

JEAN MONNET CHAIR: The EU and Geopolitical Competition in the Western Balkans

Nikolaos Tzifakis

(1) GENERAL

SCHOOL	SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES		
ACADEMIC UNIT	POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS		
LEVEL OF STUDIES	Undergraduate		
COURSE CODE	ΔΕ7030Υ	SEMESTER	8th
COURSE TITLE	JEAN MONNET CHAIR: The EU and Geopolitical Competition in the Western Balkans		
INDEPENDENT TEACHING ACTIVITIES <i>if credits are awarded for separate components of the course, e.g. lectures, laboratory exercises, etc. If the credits are awarded for the whole of the course, give the weekly teaching hours and the total credits</i>		WEEKLY TEACHING HOURS	CREDITS
Lectures		3	1.6
Written Essay			0.9
Oral Presentation			0.1
Final Written Exams			2.3
Total			~5
<i>Add rows if necessary. The organisation of teaching and the teaching methods used are described in detail at (d).</i>			
COURSE TYPE <i>general background, special background, specialised general knowledge, skills development</i>	Specialised general knowledge		
PREREQUISITE COURSES:	None		
LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION and EXAMINATIONS:	Greek (Exceptionally in English, for Erasmus+ students)		
IS THE COURSE OFFERED TO ERASMUS STUDENTS	Yes		
COURSE WEBSITE (URL)	https://eclass.uop.gr/courses/1288/		

(2) LEARNING OUTCOMES

Learning outcomes

The course learning outcomes, specific knowledge, skills and competences of an appropriate level, which the students will acquire with the successful completion of the course are described.

Consult Appendix A

- *Description of the level of learning outcomes for each qualifications cycle, according to the Qualifications Framework of the European Higher Education Area*
- *Descriptors for Levels 6, 7 & 8 of the European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning and Appendix B*
- *Guidelines for writing Learning Outcomes*

The course aims to fully acquaint students with the objectives the EU has promoted in the Western Balkans through the employment of a wide range of means and instruments. Moreover, students should comprehend the complex regional environment in which EU foreign policy is implemented, which is constituted by the interplay of the preferences and the policies of local

and other external actors.

Specifically, upon successful completion of the course, students are expected to:

- Knowledge:
 - ✓ be familiar with the main concepts, theoretical approaches, and research methods used to study the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans;
 - ✓ have acquired a solid and employable knowledge base in the field of study of the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans;
 - ✓ develop analytical and critical knowledge of the field of study of the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans, as well as of the different methods of conducting research, studying, and writing about it.
- Skills:
 - ✓ utilise, adapt and apply the relevant knowledge and research methods to analyse ideas and information, explore issues, and acquire new knowledge on subjects related to the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans;
 - ✓ learn to argue, formulate ideas and opinions, resolve problems, and formulate policy proposals about the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans;
 - ✓ develop and communicate, in writing and orally, to specialised or general audiences, valid opinions and judgments, with documented, analytical, and critical reasoning or counterarguments, on issues and topics that fall within the field of the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans.
- Competence:
 - ✓ are able, under supervision and in full observance of established scientific standards, to design, implement, and support, individually and collectively, research projects on topics related to the geopolitical competition among great powers in the Western Balkans;
 - ✓ have sufficient autonomy and an appropriate level of professionalism and social responsibility to transfer, develop, adapt, and apply in practice the knowledge and skills they have learned.

General Competences

Taking into consideration the general competences that the degree-holder must acquire (as these appear in the Diploma Supplement and appear below), at which of the following does the course aim?

Search for, analysis and synthesis of data and information, with the use of the necessary technology	Project planning and management
Adapting to new situations	Respect for difference and multiculturalism
Decision-making	Respect for the natural environment
Working independently	Showing social, professional and ethical responsibility and sensitivity to gender issues
Team work	Criticism and self-criticism
Working in an international environment	Production of free, creative and inductive thinking
Working in an interdisciplinary environment
Production of new research ideas	Others...

Upon completion of the course, students will be equipped with the necessary knowledge to conduct basic empirical research about contemporary Western Balkan problems, while their capability to analyze and assess the effectiveness of EU foreign policy will be improved.

(3) SYLLABUS

Description:

The Yugoslav crisis erupted at a time at which the EC planned the establishment of a common foreign policy. Subsequently, the outbreak and the course of the Yugoslav wars tested the credibility of the EU's nascent Common Foreign and Security Policy and highlighted the Union's deficiency in military and crisis management capabilities. The course will examine the EU involvement in the Western Balkans and the Union's efforts (usually in partnership with the United States) to promote stability, democracy, and economic development in the region. In addition, it will discuss the increased footprint in the region of other external powers (notably, Russia, China, Turkey and the Gulf countries) and it will reflect on the impact of the unfolding geopolitical competition between the EU and the United States and these non-Western powers on the advancement of peacebuilding and political and economic reforms in the Western Balkans. The course will be divided into three parts. The first part will elaborate on different aspects of the EU engagement with the Western Balkans. The Union has inter alia assumed the following roles in the region: it has acted as mediator/facilitator in conflicts; it has deployed CSDP missions; it has exercised direct political authority; and it has been guiding the entire region's preparation for EU membership. The second part will analyze the aims, the instruments, and the policies of all other major external geopolitical actors in the Western Balkans (namely, the United States, NATO, Russia, China, Turkey, and the Gulf states) and it will question the compatibility of the policies of external non-Western actors with the EU/US reform agenda. Finally, the third part will focus on specific case studies (e.g. projects/investments/conflicts) on which students are expected to present papers that draw on the application of concepts and knowledge obtained throughout the course.

Course Layout:

Week 1: The Geopolitics of the Balkans in historical perspective

Part A: The EU as a foreign policy actor in the Western Balkans

Week 2: The EC/EU and the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia

Week 3: The EU and peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Week 4: The EU and the settlement of the Kosovo question

Week 5: The EU and interethnic conflict management in North Macedonia

Week 6: The EU and democracy and rule of law promotion in the Western Balkans

Week 7: The EU and sustainable development in the Western Balkans

Part B: Geopolitical Competition in the Western Balkans

Week 8: The United States and NATO in the Western Balkans

Week 9: Russia in the Western Balkans

Week 10: China in the Western Balkans

Week 11: Turkey and the Gulf states in the Western Balkans

Part C: Case Studies

Week 12: Case studies – Student essay presentations

Week 13: Case studies – Student essay presentations

The course is structured into 13 weeks/sessions.

Week/Session	Readings
1. The Geopolitics of the Balkans in Historical Perspective	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>Αλειφαντής, Σ. και Ν. Τζιφάκης, (2001). Η Νοτιο-Ανατολική Ευρώπη ως Περιφερειακό Υποσύστημα. Στο Σ. Αλειφαντής και Ε. Χωραφάς, (επιμ.), <i>Σύγχρονο Διεθνές Σύστημα και Ελλάδα</i>, Αθήνα: Στρατηγικές Εκδόσεις, σελ. 41-74.</p> <p>Πρεβελάκης, Γ. (2009). <i>Τα Βαλκάνια: Πολιτισμοί και Γεωπολιτική</i>. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Libro.</p>

	<p>F. Bieber and N. Tzifakis, (2019). “The Western Balkans as a Geopolitical Chessboard? Myths, Realities and Policy Options”, <i>BiEPAG Policy Brief</i>, June, 1-32.</p> <p>Further Readings Μαζάουερ, Μ. (2007). <i>Τα Βαλκάνια</i>. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πατάκης.</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. (2021). “The Geopolitics of Pandemic-related Assistance to the Western Balkans”, <i>IEMED Mediterranean Yearbook 2021</i>, Barcelona: European Institute for the Mediterranean, 177-180.</p> <p>Petrovic, M. and Tzifakis, N. “The Geopolitical Turn of EU Enlargement: An Introduction”, <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>, 29(2), 157-168.</p>
2. The EC/EU and the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia	<p>Suggested Readings Lavdas, K. A. (1996). “The European Union and the Yugoslav conflict: Crisis management and re-institutionalization in Southeastern Europe”, <i>Journal of Political & Military Sociology</i>, 24(2), 209-232.</p> <p>Weller, M. (1992). “The international response to the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia”, <i>American Journal of International Law</i>, 86(3), 569-607.</p> <p>Anderson, S. (1995). “EU, NATO, and CSCE responses to the Yugoslav crisis: Testing Europe's new security architecture”, <i>European security</i>, 4(2), 328-353.</p> <p>Friis, L., & Murphy, A. (2000). “Negotiating in a Time of Crisis: The EU's Response to the Military conflict in Kosovo”, European University Institute, EUI Working Paper, RSC, No. 20/2000.</p> <p>Further Readings Brenner, M. (1992). “The EC in Yugoslavia: A debut performance”, <i>Security Studies</i>, 1(4), 586-609.</p> <p>Lucarelli, S. (1995). “The European Response to the Yugoslav Crises: Story of a Two-Level Constraint”, European University Institute, EUI Working Paper, RSC, No. 95/37.</p> <p>Lucarelli, S. (2000). <i>Europe and the breakup of Yugoslavia: a political failure in search of a scholarly explanation</i>. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.</p>
3. The EU and peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina	<p>Suggested Readings Tzifakis, N. “The Bosnian Peace Process: The Power-Sharing Approach Revisited”, <i>Perspectives: Review of International Affairs</i>, No. 28, Summer 2007, pp. 85-102.</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. “Bosnia’s slow Europeanisation”, <i>Perspectives on European Politics and Society</i>, Vol. 13, No. 2, June 2012, pp. 131-148.</p> <p>Aybet, G. & Bieber, F. (2011). “From Dayton to Brussels: The Impact of EU and NATO Conditionality on State Building in Bosnia & Hercegovina”, <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 63(10), 1911-1937.</p> <p>A. Huskić, «Βοσνία-Ερζεγοβίνη: Εγκαταλείφθηκε από τη Δύση, αγκαλιάστηκε από την Ανατολή;». Στο: F. Bieber και Ν. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον</i></p>

	<p><i>Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 131-166.</p> <p>Τζιφάκης, Ν. και Χ. Τσαρδανίδης, (2007). Η Ανασυγκρότηση της Βοσνίας-Ερζεγοβίνης και η Διεθνής Κοινότητα: Από την Ανθρώπινη Ασφάλεια στην Ανθρώπινη Ανάπτυξη; Στο Ν. Τζιφάκης και Α. Χουλιάρης, (επιμ.), <i>Η Διεθνής Αναπτυξιακή Βοήθεια στα Βαλκάνια: Οι Αντιφάσεις της Γενναιοδωρίας</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, σελ. 255-292.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Tolksdorf, D. (2014). “Incoherent Peacebuilding: The European Union's Support for the Police Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2002–8”, <i>International peacekeeping</i>, 21(1), 56-73.</p> <p>Sweeney, S. (2018). “The European Union and EUFOR Althea’s Contribution to a Dysfunctional Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bureaucratic Politics, Emergent Strategy?”, <i>Journal of Regional Security</i>, 13(1), 3-38.</p> <p>Juncos, A. E. (2012). “Member state-building versus peacebuilding: the contradictions of EU state-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, <i>East European Politics</i>, 28(1), 58-75.</p> <p>Juncos, A. E. (2018). “EU security sector reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Reform or resist?”, <i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>, 39(1), 95-118.</p> <p>Kappler, S. (2012). “Divergent transformation and centrifugal peacebuilding: The EU in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, <i>International Peacekeeping</i>, 19(5), 612-627.</p> <p>Kappler, S., & Richmond, O. (2011). “Peacebuilding and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Resistance or emancipation?”, <i>Security dialogue</i>, 42(3), 261-278.</p> <p>Richter, S. (2018). “Missing the muscles? Mediation by conditionality in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, <i>International Negotiation</i>, 23(2), 258-277.</p> <p>Sebastian, S. (2009). “The Role of the EU in the Reform of Dayton in Bosnia-Herzegovina”, <i>Ethnopolitics</i>, 8(3-4), 341-354.</p> <p>Tolksdorf, D. (2014). “Incoherent Peacebuilding: The European Union's Support for the Police Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2002–8”, <i>International peacekeeping</i>, 21(1), 56-73.</p> <p>Tolksdorf, D. (2015). “The European Union as a mediator in constitutional reform negotiations in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The failure of conditionality in the context of intransigent local politics”, <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i>, 21(4), 401-421.</p>
4. The EU and the settlement of the Kosovo question	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. (2022). “Hostile Division and Territorial Jurisdiction: Kosovo's Independence”, in Kevin W. Gray, (ed.), <i>Global Encyclopedia of Territorial Rights</i>, Cham: Springer, pp. 1-14 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68846-6_271-1.</p> <p>Bieber, F. (2015). “The Serbia-Kosovo agreements: an EU success story?”, <i>Review of Central and East European Law</i>, 40(3-4), 285-319.</p>

	<p>G. Visoka, «Κόσσοβο: Μεταξύ δυτικών και μη δυτικών κρατών». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 167-192.</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. "The EU in Kosovo: Reflecting on the Credibility and Efficiency Deficit", <i>Problems of Post-Communism, Problems of Post-Communism</i>, Vol. 60, No. 1, January/February 2013, pp. 43-54.</p> <p>Αρμακόλας, Ι. και Θ. Ντόκος (2010). Εισαγωγή. Στο Ι. Αρμακόλας και Θ. Ντόκος, (επιμ.), <i>Από τα Βαλκάνια στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη: Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές στον 21^ο Αιώνα</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ι. Σιδέρη, σελ. 17-66.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Economides, S., & Ker-Lindsay, J. (2015). "Pre-Accession Europeanization": The Case of Serbia and Kosovo", <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>, 53(5), 1027-1044.</p> <p>Mutluer, D., & Tsarouhas, D. (2018). "EU foreign policy and 'perceived coherence': the case of Kosovo", <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 18(3), 419-438.</p> <p>Newman, E., & Visoka, G. (2018). "The foreign policy of state recognition: Kosovo's diplomatic strategy to join international society", <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i>, 14(3), 367-387.</p> <p>Papadimitriou, D., & Petrov, P. (2012). "Whose Rule, Whose Law? Contested Statehood, External Leverage and the European Union's Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo," <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>, 50(5), 746-763.</p> <p>Visoka, G., & Richmond, O. (2017). "After liberal peace? From failed state-building to an emancipatory peace in Kosovo", <i>International Studies Perspectives</i>, 18(1), 110-129.</p> <p>Bono, G. (2010). "European Union and Supervised Independence of Kosovo: A Strategic Solution to the Kosovo/Serbia Conflict", <i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>, 15 (2), 249-264.</p> <p>Cadier, D. (2011). "EU mission in Kosovo (EULEX): constructing ambiguity or constructive disunity?", <i>Transatlantic security paper</i>, 3(5).</p> <p>Capussela, A. L. (2015). <i>State-building in Kosovo: Democracy, corruption and the EU in the Balkans</i>. Bloomsbury Publishing.</p>
5. The EU and interethnic conflict management in North Macedonia	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>Z. Nechev και Ι. Nikolovski, «Βόρεια Μακεδονία: Γόνιμο έδαφος για εξωτερικές επιρροές». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 193-220.</p> <p>Κοππά, Μ. (2010). ΠΓΔ Μακεδονίας. Οι δυσκολίες δεν τελείωσαν ακόμη. Στο Ι. Αρμακόλας και Θ. Ντόκος, (επιμ.), <i>Από τα Βαλκάνια στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη: Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές στον 21^ο Αιώνα</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ι. Σιδέρη, σελ. 113-130.</p> <p>Ilievski, Z., & Taleski, D. (2009). "Was the EU's role in conflict management in Macedonia a success?", <i>Ethnopolitics</i>, 8(3-4), 355-367.</p>

	<p>Bjorkdahl, A. (2005). "Norm-maker and Norm-taker: Exploring the Normative Influence of the EU in Macedonia", <i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>, 10(2), 257-278.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Atanasova, G., & Bache, I. (2010). "Europeanization and FYR Macedonia: towards a compound polity?", <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 10(1), 85-96.</p> <p>Kacarska, S. (2012). "Minority Policies and EU Conditionality-The Case of the Republic of Macedonia", <i>JEMIE</i>, 11(2), 60-79.</p> <p>Koinova, M. (2011). "Challenging assumptions of the enlargement literature: The impact of the EU on human and minority rights in Macedonia", <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 63(5), 807-832.</p>
<p>6. The EU and democracy and rule of law promotion in the Western Balkans</p>	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>Elbasani, A., & Šabić, S. Š. (2018). "Rule of law, corruption and democratic accountability in the course of EU enlargement", <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>, 25(9), 1317-1335.</p> <p>Richter, S., & Wunsch, N. (2020). "Money, power, glory: the linkages between EU conditionality and state capture in the Western Balkans", <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>, 27(1), 41-62.</p> <p>Kmezic, M. (2016). <i>EU rule of law promotion: Judiciary reform in the Western Balkans</i>. Taylor & Francis.</p> <p>Αναστασάκης, Ο. (2010). Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και ο εκδημοκρατισμός της Βαλκανικής περιφέρειας. Μεγάλες προσδοκίες, συγκρατημένες επιδόσεις. Στο Ι. Αρμακόλας και Θ. Ντόκος, (επιμ.), <i>Από τα Βαλκάνια στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη: Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές στον 21^ο Αιώνα</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ι. Σιδέρη, σελ. 201-224.</p> <p>Μπούρης, Δ. και Ν. Τζιφάκης, (2016). Η προοπτική της Διεύρυνσης της ΕΕ και η Ευρωπαϊκή Πολιτική Γειτονίας. Στο Ν. Μαραβέγιας, (επιμ.) <i>Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση: Δημιουργία, Εξέλιξη, Πολιτικές</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Κριτική, σελ. 297-313.</p> <p>Κοντονής, Χ. (2010). Η Αλβανία από την κρίση στην ανάπτυξη (1999-2008): Πτυχές της εσωτερικής πολιτικής και ευρω-ατλαντικής πορείας της. Στο Ι. Αρμακόλας και Θ. Ντόκος, (επιμ.), <i>Από τα Βαλκάνια στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη: Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές στον 21^ο Αιώνα</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ι. Σιδέρη, σελ. 67-112.</p> <p>Καιρίδης, Δ. (2010). Σερβία – Η ανεκπλήρωτη υπόσχεση; Η δημοκρατική αλλαγή και η κληρονομιά του Μιλόσεβιτς. Στο Ι. Αρμακόλας και Θ. Ντόκος, (επιμ.), <i>Από τα Βαλκάνια στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη: Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές στον 21^ο Αιώνα</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Ι. Σιδέρη, σελ. 131-142.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Džihic, V., & Wieser, A. (2011). "Incentives for democratisation? Effects of EU conditionality on democracy in Bosnia & Herzegovina", <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 63(10), 1803-1825.</p> <p>Fakiolas, E. T., & Tzifakis, N. (2017). "Establishing the Rule of Law in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Contribution of the EU Civilian Missions." In: Fish, M.</p>

	<p>S., Gill, G. & Petrovic, M. (eds), <i>A Quarter Century of Post-Communism Assessed</i>. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 187-216.</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. (2020). "The Western Balkans during the Pandemic: Democracy and rule of law in quarantine?", <i>European View</i>, 19, 2, 197-205.</p> <p>Kmezic, M. (2018). "Captured media: Limitations and structural hindrances to media freedom in Serbia", <i>Review of Central and East European Law</i>, 43(4), 457-482.</p> <p>Risteska, M. (2013). "The role of the EU in promoting good governance in Macedonia: towards efficiency and effectiveness or deliberative democracy?", <i>Nationalities Papers</i>, 41(3), 431-446.</p> <p>Džankić, J. (2014). "The Role of the EU in the Statehood and Democratization of Montenegro". In: S. Keil & Z. Arkan (eds), <i>The EU and Member State Building: European Foreign Policy in the Western Balkans</i>. Routledge, 122-139.</p> <p>Komar, O., & Živković, S. (2016). "Montenegro: A democracy without alternations", <i>East European Politics and Societies</i>, 30(4), 785-804.</p> <p>Kera, G., & Hysa, A. (2020). "Influencing votes, winning elections: clientelist practices and private funding of electoral campaigns in Albania", <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 20(1), 123-139.</p>
7. The EU and sustainable development in the Western Balkans	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>M. Bonomi και M. Uvalic, «Η οικονομική ανάπτυξη των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων: Η σημασία των δρώντων εκτός ΕΕ». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 67-100.</p> <p>W. Bartlett, M. Bonomi and M. Uvalic (2022). <i>The Economic and Investment Plan for the Western Balkans: Assessing the possible economic, social and environmental impact of the proposed Flagship projects</i>. European Parliament, Policy Department for External Relations, Directorate General for External Policies of the Union, PE 702.561, May.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Sanfey, P., & Milatovic, J. (2018). <i>The Western Balkans in transition: diagnosing the constraints on the path to a sustainable market economy</i>. London: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.</p> <p>N. Τζιφάκης και Α. Χουλιάρης, (επιμ.), <i>Η Διεθνής Αναπτυξιακή Βοήθεια στα Βαλκάνια: Οι Αντιφάσεις της Γενναιοδωρίας</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση.</p> <p>Bartlett, W. (2007). <i>Europe's Troubled Region: Economic development, institutional reform, and social welfare in the Western Balkans</i>. Routledge.</p>
8. The United States and NATO in the Western Balkans	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>T. Flessenkemper και M. Kmezić, «Συνεργασία στον τομέα της ασφάλειας στα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια: Ρήγματα και διάβρωση της ευρω-ατλαντικής ολοκλήρωσης;». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 41-66.</p>

	<p>Further Readings</p> <p>Bieber, F. (2019). “Leadership Adrift: American Policy in the Western Balkans”, Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group, Policy Brief.</p>
9. Russia in the Western Balkans	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>D. Bechev, «Ρωσία: Παίζοντας επιδέξια με «κακό χαρτί»». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 277-302.</p> <p>Panagiotou, R. (2021). “The Western Balkans between Russia and the European Union: perceptions, reality, and impact on enlargement”, <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>, 29(2), 219-233.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Bechev, D. (2017). <i>Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe</i>. Yale University Press.</p> <p>Džankić, J., Kacarska, S. & Keil, S. (eds) (2023). <i>A year later: War in Ukraine and Western Balkan (Geo)Politics</i>. European University Institute (open access book, available here).</p> <p>Deimel, J. (ed.) (2019). <i>External Actors Series: Russia</i>. Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, Southeast Europe in Focus, 1 (open access book, available here).</p> <p>Davies, L. (2022). A “hybrid offensive” in the Balkans? Russia and the EU-led Kosovo-Serb negotiations. <i>European Security</i>, 31(1), 1-20.</p> <p>Radeljic, B. (2017). Russia's Involvement in the Kosovo Case: Defending Serbian Interests or Securing Its own Influence in Europe? <i>Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia</i>, 6(2), 273-300.</p> <p>Ruge, M. (2022). The past and the furious: How Russia’s revisionism threatens Bosnia. European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), Policy Brief, September.</p> <p>Stefanov, R., and Vladimirov, M. (2020). <i>The Kremlin Playbook in Southeast Europe: Economic Influence and Sharp Power</i>. Sofia: Center for the Study of Democracy.</p> <p>Svetoka, S., and Doncheva, T. (2021). <i>Russia's Footprint in the Western Balkan Information Environment: Susceptibility to Russian Influence</i>. Riga: NATO STRATCOM COE, October.</p> <p>Samorukov, M. (2019). Why is Russia Hooked on the Kosovo Conflict? <i>Südosteuropa Mitteilungen</i>, (02), 57-62.</p> <p>Tzifakis, N. and Prelec, T. (2021). “From mask to vaccine diplomacy: Geopolitical competition in the Western Balkans”, in Giorgio Fruscione, (ed.) <i>Pandemic in the Balkans: Geopolitics and Democracy at Stake</i>, Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing, Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), 12-33.</p> <p>Bechev, D., & Radeljić, B. (2018). “Russia and the Balkans”, <i>Russian Analytical Digest (RAD)</i>, 226.</p>

	<p>Šćepanović, J. (2023). Russia, the Western Balkans, and the question of status. <i>East European Politics and Societies</i>, 37(3), 1059-1083.</p> <p>Nelaeva, G. A., & Semenov, A. V. (2016). "EU-Russia rivalry in the Balkans: Linkage, leverage and competition (the case of Serbia)", <i>Romanian Journal of European Affairs</i>, 16 (3), 56-71.</p> <p>Stępniewski, T. (2015). "Russia in Global Politics in the Context of the Western Balkans", <i>Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe</i>, 13(5), 47-60.</p>
10. China in the Western Balkans	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>A. Vangeli, «Κίνα: Μια νέα γεωοικονομική προσέγγιση στα Βαλκάνια». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 303-330.</p> <p>Markovic Khaze, N., & Wang, X. (2021). "Is China's rising influence in the Western Balkans a threat to European integration?", <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>, 29(2), 234-250.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Pavličević, D. (2019). "Structural power and the China-EU-Western Balkans triangular relations", <i>Asia Europe Journal</i>, 17(4), 453-468.</p> <p>Wang, M., (2021). China's techno-authoritarianism has gone global. <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 8 April. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-04-08/chinas-techno-authoritarianism-has-gone-global.</p> <p>Bastian, J. (ed.) (2020). <i>External Actors Series: China</i>. Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, Southeast Europe in Focus, 6 (open access book, available here).</p> <p>Roy, I., Eckhardt, J., Stroikos, D. & Davidescu, S. (eds) (2024). <i>Rising Power, Limited Influence: The Politics of Chinese Investments in Europe and the Liberal International Order</i>. Oxford University Press (open access book, available here).</p> <p>Soyaltin-Colella, D. (2023). The EU accession process, Chinese finance and rising corruption in western Balkan stabilities: Serbia and Montenegro. <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 75(8), 1311-1335.</p> <p>Vangeli, A. (2017). "China's engagement with the sixteen countries of central, East and Southeast Europe under the belt and road initiative", <i>China & World Economy</i>, 25(5), 101-124.</p> <p>Georgiev, G., Petrova, V., and Tsabala, K. (2023). <i>Breaking the Code: Tackling the Interlocking Nexus of Russian and Chinese Disinformation and Illicit Financial Flows in Southeast Europe</i>. Sofia: Center for the Study of Democracy, https://csd.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/publications_library/NED_Report_WEB.pdf.</p> <p>Garlick, J., & Qin, F. (2023). China's Normative Power in Central and Eastern Europe: '16/17+ 1' Cooperation as a Tale of Unfulfilled Expectations. <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, 75(4), 583-605.</p> <p>Tonchev, P. (2020). China's Soft Power in Southeast Europe. Sarajevo. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/sarajevo/16005.pdf.</p>

	<p>Tzifakis, N. and Prelec, T. (2021). “From mask to vaccine diplomacy: Geopolitical competition in the Western Balkans”, in Giorgio Fruscione, (ed.) <i>Pandemic in the Balkans: Geopolitics and Democracy at Stake</i>, Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing, Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), 12-33.</p> <p>Pizzolo, P. (2024). China’s Sharp Power in the Western Balkans: Digital Technology as Asymmetrical Threat. EuroHub4Sino Policy Paper 9, https://eh4s.eu/publication/chinas-sharp-power-in-the-western-balkans-digital-technology-as-asymmetrical-threat.</p> <p>Salihu, G. (2023). The US–China 5G Race in Europe’s Western Balkans. In <i>The Implications of Emerging Technologies in the Euro-Atlantic Space: Views from the Younger Generation Leaders Network</i> (pp. 43-55). Cham: Springer International Publishing.</p> <p>Vladisavljev, S. (2021). <i>China's' Digital Silk Road' Enters the Western Balkans</i>. Association for International Affairs, https://chinaobservers.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/CHOICE_policy-paper_digital-silk-road_A4_web_04.pdf.</p> <p>Yan, S. (2019). “The ‘16+ 1’ Framework and China-EU Cooperation in the Western Balkans: A Region Building Perspective”, <i>Australian & New Zealand Journal of European Studies</i>, 11(1), 76-88.</p> <p>Jian, J. (2018). “China in Central Asia and the Balkans: Challenges from a geopolitical perspective”, In: Y. Cheng, L. Song & L. Huang (eds), <i>The Belt & Road Initiative in the global arena</i>, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 241-261.</p>
11. Turkey and the Gulf states in the Western Balkans	<p>Suggested Readings</p> <p>A. E. Öztürk και S. Akgönül, «Τουρκία: Καταναγκαστικός γάμος ή γάμος από συμφέρον με τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια;». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 331-352.</p> <p>W. Bartlett και T. Prelec, «Ηνωμένα Αραβικά Εμιράτα: Ο σουλτανισμός συναντά την ανελεύθερη δημοκρατία». Στο: F. Bieber και N. Τζιφάκης, επιμ., <i>Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες</i>, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021, σελ. 353-378.</p> <p>Further Readings</p> <p>Koppa, M. E. (2021). “Turkey, Gulf States and Iran in the Western Balkans: more than the Islamic factor?”, <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>, 29(2), 251-263.</p> <p>Telci, I. N., & Peneva, A. Y. (2019). “Turkey and Saudi Arabia as Theo-political Actors in the Balkans”, <i>Insight Turkey</i>, 21(2), 237-260.</p> <p>Bechev, D. (2022). A rival or an awkward partner? Turkey’s relationship with the West in the Balkans. <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 22(1), 11-24.</p> <p>Aydıntaşbaş, A. (2019). From myth to reality: How to understand Turkey's role in the Western Balkans. European Council on Foreign Relations, Policy Brief, March.</p>

	<p>Vuksanović, V., & Hercigonja, S. (2023). <i>Between Emotions and Realism: Two Faces of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans</i>. Belgrade: Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, June.</p> <p>Bartlett, W., Ker-Lindsay, J., Alexander, K., & Prelec, T. (2017). "The UAE as an Emerging Actor in the Western Balkans: The Case of Strategic Investment in Serbia", <i>Journal of Arabian Studies</i>, 7(1), 94-112.</p> <p>Öztürk, A. E. (2021). <i>Religion, identity and power: Turkey and the Balkans in the twenty-first century</i>. Edinburgh University Press.</p> <p>Radeljić, B. & Özşahin, M. C. (eds) (2022). <i>Turkey's Return to the Western Balkans: Policies of Continuity and Transformation</i>. Springer.</p> <p>Hagemann, C. (ed.) (2020). <i>External Actors Series: Turkey</i>. Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, Southeast Europe in Focus, 5 (open access book, available here).</p> <p>Öktem, K. (2010). "New Islamic actors after the Wahhabi intermezzo: Turkey's return to the Muslim Balkans", <i>European Studies Centre, University of Oxford</i>, 2-57.</p> <p>Öztürk, A. E., & Gözaydın, İ. (2018). "A Frame for Turkey's Foreign Policy via the Diyanet in the Balkans", <i>Journal of Muslims in Europe</i>, 7(3), 331-350.</p> <p>Demirtaş, B. (2015). "Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Balkans: A Europeanized Foreign Policy in a De-Europeanized National Context?", <i>Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies</i>, 17(2), 123-140.</p> <p>Alpan, B., & Öztürk, A. E. (2022). Turkish foreign policy in the Balkans amidst 'soft power' and 'de-Europeanisation'. <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 22(1), 45-63.</p> <p>Demirtaş, B. (2017). Reconsidering Turkey's Balkan ties: Opportunities and limitations. In: P. G. Ercan, (ed.), <i>Turkish Foreign Policy: International Relations, Legality and Global Reach</i>, Springer: 129-149.</p> <p>Hoti, A., Bashota, B., & Sejdiu, B. (2022). Relations between Turkey and Kosovo: factors and dynamics. <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 22(1), 145-163.</p> <p>Huskić, A., & Firat Büyük, H. (2022). Measuring Turkey's contemporary influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina: myth and reality. <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>, 22(1), 121-144.</p> <p>Öztürk, A. E., & Gözaydın, İ. (2018). A Frame for Turkey's Foreign Policy via the Diyanet in the Balkans. <i>Journal of Muslims in Europe</i>, 7(3), 331-350.</p> <p>Rašidagić, E. K., & Hesova, Z. (2020). Development of Turkish foreign policy towards the Western Balkans with focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina. <i>Croatian International Relations Review</i>, 26(86), 96-129.</p> <p>Ekinci, M. U. (2019). "Turkey's Balkan Policy and Its Skeptics", <i>Insight Turkey</i>, 21(2), 37-50.</p>
12. Case studies – Student	

	essay presentations		
	13. Case studies – Student essay presentations		
	Method of student assessment by week:		
	Weeks 12-13	Students' oral presentations	
	End of Week 13	Submission of written essays	
	Exam Period	Final Written Exams	

(4) TEACHING and LEARNING METHODS - EVALUATION

DELIVERY <i>Face-to-face, Distance learning, etc.</i>	Face-to-face												
USE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY <i>Use of ICT in teaching, laboratory education, communication with students</i>	<p>The course extensively uses the e-class platform for several services (e.g., announcements, distribution of supplementary teaching material, essay topic assignment, submission of essays, and feedback on performance).</p> <p>Plagiarism and AI writing (e.g. ChatGPT) are detected with the use of Turnitin.</p> <p>Most lectures are delivered with the assistance of projected presentations.</p> <p>Final term marks are submitted and announced on a classweb platform (https://unistudent.uop.gr/).</p>												
TEACHING METHODS <i>The manner and methods of teaching are described in detail.</i> <i>Lectures, seminars, laboratory practice, fieldwork, study and analysis of bibliography, tutorials, placements, clinical practice, art workshop, interactive teaching, educational visits, project, essay writing, artistic creativity, etc.</i> <i>The student's study hours for each learning activity are given as well as the hours of non-directed study according to the principles of the ECTS</i>	<table> <tr> <th><i>Activity</i></th><th><i>Semester workload</i></th></tr> <tr> <td>Lectures</td><td>13 Weeks x 3 hours = 39 hours</td></tr> <tr> <td>Written Essay</td><td>4 Weeks x 3 hours x 1.5 = 18 hours + 3 hours = 21 hours</td></tr> <tr> <td>Oral Presentation</td><td>1 contact hour + 3 hours preparation = 4 hours</td></tr> <tr> <td>Final Exams</td><td>13 Weeks x 3 hours x 1,5 = 58.5 hours</td></tr> <tr> <td>Course total</td><td>122.5 hours</td></tr> </table>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Semester workload</i>	Lectures	13 Weeks x 3 hours = 39 hours	Written Essay	4 Weeks x 3 hours x 1.5 = 18 hours + 3 hours = 21 hours	Oral Presentation	1 contact hour + 3 hours preparation = 4 hours	Final Exams	13 Weeks x 3 hours x 1,5 = 58.5 hours	Course total	122.5 hours
<i>Activity</i>	<i>Semester workload</i>												
Lectures	13 Weeks x 3 hours = 39 hours												
Written Essay	4 Weeks x 3 hours x 1.5 = 18 hours + 3 hours = 21 hours												
Oral Presentation	1 contact hour + 3 hours preparation = 4 hours												
Final Exams	13 Weeks x 3 hours x 1,5 = 58.5 hours												
Course total	122.5 hours												
STUDENT PERFORMANCE EVALUATION <i>Description of the evaluation procedure</i> <i>Language of evaluation, methods of evaluation, summative or conclusive, multiple choice questionnaires, short-answer questions, open-ended questions, problem solving, written work, essay/report, oral examination, public presentation, laboratory work, clinical examination of patient, art interpretation, other</i> <i>Specifically-defined evaluation criteria are given, and if and where they are accessible to students.</i>	<p>The final grades of students are based on the evaluation of performance in a series of tasks, which are weighted as follows:</p> <p>Final Written Exams: 70% of the grade. The course material consists of the in-class lectures and the course textbooks.</p> <p>Written Essays: 20% of grade. It concerns academic essays of around 3,000 words that examine in greater depth the topics that were previously presented in class. Essays should fully observe academic rules of writing (e.g., structure, documentation) and should take note of the relevant scholarly literature.</p> <p>In-class presentations: 10% of grade. A 15' long presentation (with the projection of a PowerPoint file) of a specific case of external geopolitical actor engagement in the region, discussing its objectives, the adopted policies, and the attained results. The selected case study may be the given geopolitical actor's distinct approach to a conflict/issue, a geopolitical actor's bilateral relations with a specific Western Balkan country, or a specific investment/project in the region.</p>												

(5) ATTACHED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Course Textbooks:

1. Florian Bieber και Νικόλαος Τζιφάκης, επιμ., *Τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια στον Κόσμο: Οι διασυνδέσεις και οι σχέσεις τους με μη δυτικές χώρες*, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Πεδίο, 2021.

2. Κοππά, Μ. & Τζιφάκης, Ν., *Ο Εξευρωπαϊσμός των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων. Κάλλιπος, Ανοικτές Ακαδημαϊκές Εκδόσεις*, 2024. <https://dx.doi.org/10.57713/kallipos-415>.

Additional suggestions of books presenting a wealth of empirical data:

Keil, S., & Stahl, B. (eds). (2022). *A new Eastern Question? Great powers and the post-Yugoslav states*. *Ibidem*.

Slavková, M., Grabovac, A. & Grabovac, T. (eds). (2023). *Western Balkans at the Crossroads: Democratic Backsliding and External Actors' Influence. Final Report*. The Prague Security Studies Institute (open access book, available [here](#)).

Armakolas, I., Chrzová, B., Čermák, P. & Grabovac, A. (eds). (2021). *Western Balkans at the Crossroads: Ways Forward in Analyzing External Actors' Influence*. The Prague Security Studies Institute (open access book, available [here](#)).

Chrzová, B., Grabovac, A., Hála, M. & Lalić, J. (eds). (2019). *Western Balkans at the Crossroads: Assessing Influences of Non-Western External Actors*. The Prague Security Studies Institute (open access book, available [here](#)).

-Relevant Academic Journals:

Balkanologie, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Comparative Southeast European Studies, Croatian Review of International Affairs, Ethnopolitics, East European Politics, East European Politics and Societies, European Foreign Affairs Review, Europe-Asia Studies, European Security, International Peacekeeping, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Journal of Regional Security, Journal of Slavic Military Studies, Mediterranean Politics, Nationalities Papers, Problems of Post-Communism, Romanian Journal of Political Science, Journal of Regional Studies, Romanian Journal of European Affairs, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Southeastern Europe, Südosteuropa.

Most of these journals are freely available via the Hellenic Academic Library Network (HEALink), which can be accessed at PSIR's IT lab or through the university-provided VPN service. Detailed instructions on the use of VPN are available at the following link: <http://library.uop.gr/images/odigos-vpn.pdf>.

Other (online) sources

Students are encouraged to keep themselves updated on recent developments through non-academic journals (e.g. *Economist* and *Le Monde Diplomatique*), newspapers (e.g. *Politico*, *EU Observer*, *Euractiv*, *The New York Times*, *Le Monde*, *The Guardian*, and *The Washington Post*) and news agencies/portals (e.g. *Euronews*, *AFP*, *Reuters*, *BBC*, *DW*, *Al Jazeera*, *CNN*).

Local news agencies and websites focusing on developments in the Western Balkans are also useful, such as:

Balkan Insight, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/>

N1, <https://rs.n1info.com/english/>

European Western Balkans, <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/>

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, <http://www.rferl.org/>
Transitions Online, <http://www.tol.org/>
Le Courrier des Balkans, <http://balkans.courriers.info/>
Independent Balkan News Agency, <https://www.balkan.eu.com/>
Exit News, <https://exit.al/>
Albanian Daily News, <https://www.albaniandailynews.com/>
Sarajevo Times, <https://www.sarajevotimes.com/>
Federal News Agency, <http://www.fena.ba/>
B92, <http://www.b92.net/>
Tanjug Agency, http://www.tanjug.rs/index_en.aspx
Meta News Agency, <http://meta.mk/en/>
Skopje Diem News, <https://skopjediem.com/>
KosovaPress, <http://www.kosovapress.com/en/>
Prishtina Insight, <https://prishtinainsight.com/>
Kosovo Sever Portal, <https://kossev.info/english/>
Kosovo 2.0., <https://kosvotwopointzero.com/en/>

Further, students can refer to publications by specialised research centres providing timely, in-depth analysis and reports:

Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group
<https://biepag.eu/>

Belgrade Centre for Security Policy
<https://bezbednost.org/en/>

Democracy for Development
<https://d4d-ks.org/en/home-en/>

European Union Institute for Security Studies
<http://www.iss.europa.eu/>

European Centre for Minority Issues
<http://www.ecmi.de/>

European Council on Foreign Relations
<https://ecfr.eu/>

European Policy Centre
<https://epc.eu/en/>

European Stability Initiative
<http://www.esiweb.org/>

Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" – Skopje
<https://idscs.org.mk/en/>

International Crisis Group
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/>

Centre for European Policy Studies
<https://www.ceps.eu/>

Netherlands Institute of International Relations
<https://www.clingendael.org/>

Royal United Services Institute

<https://www.rusi.org/>

Istituto Affari Internazionali

<https://www.iai.it/en>