



University
of Glasgow | School of Social
& Political Sciences

Central and East European Studies

DE FACTO STATES IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

Spring term 2020

Tuesdays, 10am – 12noon, 409 Sir Alexander Stone

Dr Adrian Florea

*Lecturer in International Relations
School of Social and Political Sciences*

9 Lilybank Gardens, Room #403

Office hours: By appointment

Email: adrian.florea@glasgow.ac.uk

Web: <http://aflorea.weebly.com/>

INTRODUCTION

Short description

This course examines the dynamics surrounding the emergence and survival of de facto states in the post-Soviet space (Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh). The course will also highlight the strategies that de facto state leaders employ to gain domestic and international legitimacy.

Course content

This course investigates the dynamics surrounding the emergence and survival of de facto states in the post-Soviet space (Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh). In the first part of the semester, the course will examine how the East European and Caucasian de facto states came about as the Soviet Union began to unravel, and will discuss the domestic and external forces that enable each of these entities to survive. The course will also highlight the strategies that de facto state leaders employ to gain domestic and international legitimacy. In the second part of the semester, the course will address larger questions about the fragmented nature of authority in the contemporary international system. More precisely, the discussion will focus on how effective nonstate actors such as de facto state are at replicating state functions (e.g., establishing a monopoly over the use of force in a given territory and providing public goods). Finally, the course will conclude with a look at the two ‘youngest’ separatist enclaves in Eastern Europe, the self-proclaimed Republics of Donetsk and Luhansk in Ukraine, and will contemplate the future of de facto states in the post-Soviet era.

Dates

Week 1: 14 January – Introduction; Research design issues

Week 2: 21 January – General trends on de facto state emergence and survival

Week 3: 28 January – De facto states in Moldova: Gagauzia and Transnistria

Week 4: 4 February – De facto states in Georgia: Abkhazia, Ajaria, and South Ossetia

Week 5: 11 February – De facto states in Azerbaijan: Nagorno-Karabakh

Week 6: 18 February – *Reading week*

Week 7: 25 February – *Guest Lecture: Dr Stanislav Secieru, European Union Institute for Security Studies*

Week 8: 3 March – Domestic politics of de facto states

Week 9: 10 March – Foreign relations of de facto states

Week 10: 17 March – De facto states in Eastern Ukraine: People’s Republics of Donetsk and Luhansk

Week 11: 24 March – The future of de facto states

Aims

The aims of the course are to:

- encourage an advanced knowledge of the breakaway entities in the former Soviet Union
- provide students with the intellectual tools to understand and analyse how the Soviet legacy impacts the internal politics of the Soviet successor states
- offer a comparative analysis of internal conflict outcomes in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova
- investigate from a multi-disciplinary perspective the factors that allow post-Soviet de facto states to survive
- explore various research approaches to the study of the post-Soviet de facto states, including qualitative, interpretive, and quantitative methods, macro- and micro-level levels of analysis, cross- and sub-national designs
- evaluate current works on de facto states with respect to how theory and empirics are integrated
- expose students to the key concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war and conflict resolution

Intended learning outcomes

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- identify the key concepts, theories, and methods in the study of the post-Soviet de facto states
- assess the dominant theoretical frameworks on the emergence and survival of the post-Soviet de facto states
- evaluate the influence of domestic and foreign actors on the resilience of the post-Soviet de facto states
- apply existing theoretical approaches to the study of a particular de facto state
- assess how non state actors such as de facto states challenge conventional understandings of sovereignty, authority, and governance in the contemporary international system
- construct rigorous research designs (develop a theoretical argument, draw out implications, assemble and analyse relevant evidence, present the findings)

Transferable skills:

Through class discussions, essay preparation, and essay writing, students will be able to further develop a set of transferable skills, including:

- the ability to access and make effective use of bibliographical and electronic sources of knowledge and information
- the ability to analyse written texts and prepare, articulate, and defend reasoned answers to set questions

- written communication skills, conveying information and ideas fluently to form sustained arguments
- presentation skills, conveying information and ideas succinctly and effectively by using PowerPoint/Beamer/Prezi and handouts and by keeping within prescribed time-limits
- working collaboratively with others in order to reach and sustain convincing lines of argument
- self-motivation and time-management in order to meet specified deadlines
- experience of how to use empirical data to evaluate theoretical claims

COURSE ORGANIZATION

Seminars

The class is taught in ten 2-hour seminars, which are intended to bring together elements of lecturing and student participation. The content of weekly seminars will typically include a lecture on the week's topic, followed by an in-depth discussion which will be informed by the required readings (see below) and the students' independent study. The students' active participation is an essential component of this course - the seminars are intended to be an interactive learning activity. At the same time, attendance at all seminars is necessary, and every absence will have to be notified to the course coordinator. For the University's Student Absence Policy, please see: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_129312_en.pdf.

Assessment

a. Formative assessment: Class presentation

The formative component of assessment comprises an expectation that students will give an oral presentation on one of the required readings and submit presentation slides, which will then be made available on Moodle to all class participants. The presentation is not assessed. Presentation topics will be allocated in the first seminar. Each presentation of the respective reading should offer details on: the research question(s); the theory developed by the author(s); the methodology employed to answer the research question(s); the main findings; the limitations of the study. While you prepare for the presentation, bear in mind the quality of handout, presentation style (pace, volume, and time management), presentation's content and contribution to the entire seminar. The presentation should be **no longer than 15 minutes** in length and should be **evaluative** and not simply a summary of the week's reading. It must not be simply read out word for word, but be **presented from notes** while using props: the whiteboard, OHP, or PowerPoint/Beamer/Prezi. You should also submit a hard copy of your handout (i.e. the slides), including a brief bibliography, to the lecturer by email at least 24 hours prior to class.

b. Summative Assessment: Essay

The summative component comprises of a final essay (4000 words minimum – 5000 words maximum), which will be due by 16.00 on Monday, 27 April 2020 (*see below for the submission procedure*). Well-crafted essays should show consistency of argument together with acknowledgement of rival arguments, clear structure, simple and direct writing, good punctuation, and evidence of wide reading. Students are required to write their essay in response to one of the following questions:

1. Some analysts have argued that, in order to accommodate the rising number of nonstate territorial actors, the international community needs to devise a new legal status in international politics, one akin to Palestine’s “non-member observer state” at the UN. Can this solution help resolve the intractable conflicts over de facto states? Is a second-tier status akin to Palestine’s “non-member observer state” a viable solution to the rising number of de facto states?
2. Are post-Soviet de facto states fleeting buffer enclaves caught in geopolitical wrangles or viable alternatives to nation-states in a fragmented international system? Illustrate with examples.
3. Some de facto states depend on criminal networks to accrue resources for providing public goods to the local population and to maintain mobilization against the government. Discuss the nexus between the presence of criminal networks and the survival of post-Soviet de facto states.
4. Can post-Soviet de facto states survive without Moscow’s military, political, and economic assistance? Looking at two examples of de facto states in the region, discuss whether this conjecture provides an accurate assessment of their situation.
5. To what extent are Russia’s relations with the West shaped by the post-Soviet de facto states?
6. What are the similarities and differences between the newly formed de facto states in eastern Ukraine (the self-declared Republics of Donetsk and Luhansk) and their “senior” peers (Transnistria, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia)?
7. What are the main obstacles to the resolution of disputes over the post-Soviet de facto states and how can they be realistically overcome?

Essay submission procedure

Please refer to the SSPS Postgraduate Student Handbook – available on the SSPS Postgraduate Common Room Moodle – for further important information regarding assessment.

- Essays are due by 16.00 on Monday, 27 April 2020.
- Marks will be deducted for late submissions (see the SSPS postgraduate handbook).

- All written work should be submitted to the CEES Postgraduate Office, 9 Lilybank Gardens.
- **Two copies** of all written work should be submitted. One will be returned to you with feedback and an indication of the expected mark. The second copy will be retained by CEES for scrutiny by the external examiner. It should be noted that the final mark for all assessed work is subject to confirmation by the external examiner.
- In addition to providing 2 hard copies, written assignments should be submitted to Turnitin (academic writing enhancement tool and plagiarism software) via the assignment upload on the course Moodle. Instructions are available on the SSPS Postgraduate Common Room Moodle.
- The SSPS Postgraduate coursework coversheet should accompany both copies stating the name of the course, title/question number, your student number, word count and date. Your name should not be included. The coversheet is available on the SSPS Postgraduate Common Room Moodle.
- All essays should be word-processed and double spaced with a font size of no less than 12. Double sided printing is acceptable.
- Essays will be penalised if they are under or above the word limit. Please note that footnotes/endnotes **are** included in the word count. Bibliography and tables/figures are **not** included. Students should clearly state the word count on the cover sheet of their assessed work. Students who exceed the word limit will be penalised as follows: 1 point for exceeding/being under the word limit by 10-15%, 2 points for 15-20%, 3 points for 20-25%, 4 points for 25-30%, 5 points for 30-35%, and so on. Standard penalties apply to essays submitted after the deadline without a 'good cause' extension (2 grade points per working day up to five working days; after five working days, failure to submit the essay will result in the award of an 'H' grade/0 for the essay and may result in the refusal of credit for the course).
- All essays must include a bibliography; any statistics, tables, and quotations from the books you consult must be referenced. CEES has produced a Guide to Referencing and Bibliographies which is available on Moodle.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism constitutes academic fraud and will not be tolerated. Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's work as your own. The University states that plagiarism is "considered as an act of academic fraudulence and is an offence against University discipline". The University Calendar sets out the procedure that a Head of Department must follow if plagiarism of assessed work is suspected. The presentation of someone else's essay is obviously fraudulent, but the dividing line between your own work and that of your sources is less clear. The solution is always to acknowledge your sources and use quotations when repeating exactly what someone else has said. Generally, you should avoid excessive paraphrasing of others' writings, even with acknowledgement; it does not demonstrate that you have understood the material you are reproducing. If in doubt, seek guidance. For more information about plagiarism, please refer to the School's PG Student Handbook and <http://www.gla.ac.uk/plagiarism/>.

Guide to essay marking

Grade	Mark	Description
A1 A2 A3 A4 A5	22 21 20 19 18	Excellent performance is characterised by most but necessarily all of the following: Clear, comprehensive answer that displays sound critical thinking and insights Relevant evidence and readings from the course, and perhaps beyond, are cited accurately with very few errors. All key points are addressed fully Originality, creativity, and independent judgement are present
B1 B2 B3	17 16 15	Very good performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following: Clear answer that fully addresses the key points Sound reasoning that displays a good understanding of the subject matter Relevant evidence and course readings are used with few errors Less critical thinking, originality, and insight than in an excellent performance
C1 C2 C3	14 13 12	Good performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following: Answer displays a basic understanding of the subject matter Evidence of reading from course materials, but some points may not be fully relevant Little in the way of an argument or critical thinking Some errors may be present
D1 D2 D3	11 10 9	Satisfactory performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following: Only a modest understanding of the subject matter is displayed Modest evidence of reading from course materials, with the inclusion of a few relevant points Many errors may be present
E1 E2 E3	8 7 6	Weak performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following: Failure to answer question, though there may be an answer to a similar question Little evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed Significant errors may be present
F1 F2 F3	5 4 3	Poor performance is characterised by most but not necessarily all of the following: Failure to answer question directly Very little evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed Many significant errors are likely to be present
G1 G2	2 1	Very poor performance is characterised by most of the following: Failure to answer question No evidence of any understanding of the subject matter is displayed
H	0	Absence of positive qualities

COURSE STRUCTURE

Readings and how to use the reading list

The readings for this class are listed under weekly topics below. You are expected to read **ALL** of the required readings **before** every seminar so that you can contribute to the in-class discussion. Seminar readings are taken from widely cited journal articles or books. **An electronic version of the required reading list is available online via Moodle.** For your class presentations and coursework, you will need to draw on the recommended readings which can be accessed through the Library webpage.

Additionally, at least 24 hours before each weekly class, you are asked to send at least 2 tweets related to key arguments in the required readings to the **class Twitter account, @defactostatesPG**, using the course hashtag, **#dfs2020**. For example, you can briefly comment on the logical consistency of a theoretical claim, the evidence presented by the authors in support of their arguments, the limitations behind the study, or the practical implications of the respective work. You can also share links to news items, editorials, policy papers, blog posts etc. that are relevant to the respective topic. Furthermore, you are expected to respond to at least 2 tweets posted by colleagues on the class Twitter account (if you don't have a Twitter account, you would need to set up one during the first class; the class Twitter account is [private](#) – besides the instructor and your peers, no one else will be able to see your Tweets).

Please note that the majority of journals articles are available online, even if a hyperlink is not included. The easiest way to find them is to Google the title and follow the link to the journal's webpage. To gain access to the full text, you will need to be on campus or to log in with your GUID password (if you don't know it, ask at the Library). In some cases, you may need to access the articles via the Library page. If you are off campus, you might need VPN access.

NB: The course pack uploaded on Moodle has been compiled to facilitate access to all of the required readings. However, because of copyright issues, generally, we can only provide one chapter per book. If more than one chapter is listed in the reading list, it is your responsibility to borrow the book from the library for further reading.

Students should use Moodle for access to seminar notes and other additional resources, including unpublished readings. Please note that copyright of these pieces, unless otherwise stated, remains with the author/s of the piece.

Don't limit yourselves to the reading list. If you have difficulty getting hold of any of the items listed, you are expected to use your initiative and look for other appropriate material or to contact the lecturer. You are also encouraged to make use of the internet and newspapers to gain relevant information and keep up with current affairs.

Finally, you are also encouraged to browse the following academic journals, which include relevant articles on the different weekly topics. In most cases, electronic issues can be consulted on the Library website: *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*; *Ethnopolitics*; *East European Politics*;

East European Quarterly; Eurasian Geography and Economics; Europe-Asia Studies; International Affairs; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Eurasian Studies; Nationalities Papers; Nations and Nationalism; Post-Soviet Affairs; Problems of Post-Communism; Survival; World Politics.

Week 1 (14/1): *Introduction; Issues of research design*

Module 1 offers an introduction to the course, and discusses the core elements of social science research design.

Required readings:

- George, A.L., and A. Bennett. 2004. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter 4.
- Levy, J.S. 2008. Case Studies: Types, Designs, and Logics of Inference. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25: 1-18.
- Gerring, J. 2010. Causal Mechanisms: Yes, But... *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1499-1526.
- Mahoney, J., and G. Goertz. 2006. A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research. *Political Analysis* 14: 227-249.

Recommended readings:

- Brady, H.E. 2008. Causation and Explanation in Social Science. In the *Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 217-270.
- Falletti, T.G., and Lynch, G.F. 2009. Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies* 42: 1143-1166.
- Kellstedt, P.M., and G.D. Whiten. 2009. *The Fundamentals of Political Science Research*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Evera, S. 1997. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 2 (21/1): *General trends on de facto state emergence, survival, and disappearance*

This module investigates general trends behind the emergence, survival, and disappearance of de facto states in the post-WWII international system.

Required readings:

- Aliyev, H., and Souleimanov E.A. 2019. Why Do De Facto States Fail? Lessons from the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. *Problems of Post-Communism* 66(3): 161-171.
- Caspersen, N. 2012. *Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 2.

- Florea, A. 2017. De Facto States: Survival and Disappearance (1945-2011). *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 337-351.
- King, C. 2001. The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States. *World Politics* 53: 524-552.

Recommended readings:

- Bahcheli, T., Bartmann B., and Srebrnik H.F. Eds. 2004. *De Facto States: The Quest for Sovereignty*. New York: Routledge.
- Byman, D., and C. King. 2012. The Mystery of Phantom States. *The Washington Quarterly* 35:
- Caspersen, N., and G. Stansfield. 2010. Eds. *Unrecognized States in the International System*. New York: Routledge.
- Florea, A. 2014. De Facto States in International Politics: A New Data Set (1945-2011). *International Interactions* 40(5): 788-811.
- Geldenhuys, D. 2009. *Contested States in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lynch, D. 2004. *Engaging Eurasia's Separatist States: Unresolved Conflicts and De Facto States*. Washington DC: USIP Press. Chapter 2.
- Pegg, S. 1998. *International Society and the De Facto State*. Aldershot, MA: Ashgate.

Week 3 (28/1): De facto states in Moldova: Gagauzia and Transnistria

This module examines the different trajectories – survival and reintegration into the parent state – of Transnistria and Gagauzia, two de facto states that emerged in Moldova after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Required readings:

- Blakkisrud, H., and P. Kolsto. 2011. From Secessionist Conflict Toward a Functioning State: Processes of State- and Nation-Building in Transnistria. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27: 178-210.
- Hill, W.H. 2012. *Russia, the Near Abroad, and the West: Lessons from the Moldova-Transdnistria Conflict*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 4.
- Kosienkowski, M. 2017. The Gagauz Republic: Internal Dynamics of De Facto Statehood. Institute of Political Science and International Affairs, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin.
- Zabarah, D.A. 2012. Opportunity Structures and Group Building Processes: An Institutional Analysis of the Secession Processes in Pridnestrovie and Gagauzia between 1989 and 1991. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45: 183-192.

Recommended readings:

- Chinn, J., and S.D. Roper. 1998. Territorial Autonomy in Gagauzia. *Nationalities Papers* 26: 87-101.
- Crowther, W. 1998. Ethnic Politics and the Post-communist Transition in Moldova. *Nationalities Papers* 26: 147-164.
- Kaufman, S. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- King, C. 1997. Minorities Policy in the Post-Soviet Republics: The Case of the Gagauzi. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20: 738-756.
- Kosienkowski, M. 2017. The Gagauz Republic: An Autonomism-Driven De Facto State. *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 44: 292-313.
- O'Loughlin, J., G. Toal, and R. Chamberlain-Creanga. 2013. Divided Space, Divided Attitudes? Comparing the Republics of Moldova and Pridnestrovie (Transnistria) Using Simultaneous Surveys. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 54: 227-258.
- Protsyk, O. 2006. Moldova's Dilemmas in Democratizing and Reintegrating Transnistria. *Problems of Post-Communism* 53: 29-41.
- Williams, A. 1999. Conflict Resolution after the Cold War: The Case of Moldova. *Review of International Studies* 25: 71-86.

Week 4 (4/2): De facto states in Georgia: Abkhazia, Ajaria, and South Ossetia

This module discusses three de facto states that emerged in Georgia in the early 1990s: Abkhazia, Ajaria, and South Ossetia.

Required readings:

- Bakke, K., J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, and M.D. Ward. 2014. Convincing State-Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia. *International Studies Quarterly* 58: 591-607.
- De Waal, T. 2010. *The Caucasus: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 5.
- German, T. 2016. Russia and South Ossetia: Conferring Statehood or Creeping Annexation. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16: 155-167.
- O'Loughlin, J., Kolosov, V., and G. Toal. 2011. Inside Abkhazia: A Survey of Attitudes in a De Facto State. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21: 1-36.

Recommended readings:

- Clogg, R. 2008. The Politics of Identity in Post-Soviet Abkhazia: Managing Diversity and Unresolved Conflict. *Nationalities Papers* 36: 305-329.
- Cooley, A., and L. Mitchell. 2010. Abkhazia on Three Wheels. *World Policy Journal* 27: 73-81.
- Derluguian, G. 2005. *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A World-Systems Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hughes, J., and G. Sasse. 2001. Comparing Regional and Ethnic Conflicts in Post-Soviet Transition States. *Regional and Federal Studies* 11: 1-35.
- King, C. 2009. *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mouritzen, H., and A. Wivel. 2012. *Explaining Foreign Policy: International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Whitfield, T. 2007. *Friends Indeed? The United Nations, Groups of Friends, and the Resolution of Conflict*. Washington D.C.: USIP Press.

Week 5 (11/2): *De facto states in Azerbaijan: Nagorno-Karabakh*

This module looks at the circumstances surrounding the de facto separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan in the early 1990s.

Required readings:

- De Waal, T. 2013. *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*. New York: New York University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Croissant, M.P. 1998. *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and Implications*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Geukjian, O. 2012. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in the South Caucasus: Nagorno-Karabakh and the Legacy of Soviet Nationalities Policy*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Graham, B.A.T. 2009. Nagorno-Karabakh in Limbo. *The Middle East Quarterly* 16: 55-62.
- King, Charles. 2008. *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Melander E. 2001. The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Revisited: Was the War Inevitable? *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3: 48-75.
- Smolnik, Franziska. 2012. Political Rule and Violent Conflict: Elections as ‘Institutional Mutation’ in Nagorno-Karabakh. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45: 153-163.
- Zurcher, C. 2007. *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus*. New York: New York University Press.

Week 6 (18/2): *Reading week*

Week 7 (25/2): *Guest Lecture: Dr Stanislav Secieru, European Union Institute for Security Studies, 59 Oakfield Avenue 302, 3-4:30pm, (students’ attendance is required)*

Week 8 (3/3): *Domestic politics of de facto states*

This module examines the domestic factors that allow de facto states to survive.

Required readings:

- Bakke, K. et al. 2018. Dynamics of State-Building after War: External-Internal Relations in Eurasian De Facto States. *Political Geography* 63: 159-173.
- Calus, K. 2013. An Aided Economy: The Characteristics of the Transnistrian Economic Model. OSW: Centre for Eastern Studies.
- Cornell, S.E., and M. Jonsson. eds. 2014. *Conflict, Crime, and the State in Postcommunist Eurasia*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 7.
- Kolsto, P., and H. Blakkisrud. 2008. Living with Non-Recognition: State- and Nation-building in the South Caucasian Quasi-States. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60: 483-509.

Recommended readings:

- Andreas, P. 2004. The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia. *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 29-51.
- Berg, Eiki. 2012. Parent States versus Secessionist Entities: Measuring Political Legitimacy in Cyprus, Moldova, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Europe-Asia Studies* 64: 1271-1296.
- Collier, P. 2000. Rebellion as a Quasi-criminal Activity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44: 839-853.
- Cornell, S.E. 2007. Narcotics and Armed Conflict: Interaction and Implications. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30: 207-227.
- Dembinska, M., and A. Campana. 2017. Frozen Conflicts and Internal Dynamics of De Facto States: Perspectives and Directions for Research. *International Studies Review* 19(2): 254-278.
- Kanol, D., and N. Koprulu. 2017. Quality of Democracy in Unrecognized States: Lessons from Northern Cyprus. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 17(3): 389-402.
- Kolsto, P., and H. Blakkisrud. 2012. De Facto States and Democracy: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45: 141-151.
- Isachenko, D. 2009. On the Political Economy of Unrecognized State-Building Projects. *The International Spectator* 44: 61-75.
- O'Loughlin, John, Vladimir Kolossov, and Gerard Toal. 2015. Inside the Post-Soviet De Facto States: A Comparison of Attitudes in Abkhazia, Nagorny-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Transnistria. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55: 423-456.
- Skaperdas, S. 2001. The Political Economy of Organized Crime: Providing Protection When the State Does Not. *Economics of Governance* 2: 173-202.
- Tilly, C. 1985. War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 169-191.
- Zohar, E. 2016. A New Typology of Contemporary Armed Non-State-Actors: Interpreting the Diversity. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 39: 423-450.

Week 9 (10/3): Foreign relations of de facto states

This module investigates the processes through which de facto states aim to attain international legitimacy as well as the efforts that parent states undertake to delegitimize the breakaway entities on the international arena.

Required readings:

- Berg, E., and S. Pegg. 2018. Scrutinizing a Policy of “Engagement Without Recognition”: US Requests for Diplomatic Actions with De Facto States. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 14: 388-407.
- Frear, Thomas. 2014. The Foreign Policy Options of a Small Unrecognized State: The Case of Abkhazia. *Caucasus Survey* 1: 83-107.
- Fabry, Mikulas. 2012. The Contemporary Practice of State Recognition: Kosovo, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and their Aftermath. *Nationalities Papers* 40: 661-676.
- Ker-Lindsay, J. 2018. The Stigmatization of De Facto States: Disapproval and ‘Engagement without Recognition’. *Ethnopolitics* 17: 362-372.

Recommended readings:

- Adam, H.M. 1994. Formation and Recognition of New States: Somaliland in Contrast to Eritrea. *Review of African Political Economy* 59: 21-38.
- Berg, E., and M. Molder. 2012. Who Is Entitled to ‘Earn Sovereignty’? Legitimacy and Regime Support in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh. *Nations and Nationalism* 18: 327-345.
- Bouris, D., and G. Kyris. Europeanization, Sovereignty, and Contested States: The EU in Northern Cyprus and Palestine. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19(4): 755-771.
- Caplan, R. 2005. *Europe and the Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coggins, B. 2011. Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism. *International Organization* 65: 433-467.
- De Waal, T. 2018. Uncertain Ground: Engaging with Europe’s De Facto States and Breakaway Territories. Available at: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/deWaal_UncertainGround_final.pdf
- Ker-Lindsay, J. 2015. Engagement Without Recognition: The Limits of Diplomatic Interaction with Contested States. *International Affairs* 91: 267-285.
- Ker-Lindsay, J. 2012. *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Muro, D., and E. Woertz. 2018. Secession and Counter-secession: An International Relations Perspective. Available at https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/monographs/monographs/secession_and_counter_secession_an_international_relations_perspective

- Pavkovic, A., and P. Radan. 2007. *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Renders, M., and U. Terlinden. 2010. Negotiating Statehood in a Hybrid Political Order: The Case of Somaliland. *Development and Change* 41: 723-746.

Week 10 (17/3): *De facto states in Eastern Ukraine: People's Republics of Donetsk and Luhansk*

This module examines the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the 'youngest' de facto states in the post-Soviet space: People's Republics of Donetsk and Luhansk.

Required readings:

- Abibok, Yulia. 2018. On the Way to Creating the Donbas People: Identity Policy in the Self-Proclaimed Republics in East Ukraine. Available at: http://aei.pitt.edu/94331/1/commentary_270.pdf
- Institute for the Study of War. 2017. The Kremlin's Irregular Army: Ukrainian Separatist Order of Battle. Available at: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/kremlin%E2%80%99s-irregular-army-ukrainian-separatist-order-battle>
- International Crisis Group. 2016. Russia and the Separatists in Eastern Ukraine. Available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/eastern-europe/ukraine/russia-and-separatists-eastern-ukraine>
- Socor, Vladimir. 2015. Armed Formations in the Secessionist 'Luhansk Republic.' Available at: <https://www.icds.ee/blog/article/armed-formations-in-the-secessionist-luhansk-republic/>

Recommended readings:

- Amnesty International. 2014. Abductions and Torture in Eastern Ukraine. Available at: https://www.es.amnesty.org/uploads/media/eur500342014en_01.pdf
- Background info on the Luhansk People's Republic: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/lnr.htm>
- Background info on the Donetsk People's Republic: <https://news.vice.com/video/the-donetsk-peoples-republic>
- Inside the Donetsk People's Republic. *The Guardian*, 2014. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/19/ukraine-donetsk-pro-russia-militants>
- Kudelia, S. 2014. Domestic Sources of the Donbas Insurgency. Available at: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/domestic-sources-donbas-insurgency>

- Sasse, Gwendolyn. 2017. The Donbas - Two Parts or Still One? The Experience of War through the Eyes of the Regional Population. Available at: https://www.zois-berlin.de/fileadmin/media/Dateien/ZOiS_Reports/ZOiS_Report_2_2017.pdf
- The Ukrainian Crisis and European Security. Rand Corporation. Available at: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR900/RR903/RAND_RR903.pdf
- Wilson, A. 2014. The High Stakes of the Ukraine Crisis. *Current History*. Available at: http://www.currenthistory.com/Wilson_Current_History.pdf

Week 11 (24/3): *The future of de facto states*

This module analyses the future of de facto states in an international system that remains adverse to nonstate territorial actors.

Required readings:

- Chapman, T., and P. Roeder. 2007. Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions. *American Political Science Review* 101: 677-691.
- Cornell, S. 2002. Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective. *World Politics* 54: 245-276.
- Kolsto, P. 2006. The Sustainability and Future of Unrecognized Quasi-States. *Journal of Peace Research* 43: 723-740.
- Pegg, S. 2017. Twenty Years of De Facto State Studies: Progress, Problems, and Prospects. In *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Empirical International Relations Theory*, edited by William R. Thompson.

Recommended readings:

- Brancati, D. 2006. Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism? *International Organization* 60: 651-685.
- Fearon, J.D. 2004. Separatist Wars, Partition, and World Order. *Security Studies* 13: 394-415.
- Jenne, E.K. 2009. How Ethnic Partition Perpetuates Conflict: The Consequences of De Facto Partition in Bosnia and Kosovo. *Regional and Federal Studies* 19: 273-289.
- Krasner, S.D. 2004. Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States. *International Security* 29: 85-120.
- Kuperman, A. 2004. Is Partition Really the Only Hope? Reconciling Contradictory Findings about Ethnic Civil Wars. *Security Studies* 13: 314-349.

- Sambanis, N. 2000. Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature. *World Politics* 52: 437-483.
- Spruyt, H. 2005. *Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.