



inflections

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The Future of the *Balkans:*

Beyond Conflict & Underdevelopment

March 29-31, 2001

AT THE three-day conference at UNC in late March on the Future of the Balkans, strategies for moving the region “beyond conflict and underdevelopment” were highlighted, along with the current situations in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. About 100 people attended the series of workshops, panel discussions, and keynote addresses.

Among the themes of the conference, the need for a regional approach to the problems in the Balkans stood out. Such an approach would recognize the common problems facing countries in the region, help to secure confidence among former combatants, and facilitate better coordination of international activities. Currently the efforts of the international community are



Above: Bosnian Ambassador Igor Davidovic gives a keynote address



Left: Dardan Gashi, Pristina, Kosovo-based spokesman for the

International War Crimes Tribunal

Right: Susan Woodward, CUNY professor and author of Balkan Tragedy



fragmented among actors like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Stability Pact, NATO, and the United Nations. Factionalism and personality clashes also often

impede the work of the international community. A regional focus is especially needed to work towards the demilitarization of

the region, which necessitates moving

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The Future of the *Balkans...*

UNC Economics Professor **Patrick Conway** published *Crisis, Stabilization, and Growth: economic adjustment in transition economies* with Kluwer Academic Publishers. The book mixes general macroeconomic theory, cross-country empirical analysis and in-depth economic case studies of Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Russia. Through theoretical analysis and extensive empirical testing it focuses on the central role of saving in reducing inflation and restoring economic growth in the transition economies. <www.wkap.nl/book.htm/0-7923-7228-X>

In *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (University of California Press) **Donald L. Horowitz**, the James B. Duke Professor of Law and Political Science at Duke, examines the phenomenon of “an intense, sudden, lethal attack” by civilian members of one ethnic group upon another ethnic group. Approximately 150 riots in about fifty countries, mainly in Asia, Africa, and the former Soviet Union, as well as fifty control cases, are dealt with. Furious and sadistic, the riot is directed against a precisely specified class of targets and conducted with considerable circumspection. Horowitz scrutinizes target choices, partici-

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away from the U.S. practice of arming and training some countries’ armed forces as a way to shore up our allies. However, this would also in-

It was recognized that war has provided a tremendous impetus for the creation of an illegal economy, which did not disappear when the guns fell silent, and that the class of illicit entrepreneurs needs to be

areas of the Balkans will last for decades. Having agreed upon this, they emphasized that there should be a division between short- and long-term plans. Currently, there are demands to take care of ba-



volve countries like Croatia forgoing their desire to join NATO.

Another important focus was on the need for economic growth as a precursor to ethnic harmony. Although there is no ideal economic model, essential building blocks include mechanisms for contract enforcement and mediation of business disputes. A simpler step towards this goal is the gathering of detailed statistics, as economic crimes and deficiencies may be hidden in aggregate information.



Top: Ken Palmer (UNC Sociology), Niki Harsanyi (UNC Center for Slavic Studies), Michael Wygant (formerly of OSCE-Croatia), Ivan Vejvoda (Open Society Foundation, Belgrade)

Above: Fraser Cameron, Washington, DC-based political counsellor for the European Commission

dismantled. An educated and economically healthy middle class needs to be created as part of this process.

In looking at the larger picture, participants at the conference felt that the process of repairing the war-damaged

sic needs like housing, food, and return of displaced people, paying special attention to youth, to prevent them from turning towards crime or nationalism. Long-term plans involve state building and the reform of courts, armies, police, and finance ministries. The authority and abilities of the state need to be built built

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as many problems, such as corruption, can be linked to weak states. There was also a sense that recognition of responsibility for conflict and crimes must be addressed through the creation of truth and justice commissions. The two phases are integrally linked in that if the short-term needs are not taken care of, there will be no support for the changes over the long term. In his presentation, Fraser Cameron, European Union political counsellor, emphasized that the EU is committed to long-term involvement and urged that the U.S. Congress overcome its skepticism and remain engaged in the Balkans.

There were few solutions offered at the conference to resolve the situation in Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians control daily life, Serbs are unwilling to concede sovereignty, and the international community, which administers the province, apparently does not know how to proceed. Concern was expressed that secession by Kosovo could have wide repercussions elsewhere in the region. As far as Macedonia goes, the behind-the-scenes style of diplomacy that is attempting to prevent another outbreak of full-scale war is leading to the incorrect perception that the international community, par-

ticularly the new Bush administration, has chosen to wait this one out on the sidelines. Several participants argued that there is a much more reserved approach to foreign policy being taken by the Bush team, as opposed to the frenetic activity of the Clinton



Above: Sarajevo-based journalist Colin Soloway makes a point as Ivan Vejvoda (Open Society Fund, Belgrade) and Thomas Switzer (former State Dept.) look on.

and Albright team.

In contrast, there was much more optimism at the conference regarding Bosnia, where refugees are returning to their homes in growing numbers and there have been at least some political successes. In his keynote address, Bosnian Ambassador Igor Davidovic pointed to some of these successes and also seconded the notion of the importance of building up the economy.

Ivan Vejvoda, executive director of the Fund for an Open Society in Belgrade, noted the positive developments in Serbian politics,

where a number of individuals with international experience have taken up key positions in the government and plans for reform of legal institutions, fiscal policy, and public administration are being prepared. In a timely coincidence, the arrest of

Slobodan Milosevic took place on the same weekend as the conference.

For more information on the conference, visit the Center web site. Significant support was provided by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and the following UNC organizations: Office of Provost, Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies (with funding from the U.S. Department of Education), University Center for International Studies, European Union Center at UNC, Curriculum in International Studies, and Honors Program. □

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pants and organization, the timing and supporting conditions for the violence, the nature of the events that precede the riot, the prevalence of atrocities during the violence, the location and diffusion of riots, and the aims and effects of riot behavior. He finds that the deadly ethnic riot is a highly patterned but emotional event that tends to occur during times of political uncertainty.

Also scheduled for publication is an updated edition of Horowitz's 1985 work, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, which will have a new preface. <www.ucpress.edu/books/pages/8946.html>

Madeline G. Levine, Kenan Professor of Slavic Literatures at UNC, translated a book by Czeslaw Milosz, *Milosz's ABC's*, which was published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux in 2001. Levine also gave a lecture, "Negotiating 'Polish Provincialism': On Translating the Prose of the Czeslaw Milosz" in the University Professors Translation Seminar Series at Boston University on March 31.

David N. McNelis of the Carolina Environmental Program has a feature article in the March issue of *Environmental Science and Tech-*

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nology entitled "Environmental Security: an Evolving Concept." Although environmental security is now accepted as an element of national security, it remains poorly understood and ill-defined. The article discusses all of the environmentally-related issues with respect to the Caspian as well as the Persian Gulf, with a particular focus on Iran.

UNC CSEES Fellow **Jacqueline Olich** participated in the Internet Resources and Russian History Roundtable at the Southern Conference for Slavic Studies, held in early March in Alexandria, Virginia, discussing her experiences as the instructor in an on-line Russian history course.

events

APRIL 20: Joanne Richardson will speak on "Specters of the Avant-Garde: Contemporary Art and the Politics of Collaboration in East Central Europe" at 4:00 pm in 103 Bingham Hall, UNC. Richardson is a philosopher, media theorist, and freelance art organizer. Currently she is a Fulbright grantee working with self-organized art spaces in places ranging from

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Macedonia is Fertile Ground for Nationalism Project

PROFESSOR Robert Greenberg has chosen a chaotic but opportune time to study language policies and nationalism in Macedonia. As the recipient of a Fulbright grant, the UNC Associate Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures arrived in Skopje in early February, and watched as skirmishes developed between government forces and ethnic Albanian rebels just a few weeks later.

Greenberg returned to the U.S. for several weeks to attend a number of conferences in late March, and then will continue his research in Macedonia until August. Greenberg has three specific areas of activity. His first area of interest is language policy,

which in the current situation is a sort of "living history." Not only is the legal status of Albanian a major controversy, but there is also a debate on whether and how to reform Macedonian. One faction would like to get rid of the "Serbianisms" in the language, including the way it is transcribed into Latin. Greenberg conducts his research by studying the language law itself, as well as the statements of the politicians, press, and linguists.

The second area of focus is lecturing on language and national identity from a U.S. perspective. Greenberg said that he talks about the U.S. and Europe first, showing the Macedonians that "you're not the only country that has to deal with these

issues." Such lectures are given not only to the mixed crowd of the Academy of Arts and Sciences but also to the average undergrads studying at the English Department of the state university in Skopje.

As his third endeavor, Greenberg is attempting to develop a long-term project with the Academy of Arts and Sciences on "The Socio-linguistic Situa-



UNC Professor Robert Greenberg (R) talks with International Crisis Group analyst Anna Husarska (L) at the recent Balkans conference.

tion in Macedonia: Nationalist Myth and Linguistic Fact." The languages of the region share many features, which is "tangible evidence" of a long history of social and economic interaction, providing a counterbalance to nationalists who say "we've never gotten along," he said.

In the Lake Ohrid region, Greenberg is conducting interviews with acquaintances for his research, and is videotaping them for later use in teaching. He has already asked a range of people, from a doctor and lawyer to an electrician and fisherman, about various issues, e.g. what they think of Albanians, both as individuals and as a people, and about language policies. As a specialist in the South Slavic languages, Greenberg

hasn't done as much work with the Albanians as with the Macedonian Slavs, but he hopes to rectify this soon. He is also making a particular effort to contact Vlachs and Turks, getting their take on current events, their feelings of allegiance toward the country, and the extent of their Macedonian-language skills.

The current situation in the former Yugoslav republic is "like watching a horror movie unfold," he said. As of early April, there was a lull in the fighting, but "people know it's not over." Another outbreak of fighting could easily escalate into all-out war.

A path out of the Macedonian-Albanian conflict will be difficult to find, Greenberg said. The two sides have never really become citizens of one country, and instead exist in "separate orbits, separate neighborhoods." At best, the Macedonians are willing to accept only informal federalization, while the Albanians are aiming at de facto federalization. Some Albanians Greenberg has come across, in the marketplace for instance, are "very very pro-rebel." The Albanian politicians, on the other hand, have always played a double-game, criticizing the government but always willing to share in the positions and perks of power. Now the Albanian parties are uncertain as to whether to support the radicals. The international community needs to offer "a lot of carrot," establishing significant rewards for a peaceful compromise within the borders of Macedonia, Greenberg said. "The alternative is war and chaos." □

Joint Center Acts to Improve Language Teaching Abilities

THE DUKE-UNC Slavic and East European Language Resource Center is midway through a three-year renewable grant designed to create teaching materials, particularly for less commonly taught languages, and to enhance the use of technology in instruction.

There are nine Language Resource Centers in the country, but only three focus on specific parts of the world. Besides the Duke-UNC center, its counterparts at Ohio State and Wisconsin focus on Asian and African languages, respectively. This is part of a new approach to funding programs under the Department of Education's Title VI, which is intended to promote the foreign language and area studies capability in the U.S.

Previously, says center co-director Laura Janda, Language Resource Centers were "sloppily-defined" and bundled with such components as English as a Second-Language, which is not the focus of the Title IV program. In such a situation, there is little accountability in terms of measuring effectiveness.

To counteract this, a board composed of both linguists and pedagogs oversees the SEELRC. The National Policy Committee consists of scholars from places ranging from the universities of Arizona and Chicago to Princeton and is representative of the entire field. "The federal government gets more bang for the buck and it's accountable," Janda says.

The focus also allows for economies of scale. Since the languages share features, the creation of teaching materials for one language can easily act as a template for other languages, an approach that won't work if a center is focused on, say, Russian and Korean. Some of the projects are based more at Duke and some more at UNC, while others are contracted out to experts across the country.

One major project is to create short reference grammars and books focusing on the case system and aspect of the various languages. There is also *Glossos*, an online journal for scholars. In addition, every summer there is a 10-day institute for teachers of Slavic languages at all levels. About 25 people attend on average to hear papers presented on such subjects as the availability of Internet resources, how to integrate technology into teaching, legal and business Russian, and teaching film and culture.

Such events are helping to bring together teachers of Slavic languages, who are frequently isolated. At many institutions, there is only one teacher for each such language. A series of websites under construction will allow students to expand or maintain their proficiency in Eastern European languages. This would be especially valuable, for in-

stance, for army officers, who might receive a couple years of training in Russian and then be expected to maintain that level, even though they are stationed in remote locations. The Internet will also overcome the hurdle involved in getting students to show up at 9 am ev-

ery Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in Chapel Hill for Czech 101.

However, while technology is a great aid, it can be a major hurdle as well. The use of fonts, especially those that are Cyrillic or use diacritics, as well as varying types of platforms like Macintosh and PCs, complicates things. It isn't yet possible to type in a paper on computer X and send it to computer Z and always have it print out perfectly, Janda says. "We just aren't there yet."

Once the technology is improved and online tools are pervasive, the potential is huge, Janda says. Demand for Eastern European languages is still strong, despite a leveling off of interest in Russian, though in many cases student demand does not match career opportunities. Much of this is related to how the media portray the various countries, for instance Russia as a poor and unfriendly country, she says. □



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Bucharest, to Budapest, Zagreb, Bratislava, and Prague. She is the managing editor of *Subsol*, <<http://subsol.c3.hu>>, which was produced during a residency at C3 Center for Culture & Communication in Budapest.

APRIL 25: "Medicine and Empire in Soviet Kazakhstan" will be the topic discussed by Professor **Paula Michaels**, Department of History, University of Iowa, at 4:00 pm, Center for International Studies, Conference Room, 223 E. Franklin St., UNC.

MAY 2: The Piedmont Slavic Colloquium will meet at the Center for International Studies, Conference Room, 223 E. Franklin St., UNC, at 3:30 pm. Three students will be presenting their MA projects. **Chad McGougan** will discuss "Modern Telecommunications Infrastructure: A Key to Progressive Development in Russia," while **R. Stockton Butler** will present "Post-Communist Energy Policy Development in the Czech Republic and the Temelin Nuclear Power Plant: Optimal Choice or Pandora's Box?" and **Jason Czyn** will make a presentation on "Revisiting Stalin's Role in the Great Purges." □

Duke to Delve into 'Road to Democratization'

DUKE University will hold a conference on "The Road to Democratization: Freeways and Detours" from October 19 to 21, 2001.

Papers must be submitted by May 1. The forum will be sponsored by Duke University's Center for International Studies, the Trent Foundation, and the Graduate Seminars on Global Issues.

A variety of countries representing virtually every region of the world have within the past twenty years instituted democratic or semi-democratic reforms. External pressure has frequently played a key role in pro-

moting democracy throughout the world. International institutions have advanced market reform as the most effective path to economic growth, and have encouraged civil society as a means to allow citizens to organize and express their needs and demands.

Within this context, democratization has led to both success and unmet expectations. In this conference, we are inviting papers that investigate the experiences of countries with democratization and the conditions that promote or impede success. Papers may ex-

plore the links between democratization and civil society, the rule of law, market reform, international institutions, and domestic and international conflict. Topics may include the relation of democratization to: International Institutions and Western Foreign Policy; Economic Reform; Domestic Resistance and Conditionality; Rule of Law and Accountability; Human Rights; Civil Society; War and Ethnic Conflict; Failed Attempts and Degrees of Democratization.

<www.duke.edu/web/cis/globalissues/conf/democratization.html> □

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