**הגדרה עצמית, אתנו-לאומיות וסכסוכים בברה"מ והמדינות הפוסט-סובייטיות**

**Self-Determination, Ethno-Nationalism and Conflicts in the USSR and Post-Soviet States**

מרצה: ד"ר דינה זיסרמן

תשע"ז סמסטר ב'

היקף הקורס: 4 נק"ז

**תיאור הקורס**

הקורס בוחן בעיות לאומיות, מדיניות המדינה להלכה ולמעשה, סכסוכים אתניים בברית המועצות ומדינות פוסט-סובייטיות. נתייחס לדרכים בהן הפוליטיקה של הלאומיות האתנית השפיעה על תהליך הדמוקרטיזציה, קונפליקטים חברתיים ואלימות. נתמודד עם זהויות אתניות, ריבוד אתני, פוליטיזציה של קבוצות אתניות ותנועות האתנו- לאומיות. על מנת להקים בסיס מתודולוגי תיאורטי לניתוח התופעות הנ"ל נסקור מגוון רחב של גישות ושיטות מחקר.

The course examines nationality problems, state policies in theory and practice, and ethnic conflicts in the USSR and post-Soviet states. Dealing with ethnic identities, ethnic stratification, politicization of ethnic groups, and ethno-national movements we’ll explore the ways in which the politics of nationalism and ethnicity has influenced the democratization process, social conflicts, and violence. A wide range of scholarship establishing methodological and theoretical foundations for the study of these phenomena will be reviewed

.

דרישות הקורס:

* נוכחות ב- 80% לפחות מהשעורים
* דו"ח קריא\מצגת – 10%
* מטלות ודיונים בכיתה – 20%
* עבודת סיום --- 70%

**נושאי השיעורים וביבליוגרפיה**

**(רשימת הקריאה אינה סופית ויתכנו בה שנויים)**

**מבוא לקורס: הכרות ,הצגת נושא ופורמט הקורס, פירוט הדרישות ל**ביצוע **עבודת סיום.**

**13.03**

**הגדרות והבנות בסיסיות: "אתניות", "מדיניות אתנית", "לאום", "לאומיות", מדינת לאום", "ספרטיזם", "אירידנטיזם"**

**15.03**

BARRINGTON, Lowell, “Introduction: Nationalism and Independence,” in Lowell Barrington, ed., *After Independence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Ernest Renan: 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' <http://ig.cs.tu-berlin.de/oldstatic/w2001/eu1/dokumente/Basistexte/Renan1882EN-Nation.pdf>

**20.03**

CONNOR, Walker 1978 'A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a… ', Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 1, 4, pp. 377-400 [in *Ethnonationalism*: The Quest for Understanding. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, Ch. 4: 'Terminological chaos', pp. 89-117].

PLAMENATZ, John 1976 Two types of Nationalism. In Eugene Kamenka (ed.) Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 22-36.

**22.03**

Stalin, “Marxism and National Question,” chapters 1-3. <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm>

**Further Reading**

#  [איזנברג](http://www.e-mago.co.il/writers/writerslist.htm), יובל "לאומיות אתנו-רגיונאלית באיחוד האירופי תחת גישת המשילות החדשה*", אימגו* 15 /06/2007 (חלק 1-2)

# Ambrosio, Thomas, *Irredentism: ethnic conflict and international politics*, chapters 1-2, Praeger Publishers, 2001, 1-30.

ANDERSON, Benedict *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983. London: Verso [also see Rev. and extended ed. London ; New York: Verso, 1991], chs. 1 and 3, pp. 37-46 [also 'Imagined communities', in Hutchinson and Smith's Nationalism: A Reader]*.*

BARTH, Frederick (ed.) 1969, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference.* London: Allen & Unwin (Introduction, pp 9-38).

Brubaker, Rogers: Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism. In John A. Hall (ed.): *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press, 1998, 272-305.

Brown, M. (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security,* 1993, ch. 4 (“Democratization and Ethnic Conflict”), ch. 8 (“Ethnic Conflict and Refugees”), ch. 9 (“International Mediation of Ethnic Conflicts”), ch. 10 (“Outside Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts.

CONNOR, Walker 1978 'A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a…' , Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 1, 4, pp. 377-400 [in *Ethnonationalism*: The Quest for Understanding. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, Ch. 4: 'Terminological chaos', pp. 89-117];

CONNOR, Walker 1990 'When is a nation?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 13, no 1, pp. 92-103 [also in Hutchinson and Smith's Nationalism Reader, pp. 154-9; and in Connor' *Ethnonationalism*].

CONNOR, Walker, “The Timelessness of Nations,” *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 1/2 (2004): 35-48.

CONNOR, Walker. “Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol. 16, no. 3 (July 1993): 373-38.

Connor, Walker. 2001, “From a Theory of Relative Economic Deprivation towards a Theory of Relative Political Deprivation,” in: M. Keating and J. McGarry, eds., *Minority Nationalism* and the Changing International Order (Oxford University Press, New York) 114-133.

CONVERSI, Daniele 2004 '[Conceptualizing nationalism](http://easyweb.easynet.co.uk/conversi/Conceptualizing.pdf)', in Daniele Conversi (ed.) [*Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Theory of Nationalism*](http://easyweb.easynet.co.uk/conversi/ethnonat). London/ New York: Routledge, 2004, 2-23.

CONVERSI, Danielle, 1995, 'Reassessing theories of nationalism. Nationalism as boundary maintenance and creation', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1995, pp. 73-85 [Reprinted in John Agnew (ed.) Political Geography: A Reader. London/ New York: Edward Arnold, 1997, pp. 325-36]

CONVERSI, Daniele (2007) “Homogenisation, nationalism and war: should we still read Ernest Gellner?” *Nations and nationalism*, 13 (3). pp. 371-394.

FENTON, Steve and Stephen MAY 2002 'Ethnicity, Nation and ‘Race’: Connections and Disjunctures', [*Ethnonational Identities*](http://www.palgrave.com/pdfs/0333750128.pdf)*.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-20.

FISHNAN, Joshua A. Fishman: The Primordialist/Constructivist debate today. In Daniele Conversi (ed.): *Ethnonationalism* *in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*. London/New York: 2002.

GELLNER, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983 ch. 7.

GURR, Ted Robert, 1993 *Minorities at Risk. A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 123-138 (ch. 5) and 314-324 (ch. 11).

HABERMAS, Jürgen 1995 Citizenship and national identity: Some reflections on the Future of Europe, in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds) *The* *Nationalism Reader*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press

HALL, John A. 1993 'Nationalism: Classified and Explained', Daedalus, Volume 122, Number 3, Summer 1993, pp. 1-28

HECHTER, Michael, 1992 The dynamics of secession, Acta Sociologica, no 35, pp. 267-83.

HUTCHINSON, John and Anthony D. SMITH. 1994 *Nationalism. A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press:

1. Introduction, pp. 3-14;

4. Max Weber, 'The nation'

KOHN, Hans 1968 Nationalism. In David L. Shills (ed.) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan and Free Press. Vol. 11, pp. 63-70

-------1945 The Idea of Nationalism; A Study in its Origins and Background. New York: Macmillan [1st ed., 1944] (Introduction, pp. 3-24; ch. 7: 'Stirrings in the old world', pp. 329-) [also as 'Western and Eastern nationalisms', in Hutchinson and Smith's Nationalism: A Reader]

NAIRN, Tom: *Faces of Nationalism: Janus revisited*. London & New York: Verso, 1997, Chapter 1. "On Studying Nationalism", 1-17

ROTHSCHILD**,** Joseph *Ethnopolitics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1981, introduction and chapter 1.

SAMBANIS, Nicholas, “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature,” *World Politics*, July 2000: 437-483.

Schaeffer, Robert, “Separatism, Rationality and Irony,” in Metta Spencer**,** ed., *Separatism: Democracy and Disintegration*, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers (1998), 43-68.

SCHLESINGER, Philip 1987 'On National Identity: some Conceptions and Misconceptions Criticized', *Social Science Information* 26, 2, 219-64.

SCHMITT-EGNER, Peter. 'The Concept of 'Region': Theoretical and Methodological Notes on its Reconstruction', *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 24, Number 3/2002.

SMITH, Anthony D., 1991, "National Identity" (ch. 6: Separatism and multi-nationalism, pp. 123-42).

SMITH, Anthony, 1993 'The nation: Invented, imagined, reconstructed', in Marjorie Ringrose and Adam J. Lerner (eds.) *Reimagining the Nation*. Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1993

SMITH, Anthony D. 1991 *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin/. Reno: University of Nevada Press (ch. 2: 'The ethnic basis of national identity'; and ch. 3 'The rise of nations')

SREBRNIK, Henry. “Mini-Nationalism, Self-Determination and Micro-States in a Globalized World.” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XXVIII, no.1-2 (2001): 1-8

Spencer, Metta, “When States Divide,” in Metta Spencer**,** ed., *Separatism: Democracy and Disintegration*, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers (1998), 7-42.

SIMEON, Richard and Daniel-Patrick CONWAY, “Federalism and the Management of Conflict in Multinational Societies,” in Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, eds., *Multinational Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 338-365.

TAYLOR, Charles. “Nationalism and Modernity” in Beiner, ed., *Theorizing Nationalism*, pp. 219-245.

TISHKOV, Valery, *Ethnicity, Nationality and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame.* Oslo, 1997, [Chapter 1. “THE PHENOMENON OF ETHNICITY IN RUSSIAN CONTEXT](http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/the_mind_a1/the_phenom.html),” <http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the_mind_a1.html>

VAN DER BERGHE, Pierre, “A Socio-Biological Perspective,” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, pp. 97-103.

VAN DER BERGHE, Pierre, 1987 The Ethnic Phenomenon. New York: Praeger.

WILLIAMS, Robin 'The sociology of ethnic conflict. Comparative international perspectives', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1994, 20, pp. 49-79

**"השאלה הלאומית" באימפריה הרוסית ובברה"מ ופטרונותה**

**27.03**

Lenin, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1914/self-det/index.htm>

**29.03**

Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question," chapters 4 - 7

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm>

**03.04**

RAEFF, Marc “Patterns of Russian Imperial Policies Towards the Nationalities. In E. Allworth (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Problems,* 22-42

Lenin, "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1914/dec/12a.htm>

RUUD, Charles. “Pre-Revolutionary Russian Nationalism.” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* I, no.2 (1973/1974): 276-286

03.04Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia <http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/1917/11/02.htm>

MARTIN, Terry *The Affirmative Action Empire*, Chapter 1

**05.04**

SIMON, Gerald, *Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union*,

Chapter 6, "Stalin's Solution to the Nationality Issue"

Simon, Chapter 7, "War"

**10.04**

SIMON, Gerald, *Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union*,

Chapter 8, “De-Stalinization”

ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, Dina, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism*, Chapter 2, “Soviet Nationality Policy: Theory and Practice,” 19-34

**Further Reading**

CARRERE D'ENCAUSSE, Helene, *Decline of an Empire*, 27-36, 158-159

CONNOR, Walker, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*, 1984, 5-42; 254-63, 268-84, 300-322, 388-407.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, "The Discussion On Self-Determination Summed Up", <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/jul/x01.htm>

PIPES, Richard, *Formation of the Soviet Union*, 1997 (or 1964), 29-49; 50-53;107-113; 242-297.

SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Resolutions and Decisions of the CPSU: The Brezhnev Years*, 205-212, 250-255, etc.

SIMON, Gerald, *Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union*, Chapters 3-5, 9.

STARR, Frederick "Tsarist Government: The Imperial Dimension", in J. Azrael, *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*, 3-38

SINGH, Anita Inder, “Managing national diversity through political structures and ideologies: the Soviet experience in comparative perspective.” *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 2 (1995), 197-220

SUNY, Ronald, “State-Building & Nation-Making: The Soviet Experience” in Suny, *The Revenge of the Past*, ch. 3

SZPORLUK, Roman, “The Imperial Legacy and the Soviet Nationalities Problem,” ch. 1 (pp. 1-23) in Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, eds., *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

Tishkov Valery, [Chapter 3. NATIONALITIES OF RUSSIA: LEGACIES AND REVENGE](http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/the_mind_a1/nationalit.html)

<http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the_mind_a1/nationalit.html>

WALKER, Edward, *Dissolution*, 2003, Chapter 2.

**מדיניות כלפי הלאומים ואתנו-לאומיות בבירת המועצות**

**19.04**

ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, Dina, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism.*

Ch. 3, The Modernization Process and Ethnonationalism

Ch. 4 Relative Deprivation and the Politicization of Ethnic Groups

**24.04**

ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, Dina, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism.* Ch. 5 “Ethnic Organizations, Programs, and Demands”; Ch. 7 “The Problem of Orientation: Ethnocentrism-Polycentrism.”

**Further Reading**

BRUDNY, Yitzhak *Reinventing Russia,* Ch.1, “Russian Nationalists in Soviet Politics, 1-2.

POSPIELOVSKY, Dimitry. “Nationalism as a Factor of Dissent in the Soviet Union.” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* , vol. I, no.1, (1974/1975): 91-116.

SLEZKINE, Yuri, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review,* 1994, vol.53, 414–452.

WALLER, David, "Ethnic Mobilisation and Geopolitics in the Soviet Union", *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Summer 1992.

ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, Dina, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism*

Chapter 1 “Introduction: Theoretical Perspectives and Focus of Inquiry”

Ch. 6 Legitimizing Sources of Ethnic Politics.

Ch. 8 Samizdat and Ethnic Mobilization

**לא יאומן? בלתי נמנע? פרסטרויקה, נציונליזם והתפרקותה של ברה"מ**

**26.04**

KHAZANOV, Anatoly, *After the USSR,* (1995), Ch. 1, “The Collapse of the Soviet Union: Nationalism During Perestroika and Afterwords (1985-Summer 1992).”

**03.05**

LAITIN, David, “Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union (in reader); *Comparative Political Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 8, 839-861 (2001)

**08.05**

Burlatsky Feodor, “Who or What Broke Up the Soviet Union?” in Metta Spencer, ed., *Separatism,* 1998

**Further Reading**

BEISSINGER, Mark, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State,* (2001). Ch. 1,pp. 1-47.

CARRERE D'ENCAUSSE, Helene, *The End of the Soviet Empire*, Chapters 1,10,11.

ERICSON, Richard, "Soviet Economic Structure and the National Question" in A. Motyl (ed), *The Post-Soviet Nations*, Ch. 10.

GORENBURG, Dmitry, *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation* (2003), chs. 2 (27-48), 3 (49-76).

HESLI, Vicki L.; REISINGER, William M.; MILLER, Arthur H. “The sources of support for separatism: public opinion in three Soviet republics.” Nations and Nationalism 3, no. 2 (1997): 201-229.

LAPIDUS, Gail, "Gorbachev and the "National Question: Restructuring the Soviet Federation",

*Soviet Economy*, 1989, 5,3,201-250.

KUX, Stephan "Soviet Federalism", *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1990, 1-20 (e-journal).

SUNY, Ronald, *Revenge of the Past*, Chapter 4

ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, Dina, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism,* Conclusion.

**אתנו-לאומיות כתחליף לקומוניזם**

**10.05**

KHAZANOV, Anatoly, *After the USSR,* (1995), Ch. 2, “The Verse and Prose of Post-Totalitarianism.” Ch. 3, “Ethnic Minorities, Totalitarianism, and Democracy.”

**15.05**

KHAZANOV, Anatoly, *After the USSR,* (1995), Ch. 3, “Ethnic Minorities, Totalitarianism, and Democracy.”

BREMMER, Ian, “The Post-Soviet Nations after Independence,” in Lowell Barrington, ed., *After Independence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp.141-161.

**17.05**

ROWELEY, David G. "Imperial versus national discourse: the case of Russia." *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 1 (2000): 23-42

ALLAHAR, Anton, “Politics of Ethno-Nationalism: A Post-Colonial and Post-Socialist Schema.*” Sociologija. Mintis ir Veiksmas*, Vilnius, 2008.

<http://www.ku.lt/sociologija/files/2008-2.p.68-90.pdf>

**Further Reading**

BRUBAKER, Rogers, *Nationalism Reframed* (1996), Ch.5, “Homeland Nationalism in Weimar Germany and “Weimar Russia” (107-147).

KUZIO, Taras, *Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives on Nationalism: New Directions in Cross-Cultural and Post-Communist Studies.* 2007. Ch, 13,“History, Memory and Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Colonial Space,” 335-363, .

KUZIO, Taras, “The Myth of the Civic State: A Critical Survey of Hans Kohn’s Framework for Understanding Nationalism,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 2002): 20-39.

LAPIDUS, Gail, “Ethnicity and State-Building: Accommodating Ethnic Differences in Post-Soviet Eurasia” in Mark Beissinger and Crawford Young (eds), *Beyond State Crisis? (*2002), Chapter 13.

LAITIN, David, “Languages and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Republics,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*,

12, 1 (1996), 4-24.

RINGMAR, Erik. “Russia: territory and identity crises (Review Article).” *Nations and Nationalism* 2, no. 3 (1996): 453-60.

SMITH, Graham, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*, Chpt 1 (“Post-Colonialism & Borderland Identities”).

SNYDER, Jack "Nationalism and the Crisis of the Post-Soviet State", in M. Brown (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security,* 1993.

SZPORLUK, Roman. “Nationalism after communism: reflections on Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Poland.” *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 3 (1998): 301-320.

ZASLAVSKY, Victor, "Nationalism and Democratic Transition in Post-Communist Societies," *Daedalus*, Spring 1992, pp. 97 - 122.

**סכסוכים אתניים במרחב הפוסט-סובייטי**

**22.05**

STAROVOITOVA, Galina, “Democraticization and Ethnic Conflict in Post-Soviet Society,” in L. Drobizheva, et. al., *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World*, ch. 8, 149-156.

Tishkov, Valery, “Ethnic Conflicts in The Former USSR: The Use and Misuse of Typologies and Data,” Journal *of Peace Research* September 1999 vol. 36 no. 5, 571-591

**Further Reading**

TISHKOV, Valery, *Ethnicity, Nationality and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame.* Oslo, 1997. Part 2, “APPROACHING ETHNIC CONFLICT” http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the\_mind\_a1/approachin.html

Walker, Lee, “Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet Transition, in L. Drobizheva, et. al., *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World*, ch.1,

**סכסוכים אלימים: מקרי בוחן**

**ספרטיזם צ'צ'ני**

**24.05**

KOGAN IASNYI, Victor and Diana ZISSERMAN-BRODSKY, "Chechen Separatism," chap. 9, in Metta Spencer, ed., *Separatism,* 1998, pp: 205-226.

**29.05**

LAPIDS, Gail, “Putin’s War on Terrorism: Lessons From Chechnya”, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2002,18,1, 41-48.

King, Charles, Menon, Rajan, "[Prisoners of the Caucasus,"](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6urUmypbBIr6eeTrirr1Kzp55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brtFGuq69Is6ikhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbOnslCzqa9MpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=106) *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug 2010, Vol. 89 Issue 4, 20-34.

**Further Reading**

BOWKER, Mike, "Russia and Chechnya: The Issue of Secession." *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 4 (2004): 461-478.

[Hughes](http://www.amazon.com/James-Hughes/e/B001HOF0LW/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_pel_1), James, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad (National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Hughes**,** James, "The Chechnya conflict**:** freedom fighters or terrorists?". *Demokratizatsiya*: the journal of post-Soviet democratization, 15 (3), 2007, 293-311.

LAPIDS, Gail, “The Dynamics of Secession in the Russian Federation: Why Chechnya?, in M. Alexseev (ed), *Center-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperiled*, Ch. 2.

**ספרטיזם: סכסוכים בדרום אוסטיה וב**אבחזיה

**05.06**

Filippov**,** Mikhail, “Diversionary Role of the Georgia**–**Russia Conflict: International Constraints and Domestic Appeal,” in *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10, 2010, 1825-1847.

[Cheterian, Vicken, "The August 2008 War in Georgia](http://hl2.bgu.ac.il/BareketNet/ItemMenu.aspx?TreePressed=yes&sid=2358718&rsid=0&random=2183&handler=EditHandler&vcCourseGuid=0x73BA237BFE89A04CBEE6F862916C3268&enableSkin=0&LinkBoardSID=#IAHREF6145694836),” *Central Asian Survey,* 28:2, 2009, 155-170.

**Further Reading**

Ozhiganov. Edward, “The Republic of Georgia: Conflict in Abkhazia and South Ossetia” in A. Arbatov, et. al. (eds), *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union*, 1997.

Martirosyan, Arthur, “Commentary on Georgia,” in A. Arbatov, et. al. (eds), *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union*, 1997.

# Potier, Tim, *Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia: A Legal Appraisal,*

Chapter 1, 8-21; Chapter 6, 114-132; Chapter 7, 133-142; Chapter 8, 143-149.

RATLIFF, Rebecca, *South Ossetian Separatism in Georgia* http://www1.american.edu/ted/ice/ossetia.htm

*Russian Analytical Digest*, “Russia And The Conflict In Georgia”, 4 September 2008 / No. 45, <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

Gahrton, Per, [*Georgia: Pawn in the New Political Game*](http://www.amazon.com/dp/0745328598/ref%3Drdr_ext_tmb)*,* chapter 7, “TheBrakeaway Regions**.** Russian Stooges .or Freedom Seekers?” 57-77;

JONES, Stephen , “Georgia: Nationalism from under the Rubble,” in Lowell Barrington, ed., *After Independence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp.248-278.

**אירידנטיזם: סכסוך בנגורנו-קרבאך:**

**07.06**

Ozkan, Behlul, “Who Gains from the "No War No Peace"? A Ctitical Analysis of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” *Geopolitics*, 13, 2008, 572-599.

**Further Reading**

ALTSTADT, Audrey (1996), “Ethnic Conflict in Nagorno-Karabagh”, in L. Drobizheva, et. al., *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World*, Chpt. 13, 227-254.

Ambrosio, Thomas “Armenian Permissive International Environment,” in *Irredentism: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*, chapter 6, Praeger Publishers, 2001, 146-182.

# Potier, Tim, *Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia: A Legal Appraisal,* Chapter 1, 1-7; Chapter 5, 83-113; Chapter 8, 150-170.

**אלימות בין אינגושים לבין אוסטים: סכסוך טריטוריאלי:**

**12.06**

TISHKOV, Valery, *Ethnicity, Nationality and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame.* Oslo, 1997, [Chapter 8. “THE INGUSH-OSSETIAN CONFLICT](http://www.valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/the_mind_a1/the_ingush.html), <http://www.valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the_mind_a1/the_ingush.html>

**Further Reading**

*Russia: The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict in the Prigorodnyi* *Region,*  Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, April 1996.

<http://books.google.co.il/books?hl=en&lr=&id=FC2Lw4lDwx8C&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=+Prigorodnyi+Region+&ots=AKibDI7uGH&sig=9FSABJhAtuovG7xij57iYkFfqUE&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Prigorodnyi%20Region&f=false>

**הסכסוך האזורי במולדובה**

**12.06**

VAHL, Marius and Michael EMERSON, “Moldova & the Transnistrian Conflict” in *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe,* 1:2004

<http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/1-2004Chapter4.pdf>

**Further Reading**

ROPER, Stevenm, D., “Regionalism in Moldova - The Case of Transnistria and Gagauzia,” in James Hughes and Gwendolyn Sasse, *Ethnicity and Territory in the Former Soviet Union : Regions in Conflict* (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

**אלימות נגד מיעוטים אתניים: סכסוך באוש**

**14.06**

TISHKOV, Valery, *Ethnicity, Nationality and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame.* Oslo, 1997, [Chapter 7, “THE CULTURE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE (THE OSH CONFLICT)](http://www.valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/the_mind_a1/the_cultur.html)” <http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the_mind_a1/the_cultur.html>

Hanks, Reuel R., “Crisis in Kyrgyzstan: conundrums of ethnic conflict, national identity and state cohesion,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* [Volume 13](http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjsb20?open=13#vol_13), [Issue 2](http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjsb20/13/2), 2011, 177-187.

**Further Reading**

TISHKOV, Valery, “Don't Kill Me, I'm a Kyrgyz!': An Anthropological Analysis of Violence in the Osh Ethnic Conflict, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May, 1995), pp. 133-149.

**אלימות נגד מיעוטים אתניים בפדרציה הרוסית**

**19.06**

ARNOLD, Richard, [“Thugs with Guns”: Disaggregating “Ethnic Violence” in the Russian Federation.](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6urUmypbBIr6eeTrirr1Kzp55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brtFGuq69Is6ikhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbKptkyuqrJJpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=106) *Nationalities Papers*, 2009, Vol. 37 Issue 5, 641-664.

**Further Reading**

ARNOLD, Richard, "[Visions of Hate: Explaining Neo-Nazi **Violence i**n the Russian Federation,"](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6urUmypbBIr6eeTrirr1Kzp55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brtFGuq69Is6ikhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbOnr1C3rbNJpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=106) *Problems of Post-Communism*, Mar/Apr2010, Vol. 57 Issue 2, 37-49.

SAHADEO, Jeff, "*[Drzuhba Narodov](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6urUmypbBIr6eeTrirr1Kzp55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brtFGuq69Is6ikhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbGpskiuqrFNpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=106" \o "Druzhba Narodov or second-class citizenship? Soviet Asian migrants in a post-colonial world.)* [or second-class citizenship? Soviet Asian migrants in a post-colonial world,"](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bJLrq%2bzTLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6urUmypbBIr6eeTrirr1Kzp55Zy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brtFGuq69Is6ikhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbGpskiuqrFNpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=106" \o "Druzhba Narodov or second-class citizenship? Soviet Asian migrants in a post-colonial world.) *Central Asian Survey*, Dec2007, Vol. 26 Issue 4, 559-579.

[Martin Larys and Miroslav Mares](https://moodle2.bgu.ac.il/moodle/mod/resource/view.php?id=431834), “Right-Wing Extremist Violence in the Russian Federation,” Europe-Asia Studies, 63: 1, 2011, 129-154.

***רוסקיי מיר* ("העולם הרוסי"), לאומיות אתנוצנטרית ומדיניות חוץ של רוסיה**

**21.06**

Luke March, “Is Nationalism Rising in Russian Foreign Policy? The Case of Georgia.”

***Demokratizatsiya,***19:3 (Summer 2011), 187-207.

**26.06**

Jeffrey Mankof, “Russia's Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine.”

Foreign Aff. 93:3 (2014), 60—68.

## Andrei Tsygankov, “Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy,” Post-Soviet Affairs, 31:4 (2015), 279-303.

**שיעור מסכם**

**28.06**