Roman Emperors to the Glorious Greek Ancestors", *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, ed. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), pp. 1 – 14
- Paschalis Kitromilides, "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea", in Ricks and Magdalino, pp. 25 – 33

Recommended

- Raphael Demos, "The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750 – 1821)", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 19, no. 4 (October 1958), pp. 523 – 541
- George Huxley, "Aspects of Modern Greek Historiography of Byzantium", in Ricks and Magdalino, pp. 15 – 23

Weeks 5 - 6: Greek and Serbian Historical Memory

- Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages of Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870 – 1990* (Chicago University Press, 1997), ch. 3, pp. 77 – 107
- Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York: Pella Publishing Company, 1986)
 - Chapter 1 "Past Glories, Present Politics", pp. 3 – 23
 - Chapter 6 "Expansion and Collapse", pp. 123 – 139
- Vuk Karadžić, *Songs of the Serbian People*, translated and edited by Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), chapter 3, "The Battle of Kosovo", pp. 131 – 158
- Nicholas Pappas, "Between Two Empires: Serbian Survival in the Years after Kosovo", in *Serbia's Historical Heritage*, ed. Alex N. Dragnich. (New York: Columbia University Press 1994), pp. 17 – 37
- Alexander Greenawalt, "Kosovo Myths: Karadžić, Njegoš, and the Transformation of Serb Memory", *Spaces of Identity*, vol. 3 (2001), pp. 49 – 65

Recommended

- Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Victor Roudometof, *Nationalism, Globalization and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), chapter 4, "Invented Traditions, Symbolic Boundaries, and National Identity in Greece and Serbia, 1830 – 1880", pp. 101 – 130

***** Take Home Midterm given end of Week 6*****

Section III: Democracy and Dictatorships: The Balkans, 1918 – 1945

General History

- Misha Glenny, *The Balkans*
 - Chapter 6, pp. 393 – 396; 402 – 412; 423 – 436; 460 – 477
 - Chapter 7, pp. 485 – 506

Week 7: Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy

- Barrington Moore, Jr.: *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. chapter 7, "The Democratic Route to Modern Society", pp. 413 – 432

***** Take Home Midterm due Week 7 *****

Weeks 7 - 8: Rise of Anti-Democratic Elements

- L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New York University Press, 2000),
 - Ch. 31, "The Dynamics of Balkan Politics" 1918 – 1939", pp. 593 – 615
 - Ch. 32, "Yugoslavia: 1918 – 1939", pp. 616 – 643
 - Ch. 34, "Greece: 1918 – 1939", pp. 661 – 687

Recommended

- John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History* (Cambridge University Press, 2000)
 - Chapter 5 "Parliamentary kingdom, 1921 – 1928", pp. 129 – 162
 - Chapter 6, "Authoritarian kingdom, 1929 – 1941", pp. 163 – 200
- Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Sanford University Press, 1998), chapter 2, pp. 67 – 127

Section IV: The Balkans in the Cold War (1945 – 1990)

General History

- Misha Glenny, chapter 8, pp. 570 – 595; 608 – 622; 622 – 633

Week 9: The Greek Civil War

- Misha Glenny, *The Balkans*, ch.7, pp. 536 – 544
- John Iatrides, *Studies in the History of the Greek Civil War, 1945 – 1949*, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1987) pp. 195 – 219

Week 9: Greek and Turkish Conflicts in the Mediterranean

- Paedon John Kozyris, "The Legal Dimension of the Current Greek-Turkish Conflict: A Greek Viewpoint", in Keridis and Triantaphyllou, pp. 102 – 114
- Robert McDonald, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict" *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Globalization*, ed. Dimitris Keridis and Dimitrios Triantaphyllou (Dulles, Virginia: Brassey's, Inc, 2001), pp. 116 – 150

Recommended

- Yorgos A. Kourvetaris, "The Southern Flank of NATO: Political Dimensions of the Greco-Turkish conflict since 1974", *East European Quarterly*, vol. XXI, no. 4 (January 1988), pp. 431 – 448
- Thanos Veremis, "The Protracted Conflict", *Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Globalization*, in Keridis and Triantaphyllou, pp. 42 – 55

Week 10: Tito's Yugoslavia

- V.P. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*, (Cornell University Press, 2004), chapter 3 "Political Conflict in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, 1960s – 1990s", pp. 52 – 86

Recommended

- John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History* (Cambridge University Press, 2000)
 - Chapter 9, "Tito's Yugoslavia Ascending, 1954 – 1967", pp. 265 – 298
 - Chapter 10, "Tito's Yugoslavia Descending, 1968 – 1988", pp. 299-331
- Andrew Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, chapter 3, pp. 128 – 172

Section V: National Interests via the West, or vs. the West? (1990 – present)

Weeks 11 - 12: Theories of Democratic Transitions in the Balkans

- P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and F. Stephen Larrabee, "Democratization in South-Eastern Europe: Theoretical Considerations and Evolving Trends", *Experimenting with Democracy: Regime Change in the Balkans*, Geoffrey Pridham and Tom Gallagher, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 24 – 64
- P.H. Liotta, *Dismembering the State: The Death of Yugoslavia and Why it Matters* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001), "Balkan Fragmentation and the Rise of the Parastate", pp. 187 – 215

Week 13: Democracy and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia (1990–2000)

- Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, (Cornell University Press, 2001)
 - Chapter 1 "Stories about Ethnic War", pp. 1 – 13
 - Chapter 6 "Government Jingoism and the Fall of Yugoslavia", pp. 165 – 201
- Matthew Collin, *Guerrilla Radio: Rock 'N' Roll Radio and Serbia's Underground Resistance* (New York: Thunder Mountain Press, 2001)
 - Chapter 1 "Introduction", pp. 1 – 34
 - Chapter 3 "It's almost Midnight: 1993 – 1995", pp. 65 – 98
 - Chapter 4 "Forward! Forward! 1996 – 1997", pp. 98 – 131

Week 14: The Future of Kosovo and Turkey's EU Prospects

- Michael Rossi, "Ending the Impasse in Kosovo: Partition, Decentralization, or Consociationalism?" *Nationalities Papers* vol 42, no. 5 (September), pp. 867 – 889.
- Ziya Öniş, "The Role of the European Union in Greek-Turkish Relations: Perpetuator of Conflict or Contributor to Peace?" *Greece and Turkey in the 21st Century: Conflict or Cooperation – A Political Economy Perspective*, Christos Kollias and Gülay Günlük-Şenesen, eds. (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), pp. 165 – 178

Recommended

- Tom Gallagher, "Nationalism and Democracy in South-East Europe", in Pridham and Gallagher, pp. 84 – 111
- John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel*, ch. 18, pp. 307 – 326
- Xavier Bougarel, "Yugoslav Wars: The 'Revenge of the Countryside': Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth", *East European Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2 (June 1999), pp. 157 – 175
- Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia in the 1990s*, (Columbia University Press, 1999)
- V.P. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War* (highly recommended)
 - Chapter 2, pp. 31 – 51
 - Chapter 4, pp. 87 – 130
- Taner Akçam, "The Genocide of the Armenians and the Silence of the Turks", *Studies in Comparative Genocide*, Levon Chorbajian and George Shirinian, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 125 – 146
- Faruk Sönmezoğlu and Gülden Ayman, "The Roots of Conflict and the Dynamics of Change in Turkish-Greek Relations", in Kollias and Günlük-Şenesen, pp. 37 – 48
- Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (Vintage International, 2006)

***** Research Papers due Week 15 *****

Note: I would like to make the research paper the grade equivalent to a final exam, and would prefer to assign the paper's due date on the date of the final exam.