

An Introduction to Central Europe: History, Culture, and Politics

Central European University, Budapest
Preparatory Course for Study Abroad Undergraduate Students at CEU
2 Credits, Fall 2006

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Course Overview:

This introductory course is designed to give students a broad overview of the modern history, culture, and politics of Central Europe. While the term “Central Europe” is used as a generic label covering the great diversity of historical legacies and the heterogeneous ethnic and religious composition of an area stretching from Germany to Russia and the Balkans, the course focuses in a comparative perspective on three sub-regions, namely Central Europe, Southeastern Europe (the Balkans), and Eastern Europe, pointing out the interaction among multiple historical legacies (mostly the Byzantine, Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg ones), and various waves of modernization.

The course assesses the epistemological status and academic relevance of area studies, and underscores mechanisms of nation- and state-building and modernization employed in ethnically-mixed areas, characterized by multiple, fluid and overlapping identities. By promoting an integrative historical perspective, it exposes the prevailing tendency of essentializing the experience of European historical regions such as “the West,” “Central Europe,” or “the Balkans.” It relativises Western “exceptionalism” and Balkan “distinctiveness,” de-emphasizing the practice of national-centred history writing in favor of relational and transnational approaches.

The course is made up of twelve classes (one hour and forty minutes each), and is divided into introduction, two main parts, and conclusions. The introductory class explores the intellectual history and ideological connotations of the concepts of “Central Europe” “Eastern Europe” and “the Balkans”, and their utilization in constructing mental maps and “symbolic geographies.” The first part provides a basic overview of the historical, cultural and geographical identity of Central Europe from 1815 to the fall of communism in 1989, in view of several central analytical categories, such as nationalism, ethnicity, and social change. The second part, examines contemporary issues facing the region, namely the purported end of economic and political transformations, ethnic conflict in the Balkans, the enlargement of the EU to East European applicant states, and the role of

international organizations in the region.

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Part One of the course (classes two to eight) focuses on the socio-political evolution and cultural development of the Central European territories of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Southeastern European territories of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern territories under Tzarist jurisdiction, and the successor states that replaced the three empires in the twentieth century. Topics include the Ottoman, Habsburg and Tzarist legacies, modernization and nation-building, war and socio-political change, the rise of fascism, the Holocaust, and the main features of communism in Central Europe.

Class two examines, in a comparative perspective, how the Habsburg, Ottoman and Tzarist Empires coped with the rise of nationalism, industrialism, and mass politics. It explores the Habsburg Monarchy's strengths and weaknesses as it responded to internal and external challenges from 1815 to 1918; the peculiar socio-political and administrative organization of the Ottoman Empire, marked by the *millet* system and the reform period known as the *Tanzimat*; and the nature of "tzarism" and its strategy of state-building and political integration. Students are encouraged to think comparatively of the main features of the Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman empires, and to evaluate the impact of massive population shifts on the region's mixed ethnic map, and the influence of Western models of government on the region's development. Class three focuses on the social origins of politics in the post-Ottoman nation-states in the Balkans, and on patterns of modernization and typologies of nationalism in Central European states until World War One.

Class four discusses the *Fin-de-Siècle* cultural revolt in Vienna and Budapest and the crisis of liberalism, regarded as a cultural paradigm emblematic for modernity in Central Europe. The class will be held at the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest. Class five turns to the empires' successor states during the inter-war period, as they struggled to consolidate new national states in a multi-national region. It focuses on ideological debates, the rise of fascism and the collapse of the inter-war experiment in nation-building. Class six discusses migration, ethnic cleansing and population transfers in Central Europe, from a historical perspective. It also explores the recent wave of academic interest in the study of the history of the Holocaust in Central Europe, focusing on new methodological and theoretical perspectives. The first part of the course concludes with two classes (seven and eight) on the nature of communist regimes in Central Europe, the history of dissident movements, and the wave of democratic revolutions in 1989.

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Part Two (classes nine to eleven) provides an overview of a number of contemporary issues facing Central Europe, drawing on literature from international relations, political science, and social anthropology. In class nine, we will consider dimensions of post-socialist transformation in Central Europe, from a comparative and relational perspective. We will also return to our initial discussion of the concept of Central Europe to examine the political implications of this term in the 1990s. In class ten, we explore issues relating to societal security in the Balkans, and the continental and global implications of the Western military intervention in the recent Balkan wars. Class eleven considers basic issues relating to the recent enlargement of the European Union to five new Central

European states.

The course concludes with a discussion of the lessons learned from scholars of the process of Central Europe transformations in the 1990s. We will consider questions such as: Why did some states abandon socialism for democracy, while others turned to authoritarian rule? How might the theoretical and conceptual insights of comparative politics explain this variation? Is “transition”, and perhaps “Eastern Europe” as an area of study, indeed over?

The reading materials are chosen to illustrate a variety of issues: national, socio-political, cultural and intellectual. They are represented by articles, chapters from textbooks, monographs and historical documents. In addition to the assigned reading materials, the course syllabus also provides a list of suggested further readings for each class, and general bibliographical guidelines on the comparative history and contemporary politics of Central Europe. Students will not be tested on the suggested readings.

Last but not least, in order to familiarize introduce students to cultural life in Budapest, beside regular course work, students will be taken to guided visits to two museums, the Hungarian National Gallery, in order to explore the evolution of the Hungarian art during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, and the “House of Terror” Museum, documenting political repression during the fascist and communist regime in Hungary.

Course Requirements:

Students are expected to attend all seminars, read the assigned readings and prepare to actively participate in seminar discussions. The requirements and grading breakdown of the seminar are as follows:

Seminar participation (50 percent);

Final essay (50 percent): A final essay of approximately 2.000 words will be due two weeks after the final seminar. Students can choose one of three possible essay topics that will be announced by the instructors. Each essay will require that students incorporate topics and readings from the first and second sections of the course. No additional research is required beyond the assigned readings, although students are encouraged to consult certain suggested readings for their general academic background.

Course Outline and Readings:

Class One:

**Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Balkans:
Symbolic Geographies and the Historical Regions of Europe**

Assigned Readings:

George Schöpflin, "Introduction," and "Central Europe: Definitions Old and New," in George Schöpflin and Nancy Wood, eds., *In Search of Central Europe*. Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1989, pp. 1-3, 7-29.

Maria Todorova, "Between Classification and Politics: The Balkans and the Myth of Central Europe," in *Imagining the Balkans*. London: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 140-160.

Suggested Readings:

Friedrich Naumann, *Central Europe*. With an introduction by W. J. Ashley. Translated by Christabel M. Meredith. London: P.S. King, 1917.

Jenő Sűcs, "The three historical regions of Europe: an outline," in John Keane, ed, *Civil Society and the State. New European Paradigms*, London: Verso, 1988, pp. 291-332.

Maria Todorova, "The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention," *Slavic Review* 53 (1994) 2, pp. 453-482.

Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994, pp. 1-16.

László Kontler, "Introduction: Reflections on Symbolic Geography," in "Central Europe: Ten Years After" (Thematic Issue), *European Review of History*, 6 (Spring 1999), 1, pp. 9-15.

**Part One:
History and Culture of Central Europe, 1815-1989**

**Class Two:
Empires and the Awakening of Central European Nationalities**

Assigned Readings:

Kemal H. Karpat, "The Balkan National States and Nationalism: Image and Reality," *Islamic Studies* 36 (1997), pp. 82-104.

Ronald Grigor Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," in Ronald Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations. Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 23-66.

Further Bibliography:

Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Questions in the Balkans," in M. Blinkhorn and Th. Veremis, eds., *Modern Greece. Nationalism and Nationality*. Athens: Sage-Eliamep, 1990, pp. 23-66.

Braude, Benjamin, "Foundation myths of the millet system," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*.

New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publisher, 1982, Vol. 1, pp. 70-75.

Kemal H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 1, pp. 141-169.

Class Three:

Nation-States and Nationalism in Pre-World War One Central Europe

Assigned Readings:

Peter F. Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots of Eastern European Nationalism," in Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969, pp. 3-54.

Gale Stokes, "The Social Origins of East European Politics," in Daniel Chirot, (ed.) *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages Until the Early Twentieth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 210-251.

Further Bibliography:

Constantin Iordachi, "The Unyielding Boundaries of Citizenship: The Emancipation of 'Non-Citizens' in Romania, 1866-1918," *European Review of History* 8 (August 2001) 2, pp. 157-186.

Peter F. Sugar (ed.), *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1995.

Robin Okin, "To World War and Collapse," in *The Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 363-401.

Class Four:

Cultural Revolt and the Crisis of Liberalism around 1900

Assigned Readings:

Carl E. Schorske, "Introduction," and "Politics and the Psyché: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, New York: Vintage Books, 1981, pp. 3-23.

Péter Hanák, "The Garden and the Workshop: Reflections on *Fin-de-siècle* Culture in Vienna and Budapest," in *The Garden and the Workshop. Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 63-97.

Note: The class will be held at the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

Further Bibliography:

John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Mikulás Teich and Roy Porter, eds., *Fin-de-Siècle and its Legacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken, ed., *Cultural Politics at the Fin-de-Siècle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Sander L. Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin-de-Siècle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Shearer West, *Fin-de-Siècle: Art and Society in an Age of Uncertainty*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1994.

Class Five:

Interwar Central Europe: Ideological Conflicts and the Rise of Fascism

Assigned Readings:

Roger Griffin, "The Abortive Fascist Movements in Inter-war Europe," in *The Nature of Fascism*, London: Pinter Publishers, 1991, pp. 116-145.

Roger Griffin, "Romania" and "Hungary" in *Fascism*, pp. 169-170, 219-226.

Constantin Iordachi, "Charisma, Religion, Ideology: Romania's Interwar Legion of the Archangel Michael", in John R. Lampe and Mark Mazower (eds.), *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2004, p. 19-53.

Note: The class will be held at the "House of Terror" Museum, Budapest.

Further Bibliography:

Emilio Gentile, "The Sacralisation of Politics: Definitions, Interpretations and Reflections on the Question of Secular Religion and Totalitarianism," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religion*, 1 (2000) 1, pp. 1-23.

Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25 (May-June 1990) 2/3, pp. 229-251.

R. J. Crampton, "The Inter-war Years: An Introductory Survey," and "Ideological Currents in the Inter-war Period," in *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – And After*. New York: Routledge,

1997, pp. 31-38, 152-176.

**Class Six:
Migration, Ethnic Cleansing and Population Transfers**

Assigned Readings:

Paul Robert Magocsi, "Population Movements, 1944-1948," in *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1993, pp. 164-168.

Dariusz Stola, "Forced Migrations in Central European History," *International Migration Review* 26 (Summer 1992) 2, 324-341.

Jan T. Gross, *The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 3-22, 138-173.

Further Bibliography:

Michael Marrus, R. *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Randolph L. Braham, "The Uniqueness of the Holocaust in Hungary" in Randolph L. Braham and Béla Vago eds.. *The Holocaust in Hungary. Forty Years Later*. New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1985, pp. 177-190.

Deletant, Dennis, "The Holocaust in Transnistria: An Overview in the Light of Recent Research", în Rebecca Haynes, ed., *Moldova Bessarabia, Transnistria*., Occasional Papers in Romanian Studies, Nr. 3, School of Slavonic and East European Studies. London: University College London, 2003, pp. 143–161.

Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3 Vols. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961. New York: Watts, 1973.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. London: Little, Brown, 1996.

**Class Seven:
Communism and Stalinism in Eastern Europe, 1944-1956**

Assigned Readings:

Jan Gross, "The Social Consequences of War: Preliminaries for the Study of the Imposition of Communist Regimes in East Central Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 3 (1989), pp. 198-214.

R. J. Crampton, "East European Stalinism, 1948-1953," and "The Retreat from Stalinism, 1953-1956," in *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 255-274.

Further Bibliography:

Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*. New York: Vintage, 1981.

Gale Stokes, Doc. 7: “Stalinists;” Doc. 9: “The expulsion of Yugoslavia;” Doc. 10-11: “The Purge Trials” in *From Stalinism to Pluralism. A Documentary History of Eastern Europe Since 1945*. 2nd ed. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 44-50, 58-77.

George Hodos, *Show Trials: Stalinist Purges in Eastern Europe, 1948-1954*. New York: Praeger, 1987.

Kenneth Jowitt, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Robert King, *Minorities Under Communism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

**Class Eight:
Reform, Dissent, and the End of Communism, 1956-1989**

Assigned Readings:

Katherine Verdery, “What was socialism and why did it fall?,” in *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 19-38.

Daniel Chirot, “What Happened in Eastern Europe in 1989?,” in Vladimir Tismăneanu, ed., *The Revolutions of 1989*. London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 19-50.

Further Bibliography:

Gale Stokes, Docs. 38-43, in *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 224-253.

Adam Michnik. *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1985. ix-98.

Cliff Lewis and Carroll Britch, “Light Out of Poland: Wajda’s Man of Marble and Man of Iron,” *Film and History* 12 (Dec. 1982) 4, pp. 82-89.

György Konrad, *Antipolitics*. New York: Holt, 1984.

Katherine Verdery, “The ‘Etatization’ of Time in Ceausescu’s Romania,” in *What Was Socialism*, pp. 39-57.

**Part II:
Contemporary Politics of Central Europe**

**Class Nine:
Paths to Post-socialist Transformation in Central Europe**

Assigned Readings:

Valerie Bunce, "The Political Economy of Postsocialism," *Slavic Review*, 58 (Winter 1999) 4, pp. 756-793.

Further Bibliography:

László Brust, "1989: The Negotiated Revolution in Hungary," in András Bozóki, András Körösnéyi, and George Schöpflin, eds. *Post-communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1992, pp. 45-59.

Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery, "Introduction," in *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, pp. 1-17.

Mitchell Orenstein, "Strategies for Transformation," in *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 11-24.

**Class Ten:
Balkan Security: New Threats and Challenges**

Assigned Readings:

Spyros Economides, "Balkan Security: What Security? Whose Security?" *Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, 3 (Sept. 2003) 3, pp. 105-129.

Charles Ingrao, "Understanding Ethnic Conflict in Central Europe: An Historical Perspective," *Nationalities Papers* 27 (June 1999) 2, pp. 291-318, 331-332.

Further Bibliography:

Ken Booth (ed.), *New Thinking about Strategy and International Security*. London: Harper Collins, 1991.

Ole Waever, et al., *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-cold War Era*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

**Class Eleven:
The "Return to Europe": The Politics and Impact of EU Accession**

Assigned Readings:

Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Zielonka, "Introduction: Academic Boundaries and Path Dependencies facing the EU's Eastward Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*, 17 (February 2003) 1, pp. 7-23.

David R. Cameron, "The Challenges of Accession," *East European Politics and Societies*, 17 (February 2003) 1, pp. 24-41.

Further Bibliography:

Heather Grabbe and Kirsty Huges, "Central and east European views on the EU Enlargement: Political Debates and Public Opinion," in Karen Henderson, ed., *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the EU*. London: University College London Press, 1999, pp. 185-202.

Valerie Bunce, "The Visegrád Group: Regional Cooperation and European Integration in Post-Communist Europe," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *Mitteleuropa: Between Europe and Germany*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997, pp. 240-284.

Slavenka Drakulić, "A Trip Back to Europe," in Christopher Lord, ed. Copenhagen: Handelshøjskolens Forlag, 2000, pp. 235-242.

Harris Geoffrey, "The Democratic Dimension of EU Enlargement: The Role of Parliament and Public Opinion," in Ronald Linden, ed. *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp. 1-32.

József Böröcz, "The Fox and the Raven: The EU and Hungary Renegotiate the Margins of 'Europe'" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (2000), pp. 847-875.

Class Twelve: Conclusions
Post-socialist Transformation: Lessons Learned

Assigned Readings:

Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55 (January 2003) 2, pp. 167-192.

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2002), pp. 5-21.

Further Bibliography:

Ivan Krastev, "The Balkans: Democracy Without Choices," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (July 2002), 3, p. 39-53.

Jeffrey Kopstein and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53 (October 2000) 1, pp. 1-37.

Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Gender After Socialism: A Comparative-Historical*

Essay. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), pp. 212-44.

General Bibliography:

Ash, Timothy Garton. "Where is Central Europe Now?" *History of the Present*. London: Penguin Books, 1999, pp. 383-397.

Aspects/Positions. 50 Years of Art in Central Europe 1949-1999. Budapest, KMM-LMB, 2000.

Booth, Ken (ed.). *New Thinking about Strategy and International Security*. London: Harper Collins, 1991.

Böröcz, József. "The Fox and the Raven: The EU and Hungary Renegotiate the Margins of 'Europe'" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (2000), pp. 847-875.

Braham, Randolph L. *The Politics of Genocide. The Holocaust in Hungary*. 2 vols., New York, 1981.

Brust, László. "1989: The Negotiated Revolution in Hungary," in András Bozóki, András Körösenyi, and George Schöpflin, eds. *Post-communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1992, pp. 45-59.

Bunce, Valerie. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55 (January 2003) 2, pp. 167-192.

Bunce, Valerie. "The Political Economy of Postsocialism," *Slavic Review*, 58 (Winter 1999) 4, pp. 756-793.

Burawoy, Michael and Katherine Verdery. *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

Buzan, Barry. *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-cold War Era*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

Cameron, David, R. "The Challenges of Accession," *East European Politics and Societies*, 17 (February 2003) 1, pp. 24-41.

Carothers, Thomas. "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2002), pp. 5-21.

Crampton, R. J. *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – And After*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Daalder, Ivo and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

- Dauphinée, Elizabeth. "Faith, Hope, Neoliberalism: Mapping Economies of Violence on the Margins of Europe." *Dialectical Anthropology* 33 (2003), pp. 1 – 15.
- Drakulić, Slavenka. "A Trip Back to Europe," in Christopher Lord, ed. Copenhagen: Handelshøjskolens Forlag, 2000, pp. 235-242.
- Ekiert, Grzegorz, Jan Zielonka. "Introduction: Academic Boundaries and Path Dependencies facing the EU's Eastward Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*, 17 (February 2003) 1, pp. 7-23.
- Encyclopedia of Islam*. Ed. by Henry A. R. Gibb et al. 15 Vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986-2002.
- Frucht, Richard, ed., *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.
- Gal, Susan and Gail Kligman. *The Politics of Gender After Socialism: A Comparative-Historical Essay*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gallagher, Tom. *Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Gedeon, Péter. "Hungary: German and European Influences on the Post-Socialist Transition," in *Mittlereuropa: Between Europe and Germany*, ed. Peter Katzenstein. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1997, pp. 101-148.
- Geoffrey, Harris. "The Democratic Dimension of EU Enlargement: The Role of Parliament and Public Opinion," in Ronald Linden, ed. *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp. 1-32.
- Glenn, John, ed. *The Power and Limits of NGOs: A Critical Look at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Grabbe, Heather and Kirsty Huges, "Central and east European views on the EU enlargement: political debates and public opinion," in Karen Henderson, ed., *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the EU*. London: University College London Press, 1999, pp. 185-202.
- Grabbe, Heather. "The Sharp Edges of Europe: Extending Schengen Eastwards," *International Affairs* 76 (2000), pp. 519-536.
- Gross, Jan T. *The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Hauser, Jerzy and Mioslava Marody, eds. *Three Polands: The Potential For and Barriers to Integration with the EU*. Warsaw, 1999.
- Hayden, Robert M. "Schindler's Fate: Ethnic Cleansing and Population Transfers," *Slavic Review*, 55 (Winter 1996) 4, pp. 727-748.
- Henderson, Karen. *Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the EU*. London: University

- College London Press, 1999.
- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3 Vols. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961. New York: Watts, 1973.
- Ingrao, Charles. "Understanding Ethnic Conflict in Central Europe: an Historical Perspective," *Nationalities Papers* 27 (June 1999) 2, pp. 291-318, 331-32.
- Jacoby, Wade. "The Reality Behind the Potemkin Harmonization: Priest and Penitent, The EU as a Force in the Domestic Politics of Eastern Europe," *East European Constitutional Review* (Winter/Spring 1999), pp. 62-67.
- Jacoby, Wade. "Tutors and Pupils: International Organizations, Central European Elites, and Western Models." *Governance* 14 (2001), pp. 169-200.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans: Twentieth Century*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Jelavich, Charles and Barbara Jelavich, eds. *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.
- Jelavich, Charles and Barbara Jelavich. *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1977.
- Judt, Tony. "The Rediscovery of Central Europe" and Jacques Rupnik, "Central Europe or Mitteleuropa," in "Eastern Europe... Central Europe... Europe," *Daedalus. Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 119 (Winter 1990), pp. 23-54, 249-278.
- Kaplan, Robert. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1994.
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed. *Mitteleuropa: Between Europe and Germany*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997.
- King, Charles. "Post-Postcommunism: Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe,'" *World Politics*, 53 (October 2000) 1, pp. 143-172.
- Kopstein, Jeffrey and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53 (October 2000) 1, pp. 1-37.
- Kovács, János Mátyás. "Praising the Hybrids: Notes on Economic Thought Ten Years After," *East European Politics and Societies* 13(1999), pp. 315-325.
- Krastev, Ivan. "The Balkans: Democracy Without Choices," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (July 2002), 3, p. 39-53.
- Kuus, Merje. "European Integration in Identity Narratives in Estonia: A Quest For Security" *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (2002), pp. 91-108.
- Larabee, Stephen. *Balkan Security*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1977.
- Lauristin, Marju and Peeter Vihalemm, eds. *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political*

- Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition*. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997.
- Lewis, Paul, G. *Central Europe since 1945*. London: Longman, 1994.
- Likić-Brborić, Branka. "Globalization, Governance and the Political Economy of Transition." In Carl-Ulrik Schierup, ed., *Scramble for the Balkans: Nationalism, Globalism and the Political Economy of Reconstruction*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Linden, Ronald, ed. *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1993, pp. 164-168.
- Marrus, Michael Robert. *The Holocaust in History*. Hanover, NH: Published for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 1987.
- Marrus, Michael, R. *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Mazower, Mark. *The Balkans. A Short History*. New York: The Modern Library, 2001.
- McFaul, Michael. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), pp. 212-44.
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