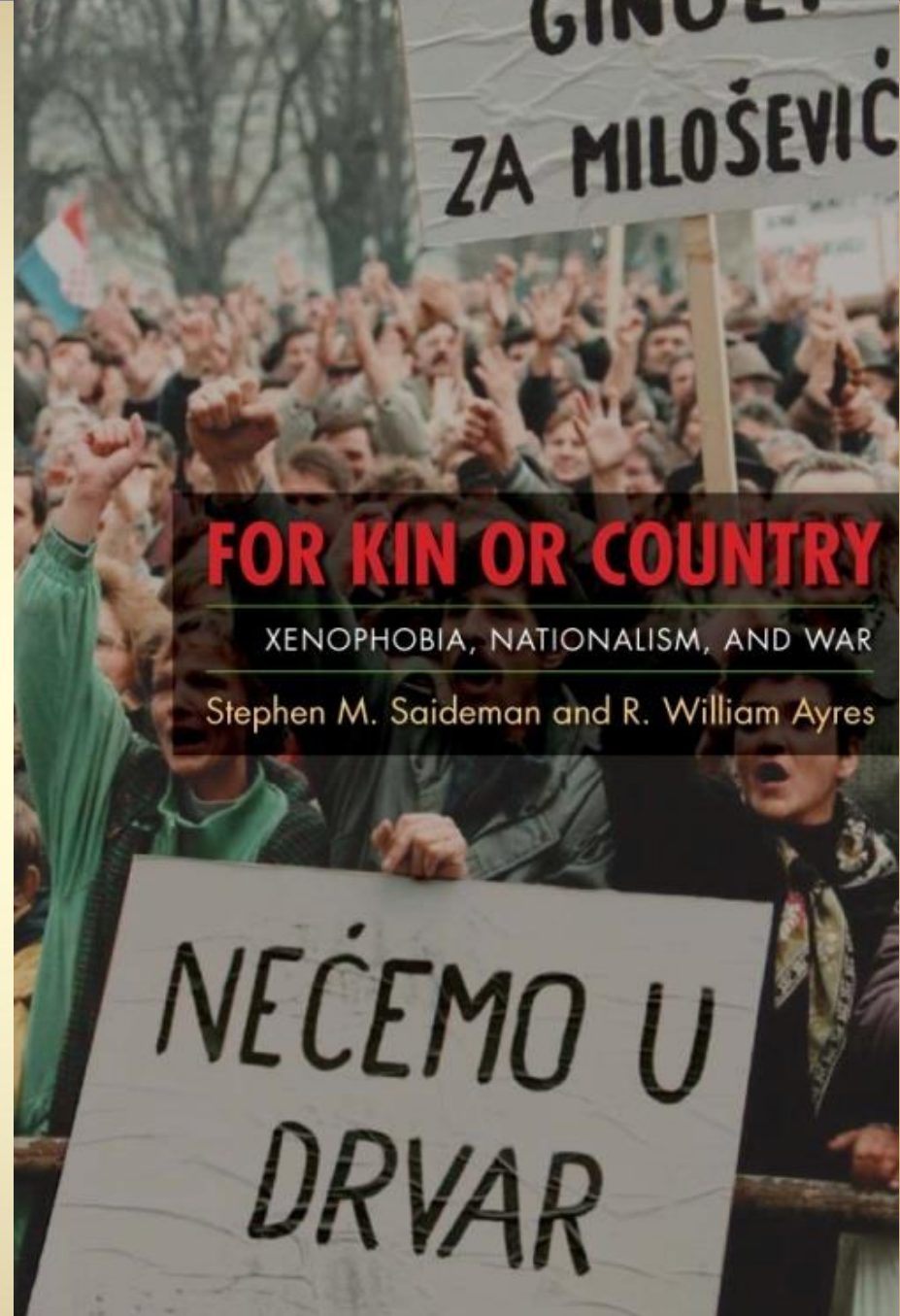


Xenophobia's Silver Lining: Explaining Peace in the Aftermath of Communism

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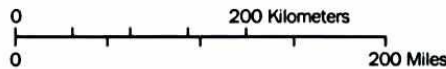
The Balkan Region



Groups comprising 50% or more of the population of a given area

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| Albanians | Muslims |
| Bulgarians | Romanians |
| Croats | Serbs |
| Hungarians | Slovenes |
| Macedonians | Turks |
| Montenegrins | No majority presence |

Shown in boldface type are smaller concentrations of the above groups or other significant groups that may not comprise a majority. Small groups that are not shown include Sorbs, Ruthenians, Gypsies, Vlachs, Jews, and Pomaks.



Three Questions

- **Why Irredentism?**
 - Acts of Self Destruction
- **Why Not Irredentism?**
 - End of Empire → Violence
 - Unexpected Restraint
- **How Does Nationalism Matter?**

Irredentism

- Effort to Unify One Territory With Another Inhabited by Same Ethnic Group
- Mother Country Style vs. Kurdish Style
- Focus on Foreign Policy: When Does the Mother State Act? How? Why?
- Relevance:
 - **Significant Cause of War**
 - **Regional Instability**



Next Steps

International Constraints

- Conventional Wisdom
- Problems

Xenophobia's Silver Lining

- Nationalism Unpacked
- Identity: Us, Them, Tolerance

Greater Romania?

- Most Likely Irredentists
- Constrained by Intolerance

Implications

- Borders
- Content of Nationalism
- Unpleasant
- Tradeoffs

International Constraints

- Boundary Norms
 - **Helsinki Accords** Ratified Borders
 - Most Violence Was Across **Intra-State Boundaries**, Not Inter-State
- Lure of Membership
 - Extensive **Conditionality**
 - EE Countries Seemed to Want In Desperately



Problems with Intl Constraints

- Borders

- Does Not Account for Russian Restraint
- End of Cold War Undid Helsinki
 - Irredentists Elsewhere Unrestrained By Boundaries

- Membership

- Credibility Problems: Cyprus?!
- Timing: Peace Before, Violence After

Identity and Nationalism

- What Does It Take to Gain Power?
Nationalist Stances?
- Traditional Distinction: Civic vs. Ethnic Nationalism
- Need to Take Seriously the Content of Identities, Nationalisms
 - Posner, Chandra, Abdelal et al, etc

Us? Them? Tolerance of Each

- Quebec: Separatists vs. Xenophobes
- Hungarian Example

$$A: H_H > H_O > R$$

$$B: |H_H| > |R| > |H_O|$$

H_H = Hungarians of Hungary

H_O = Hungarians Outside of Hungary

R = Romanians

Successful
Irredentism



Large Wave of
Immigration

Dimensions of Nationalism and Irredentist Inclinations

	Attitude Towards Other	
Identification with Kin	Tolerant/ Heterogeneity	Intolerant/ Homogeneity
Weak	Lack of interest	Hostile disinterest
Strong	Irredentism	Only Irredentism if “Clean” or willing to cleanse

Xenophobia May Block Irredentism

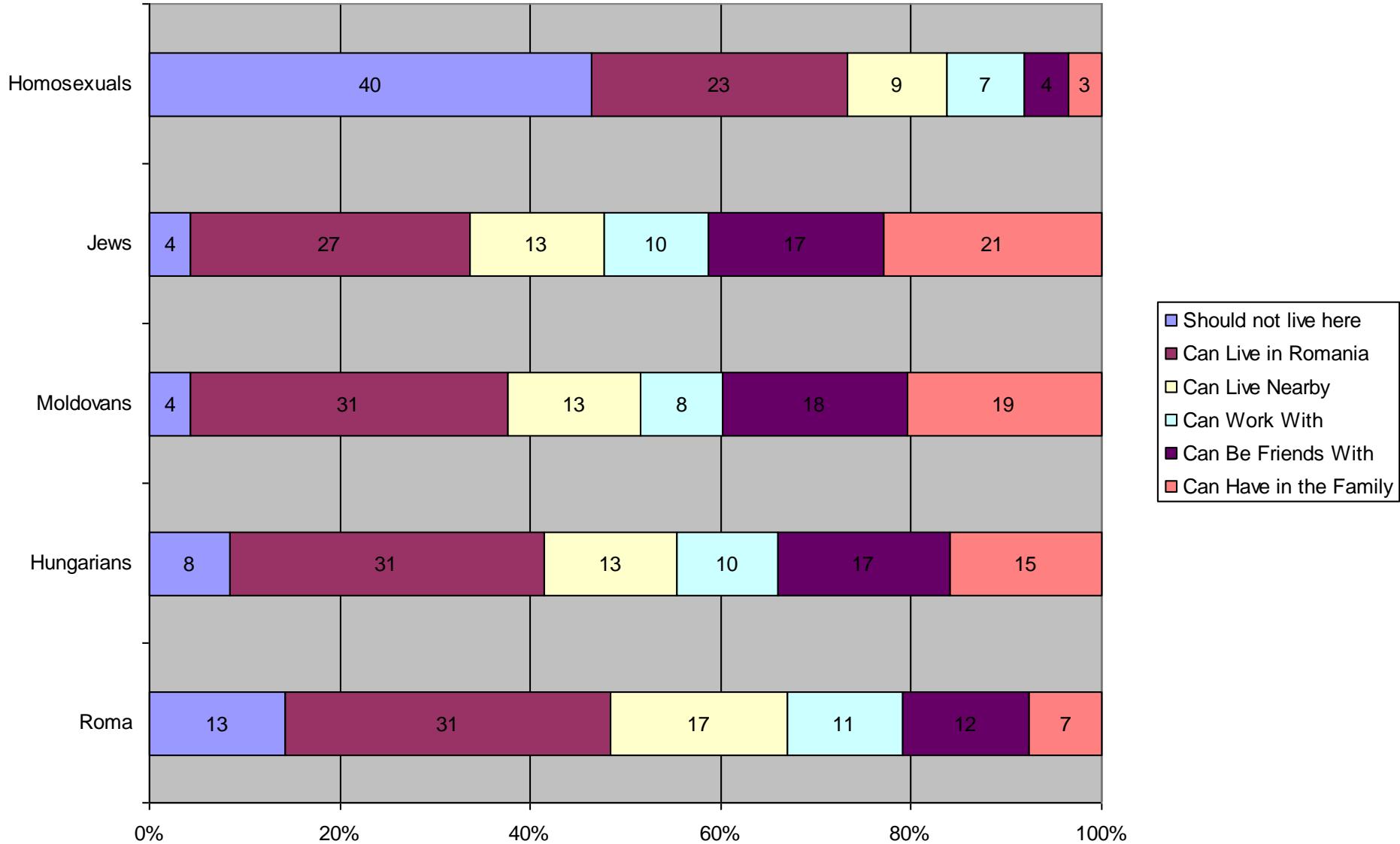
Greater Romania: Most Likely Irredentists?

- Most Violent Transition
- Most Dubious Democracy
- Least Legitimate Border
- Early Talk
- Nationalism is quite strong
 - *“We will be everything we once were, and even more than that.”* Greater Romania Party motto
- No Border Agreement w/ Moldova



So much for
Conditionality?!

Romanian Views of Minorities



Implications

- Impact of IOs, Norms Over-stated
- Borders Matter Due to:
 - ID
 - Audiences
- Take Seriously Content of Nationalism
 - Hierarchies of Identities
- Intermixing of Populations May Deter International Conflict
- Hate/Xenophobia May Have Positive Side
 - IR is Chock Full of Tradeoffs