**Syllabus for the course of**

**Ethnicity, Nation and State**

**I. Teacher of the course**

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| **First and last name:** **Zoran Ilievski****Hristina Runceva Tasev** | **Scientific degree and academic title:****PhD, Associate Professor****PhD, Assistant Professor** |

**II. Assistant of the teacher and other involved lecturers**

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| **First and last name of the assistant:** | **Scientific degree and academic title of the assistant:** |
| **Other lecturers (experts from practice):** |

**III. Basic data of the course**

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| **Title: Ethnicity, Nation and State**  |
| **Code of the course:** | **Number of ECTS credits: 5** |
| **Total hours of lectures: 45** | **Number of pages of compulsory literature:**  |
| **Study year of the course:** | **Semester of the course: elective course (1-8 semester)** |

**IV. Description of the course and key terms**

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| In modern societies, politicized ethnicity has become the crucial principle of political legitimation and delegitimation of states and regimes. This course focuses on the role of ethnopolitics or identity politics in creating, legitimating and reproducing power. It explores the intricate relationship between ethnicity and nationhood, as well as the ambiguous relationship between nation and nationalism. Nation-building will be analyzed as a process that occurs together with political modernity and the related processes, such as societal structural transformation from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, industrialization, bureaucratization, rationalization, mass literacy, etc. Collective identity will be considered in its relation with ethnicity and nationhood, and a special attention will be given to the “raw materials” used to construct these identities. Key questions regarding the emergence of nation-states in modern Europe will be discussed on a comparative basis, emphasizing differences and similarities between the processes that occurred in the West and the East. The course tackles theoretical issues as well as their application to various case studies from East-Central Europe, covering controversial problems related to the small states that emerged in the region after WWI. A special attention is given to the latest developments, such as the nationalistic turns under communism and the post-communist resurgence of nationalism, which lead to the collapse of some states in the region. Finally, the relationship between national identity and supranational identities, such is the European one, and the role of the nation-state in a unified Europe are discussed.It is an interdisciplinary course, aimed to fill a curriculum gap at the Political Science Department. It intersects with sociology, philosophy, psychology, history, conflict resolution, international relations and politics. |

**V. Aims and results that should be accomplished by the course programme**

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| Upon completion of the course it is expected that the students:* Get a grasp of fundamental categories such as ethnicity, nations and nationalism and the relation between them
* Get acquainted with the most popular theories of nationalism such as primordialism, ethno-symbolism, modernism as well as the contemporary theories
* Acquire knowledge on ethnic conflict in divided societies
* Get deeper understanding of the dynamics of ethnic conflict in Macedonia
* Get introduced to alternative models of institutional accommodation of ethnic diversity and power-sharing arrangements
* Gain analytical and methodological skills for further research on the above mentioned issues.
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**VI. Methodology**

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| **Methodology of teaching** |
| The course will organized as interactive lectures and seminars. Special emphasis will be placed on class discussions, debates and students presentations. It is therefore highly recommended that students read the assigned books and articles prior to class. Furthermore, a blog for the course will be set up on which the students will have the opportunity to access all of the teaching materials and presentations online. The blog will also serve as a dedicated forum for online discussions and it will contain links to resources important for the course matter. |
| **Methodology of studying** |
| Self-study, case studies, research, analysis, individual and group presentations, discussions. |

**VII. Detailed structure of the course programme**

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| **Week nr. 1** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Introduction to the topic of this course*** |  |
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| **Week nr. 2** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****What is ethnicity?***  | Max Weber. *The origins of ethnic groups.* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). *Ethnicity.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 35-40.Thomas Eriksen. *Ethnicity, Race Class and Nation.* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). *Ethnicity.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 28-35. |
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| **Week nr. 3** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Politicization of ethnicity*** | Joseph Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 1-31.Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 153-173. |
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| **Week nr. 4** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Qu’est-ce qu’une nation - what is a nation?*** | Ernest Renan. *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 17-18.Stalin Joseph. *The Nation*. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 18-21.Max Weber. *The Nation*. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 21-25. |
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| **Week nr. 5** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Theories of nationalism (1) – primordialism***  | Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 49-71.  |
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| **Week nr. 6** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Theories of nationalism (2) – modernism (1) (economic and political transformation)***  | Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 72-96.  |
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| **Week nr. 7** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Theories of nationalism (2) – modernism (2) (social constructivism)*** | Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 97-142.  |
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| **Week nr. 8** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Theories of nationalism (3) – ethnosymbolism*** | Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 143-168.  |
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| **Week nr. 9** | **Number of classes:** |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Theories of nationalism (4) – new approaches to nationalism***  | Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 169-198. |
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| **Week nr. 10** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Structural Functionalism*** | Joseph Marko, The Law and Politics of Diversity Management: A Neo-institutional Approach, < www.uni-graz.at/opv1www\_**marko**\_1\_.eymi.08-2.doc> |
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| **Week nr. 11** | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Why nation-states fail: the break-up of Yugoslavia***  | Ivo Banac, “The Fearful Asymmetry of War: The Causes and Consequences of Yugoslavia’s Demise,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 121, No. 2, 141-174.  |
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| **Week nr. 12**  | **Number of classes:**  |
| **Title of the thematic unit:*****Ethnicity, nation and state: the case of Macedonia*** * **Ethnic conflict**
* **Institutional accommodation of ethnic diversity**
* **Case study Macedonia**
 | ILIEVSKI, Zoran and WOLFF, Stefan, “Successes and Failures of Complex Power Sharing in the Balkans”, ASN 2009 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2009.ILIEVSKI, Zoran,Human and Minority Rights in the Life-cycle of Ethnic Conflict: Ethnic Mobilization in Macedonia, EURAC, Bolzano, Italy, 2007 ;ILIEVSKI, Zoran, “Between Consociational and Integrative Power-Sharing: The Case of Macedonia” ASN 2008 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2008; |
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**VIII. Activities of external institutions**

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| This course will provide lectures by relevant experts (national and international). |

**VIII. Quality Assurance**

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| **Evaluation** |
| Students will be asked for evaluation of courses concentrated on objectives, content, didactic presentation, gender sensitivity and examination. |

**IX. Literature**

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| **Compulsory literature**  |
| Max Weber. *The origins of ethnic groups.* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). *Ethnicity.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 35-40.Thomas Eriksen. *Ethnicity, Race Class and Nation.* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). *Ethnicity.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 28-35.Joseph Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 1-31.Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 153-173.Ernest Renan. *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?* in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 17-18.Stalin Joseph. *The Nation*. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 18-21.Max Weber. *The Nation*. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). *Nationalism.* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 21-25.Umut Özkirimli. *Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition).* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).Joseph Marko, The Law and Politics of Diversity Management: A Neo-institutionalApproach, < www.uni-graz.at/opv1www\_**marko**\_1\_.eymi.08-2.doc>Ivo Banac, “The Fearful Asymmetry of War: The Causes and Consequences of Yugoslavia’s Demise,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 121, No. 2, 141-174. ILIEVSKI, Zoran, Human and Minority Rights in the Life-cycle of Ethnic Conflict: Ethnic Mobilization in Macedonia, EURAC, Bolzano, Italy, 2007 ;ILIEVSKI, Zoran, “Between Consociational and Integrative Power-Sharing: The Case of Macedonia” ASN 2008 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2008;ILIEVSKI, Zoran and WOLFF, Stefan, “Successes and Failures of Complex Power Sharing in the Balkans”, ASN 2009 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2009.ILIEVSKI, Zoran,Human and Minority Rights in the Life-cycle of Ethnic Conflict: Ethnic Mobilization in Macedonia, EURAC, Bolzano, Italy, 2007 ;Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 225-251.John Hutchinson, *Modern Nationalism* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), 134-163. |
| **Additional literature** |
| Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983 (new and rev. 1991).Barth, Fredrik. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969.BANAC, Ivo, “The Fearful Asymmetry of War: The Causes and Consequences of Yugoslavia’s Demise,” Daedalus, Vol. 121, No. 2, 141-174. Berlin, Isaiah. The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.Breuilly, John. Nationalism and the State. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.Brubaker, Rogers. Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.Calhoun, Craig. Nationalism. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997.Cobban, Alfred. The Nation State and National Self-Determination. London: Collins, 1969.Connor, Walker. Etnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.Deutsch, Karl. Nationalism and Social Communication. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966.ERIKSEN, Thomas Ethnicity, Race Class and Nation. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). Ethnicity. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) Ethnicity, Race Class and Nation. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). Ethnicity. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)Gellner, Ernest. Nationalism. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Encounters with Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Culture, Identity, and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Thought and Change. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964.Greenfeld, Liah. Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.Hall, John A., ed. The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Hobsbawm, Eric J. Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.Hobsbawm, Eric J. and Terence Ranger, eds. The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Hroch, Miroslav. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.Huntington, Samuel P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds. Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Oxford Readers), 1994.Kedourie, Elie. Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.King, Charles. The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000.Kohn, Hans. Nationalism: Its Meaning and History. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1965.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background. New York: Macmillan, 1945. Kupchan, Charles A., ed. Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.Livezeanu, Irina. Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building & Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.Nairn, Tom. Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited. London: Verso, 1997.Rothschild, Joseph. Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.RENAN, Ernest. Qu’est-ce qu’une nation? in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). Nationalism. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).Schöpflin, George. Nations, Identity, Power. London: Hurst, 2000. \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Politics in Eastern Europe, 1945-1992. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.Smith, Anthony D. Myths and Memories of the Nation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism. London: Routledge, 1998.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ . National Identity. London: Penguin Books, 1991.Stalin Joseph. The Nation. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.(eds.). Nationalism. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994)Sugar, Peter F. and Ivo J. Lederer, eds. Nationalism in Eastern Europe. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969.Tamir, Yael. Liberal Nationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.Tismăneanu, Vladimir. Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.Trencsenyi, Balazs et al., eds., Nation-Building and Contested Identities: Romanian & Hungarian Case Studies (Budapest-Iaşi: Regio Books & Editura Polirom, 2001)Verdery, Katherine. National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceauşescu’s Romania. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.Weber, Eugen. Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976.Weber, Max, The origins of ethnic groups. in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Ethnicity (eds.). Ethnicity. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 35-40.White, George W. Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.Umut Özkirimli. Theories of nationalism – a critical introduction (second edition). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)**On conflict resolution and Macedonian case study:**BAIRD, ANTHONY, “An Atmosphere of Reconciliation: A Theory of Resolving Ethnic Conflicts Based on the Transcaucasian Conflicts”, (Online Journal for Peace and Conflict Resolution, November 1999)Carnegie Project on Complex Power- Sharing and Self –Determination, Conflict Theory: Classical Approaches,< <http://www.ecmi.de/cps/about_approaches.html>>Centre for Conflict Resolution, “Introduction to Conflict Resolution: Draft Distance Learning Course”, (Bradford, UK: Department of Peace Studies, 2000) <<http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/confres/dislearn>>Center For The Study of Democracy, CSD Reports: “Cigarette Smuggling”, <http://www.csd.bg/publications/book10/2.2.pdf>Center for International Development and Project Management, Minorities at Risk Project, <<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/>>Conflict Management Program at The Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Conflict Management Toolkit, <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/cmtoolkit/approaches/causesofconflict.html>Daskalovski, Židas, Walking on the Edge, Consolidating Multiethnic Macedonia 1989-2004 (Dominant, Skopje, 2005)ENGSTRÖM, JENNY, “The Power of Perception: The Impact of the Macedonian Question on Inter-ethnic Relations in the Republic of Macedonia”, (The Global Review of Ethnopolitics, Vol.1, no.3, March 2002), <http://[www.ethnopolitics.org/ethnopolitics/archive/volume\_I/issue\_3/engstrom.pdf](http://www.ethnopolitics.org/ethnopolitics/archive/volume_I/issue_3/engstrom.pdf)>European Stability Initiative, “Ahmeti’s Village: The Political Economy Of Interethnic Relations In Macedonia”, (ESI Skopje and Berlin 2002), <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\_ID=36>Forum, “European Court- Osmani vs Macedonia, Rufi Loses”, (Skopje, Macedonia, December 28 2001) <http://www.ex-yupress.com/mkforum/mkforum3.html>Framework Agreement, 13.08.2001, <http://www.adi.org.mk/frameworkagreement.html>GURR, TED ROBERT, “Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System”, (International Studies Quarterly, v.38, 1994)Johan Galtung and Carl G. Jacoobsen, Searching for Peace ( The Road to Transcend), Pluto Press, London – Saterlnig, Virginia, 2000HISLOPE, ROBERT, “The Calm Before the Storm? The Influence of Cross-Border Networks, Corruption and Contraband on Macedonian Stability and Regional Security”, <<http://www.antikorupcija.org.mk/dokumenti/priracnici>> ----“Between a bad peace and a good war: insights and lessons form the almost-war in Macedonia”, (Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol. 26 No. 1 January 2003)---- “When Being Bad is Good: Corrupt Exchange in Divided Societies”, (Conference paper: “Postcommunist States and Societies: Transnational and National Politics,” Maxwell School of Syracuse University, September 30– October 1, 2005), <[www.maxwell.syr.edu/moynihan/programs/ces/pcconfpdfs/Hislope.pdf](http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/moynihan/programs/ces/pcconfpdfs/Hislope.pdf)>Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence, Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, (Cambridge University Press, 1983) HOROWITZ, DONALD L., Ethnic Groups in Conflict, (Updated Edition With a New Preface, University of California Press, 2000)---- The Deadly Ethnic Riot, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)ISAKOVIC, ZLATKO, Identity and Security in Former Yugoslavia, (Aldershot Ashgate, 2000) ILIEVSKI, Zoran, Human and Minority Rights in the Life-cycle of Ethnic Conflict: Ethnic Mobilization in Macedonia, EURAC, Bolzano, Italy, 2007 ;---- “Between Consociational and Integrative Power-Sharing: The Case of Macedonia” ASN 2008 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2008;---- ILIEVSKI, Zoran and WOLFF, Stefan, “Successes and Failures of Complex Power Sharing in the Balkans”, ASN 2009 World Convention, Columbia University, NYC, NY, USA, 2009.IVANOV, GJORGE, Civil Society - Old hearing new contradictions, STEP - Skopje, 1994---- Democracy in Divided Societies: The Macedonian Model. Skopje, 1998.---- Contemporary Political Theory (co-author), Skopje, 2004.---- Political Theory – Antique (co-author), Skopje 2006.---- "The Underwater Current" of The Democracy's Third Wave, Annual, Faculty of Law Skopje No. XXXVII - 1998 ---- The Consolidation of the Democracy and the Civil Society : The Macedonian Model. International Conference Civil Society in the Countries in Transition - Comparative Analysis and Practice. Subotica, 29-31 maj, 1997 . ----Postcommunist traumas: Reflections from Macedonia - . International Scientific Conference: Open Society - Possibilities and perspectives, Podgorica.8-9 maj 1997. ---- The Electoral systems and the divided societies. Collection of works - a part of the project: The Law State and Elections- Skopje, 9 April 1996 ---- Democratic consolidation-reflections from Macedonia. Collection of works - a part of the project: The rights and freedoms of the citizen in Republic of Macedonia, December 1996 Faculty of Law, Skopje. ----"The Power of the Powerless": Democracy and Civil Society in Macedonia, Democratic reconstruction in the Balkans, CSD University of Westminster, London 2001, <http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/DemocraticReconstructionBalkans.pdf>---- The model of Democracy in the Text of Framework Agreement of August 13, 2001, Macedonian Affairs, Vol.IV, No.1, 2002---- Globalism and New Tribalism – The Macedonian Wiew, - Macedonia on Globalization (Edited by Natalija Nikolovska), Global Scholary Publications, NewYork, 2004---- Re(calling) the future, Eurozine,2004, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-03-25-ivanov-en.html>KOINOVA, MARIA “Three Outcomes of Ethnic Conflict: The Cases of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Yugoslavia”, (Prepared for delivery at the Third Annual Students Workshop of the Socrates KokkalisProgram on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 8-11 February, 2001), http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW3/Maria\_Koinova.pdfLouis Kriesberg, Constructive Conflict ( From Escalation to Rezolution), Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 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