Nation Building in Contested States

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For My Family

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Resum **(Catalan)**

Aquesta tesi consisteix en una anàlisi dels processos de construcció nacional (nation-building) actuals. Centrada específicament en els casos de la República Turca del Nord de Xipre, la República Moldava de Pridnestroviana i Kosovo, es basa en dades originals en anglès i en un sol treball. Aquesta obra presenta una anàlisi comparada d'estats disputats (contested states) des d'una perspectiva interna, fent referència als processos interns que ajuden a la legitimació d'aquestes entitats i generen suports per la a la seva existència.

El treball és un esforç per omplir llacunes a la literatura sobre estats disputats (contested states), i també per contribuir a la comprensió global de la construcció estatal i nacional, la formació d'estats i la sobirania. L'objectiu d'aquesta tesi és oferir un una nova manera de veure els conflicte d'estats disputats (contested states) des de la comprensió de la seva existència i continuïtat.

Resumen **(Spanish)**

Esta tesis proporciona datos recolectados de los procesos actuales de construcción de naciones en estados no reconocidos. Con un foco específico en la República Turca del Norte de Chipre, República Moldava Pridnestroviana, y República de Kosovo, los datos son presentados y recolectados en ingles por primera vez. El trabajo presenta un análisis y comparación de los estados no reconocidos desde una perspectiva interna. Así, revisando los procesos que ayudan a legitimar estas entidades desde adentro y creando apoyo para su existencia continua.

El trabajo se esmera en empezar a llenar las brechas en la literatura actual sobre los estados no reconocidos así como contribuir en el entendimiento general de la construcción de naciones y estados, formación de estados, y su independencia. La meta de este trabajo es proveer una manera nueva de ver el acertijo que son los estados no reconocidos a través de una nueva visión en relación al entendimiento de su existencia continua.

Summary

This thesis provides an overview of current nation building processes in contested states. With a specific focus on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, and Kosovo, original data is presented, collected in English in a single work for the first time. The work presents an analysis and comparison of contested states from an internal perspective, looking at the processes that help legitimize such entities from within and creating support for their ongoing existence.

The work strives to begin filling the gaps in available literature on contested states, as well as to contribute to the overall understanding of nation and state building, state formation and sovereignty. The goal of this work is to provide a new way of looking at the puzzle that contested states are by offering insight into the understanding of their ongoing existence.

Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 5

Chapter 7

Chapter 8

List of Tables

1. INTRODUCTION

The world map, with its legally divided sovereign states and neatly categorized territories, provides us with a sense of completion found within its colors and lines. After waves of state creation occurred in South America in the 19th century, in Europe after World War I, in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific after World War II, and finally in Eastern, Central and Southern Europe after the breakup of the socialist block, the international community became largely reluctant to undertake further territorial revision. The view of the world map has since remained very static, while the world order rather unaccepting of the major changes.

It seems that the gaps and blanks of the map have been filled, entities formed, and territories redistributed. However, hiding right beneath the surface are entities that do not fall neatly into the internationally accepted norms and concepts; entities that challenge the generally accepted understanding of statehood and world order. This thesis focuses on such entities, which in spite of having their territories formally included within the borders of another state, by and large do not identify with them. Unlike stateless nations, these entities have declared independence from their parent state and govern within their proclaimed territory, carrying out the practices of both state and nation building. They actively seek international recognition, however, are unable to receive it.

Not without much confusion, these entities have been referred by numerous academics, policy analysts, politicians and journalists as contested states, unrecognized or de facto states, breakaway territories, secessionist entities, para- or pseudo-states, quasi-states, or informal states, to name just a few[1]. Whichever term is used, a quick glimpse on the world map makes it apparent that the entities in question are small, in the majority of cases with populations of less than half a million people but sometimes as few as several thousand. They appear in special, painful cases, oftentimes linked with war, conflict and contested territories.

These contested states are generally seen as nonexistent in international relations, as they have failed to gain full recognition or, oftentimes, barely any recognition at all. Even if none or only a few states recognize the legitimate existence of these states, they, nevertheless, insist on their right to self-determination and statehood. In addition to their lack of international recognition, most of these states also lack strong state structures, and yet continue their existence. They pose a challenge to geographical and historical assumptions.

The persistence of contested states as territorial units is both intellectually puzzling and problematic. On the one hand, the lack of international recognition is a nearly sufficient factor for the seizing of existence, while on the other, the ability for ongoing existence of these small, unrecognized states requires explaining. Unlike the majority of academic literature written on the topic, this thesis will not look at the international implications or conflict resolution, but rather focus inwards. The ongoing existence of contested states cannot be explained and understood simply through the study of external factors and their implications. Although external support of patron states is crucial, contested states do have populations, without the support or involvement of which they would not have a reason to exist. Thus, to see the full picture, we must look inside these entities, to the internal forces that create support from within the state. Understanding internal dynamics and the way support is mustered from within will provide a deeper understanding of the emergence, development and ongoing existence of contested states.

The available evidence suggests that the population of most contested states share a high degree of common identity as a nation. Furthermore, one can observe that all of the current contested states have adopted a state flag, a national anthem, a state coat of arms,

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[1] The terms and their authors are discussed in detail on pages 23-28

new national holidays, currencies, stamps and other symbolic attributes of statehood. They also build museums, erect statues, rename streets, have their own school curricula, all in order to inculcate in the population a sense of common past and common allegiance to the same state, and oftentimes, the same nation.

Important sentiments and processes at play here refer to nation building and, respectively, closely related concepts of nationalism and state building. These concepts have not disappeared from the modern political scene, nor will they in the near future. They are all political in nature, even if they include important elements of culture, history, language, religion or art, amongst others. The main focus of national movements, which divide a group into a nation, distinct from their surrounding neighbors, is political, regardless of whether the end goal is an alternation to the existing state formation or political system. Neither is the impact of national movements confined within the state; many nations cut across existing state borders. Given the complex world situation, it is not surprising nationalism is still a strong force. The news are constantly filled with events around groups seeking political power for their nation and directly challenging the existence of states in their current form.

This dissertation is about nation building in contested states. More precisely, it aims to map out the variations of the current nation building projects in such entities. It seeks to analyze the links between nation building and levels of recognition and the time span of existence. In such a way, my ultimate goal with this work is to provide a new way of looking at the puzzle that contested states are, by offering insight into the understanding of their ongoing existence. With this thesis I also aspire to contribute to the questions of nation building and state building and the relation between the two. By considering the dynamics between nation and state building, and the scenarios in which one precedes the other, through applying them to the special cases that lack international recognition as sovereign states, we will gain an opportunity to approach the concepts from a new angle.

After presenting the research questions together with the main hypotheses, and the methods used, the dissertation turns to discussing the main concepts and theoretic implications. Looking closely at the theories and scholars of statehood, contested states, nations, nationalism, nation building and related concepts, it intends to lay the groundwork for the rest of the dissertation and create a framework for the analysis that follows.

In order to tell the story of contested states, the thesis aims to provide an overview of the currently existing ones. Beginning by in-depth case studies of three contested states officially referring to themselves as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), and the Republic of Kosovo in chapters five, six, and seven, respectively. The case study chapters gather a large amount of detailed, in-depth and specific information on the current nation building processes in each contested state, in some instances for the first time making such information available in English. By piecing together information and uniting it in a single detailed work, this thesis aims to begin filling a major gap in available literature.

The case studies are followed by a comparison and an analysis in chapter eight; parallels are drawn and similarities are pointed out. A brief overview of nation building processes occurring in the other contested states is briefly presented in the same chapter, limited only to available literature. In such a way the thesis is able to provide a broad overview of all of the current contested states, with an in-depth analysis of a few select ones. With this I hope to lay the groundwork for building a model of nation building that is specific to contested states.

2. Finding The Missing Puzzle Piece: Questions and Methods

2.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Contested states are peculiarities of the international system, but also of political science. Surprisingly, the vast majority of literature written on the topic has been by scholars of international relations and conflict studies. To the best of my knowledge, there does not exist a single work dedicated to the analysis of the internal process occurring in all contested states. Yet the world has witnessed numerous states emerge and disappear with the influence of just external actors; however, contested states have continued their existence. This is an indicator that the people living in these territories identify and at least in some degree for whatever reason support the existence of these contested states, limited in their capacity to provide for these very same citizens. This creates an

interesting puzzle and reason to dig deeper beneath the surface to uncover the reasons of why these people feel bound to the territory, entity and perhaps even to a nation.

For these reasons and with the aim of contributing to the better understanding of not only contested states, but also concepts of nation and state building, state formation and sovereignty, this dissertation sets out to answer the following general, broader research questions:

Q1. What are the current nation building processes carried out in contested states? Are these processes at all different from the ones that took place in 'uncontested' states?

Taking a closer look at these processes will provide an initial overview and set the ground for a deeper analysis. A comparison to other, non-contested states will give us an insight into the exclusivity and uniqueness of the situation, allowing to draw further conclusions.

Q2. How do nation building projects vary across contested states? Are these variations amongst contested states greater than those between contested and 'uncontested' states?

A closer look at the variations in the contested states will give us an understanding of how homogenous they are as a group. Together, the first two questions aim to provide a detailed overview of the nation building processes occurring in contested states today and help paint a picture of their internal development. By answering Q1 and Q2 the thesis will map the landscape of nation building and gather fragmented pieces of information into a unified work.

Given that recognition, or rather the lack thereof, is at the core of contested statehood, it is important to understand whether varying degrees of international recognition lead to a difference in the nation building processes. By understanding these dynamics, we will then be able to draw conclusions as to how other countries individually, and the international community as a whole plays a role in the development of contested states. Given the ongoing emergence and development of contested states, this insight could prove to be significant in many foreign policy decisions. This leads to this work to consider the following question:

Q3. Does the degree of international recognition influence nation building, and if so, how?

The longer a state exists, the more time it has to develop and evolve. When it comes to contested states, longer time span of existence should logically equate to more time to build state structures and create incentives for its citizens to continue living in a state whose very existence is contested and comes with an array of complications for the citizens. Whether state building and nation building are part of an integral process, or one proceeds the other is up for debate and will be discussed later in the work, however, the two do complement each other. This brings us to the following questions:

Q4. Does the time span of unrecognized existence produce a difference in the contested entity's approach to nation building?

Q5. Does a relative success of state building lead to a difference in the nation building?

These three questions will provide a basis for further analysis of the gathered data. In order to answer them, the following arguments are put forward as hypotheses:

H1. The number of international recognitions does not lead to a significant difference in the approach to nation building.

It is widely accepted in academic literature that seeking international recognition is crucial for all contested states; it is, in fact, one of the defining elements of a contested state altogether. Contested entities seek recognition by definition, and many often make it a foreign policy priority. Much energy and effort is spent on reaching this goal and it can be easily argued that it is an enveloping, all-consuming, and perhaps even defining task for the majority of contested states.

However, this dissertation makes the claim that the level of international recognition does not have a direct influence on the form of nation building occurring in the contested states. Regardless of how much recognition a contested state receives, or does not receive, nation builders and their nation building projects have an altogether different goal – to create a sense of belonging amongst the citizens living in an entity the existence of which is constantly questioned by the rest of the world. Such a project can continue regardless of the international community being convinced or not convinced of such.

I argue that the two processes, of external and internal legitimization continue in parallel. In a problematic contested state, the citizens will need to be constantly incentivized and convinced to give their

allegiances to that entity rather than any other uncontested one. The results of fruitful nation building can then be used as argumentation on the international arena. However, in a contested state more recognitions does not equate less intensity of nation building.

An interesting role is played here by the patron state. As, oftentimes, the only or leading state recognizing the contested one it is usually the one most closely linked to it through history, culture, language, etc. It is the state the contested one has closest (if not only) economic and political ties with. It is thus not surprising that such a patron would be the main (or only) external influencer on the contested states. This thesis argues that alongside the 'domestic' nation building, there is also the nation building of the patron taking place. An interesting issue explored in this thesis is the dynamic between the two – to what degree and in what ways does one influence the other?

This paves the way to the second hypothesis of this dissertation:

H2. The longevity of existence leads to differences in the type of nation building; the longer a contested state exists, the less extreme and more banal its nation building projects are.

It is commonly accepted that time changes everything. But when that time passes in a contested state, which according to many factors implies that the entity should have completely seized to exist or become a recognized state over the course of time, such a factor requires further attention. The longer a state exists in its contested form, the longer it has to carry out and develop its nation building projects, the longer time it has for it to develop towards a more banal form of nationalism. Younger contested states will have more extreme nation building projects, regardless of how quickly and how many international recognitions they receive. In a young contested state, the nation builders are not only quickly building a nation and fostering a sense of belonging amongst its citizens, they are also doing so in conditions of incomplete state building. With weak state structures, nation building becomes a challenge, and as a result the intensity and symbolism of it increases.

The role and success of state building leads us to the third hypothesis of this dissertation:

H3. The more successful the state building project is in a contested state, the less extreme and intensive the nation building becomes.

The assumption behind this hypothesis is that a successful state building project leads to a functioning state. When state institutions can provide for the needs of the citizens, they then can legitimately ask for their loyalty in return. If citizens give their loyalty to a state that is capable of meeting their needs, then, in turn, the nation building projects within the contested state do not have a reason to be as extreme.

2.2. RESEARCH METHODS AND THESIS ORGANIZATION

In order to investigate and empirically analyze the claims made above, as well as answer the posed questions, this dissertation applies qualitative methods. It is designed as a structured, focused comparison of a controllable number of case studies. The study focuses on identifying processes and patterns of nation building in contested states, discussing mechanisms of nation building that would be hard to grasp without a detailed investigation. This, as such, rules out the use of quantitative methods in favor of a small-N comparative study. The study further intends to clarify the meaning of certain variables and validity of empirical indicators, and identify overlooked interaction effects. A descriptive element is included in the case studies, which covers the phenomena in need of further interpretation and in such a way sheds light on specific occurrences.

The data presented in the case study chapters was gathered over the span of almost four years through the use of both primary and secondary sources. Information from literature in English, Russian, Ukrainian and Serbian was used, while certain primary sources were translated for the first time into English. These translations are included in parts of the case study chapters. I have also carried out fieldwork in Northern Cyprus and Kosovo, visiting numerous symbolic places and museums, exploring the cities, and interviewing locals with the aim of getting first-hand insight into the processes occurring in the contested states. I have interviewed academics and European foreign policy officials on the topic as well, in order to gain understanding from a slightly different angle.

To the best of my knowledge, a theory of nation building in contested states does not yet exist; based on the existing theoretical considerations, together with the newly presented data, the thesis

aims to lay the groundwork for developing such a theory or model. Chapter three explores the conceptual and theoretic framework of the thesis, followed by an overview of contested states and explanation of case selection in Chapter four.

The three case study chapters that follow map out today's landscape of nation building in contested states. Each case study is discussed in a separate chapter as Chapters five, six and seven, respectively, addressing the research questions 1 and 2. After providing a short historical overview of events leading up the establishment of each contested state, which contribute to hypothesis 2, each case study chapter then proceeds to mapping out the variations of nation building projects in the contested states in question, discussing hypotheses 1 and 3. All case studies are based on common terms of reference in order to ensure comparability. Even though the structure is followed as closely as possible, certain topics of the structure may be relevant in some cases, but not or to a lesser degree in others. Generally, a strong emphasis is placed on the common structure of the case study chapters.

In order to address the claims made in hypothesis 3, data on the GDP per capita, unemployment rate, human development index, and life expectancy will be provided for each case study. This study assumes successful state building as the construction of the administrative, economic and military groundwork for functional states, and the indicators used to show the state's success, or lack of such, are fitting for this purpose as they reflect the relative wellbeing of the people living in the contested states.

Understanding nation building in contested states implies in-depth description of the contexts in which it developed, locating the specific processes of evolution of political actors in their broader environment, followed by detailed discussion of the individual processes being carried out today. The existence of several paths to the same or similar outcomes is anticipated, as similar intensities and types of nation building could have developed in different contested states due to different causes or their combinations. Where specific factors played central roles, in other cases they were completely irrelevant.

The final chapter of this dissertation provides a comparative analysis of the findings and places the three case studies into a larger context. Additionally, it provides a comparison with contested states not studied profoundly, as far as published information and secondary sources allow for. In spite of the logical limitations, it tries

to uncover parallels as well as to spot major differences amongst the contested states allowing for a more meaningful analysis.

3. PLACING THE THESIS IN CONTEXT: MAIN CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

This dissertation works closely with a number of concepts the definitions and theoretical implications of which need to be addressed onset. The two main components of the work's theme are 'contested states' and 'nation building', as is reflected in the title. Before proceeding with any analysis of data from contested states, it is important to lay the theoretic groundwork which will serve as the frame of reference. Discussing these concepts from a theoretic perspective will also help place this thesis in context and locate any gaps in literature. Fully grasping these concepts without the discussion of others – such as state, sovereignty, recognition, collective identification, culture, national identity, nationality, nationalism, and nation is quite impossible, as they are complex concepts that are comprised of many elements and need context in order to be grasped. This becomes apparent when looking at the available literature, as it is fragmented and broken down into many pieces – addressing literature concerned only with contested states and nation building would mean omitting a large number of sources that shed light on the matter. When addressing the concepts it thus is hard not to refer to the literature or the author responsible for coining it. This is the reason this part of the dissertation combines the discussion of concepts with the literature review.

Although it is unlikely that this work can fully capture all the common usages of the above-mentioned concepts, it is nevertheless essential to review the available debates and definitions, explaining the chosen usage and offer theoretical justifications for such. It is further important to point out that the concepts discussed in this chapter can be classified as contested. W.B. Gallie initially coined the term 'essentially contested concepts' in 1956; William Connolly further elaborated it. Quoting Gallie, Connolly defines contested concepts as follows:

> *"When the concept involved is appraisive in that the state of affairs it describes is a valued achievement, when the practice described is internally complex in that is characterization involved reference to several dimensions, and when the agreed and contested rules of application are relatively open, enabling parties to interpret even those shared rules differently as new and unforeseen situations arise, then the concept in question is an essentially contested concept. Such concepts essentially involve endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users."[2]*

Connolly further points out that contested concepts usually involve some sort of value judgment; these concepts are never neutral. Struggles with definitions involve a normative point of view, in this context referring not only to moral reasoning in the narrow sense, but also include broader features such as purpose, interest or standard. It is in relation to this normative framework that relations between concepts and the hierarchies among them are established. Both the definition of concepts and the normative framework involved in them are institutionalized by means of convention, which, in turn, enables actors to communicate. These conventions may be altered, but alternations need justifications. According to Connolly, contestations about the legitimate use of concepts are an essential part of politics, as they provide space for political interaction.[3]

Most of the concepts this dissertation works with have been written about in abundance in the various fields. The concepts are inter-disciplinary, at least within social sciences and humanities. They draw interest and discussion from international relations, political studies, anthropology, economics, international development and security studies, amongst others. Often, representatives from these diverse fields come together to work collaboratively to analyze these complex concepts. It is therefore not possible to consistently identify

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[2] William E. Connolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1983), 10.
[3] Ibid.

one perspective or neatly divide the review of the topics into categories sorted by discipline. It is, however, possible to identify some primary concerns or preoccupations in literature and use them to provide operational definitions of the key concepts, laying the groundwork for the analysis of the case studies presented later.

This section of the overview will therefore highlight general theories, concepts and problems involved in nation building in contested states. The aim of this section is to offer a theoretic overview of problematic and contested concepts that will be used throughout the work, to provide a theoretic base for the rest of the work, and to conceptually place the given work within its respective field.

3.1. THE STATE & STATE FORMATION

The state, which continues to be the basic unit of analysis in modern political theory and international relations, remains without a definition that is consensually accepted by the academic community as a whole. The term refers to a set of different, although interrelated and even overlapping theories relevant to a large number of various political phenomena. The most widely accepted and cited definition in political science is the one offered by Max Weber in 1919. He described an entity as a 'state' if and insofar the political organization, with a centralized government, is able to successfully maintain a claim on the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a specific territory.[4]

The Oxford English Dictionary provides a concise, basic yet operational definition of a state. It is "a. a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government; b. an organized political community or area forming part of a federal republic"[5]. The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations further specifies that states are the main, if not sole actors in the international arena, and, particularly, the only actors enjoying legal international recognition. The 1933 Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States provides what is regarded as the classic legal definition of the qualifications that a state must possess. They

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[4] Daniel Warner, *An Ethic of Responsibility in International Relations* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), 9-10.
[5] Oxford Dictionaries Online, *s.v. "State"*, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/state?q=state.

are as follows: "a permanent population, a defined territory and a government capable of maintaining effective control over its territory and of conducting international relations with other states."[6]

The long-term processes which led to the creation of territorial sovereign states are referred to as state-formation, and are often linked to, if not even used interchangeably in some literature, with the concepts of state building, nation building and institution building. Although part of the same development, in this thesis these concepts are used to describe very specific and somewhat different processes. Although unlikely that it would be possible to completely disentangle these related terms, it is still important to distinguish between them.

First we turn to discussing state formation, which can be seen as the broader term of the three. Simply put, state formation refers to the development of centralized state structures where there were none before. It has been a subject studied in multiple disciplines, ranging from anthropology, sociology, and economics to political science.

In general terms, we can divide the study of state formation into two groups – one looks at the formation of the premodern state, and the other at the formation of the modern state. Detailed overviews of premodern state formation are offered, for example, in the work of Henri J.M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik (1978), which discusses the emergence of early, premodern states in different world regions from a theoretical and empirical perspective.[7] In the work of Gary Feinman and Joyce Marcus (1998) we can find archeological insights into the operation and diversity of ancient states, as well as their rise and fall,[8] while Perry Anderson (2013) helps to put the formation of the modern European state into a broader historical and international perspective by exploring the transition from ancient to medieval-feudal modes of production and society formation in both Western and Eastern Europe[9].

Modern state formation began its development during the Middle Ages, undergoing decisive change in the early modern period. State

[6] Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham. *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*. (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 512.

[7] Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalník, eds., *The Early State*, (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978).

[8] Gary M. Feinman and Joyce Marcus, eds., *Archaic States*, (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1998).

[9] Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, (London: Verso, 2013).

formation is constantly under construction, and is an ongoing, dynamic process that is still developing. In mainstream literature, modern state formation originated in Europe and spread around the world through European colonialism, and later through the integration of postcolonial states into the international system. State formation is generally seen as a complex directional, but non-steered historical process. It is comprised of, most importantly, the monopolization and institutionalization of the legitimate means of violence and of taxation, the successive democratization of these monopolies, followed by the bureaucratization, rationalization, and depersonalization of rule. State formation includes the idea of territorial boundaries of state rule together with the idea of state sovereignty, symbolic practices meant to ensure the legitimacy of state domination, the embedding of these processes into the expansion of capitalism as a dominant form of economic reproduction, and the emergence of classes and nations.

Most influential thinkers of state theory have placed emphasis on the institutionalization of violence in the modern state. Amongst the first associations in this regard is Charles Tilly's famous line, "war made the state, and the state made war"[10]. Although sometimes interpreted in such a way, Tilly's argument does not equate more war to more state. In his work (1990) he explains the trajectory of modern state formation in Europe as follows:

> *… the increasing scale of warfare and the knitting together of the European state system through commercial, military, and diplomatic interaction eventually gave the war-making advantage to those states that could field standing armies; states having access to a combination of large rural populations, capitalists, and relatively commercialized economy won out. They set the terms for war, and their form of state became the predominant one in Europe. Eventually European states converged on this form: the national state.[11]*

In turn, he defines national states as "relatively centralized, differentiated organizations the officials of which more or less successfully claim control over the chief concentrated means of violence within a population inhabiting a large, contiguous territory".[12]

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[10] Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1990).
[11] Ibid. 15
[12] Ibid 170

Another approach to viewing state formation is from an economic perspective offered by the neo-Marxist views and neo-institutionalist analyses. Authors such as Perry Anderson (1974), Douglass North and Robert Paul Thomas (1973) and many others of this group, generally agree that economic change was the causal factor of the end of the feudalistic rule and see urbanization and the growth of trade as the beginning of capitalism.

Modern state formation can also be explained from an approach that places emphasis on ideology, and the emergence of the sense of individuality in the 12th century England. According to Alan Macfarlane (1978) this had a great influence on the rise of early capitalism and the formation of the early state.[13] John Ruggie (1993) further noted that this shift in perception gave rise to a shift in the understanding of the correct political order; order was perceived to emerge from rational design, rather than religious mandate.[14]

The European processes of modern state formation took centuries to be fully established; states formed in the postcolonial period or after thus had a slightly different experience, much due to a shorter timeline for establishment. This meant that some steps were rearranged, quickened or even skipped over entirely. This resulted in different types of modern states, such as the developmental state, the neopatrimonial state, the socialist-bureaucratic state, or the contested state. Although each has met the criteria laid out for modern states, it has been done in rather qualitatively varied ways.

3.2. STATE BUILDING

While state formation refers to a long dynamic process, that spans over centuries and involves many angles and approaches, this work sees state building as a more immediate and practical solution of building up internal state institutions. There is also much confusion between the terms state- and nation-building. Many authors use the terms interchangeably, while others give them completely different meanings. Most commonly we can see the terms used to mean the

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[13] Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1978).
[14] John Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations", *International Organization*, 47 (1): 139-174, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706885.

same in non-academic works, such as in those by the media, NGOs, think tanks, mainly following President Bush's intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq and his administration referring to it as "nation building". Some authors even equate it with peace-building, as the majority of available literature, especially written in the past decade or so focuses on state-building only from the international perspective, through the prism of international interventions and other countries involved in rebuilding the institutions of others.

Generally speaking, state building refers to strategies of building institutions and the state apparatus, while nation building, refers to the processes of creation of a cultural identity that relates to a particular territory of the state.

Most theorists agree that a well-functioning state is a requirement for the development of a nation, and therefore state-building is a necessary component of nation-building. Several authors also argue that while state building can be conducted by external actors, the development of nation building is something that inherently belongs to an emerging society to shape by itself. This thesis challenges bothviews by looking at the cases of contested states.

Firstly, however, we need to take a deeper look at state building, and its components, and consequently its theoretic implications, especially in contrast to nation building, which will be discussed as a separate concept in the following sections.

Armin von Bogdandy et al. provide a very operational definition of state building, as follows:

> State-building means the establishment, re-establishment, and strengthening of a public structure in a given territory capable of delivering public goods. Essential to state-building is the creation of sovereign capacities of which the fundamental one is the successful and generally undisputed claim to a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force. To be sure, the aim of state-building is not the use of physical force, but rather the establishment of a state as a concentration and expression of collective power without the need to exercise coercion.[15]

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[15] Armin von Bogdandy et al., "State-Building, Nation-Building, and Constitutional Politics in Post-Conflict Situations: Conceptual Clarifications and an Appraisal of Different Approaches", In Armin von Bogdandy, Rüdiger Wolfrum and Christiane E. Philipp, *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*, Vol.9, (Brill | Nijhoff: 2005), 583-584.

In "Reflections on the History of European State-Making", Charles Tilly proposes six hypotheses explaining successful state-building in the guise of six factors predicting success (1975):

1. the availability of extractable resources;
2. a relatively protected position in time and space;
3. a continuous supply of political entrepreneurs;
4. success in war;
5. homogeneity (and homogenization) of the subject population;
6. strong coalitions of the central power with major segments of the landed elite[16]

3.3. SOVEREIGNTY, RECOGNITION AND CONTESTED STATES

The effective control over its territory is at the core of the notion of political authority and basic definition of sovereignty. The state is the political institution in which sovereignty is embodied; while a group of such states forms the system of sovereign states. Although throughout history sovereignty has carried varying meanings, from focusing on the holders of the source of its legitimacy, be it God, the monarch, or the people, to focus on the scope of activities under its protection, there to this day remains no universally accepted definition of sovereignty. For example, already in 1758 Emer de Vattel wrote that "Of all the rights that can belong to a nation, sovereignty is, doubtless, the most precious, and that which other nations ought the most scrupulously to respect, if they would not do her an injury."[17]

We can also view sovereignty through the lens of two broad movements manifested in practical institutions and the parallel political thought. The first is the development of the aforementioned system of sovereign states, culminating with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Following this time, the notion of sovereignty

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[16] Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the history of European State making", In: Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1975), 40-41.

[17] Emer de Vattel. *The Law of Nations. Or, Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, ed. Joseph Chitty (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 155.

became prominent in the writings of Machiavelli, Luther, Bodin, and Hobbes. The second movement began after World War II and is focused on the limitation of the sovereign state, developing and strengthening through the spread of law and protection of human rights. We can find corresponding political thought in the writings of the critics of sovereignty, such as Bertrand de Jouvenel and Jacques Maritain.

However, the importance of sovereignty was officially voiced in more modern times by the Badinter Arbitration Commission of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia in its opinion in 1991, stating that it considers a state to be defined as "a community which consists of a territory and a population subject to an organized political authority; that such a state is characterized by sovereignty"[18].

Many scholars, such as Sir Francis Harry Hinsley[19] and R.B.J. Walker[20] have also paid much attention to the dual nature of sovereignty, making the distinction between internal and external sovereignty. The *Manual of Public International Law (1968)* edited by Max Sørensen, provides a good definition of the two, including an additional third aspect of territorial sovereignty. Henry Burmester quotes it in his work,

> *The external aspect of sovereignty is the right of the state freely to determine its relations with other states or other entities without the restraint or control of another state. This aspect of sovereignty is also known as independence. It is this aspect of sovereignty to which the rules of international law address themselves primarily. External sovereignty of course presupposes internal sovereignty.*
>
> *The internal aspect of sovereignty is the state's exclusive right or competence to determine the character of its own institutions, to ensure and provide for their operation, to enact laws of its own choice and ensure their respect.*
>
> *The territorial aspect of sovereignty is the complete and exclusive authority which a state exercises over all persons and things found on, under or above its territory. As between any group of independent*

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[18] Alain Pellet, "The Opinions of the Badinter Arbitration Committee: A Second Breath for the Self-Determination of Peoples" *European Journal of International Law* 3, no. 1 (1992): 182, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/3/1/1175.pdf.

[19] Francis Harry Hinsley. *Sovereignty,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 158.

[20] R.B.J. Walker. *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 169.

states the respect for each other's territorial sovereignty is one of the most important rules of international law.[21]

Thus, as R.B.J. Walker concludes "sovereignty is an expression of a politics that works both inside states and outside states, indeed as a principle that tells us why we must put up with a politics that is radically split between statist political communities and relations between such communities."[22]

Stephen Krasner (2001), identifies four concepts that dominate the contemporary debate on sovereignty. First, 'domestic sovereignty', which reflects the control of the state over activity on its territory. Second, Vatellian/Westphalian sovereignty, which indicates to what extent the state's territory is subject to influence from other states. Third, 'interdependence sovereignty', which points to the state's control over cross-border activities. And fourth, 'international legal sovereignty', which relates to the recognition of the state by other states.[23]

Sovereignty is one of the central terms in the vocabulary of contested states; it is with the argument that they have achieved full internal sovereignty to they lay claims to have their external sovereignty recognized and in such a way be included into the system of sovereign states.

Apart from constituting the main components of international order, sovereignty also prescribes a certain relationship between these units. This refers to the notion of equality of all states. This is implicitly recognized in the UN Charter in Article 2, para. I[24]. This notion further aims at preventing the establishment of a superior power, as no other national or international entity can legitimately dictate the activities of a state that enjoys supreme legal authority. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean unqualified and

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[21] Henry Burmester, "National Sovereignty, Independence and the Impact of Treaties and International Standards." *Sydney Law Review* 17(2), (1995), 130-131.

[22] R.B.J. Walker, "Both Globalisation and Sovereignty: Re-imagining the Political," In *Principled World Politics: The Challenge of Normative International Relations*, eds. Paul Kevin Wapner and Lester Edwin J. Ruiz (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 28.

[23] Stephen D. Krasner, "Rethinking the Sovereign State Model", *Review of International Studies*, (2001), 27, pp. 19-21, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://vanity.dss.ucdavis.edu/~maoz/krasner2001.pdf.

[24] United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations,* Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/index.html

exclusive power, as no state has achieved such. The international system has further developed in such a way that a picture-perfect world of equality amongst every sovereign state simply does not exist. The real world has various hierarchies of states and their power on the international stage. Whether the greater powers are maintaining the order or causing chaos, abusing their powers or reinforcing the principle of sovereignty is up for debate. Nevertheless, the principle of sovereignty has served as a protection for less powerful states against elimination[25], which is a very attractive prospect for contested states that exist in a constant shadow of the possibility of forceful reintegration into their parent state and the end of their existence. Furthermore, the notion of sovereign equality created an international society of states, relying on a set of common rules and institutions and the idea of a shared identity. Barry Buzan (1993) points out that the principle of sovereign equality provides for a basic degree of shared identity amongst the members of the international society. They recognize each other as belonging to the same kind of entity – sovereign states.[26]

In today's political arena acceptance into the international community is expressed through the formal recognition of an entity as a state by other states. It is one of the most complex and difficult issues in international law. Recognition is both a political and legal condition, as the act of recognizing or not recognizing a state is a clearly political, or sometimes even an ideological matter, with legal consequences. Although not necessarily showing approval, recognition can be viewed as a way of expressing the inclination to deal with the new entity as a full member of the international diplomatic community, and in such a way can mean conferring legitimacy.[27] After secession and self-proclamation of independence, all contested states have on numerous occasions explicitly expressed the desire to be recognized. Most have continuously applied highest priority to the task of seeking recognition.

There exist two broad doctrines relating to the issue of recognition. The declarative school of thought, the adherents of which have dominated the legal discussion on the matters of statehood, claim

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[25] Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." *International Organization* 47(3), (1993), 347, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706979.
[26] Ibid., 345.
[27] Evans and Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary*, 468.

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that entities become states when they meet the legal criteria for it. For this school of thought, a state exists simply if it meets the criteria of statehood; recognition is not key in this sense, as it does not make a state. Recognition is merely a formal procedure that allows a state to engage in diplomatic relations with another state. On the other hand, the adherents of the constitutive theory believe that even though an entity may possess the qualities of a state, it does not actually become one unless recognized by other states. Through recognition a state is granted access into the international community of states. It is only from this point that it can be considered to have full sovereign rights and obligations, which are respected by states.[28] These doctrines closely correspond with idealist and realist theories of international relations.[29]

Recognition is further bound with *de facto* and *de jure* interpretations. *De facto* recognition refers to the provisional recognition, indicating the acknowledgement that a particular government maintains factual sovereignty. Such a form of recognition implies a sense of doubt about the regimes long-term viability or legitimacy. *De jure* recognition, on the other hand, implies the recognition of both factual and legal sovereignty. This indicates complete diplomatic acceptance. [30]

Although these debates and distinctions are noteworthy in understanding states and state formation in the theoretical sense, this ongoing debate has come to be seen as rather sterile, and is oftentimes even viewed as harmful in the sense of distracting attention from the practical aspects of the vitally important matter. As Ian Brownlie stated, "In the case of 'Recognition', theory has not only failed to enhance the subject but has created a tertium quid which stands, like a bank of go on a still day, between the observer and the contours of the ground which calls for investigation. With rare exceptions the theories on recognition have not only failed to improve the quality of thought but have deflected lawyers from the application of ordinary methods of legal analysis."[31]

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[28] James Ker-Lindsay. *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 16.
[29] Evans and Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary*, 469.
[30] Ibid., 116.
[31] Ian Brownlie, "Recognition in Theory and Practice." In *The Structure and Process of International Law: Essays in Legal Philosophy, Doctrine and Theory*, (eds.) R.St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnston, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1983), 628.

Although the importance of recognition is still up for theoretical debate, from the political perspective it has been and still remains of utmost importance. Stepping aside from the ontological debate of whether recognition is a crucial component of statehood, recognition becomes an issue over which battles are still fought daily. There are numerous territories, which aspire to be recognized as sovereign states, and governments, which aim to prevent this from happening. There are territories, which fully meet the criteria of states and carry out the functions of such, yet without recognition are unable to forge full relations on the world stage, both with other states and with institutions, such as the UN or the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Recognition, broadly viewed to include the legitimization and acknowledgement of sovereignty by other players of the international arena provides, amongst other aspects, a level of security, opens the doors to trade and international treaties, enabling membership in international organizations, brings economic development, and creates conditions for freer movement in and out of a territory. Even if one were to accept the notion that a state is a state when it meets the criteria for being one, and dismisses the role of recognition in the situation, the chances of long-term viability of such an entity remain rather low. Although it may survive through the help of a kin state, its chances for thriving are unlikely. Recognition has an important role to play in the future of a state, and it is for this reason that states aspiring to statehood hold it of such importance. It is also the reason why states that face the issues of breakaway territories and unilateral acts of secession see the prevention of recognition as so important. Recognition is thus less of a theoretic question, but more of a crucial 'real world' issue. [32]

In today's world, the issue of recognition is becoming more peculiar and thus more perplexing and more significant. We live in an era in which there exist states with varying degrees of recognition, something considered utterly unthinkable, if not absolutely absurd only a few decades ago. One way of looking at today's states can be through a broadly graded scale per their levels of recognition.

Firstly, there is the majority, the states that have achieved full, universal recognition and hold full membership within the UN. Secondly, there are a small number of states that are members of the UN, but do not have full recognition by all member states. Israel, the People's Republic of China, North Korea, South Korea, Armenia and the Republic of Cyprus fall into this category. Thirdly, there are

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[32] Ker-Lindsay, *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession,* 16-18.

states that are not members of the UN, but have received a certain lesser degree of international recognition. This level of recognition can be marginal, for example, simply that of one patron state. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus serves as one example of this. Recognition in this case can also be extensive, as is the case of Kosovo. Finally, there are states that meet the criteria of statehood, aspire to recognition but have been unable to be recognized or admitted to the UN. Somaliland and Transnistria, for example, fall into this category.[33]

States whose recognition has been widely rejected are often overlooked but nevertheless remain a long-standing phenomenon in the world. These states, falling at the bottom of the grading scale and denied de jure recognition are placed at the outskirts of the international community. Over the last eighty years such entities, referred to as 'contested states', 'de facto states' or 'unrecognized states' by various authors have included Manchukuo, Croatia, Katanga, Biafra, Rhodesia, South Africa's four homeland states or Bantustans, Taiwan, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Republic of Somaliland, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Palestine, East Timor, Chechnya, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, Nagorno Karabakh, and Kosovo. A better overview of these states throughout the various times in modern history can be seen in Table 1, created by Benjamin A.T. Graham and Bejamin Horne.[34]

Deon Geldenhuys (2010) distinguishes six levels of formal recognition in relation to contested states, providing a more in-depth and specific categorization. According to Geldenhuys, purported states can fall into more than one of these categories, or move from one to another over time.

> *(i)* ***Titular recognition*** *refers to the wide formal acceptance of an entity's right or title to statehood, as in the cases of Western Sahara and Palestine, but they are severely constrained in translating this conceded right into political reality and so exercising the domestic rights and duties of full-fledged states. The two entities possess the juridical shell of statehood - minus the birth certificate of confirmed statehood, i.e. UN membership - but are sorely deficient in terms of the empirical substance of statehood.*

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[33] Ibid., 18.
[34] Benjamin A.T. Graham and Benjamin Horne, "Unrecognized States: A Theory of Self-Determination and Foreign Influence." *APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper* April (2012), 7. Accessed June 1, 2017, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1900411.

Table 1
Current Status of Militarily Successful Secession

Unrecognized States (Recognized by fewer than 10 UN members)	Partially recognized states (Recognized by more than 10 members, but not the home state)[1]	Rejoined home state following military defeat of secessionists	Rejoined home state in negotiated settlement	Recognized by the home state
• Abkhazia • Nagorno-Karabakh • Somaliland • South Ossetia • Transnistria • Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus	• Kosovo • Taiwan	• Anjouan[2] • Biafra • Chechnya • Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia • East Turkestan Republic • Hyderabad • Katanga • Repbulic of Mahabad • Tamil Eelam • Republika Srpska • Republika Srpska-Krajina • Western Bosnia • Western Sahara[3]	• Ajara • Bouganville • Gagauzia	• Bangladesh • Eritrea • South Sudan

1 Palestine is partially recognized, but is excluded from this table because the Palestinians lack control the territory they aspire to govern.
2 Anjouan separated from the Comoros on two occasions: first in 1997 and again in 2007. The first separation ended in negotiated settlement. The latter separation lasted less than a year and ended in military defeat by the secessionists.
3 All but a tiny portion of the territory claimed by the Polisario Front are under the control of Morocco: nonetheless, the some states still recognize the territory's independence.

(ii) **Partial recognition** *means that a contested state receives de jure recognition from a minority of existing states and is denied UN membership. Kosovo and Taiwan are current examples.*

(iii) **Paltry recognition** *occurs when a contested state is recognized by only a handful of existing states, as Biafra had experienced in the 1960s. The lowest form of paltry recognition is where a contested state gains formal recognition from a single confirmed state that is not its creator or patron state. The Republic of Ichkeria (Chechnya) was recognized by Afghanistan only.*

(iv) **Patron recognition** *means that the only confirmed state willing to recognize a contested state is its patron or creator, as in the case of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus obtaining only Turkey's recognition. South Ossetia and Abkhazia joined these ranks when Russia recognized both in 2008. (When Nicaragua and Venezuela later joined Russia in recognizing the two entities' statehood, South Ossetia and Abkhazia advanced to paltry recognition.)*

(v) **Peer recognition** *involves contested states recognizing each other, as with South Africa's homeland states (also recognized by their creator, South Africa) and the four Eurasian entities (South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh, Transnistria and Abkhazia).*

(vi) **Zero recognition** *simply means that a contested state is not formally recognized by either confirmed or contested states, as is the case with Somaliland today and Katanga and Rhodesia had experienced previously.*[35]

Peculiarities and deficits in recognition are not, however, the only distinguishing characteristic of such states. Scott Pegg (1998) identifies six defining elements of what he refers to as 'unrecognized states'. They are as follows,

1. an organized leadership, holding at least a portion of popular support;
2. such leadership's capacity to provide governance to a defined population;
3. control over its territory for at least two years (this timeframe mainly indicating that these entities have a degree of permanence);

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[35] Deon Geldenhuys. "Contested States in Africa." Speech, Theory vs. Policy? Connecting Scholars and Practitioners (New Orleans, February 17, 2010).

4. such a de facto state views itself as capable of relations with other states;
5. it actively seeks international recognition; however, such an entity is unable to receive widespread recognition of its sovereignty, remaining largely unrecognized by the international community.[36]

Nina Caspersen and Gareth R. V. Stansfield (2010) further specify the definition with three basic criteria for what they refer to as both 'unrecognized states' and 'de facto states':

1. They have achieved de facto independence, including territorial control, and have managed to maintain this for at least two years;
2. They have not gained international recognition, or have at the most been recognized by a few states;
3. They have demonstrated an aspiration for full, de jure, independence, either through a formal declaration of independence or through the holding of a referendum on independence. [37]

Although a variety of definitions for the entities in question are available, a precise term for them remains as contested as the territories themselves, and thus needs to be addressed. A widely-used term in literature is 'de facto state'. This term, however, is problematic from the theoretic perspective. Firstly, constitutive theorists altogether reject using the term 'state' with regard to the entities in question, describing them as 'breakaway territories', 'secessionist entities', etc. On the other hand, declaratory theorists also do not see it as a usable term, arguing that there either is a state or there isn't; de facto existence cannot be. The same can be said about terms such as 'para-state' or 'pseudo-states'. Furthermore, some of the discussed entities have indeed received de jure recognition, if only of one or a few states.

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[36] Scott Pegg, "De Facto States in the International System." *Working Paper No. 21,* Institute of International Relations. The University of British Columbia, February 1998, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.sirag.org.uk/defactostates-somaliland.pdf.
[37] Nina Caspersen and Gareth R. V. Stansfield. "Introduction: Unrecognized States in International System," In *Unrecognized States in the International System,* eds. Nina Caspersen and Gareth R. V. Stansfield, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 3-4.

The term 'quasi-state' is also problematic, as it is often misused. Initially, the term 'quasi-state' was coined by Robert Jackson (1990) to refer to recognized states that fail to develop the necessary state structures to function as fully sovereign states.[38] Yet sometimes the term has been misused to imply regions that secede from another state, gain control over the territory they lay claim to, but fail to achieve international recognition.

Another widely used term is 'unrecognized states'. Although acceptably accurate from a legal perspective, it can be viewed as inaccurate, once again due to the fact that some territories have gained recognition, if only marginal. Moreover, as previously shown, even the degrees of unrecognition vary.

The term 'informal state', proposed by Daria Isachenko (2012) seems to be an appropriate alternative, as it highlights the nature of the territories. In her work, Isachenko draws on M.T. Greven's definition of informal as, "a contrast to legal or otherwise established formal political procedures"[39]. She further specifies that the use of this term follows a similar definition, as suggested by Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky "with reference to informal rules and institutions, meaning 'created, communicated, enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels'"[40]. The informality described by Isachenko captures the characteristic of many processes occurring in the discussed entities. Nevertheless, using such a term could be misleading and cause confusion as the term 'informal' implies in many cases a lack of structure, formality.

Geldenhuys' term 'contested state'[41] seems to be a term that neatly captures the nature of legal and political problems of these states and is the most suitable for this dissertation. Approaching the term from a declarative position, the contestation refers to the willingness, or the lack of such, by other states to recognize the state in question. From the constitutive perspective, the contestation regards the question of whether they are states until they are recognized. Since some, albeit not many, states see them as such and others do not, contested states have become the legal curiosities and peculiarities of international relations and political science. For the most part, the

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[38] Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[39] Daria Isachenko, *The Making of Informal States: Statebuilding in Northern Cyprus and Transdniestria*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 17-18.
[40] Ibid., 17.
[41] Geldenhuys, *Contested States.*

entities in question will be referred to as contested throughout this work, except for certain direct quotations of other authors, who have preferred to use other terms in their work.

Although each case of contested states has its own story of emergence, these states as a whole have a common history the roots of which can be traced back to the four great waves of modern state creation. Since then the international community became largely reluctant to undertake further territorial revision. Contested states have arisen from what Robert Jackson called the 'new sovereignty game',[42] which began with the process of decolonization in the third wave of state creation, during the Cold War. The main components of the 'game' were a regime regulating the emergence of the new states, a set of criteria for self-determination and the conditions for international recognition.[43]

Self-determination has two aspects – internal and external. External self-determination refers to the international status of a people. "It can be summarized as the recognition that each people has the right to constitute itself a nation-state or to integrate into, or federate with, an existing state"[44] This is oftentimes interpreted as the people's right to self-determination in the stages preceding state-formation.

The internal component of self-determination is the right of the people of a state to govern themselves without external interference. This includes the right of the people to freely choose their political, economic, and social system. This is the right of the people once they've achieved statehood, or a state-like formation. [45]

The central document in this regard is the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, adopted by the General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960.[46] The Declaration granted all peoples the right to

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[42] Jackson, *Quasi-States.*

[43] Dov Lynch, *Engaging Eurasia's Separatist States: Unresolved Conflicts and De Facto States.* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2004), 16.

[44] Salvatore Senese, 1989, "External and Internal Self-Determination," *Social Justice* 16 (1): 19, accessed May 10, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29766439.

[45] Ibid.

[46] U.N. General Assembly, "Resolution 1514 (XV) [Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples]", 14 December 1960, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml.

self-determination, as well as the right to freely determine their political status and decide on the forms of their political, economic and social development. Juridical statehood was established as the basis for granting sovereignty to an entity. In such a way, self-determination became the legal and moral norm and right in all non-self-governing territories.[47] Nevertheless, there exists to this day a clear-cut distinction between the overreaching, general principle of the right to self-determination and the rules for its application. Those were only applicable to colonies, as the same declaration clearly states: "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".[48]

The passing of the Declaration implemented an informal regime that sought to mitigate the potentially dangerous effects of decolonization and the creation of new states. The Declaration made it clear that self-determination was to occur only once, at the moment of decolonization. It then limited further self-determination to an internal one, and ruled out of question the self-determination of all peoples through condemning secession. Border changes and territorial shifts that characterized the international affairs until the middle of the twentieth century were further deemed illegal and disruptive to the world order. What these rules implied was that the states that emerged out of decolonization could not fail; they could be weak, failing, or practically nonexistent in the domestic, regional or international scene, but they could not disappear. This, for example, was the case of Somalia.

Dov Lynch pointed out that the attempt at freezing the world map had two effects that encouraged the emergence of contested states:

> *First, the right to self-determination has remained an overreaching principle with pride of place in moral terms in international affairs… International relations have remained underpinned by principles that militate against a strict interpretation of uti possedetis juris. The clash between the pragmatic and the moral universe has created scope for regions, peoples, and areas within states to seek self-determination as part of what they consider the universal pursuit of liberty… Second, the areas seeking self-determination face an incentive system that leads them to seek statehood rather than any other form of existence – autonomy or association – with their metropolitan state… The international game is now closer to zero-sum; there are*

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

states and there is little else. The exclusive nature of the club of states, and the principles of equal sovereignty and of non-interference upon which it is based, has meant that most self-determination movements will be content with nothing less than state sovereignty to achieve what they perceive as justice.[49]

3.4. NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

Identity of interests is the surest of bonds whether between states or individuals.

Thucydides

Much attention has been given to defining a nation. Just as much literature exists on exploring nations from the dynamic point of view, discussing their creation and maintenance. This section of the thesis now turns to discussing it in more detail, to distinguish it from the other concepts.

Broadly speaking, a nation exists through the consent of the people that make it up and by the recognition of a common heritage, visible and communicated by various social practices. Nevertheless, the 'nation' lies at the core of this research, and, as a term, needs to be explored further, as it incorporates elements of sovereignty, citizenship, nationality, ethnicity, culture and language in a confusing and, oftentimes, contradictory manner.

Nation, as a term, is used to refer to a specific geographical, political, social or cultural community.

The Treaty of Westphalia was key in establishing the norms of international political order with a basis on territorial integrity and the supremacy of state power; it created, and confirmed a world of sovereign states. It is generally accepted that from the French Revolution onwards, this world became focused on that of the nation-state. To this day, citizens, journalists, politicians and academics misuse the term in everyday speech; for example, the United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization of 'states', not 'nations', although many agree that individuals and their personal identities, and particularly their interests as a community, are not bound or defined by constructed state borders. Treating state and

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[49] Lynch, *Engaging Eurasia's Separatist States,* 18.

nation interchangeably as synonyms can lead to confusion and controversy when applied to the concepts of nationalism and nation building. A clear understanding of the terms and their differences are necessary for this research to proceed, as the two terms are very different.

The concept 'nation' is quite different from the previously discussed terms, although equally contested and problematic to define. To fully grasp the concept of a nation, it is important to briefly raise the discussion about the inherent social nature of people and the universal tendency to form relationships and connections with others, specifically collective identification, as it is the idea that lies at the core of a nation. William Bloom (1990), who proposed an identification theory based in psychology and explaining politics, holds that

> *… identification is an inherent and unconscious behavioural imperative in all individuals. Individuals actively seek to identify in order to achieve psychological security, and they actively seek to maintain, protect and bolster identity in order to maintain and enhance this psychological security which is a sine qua non of personality stability and emotional well-being… Moreover, identifications can be shared, with the result that individuals who share the same identification will tend to act in concert in order to protect or enhance their shared identity.[50]*

It is not uncommon for people to form identities based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, language, religion, history, class or even geography. People hold multiple identities simultaneously. Nevertheless, simply because one holds certain beliefs, views or characteristics as a certain group, does not necessarily mean that one will automatically adopt the particular sense of identity based on these factors. In their work, focusing on collective identity and social movements, Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper (2001) define collective identity as an "individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution."[51] They further point out that it is "a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may

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[50] William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 53.
[51] Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27(1), (2001): 285, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2678623.

form part of a personal identity"[52]. Polletta and Jasper claim that as much as identities may exist in terms of similar interests, beliefs and views, they can also be artificially constructed.[53] Consequently, various social institutions, such as cultural organizations, education and laws, have an influence on creating or strengthening identity perceptions. Furthermore, a person's perception of identity is considered reflective of that of others'.

Most contemporary analyses explain culture by using Clifford Geertz's (1973) definition: "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life"[54]. Culture, together with cultural beliefs and practices can be used to support and preserve a sense of identity. According to Marc Howard Ross (1997), culture can, thus, be seen as both an expression and a basis for the formation of collective identities, as it creates a system of meaning for people, applicable in their daily lives. One could view it as a framework for organizing the world and individual behavior within it.[55] As maintained by Peter Ludwig Berger, culture, in short,

> … marks a 'distinctive way of life' characterized in the subjective we-feelings of cultural group members (and outsiders) and is expressed through specific behaviors (customs and rituals) – both sacred and profane – which mark the daily, yearly, and life cycle rhythms of its members and reveal how people view past, present, and future events and understands choices they face.[56]

In such a way, culture reinforces self-perception feelings of inclusion and exclusion, defining 'who we are' as opposed to 'who we are not'. It underlines the dialectic between similarity and difference and, thus, is important in regards to the creation and acceptance of group identities. Furthermore, identities are not static; they are constantly reexamined, reevaluated and reinvented.

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89.
[55] Marc Howard Ross, "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis." In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, eds. Mark Irving Lichbach, Alan S. Zuckerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 142.
[56] Ibid., 145.

We can view the formation of national identity from this perspective. National identity refers to a collective identity of people, which identify with a particular nation. These sentiments are linked to legally accepted terms of nationality and citizenship. Oftentimes these two terms are treated as the same, in a similar fashion as the terms of nation and state, or perhaps in part because of it. In the international context, citizenship is referred to as one's 'nationality', even though it is much more linked to passports, elections and laws rather than the notions of culture, language and one's national identification discussed above. It is important to distinguish between citizenship referring to an individual's political membership, to his or her political and social rights. Nationality on the other hand is the symbolical cultural membership, albeit with political implications. For example, in multicultural states, more than one nationality coincides with only one common citizenship. Whether a 'pure' citizenship without a cultural or national ingredient is possible at all is object of philosophical discussion, extensively debated in the field of constitutional patriotism.

Constitutional patriotism is an idea that political attachment should focus on norms, values and the procedures of liberal constitution. In such a way, political allegiance is owed not to a national culture nor to, for example, "the worldwide community of human beings" conceived by Martha Nussbaum's (1996) ideas of cosmopolitanism[57]. The idea of constitutional patriotism coined by Dolf Sternberger[58] in the late 1970's in postwar West Germany, and later developed by Jürgen Habermas[59], who made the idea better known in the English-speaking world. Often offered as an alternative solution to the complex issues of political allegiance within increasingly multicultural societies it is still a debated topic. Largely building upon the works of Sternberger and Habermas, the present day debate is led by Jan-Werner Müller, who advocates for constitutional patriotism as a unification option, especially in diverse, liberal democracies.[60]

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[57] Martha Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen eds, For Love of Country? (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 2002).

[58] Dolf Sternberger, "Verfassungspatriotismus", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 May 1979.

[59] Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

[60] See for ex. Müller, Jan-Werner (2007). "A general theory of constitutional patriotism". *International Journal of Constitutional Law*. 6 (1): 72–95. doi:10.1093/icon/mom037
Müller, Jan-Werner (2009). "Seven Ways to Misunderstand Constitutional

According to Neville Alexander, "people identify necessarily with the state as it exists because, given consciousness of a larger whole, all people require to make sense of where they fit into the picture"[61]. Identification with a larger whole has proven to be crucial time and time again, however, here it is important to point out that people do not always choose to identify with the particular state that they live in. Sentiments of belonging to a particular nation can reach across borders and create allegiances to completely different states.

Both citizenship and nationality refer to a sense of identifying with a larger community – either that of a state or a nation. Nationalists normally try to make these frontiers of nation and state, or sometimes just a polity, coincide, either by creating a state on the basis of the nation, or vice versa.

According to Ernest Gellner,

> … *nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state. It is more debatable whether the normative idea of the nation, in its modern sense, did not presuppose the prior existence of the state.[62]*

'Nation' is one of the most pervasive terms in the contemporary world. At the same time, it remains a rather vague notion. In the most basic sense, a nation can be defined as referring to a social collectivity, the members of which share all or some of the following criteria: "a sense of common identity, a history, a language, ethnic or

Patriotism" *Notizie di POLITEIA* 25(96): 20–24, Accessed June 1, 2017, https://www.princeton.edu/~jmueller/CP-Notizie-7Ways-JWMueller.pdf. Müller, Jan-Werner; Scheppele, Kim Lane.(2008) "Constitutional Patriotism: An Introduction*". International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 6(1). doi:10.1093/icon/mom039.
[61] Neville Alexander, "The State Of Nation-building In The New South Africa," *Pretexts: Literary and Cultural Studies* 10(1), (2001): 84, doi:10.1080/713692593.
[62] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 6.

racial origins, religion, a common economic life, a geographical location and a political base"[63]. A nation can demonstrate varying degrees and combinations of these characteristics and criteria. Furthermore, none is either necessary or sufficient for a definition. A strong sense of common identity and unity are oftentimes seen as the vital component of a nation, yet even this requirement may be missing.[64]

In broader terms, there exist three dominant academic approaches to nations and nationalism – modernism, ethno-symbolism, and primordialism. Umut Özkirimli describes them as follows:

> *The common denominator of the modernists is their conviction in the modernity of nations and nationalism; that of the ethno-symbolists is the stress they lay in their explanations on ethnic pasts and cultures; finally that of the primordialists is their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations*[65]

Eric Hobsbawm (1992) argues that it is impossible "to distinguish a nation from other entities a priori" and that "the real 'nation' can only be recognized a posteriori."[66] He deliberately does not provide a definition of a nation.

Gellner, on the other hand, proposed two makeshift criteria for identifying a nation, which could serve as a starting point to help pinpoint the full meaning of the concept. According to him, "two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating"[67]. Moreover, the same two men are of the same nation "if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation"[68]. Here Gellner points towards the fact that, simply having common attributes, views or beliefs is not enough for a group of individuals to be considered a nation. Occupants of a territory or speakers of the same language do not necessarily form a nation. Only when these

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[63] Evans and Newnham, *Penguin Dictionary,* 343.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 64.
[66] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 5-9.
[67] Gellner, *Nations*, 6.
[68] Ibid., 7.

individuals mutually recognize each other do they become a nation, not the other shared attributes that separate them from others.[69]

Looking at Benedict Anderson's (2006) definition of a nation, one can see that for him a nation is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"[70] He explains that it is imagined because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"[71]. Anderson's definition of a nation has three clear central elements – limit, sovereignty, and community. He explains that,

> *The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind… It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynasty realm. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living pluralism of such religions, and the allomorphism between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch, nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state... Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.[72]*

In a very different definition, Miroslav Hroch sees the nation as a product of long and complicated historical development. Hroch defines a nation as "a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness." [73] Hroch acknowledges that some of these

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2006), 6.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 7.
[73] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe," In *Mapping the Nation,* ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 2012), 79.

elements can be substituted, however, particularly three play a crucial role and are irreplaceable. Hroch singles out 'memory' of a common past, seen by the core members of the group as a common 'destiny', linguistic or cultural ties, which enable better communication amongst the members of the group than with those outside it, and an organized civil society.[74]

Walker Connor (1994), defines a nation as "a group of people who believe they are ancestrally related."[75] He does, however, note that disagreement persists on whether some groups form a separate nation or belong to a larger one. Connor further remarks that the categorization of human groups as nations is complicated by ethnic factors.

According to Anthony Smith (2001), a nation is a "named human community occupying a homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a common public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all members".[76]

Closely linked with nation, is nationalism. Although oftentimes discussed as one in comparative and theoretical books, and theory of nations and a theory of nationalism is not the same. Nations have an institutional, state-oriented dimension whereas nationalism, amongst others, is an ideology, a state of mind, or a movement. Nationalism often claims control of a nation and promotes one identity against others. It is an –ism for some rooted in identity and culture, for others stemming from interest or with the goal of manipulation. Over the years numerous anthropologists, sociologists, historians and political scientists wrote on the topic of nationalism, in modern times peeking with authors such as Gellner, Anderson, and Hobsbawm in the 1980s.

The classic premise of nationalism emphasizes the division of the world into nations; where each nation has a specific history and destiny, where loyalty to the nation is of utmost importance, where individual freedom is possible only when that individual belongs to a specific nation, and finally where the nation is the sole source of political power. In this sense, all should have the right to self-determination, as only in a world of independent nation can there be peace and justice.

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism – The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1994), xi.
[76] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 13.

Just like in the case of nation, no single, unified theory of nationalism exists. As Craig Calhoun concludes,

> *Nationalism is too diverse to allow a single theory to explain it all. Much of the contents and specific orientation of various nationalisms is determined by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative actions of leaders, and contingent situations within the international world order.*[77]

Anthony Smith summarizes the main usages of nationalism in the modern context as:

1. *a process of formation, or growth, of nations;*
2. *a sentiment or consciousness of belonging to the nation;*
3. *a language and symbolism of the nation;*
4. *a social and political movement on behalf of the nation;*
5. *a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.*[78]

Smith himself proposes the following definition of nationalism: "An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'"[79].

Jonathan Hearn states that nationalism can be seen in five forms – a feeling, an identity, an ideology, a social movement and a historical process. Nationalism can take on all five forms at once, however, most approaches focus only on some of these.[80] For example, Connor (1994) defines nationalism according to two of these forms - "identification and loyalty to one's nation"[81]

Modernists and primordialists have different views of nationalism. The modernist version of nationalism – civic nationalism – is "voluntaristic, rational and activist"[82]. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, means that people have no choice but belonging to the nation, as they share the same culture and past. It is highly debatable

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[77] Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 123.

[78] Smith, *Nationalism,* 5-6.

[79] Ibid., 9

[80] Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), 6

[81] Connor, *Ethnonationalism,* xi.

[82] Smith, *Nationalism,* 170.

whether a purely civic or ethnic nationalism exists; mostly it is a mixture of the two.[83] However, a further discussion between the two approaches is necessary to understand the deeper dynamics of the concept.

Modernists define nationalism, and nations, as entirely modern concepts that began predominantly in Europe at roughly the same time as industrialization. As not all modern nations have ethnic and cultural roots, both are irrelevant to this view. According to many modernists, nationalism and its cultural symbology were developed to construct the nation, as a form of top-down control. Ernest Gellner, the foremost modernist, and Benedict Anderson, another key figure of the approach, together with many others have made important contributions to the development of the concept, however, their approach has failed to explain why the influence of nationalism is just as strong in countries that experienced industrialization at a much later stage in history. It also does not address why nationalism is almost nonexistent in some very industrial countries. Most agree on the view that nationalism only appears to be necessary during its time; it exists as a self-referential and self-reinforcing concept. For most modernists, symbols and ceremonies of nationalism are only important if they are used to mobilize, coordinate and legitimize the various sub-elites who seek power through the control of the state.

John Breuilly (1985) argues that nationalism is used to refer to political movements, which seek to or are exercising state power, and are justifying such actions with nationalist arguments. He explains that the political argument is built upon three assertions:

1. *There exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character.*
2. *The interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values.*
3. *The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty.*[84]

He goes on to explain that nationalism is seen here as a form of opposition politics, and thus should be classified based on the relationship between the nationalist movement and the existing state. In very general terms, such an opposition can have one of

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[83] Ibid.

[84] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 3.

three possible relationships with the existing state: "It can seek to break away from it, to take it over and reform it, or to unite it with other states. I call these objectives separation, reform and unification".[85]

Primordialists, on the other hand, derive their views from roots and sentiments such as being born into a particular community, speaking a certain language or having a particular set of traditions or beliefs. They base their views on that the nation, or some early form of it, is ancient and thus a natural human experience. For this reason, primordialism is often associated with ethnic attachments and thus, ethnic nationalism.

Pierre van den Berghe (1994) holds a socio-biological perspective on nationalism, and can be placed at one of the primordialist view's extreme ends. Van den Berghe holds that nationalism is an "extended and attenuated form of kin selection"[86]. In his theory, he reduces the behaviors and social structures to the basic fundamentals of resource competition and adaptive evolution. In this subcategory, nationalism is a category to which individuals adhere. Language, race, religion and symbols are myths of shared descent, which largely correspond to real biological ancestry.[87]

This branch of nationalism is popular as it recognizes the need for identification with the familiar. However, very few groups around the world would be able to put forth a serious claim of a known common origin.

Often seen as the middle ground between modernism and primordialism is the ethnic-symbolism approach to nationalism. It emphasizes the importance of symbols, traditions, values and myths in the creation and continuation of modern nations. Most scholars of this approach agree that the nation has taken on a particular form since the mid-eighteenth century. However, prominent ethno-symbolists, such as Anthony D. Smith, argue that memories, myths and symbols hold a continued importance in the understanding of nationalisms. Such an evocation of identity and history as culture, means more than symbols and rituals, but meaning and orientations, and mobilizes for collective action.

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[85] Ibid. 11-12

[86] Pierre van den Berghe, "A Socio-Biological Perspective" In Nationalism, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press:1994), 97.

[87] Ibid, 97-99

3.5. NATION BUILDING

Anthony Smith (1994) argues that,

> *... nationalists have a vital role to play in the construction of nations, not as culinary artists or social engineers, but as political archaeologists rediscovering and reinterpreting the communal past in order to regenerate the community. Their task is indeed selective - they forget as well as remember the past - but to succeed in their task they must meet certain criteria. Their interpretations must be consonant not only with the ideological demands of nationalism, but also with the scientific evidence, popular resonance and patterning of particular ethnohistories... In this continually renewed two-way relationship between ethnic past and nationalist present lies the secret of the nation's explosive energy and the awful power it exerts over its members.*[88]

The above point indicates that like builders or architects, nationalists construct the nation's reality. At first glance, the concept of nationalism and nation building may significantly overlap. Nevertheless, the distinction between the two is more complicated and must be addressed in a little more detail. Before going into the discussion of nation building in contested states, it is important to understand the development of nation building in established, "non-contested" states, in order to have a frame of reference and a point of comparison.

Nation building is a dynamic process of collective identity formation. With a view to legitimizing public power within a given territory and supporting a nation's claim to sovereignty and uniqueness, nation building draws on existing traditions, institutions, and customs, redefining them as national characteristics. This indigenous process, when successful, "produces a cultural projection of the nation containing a certain set of assumptions, values and beliefs which can function as the legitimizing foundation of a state structure".[89]

However, we must ask – can a nation really be built?

Karl Deutsch suggests that a "nation can be built according to different plans, from various materials, rapidly or gradually, by

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[88] Anthony D. Smith, "Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations," *Nations and Nationalism* 1(1), (2004), 3-23, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1995.00003.x.
[89] Bogdandy et al., *State-Building,*586.

different sequences of steps, and in partial independence from its environment.[90]" Carl Friedrich further argues that nation building is "a matter of building group cohesion and group loyalty for international representation and domestic planning"[91]

Stein Rokkan proposed a model of nation building that consisted of four analytically distinct aspects, which in Western Europe followed each other.[92] These aspects can thus be viewed as phases of nation building. The first phase began in the oldest European states along the Atlantic rim during the Middle Ages and lasted until the French Revolution. This phase of nation building resulted in economic and cultural unification at elite level. During the second phase, large parts of the masses were brought into the system through, for example, enrollment in schools or conscription to the army. Thanks to the expanding influence and outreach of the developing mass media, channels for direct communication between the elites and the periphery population were created, helping to generate widespread feelings of identity with the political system. This led to the masses actively participating in the territorial political system during the third phase. Finally, during the fourth phase, the administrative apparatus of the state expanded, with public welfare services being established and nation-wide policies for the equalization of economic conditions created. In ideal conditions, to ensure no social upheavals and disruptions, each phase should consecutively follow only when the previous one is completed.

It is impossible to pinpoint when nation building in core European states finished, however, it certainly went on for several centuries. According to Rokkan, the main distinguishing factor setting nation building in new states apart from the old European states is the time factor. Processes that took centuries are being squeezed into years, or decades, at best. Under such circumstances, it becomes almost impossible to keep the different phases separate; they overlap or run in parallel, producing fundamentally different conditions. Such circumstances increase the risks of taking wrong turns or causing

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[90] Karl W. Deutsch, "Nation-Building and National Development: Some Issues for Political Research. Introduction", In *Nation Building in Comparative Contexts*, Karl W. Deutsch and William J. Foltz (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2010), 3.
[91] Ibid., 10.
[92] Stein Rokkan, "Dimensions of State Formation and Nationbuilding. A Possible Paradigm for Research on Variations within Europe," In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Charles Tilly ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 570.

discontinuities. According to Rokkan, this would then increase the element of conscious social engineering in the nation building process.[93]

In his work during the mid-1970s, Walker Connor criticized the previous literature on nation building that focused on social cleavages and ignored the element of ethnic diversity. He claimed that the efficiency of active engineering in nation building was greatly exaggerated, often resulting in counterproductive outcomes and backlash of ethnic revivalism. He argued that over the course of history there had been more nation *destroying* than nation *building*.

Connor equated 'nation' to 'ethnic group', and maintained that a nation was the ultimate extended family, with the common origin of the members hardly ever proven. The belief in a common genetic origin is shown as a pure myth that every nation adhered to.[94]

Connor's ideas were later developed in two different theoretic directions. Modernists, such as Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm, emphasized the idea of the myth. Anderson coined the term "imagined communities" to describe modern nations, claiming them to be a product of imagination, as the members of the community do not know each other and thus can only imagine that they belong in one nation with the others.[95] Gellner and Hobsbawm took the idea a step further in the direction of invention and even fabrication.

On the other hand, Anthony Smith, Rasma Karklins and others developed Connor's ideas from the ethnic aspect of the nation. In accordance with the neo-primordialist understanding of all modern nations as products of age-old ethnic building material, Smith heavily emphasized the cultural, and symbolic myth-making aspects of nation building. He claimed that,

> *Even for the most recently created states, ethnic homogeneity and cultural unity are paramount considerations. Even where their societies are genuinely "plural" and there is an ideological commitment to pluralism and cultural toleration, the elites of the new states find them-selves compelled, by their own ideals and the logic of the ethnic situation, to forge new myths and symbols of their*

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[93] Ibid.: 600.
[94] Connor, *Ethnonationalism,* 22-66.
[95] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

emergent nations and a new "political culture" of anti-colonialism and the post-colonial state.[96]

National symbols, and particularly national flags play a distinguished part in today's society. Usually one's attention becomes drawn to them in moments of waving or saluting the flag, however, oftentimes it is left in one's social background, its symbolic statement of nationhood rarely registering in the conscious minds of one's everyday lives. This collective assumption that only confines nationalism to heated social movements ignores an important aspect of the 'routine' and everyday expression of a national sentiment.

In the available studies on the role of flags in contemporary life, anthropologist Anthony Firth (1995) distinguished between the symbolic and the signaling functions of flags. The predecessors of modern day national flags where often used as signals, dating back as far as the *semeion* in ancient Greece and developing into a complex system of signaling for vessels at sea during the eighteenth century. By contrast, Firth argues, flags today are no longer used as a means of communication but provide a symbolic meaning of the character of the nation, being a 'condensation symbol', honored by loyal citizens and defiled by those who wish to protest.[97]

Further distinctions can, however, be made, particularly with regards to the way flags are being treated. According to Michael Billig flags are consciously waved and saluted, being treated with an array of emotions, while others remain unsaluted and unwaved. The former, which are the most numerous in the contemporary world, are merely there as symbols, whether on a government building or flashing from the television screen, and thus are hardly given a second glance on a daily basis by the majority of the population. They do not demand immediate attention, and remain unwaved, unsaluted and unnoticed; "… these are mindless flags. Perhaps if all the unwaved flags which decorate the familiar environment were to be removed, they would suddenly be noticed, rather like the clock that stops ticking. If the reds and blues were changed into greens and oranges, there would be close, scandalized scrutiny, as well as criminal charges to follow".[98]

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[96] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986): 147.
[97] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 39.
[98] Ibid., 40-41.

An important question is what are all these unwaved flags doing? In an obvious sense, they are providing "banal reminders of nationhood". These reminders are essentially mindless, occurring in the background as one consciously engages in other activities. These routine flags are different from those that call attention to themselves and the symbolic message that they carry. Flags stop being mindless symbols when each side consciously displays its position and distances itself from its neighbor, using symbols to indicate their stance. According to Michael Billig (1995), one might predict that "as a nation-state becomes established in its sovereignty, and if it faces little internal challenge, then the symbols of nationhood, which might once have been consciously displayed, do not disappear from sight, but instead become absorbed into the environment of the established homeland. There is, then, a movement from symbolic mindfulness to mindlessness."[99]

Flags are not the only symbols of statehood and nationhood. For example, coins and bank notes typically bear national symbols. They too go unnoticed in daily financial transactions. Nevertheless, naming the unit of currency can be a highly symbolic and controversial issue, especially in the early days of a nation.[100] Similar symbolism can also be found in street names, as well as their renaming.

Likewise, history, or rather its specific interpretations, play a central part in the creation of the national myth. More often than not, history is directly associated with political history, presented in the form of a narrative. This implicit choice to give history the form of a narrative is a political one. According to Hayden White, narratives have the ability to moralize history. There is always a central actor, the protagonist, which in the cases of contested states would be the nation (as opposed to other non-political possibilities, such as social class or gender, amongst others).

The specific nation invariably occupies the moral center of the narrative and it is from that particular nation's perspective that history is told and evaluated.[101] "For the story to work, the protagonist must be present from beginning to end, hence the projection of the

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[99] Ibid., 41.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, "Introduction: Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts," in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict,* eds. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 10.

national community into the deep and even ancient past"[102]. Homogeneity is of utmost importance in these narratives as once it is challenged, the notion of a unified central actor collapses along with any attempts to derive any political or even unequivocal meaning from the story.

According to Yiannis Papadakis (2012) there exists a classic motif of such stories – 'the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly'. The Good is represented by the national self; the Bad by the historical enemy of the nation; while the Ugly is usually 'the West' or 'the Great Powers' who should side with the Good, but instead allow the Bad to continue in their pursuit of unjust and evil deeds, or worse, side with them altogether. Another, often defining, feature of such histories is the presence of victimization. Although a peculiar strategy at first glance, as usually one would want to be perceived as active or even heroic, the stance of victimization presents the national self as passive and suffering, entailing the absence of responsibility for the situation, implying that the fault lies solely with the other side.[103] Discussions of history present themselves in the forms of indisputable truths, despite there being evident disagreement on many an issue. Discussions are highly polarized and take place along the following binary division:

our truth/facts/objective history; and

their lies/propaganda/politically-motivated accounts".[104]

It is important to understand how an entity views its own history. This can be interpreted not only through the various publications on history, and history taught at schools, but also through a closer look at which figures they choose to commemorate. Statues, monuments and museums are all valuable tools in the expression and interpretation of history, a closer look at which will provide valuable insight.

In order to understand the processes of nation building, we must thus look at what nations or entities say they are, rather than what we think they should be. Rapahel Utz (2005) proposes an approach that will help us address these questions in the subsequent chapters of dissertation.

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[102] Ibid., 10-11.
[103] Ibid., 11-12.
[104] Ibid., 13.

Utz breaks down nation building into four factors, as follows:

1. *The creation of a "usable past"*

The creation of a usable past implies the historic legitimization of not only the state, but also the nation itself, distinctly different from the other nations, specific to its geographic location. This means producing a history dating back into the remote past for use in the present to encourage nation building. These efforts are manifested in various forms – the creation and celebration of national holidays, the incorporation of nation specific historic events into curriculums, etc.

2. *A political culture based on the usable past*

The creation of a usable past implies its immediate use in the present and its prevalence through the political culture of the contested states. This includes the political and governmental elements and structures present in these states. Efforts of the political culture can further be witnessed through symbolic elements such as the creation of anthems, flags and other state symbols, as well as currencies, stamps, the naming and renaming of streets.

3. *The political elites aka the "nation builders"*

The intellectual content of nation building, the leaders of the nation building efforts, the faces of the states and nations, are the individuals awarded with the trust of the population. They play the decisive roles and are the main builders of the present nation. Their efforts, intentions, successes and failures can thus be traced through their speeches, travels, actions, etc.

4. *The creation of institutions and traditions*

Institutions and traditions created in present times have a direct link both to their creators – the "nation builders" – and the usable past, in which their legitimization lies. Traditions and institutions present themselves in the forms of museums, institutes, holidays, etc.[105]

The detailed study and analysis of political elites, which Utz names as one of his factors, is excluded from this work. The political elites,

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[105] Raphael Utz, "Nations, Nation-Building, and Cultural Intervention: A Social Science Perspective." *Armin von Bogdandy, Rüdiger Wolfrum and Christiane E. Philipp, Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law, Vol.9, (Brill | Nijhoff: 2005),* 627-636 Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.mpil.de/files/pdf2/mpunyb_utz_9_615_647.pdf.

aka the 'nation builders' are unavoidably mentioned and partially discussed in each of the case study chapters, as the involvement of individuals is undeniably central in the nation building occurring in the contested states, however, as this work focuses on the mechanisms and processes of nation building occurring, a detailed study of the individuals behind them and their personal histories, political views and goals are omitted. This leaves room for further research and discussion.

3.6. CONCLUSION

Contested concepts discussed in this chapter have been written about in abundance; however, that has not brought us closer to a single unified theory or definition of each of them. The terms are often confused and many scholars and authors have chosen to use each for various purposes and describing different phenomena. Having presented the various approaches and discussed the definitions of not only the complex central concepts of this work, but also their components, the chapter presented an overview of the theoretical and terminological background the thesis operates in.

Numerous theories of statehood, nationalism and all that they draw upon and imply have been developed pertaining to various times in history. However, attention in these works has largely been paid to established states and the nations within. Recently attention has also been dedicated to minority nations and multiculturalism, for example in the work of Will Kimlicka, as well as to stateless nations, for example in the work of Montserrat Guibernau. However, when it comes to theoretical perspectives on nationalism and nation building in contested states there exists quite a substantial gap. Only a handful of authors have focused on this, usually only in separate articles focused on individual aspects of nation building in a particular contested state, or as part of volumes containing studies on other types of entities. Scholars focusing on the study of contested states have chosen to approach the topic from the perspective of international relations, discussing the influence of the entities on world politics, and only briefly touching upon internal dynamics influencing the populations.

This leaves a gap in the available literature, and much room for asking questions and potential for providing the missing puzzle pieces regarding the internal dynamics of contested states. This will

be addressed in the following chapter, which presents the research questions, addresses the issues of methods and explains the puzzle that the work aspires to provide insight on.

4. MAPPING OUT CONTESTED STATES

Contested states certainly share many features, however, by no means are they the same. They vary in, for example, size, level of development, time span of existence or number of recognitions. A closer look at this data will allow us to compare between the cases, and see whether the contested states have more in common with each other as a group or, perhaps rather with non-contested states. Before presenting the collected qualitative data on the case studies of this thesis, it is important to look at today's general landscape of contested states. This chapter will present some general data on contested states and justify the selection of the case studies.

4.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

An interesting data set — *De Facto States in International Politics* — presented by Adrian Florea in 2014, contains information on the entire population of all the 34 contested states that existed, for various time spans, between 1945 and 2011. Table 2 shows a regional distribution of contested states over the span of the years 1955-2011, while Table 3 shows the temporal distribution. Although his definition is far broader than the one used in this thesis, as it considers all entities that have existed for at least 24 months, the

collected data provides an interesting insight into the existence of contested states.

As we can see from the tables, Africa is the continent most prone to separation of territories. Following the disintegration of the Eastern bloc and Yugoslavia, Europe became the region with the highest number of contested states in the mid-1990s. Additionally, it is worth noting that in the post-WWII period the Americas have been immune to separatist entities. Until the mid-1990s, the emergence of contested entities coevolved with nation-state formation. According to Florea's data set, the number of contested states increased from two in 1955 to eight in 1965 to 13 in 1975, reaching a peak in 1995 with 28 such entities. After 1995, there was a decline, with only 18 alive at the end of 2011.[106]

According to the criteria provided in the previous chapter, only eight entities can currently be categorized as contested states. Abkhazia, Kosovo, Nagorno-Karabakh, Somaliland, South Ossetia, Taiwan, Transnistria, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus have achieved de facto independence, holding control over the larger part of the territory they lay claims to, including the main city and key regions. They have all demonstrated clear aspirations to independence, yet have not gained it, or at most received recognition from a patron state or a few others. Their leaderships have taken steps to building institutions and have shown attempts to legitimize their positions. Furthermore, each of the states has existed for a larger number of years.[107]

Entities that have rejoined the home state or where internationally recognized, thus seizing to be contested states at this point in time, have been excluded, as have been those that did not fulfill all of the criteria, such the number of years in existence or control over territory. Table 4 provides a general, comparative overview of the case studies.

The basic underlining common factor amongst these entities is the lack of recognition, together with the challenges it brings to the existence of a self-proclaimed state.

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[106] Adrian Florea, "De Facto States in International Politics (1945–2011): A New Data Set", *International Interactions,* 40(5), 2014, 788-811, doi:10.1080/03050629.2014.915543.
[107] Nina Caspersen, *Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 11.

Table 2
Regional Distribution of De Facto States
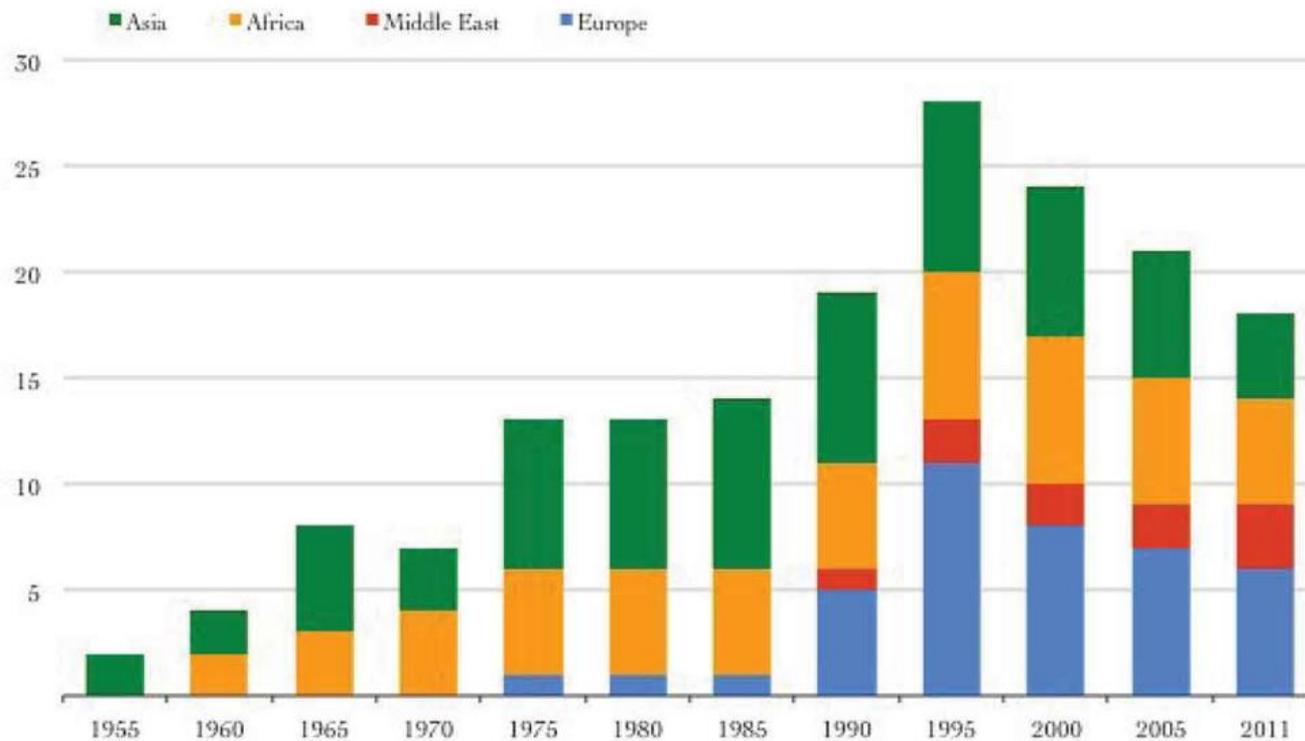
Table 3
Temporal Distribution of De Facto States
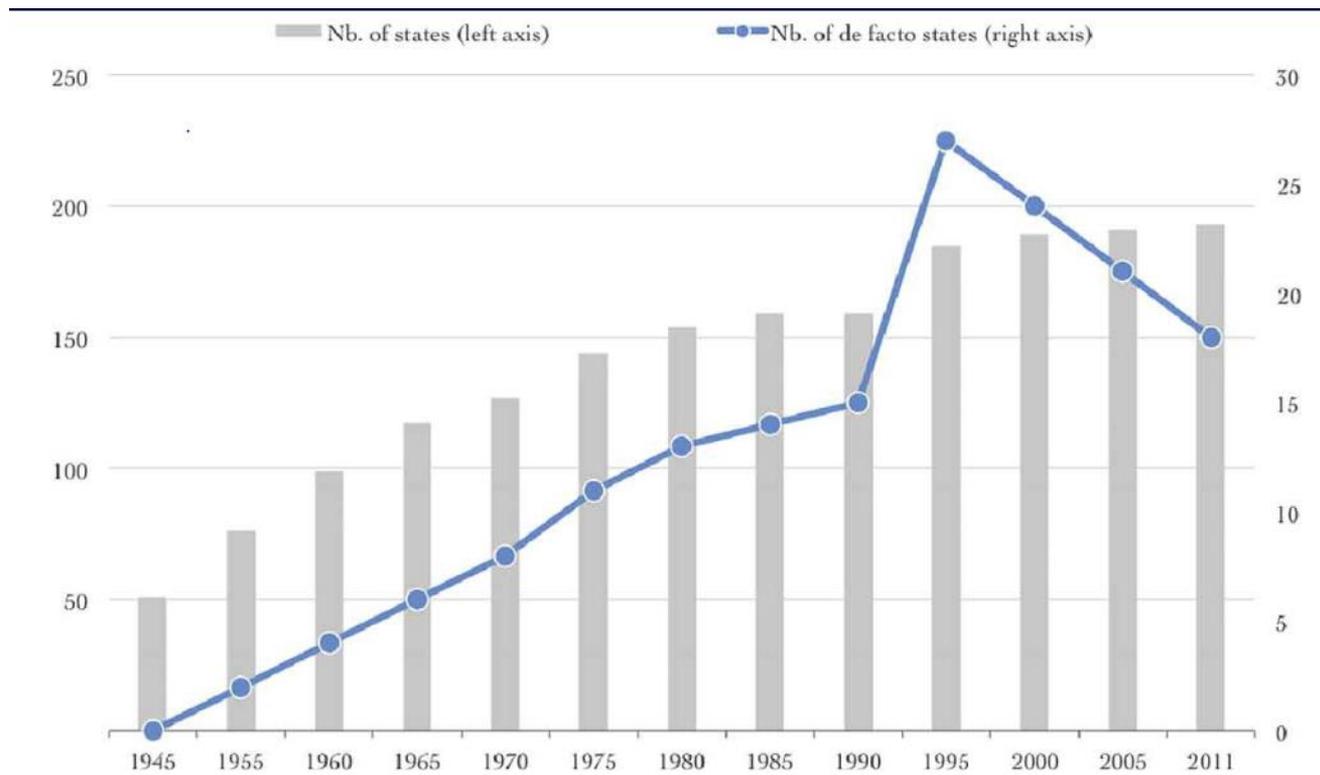
Table 4
Overview of Contested States

Name of entity	Year of proclamation of independence	De jure "parent state"	Recognized by
Abkhazia	1993	Georgia	5 UN member states and 3 UN non-member states
Kosovo	2008	Serbia	109 UN member states
Nagorno-Karabakh	1994	Azerbaijan	3 UN non-member states
Somaliland	1991	Somalia	Not recognized by any state
South Ossetia	1992	Georgia	5 UN member states and 3 UN non-member states
Taiwan	1949	People's Republic of China	22 UN member states
Transnistria	1991	Moldova	3 UN non-member states
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus	1974	Cyprus	1 UN member state

It must be mentioned that Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC) is a complicated case, somewhat different from the other contested states considered in this work. Taiwan did not obtain its contested status because of secession, but due to the international community's decision to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) and to withdraw its recognition of Taiwan. Taiwan, however, continues to view itself as a sole representative of China, as the last territory of the former ROC. Although its status is still internationally contested, and the majority of UN member states do not recognize it, their relationship with Taiwan is qualitatively different to those with other contested states. Taiwan's claim to statehood, although different from the ones of other contested states, is still that – a claim to statehood and a statement of their sovereignty. For this reason, it is still included amongst the ranks of contested states.

According to Nina Caspersen, contested states face specific tensions that are characteristic to states without sovereignty: "tensions between dependence and independence, and between unity and pluralism"[108].

Thomas Hobbes wrote after the English Civil War, that "war consisteth not in battle only, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known"[109]. War is not simply fighting; it is also the anticipation of violence. Although fighting has stopped in the territories in question, it is important to point out that in contested states conflicts are frozen, as if on pause. All of the involved parties are aware that a wrong action, a wrong trigger has potential to begin action, threatening to flare up once again if someone makes the wrong move. These contested states exist in what anthropologist Pradeep Jeganathan calls "the shadow of violence". This shadow, this anticipation, largely defines the boundaries of each community, requiring them to live in a preventive mode.[110]

Although the struggles and fears are very similar, and contested states have much in common, they are by no means exactly the

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[108] Caspersen, *Unrecognized States,* 148.
[109] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 100.
[110] Pradeep Jeganathan, "On the Anticipation of Violence: Modernity and Identity in Southern Sri Lanka." In *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring Discourse, Counter-Tendencies and Violence*, eds. Alberto Arce and Norman Long (New York: Routledge, 2000), 112-126.

same. This has often been the mistake made in the limited literature available, and especially by the media and policy makers globally.

Some of these differences are represented in Table 5 by Nina Caspersen[111]. Caspersen does not include Kosovo and Taiwan in her study. The additional data for these two contested states can be found in Table 6 that follows.

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[111] Caspersen, *Unrecognized States,* 149.

Table 5
Contemporary Contested States at a Glance

Entity	Population size	GDP per capita	Army size			Freedom House ranking
			Standing	Reservists	%population	
Abkhazia	214,016 (2003)	$2,530 (2009)	3,000	45,000	22%	Partly free
Nagorno Karabakh	134,862 (2005)	$2,372 (2010)	18,500	25,000	32%	Partly free
Somaliland	3,000,000 (1997)	$226 (2003)	15,000	0	0.5%	Partly free
South Ossetia	72,000 (2010)	$250 (2002)	2,500	13,500	22%	Non-free
Transnistria	555,347 (2004)	$392 (2003)	4,500	15,000	4%	Non-free
Northern Cyprus	257,000 (2006)	$16,158 (GNP, 2008)	5,000	26,000	12%	Free

Table 6

Contemporary Contested States at a Glance – Kosovo and Taiwan

Entity	Population size	GDP per capita	Army size			Freedom House ranking
			Standing	Reservists	%population	
Kosovo	1,733,842 (2011 estimate)	$7,043 (2011 estimate)	2,500	800	0.2%	Partly free
Taiwan	23,373,517 (2011 estimate)	$22,002 (2014 estimate)	290,000	1,675,000	8%	Free

When it comes to the international response to the existence of contested states, there has, thus far, been four approaches that states have chosen to use – attacking the contested state, embargoing it, engaging with it, or simply ignoring it. The approaches have been tailored to each contested state individually and have differed over the years, often changed from one to another to match the political, or even geopolitical, reality as well as the leverage in their own foreign policy goals.

Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla point out that the four approaches have shown to be in varying degrees unsuccessful and there is a pressing need to know which variables, other than legal ones, currently constitute the integration of a contested state into world affairs. Their article examines the extent to which Kosovo, Taiwan, Northern Cyprus, Abkhazia, Transnistria, Nagorno Karabakh, and Somaliland have received some kind of recognition and secured their standing in the international society. They categorize the characteristics used to operationalize the contested states' integration in political, economic and public spheres, covering what is usually associated with a state's integration into international society. They then draw up a 'normalization index' with a scale extending from negation to quasi-recognition. Their method was as follows:

> *The placement of de facto states on this scale was based on the results of each with respect to the above variables. Some of them were measured on a two-level scale (0-1) whereas others were measured from 0 to 3 ... The variables going up to 3 points (spread of recognition, number of representations abroad, foreign missions within the de facto state, and foreign trade indicators), obviously have the most weight on this scale. Economic variables account for up to 25 percent of the index value, whereas communication indicators add up to another 30 percent of value … The next step was to set up a recognition scale from 0 to 10 with four equal (2.5 points each) sections – negation, boycott, toleration and quasi-recognition – exposing the openness of de facto states to the world and the level of their integration in international society:*
>
> > *0 to 2.5 – negation*
> > *2.6 to 5.0 – boycott*
> > *5.1 to 7.5 – toleration*
> > *7.6 to 10.0 – quasi-recognition*[112]

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[112] Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla, "Forms of Normalisation in the Quest for De Facto Statehood", *Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 44(4), (2009) 31, doi: 10.1080/03932720903351104. For the table of variables making up the 'normalisation index' see Appendix 2.

The cases chosen by Berg and Toomla represent a mix of contested states varied in origin and length of existence. Berg and Toomla admit that their approach is slightly superficial and demonstrates only linear variations, nevertheless it provides a simple and easily comparable data, which can be seen in Table 7 below.

Table 7

Relative Positioning of De Facto States on Recognition Scale[113]

0 – 2.5: negation	None			
2.6 – 5: boycott	Nagorno Karabakh	Transnistria	Somaliland	Abkhazia
5.1 – 7.5: toleration	Northern Cyprus			
7.6 – 10: quasi-recognition	Taiwan		Kosovo	

Their results were as follows:

> *As expected, Taiwan (8.6 points) and Kosovo (8.2 points) led the scale with scores high enough to be classified as quasi-recognition. Both countries received high scores in political variables with some formal recognition and as members of some international organisations. Taiwan, again as expected, scored the highest in economic variables, while both had high scores in communication indicators. Even though Taiwan is gradually losing international recognition … and Kosovo is upgrading its legal status … the former still has a higher normalisation index.*
>
> *A bit surprisingly – and despite decades of economic embargo – the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (6.4 points) is tolerated by international society more than Abkhazia, which has received more international recognition … than the TRNC … Its current position is the result of high scores in political variables such as international involvement in conflict resolution and also in foreign trade turnover. The rest of the de facto states (Abkhazia 4.5*

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[113] Ibid., 33.

points, Transnistria and Somaliland 4.1 points) remain in the boycott zone, with Nagorno-Karabakh (2.7) receiving the lowest score. Not a single de facto state under scrutiny was found to be completely negated by international society because of its illegality.[114]

4.2. CASE SELECTION

Contested states are comparable from the perspective of international relations, and even conflict studies. The available data and the conducted studies offer us valuable insight in this regard. As shown, we are able to map out the landscape and categorize the states from this angle. However, a detailed comparison of the internal structures and processes that keep these entities in existence have been for the most part omitted from detailed comparative studies. Exploring the processes of nation building and investigating the depth of state building in each of the eight states would provide an invaluable addition to the understanding of state formation, sovereignty as well as add to the development of the theory of the aforementioned concepts of nation and state building from the perspective of contested states.

Exploring all eight entities in a detailed qualitative study would certainly carry vast academic value, as such a study does not exist in the available literature. Information about various processes involved in nation building is fragmented and scattered across different sources. It needs to be first unified and systematized in order to be analyzed and understood. Unfortunately, this dissertation does not have the means or scope to undertake such a task. To begin exploring the topic, this thesis will take upon itself the task of gathering and analyzing data on the European cases. Contested states based in Europe have developed traditional similarities in their interpretations of post-French revolution conceptions of a nation-state, statehood and a nation. This will enable the study to carry out a more effective analytical comparison of the nation building projects in these states.

Europe is the region with the highest concentration of such entities now. As contested states are located at the immediate neighborhoods of the European Union (EU), such a study could

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[114] Ibid., 31-33.

make its contribution to the shaping of future policies towards these territories, as well as towards the parent states, who have close ties with the EU. Furthermore, the majority of nation building theory discussed earlier has more often than not been developed only for Europe, or draws from European cases as a basis.

This geographic criterion excludes Taiwan and Somaliland from the study.

In order to provide a meaningful analysis entailed in research question 2 *(How do nation building projects vary across contested states? Are these variations amongst contested states greater than those between contested and 'uncontested' states?),* this study needs to include cases that would demonstrate a span of international recognitions. The intention of showing a spectrum of levels of recognition has led me to select the contested state with the maximum number of recognitions (Kosovo[115]), and the one with the least number of recognitions (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) from the European cases. These two cases are also necessary for providing an answer to research question 3 (*Does the degree of international recognition influence nation building, and if so, how?*), which considers the time span of existence of the contested states – Kosovo is the youngest and Northern Cyprus the oldest contested state in Europe.

Research question 5 *(Does a relative success of state building lead to a difference in the nation building?)* requires the availability of data to be analyzed to be answered. Given the problematic status of contested states, quality data and information is hard to come by, or it is simply not available from reliable sources. This is the case for Abkhazia, Nagorno Karabakh, and South Ossetia. The data on GDP per capita, unemployment rate, life expectancy and the human development index were partially missing for the three contested states. They were, however, readily available for Transnistria, as well as Kosovo and Northern Cyprus. These three cases fit the needs of this study, presenting a wide variety of both time of existence and recognition.

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[115] Although Kosovo has received a rather wide external legitimacy, it remains unrecognized by 42% of states, and most recently 2 states even withdrew their recognition of Kosovo. This is an indicator that there is still a struggle, and that the political elites are still unable to achieve the desired level of recognition – thus, further qualifying Kosovo for the analysis.

Patron states play a large role in the existence of contested states. In order to be able to consider their different roles and levels of involvement in the nation building processes, it becomes important to consider contested states with different patron states in order to see possible variation. An interesting angle to explore, is whether their involvement is that of just a patron state, or also a patron nation. As the Russian Federation is by far the patron state most involved in the affairs of contested states, only one contested state with their patronage is selected. This provides additional argumentation for excluding Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

4.3. CONCLUSION

This short overview revealed some interesting aspects about contested states. Apart from reconfirming the attributes and defining characteristics of contested states discussed in the previous chapter, first, we were able to see that this type of entities are not a new phenomenon. Contested states have existed for decades; some of them were reintegrated into the parent state, some gained independence, some simply seized existing. There are contested states that continue their existence today.

Secondly, contested states are not a phenomenon limited to a specific region. Over the years they have appeared in numerous locations around the world. Currently, Europe has the highest count of contested states, making it an interesting region to focus on.

Thirdly, and finally, the currently existing contested states vary in their size, populations, recognitions, and economic indicators.

Based on these different features of contested states, this chapter provided reasoning for the case selection. In the following three case study chapters, the thesis first turns to presenting the detailed findings and data on nation building in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which since the year of its proclamation of independence in 1974 gained only the official recognition from its patron. The following chapter focuses on Transnistria, which has existed since 1991, and has only peer recognition. And finally Kosovo, which since 2008, has gained partial recognition. A brief comparison of the three to the other contested states will be provided in Chapter 8.

5. CASE STUDY 1: TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS

For many decades, the small Mediterranean island of Cyprus has drawn a disproportionate amount of international attention. In the 1950s, the global attention was drawn to the struggle against British colonial rule on the island. In the 1960s, it was drawn to the fighting between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities of the island and Turkey's subsequent involvement in the conflict and the island's division in the 1970s. Since then international efforts have been focused on its reunification. What has over the years become notoriously known as "the Cyprus problem" has also become the synonym for intractable international conflict.

For the most part, this global interest has little to do with the island's importance, as for example, it has no mineral wealth and it is no longer a vital transit point on the route to the Middle East as it once was. Nevertheless, its geopolitical importance became a factor during the Cold War, when it's potential for sparking an armed conflict between NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, became a real possibility. It maintains its significance today, as a potential decisive aspect in relations between Turkey and the European Union. The status of the TRNC is pivotal in this.

The TRNC is currently the oldest contested state in Europe and thus the first case study chapter of this thesis. It is also on the lower end

of the spectrum in terms of international recognitions, receiving only one from its patron state – Turkey. In order to understand the current situation in the contested state, the chapter opens by first looking backwards, providing a historical overview of the territory. As many nation building aspects build upon history, looking deeper in this direction will provide us with a framework for understanding the current situation. It will place the data on nation building processes and practices presented throughout the rest of the chapter in context and allow for interpretation, analysis and comparison to other contested states that follows in Chapter 8.

5.1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE: CYPRUS, "THE CYPRUS PROBLEM" AND TRNC

It is generally considered that Mycenaean Greek colonization of Cyprus took place approximately at the end of the second millennium B.C. Since then, and for most of its recorded history Cyprus has been the object rather than the initiator or historic events. Cyprus was part of the Assyrian empire and the Persian. It was subject to Rome and then to Constantinople. Byzantine rule lasted on the island until 1191, when Richard I of England captured it, yet shortly after selling it to the Latin house of Lusignan.[116] In 1489 Cyprus was passed on to the possession of the Venetians, only to be captured by the Ottoman Empire in 1570-1. The Latins were swept out, as Muslims settled across the island. Many of the remaining Latins and some Greeks converted to Islam, while Greek Orthodoxy was liberated from oppression, which it had been under since Roman rule. Nevertheless, there existed a sense of insecurity for the Greek Orthodox population in living under Ottoman rule, sparked especially by the Greek rebellion of 1821 in the mainland and Aegean islands. This initiated the bitter struggle between Greeks and Turks, disentangling the two religions, cultures, and peoples, which had been living intermingled in the European mainland, the Mediterranean islands and in the Asian mainland. Thus with the recognition of the independence of the Kingdom of Greece in 1832,

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[116] George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Volume I: to the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

came the beginning of the struggle for enosis, the Hellenic idea that all culturally Greek territories must be united in one state. [117]

As Greece continued on its journey of collecting the pieces of its empire, Cyprus fell into the hands of the British. Retaining nominal sovereignty, Turkey gave the island over to British administration in 1878, under the pretext of strategic safety to be used as an assembly base for rapid deployment in case of further Russian attack on the Ottoman Empire.

In 1914, the moment Turkey entered World War I, Cyprus was annexed by Britain. This meant that it was excluded from the reconciliation process between Greece and Turkey after their bloody confrontations in 1921 and their grand population exchanges, as Turkey renounced any claim to sovereignty over the island in favor of Britain as part of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

After World War II Britain came to the realization that Cyprus was one of its most politically backward colonial territories. The press on the island was largely censored, political parties were forbidden, as was the flying of the Greek flag. There hadn't been a meeting of the Legislative Council since 1931, when the Greek members walked out of the meeting for the second time. Following this, a crowd rallying for enosis set fire and burnt to the ground the Government House. For the Turkish Cypriots this had been a revelation of the Greek Cypriots' continued devotion to the union with Greece. Although their political expression was denied to them as it was to the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots turned their alignment more with the colonial power, as opposed to with their neighbor islanders. Although, it must be noted, that initially Turkish Cypriots were quite anti-British. They were deeply offended by the way the government had abolished or assumed control over Turkish Islamic institutions after World War I. Turkish Cypriot resentment was additionally fired up by the new nationalism of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Turkey, which largely alarmed the British who clamped down on the Turkish Cypriot agitation and by the 1950s began paying more attention to the community's dissatisfactions.

Considering the demographic composition of the island, although Turks were in the minority, there were Turkish quarters in all the main towns, while 18 per cent of the villages were mixed. During British

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[117] George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Volume IV: The Ottoman Province. The British Colony 1571-1948*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

rule, there were 392 purely Greek and 123 purely Turkish villages, often placed side by side to each other. For the most part, Cypriots were able to live without friction with members of the opposite community. Although there existed certain feelings of consciousness of differences as well as possible mistrust and antagonism, both communities had social and economic relations with each other and generally were able to get along on a daily basis.[118] But as it has often been proven in many instances around the world, the existence of social toleration can easily evaporate with a change in circumstances.

Opposition to British colonial rule came in the early 1950s. At this point Turkish Cypriots, who up until this point in history were simply referred to as Muslims, had not participated actively in discussions about the future of Cyprus. Generally identity in Cyprus was based on culture, language and religion, not nationality. Being a rather stagnant society, Turkish Cypriots did not make their point of view heard. Neither was Turkey pushing for such a matter. Initially, the anti-colonial movement was a purely Greek and Greek Cypriot matter, led by two men, Michael Mouskos, who was elected Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and All Cyprus taking that title of Makarios III in October 1950, and Colonel George Grivas, a Cyprus-born Greek officer who had been the head of an extreme right-wing guerilla group during Nazi occupation of Greece during World War II. Upon being elected Archbishop, and organizing a plebiscite campaign, producing a 96 percent vote in favor of union with Greece, Makarios declared that no other option would thus be accepted by the people of Cyprus. Colonel Grivas at the same time decided that violence was necessary to dislodge the British from Cyprus, developing the idea further with Makarios, and beginning preparations for the day. [119]

28 July 1954 marks an important date, when the Minister of State for the Colonies, Henry Hopkinson, replied to the debate about Cyprus. He said that there existed territories in the Commonwealth that could never expect to be fully independent due to their specific circumstances. Although he did mention that he could not go as far as to label Cyprus as such, he then did note that British sovereignty will remain on the island. It was then that Greece for the first time made an attempt to internationalize the conflict. Bringing Cyprus as a simple case of self-determination before the UN General

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[118] Ibid.
[119] Clement Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 11-20.

Assembly, not much change was achieved, however it did spark a statement from Turkey. Turkey declared that Cyprus had never belonged to Greece, pointing out that its people were not historically Greek, while geographically the island was an extension of Anatolia, thus stating that they would not accept a change on the island that has not received Turkey's full consent. In an era when self-determination and the views of the people were supposed to be given priority, the Turkish arguments sounded anachronistic. The Greco-Turkish argument with regards to the island's geographic position and proximity to Turkey and distance from Greece on the one hand, and of the Turkish Cypriot community and how much weight, if any at all, it had in the matter, resulted in the UN seeing the situation as one of horror and threat to further discussion.[120]

As a reaction to these events, Grivas, received permission to proceed with his plan from the Greek Prime Minister, Field Marshal Papagos and Archbishop Makarios in the autumn of 1954. During 1955, Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA)[121] was formed to wage an armed struggle for the union with Greece. On April 1, 1955 the campaign of sabotage was launched. The revolt in Cyprus had begun with the blowing up of the transmitters of the Cyprus Broadcasting Station and a series of simultaneous explosions across the island.[122]

As the EOKA movement for enosis continued gaining momentum, it began accompanying acts of violence with acts of civil disobedience, economic boycott of British goods and services and acts of violent coercion against Greek Cypriots who did not wish to cooperate. At this point the Turkish Cypriots began forming their own solution for the situation, which they saw in the form of taksim, or partition and federation of the island. Such a solution would require an immense exchange of population to be feasible, so at first the Turkish Cypriot claims were mainly calling attention to the possible issues that could arise if self-determination was granted to the majority. It was during this time that the British chose to fall back more and more for support on the Turkish community, using Turkish Cypriots to build up the police force and create mobile reserves. This, inevitably, created hostility and open fighting between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Rioting, retaliating actions and fatalities led to the rise of a Turkish paramilitary organization Türk Mukavemet

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[120] Ibid. 17-20.
[121] Eng. *National Organization of Freedom Fighters*
[122] Dodd, *The History,* 20-24.

Teşkilatı (TMT)[123] in opposition to EOKA in 1958, and acted as a clear sign in the loss of confidence by the Turkish Cypriots in Britain's ability to stand against the Greeks. Neither of the two communities was, however, successful in their goals, and a solution was imposed from outside Cyprus by the three interested powers – Britain, Greece and Turkey.[124]

The Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed on 16 August 1960, gaining sovereign independence by virtue of a constitution and three treaties – the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment. The constitution, which turned out as a very rigid and unalterable document, was drawn up in terms of the two communities. Subsequently, Turkish Cypriots began referring to the country as a functional federation – although this was not stated in the constitution. It was prescribed that the official languages were Greek and Turkish, that both the Greek and Turkish flags may be flown without restrictions (although a Cypriot national flag also existed), and both Greek and Turkish national holidays must be celebrated. As prescribed by the constitution, the Greek population then elected Archbishop Makarios III as the first President, while the Turkish population elected Fazil Küçük as the Republic's Vice-President. Under the Treaty of Guarantee, the new Republic of Cyprus was to uphold its own independence and constitution, not participate in any political or economic union with another state, while further prohibiting any domestic action promoting such a union. Britain, Greece and Turkey, as the other signatories, recognized and guaranteed the independence, integrity and security of Cyprus, as well as the state of affairs, as specified in the constitution. The signatories also agreed to ban all actions in favor of enosis or taksim, and specified that in the event of a breach of the treaty, the three guarantors would consult each other on necessary measures. Article IV of the treaty, currently cited to support Turkey's position on Cyprus, states that if joint action of the three guarantors is not possible, each of the three powers reserves the right to take action individually with the sole purpose of reestablishing the state of affairs.[125]

It is worth noting that during this time there was no Cypriot nation as such, nor were there many signs of one emerging. Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, amounting to approximately 80 percent of the

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[123] Eng. *Turkish Resistance Organization*
[124] Dodd, *The History*, 33-34.
[125] Nicolas D. Macris, *The 1960 treaties on Cyprus and selected subsequent acts*. (Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2003).

population according to official survey figures from 1960, identified themselves as Greeks, while Turkish-speaking Sunni Muslims, approximately 18 percent of the population, identified themselves as Turks. The newly created Republic was intended to serve as a compromise solution between Greek and Turkish communities of the island, which had just emerged from a "liberation struggle" on opposite sides. There were no universities in Cyprus, no private business partnerships between the two communities, and virtually no intermarriages. Even the trade unions, which were the one shared institution, was substantially torn apart by the anti-colonial struggle. The sixty years of British rule on the island had done nothing in terms of encouraging the emergence of a Cypriot nation; on the contrary, oftentimes the Greek and Turkish Cypriots were to a certain degree played off against each other and even after independence continued to pursue their own, opposing goals. [126] For the Republic of Cyprus this meant a complicated and troublesome beginning.

In 1963 major problems began emerging. On November 30, President Makarios wrote to Vice-President Küçük proposing thirteen amendments to the constitution. Taken together, the amendments would have resolved all of the outstanding issues in the country in the favor of the Greeks. Consequently, it would restrict the rights of the Turkish population. The Archbishop's proposal was quickly rejected by the government of Turkey, and at length later by Vice-President Küçük. Violent interethnic conflict broke out all across the island in December of the same year and continued to flare up into the first half of 1964. Although there were organized attempts of defense of the Turkish minority, especially by the TMT, as well as acts of retaliation directed at the Greek Cypriots, in the first few months of the fighting the main victims of the many violent incidents were Turks. 191 Turkish Cypriots and 133 Greek Cypriots were known to have been killed; 209 Turks and 41 Greeks were claimed to be missing and could also be presumed dead; 700 Turks were hostages, including women and children, seized in the suburbs of Nicosia; 24 Turkish villages were abandoned, as were Turkish houses in 72 mixed villages; some 20,000 refugees, approximately a fifth of the Turkish population of Cyprus were displaced and withdrew to live in enclaves. The majority of the moves were spontaneous, following a local incident of violence. People left their belongings behind. But in some cases there were orders received for the people to go. Once the villagers moved, Turkish paramilitaries would exert coercion to prevent the return to government-controlled

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[126] Bryant and Papadakis, *Introduction*, 4-5.

areas. This founded the territorial basis for partition that was previously missing during British colonial times.[127]

In an attempt to quell the violence, restore order and facilitate the return to normal conditions, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 186 on 4 March 1964, forming the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Nicosia was divided into Greek and Turkish Cypriot quarters by a ceasefire line called "the Green Line"[128], which retains the name today. This division resulted in the withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from the government. As a consequence of more violence, Turkish Cypriots began moving to the Turkish quarter of Nicosia, causing its overcrowding and the social and economic implications that come with it.[129]

Although the major attempts at settlements by outside mediation had failed in the years 1964 and 1965, by 1967 the levels of violence declined, and although the two communities continued to be on a permanent war footing, this atmosphere did not prevail everywhere. But a new conflict emerged, this time within the Greek Cypriot community, when in April of 1967, a military junta took power in Greece. Even though by this time the Greek Cypriot leadership had moved away from the notions of enosis, a small group of ring-wing extremists, under the name EOKA B, backed by the Greek junta, insisted on the return to the policy. In July 1974, EOKA B, with the approval and backing of Greece, overthrew President Makarios in a coup. Part of the presidential palace was destroyed, while Makarios proclaimed dead. In reality he managed to escape the island. Nikos Sampson, a former EOKA member and leader of the 1963 assault on Turks of Ornophita, was installed as the new president of Cyprus.[130]

The guarantors of the 1960 Treaties were faced with a difficult decision. Greece's transparent intervention in the coup d'état marked a turning point for the legal grounds of the Treaty of Guarantee, which could hardly be cited again if it were neglected at this point. Then Prime Minister of Turkey, Mustafa Bülent Ecevit, first attempted to invite Britain's cooperation as co-guarantor. Britain, placed in a difficult political situation, failed to adequately respond to the situation. Ecevit went on to send Athens an ultimatum calling for

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[127] Dodd, *The History*, 45-65.
[128] The Green Line was named after the color of the pen used by the UN officer to draw the division line on the Nicosia city map.
[129] Dodd, *The History*, 53.
[130] Bryant and Papadakis, *Introduction*, 5.

the resignation of Sampson, the withdrawal of the Greek officers of the Cypriot National Guard and firm pledges of Cyprus' independence. The Greek junta, in its confidence that America would as before prevent Turkey from using force, sent a vague and evasive reply. In response, Ecevit ordered the launching of the "Cyprus Peace Operation" on July 20, 1974. Turkish troops captured 3 percent of the island, a narrow corridor between Kyrenia and Nicosia, by the time the UN Security Council was able to obtain a cease-fire on July 22. The seized territory was nevertheless widened during the next few days in violation of the cease-fire.[131]

The British Foreign Secretary at the time, James Callaghan, called for a conference of the three guarantor powers in Geneva. There a declaration was issued stating that the Turkish occupation zone should not be extended, that the Turkish enclaves should immediately be evacuated by the Greeks, and that a further conference should be held at Geneva with the two Cypriot communities present to restore peace and re-establish constitutional government. By the time the second conference occurred, the regime in Greece collapsed and democracy was restored. Meanwhile, the views of Turkey on the situation had changed. What began as an action to preserve the 1960 constitution, turned into a different claim. The view of the leader of the Turkish community, Rauf Denktaş, and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Professor Turan Günes, was that the crisis showed that the claims for enosis were not extinct on the island. Furthermore, they claimed that Turkish Cypriots were made to feel unwanted in Cyprus. Under these circumstances it was said that it was essential to have a federation of two autonomous zones. The Turkish Cypriots were to claim the northern 34 percent of the island, since in the situation of enosis by the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots would be in a position to achieve partition. Glafcos Clerides, who at the time had temporarily assumed the duties of the President of the Republic, responded to this by calling Greeks the true minority who needed protection. Even being a majority on the island, their geographic proximity to Turkey and its military might, made them a defenseless minority.[132]

There was a strong push and demand for a plan to be produced and accepted. Unwilling to wait, an hour and a half after the conference finished, Turkey launched the "Second Peace Operation" on August 14. Rapidly, the armed forces occupied a territory larger than was asked for in Geneva. Over 36 percent of the island's land came

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[131] Dodd, *The History*, 110-115.
[132] Ibid., 123-127.

under Turkish occupation. This Turkish action created today's political realty, transforming the situation from an argument over how the intermingling of two different populations was to be regulated, into one about what sort of federal link could be built between territorially separate communities. As a direct consequence of Turkey's military operations around 45,000 Turkish Cypriots were displaced from the south of the island to the north, while approximately 165,000 Greek Cypriots were displaced from north to south. Both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots suffered casualties, with a large number of people dead and missing. The Greek Cypriots, however, have the larger number of both. The whole island of Cyprus was divided in two along the Green Line, which runs right through the middle of the walled city of Nicosia. To this day the Line splits the island. Cypriots continued living on an island with a practically impassable barrier between them. The buffer zone is maintained and policed by the UN. In Cyprus, however, this division became not merely material, but also psychological.[133]

In February 1975, Rauf Denktaş unilaterally proclaimed the Turkish Federated State of Kibris (Cyprus). It was presented as the first component of a future Cypriot federal state. Denktaş was then elected President of the self-proclaimed state the same year. At this point, they were merely a unit in waiting for its other federation counterpart. They did not seek international recognition as a separate state. However, no agreement could be found in the following years both between the two communities as well as internationally. The issue was discussed at UN debates and Non-Aligned Summit meetings as well as at the level of NATO. Rounds of negotiations between Denktaş and his Greek Cypriot counterparts – first Makarios, who had returned to the island and was reinstalled in the position of President, and later his successor Spyros Kyprianou – did not lead to a settlement. It is open for debate and speculation whether this was due to the dissatisfaction of Greek Cypriots with the terms, or perhaps due to Denktaş from the start not wanting a settlement. Some argue, that at this point he was already shaping a separate entity, with no intentions of it including Greeks.[134]

There was a rise in tension in 1983 when Greece broke the bilateral discussions and submitted the Cypriot question to the General Assembly of the United Nations. This largely dealt with the issues of international morality, Turkish aggression and occupation, and the right of refugees to return. This also antagonized the Turks and

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[133] Bryant and Papadakis, *Introduction*, 5.
[134] Dodd, *The History*, 131-140.

Turkish Cypriots. Denktaş and the Turkish Cypriot Assembly reacted by proclaiming the independence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on November 15, 1983. Three days later Britain, as a guarantor power, brought the move before the UN Security Council. In a vote on November 18, by 13 votes to 1, it was declared that the declaration was invalid and should be withdrawn. It declared that no state should recognize the new entity. To this day, only Turkey is the only UN member to recognize the TRNC.[135]

In the years that followed, TRNC adopted a Constitution and held presidential and general elections, while numerous negotiations occurred and many plans for reunification failed to pass. Although it is agreed that a solution would be in the form of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality for two ethnic groups, political settlements are still ongoing.

The most successful, jointly negotiated and UN-finalized solution, known as the Annan Plan[136] was considered a major turning point in the negotiation process. It became available to the public in 2002, around the same time as it became apparent that the Republic of Cyprus would join the EU as a full member despite the territorial division. Large protests in favor of the Annan Plan and EU entry were held across the TRNC. This consequently led to the opening of the checkpoints that divide the island. In 2003, after 29 years of being completely sealed off from each other, Cypriots from both sides were able to visit "the other side" and their old homes. Nevertheless, only a year later the feelings of euphoria were dispelled. At a referendum where the majority of Turkish Cypriots voted for the Annan Plan, Greek Cypriots voted against. A week after the reunification plan failed, the Republic of Cyprus entered the EU as the sole legitimate government on the island. Technically, the island in its entirety is a part of the EU. However, the EU's *acquis communautaire* is suspended in the TRNC, pending the political settlement of the conflict.[137]

Negotiations are ongoing. With new factors in play, such as the 2012-2013 economic collapse in the Republic of Cyprus, and the recent discovery of the Aphrodite offshore gas field off the southern

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[135] Ibid., 143-157.
[136] The full text of the Annan Plan, the final negotiations on the plan, as well as general information about it are available at the official United Nations website of the Secretary-General's comprehensive peace plan for Cyprus: http://www.hri.org/docs/annan/.
[137] Bryant and Papadakis, *Introduction*, 6.

coast of Cyprus, moods are slowly changing amongst the Greek Cypriots with regards to reunification. Nonetheless, Cyprus to this day remains de facto divided into two parts – the Republic of Cyprus, internationally recognized, with the exception of Turkey, as the sovereign over the whole island but controlling only the southern part, and the TRNC, recognized only by Turkey, controlling the northern part of the island. Nicosia, the capital city of both entities, is to this day the only remaining divided capital of the world.

5.2. THE CREATION OF A "USABLE PAST"

The previous section presented the historical overview of the island of Cyprus, with a special focus on the developments that led to the creation of the TRNC, as well as its evolution to its current state. Special attention was given to the evolution of the people of the TRNC and their development from simply the Muslim population, to a community, to identifying as Turkish Cypriots. We were able to trace the evolution of the self-perception of the Turkish Cypriots and the geopolitical circumstances that led to the division of the island and the creation of the TRNC.

This section of the case study builds on the history of the island and looks closer at the way the Turkish Cypriots interpret their history. It first looks at the official historiography of TRNC, especially at the main history books used over the years as well as the history books used in teaching in schools. With this we will be able to see how the Turkish Cypriots viewed and officially justified their evolution – from a more apologetic approach to a firmer stance on the way they see events.

This section then takes a look at which of the historical events the TRNC specifically chose to commemorate and turn into public holidays. It will also be interesting to see which of the holidays overlap with the patron state, as well as how involved Turkey is in all of the official celebrations in the TRNC.

5.2.1. Perceptions of History and History Books

Collective memory is a troublesome issue in Cyprus, both in the south and north. It is a constructed memory, elaborately built by the education system, the family, community, military service, through

the media, etc. Furthermore, in Cyprus the uniformity of this memory is very striking. Since the 1970s there has been a growing academic trend of turning away from accounts of communal or collective past due to the assumption that it is a territory mapped out by nationalist ideologies. Thus, researchers choose to turn to individual accounts to get the alternative versions. Micro-histories and oral histories are in such a way seen as opening new areas of historical analysis. Yet Turkish Cypriot personal accounts of history, surprisingly, tend to revolve around the same subject matter and themes as the collective accounts. Individual stories of sacrifice, endurance, pain and pride show noteworthy structural convergences with canonized national histories. According to Nergis Canefe, the reason for this is rooted in the formal history education. A common, agreed upon structure to the national past is then continuously reinforced through the dominant political culture in TRNC.[138]

An important question needs to be addressed at this point – is Turkish Cypriot history a history of a nation or of a community? Turkish Cypriots are generally referred to as a community, as opposed to a nation, on the island of Cyprus, which in itself is referred to as bi-communal. The lines between national and ethno-religious/communal are further blurred in Cyprus, especially with the historic, hegemonic presence of the 'motherland' nationalisms of Greece and Turkey. This makes identifying the Turkish Cypriot nation difficult, despite the formation of the Turkish Cypriot state. According to Nergis Canefe, the Turkish Cypriot community gained a clear national identity with a national history since 1974. Before that time Turkish Cypriots are identified both from within and by outsiders as a community rather than a nation.[139] It thus becomes important to look not only at the post-1974 Turkish Cypriot official historiographies, but pre-1974 ones as well, as it will reveal the ways different historical narratives were constructed and how not only does the plot change, but also the actors, setting and emphasis on different events.

Pre-1960 Turkish Cypriot historiography is mainly characterized by Halil Fikret Alasya, and his 1939 book Cyprus History and Its Main Antiquities (Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Belli. Başlı Antikiteleri). It was the first book published in Cyprus by a Turkish Cypriot in the Latin alphabet. In his book, after briefly dealing with the pre-Ottoman period, Alasya

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[138] Nergis Canefe, "Communal Memory and Turkish Cypriot National History: Missing Links," in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: C.Hurst & Co., 2004), 77-79.
[139] Ibid.

focused on the Ottoman period. His goal was to prove that the Ottoman period was not a 'dark age' of the island. As evidence of his findings he provided photographs and historical accounts of numerous monuments built in Cyprus during the Ottoman period. Alasya's book can generally be seen as an apologetic and defensive account of history. He begins his narrative with explaining the Ottoman's reasons for conquering Cyprus: Sokollu Mehmet Paşa resisted the plans of conquering the island, until his efforts were undermined by a foreign agent who convinced Selim II to conquer Cyprus for its wine. In a similar fashion, Alasya claims that during the conquest of Famagusta, Lala Mustafa Paşa ordered the torturing and killing of commander Bragadino because he broke an agreement and killed Turkish prisoners. In fact, most incidents of Ottoman misrule could be attributed to foreign manipulations according to Alasya. These accounts and arguments are still used today in most nationalistic history books in Cyprus. In fact, Turkish Cypriots used Alasya's book as the widely accepted and official version of history until the late 1950s.[140]

There was, in fact, an earlier book written by a Turkish Cypriot author, İsmet Konur, in 1938. His book Turks of Cyprus (Kıbrıs Türkleri) was published in Turkey, but the British authorities banned it in Cyprus, as they saw it as highly controversial. Konur claimed that the Hittites who controlled Cyprus in 14th century BC were Turks, tracing Turkish presence and rule of the island to about three thousand years earlier than Alasya. Although the book was banned on the island, many later authors read it and used some of its claims. The main claim was Konur's attempt to demonstrate that the island and its people were not and never have been Greek; they simply learned and spoke Greek – at the time the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire – and with time declared themselves to be Greek, forgetting their true identity.[141]

The usage of identity terms, when referring to the peoples of Cyprus was important in both books, as it reflected the perceptions of the educated Turkish Cypriot elite at the time. In his work, Konur referred to Muslims of the island as 'Turks'. Alasya used 'Ottoman' and 'Turk' interchangeably, when referring to the Muslims of the Ottoman

[140] Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis, "A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to Present)," in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory. History, Community and Conflict,* eds. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 30-33.
[141] Ibid.

period in Cyprus, and 'reaya' – meaning flock, or non-Muslim subjects – 'Christians', and 'Rum' when referring to Greek Orthodox Cypriots.[142]

Turkish Cypriot historiography in years 1960 – 1974 was marked by an ongoing tendency of apologetic history writing. The history that was written during this time period portrayed Turkish Cypriots as passive. This writing focused on victimization of Turkish Cypriots, largely in relation to the British administration's unfair treatment of its Muslim subjects and their Christian neighbor's unwillingness to take them into account when envisioning the future for the island.

A good example of such writing was work published in 1966 by a Turkish Cypriot history teacher, Vergi Bedevi, Cyprus History (Kıbrıs Tarihi). In his work he repeated most of Konur's and Alasya's claims about Ottoman history, but additionally claimed that it was the Christian population of the island who initially requested Ottoman rule. Bedevi also continuously referred to Ottomans as 'Turks'. In his book he especially emphasized the transfer of Turks from Anatolia to Cyprus as part of the Turkish policy to consolidate Turkish presence on the island and to help the island develop economically. This point was reiterated by other nationalist historians of the time as a way of proving that Turks of the island were originally from Anatolia, not mainly Christian converts, as was claimed by the Greek Cypriots. Bedevi also attempted at showing some Turkish Cypriots as active members of history, not merely victims. The main actor in such a way was Fazil Küçük, whose biggest achievement, however, was, according to the book, convincing Turkey to take part in the conflict and come to the aid of Turkish Cypriots. The period between 1960 and 1963 was described as one when Greek Cypriots were still planning for enosis, with a lot of attention given to the discussion of EOKA, while no attention was given to the TMT. It portrayed Turkish Cypriots as defenseless, without weapons or means of defending themselves. It also listed the names of those killed. According to Bedevi, Turkish Cypriots accepted the Republic in 1960. Greeks on the other hand were claimed to be undermining it from the first day, eager to unite with Greece, thus the collapse of the Republic was placed fully on the Greek Cypriots.[143]

A complete change in the approach to writing history can be seen in the post-1974 period. Official historiographies no longer made apologies for the Ottoman period, in fact, they glorified it. Claims

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[142] Ibid., 33.
[143] Ibid., 35-37.

made in earlier works with regards to the origin of Greek Cypriots were reiterated. It was claimed that the Ottomans liberated the Greek Cypriots from serfdom, yet they remained ungrateful. They were portrayed as traitors not to be trusted. Estimates from alleged foreign and local non-Muslim sources were presented to prove that from the 18th century the population of Turks in Cyprus was higher than the population of Greeks. This implied that Cyprus was a Turkish island, regardless of Greek Cypriots later becoming the majority there.

A new form of writing emerged in the Turkish Cypriot historiography during this time period. Much of the previous history was rewritten in a way that all the events had inevitably led up to the events of 1974 and Turkey's military intervention. Rebecca Bryant refers to this as 'apocalyptic history' – a history with a foreordained end. In the Turkish Cypriot case, "Turkey was the main actor, while Turkish Cypriots appeared primarily as dead bodies, or those to be saved… Although the books occasionally mentioned Turkish Cypriots' 'heroic defense' of their communities, there was no mention of the organization of that defense, making such occasional comments seem unfounded."[144] Prominent examples of such writing included Vehbi Zeki Serter, who was the President of the Cyprus Turkish History Association, and the later works of Alasya. Alasya's works largely emphasized the victimization of Turkish Cypriots, even going as far as fabricating evidence in his later works.

Serter's book Kıbrıs Tarihi (Cyprus History), published in 1979 and 1999, was used as the standard high school history textbook in Northern Cyprus from 1971 until 2004. The central theme of the book was, once again, victimization of the Turkish Cypriots. The book began by claiming Cyprus as an extension of Anatolia, and presenting the argument that Greeks had never ruled Cyprus, and have no historical connections to the island. Throughout the book, Serter attempts to validate the claim that Cyprus is Turkish. For this reason the first half of the textbook is devoted to history after the arrival of the Ottomans to the island. The rest of the book deals with the rest of the modern history of Cyprus, providing a detailed account of post-1960 events, while avoiding any mention of peaceful relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.[145] In the 1979 edition, there were fourteen photographs; four were graphic depictions of Turkish Cypriot dead, the remaining six showed the Turkish army

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[144] Ibid., 41.
[145] Dilek Latif, "Dilemmas of Moving from the Divided Past to Envisaged United Future: Rewriting the History Books in the North Cyprus," *International Journal for Education Law and Policy* (2010): 41.

and its airplanes. Deaths and massacres of Turkish Cypriots in the years 1960 – 1970 were described in graphic details. Whereas Turkey's inevitable intervention to save the Turkish Cypriots, in the final chapters of the book were described as follows:

> During the operations in the East and West, Greek and Greek Cypriot gangs were brought to their knees, dispersed, and made wretched before the bayonet of the MEHMETÇIK (Turkish soldier). These were the gangs of cowardly and fainthearted Levantines that that Grivas character, who had seen the defenseless Turkish community as worthy of unprecedented torment, and the anarchist and murderer Makarios had called 'the grandchildren of Hellenism' (!) and that they had believed were undefeatable (!). Hadn't the grandfathers of the same nation been pushed into the sea at Izmir on 9 September 1922? History was repeating itself. The Turkish armed forces had once again landed a blow against Greek imperialism, this time in Cyprus.[146]

In 2003 the left-wing Republican Turkish Party (CTP) rose to power in TRNC. Its main declared aim, the reunification of Cyprus, was most visible in the newly changed school history textbooks. This decision was not free of political debate. At the time, the majority of Turkish Cypriots began protesting against Rauf Denktaş's policies of no solution to the Cyprus problem. Civil society organizations and unions began demanding an immediate solution. Teachers' unions specifically played a key role in promoting non-violent demonstrations and a new curriculum. With the beginning of the new 2004 school year, secondary schools in TRNC began using new, revised history books.[147]

The new CTP-sponsored book was strikingly different from the previous one, encouraging students to develop critical thinking and approach an issue from multiple perspectives. This begins from the front cover – it shows a map of all of Cyprus without any borders. The book employed a Turkish Cypriot-centric approach to history, as opposed to one claiming Cypriot history to be a part of Turkish history.[148] An important change visible in the book was the approach to the concepts of nation, nationalism and identity. The term 'motherland' was no longer used in reference to Turkey, while Cyprus was referred to as 'our island' and 'our country'. Generic terms like 'Cypriots' and 'people' were used to describe both Turkish

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[146] Punctuation and emphasis same as in source: Hatay and Papadakis, *A Critical Comparison*, 42-43.
[147] Latif, *Dilemmas*, 41.
[148] Ibid., 43.

and Greek Cypriots. The book went on further to even explain that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots share many similarities, and stating that what divided them were forces of nationalism and the 'Divide and Rule' policies of the British administration. The word 'Turks' was never used to describe Turkish Cypriots, using 'Kıbrıslı Türkler' – 'Turkish Cypriot' – throughout the book. Greek Cypriots were referred to as 'Kıbrıslı Rumlar' – roughly translated as Rumcypriots, or non-Muslim/Christian Cypriots. Both terms shared the designation 'Cypriots'. The period 1963 – 1974 , which in the previous history book was referred to as the 'Dark Years', was, in the new book, broken down into two parts: 1963 – 1967, labeled as the 'Difficult Years', and 1967 – 1974, labeled as 'A New Period for Cyprus'. Gruesome descriptions of violence were no longer included, and where it was explicitly stated that it occurred, it was indicated that only 'certain' Greek Cypriots carried it out. History was generally no longer presented as a monolithic story of conflict. Social, cultural and economic history was also discussed, as opposed to only political and diplomatic history, as was the case previously. There were many example presented, from the Ottoman period to the present, of peaceful daily coexistence and cooperation between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots.[149]

Nationalists both in TRNC and the Republic of Cyprus attacked the new history book. For some Greek Cypriots, the book was seen as an attempt to give a European face, and legitimacy, to an illegal regime. As the book did not explain the history of Cyprus as a Greek island, it was thus claimed that it had not achieved true objectivity. Right-wing Turkish Cypriots criticized the book for promoting a common 'Cypriotism' and laying the grounds for erasing any signs of Turkishness in TRNC. According to them, the book glorified common Cypriots struggles, but ignored the struggles of the Turkish Cypriots and the atrocities committed against them by Greek Cypriots. Throughout the five years that the book was used, large numbers of articles were published in right-wing media, as well as several books. One such article summed up these concerns:

> First of all everyone should get this into their heads: there is no such thing as a 'Cyprus people' or 'Cypriotism'. Even if they try to make it seem like there's such a thing, and even if they use books written by the state to make people accept this, it doesn't change the facts. And while in these Cyprus History textbooks there are dozen of instances where terms like 'Cypriot person', 'Cypriot people', 'Cypriot folk', 'Cypriot', and 'Cypriot Muslims' are used, Turkishness is forgotten,

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[149] Hatay and Papadakis, *A Critical Comparison*, 43-44

and they attempt to deny it. These books are constructing the nationalism of a non-existent nation by creating a common consciousness.[150]

The issue of school history textbooks carried over into the 2009 parliamentary elections. The right-wing National Unity Party (UBP) in its election campaign promised to immediately change the textbooks if elected. Prior to the actual elections, Rauf Denktaş, gave an interview to the press on this issue, stating that the books must be reviewed by patriotic, nationalist, libertarian historians. He also expressed that Turkish Cypriots should not be proud of writing history books required by the EU, as the goal of the EU is to cut out TRNC's ties with Turkey.[151]

When the UBP came to power in April 2009, it immediately went on to fulfill its promise, and secondary schools in TRNC had new history textbooks by October. The books were based on principles of ethnic nationalism, but unlike the previous books by Serter, used colorful illustrations, study questions and other new pedagogical methods. Although many gruesome details and descriptions were left out, the tone and chronology remained the same as the books written in 1979 by Serter. This alarmed many teachers in TRNC, who saw the books as presenting nationalist history in a more attractive form to the students, and thus inherently more dangerous. Nevertheless, the textbooks currently in use in TRNC were produced in a hurry, in a very chaotic way, leading to some comic flaws, especially in the illustrations. Newspapers quickly picked these up. For example, "in describing immigration from Anatolia in 1571, the books' authors chose an illustration showing cowboys and Native Americans, complete with covered wagons."[152]

It must also be mentioned, that since the establishment of the TRNC, Turkish history has also been part of the school curriculum. It has been taught alongside, and in parallel to the official TRNC history. History of the Republic of Turkey is taught in primary schools as part of life sciences. History of the Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman

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[150] Ibid., 45.
[151] Latif, *Dilemmas*, 45.
[152] Hatay and Papadakis, *A Critical Comparison*, 45-46.

Empire is included in the secondary education, while the Principles of Atatürk and History of Revolution is taught at universities.[153]

5.2.2. National Holidays

August 16, 1960 marks the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. Both Greek and Turkish Cypriots separately celebrated it, although Turkish Cypriots did so with more enthusiasm. After the events of 1974, the situation became different. It is now the Greek Cypriots who celebrate the day, while Turkish Cypriots tend to completely ignore it. Since the events of 1963, and especially after the establishment of the TRNC, Turkish national symbolism was introduced and Turkish national holidays began being celebrated alongside Turkish Cypriot ones.[154]

TRNC now celebrates its own Independence Day on November 15. In addition to this, Turkish Cypriots celebrate August 1 as the Establishment of the TMT, also known as Social Resistance Day. Peace and Freedom Day, celebrated on July 20, commemorates the Turkish intervention in Cyprus. This day is celebrated Turkish and TRNC flag waving ceremonies and military parades.[155] Yiannis Papdakis describes these celebrations in TRNC as follows:

> *… military parades mark the most significant national commemorations. Such events provide occasions for glorification – to the point of explicit worship – of diverse types of arms in mass yearly public rituals. Such parades are set in a heroic atmosphere of flags, marching tunes praising the glory of the nation and the courage of its fighters, sometimes being accompanied by live commentary which provides information on the use and function of the weapons*

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[153] Ayten Koruroğlu and Gülsün Atanur Baskan, "An Overview and History Education in Republic of Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, (2013): 790, doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.08.933.
[154] Sylvia Tiryaki, "Nested Identities: From History Books to the Emergence of a Post-Conflict Generation in Cyprus," In *Managing Intractable Conflicts: Lessons from Moldova and Cyprus*, ed. Mensur Akgün (Istanbul: Istanbul Kültür University), 2013: 29.
[155] North Cyprus Online, *North Cyprus Public Holidays*, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.northcyprusonline.com/North-Cyprus-Online-General-Information-public-holidays.php.

along with a stream of praise for the nation and descriptions of the period and events which the parade commemorates.[156]

Turkish national holidays are celebrated in TRNC as well. These holidays revolve around the figure of Kemal Atatürk, commemorating his birth, ascent to power and death as holidays. April 23 marks the Day of Turkish National Sovereignty – the day when in 1920 the Grand National Assembly was established in Ankara, laying the foundations for a new, post-Ottoman, Turkish republic. In TRNC, much like in Turkey, it is celebrated with numerous ceremonies and performances. The same day is also Children's Day, dedicated to the children of the country, in accordance with Atatürk's views of children symbolizing the future of the new nation. May 19 is also celebrated as a double holiday - Atatürk Commemoration, and Youth and Sports Day. The day is celebrated to memorialize the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence, which began with Atatürk landing in Samsun on this day in 1919. The day also commemorates the liberation of Anatolia and Istanbul. Youth and Sports Day is celebrated in accordance with Atatürk's proclamation of May 19 as such. Celebrations are thus seen as honoring him. Numerous ceremonies are held both in Turkey and TRNC, while top civilian and military officials attend Atatürk's mausoleum, Anitkabir, in Ankara.[157]

August 30, marks Zafer Bayram, or Victory Day. This day is celebrated as the day that Atatürk led the Turkish forces to victory over Greek troops in 1922. On this day, the president, force commanders, top generals and military cadets attend a ceremony of laying wreaths at Anitkabir. The final national holiday celebrated in TRNC jointly with Turkey is Turkish Republic Day, on October 29, commemorating the declaration of independence of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.[158]

It is important to point out that a crucial part of every holiday in TRNC is thanking the motherland Turkey for saving them in 1974 and looking after them since. This has become a traditional ritual performed on all national holidays, as well as in all official meetings with Turkey. This is a tradition that has lasted over the years and has

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[156] Yiannis Papadakis, "Nationalist Imaginings of War in Cyprus," In *War: A Cruel Necessity?: The Bases of Institutionalized Violence*, eds. Robert A. Hinde and Helen Watson (London: I. B. Tauris Academic Studies), 1995: 55.
[157] North Cyprus Online, *North Cyprus Public Holidays*, Accessed June 1, 2017.
[158] Ibid.

not been, or could not have been, changed with the changing officials.

Not all historical events are considered national holidays, however, they serve as important commemorations in society. Commemorations organized by political parties tend to also draw large crowds. Parties reach their supporters in TRNC through their party-controlled or party-aligned newspapers, radio and television stations, as opposed to the actual commemorative events in themselves. The impact of these events is therefore amplified through the extensive use of media. At the same time, ideologically opposed parties give almost no coverage to others' commemorations, with the exception of strong criticism. Table 8 below provides an overview, in the form of a timeline, of commemorations organized by Turkish Cypriot parties. In the Table, the left-wing party commemorations appear on the left side, while right-wing ones appear on the right side of the timeline. Font size and boldface type are used to convey significance of events to the party concerned. Normal font and boldface type were used for the most significant, normal font for less significant and small font for even less so.

The majority of the commemorations shown in Table 8 are considered official national holidays, as post-1974 politics in TRNC have been dominated by right-wing parties, despite the presence of a very active and vociferous left-wing opposition throughout the years. The Democratic Party (DP) and the UBP have been the two major right-wing parties, with votes from well over half the population of TRNC until recently. Turkish Cypriot right-wing parties have remained rather hesitant towards any change to the status quo throughout the years following 1974. They have been uncompromising towards solutions to the Cyprus problem that would mean an accommodation with Greek Cypriots in a joint federal state. The right-wing parties have often claimed that the Cyprus problem was solved in 1974.[159] The CTP, the largest Cypriot left-wing party, which currently has the majority of seats in the Assembly, closely cooperated with the AKEL, its Greek Cypriot counterpart.

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[159] Yiannis Papadakis, "Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus," *History and Anthropology*, 14, no. 3, (2003), 263, doi:10.1080/0275720032000136642.

Table 8
Structure of Turkish Cypriot Commemorations[160]

CTP(Left): Reluctant Memories   UBP/DP: Overwhelming Memories

19 May 1919	1919	Youth and Sport Day (and memory of Ataturk's arrival at Sampsun)
23 April 1920	1920	National Sovereignty and Children's Day
30 August 1922	1922	Anniversary of Great Victory of Independence
29 October 1923	1923	Democracy Day
10 November 1938	1938	Death of Atatürk
1 August 1958	1958	Founding of TMT, Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus, Day of Armed Forces
Martyrs for Democracy (Gurkan/Hikmet and 6 TC students killed in Turkey) 24 April 1962		
21 December 1963	1963	Bloody Christmass (Week of Remembrance of Martyrs and Struggle of 1963–74)
13–20 July 1974	1974	Week of Thanksgivings to Saviour Motherland Turkey
20 July 1974	1974	Celebration of Peace and Freedom
15 November 1983	1983	TRNC Independence Day
Death of Kutlu Adali 1996		

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[160] Ibid., 259.

A smaller socialist party, the Communal Democracy Party (TDP) generally agreed with the CTP with regards to the need for a compromise solution to the Cyprus Problem. It has also been largely

sympathetic towards AKEL. The CTP and TDP openly cooperated with AKEL, and supported the bi-communal efforts of bringing the people of the two communities into contact and overcoming the effects of the division of the island. "The two Lefts in Cyprus stood in mutual sympathy and cooperation, both advocating the need for compromise to reach a federal solution, just as the two Rights stood in mutual antipathy and antagonism."[161]

Apart from politically inspired holidays and commemorations, TRNC also celebrates religious national holidays. Şeker Bayramı, or the Sugar Festival, is a holiday celebrated at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan and lasts for three days. It is celebrated mainly as a family holiday, and many Turkish Cypriots attend mosques during this feast. Also, at the northern outskirts of Nicosia a large fair is traditionally set up with rollercoaster ride, traditional food and crafts. Kurban Bayramı occurs two months after Şeker Bayramı and lasts for four days, commemorating the Koranic story of Abraham's sacrifice of Ishmael. Ritual killing and roasting of vast numbers of sheep usually mark this holiday. This custom, has, however, faded in Cyprus, as Turkish Cypriots are in terms of observance considered among the most moderate and lax Muslims worldwide. Many Turkish Cypriots do attend mosques on this day, and almost all abstain from alcohol during this holiday. Celebrated as national holidays in TRNC are also the international, non-religious holidays of New Year's Eve and Labor Day on May 1.[162]

5.3. A POLITICAL CULTURE BASED ON THE "USABLE PAST"

As the TRNC developed as a contested state, growing its state structures and establishing itself internally through state building over the years, its approach it interpreting and teaching its own history evolved. As was shown in the previous section, the history of

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[161] Ibid.
[162] North Cyprus Online, *North Cyprus Public Holidays*, Accessed June 1, 2017.

Cyprus as seen by the TRNC evolved from an apologetic one to taking a firm stand on the way they view events. It goes as far back as possible, establishing the Turkish Cypriots as the rightful inhabitants of the island.

Although not entirely involved in writing the historiography of the TRNC, Turkey played a central role in the creation of the contested state, and the national commemorations in the TRNC still reflect that. The same is true for the continuous presence of Turkish officials at these events.

This "usable past", discussed in the previous section provides a basis for further nation building within the contested state. This involves state symbols – the flag, coat of arms, and the anthem. It is further reflected in the currency, passports, visas and citizenship laws. Finally, we can see the past being used in the transformation of public spaces to reflect the new realities in the contested state. The chapter now turns to discussing these aspects in more detail.

5.3.1. Flag, Coat of Arms, Anthem and Currency[163]

Adopted by Law n°15/1984, and enacted by the Assembly on 7 March 1984, the flag of TRNC was designed on the model of the Turkish national flag. It is a white flag with a Red Crescent and star, with two thin red stripes near the top and bottom of the flag. Article 3(1) of the TRNC Law states that:

> *The Flag of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus shall be flown from buildings occupied by the Security Forces, by Government Departments, from (the) premises of public institutions and establishments, from the premises of the people's representatives abroad and from vessels owned by persons and corporate bodies and it shall be displayed on motor-cars, in and outside the Republic, of persons authorized by regulations to display the flag on their motor-cars[164]*

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[163] For visual representations of the TRNC flag and coat of arms see Appendix 2.
[164] Flags of the World, *Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus*, Accessed June 1, 2017, https://flagspot.net/flags/cy-trnc.html.

Article 5(1), nevertheless, stipulates that: "The Turkish Flag shall continue to be the national flag of the Turkish People of Cyprus.[165]

Even before landing in TRNC's (only) Ercan International Airport, one can see the gigantic TRNC flag painted on the Kyrenia Mountains[166]. Right next to it is a Turkish flag, equal in size, with the famous quote of Atatürk and the guiding principle of the Kemalist education system: "Ne mutlu Türküm diyene" – How happy is the one who says "I am Turkish".

Throughout the TRNC the Turkish flag is always displayed alongside the flag of the TRNC.[167] During my visit to Famagusta, Kyrenia and the Turkish side of Nicosia, I had not once seen the flag of the TRNC displayed on its own throughout the cities and along the roads connecting them. TRNC flags, always alongside Turkish flags, are flown throughout the state, on government buildings, university buildings, minarets, etc. An altered version of the flag, with the star missing and the crescent turned to face the opposite direction, was printed alone, unaccompanied by the Turkish flag, on products made in TRNC. The most typical and most visible of this was bottled water. When asking the local population about the reasons for such a display of flags throughout the country, many did not have an answer, while others provided slightly varying responses. Answers ranged from "The TRNC is a part of Turkey", to "It is part of the law", to "Without Turkey there would be no TRNC".

TRNC also has its own coat of arms, which is a slight modification of the coat of arms of the Republic of Cyprus. The coat of arms depicts a dove carrying an olive branch, as a universal symbol of peace, on a background of a yellow shield, which symbolizes deposits of copper ore in Cyprus. Unlike the Greek Cypriot one, the Turkish Cypriot coat of arms also has a crescent and star placed above the shield and the year 1983, which is the year of proclamation of

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[165] Ibid.

[166] In 2009 the Greek Cypriots made an official complaint to the European Commission about the TRNC flag, asking them to launch an investigation into it being an environmental hazard. Moreover, the flag has for a long time been seen as a disturbance by the Greek Cypriots. The huge image is easily visible from the Republic of Cyprus, and from many high points in Greek Nicosia. Many Greek Cypriots see it as a daily provocation and hostile action. The EU, however, rejected the Republic of Cyprus' objections in 2013.

[167] It must be noted that similarly, the Greek flag is often waved and displayed alongside the flag of the Republic of Cyprus.

independence of TRNC. In 2007, the TRNC parliament slightly modified the coat of arms, altering the direction and general shape of the dove to be different from the one used on the coat of arms of the Republic of Cyprus.

The national anthem of TRNC is İstiklâl Marşı – the Independence hymn. It is the same anthem as is used by Turkey and is prescribed within the TRNC Constitution. It is a song composed in 1920 as an inspirational song for troops fighting the Turkish War of Independence. It asks for liberty to smile upon the "heroic race".[168]

TRNC further shares the same currency with Turkey – the Turkish lira. Although there have been discussions regarding the possible introduction of an independent currency in TRNC in order to avoid high inflation due to the circulation of the lira, these discussions did not develop further as the inflation decreased. This was also due to the high dependency of TRNC's economy on Turkey. Furthermore, the head of the Central Bank of TRNC is a Turkish citizen. The Turkish lira as the official currency is not only a symbol of dependency on Turkey – it is a financial reality. Due to large amounts of financial assistance received by the TRNC from Turkey, before any budget is sent to the TRNC parliament for approval, Turkey signs a special protocol. This notifies the government of TRNC of the budgetary assistance they can receive from Turkey. Although such protocols oftentimes contain recommendations on expenditures, no penalties are enforced in this regard. The Turkish Cypriot administration may simply ask for additional funding in case of a budget deficit.[169]

5.3.2. Passports and Visas

The TRNC issues its own passports to the citizens, with the name of the TRNC printed on the front and inside of the passports. However, most world governments do not recognize these passports as valid for travel. As an option, Turkey issues passports to Turkish Cypriots to use for travel. From a legal perspective, subjects of the TRNC have the right to apply for passports of the Republic of Cyprus. These would give them an opportunity for visa-free travel to a larger

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[168] National Anthems of the World, *Turkey: İstiklâl Marşı*, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.nationalanthems.me/turkey-istiklal-marsi/.

[169] Isachenko, *The Making of Informal States*, 107.

number of countries worldwide. Legally speaking, the Republic of Cyprus is a recognized state, sovereign over the island's entirety, and thus from the perspective of Cypriot and international law, Turkish-Cypriots are its citizens. Nevertheless, obtaining a passport of the Republic of Cyprus was deemed illegal under TRNC law until 2004.

A good illustration of the situation was the so called "passport scandal", which occurred in TRNC when two newspapers, Kibris and Yeni Düzen, announced a statement by the government on April 12 and 14, 1998. The government announced that the holders of passports of the Republic of Cyprus will be charged a fine of 2 billion Turkish liras and be given prison sentences of 5 months. This caused much panic, as many Turkish Cypriots were afraid of being found of having citizenship or registration from the Republic of Cyprus. As the Denktaş administration continued threatening citizens out of applying for documents, Turkish Cypriots saw the holding of a Cypriot passport as a shameful crime, or as compliance with the Greek Cypriot policy on the island. Nevertheless, many opted for it in order to escape Cyprus. Furthermore, holding a passport and identity card from the Republic of Cyprus entitles Turkish Cypriots to all the social and medical benefits of the Republic.[170]

Like in many parts of the world, passports are an expensive commodity in TRNC, with a high demand as well as a large market. Until 1994, the United Kingdom did not impose visas on holders of TRNC passports. This meant that it was easier to gain access to the United Kingdom with an unrecognized TRNC passport than with a recognized passport from Turkey. A significant number of Turkish citizens illegally bought TRNC passports for high prices from the passport mafia operating in TRNC, large numbers of whom them traveled visa-free to the United Kingdom and, avoiding visa restrictions upon arrival, would seek asylum in the country. Since 1994, the Home Office of the United Kingdom has imposed visas on holders of TRNC passports. These complications also meant that in 2003, before checkpoints on the division line across the island opened, it became harder to legally obtain a passport of the Republic of Cyprus. This was especially true for Turkish Cypriots born after 1974, as the Republic of Cyprus is generally stricter in its policies

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[170] Yael Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 2012: 107-108.

towards these individuals, with the aim of distinguishing between Turkish Cypriots and settlers who arrived from Turkey.[171]

Throughout the years Turkish Cypriot interest in Republic of Cyprus' passports steadily grew. Even when the borders were still completely sealed, in 2001, the Greek Cypriot newspaper *Cyprus Mail* reported that 817 passports were issued in the first eight months of that year. This was a considerable increase from 448 passports issued in 2000, and 317 issued in 1999. [172] In 2006 it was estimated that 57,308 Turkish Cypriots have Cyprus identity cards, 32,185 are passport holders.55 In 2011 this number allegedly increased.[173]

In October 2011, TRNC witnessed another passport scandal, when *Yeni Düzen* reported that the TRNC Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Youth and Sports, Health, and Economy and Energy are all holders of Republic of Cyprus' passports. The article went on to report that Hüseyin Özgürgün, the TRNC Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, made a statement at Turkey's Assembly that 100,000 Turkish Cypriots are holders of passports from the Republic of Cyprus. He went on to state that the Greek Cypriots were engaged in deceiving the younger generation in TRNC with their passports. This was described as a 'dangerous development'. Official and unofficial Greek Cypriot, Greek and TRNC news portals and online media, some of which translated the text to English, picked up the news.[174]

Turkey introduced a policy of its own with regard to TRNC citizens and their passports. In 2008, Turkey began the policy of forbidding

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[171] Ibid., 108.

[172] Ibid., 120

[173] Noted in Isachenko, *The Making of Informal States*, 186.

[174] Ministry of Interior, Republic of Cyprus, *Turkish Cypriot and Turkish Media Review 12/10/2011. No. 194/11*, Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, Accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/AllB99968FC991D7CFAC22579270 03C3AC8?OpenDocument&print.
North Cyprus Free Press RSS, *TRNC Foreign Minister criticizes TCs holding RoC passports despite allegedly having one*, Accessed June 1, 2015, http://northcyprusfreepress.com/law/trnc-foreign-ministerscriticises-tcs-holding-roc-passports-despite-allegedly-having-one/.
Fani Toli, "Ministers of Unrecognized Turkish-Cypriot Government Use Republic of Cyprus Passports." *Greek Report.com*, 2011, Accessed June 1, 2015, http://greece.greekreporter.com/2011/10/13/ministersof-unrecognized-turkish-cypriot-government-use-republic-of-cyprus-passports/.

Turkish Cypriots leaving the TRNC through Turkey without TRNC passports. This policy ensured that every Turkish Cypriot who wanted to travel abroad beyond Turkey had a TRNC passport, as the only direct flights from TRNC are to Turkey. All EU citizens, including Greek Cypriots, as well as citizens of many other countries are, however, now allowed to travel freely to the TRNC without visas.[175]

5.3.3. Transformation of Cultural Landscapes and Public Spaces

There have been significant transformations in North Cyprus in terms of its public spaces and cultural heritage, most of which has been highly political. These changes began even before TRNC declared its independence, and are most visible in the renaming of places, the transformation of the cultural landscape and the erection of monuments and landmarks throughout its territory. There have been overwhelming efforts at Turkification of the North, especially when compared to the Republic of Cyprus, where a status quo has been maintained in terms of preserving Turkish street names and names of places, as well as mosques and properties of Turkish Cypriots who left. In TRNC, on the other hand, there have been many efforts to erase the signs of Greek heritage and culture.

A field study conducted in 1992 reveled a complete cultural landscape transformation of the North. Greek churches were the first to be transformed. Many were desecrated, through actions of plunder, sacrilege, destruction and the illegal trade in icons, mosaics, and other sacred items removed from the churches, this practice peeked especially in 1976 and 1977, with the involvement of the Turkish army. The TRNC authorities later restored a number of these churches. Some churches were converted into mosques, such as the Church of the Virgin Mary in Kyrenia. Since 1974 this was also the fate of at least 59 other Orthodox churches in TRNC; others were turned into museums, such as the St Barnabas church; others into hotels, like the Ayia Anastasia Monastary; while many were simple

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[175] The official website of the Office of the London Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus specifies only Nigerian and Armenian passport holders as required to apply for a visa to TRNC prior to their visit.

let to disintegrate with time and no care, such as the Kanakaria church in Karpass.[176]

Greek statues and monuments were removed in the North and replaced with those important to the Turkish Cypriots. Generally leadership figures are embodied in the statues and monuments, this is also the case in TRNC. First and foremost, such a figure is Atatürk. His image appears in statues, busts, silhouettes on hilltops, public posters, in government offices, schools and even some homes. Examples of this are in the center of Nicosia, at the Kyrenia Gate, where a large monument to Atatürk has been in place since 1963, the statue of Atatürk at the waterfront in Kyrenia, erected in 1983, and the silhouette of Atatürk reproduced from the Atatürk Kocatepede – Atatürk on Kocatepede – photograph, from the Turkish War of Independence, on a hilltop between Nicosia and Kyrenia. Fazil Küçük's image is also seen in many monuments, for example in the Inonu Square in Nicosia, or the Gonyeli Monument of National Struggle and Independence, where he is depicted together with Rauf Denktaş. Denktaş's words are engraved in the monument, which in English reads – "A nation that learnt the secret of freedom from its martyrs cannot be subjugated".

There are also a few statues to İsmet İnönü, the next president of Turkey after Atatürk. Apart from these figures, however, the likenesses of known people do not appear in national monuments and memorials.[177]

Memorial cemeteries are considered national sites for Turkish Cypriots. There are a number of such cemeteries, which are built for burying the dead of particular events. There are also memorialized cemeteries, where, in retrospect, a wider meaning has been given to a group of graves. These are usually pre-1974 graves. Public cemeteries with a special section for martyrs graves and, oftentimes, a memorial monument, also exist. [178] Kyrenia and its surrounding areas, for example has a large number of such sites, as there are large numbers of monuments to the fallen and graves of martyrs. Halil İbrahim Karaoğlanoğlu, a commander in the Turkish army during the "Cyprus Peace Operation" who lost his life on the second

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[176] Nurit Kliot and Yoel Mansfield. "The Political Landscape of Partition. The Case of Cyprus." *Political Geography* 16, no. 6 (1997), 511.
[177] Mehmet Adil, "Visibility 600 Metres: Reflections on the National Monuments of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus." (DCA Thesis, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, 2007): 72.
[178] Ibid., 77.

day of fighting, and Fehmi Ercan, a Turkish squadron leader and pilot who was killed in the first day of "Cyprus Peace Operation", and after whom the International Airport in TRNC is named, both have tombs in Kyrenia. There are also the Karaoğlanoğlu Martyrs Graves, the Limmasol Martyr's graves, the Maritime Martyr's Monument, the Bogaz Martyr's Monument, and the Taşkent Martyr's Monument. In Nicosia there is also a Martyr's Memorial at the Ortaköy Cemetery.[179]

There are also a number of larger monuments to fallen soldiers and war memorials, as well as a number of monuments in celebration of TRNC's statehood. Examples of these include the Victory and Independence Monument in Famagusta, erected in 1980, and the Monument to the Turkish Fallen in Nicosia, which has a caption on black marble in Turkish, the translation reads: "What makes a flag a flag is the blood on it. Soil becomes homeland once blood is shed for it". Amongst examples of the more recent monuments is the Turkish Resistance Movement Monument in Nicosia, erected in 2002; the World Peace Monument of 2005, which has a plaque in Greek, English and Turkish, which reads – "For World Regeneration and Peace"; the Limmasol- Kyrenia Martyrs and Independence Monument, which was erected in 2005 – the central statues of the grand monument are a man and a woman holding hands, and in the other hand each of the two is raising an olive branch. Numerous Turkish flags and a flag of TRNC surround the monument. Part of the monument is also the Fallen Man and Lamenting Woman statue, as well as the Family Group statue.[180]

An important aspect of Turkifying the North was the renaming of places and streets. After 1974, many places, villages, in particular, fell into three categories – those that already had Turkish names and did not need to be renamed; villages that had both Turkish and Greek names, and where the Turkish name was thus adopted as the official one; and the most significant category of places, which were completely Greek prior to 1974, and thus had only Greek names. The places in this last category were given completely new Turkish names. Some Turkish communities, which moved as a whole to the north from the south of the island, went on to adopt the Turkish name of their original village in the south, as they resented the nationalistic names that were imposed on their new places of residence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. However the renaming of villages in the north in modern times can be traced back to the 1950s.

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[179] Kıbrıs Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi, *Undiscovered Cities of North Cyprus,* Accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.neu.edu.tr/en/node/633.
[180] Ibid.

Consequently, by as early as 1969, the Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration changed 230 Greek Cypriot place names into Turkish ones. In 1991, C.P. Ioannides published a study on the TRNC, listing 63 villages, towns and cities inhabited by Anatolian settlers, which were renamed by TRNC authorities. For each place Ioannides provides the Greek name, the Ottoman name, and the new post-1974 Turkish name. This revealed that the TRNC authorities did not trust the 'Turkishness' of the old Ottoman names, introducing new ones for each.[181]

The Cyprus Centre of the Peace Research Institution Oslo (PRIO) composed a comprehensive website as part of its project 'Dialogue for Trust-Building and Reconciliation: Cypriots Seeking New Approaches to the Property Issue'. Amongst other resources such as maps, legal issues and life stories, the website provides information on every village, town and city in Cyprus, including its previous name and date when it was changed, as well as the English, Greek and Turkish names, and an explanation of each names meaning and origin.[182]

For example, Famagusta, which is the English name of the city, has many theories on the origin of the name. The most widely accepted explanation is that the name is derived from Greek 'Ammochostos', meaning 'buried in sand'. It is then claimed that the name was changed from Ammochostos to Famagusta during the medieval period. And since 1571, the Ottomans and local Turkish Cypriots have called it Mağusa. However, in 1974, Turkish Cypriots renamed the city to Gazi Mağusa, meaning 'Famagusta the war hero'. The village under the Greek name Spathariko has an obsure origin. In Greek Spathrion means a 'bodyguard' or 'man of the sword', however, in medieval times the village was called St. Patarios. During the Ottoman census of 1831, the village's name was entered into the documents as Ispetariko. After 1974, Turkish Cypriots renamed the village to Öküten, which was the name of the village from which the inhabitants had come from in the south. Originally, Öküten was the Turkish name of the Menoyia village in the south. Another curious example is the village under the Greek name Vokolida, which in ancient Greek means 'shepherdess'. In 1975, Turkish Cypriots named the village Bafra, which is a region in Turkey. Bafra is also a cigarette brand name. Many villages in the

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181 Kliot and Mansfield, *The Political Landscape*, 512.
182 PRIO Cyprus Centre, *Internal Displacement in Cyprus. Mapping the Consequences of Civil and Military Strife, Accessed June 1, 2017,* http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net.

Karpaz (greek – Karpasia) region were similarly renamed after Turkish cigarette brands. Thus, Greek village Vothylakas became Derince, Vasili became Gelincik, Agia Trias became Sipahi, and Gialousa became Maltepe, later to be renamed as Yeni Erenköy. A common explanation for such name choices was that the region was the main tobacco growing area in Cyprus.[183]

5.4. THE CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS

The previous section demonstrated the heavy involvement of Turkey in the building of the political culture. Turkish nation building was either used as inspiration when designing the TRNC symbology or used directly as is in Turkey. All these efforts were and are aimed at Turkifying the North of the island.

Traditions and institutions also draw from the 'usablle past' and build up the political culture. In this section, we turn to discussing the way the TRNC wants to visualize its own view of its history by looking at the museums it has built. Then we take a look at the TRNC's representation abroad and contact with other states to see its positioning in the international system and which entities recognizes it through established relations. Finally, this section discusses the civil society in the TRCN, to see whether there is another version of the nation building in place, whether the citizens are actively involved in addressing the various issues occurring in the contested states and how far-reaching the influence of such a part of society is in reality, given the shaky state structures and international standing.

5.4.1. Museums

Since TRNC is not internationally recognized as a state, its access to legitimate international aid to preserve the island's cultural heritage has been very limited. After 1974, this became a big issue, since the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus has been barred from access to the archaeological sites, monuments and museums in TRNC. Many international organizations and

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[183] Ibid.

individuals have reported serious amounts of damage and thefts, as well as relocation of valuable artifacts, neglecting and dispersal of museum and private collections. The TRNC administration created its own Department of Antiquities and Museums in 1975, with the goal of protecting and managing monument, museums, artifacts, ancient and religious buildings. Some emergency work has since been undertaken with the funding of the UN. The Department of Antiquities and Museums declares that "the aim of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is to preserve and restore not only its own Turkish Cypriot heritage but also that of Greek Cypriot and other civilizations (past and present) within the context of Cypriot art", and responds to criticisms of neglect and support of illegal activities in this regard by arguing that "progress has been limited because of inadequate financial resources, shortage of skilled labor and Greek Cypriot embargo, which prevents aid flow to Northern Cyprus from international organizations such as UNESCO".[184]

The Department acknowledges the serious problem of looting and illegal digging, as many important archeological sites remain open to the public. Nevertheless, central to the debate are antiquities and the question of what constitutes heritage as well as whose heritage it is.

Broadly speaking, establishment of museums in Cyprus can be categorized into three main phases: the first, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century until 1955; the second in the period between 1955 and 1974; and the third in the period after 1974. Although such a division is rather schematic and there is some overlapping, it can be said that the first phase is characterized by colonial influences along with a strong wish to claim ownership of the local cultural heritage by local agents. It ends with the struggle against British rule, which began in 1955. The second phase is largely characterized by the need to commemorate the struggles and suffering that marked the years 1955-1974. Finally, the third phase is characterized by the need to preserve and promote a growing sense of national identity.[185]

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[184] Alexandra Bounia and Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert, "National Museums in Cyprus: A Story of Heritage and Conflict," *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010. Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011,* Linköping University, 2011: 170-171, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/009/ecp64009.pdf.
[185] Ibid., 165.

According to the TRNC Department of Antiquities and Museums there are 15 museums in the North, as well as an online museum. The online museum – The Turkish Cypriot Online Museum of Fine Arts – includes a virtual collection of paintings, sculptures and ceramics, fashion and design, photography, cinema and caricature created by Turkish Cypriot and Turkish artists. This list does not include the District Archaeological Museum of Ammochostos (Famagusta), which is mentioned by the Greek Cypriot authorities as plundered.

Additionally, there are two more museums runs jointly by the Department of Antiquities and the Military. These are the National Struggle Museum, opened in 1989, to "remember and teach about the struggles undertaken by Turkish Cypriots from 1878 to the present day" and the Museum of Peace and Freedom, to commemorate Turkish and Turkish Cypriot soldiers who died during the 1974 events, dedicated to the memory of Commander İbrahim Karaoğlanoğlu.[186] These two museums together with the Museum of Barbarism, which was established in Nicosia in 1963, do not present the art of a specific historical period of the island, but is dedicated to a political and national historical event. In these museums he TRNC chose to "remember" and thus commemorate certain aspects of their history and ignore other aspects according to current political events, with the intention of educating future generations, as well as visitors of the island. However, while other similar museums in other countries of the world also aspire to promote tolerance, reconciliation and the avoidance of future violence, these museums seem to make no such attempts. The narratives do not include the perspectives of the other side and create a clear separation between 'us' and 'them', with an unambiguous priority to a clear, straightforward nationalistic narrative.[187]

These sentiments are well represented by the Turkish Cypriot fighters' anthem displayed at the entrance to the National Struggle Museum:

> A spark is burning inside the fighter.
> It is the flame of Turkishness.
> There is nothing like this on the face
> of the earth.
>
> Cyprus can't be Greek.

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[186] Ibid., 171.
[187] Ibid., 180-181.

The Turkish fighters will not stop.
Either Turkish Cyprus will exist
or the fighter won't live.

If the Greeks come and stand in line
and even if the whole world comes with them
until the fighters die
this earth won't be given to them.[188]

5.4.2. Representation Abroad and Contact with Other States

As Turkey is the only country that formally recognizes TRNC as an independent state, Ankara is the only city with a formal TRNC Embassy. It opened as the Ankara Bureau of the Turkish Cypriot Community in 1966. It was then changed to the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration Representation in 1974, and then to the Head Office of Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in 1975, and since 1983 began serving as a formal Embassy of TRNC. TRNC has three more consular offices in Turkey – the Consulate General of TRNC in Istanbul, and Consulates in Antalya and Mersin. Reciprocally, Turkey has an embassy in Nicosia. It is the only country with a formal diplomatic representation in TRNC. Serving as TRNC's 'window to the world', Turkey and TRNC have signed numerous agreements in the recent years. These amongst others include – in 1990 a declaration on cooperation and support in politics and economy was signed; in 1997 measures for economic and financial integration and partial integration of defense, foreign policy and security were announced, as well as an agreement on association was signed; an agreement on cooperation in coast protection, sea navigation, air communication, joint search and rescue activities was signed in 2002; in 2003 a framework for a customs union was signed; and since 2005 the Turkish government is further investing in communication complexes and pipelines.[189]

TRNC does, however, have contact with other countries. This is achieved through Offices of Representatives. These foreign

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[188] Translation from Turkish by Yiannis Papadakis in: Yiannis Papadakis, "The National Struggle Museums of a Divided City," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17.3 (1994): 408.

[189] Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Ankara Büyükelçiliği, Accessed June 1, 2017, http://kktcbe.org.tr.

missions of TRNC do not have formal diplomatic status under the provisions of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations in the countries where they are located, yet de facto serve as embassies and consulates. An Honorary Representative is also appointed in various cities to assist the Offices and represent TRNC. In the United States, TRNC has two Offices. The Office of TRNC in New York is the de facto mission and de facto Consulate-General to the UN. The Office handles tourist information and visa matters, as well as carries out official and unofficial contacts with the UN and other missions located there. The New York Office works independently from the TRNC's Representative Office in Washington D.C. which serves as the de facto embassy to the United States. Both offices are nevertheless considered by the Unites States' government to be information centers with personnel with non-diplomatic visas.[190]

Since 2010, the TRNC Representative Office to the United States (Washington D.C.) is facing a legal class action, coordinated by an American Attorney of Greek decent, Athan Tsimpedes. Tsimpedes is pursuing, in the United States courts, on behalf of Greek Cypriots, against the TRNC as a commercial enterprise. He claims that the TRNC operates as a commercial enterprise, with its staff working on business, not diplomatic, visas in the United States, selling stolen properties with false titles, owned by British and Greek Cypriots, in the northern parts of Cyprus. Tsimpedes claims that the profits from these sales are processed through the HSHC plc bank. As of the writing of this work, the class action is still ongoing.[191]

Representative Offices similar to the one in the United States have been established in the following countries: Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Germany (Berlin, Bonn/Köln, Bavaria), Italy, Israel, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan (Economy and Tourism Office), Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates and United Kingdom (Representative Office and Tourism Office). In all other countries of the world TRNC's interests are served by

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[190] Ercan International Airport (ECN) Northern Cyprus, *TRNC Embassies Abroad,* Accessed June 1, 2015,
http://www.ercanairportnorthcyprus.com/visa-requirements/trnc-embassies-abroad/.
[191] Lobby for Cyprus, *US Class Action Explained*, Accessed June 1, 2017,
http://www.lobbyforcyprus.org/statement.aspx?id=1187.
Tsimpedes Law Firm, Accessed June 1, 2017,
http://www.tsimpedeslaw.com.

Embassies of Turkey. Since 2005, a part of the Representative Office in Belgium is also the Turkish Cypriot Commerce Chamber, which is recognized by the EU as an authority issuing certificates for goods produced in TRNC that are valid in the territory of the EU.[192]

Representative Offices of TRNC are also actively engaged in the promotion of TRNC abroad. These promotional activities and their goals can be classified into two main categories: – 1. Marketing of TRNC as a potential tourist destination, especially in countries of Western Europe; 2. Lobbying the international community and individual countries against the political and economic isolation of TRNC. In spite, or because of, these efforts 60-65 percent of tourists to TRNC come from Turkey, while all other countries account for the remaining 35-40 percent. With regards to the task of political promotion of TRNC abroad, it was the responsibility of only Rauf Denktaş until 2003. The former President of TRNC was the only person meeting with leaders of other states. Since 2003, the President and his team of advisers are responsible for promoting TRNC in North America and Europe. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for contact with all of the other countries. However, the largest problems encountered in the process of the promotion of TRNC abroad are legal and practical in nature. Outside the TRNC and Turkey, the name 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' cannot be legally used, due to its unrecognized status. This makes promotion without mentioning it in name rather difficult. This legal situation also means that TRNC cannot legally have a website with a 'gov' web address, refrained to using 'org' instead. The internationally recognized government of the Republic of Cyprus uses the 'gov.cy' domain.[193]

Australia, Germany, United Kingdom and the United States have Representative Offices in TRNC. The Representative Office of the Association of French Culture is also present in TRNC, as is a European Union Support Office. The EU legally considers TRNC as EU territory under foreign military occupation. This indefinitely

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[192] Ercan International Airport (ECN) Northern Cyprus, *TRNC Embassies,* Accessed June 1, 2015
[193] Baruck Opiyo and Serra İnci Çelebi, "Public Relations and Nation-Building Under Political Isolation: The Case of Northern Cyprus," in *Communication in Peace/Conflict in Communication*, eds. Tuğrul İlter et al. (Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2008), 49.

exempts the territory from EU legislation until a settlement has been reached.[194]

5.4.3. Civil Society

'Moderate' trade unions can be considered the oldest parts of the Turkish Cypriot civil society. They have been ideologically positioned on the political left, and have been highly critical of the right-wing governing elites. Examples of these include the Cyprus Turkish Teachers Trade Union (KTOS) or the Cyprus Turkish Civil Servants Trade Union (KTAMS). During the 1970s, there was a rise in Turkish Cypriot civil initiatives, which aimed at reconciliation with the Greek Cypriots and which were highly dissatisfied with the normalization of the island's division. Initiatives, such as the 'New Cyprus Association' were, however, short lived. The 1990s witnessed a new wave of the emergence of the Turkish Cypriot civil society. Various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were established, encompassing a wider range of interests of bi-communal reconciliation. These included issues related to the environment, educations and the arts, nevertheless, remaining enriched with an ongoing issue of reconciliation.[195]

Generally speaking, the Turkish Cypriot civil society had, over the years, remained largely preoccupied with the Cyprus issue. Most of the existing organizations were dominantly moderate in their views, prescribing to a left wing in ideology, which remained in much opposition to the hard-line political elites, leading to a civil opposition. The governing elites' dominance of the socio-political scene led to the suppression of the civil society's development. Underdevelopment, lack of professionalization, absence of a legal framework to protect and promote the civil society, as well as international isolation which did not allow international narratives of organized civil society to penetrate TRNC, all additionally burdened its development.[196]

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[194] Cypnet, *Foreign Missions in North Cyprus, Accessed June 1, 2017,* http://www.cypnet.co.uk/ncyprus/tourism/missionsincyp.html.
[195] George Kyris, "Europeanization beyond Contested Statehood: The European Union and Turkish-Cypriot Civil Society," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, (2013), doi:10.1111/jcms.12035.
[196] Ibid.

The period between 2002 and 2004 was a very crucial time for Turkish Cypriot civil society. The impending accession of Cyprus to the EU and the Annan Plan set the Turkish Cypriot civil society into motion. The plan that aimed to reunite the island was first revealed in November 2002. Separate, simultaneous referenda were held in the Republic of Cyprus and TRNC in April 2004. The plan was rejected by the Greek Cypriot community but endorsed by the Turkish Cypriots. The results of the Turkish Cypriot referendum and the mobilization of support for the plan and the EU are largely credited to the role of the civil society in TRNC.[197]

Following the referendum in TRNC, the CIVICUS World Alliance for Citizen Participation conducted the CIVICUS Civil Society Index project in Cyprus in the period from March to September 2005. Carried out in cooperation with the Management Centre of the Mediterranean, Intercollege, the Eastern Mediterranean University and EKart Ltd., the Civil Society Index project was a comprehensive and participatory assessment of civil society. It was the first time a project of this sort was attempted in Cyprus. Its aim was at analyzing and assessing the civil society in both the Republic of Cyprus and TRNC. Civil society was assessed in terms of the four dimensions of civil society - its structure, the environment in which it operates, the values it promotes and shares, and its impact. Each of the four dimensions has a set of sub-dimensions, which in turn are made up of a set of individual indicators. These indicators formed the basis for the data collections and included secondary data sources, a population survey, regional stakeholder consultations, a media review and a series of case studies. The findings of the report reflected the important period immediately after the Annan Plan debate. Figure 1 shows the results of the project in TRNC in a civil society diamond.[198]

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[197] CIVICUS Civil Society Index Future Report for Cyprus, *An Assessment of Civil Society in Cyprus. A Map for the Future*,The Management Centre of the Mediterranean and Intercollege (2005): 16.
[198] Ibid., 17.

Figure 1
Civil Society Diamond for TRNC
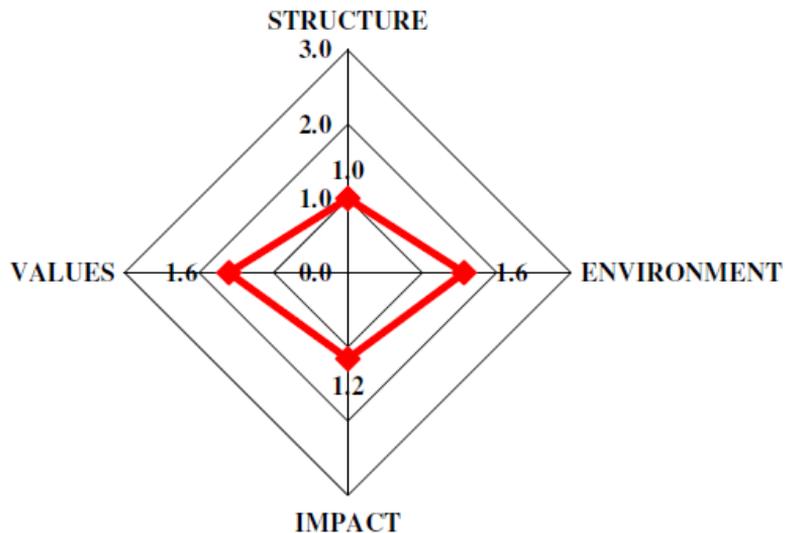
When examining the structure of the civil society in TRNC, the CIVICUS project found that civic participation in civil society remains rather limited. An exception to this was only the mass demonstrations for and against the Annan Plan. According to the report, during the time leading up to the referendum,

> … *support for the Plan was galvanized by ad hoc umbrella organizations. To the extent that these umbrella organizations exist, they have proven effective. A major inhibitor for the establishment of more formal umbrella organizations is legal constraints, since specific legal provisions for their establishment do not exist. Thus, aside from sports federations, which are numerous, such organizations are limited.*[199]

Inadequate levels of financial, human or infrastructural resources continue to hinder the development of civil society in TRNC, although a significant portion of Turkish Cypriots belong to civil society

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[199] Ibid.

organizations (CSOs) or have been part of some form of non-partisan political action. Volunteerism remains low. Participation in bi-communal events, together with Greek Cypriots, was also very low. However, there were generally very little such cosponsored or organized events in Cyprus. Furthermore, minorities, poor people, workers, 'settlers' from Turkey, as well as other social groups, were largely excluded from CSOs. Although women were equally represented in their level of involvement, men predominantly held the leadership positions in CSOs.

Despite the presence of Turkish troops in TRNC, as well as a high dependency on Turkey on a number of levels, civil society in TRNC exists in an environment that is considered to be politically free; civil liberties are, for the most part, respected. Regardless of the fact of TRNC's international isolation for more the 40 years, the socio-economic context is largely favorable, mainly due to generous transfers from Turkey over the decades. On the other hand, these transfers have increased the levels of dependency of TRNC on Turkey, consequently influencing the TRNC's government's autonomy in policymaking and implementation. Since Turkey fully finances various projects, the government of TRNC has little leverage and must work in tandem with authorities in Ankara. Other problems influencing the environment the civil society operates in are that the rule of law is compromised by patronage, state centralization, with the state unaccountably controlling resources, and a lack of transparency within the public administration. Political parties lack internal democracy. Press freedoms are sometimes curtailed and journalists have been charged for various offences in military court. Acts of intimidation, arson and murder are rare but have been documented.

In terms of the extent to which civil society practices and promotes positive values, in TRNC they were assessed as moderate. Society in TRNC was a relatively tolerant one, and a particular strength in commitment to non-violence was detected among civil society actors. Although a variety of CSOs spoke out against the use of violence and in favor of inclusion, the report points out that not all civil society actors and CSOs share the same orientation. "… a small group of CSOs and members of society remain committed to a more exclusive concept of society based on ethnicity, and for a few violence remains a legitimate means."[200]

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[200] Ibid., 18.

Figure 2
TRNC Civil Society Map
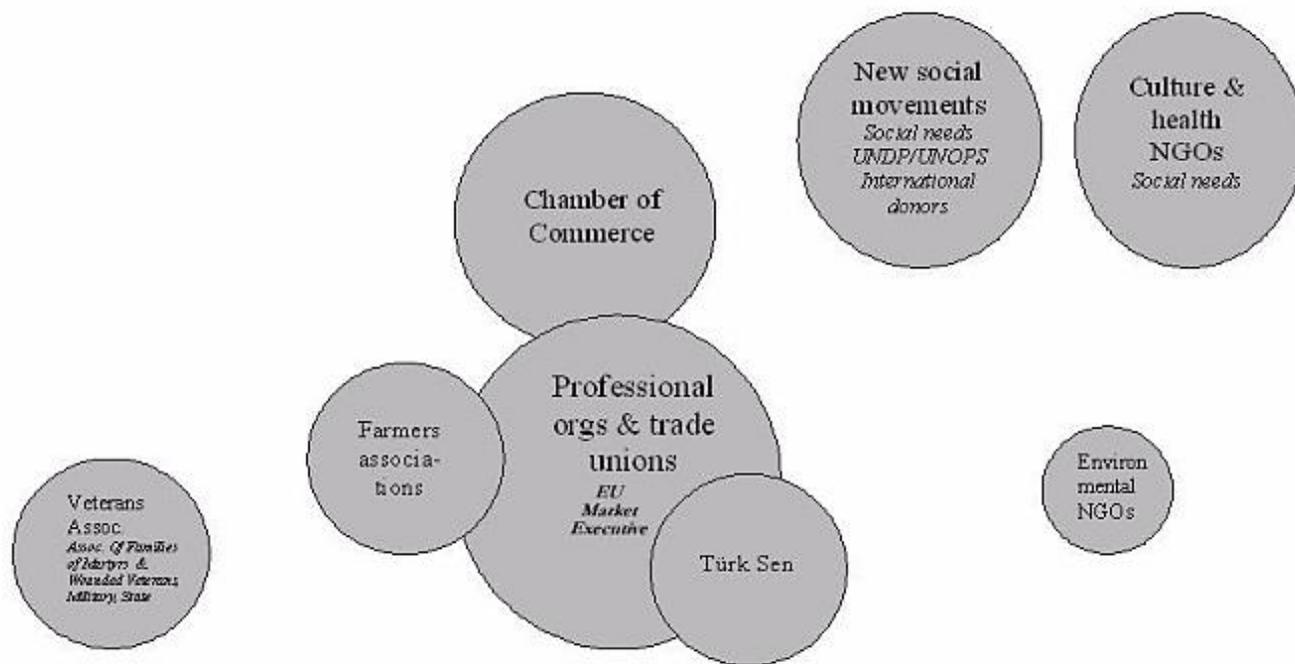
Figure 3
TRNC Social Forces Map

Public Orgs (state)

Legis-lative (state)

Judic-iary (state)

NGOs (CS)

Private Media (market)

Political parties (PP)

Party in power (PP) *Voters*

Trade/ Prof Orgs (CS)

Private Sector (market)

Other External Influences (Other) EU/USA

Executive (state) *Voters Turkish Embassy*

Univs (market) *YOK*

Turkish Media (other)

Turkey (Other)

Military/ Security forces (state) *Turkey*

Public Media (state)

Rauf R. Denktas (other) *Turkish Military*

PP = political parties
CS = civil society

The final aspect of analysis presented in the report was on the impact dimension of civil society's influence. It was assessed as relatively insignificant. Although CSOs played an extraordinary role in rallying support for the Annan Plan, impact in other areas remained very limited. According to the report, it is possible to divide the CSOs in TRNC into two categories in terms of their impact. There are those CSOs that include trade and public sector unions, as well as private sector chambers that strive for the interest and benefits of their members. Special laws in TRNC protect such CSOs. On the other hand, there are NGOs working for the public in general. These include for example environmental and health organizations that do not enjoy the protection and benefits of special laws. Good examples of this situation are teachers' syndicates. They have been effective in bargaining for higher wages, but have not been as effective in

curricular issues. Likewise, a success in negotiating public sector wages and minimal wages among trade unions does not translate into impact in the overall budgetary process in TRNC. The report concludes that,

> In a number of areas, including environmental protection, traffic regulations, and other areas of concern to citizens, and where CSO lobbying efforts are apparent, policy changes are not always forthcoming. Not surprisingly, civil society is not successful in holding either the 'state' or private sector accountable. Where civil society seems more adept is in responding to social interests, and empowering citizens through information campaigns.[201]

As part of the CIVICUS project, a good visual representation of the major forces within society and civil society in TRNC was created with the aim of investigating the relations between these forces.

Figure 2 provides a closer look at the civil society sector and its important actors and present polarization.[202] Figure 3 shows the social forces map of TRNC[203]. The larger the circle, the more power this actor is believed to have. The different shades represent the societal sectors to which the respective actor belongs: the state, political parties, civil society, business (market), or external forces. The map shows a strong predominance of the actors, but also acknowledges the important role of the Turkish Embassy and military. Rauf Denktaş is presented as a unique actor within civil society and was categorized as his own state actor, with his circle overlapping with the military and Turkey. This implies his alignment with Turkey, as opposed to other social forces. A marginal role of the legislative and judicial branches of TRNC government is shown in the figure as well. The same is true for the civil society and the private sector. Furthermore, civil society appears to be divided, or even polarized, into NGOs on the one hand, and trade and professional organizations on the other.

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[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid., 119.
[203] Ibid., 118.

5.5. CONCLUSION

The TRNC, chosen as the first case study places on the lower end of the spectrum in terms of international recognitions, however, is the longest existing contested state in Europe.

In this chapter, empirical data for the TRNC was presented. After an overview of the history of the territory, detailed information on the nation building processes currently occurring in the TRNC was presented. This chapter first discussed the creation of a 'usable past', looking into how the local historiography evolved in the TRNC. It traced the evolution and change of attitude and approaches to the way Turkish Cypriots interpreted their own history, from an apologetic one, to one that became very straightforward and determined in its narrative. The chapter then looked at which historic events have the most significance to the Turkish Cypriots, through the discussion of the national holidays, then turning to the national symbology, and how it is linked the history of the TRNC.

The chapter discussed the transformation of the public spaces and the Turkifying efforts that occurred. The role of Turkey, as the patron state and the only non-contested state that recognizes the TRNC, that has economic and political relations with it, was addressed. However, the link between Turkey and the TRNC goes deeper, as the two are linked through history, language and national ties. The TRNC is economically and politically dependent on Turkey. We see here the parallel existence of two nation building processes – one of Turkey and one of the TRNC. Some might argue that the population would identify with the patron as the home of their nation, while the TRNC is the state they live in. Nevertheless, a distinction between Turkish Cypriot and Turkish residents of the TRNC is strictly made, pointing towards a national identification linked directly to the island.

6. CASE STUDY 2: PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC

The Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), along with its parent state, Moldova, is placed in quite a unique situation from the perspective of history. Although the independent Republic of Moldova was confronted with similar inter-ethnic problems as other post-Soviet states, its contemporary history has been one of constant change and contestation of territory, identities and loyalties. In fact, it can be said that it is an artificial state that only emerged as an independent entity with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Republic of Moldova is a successor of the Moldovan SSR, which was established in 1940 with the Soviet Union's seizing of Bessarabia. It was joined with a narrow strip of land of the former Moldovan Autonomous SSR, stretching over 200 kilometers along the left bank of the Dniester River. This strip is modern day PMR, also referred to as Transnistria, Trans-Dniester, or the Dniestr Republic[204], to mention some, depending on the source. Hereinafter,

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[204] These names are adaptations of the Romanian colloquial name for the geographic region of Transnistria, meaning 'beyond the River Dniester'. Currently, all official Moldovan documents refer to it as *Unitățile*

this work will refer to the geographic region as Transnistria, and the contested entity as PMR, unless directly quoting a source, where the original will be kept.

Transnistria and Bessarabia, the two comprising parts of the former Moldovan SSR and, subsequently, Republic of Moldova, have had two separate histories up until the 1940s.[205] This case study chapter will first briefly discuss the ancient and medieval history of Transnistria to understand the origins of the people and historical development of the region. Following that, it will turn to discussing the contemporary history of Transnistria and Moldova, within the context of the pan-Romanian movement and Russian Empire and subsequently the Soviet Union with the intent of clarifying the origins of conflict and Transnistria's path to proclaiming independence. The historical overview of the territory is especially important in this case, since the Transnistrian nation as such does not exist, nor does the PMR claim to have one at its origin or have created one. As there was no previous historical national movement until the events that created the PMR, looking back in history before moving forward with understanding the current situation will equip use with the necessary insight.

Following the historical overview, the chapter will then present the findings on the nation building processes occurring in the entity. It is structured the same way as the first case study.

6.1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE: THE REGION OF TRANSNISTRIA

The name of the Transnistrian region is derived from the river Dniester, or in Romanian – Nistru. Dniester had been for centuries the eastern border of the Principality of Moldavia. The name has a Celtic origin; it is related to Ister or Danube, Dnieper and Don, meaning watercourse. In ancient times, the area of Transnistria was inhabited by Thracian and Scythian tribes. Around 600 BC Ancient

Greeks of Miletus arrived in the area, naming the Dniester River Tyras, and giving the same name to their colony. In the third volume of his *Guide to Geography*, Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy wrote that the Tyras River flowed at the eastern border of the Kingdom of Dacia. Tyras, first falling into the hands of local kings and then being destroyed by the Dacians around 50 BC, seems to have been restored by the Romans around 56 AD. Roman presence has been attested in the region, for example by the Trajanic defensive wall crossing the Dniester just above its mouth and ending in the mouth of the Bug River. The Romans left Tyras by the second half of the 4th century due to continuous attacks by barbarians. It then fell to the Goths.[206]

In the early Middle Ages the region was populated by Slavic tribes of Ulichs and Tivertsy as well as by Turkic nomads such as Pechenegs and the Polovtsi. During the Middle Ages, Transnistria was at times a part of the Kievan Rus', and then in the 15th century became a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which formally bordered the Principality of Moldova from the Dniester to the east. However, many Romanians lived even further east than Transnistria. They were mainly scattered in small rural settlements. During this time Transnistria was an arid, under-populated region. It began to be colonized by Moldavians that crossed the Dniester in search of free land, and in lesser numbers by Tatars around 1500[207]. As the eastern frontier of Moldavia was rather theoretical up until the 19th century, the borders of Transnistria were not delimited as for a distinctive entity. However, east of the Dniester Romanian life is mentioned all over the Middle Ages.[208]

For some time, Transnistria remained out of any specific administrative unit, and largely underpopulated, due to a large drought season, but also because of the vicinity of the Tatars. Their military and civil presence impeded the settling of Eastern European type life and blocked Moldavian or even Polish expansion to the larger part of the northern shores of the Black Sea. The settlements of Romanians in the Middle Ages were only partially and temporarily ruled by the Moldavian princes. These early settlers of Transnistria can most probably be labeled as Moldavian, as they arrived from the Principality of Moldavia and maintained cultural, linguistic and blood

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[206] "Transnistria," Romanian Coins, accessed June 1, 2015, http://romaniancoins.org/transnistria.html.
[207] The year is not precise. It is possible the settlements began even earlier, or some years later.
[208] Ibid.

links to the Moldavians from west of the Dniester. Transylvanian shepherds and Walachian merchants are also mentioned in historic writings about the region; however, their contribution to the ethnic composition of the region was very small.[209]

In 1792 the Ottoman Empire ceded control of the territory between the Dniester and Bug rivers to the Russian Empire as part of the Peace Treaty. The majority of the population of this region was Romanian-speaking. However, it began decreasing considerably due to large-scale Russian and Ukrainian immigration to the region and numerous pro-Slav policies.[210]

Following the 1806-1812 Russo-Turkish War, the Russian Empire annexed the eastern part of the Moldovan Principality, located between the Prut and Dniester rivers as part of the 1812 Treaty of Bucharest. This region became known as Bessarabia. The western part later became part of Romania, which was established in 1859 after the unification of Wellachia and the Moldovan Principalities. Bessarabia initially enjoyed considerable autonomy under the Russian Empire. At that time Moldovans comprised 86 percent of the region's population. However, from the mid-19th century Russia began actively assimilating the Moldovan population. Local government control was rescinded, whereas Russian language began supplementing the Romanian language in all legal proceedings. The region witnessed an influx of Russians as well as other ethnic groups, which significantly reduced the percentage of ethnic Moldovans by 40 percent by the 1897 census. Furthermore, the Moldovan population comprised only 14 percent of the urban population. Parallel to this intensified russification of the region was the construction of a new Romanian identity and state.[211]

The First World War and the 1917 Russian Revolution provided Bessarabia's pan-Romanian nationalists with an opportunity to press claims for self-determination and integration with Romania. Already in the spring of 1917 public meetings were held throughout Bessarabia. What began with cultural demands, soon grew into political aspirations and by the summer of the same year a national assembly, called the Sfatul Tarii, was formed. Largely composed of pan-Romanianists, the Sfatul Tarii voted to form an independent

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[209] Ibid.

[210] Cojocaru, "Nationalism and Identity in Transnistria," 263.

[211] Steven D. Roper, "Regionalism in Moldova: The Case of Transnistria and Gagauzia," *Regional and Federal Studies* 11:3 (2001): 102, accessed January 14, 2014, doi: 10.1080/714004699.

Moldovan Democratic Republic of Bessarabia on December 15. Its borders extended from the Prut to the Dniester River; however, modern-day Transnistria was not included in the new republic. The Sfatul Tarii voted for unification with Romania on March 27, 1918. By the end of the year the areas of Bukovina and Transylvania did the same and joined Bessarabia in forming Greater Romania. In an effort to integrate the population of the newly acquired regions, the Romanian state began its efforts of greatly expanding the number of primary and secondary schools, instituting language tests and loyalty oaths for teachers and administrators, as well as implementing ethnically-based quotas for admission to institutions of higher education. These policies, however, did not cause conflict in the population. Romanian identity was generally weak, as was the Romanian state. This meant that the Romanization efforts were not seriously enforced by the state, consequently Russian language and cultural influences remained dominant during this time. Furthermore, the Bessarabian population regarded Romanian administration as corrupt, inefficient, and elitist. Bessarabians felt that they were receiving unfair treatment from the Romanians, and whether this was simply their perception or actual reality, they saw the attitude of the Romanian administration as being chauvinistic towards the locals. Nevertheless, Bessarabia remained a part of the Romanian Kingdom throughout the interwar period.[212]

Transnistria had a different fate to that of Bessarabia. In October 1924 Transnistria together with some areas of the Ukrainian SSR became the Moldovan Autonomous SSR (MASSR). With its capital first in Balta, and from 1929 in Tiraspol, it was a part of the Ukrainian SSR, occupying a territory of over 8500 square kilometers. 30 percent of its population was actually Moldovan, and as Natalia Cojocaru points out, "Naming this autonomous republic 'Moldovan' was nonsense, because neither the territory of contemporary Transnistria nor the lands lying to its east had any relation to the area called 'Moldova'…the creation of MASSR was used as an argument by the Soviet leadership to annex Bessarabia, which at that time belonged to the Romanian Kingdom."[213]

In the year 1940, the Red Army captured Bessarabia. It was annexed to the six districts that had constituted the MASSR, together forming the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) within the USSR. The borders of the republic had been predetermined already in 1939, as part of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The

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[212] Ibid. 102-103.
[213] Cojocaru, "Nationalism and Identity in Transnistria," 263.

newly formed MSSR had a large Russian-speaking community, inherited from the MASSR. The russification of the republic was furthered from this point on by immigration, especially to the urban areas, of ethnic Slav industrial workers. As a result, between 1941 and 1989, the number of ethnic Russians grew from 6.7 percent to 13 percent. In actual numbers this constituted an increase from 300 000 in 1959 to over 550 000 ethnic Russians by 1989.[214]

In the post-war period, the Soviet authorities pursued a rigid policy of de-nationalization in their efforts to justify their policy of territorial expansion. They encouraged the creation of the 'Moldovan socialist nation', a distinct identity as one of the brother nations of the Soviet Union. The idea of a Moldovan people with a Moldovan language and culture distinct from the Romanian one was promulgated through Soviet propaganda, a part of which were many Soviet scholars that began laying the foundations for this new mythology. Furthermore, efforts were introduced to promote and implement a distinct Moldovan language, written only in Cyrillic alphabet and thus different from Romanian, which is written in the Latin alphabet. New russification policies were also introduced. These mainly involved the Russian language being promoted as the dominant one for inter-ethnic communication, for higher education and for public life in MSSR. These Soviet efforts and policies succeeded in creating a foundation for a distinctive non-Romanian Moldovan national identity. Although today the Moldovan language is not the basis for a Moldovan ethnic identity, the Soviet legacy succeeded in creating a unique Moldovan ethnicity and identity, separate from Romania.[215]

Within the newly created MSSR, the Transnistria region became the center of heavy industry, as well as a military industrial complex, whereas the western part of MSSR was the agricultural center. A division in the minds of the Transnistrian people went beyond industry and economy; the distinct division was created between the "we, the Transnistrian Moldovans" and "they, the Bessarabian Moldovans". Eugeniu Doga, a renowned composer from the region, explained and reconfirmed this division: "Soviet propaganda had always implied that Bessarabians are capitalists, indolent people who speak another language. This ideology was well indoctrinated in the psychology of Transnistrian people and came to resemble enmity toward the Bessarabian Moldovans."[216] This difference was further emphasized through unofficial policies of the Communist

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[214] Roper, "Regionalism in Moldova," 103.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Cojocaru, "Nationalism and Identity in Transnistria," 263.

Party. People from Transnistria were generally considered more loyal to the USSR, and seen as more politically reliable than the Moldovans from Bessarabia. Thus the majority of elites from the MSSR were recruited specifically from the Transnistrian region. Many of these elites working in economic and political spheres were Russian, oftentimes coming even from outside the MSSR. This was regardless to the fact that ethnic Moldovans constituted the majority; nevertheless, they remained underrepresented in all the leading positions in administration, industry, army and the Communist Party.[217]

The historical events that had occurred in the region since 1792 greatly contributed to the collective memory of the population of Transnistria. Given the fact that the people living there had lived in the Russian Empire from 1792, and later in the former Soviet Union, they have a multifaced representation of their homeland. For Transnistrians, their frame of reference is not only the MSSR, but the USSR as an entity in itself. They saw 'Romanian unification' as an act of occupation, contrary to Bessarabian Moldovans, who even served in the Romanian army. This period embedded feelings of fear and suspicion into the minds of Transnistrians; feelings that have often been and continue to be exploited and fueled by local authorities. The difference of historical heritage of MSSR's two regions – Transnistria and Bessarabia – together with the diversified ethnical makeup of the local populations resulted in the emergence of two very different responses to the events that occurred after the mid-1980s.[218]

It was in this time period that Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika and its reforms brought with it an opportunity for the Soviet Union's titular nations to express their dissatisfaction and resentment towards the russification policies in place for many years. In Moldova, non-state controlled 'informal' groups began appearing in rapidly increasing numbers in 1987. Moldovan intellectuals organized into discussion groups, demanding greater cultural and linguistic freedom. By the middle of the following year, these informal, pro-reform groups banded together to form the Democratic Movement in Support of Restructuring. Together they pressed for democratization and for redressing of the discriminatory policies imposed upon the ethnic Moldovan majority population, as well as on some other ethnic minorities, in MSSR. The Democratic Movement largely resembled

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[217] Ibid. 263-264.
[218] Ibid. 264.

civic umbrella movements that were emerging in all the other Soviet Republics at the mid-stage of the Perestroika.[219]

The division in Moldova was not simply between ethnic Moldovans and the Russian-speaking population. As argued by many scholars, such as Pal Kolstø, Andrei Edemsky, Natalya Kalashnikova, and Steven D. Roper, the division was very much political in character, splitting the political elites and the counter-elites aspiring to power.

Nevertheless, language did play an important role in the development of the situation in the MSSR. Although Russian had been used as the dominant language in almost all spheres of public life, from administration to factories and commerce, political institutions, education as well as urban life, the MSSR did not have an official language. The promotion of linguistic as well as cultural freedom became the main platform for the rising Democratic Movement, which by 1989 had largely won the debate about language in MSSR. After the Scientific Council of the Moldovan Academy of Sciences recommended that Moldovan be made the official language, the Democratic Movement was able to organize large rallies and demonstrations in support of this demand. By May 1989, the Popular Front was organized by individuals from within the Democratic Movement and other associations, amongst them the Democratic League of Moldovan Students and the Ecological Movement. The Popular Front quickly became the leading Moldovan opposition bloc, spearheading the opposition to the Soviet policies of russification. As a result of their efforts in August 1989 Moldovan, written in the Latin alphabet, was proclaimed the state language by the Moldovan Supreme Soviet. The new language law required those people working in the public sphere and in the sphere of education to speak both Russian and Moldovan, allowing a period of five years to gain necessary language facility.

It was from this point that the Popular Front adopted a much more radical and ethnicized agenda than the preceding Democratic Movement. It rejected the earlier pan-reform agenda in favor of pursuing a pro-Romanian one. This political shift and the elevation of the status of the Moldovan language immediately sparked a response from the Russian-speaking population. William Crother labeled this as 'reactive nationalism'. He pointed out that ethnic minority-led conflict was instigated because of a threat to the status quo. In the case of the MSSR this was particularly applicable to the Slavic elites, which felt directly threatened in areas such as

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[219] Roper, "Regionalism in Moldova," 103.

Transnistria. Since it was the Transnistrians who had dominated the political and economic institutions in the MSSR, they were the group most opposed to the language law, as they saw it as a clear sign of the shifting power balance, away from ethnic Russians and towards the ethnic Moldovans. As new Moldovan political elites within the Popular Front, such as Mircea Druc and Iurie Rosca, consolidated their power in Chisinau, ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Bulgarians left the Front. They joined the ethnic Russians in forming a pro-Russian culture and language organization, the International Movement for Unity – *Edinstvo*. Joining forces with the United Council of Work Collectives in Tiraspol, Edinstvo organized numerous factory strikes and demonstrations protesting the new language law. This was happening simultaneously with the Gagauzian leaders holding an assembly, where a resolution was passed to demand the creation of an autonomous territory in southern Moldova, with the city of Comrat as the capital, in September 1989.

The political turmoil and drastic power shift was reflected in the 1990 parliamentary election – the last Soviet-era election in Moldova. The Communist Party was fractured in two – a country-wide reformist wing and a conservative faction, regionally concentrated and consolidating its control over Transnistria and Comrat in Gagauzia. The reformist wing closely cooperated with the Popular Front. This cooperation was well reflected in the electoral arena, as names of leading communists could be found among the nominees of the Popular Front. Unlike the previous elections, the parliamentary elections that took place in March 1990 were considered to be generally free and fair. Following the election, the Popular Front was able to form a parliamentary coalition, holding over 66 percent of the seats. Alexandru Mosanu, a member of the Popular Front, was named speaker. The parliament confirmed a government composed completely of ethnic Moldovans, headed by Prime Minister Mircea Druc, a strong advocate of unification with Romania. Mircea Snegur, a leading supporter of the Popular Front, was elected President by the Parliament. Naturally, the newly elected parliamentarians, together with the newly appointed government pursued a pro-Romanian and pro-unionist agenda. The president of the Popular Front's parliamentary faction, Iurie Rosca, stated that "Moldova will unify with Romania – it is inevitable. We need time for Russia to lose power in Moldova. People do not remember what it is like to be part of Romania." President Snegur, however, remained more reserved on the issue, and maintained the policy of 'one people, two states'.[220]

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[220] Roper, "Regionalism in Moldova," 105-106.

In May 1990, the ethnic minority elites, which held control over the city governments of Tiraspol, Bender and Rybnitsa declared sovereignty over all local institutions, refusing to accept the legitimacy of the newly elected parliament. Referenda were held throughout Transnistria and in Bendery. Voters overwhelmingly favored sovereignty. In September 1990, the Transnistrian Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed, following the same proclamation made in Comrat by the Gagauzians. These two opposing claims to sovereignty, in Chisinau and Tiraspol, laid the foundation for the conflict that followed.[221]

Two important events marks this period – the declaration of complete independence by Moldova in August 1991, and the consequent worldwide recognition of the new state following the disintegration of the USSR, after the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev in December 1991. These events reaffirmed the world support for Moldovan territorial integrity, largely ignoring the claims made by the Transnistrian leaders at the same time.

Moldova, together with the Baltic States, were among the few of the USSR republics to condemn the organizers of the August Putsch of 1991 in Moscow. After the failure of the coup d'état attempt, the Moldovan Parliament banned all the activities of the Communist Party in Moldova. On the other hand, Transnistrian leadership supported the coup, praising the putschists as saviors of the Soviet state and promising military assistance to support the state of emergency, in such a way attracting unreformed communists throughout the former USSR. However, once it became clear that the coup d'état marked the ending, not the saving, of the Soviet Union, the Transnistrians began taking haste measures to secure their own state. Working with the Gagauzians, the Transnistrians suggested the establishment of a tripartite federation with Moldova. The proposal was rejected by the Moldovan parliament.[222]

On August 27 Moldova declared independence and seceded from the USSR. Its independence was recognized on the same day by Romania. The Moldovan Declaration of Independence explicitly called the area east of the Dniester River part of its historic and ethnic territory, and thus an integral part of the newly formed Republic. The leaders of Transnistria quickly reacted. Seeing the Declaration of Independence as the dissolution of the merger of

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[221] Ibid.

[222] Charles King, *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture* (Stanford: Hoover Press, 2000), 191.

Transnistria and Bessarabia, Transnistria went on to proclaim independence from Moldova. They passed a Constitution of the republic, adopting the former socialist Moldovan state emblem and flag as symbols of their republic.[223]

The Moldovan Parliament did not recognize this proclamation, and instead the Moldovan central authorities issued an order authorizing the arrest of separatist leaders of Transnistria, as well as Gagauzia, who were following a similar path. Igor Smirnov, PMR's future president, was captured on Ukrainian soil and brought back to Chisinau. As a response, in Transnistria, the women's strike committee headed by Galina Andreeva began a railway blockade of Moldova, in the waypoint between the cities of Bender and Tiraspol, demanding the release of the arrested leaders and threatening to interrupt electricity and gas supplies to right-bank Moldova. Smirnov was released in a month, and later, in December, was elected president of PMR.[224] This incident served as proof to the Transnistrians that it was impossible to negotiate and compromise with the government in Chisinau. Local journalists at the time wrote that the Moldovan political leadership under President Snegur has thus already made two disastrous mistakes – the first, arresting Smirnov and other PMR leaders, and the second, letting them go.[225]

By September 9, many cities and towns in Transnistria had begun forming the 'Forces of Self-Defense of Transnistria' and people's volunteer corps. By September 21, the parliament of the new, self-proclaimed republic voted to create the Transnistrian armed forces and announced the mobilization of all Russian-speaking males aged 20-40. Guardsmen and militia were stationed at control posts on the bridge in the city of Dubassary. By December, the PMR forces blocked all bridges over the Dniester. The Transnistrian leaders began taking over former Moldovan public institutions, such as police stations and media. On December 13, 1991, an effort by the Moldovan police to disarm Transnistrian irregulars around Dubassary led to an open clash of the two sides and the first serious hostilities. This incident transformed into a series of exchanges along

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[223] Airat R. Aklaev, "Dynamics of the Moldova Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict (late 1990s to early 1990s)," in *Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world*, eds. Kumar Rupesinghe and Valery A. Tishkov (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1996), chap. 5, accessed September 4, 2014, http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu12ee/uu12ee0a.htm.

[224] Roper, "Regionalism in Moldova," 107.

[225] King, *The Moldovans,* 191.

the river. As the conflict escalated, so did the incidents of violence.[226] By early 1992, Chisinau lost control over Transnistria and found itself entangled in an undeclared war.

Moldovan leadership viewed the situation in Transnistria as the doings of Moscow. Politicians spoke of the dominance of Russians who recently arrived in Tiraspol, seizing power. Their rhetoric included calling Transnistria 'historically Moldovan territory', the situation a 'conspiracy of the Russian political elite', the government of PMR a 'fascist regime' while their armed forces were referred to as 'gangs' and their actions as 'mutiny'. President Sengur said with regards to PMR, "It would be too much to give up this part of heaven in favor of those who arrived from who knows where… Let Igor Smirnov make his own republic in Kamchatka, where he resided before settling in Tiraspol"[227]. The referendum on independence of PMR, which took place on December 1, 1991, was not mentioned at all. Whether this referendum was free and fair remains an open question, nevertheless, according to the results mentioned in various available sources, 98 percent of the voters supported independence of the region; voter turnout was 78 percent of the total population, including the ethnic Moldovan population.

After Moldova became a member of the United Nations on March 2, 1992, President Snegur authorized concerted military action against Transnistrian forces. As efforts among Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, and Romania to mediate the conflict failed, President Snegur declared a state of emergency on March 28, 1992. In May of 1992, as the Moldovan government tried to disarm the paramilitary formations in Transnistria, the situation escalated into a full-scale civil war in the city of Bendery, or Tighina in Romanian. June 1992 was marked by ten days of the fiercest and bloodiest fighting during the Transnistrian conflict. As Moldovan units were driven out of the city of Bendery, the PMR consolidated its full control over the territory in lay claims to.

During the years 1991 and 1992 the Transnistrian forces were strengthened by the involvement of the Russian 14th Army; its role

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[226] Aklaev, "Dynamics of the Moldova Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict," chap. 5.
[227] Irina F. Selivanova, "Trans-Dniestria", in *U.S. and Russian Policymaking with Respect to the Use of Force*, eds., Jeremy R. Azrael and Emil A. Payin (Santa Monica: RAND, 1996), 61, accessed September 1, 2014.
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/conf_proceedings/2007/CF129.pdf.

and involvement in the conflict proved critical. Especially prominent was the role of Russian General Alexandr Ledeb', who is largely credited in the region for ending the conflict.

On July 21, 1992, an agreement was signed in Moscow between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation on principles of a peaceful solution of the armed conflict in Transnistria. The agreement provided for an immediate ceasefire and the creation of a demilitarized security zone between the parties, ten kilometers left and right of the Dniester, including also the city of Bendery. The trilateral peacekeeping troops, which consisted of five Russian, three Moldovan and two Transnistrian battalions, began deployment on July 29, 1992. Although tensions have intensified between the Moldovan and Transnistrian side over the years, there has been no violence between them since 1992. The conflict, however, remains a frozen one.

A number of settlements have been proposed over the years since the ceasefire. There have been attempts concerned with how to get to a settlement[228], which in varying details laid out short-, mid- and long-term steps towards a possible settlement. There have also been attempts aimed at determining what the actual settlement provisions would be[229].

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[228] These include in chronological order: the 1997 'Memorandum on the bases for normalization of relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transdniestria', also known as the Moscow or Primakov Memorandum, and the accompanying 'Joint statement of the Presidents of the Russian Federation and Ukraine'; the 1998 'Agreement on confidence-building measures and development of contacts between the Republic of Moldova and Transdniestria', also known as the Odessa Agreement, and the accompanying 'Joint Statement of the mediators: Russia, Ukraine and the OSCE'; the 1999 'Joint Statement of Participants in the Kiev meeting on issues of normalization of relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transdniestria'; the 2004 '3D strategy & action plan for the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict' (2004); and the 2005 'Odessa Citizens' Initiative'.

[229] These include in chronological order: the 1993 'Report No. 13 of the CSCE Mission to Moldova'; the 2003 'Russian Draft Memorandum on the Basic Principles of the State Structure of a United State in Moldova', also known as the Kozak Memorandum; the 2004 'Proposals and Recommendations of the Mediators from the OSCE, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine with regard to the Transdniestrian Settlement'; and the 2005 'Plan for the Settlement of the Transdniestrian Problem', also known as the Ukrainian, Yushchenko, or Poroshenko Plan.

Since 2006 peace talks follow a 5+2 format: Moldova, the PMR, Russia, Ukraine, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) + the European Union and the United States as external observers.

6.2. THE CREATION OF A "USABLE PAST"

The previous section provided an overview of the historical developments that led to the creation of the PMR. It traced the separate histories of Bessarabia and Transnistria, and showed that generally, a collective Transnistrian nation nor national movement did not exist until the early 1990's. The national movements in Transnistria were reactionary to the events happening in Moldova.

The chapter now turns to discussing the way history is interpreted in the PMR. Apart from there not being a separate Transnistrian nation, the PMR also faced the challenge of no previously written history. Historiography had to be created from scratch. The situation was very similar to many post-Soviet states; however, in the case of PMR, a separate, previously written history of the territory just did not exist. After looking at the way the PMR chose to write down its version of history, and in this way, provide legitimization for its existence, the chapter turns to the national holidays, as an indicator which events were deemed the most significant to the building of the contested state.

6.2.1. Perceptions of History and History Books

Much like the recognized post-Soviet republics, the PMR faced the issue of creating its own history books and school curricula after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The PMR leaders justified the need for their own historiography with the following arguments. At the end of the 1980's schools and higher education institutions in the Moldovan Republic stopped teaching the history of the USSR, as well as the history of the MSSR, as part of their curriculum. These courses were replaced by a national history course called *History of the Romanians* in the beginning of the 90's. Moldovans living in Transnistria, who on the grounds of rejecting Romanization, refused to use the Latin script instead of Cyrillic, insisting on keeping what

they saw as the traditional form of the Moldovan language for the past five centuries, also rejected the use of textbooks and curricula that no longer taught Moldovan history. The population of Transnistria, with roughly one-third each calling themselves Moldovans, Russians, or Ukrainians, were claimed to all be equally uneager to embrace the changes made by Chisinau. For these reasons in 1991 the authorities of the newly created PMR passed several measures for what they referred to as "preserving the Moldovan people, language and culture" from the Romanization being actively undertaken by the Moldovan government. This decision included the creation of a history research laboratory and the gathering of historians into an academic group to create textbooks and books on Moldovan and Transnistrian history, covering the time period from ancient history to present day, in order to educate the public.[230]

Based at the Institute of History and Governance of the Taras Shevchenko Pridnestrovian State University, the Scientific Research Laboratory for the History of the Transnistrian Region was founded in March 1991 by a Resolution of the PMR Supreme Council. Headed by N. V. Babilunga, the Laboratory's leading researcher was B. G. Bomeshko, and the chief researcher was V.Ya. Grosul.[231] It is worth mentioning that these, together with many other faculty members of the Pridnestrovian State University left the Moldovan Academy of Sciences in Chisinau for Tiraspol during the period of nationalist mobilization in Moldova in the late 80's and early 90's. These were Soviet Party historians, who socialized and internalized Soviet era knowledge and categories.[232]

From the onset the Laboratory faced the challenge of no existing generalizing work on Transnistrian history. As the region was never sovereign, earlier historiographers from Ukraine, Moldova, Poland, Turkey and Romania never wrote works dedicated solely to the left

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[230] Николай Бабилунга, "Приднестровская Молдавская Республика: Признанная Историография Непризнанного Государства," Slavi-Eurasian Research Center (2000): 15-16, accessed October 5, 2014, https://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no18/1_babilunga.pdf.
[231] "НИЛ "История Приднестровья"," Институт Истории и Государственного Управления, ПГУ им. Т.Г. Шевченко, accessed October 5, 2014, http://iigu.spsu.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=20:-q-q&catid=24:-q-q&Itemid=49.
[232] Michael Bobick, "Profits of Disorder: Images of the Transnistrian Moldovan Republic," *Global Crime*, 12:4 (2011): 248, accessed October 30, 2014, doi: 10.1080/17440572.2011.616048.

bank of the Dniester, always describing it in the context of their larger entities. During Soviet times, a limited number of works were published on the various aspects of the region, but always as part of the history of the larger MSSR. At the beginning of the 90's, the newly proclaimed contested state of the PMR was facing a great lack of historical works on its territory. Historians knew the features of Transnistria's geopolitical position and ethno-social development only in the most general terms, while the general population, teachers and students lacked knowledge about whole eras altogether.[233] Thus the government created and backed Laboratory was tasked to fill this gap. Together Babilunga, Bomeshko, and Grosul headed numerous historical research projects and authored history books and textbooks for schools in PMR. Within a few years of its founding, the Laboratory's team came up with five core elements of PMR identity: self-sufficiency, statehood, multi-ethnicity, eastern (orthodox) Slavic-Russian orientation, and Moldovanism[234]. Moldovanism here is understood not in the ethnic sense, but in the historical and regional sense, referring to the Moldovan Principality, allied with Muscovy, and Soviet Moldova. Stefan Troebst points out that "Here, the Russo-centric core of Transnistrian self-perception is revealed, despite a permanent stress on multi-ethnicity and trilingualism."[235] Troebst further points out that these elements of Transnistrian identity are compatible with the six principle of Russian identity: patriotism, communitarianism, emotionality, morality, realism, and sociability.

In the numerous publications produced under the umbrella of the Laboratory, which include history books and encyclopedias, memorial books and booklets, and school textbooks and educational booklets, Babilunga and his team have managed to trace back the five core elements of PMR identity as far back as the Kievan Rus. They have managed to create a Transnistrian historical narrative that centers on the premise that the Dniester Valley and its inhabitants are and have always been uniquely different from the others. Troebst specifies three categories into which the contents of the new PMR

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[233] Бабилунга, "Приднестровская Молдавская Республика," 18.
[234] *Rus*. Самобытность, государственность, полиэтничность, восточный (православный) славянско-российский вектор, и молдовенизм.
[235] Stefan Troebst, ""We Are Transnistrians!" Post-Soviet Identity Management in the Dniester Valley," *AbImperio*, No.1 (2003), Dacoromania, accessed October 30, 2014, http://dacoromania.net/en/article/we-are-transnistrians-post-soviet-identity-management-dniester-valley.

history as presented in the works of the Laboratory, and thus in line with the PMR government, fall:

> *1. First, a set of selected historical events, processes, and periods is considered to be constitutive for the history of the region and thus forms the backbone of the new master narrative.*
>
> *2. Second, two personality cults are cultivated, one of the General Aleksandr V. Suvorov (1729 – 1800) who is glorified as the Tsarist Russian liberator or Transnistria from the Ottomans as well as the founder of Tiraspol' (both events taking place in 1792) and Vladimir I. Lenin (1870 – 1924), the founder of the Soviet Union.*
>
> *3. Third, two mantras are repeated: multi-ethnicity, with official TMR trilingualism as its public manifestation, and the "preservation of the Soviet legacy[236]*

The Laboratory's works generally focus on ten main epochs, which they deem to be of primary importance to the historical narrative of PMR. The stress on these time periods and events is placed in the published historical works as well as in school textbooks. Troebst captures them well in his work, labeling them as follows:

> *1. The early Paleolithic period when the eastern shore of the river Dniester allegedly constituted "the cradle of mankind"*
>
> *2. The Kievan Rus' of the tenth and eleventh centuries when Transnistria was said to be a part of the first Russian state and a branch of the famous "route from the Varangians to the Greeks" supposedly ran along the Dniester.*
>
> *3. The centuries when the region was divided between the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate on the one hand and Poland-Lithuania and the Cossack State on the other, forming "a bridge between East and West."*
>
> *4. The frontier times following the Russian conquest of Transnistria in 1792 to the conquest of Bessarabia in 1812 – two decades when the Dniester was the border between the empires of the Sultans and the Tsars.*
>
> *5. Revolution and Civil War from 1917 to 1922 p a period depicted as being particularly heroic with Transnistria becoming a part of Soviet Ukraine.*
>
> *6. The years of the existence of the MASSR from 1924 to 1940 within the Ukrainian SSR.*

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[236] Ibid.

7. The Second World War which is said to have turned Transnistria into a center of passive resistance to and active partisan warfare against Romanian occupation; in addition, reference is made to the region's heroic losses in terms of Red Army soldiers who fell fighting Hitler's Germany.

8. The decades of forced industrialization from the late 1940s to the 1970s which were characterized by an expansion of the education system, the growth of urban centers, and a huge immigration from other parts of the Soviet Union.

9. The beginnings of the Transnistrian movement and the building of the TMR, i.e., the years 1989 and 1990.

10. The "Battle of Bendery" in 1992, which is depicted as being the baptism of fire of the TMR and the "Transnistrian people."[237]

Over the years of PMR's existence, the ruling elites have not changed their pro-Russian direction in politics. This stance is directly mirrored in historiography, as the majority of the historians and thus the majority of the works published by the Laboratory have managed to maintain the conception of history that is in line with the Soviet school of history. Generally, apart from the blatant Soviet ideology, not much has changed in terms of interpreting events of the past. The two-volume work *The History of PMR* (*История Приднестровской Молдавской Республики*)[238], published in 2000, is an example of this. This was the Laboratory's biggest publication and proudest achievement at the time. Many other books and textbooks were based on the conception and strategies of this work. The work closely followed the ten epochs, however, it used an interesting division into volumes. The first volume of the work covers the historical time frame from the Paleolithic period until the twentieth century, discussing in detail the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of life on Transnistrian lands. The second volume focuses solely on the creation of PMR, the time period between 1990 and the end of 2001. The first part of the second volume focuses on the armed conflict. Starting out by laying the basis for the formation of PMR from the perspectives of international law, it then goes on to discuss the ethno-political and national relations within Moldova in the 1930s-70s, followed by the description of the referendum and the formation of the PMR. When discussing the armed conflict itself, Moldova is always referred to as the aggressor Russia as the peacekeeper and the Cossacks as the protectors of the PMR.

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[237] Ibid.

[238] В.Я. Гросул (ред.), *История Приднестровской Молдавской Республики.* Том I и II (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2000).

Stressing the importance of statehood and sovereignty, the second half of the volume discusses the PMR's relations with Moldova, Russia and Ukraine, the constitution of the PMR, its economy, education and science, cultural and religious life.

The Laboratory has also published history textbooks for schools in the PMR, titled *The History of the Our Native Land* for grades 6-7 and 8-9[239]. The same language and symbolism is used in these textbooks. For example, the 1992 conflict is described in the same way as the war of liberation, in a style that is very similar to the one used to describe the Soviet Great Patriot War. A text in a school history book, stated,

> *The traitorous, barbaric, and unprovoked invasion of Bender had a single goal: to frighten and bring to their knees the inhabitants of the Dniester Republic, to make them shudder with terror. However, the people's bravery, steadfastness, and love of liberty saved the Dniester Republic. The defense of Bender against the overwhelming forces of the enemy closed a heroic page in the history of our young republic. The best sons and daughters of the people sacrificed their lives for peace and liberty in our land.*[240]

Apart from publishing many books on the history of the PMR[241] the Tiraspol based Laboratory also published its own version of Moldovan history, to counterbalance the history of Romanians published by Chisinau. Between the years 1990 and 1997, a series of educational booklets called *A Course of Lectures on the History of Moldova*[242] was published and used in schools and institutions of higher education. These booklets were initially planned as twelve lectures, however only ten were published and the series was never

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[239] Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко, *История родного края. 6-7 кл.* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2004); Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко *История родного края. 8-9 кл.* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2005).
[240] King, *The Moldovans,* 197.
[241] For example - Бабилунга, Н. В., С. И. Берил, Б. Г. Бомешко, И. Н. Галинский, Е. М. Губогло, В. Р. Окушко, П. М. Шорников. *Феномен Приднестровья*. 2 изд. Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2003. **(title in eng. *The Phenomenon of Transnistria);* Бабилунга, Н.В., Б.Г. Бомешко, П.М. Шорников. *Государственность Приднестровья: история и современность.* Бендеры: Полиграфист, 2007. **(title in eng. Transnistria's Statehood: Past and Present**)**; Бомешко, Б.Г. *Создание, становление и защита приднестровской государственности*. Бендеры: Полиграфист, 2010. **(title in eng. *The Creation, Formation and Protection of the Pridnestrovian Statehood)*.
[242] Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко, *Курс лекций по истории Молдавии* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 1990-1997).

completed due to the course being replaced by a course on the history of Transnistria. These history booklets and several other books published by the Laboratory over the years[243] stress the uniqueness of Moldova and its distinct difference from Romania and its close ties to Russia. Generally, the history follows the same ten epochs as the history of Transnistria and largely reflects the same characteristics of the interpretation of Moldovan history during Soviet times.

PMR's own interpretation of Moldovan history goes in line with the premise that 'real Moldovans' live in Transnistria, while those on the other bank of the Dniester are Romanian. In such a way Transnistria is the cradle of Moldovanism, while the PMR is its guardian. The PMR takes pride in being the only place where 'true Moldovan' language and history is taught in schools. At the same time, the multicultural aspects of the PMR are stressed wherever possible. The references of the three state level languages – Moldovan, Ukrainian and Russian – are abundant, as is the bilingual nature of the contested state's citizens, as all children must learn a second national language[244]. Similarly references to the diverse ethnic makeup of the PMR are widely used, describing the Moldovan, Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Jewish, Gagauz, Belarusian and

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[243] For example - Шорников, П.М. *Молдавская самобытность*. Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 2007. **(title in eng. *Moldovan Uniqueness*)**.
[244] Although following the system of education of the Russian Federation, the PMR has schools with Russian, Moldovan, and Ukrainian as languages of instruction, in accordance with its national language law. According to the statistics provided by the Ministry of Education of PMR, in 2013, 88.4% of students in the PMR attended school that taught in Russian, 10.1% in Moldovan, and 1.5% in Ukrainian. Each school teaches a second national language, resulting in all citizens of the PMR being fluent in one of the national languages, while having at least a working knowledge of a second one.
On the other hand, in 2004 the PMR Supreme Soviet issued a directive to the Ministry of Education to begin the process of closing Romanian schools, i.e. schools that taught Moldovan in the Latin script. The reason given for this was the failure of Romanian language schools to comply with the PMR education laws and to obtain a license and accreditation. The PMR authorities stressed that the ideology and content of the humanities taught at these schools, which were following the curriculum of Moldova, did not correspond to the education policy of the PMR. These closures, which affected around 5000 students, were viewed by Moldova as a highly political act. For more on this issue see: Roper, Steven D. "The Politicization of Education: Identity Formation in Moldova and Transnistria." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38 (2005): 501-514. doi:10.1016/j.postcomstud.2005.09.003.

Polish inhabitants of the entity as adding to its great cultural heritage and the large melting pot of cultures, together all living in peace and understanding, essentially representing the very core of what is truly Transnistrian. On the other hand, even ethnically non-Russian inhabitants of the PMR have been heavily Russified over the years of the Soviet regime as well as during the contested existence of the PMR. Russian remains the main language used in the territory, although anyone can request a document be issued in one of the three national languages. Interestingly enough, the books on Moldovan history, as well as the other publications of the Laboratory for the History of the Transnistrian Region, are published in Russian.

Painting a dark image of Moldova and its political regime is a popular narrative in publications on history in the PMR. But even more prominent are the discussions on the legacy and memory of the events leading up to 1992 and especially the war itself. It is an incredibly important element of the PMR perception of history and its historic narrative, which through the visualization and ritualization of those killed in the conflict helps create a sense of common experiences and sentiments, attaching the community to the state.

Serguei Alex. Oushakine, writing about post-Soviet Russia, prefers to this sentiment as the "patriotism of despair", which he defines as an "emotionally charged set of symbolic practices called upon to mediate relations among individuals, nation, and state and thus to provide communities of loss with socially meaningful subject positions", pointing out that it is "rooted in disillusionment and aimed at providing distance from painful reality."[245] PMR is indeed much like the cases Oushakine describes in his work. He points out that,

> …the feelings of loss, the emotional memory or experienced or imagine injury, was not a result of withdrawal into one's private life but translated into ideas of national belonging. Stories about the nation and the country were used as a major organizing plot for individual accounts; these personal feelings acquired a socially recognizable narrative structure. Triggering an immediate emotional response, the ritualized descriptions of the wounded past provided their authors a crucial entry point into the public discourse…[246]

These sentiments were harnessed through the publication of state-sponsored memorial books. The Laboratory in Tiraspol has published quite a few of these books over the years. These books

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[245] Serguei Alex. Oushakine, *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009), 5.
[246] Ibid. 6.

contain pages of uncensored photographs from the conflict, often depicting bodies of the dead and wounded, as well as funerals, destruction and other events of the conflict. The people of the PMR are not merely the readers of these memorial books; they are, in a way, their authors, as many personal photographs were published in these books. These books are not viewed as interpretation of events, but as something that the people of the PMR collectively survived. The photographs in the books always come with narratives, explaining personal stories and atrocities.

Within a year of the end of the conflict, in 1993, two memorial books were published – *Dubossary: the Bleeding Wound of Transnistria* (*Дубоссары – кровоточащая рана Приднестровья*) and *Bendery: Shot, Unconquered* (*Бендеры: расстрелянные, непокоренные*). The books documented the events of 1992 in each of the two cities, Dubossary and Bendery, contained photographs and personal accounts, and provided PMR's version of the conflict as well as justifications for secession from Moldova. Moldova was presented as the ultimate aggressor, unmatched by no other in history; while the PMR and its people are presented as the ultimate victims.

The beginning of the war is, for example, described as follows:

> *The conflict began, and on the evening of the same day Moldova was allegedly forced to send troops - dozens of armored vehicles, tanks, artillery, mortars, howitzers, and other heavy military equipment. All this is against a handful of republican guards and policemen who do not obey anti-national Chisinau regime, but the freely and democratically elected state of Transnistria!*[247]

The passage continues in offering the following comparative description of Moldova:

> *The trivial grounds and bloody retaliation against the civilians of Bendery were not something unique. Such provocations have become usual. And, interestingly, - if Hitler's men justified the aggression against Poland by the SS changing into the clothes of so called Polish extremists and staging an attack on its own radio station, for Moldova even such a disguise is considered excessive. The reason for the outbreak of another anti-Transnistrian campaign is not the actions of some "separatists" against the police or*

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[247] Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко, *Бендеры: расстрелянные, непокоренные,* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 1993), 5. (My own translation from Russian)

Moldovan volunteer, but the opposite - the murder of civilians of the PMR by the police.

Hence, atrocities of the Chisinau military in Transnistria – the beating of citizens, illegal arrests and searches, torture, and murder – are in their eyes seen as sufficient grounds for equipping mechanized military units for punitive raids to punish the people of PMR and subdue them to "legitimate constitutional authorities." The anti-popular regime is punishing innocent citizens for its own crimes.[248]

The authors of the book describe the conflict in details from the perspective of the PMR. The book offers a precise timeline of the events of June 1992, offering a step-by-step narrative of the events, even providing the specific times of when specific events took place. It is important to mention also the way the book presents Russian involvement, specifically the heroic role played by General Lebed':

A crucial role in ending the Bendery slaughter, in curbing Moldovan aggression, was played by Generals A.I. Lebed', appointed commander of the 14th Russian Army. He was able to do what was beyond the power of the UN Commission, as well as the military observers from Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine. It was General Lebed' who began separating the warring groups. His honest, unambiguous, clear and distinct position of "armed neutrality" showed the aggressor that the period of impunity was over. The Chisinau regime received a sobering lesson, the effect of which, probably, not to lose its impressive features for a long time.[249]

This is also the closing passage of the book written by the authors. What follows are attachments of documents and speeches of politicians from the PMR, Moldova, Russia, and Romania.

Dubossary: Bleeding Wound of Transnistria is written in a very similar way, documenting in detail and providing photographs of the events that occurred in Dubossary. The book's opening passage reads as follows:

In Transnistria blood is being spilled. The war continues in Transnistria. The war started by the ruling clique in Moldova, an ethno-bureaucratic regime of a national-socialist character. The absurd war goes on, crazy in its meaning, criminal, inhumane, barbaric in its form. And to recall the famous formulation of Clausewitz that war is the continuation of politics by other means, then you might say that the Transnistrian war became a logical consequence of that absurdity and craziness into which Moldova was

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[248] Ibid. 5, 7. (My own translation from Russian)
[249] Ibid. 67. (My own translation from Russian)

plunged at the beginning of the 1990s. The Transnistrian war is a continuation of the criminal, inhumane, barbaric policy of the Chisinau regime.[250]

In fact, the summary provided by the authors of the book expresses the sentiments it is intended to convey very well:

The collection of photographic documents "Dubossary – the Bleeding Wound of Transnistria" was published just a year after the end of the armed conflict in Transnistria. When memories of the horrors of the war were still fresh, but the mind stubbornly refused to accept the fact that all of this could have happened not in the distant years of the Romanian occupation and fascist aggression, but during our time – in yesterday's prosperous and blooming Soviet Moldavia.

But there is no more Moldavia. There is an aggressor – the Republic of Moldova, and there are its victims – the Transnistrians, who dared to defend their right to speak not in the imposed Romanian, but in their native language – Moldovan, Russian, Ukrainian.

Dubossary – a small town on the Dniester, in 1990 was the first to experience fascist methods of "restoring constitutional order" by the hands of those for whom a free Transnistria was the last obstacle on the way to absorbtion of Moldova by neighboring Romania. After getting acquainted with the album, explanations as to why Transnistrians created their own state and with such perseverance are defending its independence, I think, will not be necessary for the reader.[251]

Another important memorial book published in 1995 was *The Memorial Book of the Defenders of Transnistria* (*Книга памяти защитников Приднестровья).* The project of the government sponsored memorial book began with the passing of the decree №130 of the PMR government on April 29, 1994, according to which the books aim was to "perpetuate the memory of the citizens of the PMR, as well as international volunteers killed in repelling the aggression of the Republic of Moldova, in the defense of peace, freedom and independence." The memorial book is very similar to the smaller scale ones about Dubossary and Bendery it the usage of photographs, personal stories and general language choice and historical narrative. *Defenders of Transnistria*, however, traces the full conflict in detail, unfailingly comparing the Republic Moldova to Hitler's Germany, naming the atrocities committed, laying out the

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[250] Bobick, "Profits of Disorder," 248.

[251] Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко, *Дубоссары – кровоточащая рана Приднестровья* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 1993). (My own translation from Russian)

arguments for Transnistria's necessity for independence and its unique position within Moldova, and in the end finishing with a conclusion that while Moldova was unable to achieve any of its goals in the conflict. On the other hand, according to the authors, Transnistria and its defenders had been victorious:

> *Not "Russophones," not "invaders," not "mankurt," but a kind and open-minded, proud and freedom-loving people created the PMR. And they will be able to defend it. Who comes with a sword to us, to Transnistria, will from the sword die. And forever in the hearts and the minds of the people of the PMR, its defenders will remain brave and selfless knights, epic heroes, heirs of glory of Suvorov's warriors.*[252]

The memorial book also contains the names of all those fallen in the conflict[253]

According to Michael Bobick, "Death, unflinchingly portrayed, served as a common anchor for residents of the region. The PMR state reproduced these images in memorial books both to publicise the conflict amongst other Russian-speaking populations and to instill a sense of collective victimization among residents." Furthermore, Bobick argues that these memorial books, together with the photographs of the conflict should not be seen as what Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger refer to as invention of tradition.

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[252] Н.В. Бабилунга и Б.Г. Бомешко, *Книга памяти защитников Приднестровья* (Тирасполь: РИО ПГУ, 1995). (My own translation from Russian)

[253] The book has also been put up in electronic form on the website of the project "The Free Electronic Encyclopedia 'World of Transnistria'. One of the aims of the project is to gather and expand on the information on the fallen soldiers and killed civilians of the Transnistrian conflict. Each name from the memorial book is dedicated with a page and brief biography. A similar project is done for the victims of WWII. For more see: СВОБОДНАЯ ЭЛЕКТРОННАЯ ЭНЦИКЛОПЕДИЯ "МИР ПРИДНЕСТРОВЬЯ!," accessed 25 November, 2014, http://www.pmr.idknet.com/wiki/index.php/Заглавная_страница. In 2006 *The White Book of the PMR (Белая книга Приднестровской Молдавской Республики)* was published in Moscow. Similar in its content and narrative to the memorial books published by Tiraspol, the book covers the regions relations with Moldova and Romania, the issues of the PMR statehood formation, and conflict and the atrocities of war. It presents doucments related to the conflict, as well as numerous personal photographs and individual accounts. At the end of the book there is a list of names of those killed and wounded in the conflict, both military and civilian. For more see: В. Шурыгин, Д. Тумаков, Ю. Нерсесов, В. Проханов, *Белая Книга ПМР* (Москва: ИА REGNUM, 2006).

Instead, Bobick points out that "these photographs and memorial books are better seen as material objects that, while they form the basis of a political community, are silent arguments are invoked when all other narrative tools and rationalizations fail"[254]

6.2.2. National Holidays

The Independence Day of Moldova, August 27, was never celebrated in PMR. PMR has its own date, September 2, which it celebrates as Republic Day, or Independence Day. Celebrations are a two-day event and public holiday, celebrated on September 1 and 2. The government and the city administrations are responsible for organizing celebratory events throughout PMR. The celebrations, beginning on September1 are usually combined with the celebrations of the Day of Knowledge, with celebratory lineups of students at their schools, marking the beginning of the academic year. There are official PMR flag raising ceremonies, wreath-laying ceremonies, parades, concerts of both local traditional folklore music groups, various children's groups, and orchestras throughout the days, culminating with a grand concert of popular musicians (usually from Russia). Traditionally, a grand military parade was held in Tiraspol on September 2, however, over the years and especially now with the change of leadership, the military parade has been downscaled. It is followed by parades consisting of locals, each year showcasing different groups of costumes; for example, it has included people dressed in traditional national clothes of PMR, belly dancers, and brides as part of the parade in some years. This is has been a major surprise to Western travelers to the region, who in their blogs say that they were rather disappointed, as they had expected to see tanks rolling through the streets and saluting soldiers as well as insane amounts of PMR flags being waved. Although a touch of Soviet style of celebrations is still present, as is the military parade, the holiday's focus has slightly shifted and today is a public holiday, which people enjoy as a day with family and friends walking around the city, enjoying or participating in the entertainment activities and having barbeques. [255]

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[254] Bobick, "Profits of Disorder," 245.

[255] For first hand descriptions and photos of the holiday from travel bloggers see, for example: *Rear View Mirror – The Road Trip Travel Blog*, http://www.rearviewmirror.tv/transnistrias-wild-independence-day-

During the two-day celebrations politicians still use their speeches to stress the sacrifices of the fallen soldiers in the 1992 war, reminding the people of PMR of how lucky they are to have a peaceful and prosperous PMR to call their home. Although such rhetoric was more prominent during the previous leadership, President Shevchuk still stresses these matters in his speeches on Independence Day. For example, during the 2014 celebrations he said, "Our countrymen gave their lives to defend their home towns from the Romanian nationalists who were bombing civilians. At the cost of their lives, they defended Transnistria."[256]

Another uniquely PMR public holiday is its Constitution Day, celebrated on December 24. It is a day politicians use to remind the public of the creation of the legal basis of PMR, and the importance of the Constitution, laws and general legal basis for their contested state. The celebrations of the day are not as widespread, and are generally limited to a few official ceremonies and events.

In addition to its own national holidays, PMR has kept a few of the Soviet ones. Like much of the post-Soviet space, PMR celebrates the Day of the Defenders of the Motherland, on February 23, and Victory Day on May 9. Victory Day, commemorating the end of the WWII, has special significance, as the war's veterans are still alive and the holiday has kept many of its Soviet rituals. At the state level, wreath-laying ceremonies are held, as is an almost obligatory military parade. Since 2005, Victory Day's sixtieth anniversary, the black and orange ribbon of St. George has been used as a new official symbol of the holiday, recognized all over the post-Soviet space, not just in PMR. The ribbon is not a political or commercial initiative; in fact, the orange and black striped ribbon has been around since the days of the Russian Empire, when it was introduced as high military honor under Catherine the Great. For the people who wear it on their clothes or place it on their cars it signifies a symbol of the Soviet victory in WWII, the unity between people and a shared historic destiny.[257] Generally, WWII has become a powerful part of

celebrations/; *Yomadic*, http://www.yomadic.com/transnistria/; *The Bohemian Blog*, http://www.thebohemianblog.com/2013/09/dark-tourism-last-of-ussr-transnistria.html.

[256] "В Приднестровье отмечают День Республики," *Новости Приднестровья*, September 2, 2014, accessed October 10, 2014, http://novostipmr.com/ru/news/14-09-02/v-pridnestrove-otmechayut-den-respubliki.

[257] The ribbon of St. George has unfortunately become tainted with the events in Ukraine throughout the year 2014. The ribbon was actively used by the pro-Russian parts of the population and as part of the Anti-Maidan

the PMR official discourse, as it is considered a glorious page of PMR's history. The holiday is a day off from work for the whole contested state, with parades, celebrations, concerts and powerful speeches from the leadership. These speeches thank and congratulate the veterans, and then usually focus on the fascist crimes, the famines after WWII, and are always linked with the 1992 war with Moldova. According to Ala Şveţ,

> *In addition to commemorating the past, the Victory Day celebrations thus have a pedagogical dimension. They are used to remind people of the norms of behavior during Soviet times, and this is especially relevant for young people… Victory Day statements by the TMR political leaders epitomize their interpretation of the recent past and the transformations of Transnistria's political identity. These leaders do not disown the region's Soviet past and draw strength from Transnistria's symbolical unity with the political and cultural heritage of the Soviet Union. They selectively appeal to historical facts and events in order to interpret and legitimize the TMR's domestic and foreign policies. Thus, Victory Day is celebrated as a day of national memory and pride, but also becomes the basis for the state's mobilization of its citizens.[258]*

The Anniversary of the October Revolution is still celebrated in PMR on November 7. Such celebrations of the October Revolution on a national level can now be witnessed only in PMR, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. During Soviet times, this holiday celebrated the radical change in history, the beginning of a new stage of human development, the arrival of a political structure that would bring the socialist values of freedom and progress. In PMR it was seen as an important revolutionary holiday, even after the collapse of the USSR. As Soviet history was directly seen as PMR history, this holiday

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movement. Members of the Donbas People's Militia also wore it, turning it into a symbol of pro-Russian separatism. To many people in Ukraine angered by the ribbon, it has become a symbol of the Russian Empire and Soviet domination. Many people have begun referring to those wearing the ribbon as the "Colorado beetles", due to the similar colors of the ribbon. There have been initiatives in many parts of Ukraine to encourage veterans to stop using the ribbons during Victory Day and switch to wearing the poppy flower, used in many Western countries, instead. Furthermore, there have been attempts to completely ban St. George's ribbon in Ukraine and in Latvia; in Belarus people were encouraged not to wear it, while in Canada the symbol was generally looked down upon and highly criticized.

[258] Ala Şveţ, "Staging the Transnistrian Identity Within the Heritage of Soviet Holidays," *History and Anthropology*, 24:1 (2013): 112, accessed September 25, 2014. doi: 10.1080/02757206.2012.759326.

embodied the historical foundation of the Soviet identity, symbols, and traditions. Over time, however, the ideological component of the holiday has lost its appeal, and today it is celebrated mainly by the older generation when the Communist Party of PMR organizes a meeting or celebration.[259]

Although they can be considered as part of the Soviet legacy, the holidays of Women's Day, celebrated on March 8, and May Day or Labor Day, celebrated on May 1 and 2 in PMR, can now be seen as international holidays. The two-day holiday is no longer as festive and ideological as it once had been during Soviet times, however, parades are still held, and the PMR leadership generally has seen this holiday as one that should retain its social nature and represent civil consciousness. Except for the older population, Soviet symbolism and celebrations have lost their actuality in PMR yet continue existing. People generally use the two-day holiday as an opportunity to spend time with family and friends outdoors, with the most popular activity no longer being parades, but picnics. Pensioners traditionally use this day to request raises to their welfare payments, while others simply participate due to nostalgic value.[260]

January 1 and 2 are also public holidays in PMR, in celebration of the New Year. Both Orthodox and Catholic religious holidays of Christmas and Easter are public holidays as well.

It is worth mentioning that PMR celebrates a large number of professional holidays. Although, not public holidays with days off for the population, they are official recognized by the government. These celebrate almost every profession, from teachers to veterinarians, insurance workers to geologists, from Day of the Print to Day of the Theater, Day of Museums, or Day of the Radio and Other Forms of Communication.

A recent interesting addition to the long list of holidays was Day of Entering of the Russian Peacekeepers into PMR. President Smirnov signed the decree in November 2011, and the holiday is celebrated annually on July 29. It is a day that centers on the Russian peacekeeping troops in PMR, with higher PMR officials thanking the forces, and Russia in general, for their efforts in the region, for ending the war, and for saving Transnistrians. Peacekeepers are awarded with medals and flowers are laid at memorials and

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[259] Ibid.: 107-108.
[260] Ibid.: 109.

monuments.[261] Other important holidays in PMR include: Remembrance Day of International Soldier on February 15, Memorial Day for the Fallen Defenders of the 1992 War in Transnistria on August 1, Day of the PMR Armed Forces on September 6, and Day of National Unity on November 4.[262]

6.3. A POLITICAL CULTURE BASED ON THE "USABLE PAST"

The PMR population is made up of people of a number of nations, but mainly Moldovans, Ukrainians and Russians. As was shown in the previous section, this is the underlining feature of the history written in the PMR. The main goal of the books published is to show the unique history of the territory and trace it back as far as possible in order to show that Transnistria developed separately from the rest of Moldova. It aims to show that Transnistria is, in fact, the true Moldova, which was not influenced by Romania. Using this past, a political culture that developed in the PMR will now be addressed.

6.3.1. Flag, Coat of Arms, Anthem and Currency[263]

In April 1990, several cities in Transnistria refused to raise the new, tricolored Moldovan flag. The Moldovan flag, a vertical tricolor of blue, yellow and red, is identical to the flag of Romania of the same colors and the flag of the Romanian army during WWII, with the exception of one detail – the coat of arms of Moldova is featured in the center, on the yellow stripe. The coat of arms of Moldova also largely corresponds with the coat of arms of Romania, clearly indicating the national and cultural affinity of the two countries. The

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[261] "В Приднестровье будут праздновать День ввода миротворцев России," *REGNUM*, November 29, 2011, accessed October 10, 2014, http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1472870.html.

[262] "ПРАЗДНИЧНЫЕ ДНИ И ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ В ПМР," Представительство Приднестровской Молдавской Республики в Республике Южная Осетия, accessed October 10, 2014, http://rso.mfa-pmr.org/all_date.html.

[263] For visual representations of the Transnistrian flag and coat of arms see Appendix 2.

Transnistrians, instead, preferred the MSSR flag with the hammer and sickle; to them it symbolized great achievements, which they adopted in 1991, together with their own coat of arms. Different variations of the MSSR flag were used in PMR over the years, but it wasn't until 2000 that it became part of the official legislation.

On July 25, 2000 the Law №324-3 on State Symbols of PMR was passed. It put into law the specifications, dimensions and usage of the flag, coat of arms and national anthem, which officially became the main symbols of PMR's sovereignty, statehood and government.

As stipulated by law, the PMR flag, identical to the MSSR flag, has three horizontal stripes of red, green, and red; the red stripes are equal in size, and slightly thicker than the green stripe in the middle. The upper left corner of the flag is a yellow hammer and sickle, above which is a red star with a yellow border. The state flag is installed permanently on all official government buildings, both of the state and local level, as well as on all building of the PMR representation abroad. The flag can further be put up during holidays, ceremonies and celebrations held by the state authorities and management, local government, businesses, institutions and organizations. It can be raised on building of organizations, apartment blocks and private homes during public holidays, as well as on other days under certain conditions. It can also be raised as a sign of mourning.[264]

In 2009 a group of MPs of the Supreme Council of PMR had proposed an initiation of amendments to the Law on State Symbols, specifically on introducing the tricolored flag of the Russian Federation as an additional symbol of PMR. A distinctive PMR national symbol would possibly be placed on upper left corner or on the blue stripe of the white, blue and red flag, which would be used alongside the existing PMR flag. The proposed amendment was based on the results of the 2006 referendum, and cited the continuous efforts of the Russian Federation to ensure peace in PMR as the main reason for such an addition to the state symbols. The MPs that initiated the bill stated that Russia had been present in Transnistria for over a century, and the Russian national flag would thus be a symbol of unity of the multinational Transnistrian people, thus marking a common history of the PMR and the Russian

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[264] ЗАКОН О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ СИМВОЛИКЕ ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКОЙ МОЛДАВСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ, N 324-3, 25.06.2000. Accessed September 15, 2014. http://zakon-pmr.com/DetailDoc.aspx?document=60941.

Federation.[265] In the autumn of 2013 the amendment was put up to a vote and did not pass, with 19 out of the 32 present MPs voting in favor. The PMR Supreme Council consists of 43 MPs of which a two-thirds majority was necessary to pass the amendment.[266]

On November 5, 2013, PMR President Yengeny Shevchuk signed Law №265-3-V on the State Flag of the PMR, which replaced the legislation on state symbols from 2000. Although largely similar to Chapter 2 of the previous law, some articles have been rewritten, rearranged or combined. The main difference is in the addition of some governmental buildings, public transportation and spaces, events, uniforms, medals, stamps and stationary where the flag can be displayed. The law distinguishes between the official and the simple version of the flag; the latter is simply the tricolor, without the hammer and sickle and star. It stipulates that the simple version of the flag can be used freely, except for official and state purposes. Article 12 calls for the use of only the official version of the flag on all the official state websites, including websites of local, regional and district governments.[267] The same is expected of the PMR coat of arms, as stipulated by Article 5(2) of the Law №264-3-V on the State Coat of Arms of PMR, which was signed together with the Law on the State Flag by Shevchuk. However, a quick overview of the PMR official websites which were specifically named in the laws showed that these Articles were not implemented, as many websites either displayed only one of the two symbols, displayed simplified or animated, rotating and sparkling versions of the flag, or no symbols at all.

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[265] "Несколько общественных организаций Приднестровья и ряд депутатов фракции «Обновление» в Верховном Совете предлагают дополнить государственную символику Приднестровской Молдавской Республики и использовать наряду с государственным флагом Приднестровской Молдавской Республики национальный бело-сине-красный флаг," Верховный Совет Приднестровской Молдавской Республики, April 30, 2009, accessed September 15, 2014, http://old.vspmr.org/News/?ID=2962.
[266] "Парламент Приднестровья не захотел узаконить бело-сине-красный флаг," Информационно-аналитический портал ЕВРАЗИЯ.org, January 15, 2014, accessed September 15, 2014, http://evrazia.org/news/30362.
[267] Закон ПМР № 265-3-V «О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОМ ФЛАГЕ ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКОЙ МОЛДАВСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ» Accessed September 15, 2014, http://president.gospmr.ru/ru/news/zakon-pmr-no-265-z-v-o-gosudarstvennom-flage-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki.

It is also worth noting that PMR has its own vehicle registration plates, which feature the PMR flag on the left side, making them slightly different from the Moldovan ones. Although it is unclear whether cars with such registration plates can be brought into other countries, specifically, be able to cross international borders, numerous citizens of Moldova residing in Moldova, for example, have in the past opted to register their cars in PMR due to lower taxes. On the other hand, there have been thousands of cases of such PMR registration plates being seized by the Moldovan authorities.[268] Currently only citizens or residents of PMR, with ability and documents to prove their residence are allowed to drive cars with PMR vehicle registration plates in Moldova.[269]

Law №264-3-V on the State Coat of Arms of PMR replaced Chapter 3 of the Law on State Symbols, and just like the previously discussed Law on the State Flag, is the updated legislation on the state symbol. It stipulates the mandatory official use of the coat of arms, for example on official letterheads, identification documents, diplomas, uniforms, etc. The PMR coat of arms is the slightly remodeled MSSR coat of arms. It is a Soviet-style emblem with a golden-yellow hammer and sickle, symbolizing the unity of workers and peasants. Above them is a five-pointed red star with golden yellow border. Below the hammer and sickle is the depiction of a yellow rising sun above the Dniester River, depicted as a blue ribbon with a single wavy white line. Orange stalks of wheat and cobs of corn surround the coat of arms, while at the bottom there are clusters of fruits, purple grapes, its leaves and vines, as well as clovers. All of these are symbols of prosperity and cornucopia. These are intertwined with red ribbon with the words "Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic" written in the three official languages of PMR; in Moldavian in the center, in Russian on the left side and in Ukrainian on the right.[270]

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[268] "Vehicles registered in the Transnistrian region are non-grata," Pridnestrovie Info, accessed October 10, 2014, http://pridnestrovie.info/news/vehicles-registered-in-the-transnistrian-region-are-non-grata.

[269] Helge Blakkisrund and Pål Kolstø, "From Secessionist Conflict Toward a Functioning State: Processes of State- and Nation-Building in Transnistria," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 27:2 (2011): 198, accessed October 20, 2014. doi: 10.2747/1060-586X.27.2.178.

[270] Закон ПМР № 264-3-V «О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОМ ГЕРБЕ ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКОЙ МОЛДАВСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ» Accessed September 15, 2014, http://president.gospmr.ru/ru/news/zakon-pmr-no-264-z-v-o-gosudarstvennom-gerbe-pridnestrovskoy-moldavskoy-respubliki.

Table 9

Translations of the PMR National Anthem from Moldovan, Russian and Ukrainian Languages to English [271]

Translation from Moldovan	Translation from Russian	Translation from Ukrainian
I Long live our Nistrenia-mother, A country of brothers and sisters, The love beyond compare Given by daughters, sons We will sing of orchards and factories, Towns, hamlets, plains, With them – in tomorrow's day O, country, prosper for us! **CHORUS:** In time we'll carry The name of the proud country. You, republic of liberty, You are the belief in a peaceful horizon. **II** We will sing of valleys and hills, The Morning Star from ancient Nistru, Old, wise ballads, Throughout centuries	**I** We sing glory to Transnistria, Here the friendship of nations is strong. With a great filial love We are closely connected to it for centuries to come. Let's praise gardens and factories, Villages, fields and cities In them are long glorious years For the sake of the Motherland of hard work. **CHORUS:** We will carry through the years The name of the proud country, And to the Republic of freedom, As to justice, we will be faithful. **II** We praise the native valleys,	**I** We praise the land Transnistria Where people are proud that With friendship, harmony, love They are forever associated with it. Let's glorify our factories, Broad fields and cities, Here nations are honestly working For the benefit of the Motherland of hard work. **CHORUS:** Through valleys and water We will carry the name of The Republic of freedom, Long live the family of nations here. **II** We praise the native valleys, Beauties of the

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[271] My own translations of the official anthem from Russian and Ukrainian into English; translation from Moldovan by Mihaela Marian (original words are as stipulated in Annex № 2, 3, and 4 of the Law №266-3-V on the State Anthem of PMR)

they made us dignified Glorifying the heroic name, Fallen in that battle And in front of sacred memory To our country we swear to be a shield!	The river banks of the gray Dniester. We remember epic heroic deeds, The glory of our fathers is dear to us. Let's praise each by name, Who died for the fatherly home. In holy memory of the fallen We take an oath to the Motherland.	Dniester river banks, And we do not forget the tales Of the great deeds of our fathers. Let's praise each by name, Who died for the fatherly home, Where the memory of the dead is sacred, We sing the anthem to our homeland.

The national anthem of PMR also has a Soviet origin. The music of the anthem was composed by Boris Alexandrov, son of Alexander Alexandrov, who was the author of the national anthem of the USSR. When Joseph Stalin held a contest for the new anthem of the USSR in 1943, both Alexander and Boris Alexandrov took part in the contest. Although Alexander Alexandrov's "Hymn of the Soviet Union" became the official anthem, his son's contest submission "Long Live Our Country" ("Да здравствует наша держава") became very popular throughout the USSR. Upon PMR's declaration of independence, the melody of this song was adopted. A new text was written for the anthem in Moldovan, Russian, and Ukrainian. The anthem is called "We Glorify You, Transnistria".[272] The words are not direct translations of the same text, and some variation can be seen between each language. Table 9 shows the translations into English of the text of the national anthem of PMR from each of the three national languages that it is in.

Slight variations between the words of the anthem in different languages are obvious, and peculiar as there is no official explanation or justification for this; however, these variations do not largely change the general meaning and message of the anthem. The anthem is composed to glorify the natural beauty of the land of Transnistria, to stress its hardworking people and declare the Transnistrian people's eternal bond to the land.

As has been shown, the PMR national flag, coat of arms and anthem

[272] "Transnistria," nationalanthems.info, accessed September 15, 2014, http://www.nationalanthems.info/pmr.htm.

are all symbols of statehood that have a heavy Soviet legacy. Oftentimes, this Soviet inspiration for state symbols is interpretted in the Western media as nostalgia for the USSR. However, the general tendency in PMR is actually to avoid too much emphasis on the Soviet period in history. As Daria Isachenko points out,

> *It seems that by avoiding the dominance of Soviet symbolism, local authorities try to avoid the impression that the PMR has been a Soviet and thus a recent creation. The aspiration is to trace the PMR phenomenon as far back in history as possible. The decisive message of the official discourse is thus that Pridnestrovie has nothing in common with Moldova and has always been peculiar and different from the right bank, whereas symptoms of these differences manifested themselves only around the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union.[273]*

A good example of such a tendency is the PMR curency.

After the PMR was declared, no new currency was created and the Soviet ruble, already in circulation continued to be used throughout the territory. Due to a vast depreciation of the currency, coins became of an extremely low nominal cost and thus were abolished, leaving only paper notes in circulation. As the USSR dissolved and the former Soviet Republic began introducing their own currencies, PMR became the only territory of the former USSR to continue to accept the Soviet ruble as a legitimate currency. This resulted in an influx of the Soviet ruble to its market. In July 1993, in an attempt to protect its financial system, the government of PMR introduced a decision to modify the Soviet banknotes by gluing on them the special fiscal stamps to differentiate the PMR rubles from the old Soviet ones. The face value of the stamp represented the value of the banknote. These stamps had the image of General Suvorov on them. As large numbers of these stamps were produced, from 2002 onwards they have been used as postage stamps, or postage stamps were overprinted on their reverse side.[274]

In August 1994, the Pridnestrovian ruble replaced the Soviet ruble as the new currency of PMR. In 2000, 2004 and 2007 the currency was updated with new banknotes. Currently, General Suvorov can be seen depicted on the 1, 5, 10, 25 ruble banknotes; Taras

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[273] Daria Isachenko, *The Making of Informal States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2012), 95.

[274] "История банкнот и монет," Приднестровский республиканский банк, accessed 15 September, 2014, http://www.cbpmr.net/?id=33&lang=ru.

Shevchenko's portrait is on the 50 rubles banknote; the 100 rubles banknote has a portrait of Dmitrie Cantemir; Count Pyotr Rumyantsev-Zadunaisky is on the 200 rubles note; Empress Catherine the Second is on the 500 rubles note.[275] Coins simply bear the PMR coat of arms and the denomination of 1, 5, 10, 25 or 50[276]. In 2012 the special symbol for the Pridnestrovian ruble was passed - ₽.

The Trans-Dniester Republic Bank, the central bank of PMR, was formed in 1992, building and taking full control of the financial system of PMR. In 1997, with the signing of the Memorandum "On the bases for Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Trans-Dniester Moldavian Republic", PMR was granted the right to unilaterally establish and maintain international contacts in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres, as stipulated by Article 3 of the Memorandum. As a result, the Republican Bank was recognized as PMR's central bank internationally. Currently, it independently establishes direct relations with foreign banks, and sets the exchange rate of the Transnistrian ruble and foreign currencies.[277] Nevertheless, the Transnistrian ruble is not treated seriously on world financial markets.

The PMR's main exports are cognac from the Kvint distillery, bed linens, weapons, cable and workers. The PMR's economy is not self-sufficient and strong enough to function without outside help. Russia has been delivering gas to the PMR free of charge for many years now. It also subsidizes the PMR's pension fund.[278]

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[275] "Банкноты," Приднестровский республиканский банк, accessed 15 September, 2014, http://www.cbpmr.net/?id=11&lang=ru.

[276] "Монеты," Приднестровский республиканский банк, accessed 15 September, 2014, http://www.cbpmr.net/?id=12&lang=ru.

[277] "История банка,"Приднестровский республиканский банк, accessed 15 September, 2014, http://www.cbpmr.net/?id=3&lang=ru.

[278] Alexander Smoltczyk, "Soviet Yearnings: Hopes Rise in Transnistria of a Russian Annexation," *Spiegel Online*, April 24, 2014, accessed September 30, 2014, http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/transnistria-soviet-leftover-or-russian-foothold-in-europe-a-965801.html.

6.3.2. Passports and Visas

According to the 2002 (edited in 2005 and 2007) Constitutional Law N166-КЗ-III on PMR Citizenship PMR grants citizenship to all citizens of the USSR living in PMR at the time of its independence, on September 2, 1990, as well as automatically to all the children born on its territory, regardless of the citizenship of the parents. Foreigners older than 18 years old can apply for PMR citizenship after a year of continuous residence in the contested state. Refugees can apply after half a year, while in some cases the time frame rules is disregarded completely, for example in the case of a spouse of a PMR citizen, political asylum seekers, or people with exceptional achievements. PMR issues registration documentation, but does not require visas to enter its territory.

From October 1, 2001, every PMR citizen older than 16 years old is issued an internal PMR passport, red in color, decorated with the gold outline of the PMR coat of arms on the front cover. Internal passports, a legacy of the Soviet times still present in many countries across the post-Soviet space, include on its pages the details about each individual and serve as identification documents within the state borders. They are issued without expiration dates, yet need to be updated with black and white photographs at the ages of 16, 25 and 45. Before 2001 PMR citizens were issued paper confirmations of the residency and citizenship to be inserted into their USSR passports or passports of other countries. These passport IDs are only valid inside the PMR. For travel across the PMR border, citizens of the contested state need to be issued an international passport. These are dark blue and are only valid at the PMR border.[279] No country recognizes them, making it necessary for PMR citizens to obtain a second citizenship to be able to travel abroad. The PMR authorities acknowledge this by allowing dual citizenship in Article 5 of the Law on Citizenship.[280]

Citizens of PMR opt for Russian, Ukrainian or Moldovan citizenships. This situation goes to show that the population is driven by pure pragmatism of the issue; people opt for whichever passport is easier or more beneficial for them to obtain. Available statistics on the dual

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[279] "Паспорт ПМР," Мир ПМР.ру, accessed October 14, 2014, http://mirpmr.ru/articles/zakony-kodeksy/124.html.
[280] Конституционный Закон ПМР "О гражданстве Приднестровской Молдавской Республики," accessed October 14, 2014, http://mfa-pmr.org/index.php?newsid=308.

citizenships of Transnistrians vary. According to Freedom House reports, based on information from Moldova's Ministry of Information, in 2006 more than 270,000 people in Transnistria held Moldovan citizenship; at least 80,000 held Russian citizenship, and 80,000 Ukrainian citizenship.[281] In its 2013 Freedom Report, Freedom House reported that an estimated 150,000 residents of PMR held Russian passports, while about 100,000 held Ukrainian passports. Though many were believed to have multiple citizenships, the report did not mention the number of Moldovan citizenship holders.[282] On the other hand, in an interview given in November 2013, Vladimir Malyshev, the Head of the Consular Section of the Russian Embassy in Chisinau, stated that there were slightly over 213 thousand Russian citizens on the Embassy's consular register, although the Embassy estimates the number to be closer to 220 thousand. The Russian Federation, however, does not specify or differentiate between those people residing in PMR or Moldova, as well as those holding dual citizenship, although it is quite clear that the majority do live in PMR.[283] These numbers might change in the near future, as holders of the biometric Moldovan passports are now granted visa-free travel to the Schengen zone, potentially making Moldovan citizenship more attractive to citizens of PMR.

On the other hand, PMR journalistic and official sources report Moldovan citizens applying for and being granted PMR citizenship. In 2013, 985 people were granted PMR citizenship, of whom 758, or 77 percent, were citizens of Moldova. Apparently, this trend has been occurring over several years, with the biggest influx of Moldovans during the wintertime. PMR sources cite the reason for this to be simply lower prices and higher salaries and social payments in PMR when compared to Moldova.[284]

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[281] "Freedom in the World – Transnistria*," Freedom House 2006, accessed September 29, 2014, http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2006/transnistria#.VFPXsvTF_8s.

[282] "Freedom in the World – Transnistria*," Freedom House 2013, accessed September 29, 2014, http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/transnistria#.VFPdevTF_8s.

[283] "220 Thousand Citizens of Moldova Have Russian Passports, Mostly – in Transnistria, Says Russian Consul," Infotag, 11 november, 2013, accessed September 28, 2014, http://www.infotag.md/interview-en/181034/.

[284] "Почти 800 граждан Молдовы получили паспорт ПМР за 2013 год," VSE.MD, November 30, 2013, accessed September 29, 2014, http://vse.md/component/k2/item/5036-pochti-800-grazhdan-moldovyi-poluchili-pasport-pmr-za-2013-god.

It cannot, however, be said that the issues of citizenship have not caused problems between PMR and Moldova. The most recent problem regards PMR citizens being denied the issuing of certificates of stateless persons by Moldovan authorities. Such certificates are one of the basic requirements in many countries, specifically in Russia, for the issuing of citizenship. Furthermore, there have been reports of Moldovan authorities using information on applications for issuing such certificates for entering PMR citizens into the common database of citizens of Moldova. They then invite such people to apply and be given a Moldovan passport in order to go before court and challenge the denial of a subsequent issuance of the certificate of a stateless person, thus unwillingly trapping them in an endless legal battle and granting them citizenship they did not want. These people then find themselves in a deadlock situation, when they cannot apply for citizenship in the country they wanted to and have to deal with the Moldovan citizenship that they did not want. The Moldovan side justifies this by citing the UN Convention relating to the Status of the Stateless Persons of 1954 and the UN Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness of 1961, which Moldova is a part of. As part of its commitment, Moldova has decided to grant citizenship to all the people eligible under the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Moldova and residing on its territory. As Moldova views Transnistria as an integral part of its territory, this applies to all the PMR citizens. PMR authorities have responded to these events by saying that this is a direct violation of the right of PMR citizens, and generally are illegal actions. PMR authorities have pointed out that Moldova has taken away the right to choose a citizenship from these people and in an official statement posted on the website of the PMR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the action of the Moldovan side,

> *… impedes the free choice of citizenship of other countries and imposes absolutely non-alternative forms on Pridnestrovian citizens which **deprive them of their legal right to free choice of citizenship** under conditions of unresolved conflict between Pridnestrovie and the Republic of Moldova, as well as existing consequences connected with the collapse of the USSR.[285]*

Furthermore, the PMR authorities have taken steps by bringing up this issue to the OSCE Chairman, as well as officially addressing the

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[285] "Regarding the Forced Documenting of the Citizens of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic by Competent Authorities of the Republic of Moldova," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, May 26, 2014, accessed October 5, 2014, http://mfa-pmr.org/index.php?newsid=4278.

members of the Permanent Conference in the 5+2 format, calling on them to begin investigating this issue further and eventual aid in implementing the legal interpretation of the matter.

6.3.3. Transformation of Cultural Landscapes and Public Spaces

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, many countries witnessed a mass movement in the renaming of public spaces. It was particularly visible in the renaming of streets with Soviet-themed names. This, however, did not occur in the newly proclaimed PMR. To this day, the names of streets, squares, and avenues remain the same. Throughout the PMR one can easily find Lenin avenues, Gagarin boulevards, alleys of Pavel Morozov, and streets named after Mikhail Kalinin, Valery Chkalov, or General Suvorov, Aleksandr Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov. There are also streets named after Karl Marx, Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg and a Friedrich Engels lane. Of course, Communist street, Soviet street, Komsomol street can be easily spotted on maps of many places in the PMR, for example in Tiraspol and Bendery. Although there have been numerous discussions about the return to the old, pre-Russian revolution street names. These have been largely unsuccessful and have not proceeded past committee discussions. Two reasons are given for this, one practical and one philosophical. The former is that the renaming of streets is both an unnecessary financial burden to the state as well as a needless inconvenience to the streets' residents and registered businesses. The latter is that history has both bright and dark spots, and one cannot escape or change them, so one simply should remember them.[286]

The same remains true for monuments and statues throughout the PMR. For these historic remembrance reasons, for example, statues of Lenin still stand. The monument to General Suvorov, erected in 1979, has become one of the main symbols of Tiraspol, if not of the PMR as a whole, in the eyes of the Transnistrians. The nine-meter monument, initially placed in the spot where the city and its fortress were founded, was later moved to Tiraspol's main square, also

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[286] Наталия Барбиер, "В Приднестровье почти все улицы сохранили свои прежние названия," Point.md, March 13, 2013, accessed November 28, 2014, http://point.md/ru/novosti/obschestvo/v-pridnestrovje-pochti-vse-ulici-sohranili-svoi-prezhnie-nazvaniya.

named after Suvorov. Furthermore, not only is image of the Russian general found on state awards, coins, banknotes, and post stamps, the image of the statue itself can be found on post stamps from various years and on the first banknotes issued by the PMR in 1993, 1995 and 1997.[287] Statues and monuments erected during the Soviet times include those commemorating for example Alexandr Pushkin, Mikhail Kutuzov, Grigory Kotovsky, Yuri Gagarin, and Taras Shevchenko. After the proclamation of the PMR more busts, statues, monuments and memorial plaques were placed throughout the cities of the contested state, for example of Pushkin, Kutuzov, and Catherine the Great. Not all monuments are dedicated to personalities. For example, a monument to the Pridnestrovian ruble was placed in front of the Transnistrian Republican Bank in 2014, while in a horseshoe monument "For Luck" was placed in from of the cultural center in Tiraspol the same year.

Many monuments and memorials were made commemorating the painful events in Transnistria. The main ones are in Bendery and Tiraspol and require a more detailed discussion, as they play central to the sentiments of nation building in the PMR by adding to the collective memory of the people.

In Bendery these main sights include the Military-Historical Memorial Complex (Военно-исторический мемориальный комплекс) opened in 2008 and the Memorial of Remembrance and Grief (Мемориал Памяти и Скорби) commemorating those who died defending Transnistria in the conflict with Moldova, the first part of which opened already in 1993. There are a few more sites, worthy of mentioning – the "Black Tulip" monument opened in 1998 to the 15 citizens of Bendery who died while fighting in the Afghan War, the monument to the victims of the Holocaust opened in 2002, the Memorial "Pantheon of Glory", erected at the burial site of Soviet soldiers killed during the liberation of Bendery from German-Romanian forces during WWII, and the fraternal burial site of Soviet soldiers killed in Varnickiy bridgehead.

Like the latter two, the Military-Historical Memorial Complex is dedicated to the fallen soldiers. It honors the soldiers who participated in the defense of the interests of Russia and other Slavic

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[287] "34 года назад в Тирасполе был открыт памятник Александру Васильевичу Суворову," Информационное агентство Новости Приднестровья, November 23, 2013, accessed 1 June, 2015, http://novostipmr.com/ru/news/13-11-23/34-goda-nazad-v-tiraspole-byl-otkryt-pamyatnik-aleksandru.

nations in the southwestern borders of the country. On the cite are buried more than 5,000 Russian soldiers, more than half of whom died during during the defense of Sevastopol between 1854 and 1856, the Balkan campaign and the storming of the Shipka Pass from 1877 to 1878. In total, the cemetery now has 249 granite plates with the names of 4740 soldiers who died in the battles in the area, as well as monuments to 10 generals. At the memorial cite there is also a monument in honor of soldiers of the 55th Podolsky Infantry Regiment, who died in various battles, a memorial plate to soldiers who died in 1770 during the storming of the fortress of Bendery, a monument to the Cossacks of Hetmans Mazepa and Orlik, and a memorial plate to the fallen soldiers of the French army, which defended local rebels against the Romanian army during an uprising in Bendery in 1919. There is also an orthodox cross and a chapel, as well as an obelisk dedicated to the memory of Soviet soldiers who were killed, shot, or died of disease and starvation in Bendery and were buried in the cemetery in the period 1941-1944. The final piece is the rebuilt Triumphal Arch, which was originally built in Chisinau in 1807 and was called the "Bendery Street Arch", but was destroyed in 1944. It was built in honor of Russia's victory over the Turkish army in Bendery. The Complex, the restoration and building of which was a project of the PMR's Ministry of Interior, was opened on October 7, 2008 in an official ceremony attended by the PMR's top officials. Vadim Krasnosel'skii, Minister of Interior at the time, summed up the significance of the cite to the PMR during the ceremony by saying the following,

> *Our country will always remain an outpost of Russia in the south. When rebuilding the memorial we were moved to show the idea that the history of Transnistria and Russia are inseparable. Mentally and spiritually Transnistria has always been a part of this state.[288]*

The Memorial of Remembrance and Grief in Bendery was built in three phases and is, consequently, made up of three main parts. A granite stone placed at the entrance to the Memorial reads, "The Memorial is erected in honor of the fallen defenders of the city of Bendery, who defended the city in March-June 1992 from Moldovan

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[288] Ирина Устименко, "В Бендерах сегодня был торжественно открыт военно-исторический мемориальный комплекс и освящена православная полковая часовня 55-го подольского пехотного полка," *Ольвия-пресс*, 7 October 2008, accessed 1 December 2014, http://www.olvia.idknet.com/ol98-10-08.htm. (My own translation of quote)

nationalists,"[289] describing the cite and setting the general undertone. The first phase of the Memorial was finished and opened on the first anniversary of the Bendery tragedy, on June 19, 1993. The first part was the Memorial of Glory, intended to perpetuate the memory of the fallen defenders of the city. Mounted on a low pedestal, is an infantry fighting vehicle, the crew of which was attacked by police on June 22, 1992 and did not return from battle. An eternal flame burns in front of the vehicle. By the fifth anniversary of the formation of the PMR, the second phase was completed and on 2 September 1995 a stylized open chapel was open. Consisting of eight pylons, connected by arches, the chapel also has a large bronze bell with the following dedication written on its lower edge: "From the President of Transnistria, in memory of the victims of Moldovan aggression."[290] A year later, the third and final phase was complete. The addition to the Memorial was a large reinforced concrete structure in the form of rays, on which are scattered fragments of marble. These marble pieces are stamped with the names of those who died in the battles in the summer of 1992. An inscription, an excerpt from a poem, is placed along the edges of the monument: "You have fallen in Bendery, but you are not forgotten! It is not only the granite blocks that remember you," and "Be grateful to destiny that you are alive, and bow low to those who have fallen for it."[291]

On June 12, 2012, in line with the celebrations of the Day of Russia in the PMR, the PMR high authorities opened a bust to General Lebed' at the Memorial of Remembrance and Grief in Bendery.[292] PMR authorities have a very big fondness of monuments, statues,

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[289] "Мемориал воздвигнут в честь погибших защитников города Бендеры, отстоявших город в марте-июне 1992 года от националистов Молдовы."
(My own translation)

[290] "От президента Приднестровской Молдавской Республики в память о жертвах агрессии Молдовы." (My own translation)

[291] "Вы пали в Бендерах, но Вы не забыты, Вас помнят не только гранитные плиты..."; "Благодари судьбу, что ты живой, и низко поклонись за это павшим." (My own translation). Мемориал памяти и скорби," Бендерский историко-краеведческий музей, accessed 1 June, 2015,
http://bikmus.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=13:20 13-02-05-15-35-53&catid=18:2013-02-05-15-28-16&Itemid=12.

[292] "Памятник российскому генералу Лебедю открылся в приднестровском городе Бендеры," ИА Новости Молдова, 12 June 2012, accessed 20 November 2014,
http://www.newsmoldova.ru/society/20120612/191614709.html.

and commemorative plaques; even Karl Friedrich Hieronymus, aka Baron Münchhausen, got a memorial plaque in the Turkish fortress located in the city of Bendery in 2010. It is therefore, interesting and noteworthy that a figure as important to PMR history as General Alexander Lebed did not have a memorial in PMR until recently. Seen by many Transnistrians as the peacemaker who ended the war, Lebed is still largely popular throughout the contested state. Nevertheless, his fight against corruption and crime during his time in the region placed him in direct disagreement with the previous PMR authorities, specifically with former President Smirnov.[293] It did not take long after current President Shevchuk came to power for the bust to be erected, however, its placement can be questioned for being rather careless. The bust was placed in a Memorial of Remembrance and Grief, dedicated specifically to the fallen soldiers defending Bendery in 1992. General Lebed', however great was his contribution to peace in the region, died in a 2002 in a helicopter crash in the Sayan Mountains.

In Tiraspol, the main commemorative sight is the Memorial of Glory (Мемориал Славы). Located at the banks of the Dniester River, the Memorial dedicated to the soldiers who died during the WWII was opened on February 23, 1972. In honor of the fallen, an eternal flame and a T-34 tank mounted on a pedestal were installed. Central to the cite are marble blocks inscribed with the names of 1252 soldiers reburied on the grounds of the Memorial, four of whom hold the title of Heroes of the USSR. Soldiers from the Russian Civil War, border guards who died in 1921, soldiers from WWII, most of whom where participants of the Jassy-Kishinev Offensive are buried at the Memorial. Later, first participants of the conflict in Transnistria who died in 1992 were also buried here. In 1995, a monument to the fallen soldiers of the 1979-1989 War in Afghanistan was erected. The monument is of a soldier, behind who, on a granite block, the names of all the fallen Transnistrian soldiers of that war is engraved. The next addition to the Memorial came during its reconstruction in 2009-2010, in preparation for the 20th anniversary of the PMR. A monument to the Defenders of Transnistria was built, as was a memorial wall, engraved with the names of all the defenders of Transnistria, who died in 1990-1992. Placed in front of the wall is a

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[293] Bobick, "Profits of Disorder," 256.

statue of the Grieving Mother. In October 2011, the chapel of St. George was opened as the final part of the Memorial.[294]

6.4. THE CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS

The previous section provided the data on the political culture that was built in the PMR, based on the 'usable past'. Generally, this political culture largely draws on the Soviet past of the region. We can see it in the state symbology and the public spaces. A Russian influence can also be seen.

Although this can be interpreted as Soviet nostalgia, within the PMR this is seen as simply acknowledging their own history. Not wanting to build the state on one nation, the PMR sees itself as the homeland of (at least) three nations. Although the PMR borders Ukraine and Moldova, and claims to be the cradle and protector of the true Moldovan language, culture, and nation, the clear patron here is Russia.

The current section builds upon the data presented about the political culture, and explores the created institutions and traditions.

6.4.1. Museums

Broadly speaking, establishment of museums in Transnistria can be categorized into three main time periods: the first, from the beginning of the twentieth century until the post-WWII period; the second in the 1970s-1980s; and the third, after 1990.

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[294] Никита Зверев, "В Тирасполе проведут реконструкцию Мемориала Славы," *Комсомольская правда,* 13 March, 2013, accessed 1 December 2014, http://www.kp.md/online/news/1388849/;
"Мемориальный комплекс Воинам павшим при освобождении города," *Prospect.md, accessed 1 December 2014,* http://www.prospect.md/ru/history/pamyatniki-i-memorialy/memorialinyj-kompleks-voinam-pavshim-pri-osvobozhdenii-goroda.html.

The oldest museum in the Transnistrian region is the Museum of History and Regional Geography of Bendery (Бендерский историко-краеведческий музей), founded in 1914. Initially it was just a museum of natural history, and only in the early 1960s the museum opened a department on history. On the left bank of the Dniester River, the first museum was opened in 1920 in Tiraspol. In the 1920s and 1930s most of the museums founded in Transnistria were of a revolutionary theme. This included the opening of the Museum of the Revolution of the MASSR (Музей Революции Молдавской Автономной ССР). Receiving academic and financial help from Moscow, the museum actively participated in the collection of materials on the history of the revolutionary movement, the history of the establishment of Soviet power and the history of the civil war in the region. In 1938 an art gallery was opened as part of the museum, however, with the formation of the MSSR, these together with many cultural institutions and their creative teams were transferred to Chisinau. Furthermore, during the WWII in an effort to save the exhibits, many were moved eastward, however, due to insufficient funds for a full evacuation, a large number of these exhibits were lost in the war. These events left Transnistria, as well as all of the MSSR, with very little exhibits, almost no museums and the large-scale absence of museum staff at the end of the war. Thus the post-war period became full of complicated and hard work to restore the old museums and create new ones. The MSSR Ministry of Culture was in charge of solving this problem and on July 1, 1958 the Tiraspol Historical Museum was founded, fully staffed with a small team of recent graduates, working to create and organize a collection of exhibits, which opened in the early 60's. By 1962 the Museum opened its first branch, an art gallery.[295]

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by the intensification of museum establishment in the region – a museums boom. The new museums were generally focused on military and labor glory and a few years later most became historical museums. In Bendery, for example, the Museum of Military Glory (Музей Боевой Славы) was opened in 1970, the Memorial Museum to Grigoriy Ivanovich Staryy and Pavel Tcacenko (Мемориальный музей Г. И. Старого и П. Ткаченко) in 1974, and the Museum of Revolutionary, Military and Labor Glory of the Railway Workers (Музей революционной, боевой и трудовой славы железнодорожнико) in 1977. A number of other such museums were founded in many small towns, such as Slobozia,

[295] "История музейного дела в Приднестровье," Культура Приднестровья, accessed November 28, 2014, http://culture-pmr.md/museum.html.

Kitskany/Chiţcani, Sucleia, and Korotnoye/Corotna. This time period also saw the opening of memorial museums of the WWII. Much of the exhibits in these museums were created from documents and items collected from the local participants of the War themselves. Museums of history and regional geography were founded in Dubossary and Rybnitsa in 1974, as well as in other smaller towns. The second half of the 1980s was characterized by the revision of the acquired exhibits in the museums of the region and verification of the historic accuracy.[296]

With the establishment of the PMR, the focus of exhibits in museums slightly changed. The regional studies movement continued and strengthened, giving more attention to the collection and display of local materials, telling the history of local towns and villages, as well as the accomplishments and the struggles of the people of Transnistria. Ten new museums have been opened since the establishment of the PMR, amounting to a total of 39 museums on its territory. Among the first created were the Historical Military Museum of the Headquarters of the Cavalry Brigade of Grigory Ivanovich Kotovsky (Военно-исторический музей штаба кавалерийской бригады Г. И. Котовского) in Tiraspol in 1991 and the Memorial Museum of Anton Grigorevich Rubinstein and History of the Vyhvatintsy/Ofatinţi village (Мемориальный музей А. Г. Рубинштейна и истории с. Выхватинцы) in 1994. In these years many new museums were founded in villages across the contested state, while at the same time many new art galleries opened in the cities. A large number of museums were restructured and reorganized into museum complexes, while some were moved to different buildings.[297] For example, the Tiraspol National United Museum was formed in 2002, combining in itself five museums – Museum of History and Regional Geography (Историко-краеведческий музей), the Memorial Museum House of Nikolay Dimitrievich Zelinsky (Мемориальный дом-музей Н. Д. Зелинского), Historical Military Museum of the Headquarters of the Cavalry Brigade of Grigory Ivanovich Kotovsky, the Museum of the History of the Tiraspol Fortress (Музей истории Тираспольской крепости) and the Tiraspol Art Gallery.

The Tiraspol National United Museum is the largest museum in the PMR. Currently on display in the historical department are the following exhibits:

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[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.

"Tiraspol: history, traditions and people";
"Let's glorify the Republic, which we have ...";
"In memory of the fallen defenders of Transnistria"'
"The people of Tiraspol in the Great Patriotic War".[298]

One of the most prominent museums in the PMR is the Memorial Museum of the Bendery Tragedy (Мемориальный музей Бендерской трагедии), which is a branch of the Museum of History and Regional Geography of Bendery. It was opened on the fifth anniversary of the events in Bendery, on September 1, 1997. The exhibition, which boasts to be historically accurate, chronologically presents the events of 1992 and is full of photographs, documents, newspaper clippings, uniforms and other personal objects from the conflict, as well as a display dedicated to the Russian Army. The museum itself claims to present the events in an emotional way, recreating a picture of the events that shows the heroism and dedication of the defenders of Bendery in the hardest of days. Interestingly, the museum also has a small display dedicated specifically to General Lebed'. It includes his photograph, a biographical book, and a certificate of him being named the Honorary Citizen of the city of Bendery on December 25, 1992. In 2002, on the tenth anniversary of the events in Bendery, the museum expanded and opened the Hall of Remembrance and Grief, which displays the photographs and names of the people who died defending the city.[299]

The museums in the PMR make a great emphasis on the uniqueness of the region, stressing the importance of the local history. The displays generally make a great emphasis on the industrial capacity of the region. There are a large number of symbolic violence displays, mostly referring to the events of 1992, however some are dedicated to the WWII. In the displays of the conflict with Moldova, and consequently the displays about the formation of the PMR, there is a clear aggressor – the Moldovan nationalists, and a clear hero – the Transnistrian soldier.

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[298] Муниципальное учреждение "Тираспольский объединённый музей", accessed November 25, 2014, http://тираспольский-музей.рф.
[299] "Мемориальный музей Бендерской трагедии," Бендерский историко-краеведческий музей, accessed November 28, 2014, http://bikmus.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6:2013-02-05-14-56-01&catid=17:2013-02-05-15-16-57&Itemid=4.

The sentiments conveyed with regards to nation building are summed up quite well with the following inscription in the Museum of History and Regional Geography of Bendery,

> *We are Transnistrians! One cannot deprive us of our history, our name, our native tongue and national culture. The TMR is the guarantor for this.*[300]

6.4.2. Representation Abroad and Contact with Other States

No recognized, UN member country of the world recognizes the PMR. The only entities that have recognized it are other Eurasian contested states of the former Soviet space – Republic of South Ossetia, Republic of Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. These were mutual recognitions, and the PMR has recognized the independence of these contested states as well. Interestingly, the PMR has no policy towards other contested states, and as of the writing of this dissertation, has received no recognitions from other states or entities, recognized or contested.

The PMR maintains close relations with South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh, and together they are the founding members of the Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations, also commonly referred to as the Commonwealth of Unrecognized States[301], which was its previous name, or as some journalists call it CIS-2. Initially based on the idea of cooperation in economic, political, and later military, spheres, since 1992 the Community has over the years held numerous conferences, forums and meetings where high representatives of the contested states signed

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[300] Troebst, ""We Are Transnistrians!"".
[301] The Commonwealth of Unrecognized States was formed in 1992 and had two more members – Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina. In 1995, Republika Srpska Krajina was reincorporated into the territory of Croatia as a result of Operation Storm (Operacija Oluja), effectively ending its claims to statehood and membership in the Commonwealth of Unrecognized States. The membership of Republika Srpska ended the same year after its status was established within Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Dayton Agreement. The Commonwealth began its work again in 2000, and in 2006 it was renamed into the Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations, having four members.

declarations on cooperation and friendship.[302] However, since the official recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia by Russia and a few other states, the use of the Community has been on the decline. Since early 2012 the Community's website was no longer updated, and in 2013 the domain expired and the website no longer exists.[303] [304]

Close cooperation between the Eurasian contested states nevertheless continues. In January 2008 the Official Representative Office of the Republic of South Ossetia opened in the PMR[305], and in June of the same year the Official Representative Office of the Republic of Abkhazia was opened[306]. The two Representative Offices are located at the same address in Tiraspol. The OSCE Mission in Moldova also has a field office in Tiraspol.

Although the PMR is one of the most actively engaged contested states in foreign relations, it is not well represented abroad. It has only two Official Representations – in Sukhumi, Abkhazia and Tskhinvali, South Ossetia[307]. Until recently Official Representations have existed in Russia and Ukraine, however they were closed in the framework of general cost reductions in January 2012. However, the Shevchuk has recently spoken about the possibility, as well as the necessity, of reopening Representation Offices in Russia and Ukraine in order to build and strengthen relations on a more permanent basis. According to him, the previous representations were not functioning effectively in this sense.[308]

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[302] Александр Крылов, "СНГ-2: новые тенденции,"НОВАЯ ПОЛИТИКА, 19 September, 2005, accessed 15 November, 2014, http://www.novopol.ru/text3256.html.

[303] The website of the Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations was previously: www.community-dpr.org.

[304] "Сайт сообщества непризнанных государств прекратил существование," NOI.md, 15 January, 2013, accessed 15 November, 2014, http://www.noi.md/ru/news_id/17947.

[305] Официальное представительство Республики Южная Осетия в Приднестровской Молдавской Республике, accessed 10 November, 2014, http://ryuo-pmr.org/.

[306] Официальное представительство Республики Абхазия в Приднестровской Молдавской Республике, accessed 15 November, 2014, http://abkhazia-pmr.org/.

[307] Представительство Приднестровской Молдавской Республики в Республике Южная Осетия, accessed October 10, 2014, http://rso.mfa-pmr.org/

[308] "Приднестровье хочет открыть свои представительства в Украине и России," Зеркало недели. Украина, 24 October, 2013, accessed 20

According to the Foreign Policy Concept of the PMR, active since 2012, the contested state's main priority is integration into the Eurasian sphere, led by the Russian Federation. With the aim of gradual integration into the common customs, economic, political and cultural sphere with the participating states, the PMR sets as its goals the participation in the Eurasian Economic Community, the Customs Union, the Common Economic Space. It is also hopeful about a possible future Eurasian Union, and their part in it. Such a conception of the foreign policy is based on the 2006 referendum in the PMR, by which it is said that the vast majority of the Transnistrian people expressed their desire for potential future integration with Russia. Thus, the PMR's participation in such integration projects is seen as one of the foundations of the modern idea of the PMR, while the intensification of such efforts is claimed to in the long run strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the contested state, guarantee the preservation of the "Transnistrian model multicultural and linguistic identity, socio-economic security, as well as a strong and dynamic economic development."[309]

The Foreign Policy Concept also places as a goal negotiation with Moldova, but only under the conditions of both sides participation in the talks as equals searching for mutually acceptable solutions across the spectrum of bilateral relations. The importance of international mediation by Russia, Ukraine, and the OSCE is stressed, while the mechanism of peacekeeping operations conducted under the auspices of the Russian Federation, aimed at preventing the escalation of the conflict, are stated as necessary conditions for the continuation of negotiations between equal parties to the conflict.

The Concept also devotes attention to the main international partners of the PMR. These are named to be, in the order originally presented in the document, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and other states and international organizations, namely the Unites States, the European

November, 2014, http://zn.ua/POLITICS/pridnestrove-hochet-otkryt-svoi-predstavitelstva-v-ukraine-i-rossii-131541_.html.
[309] Концепция внешней политики Приднестровской Молдавской Республики. ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ к Указу Президента Приднестровской Молдавской Республики от 20 ноября 2012 года № 766, Министерство Иностранных Дел Приднестровской Молдавской Республики, accessed 5 November, 2014, http://mfa-pmr.org/index.php?newsid=453. (My own translation from Russian)

Union and the OSCE. Furthermore, the Foreign Policy Concept indicates the PMR joining the United Nations as a longer-term goal.

Russia, labeled as the PMR's important strategic partner and one of the main economic partners. The PMR's foreign policy is aimed at intensifying cooperation with Russia in the field ofpeacekeeping and military policy, in the field of trade and economic relations, in cooperation of public authorities and agencies, in institutions of civil society, the fields of education, science and culture. Furthermore, the PMR is "interested in the spreading of national projects and programs of the Russian Federation on the territory of the PMR. The PMR fully supports the efforts of the Russian leadership to support Russian citizens and compatriots living abroad, and will have to do all the necessary assistance within its capabilities."[310] Much rhetoric with regards to Russia comes from the PMR's politicians. At a press conference given in November 2014, Nina Shtansky, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PMR, stressed the importance of Russia's involvement. Specifically, she stated that without the peacekeeping, humanitarian and financial support of Russia, the PMR as a state would probably not exist.[311]

6.4.3. Civil Society

In general terms, the development of the civil society sector in the PMR can be viewed in four main stages. The first, from 1989 until 1996, was the period of the emergence of the first PMR public organizations. These were mainly initiated by the state, a large number of which were military-patriotic and politically focused organizations. The second stage, from 1996 until 2006, was marked by the emergence of independence civil society organizations, while the third stage, between the years 2006 and 2011, saw an increase in civil activism and the diversification of civil society organizations. During this period, these organizations were in a constant search for ways of compromising and trying to cooperate with the state institutions. From 2012 onwards, the fourth stage, there has been an adjustment to the new political realities, specifically the new approaches of President Shevchuk. As civic initiative intensified,

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[310] Ibid. (My own translation from Russian)
[311] "Отношения Приднестровья с Россией обсудили дипломаты и журналисты," РИА «ДНЕСТР», 6 November 2014, accessed 25 November, 2014, http://dniester.ru/node/11495.

new laws and rules for the participation of organizations in the life of the PMR were introduced.

Over the years a number of studies have been conducted on civil society in the PMR, and repeatedly have come to the same conclusion – civil society in the PMR is quite weak and participation is limited.[312]

Transnistrian civil society has mostly developed in the fields of education, social protection, youth problems, sports and tourism, human rights protection, culture and arts, and the development of patriotism. The PMR state authorities have generally remained indifferent to organizations acting in these fields; however, it has been largely against any political interference from civil society, especially with reference to the issue of the frozen conflict with Moldova, but also other issues. Although some NGOs do work on issues of democracy, isolation and limited resources restrict their activities. Although there is a large influence exerted on NGOs from the side of the PMR government, there is also a general lack of support and trust coming from their side, as well as sometime, expressed opposition to the activities of the civil society sector as a whole.

Civil society organizations do not receive any financial help from the PMR government, and rely largely on financial aid from abroad. On

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[312] Nicu Popescu, Democracy in Secessionism: Transnistria and Abkhazia's
Domestic Policies, Policy Study, Budapest: Open Society Institute, August 2006, accessed 8 December 2014, http://www.policy.hu/news/NPopescu-PS/10.
Nona Mikhelidze and Nicoletta Pirozzi, *Civil Society and Conflict Transformation in Abkhazia, Israel/Palestine, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria and Western Sahara*, MICROCON Policy Working Paper 3, Brighton: MICROCON, 2008, accessed 8 December 2014, http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/PWP3_NM_NP.pdf.
Carrie Diffenderfer, *Research Report*, Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Program, IREX, 2008-2009, accessed 8 December 2014, http://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/Diffenderfer.pdf.
Bernardo Venturi, "Civil Society Organizations and Conflict Resolution: Moldova-Transnistria," *International Journal on World Peace*, 28:2 (2011): 7-34, accessed 8 December 2014,
http://campus.unibo.it/61824/1/Venturi_IJWP_June_2011.pdf.
Antoine Bernard (ed.), *Assessing Human Rights Protection in Eastern European Disputed and Conflict Entities*, Report from the FIDH Regional Seminar, Paris: International Federation for Human Rights, 2014, accessed 8 December 2014, http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5477326c4.pdf.

the other hand, financing coming from other countries is extremely hard to come by as Transnistrian organizations not only do not have the resources and training to reach donors, but also if and when they do money transfers in the PMR are extremely complicated. Sometimes this requires organizations to do a double registration, in the PMR and in Moldova. Not many organizations are willing, or have the resources, to go through such a long and tedious process. Transnistrian NGOs are very small, with insufficient institutional structure and low membership and participation. Furthermore, the PMR laws on registration of NGOs change every few years and are very ambiguous. For example, an organization must have at least 25 members in order to register. Many groups are initially much smaller than this. With an inability to officially register, the PMR has a many unregistered civil society organizations, as well as organizations that have members that are not actually part of the group and are listed simply for the organization to meet the criteria for registration. There exists also an almost complete separation between NGOs in the PMR and in Moldova, as they have been developing separately since the 1990s. Although some cooperation is now starting to be seen, it is still limited.[313]

Another major problem is that civil society in the PMR is not consolidated. In fact, instead of working together, most of the organizations are suspicious of each other. According to Carrie Diffenderfer, there are several reasons for this, mainly that,

> *Authorities want a weak civil society in Transnistria and force many of the organizations to inform on each other. This causes rumors to spread about participants and their cooperation with the government. Many are branded MGB agents after speaking with the governments. Competition for funding is another reason that organizations do not work together. Many try to hide grant opportunities from other organizations because they fear that they will lose their funding.* [314]

Funding from abroad has also created the problem of organizations modifying their aims and needs in order to fit the criteria the donors are looking for. Many organizations conduct activities that will bring the organization financial help in paying rent and staying afloat, and sometimes do not reflect the needs of the organization or of the PMR. Furthermore, people have started participating in civil society organizations as a way to be able to travel free of charge to seminars abroad, more for the fun than for the actual work. Nevertheless,

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[313] Diffenderfer, *Research Report*, 2008/2009, 6.
[314] Ibid.

despite the infinite amount of problems of the civil society in the PMR, there have been positive developments and many organizations have developed their own survival skills in working with the system. Also, there has been an increase in the number of international organization present in the PMR in recent years and thus in the projects, seminars and trainings that they carry out.[315] For example, Doctors without Borders now have an office in Bendery, and Czech NGO People in Need (Člověk v tísni) is active in supporting civil initiatives and local NGOs in the PMR[316].

According to the report on the NGO sector by the Tiraspol based Institute for Law and Civil Society, there were 3792 NGOs registered in the PMR State registry of operational legal entities at the end of 2012. Below, Table 10 shows NGOs in the PMR, listed per their organizational-legal form, as of December 2012. Table 11 shows the development of the registration of NGOs in the PMR over the years 1992-2012. Nevertheless, according to research conducted by Transnistrian NGOs "Resonance" in 20120 and "World Window" in 2008, the number of functioning NGOs in the PMR is much lower. According to them, the true number is about 20 percent of the official one, meaning that 80 percent of NGOs in the PMR exist solely on paper.[317]

In the Freedom House 2014 Freedom in the World scores, the PMR received a rating of 6.0[318] and the not free status. It was ranked with a 6.0 for both its civil liberties and political rights. With regard to civil liberties, according to Freedom House, the PMR authorities rarely issued the required permits to public protesters. "In July 2013, opposition politicians and free speech advocates were allowed to hold a small protest against the recent website blocking, but its impact was limited by other events, such as a military band concert, that were scheduled for the same time and location". Freedom of association is similarly circumscribed. "All NGO activities must be coordinated with local authorities, and groups that do not comply face harassment, including surveillance and visits by security officials. The region's trade unions are holdovers from the Soviet era,

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[315] Ibid. 6-7.
[316] For more on the activities and projects of People in Need in the PMR, see: http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/cs/lidska-prava/zeme/podnestri-mold.
[317] Ibid.
[318] 1.0 being the best and 7.0 being the worst score.

and the United Council of Labor Collectives works closely with the government," according to the report.[319]

Table 10

Non-Governmental (Non-Profit) Associations Functioning in the PMR, According to Organizational-Legal Form [320]

Organizational-legal form	Quantity
Public associations/ Non-profit organizations	**3792**
Of those:	
Independent non-profit organizations	334
Non-profit partnerships	330
Educational institutions	353
Public organizations	544
Public funds	412
Public movements	419
Unions of legal entities (associations and unions)	345
Cooperatives of consumers	513
Professional unions	197
Religious organizations	127
Partnerships of homeowners	19
Non-profit institutions	199

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[319] Freedom House, "Freedom in the World – Transnistria*," 2014, accessed 10 December 2014, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2014/transnistria-0#.VIeY4mTF-Q9.
[320] Ibid.

Table 11

The Registration and Development of NGOs in the PMR in the Years 1992 – 2012, According to the Data of the PMR State Registry of Non-Profit Organizations and Public Associations [321]

Year	Public organization	Public movement	Public fund	Public institution	Non-profit partnership	Independent non-profit organization	Union of legal entities
1992	10	3	0	0	0	0	2
1993	30	11	7	5	1	0	6
1994	46	15	9	7	3	3	7
1995	53	17	11	9	5	6	9
1996	69	26	19	13	7	9	15
1997	95	37	29	20	14	13	21
1998	118	49	38	32	23	28	35

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[321] Institute for Law and Civil Society, *Report NGO Sector. Analysis of the Situation and Strategy of Civil Society Development in Transdniestria,* accessed 10 December 2014, http://law-civilsociety.com/report-ngo-sector.html.

1999	127	62	47	41	37	43	48
2000	175	83	74	73	69	64	80
2001	255	138	136	114	105	93	147
2002	327	162	150	149	148	139	162
2003	365	184	183	176	169	168	183
2004	397	253	244	230	192	200	237
2005	467	324	302	270	243	259	279
2006	478	342	311	291	261	273	292
2007	497	362	323	309	274	282	305
2008	507	374	331	316	287	291	311
2009	515	385	347	324	291	299	318
2010	526	398	358	336	319	316	327
2011	539	415	408	348	327	329	338
2012	544	419	412	353	330	334	345

6.5. CONCLUSION

The second case study of this thesis was focused on the PMR. It is a contested state that lays no claims to being a nation, nor does it claim that a Transnistrian nation has existed as such. Instead it builds upon the Soviet legacy, stressing multi-ethnicity and trilingualism as the foundation for the state. Multi-ethnicity and language are recited and repeated whenever the opportunity allows for it in the PMR. Despite the PMR's claims to being the protector of the 'true' Moldovan language, and a border with Ukraine, Russian is the lingua franca. This could be simply a carry-over from the Soviet times, or, on the other hand, its continuity could be also explained from the perspective of the involvement of the patron state.

The involvement of Russia in the region is quite visible. Much like with the case of the TRNC and Turkey, Russia was involved with the creation of the entity and remains its patron state through close economic and political ties. We can see Russian nation building alongside the PMR one, through the language, pride in heroes and historical legacy, national holidays and much more.

Interestingly enough, Russia is the only patron state with more than one contested state – it is also the patron state of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Russia has recognized these two contested states, but has not recognized the PMR. This leaves the PMR on the lower end of the recognition scale with recognition only from other contested states.

7. CASE STUDY 3: REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO

Kosovo's official claim to statehood began in 1991, when the territory seceded from Yugoslavia and declared unilateral independence. The declaration and the claim to statehood were not then recognized by a single state. However, in 1999, after NATO"s war against Yugoslavia Kosovo became the center of the international community's attention. Tremendous and unprecedented peace building and state building efforts were invested as Kosovo began a new period of international contestation over its political fate as its final status was negotiated amongst the involved parties. In February 2008 came the long anticipated second unilateral declaration of independence. Currently, 110 out of 193 UN member states recognize Kosovo's independence and statehood, including 23 out of 28 EU member states and 24 out of 28 NATO member states.

Kosovo is the youngest contested state, yet overwhelmingly the most recognized. Nevertheless, its right to independence remains contested; it remains unrecognized by the parent state, Serbia, as well as 44 percent of UN member states, including the People's Republic of China, Kingdom of Spain, and the Russian Federation. Furthermore, none of the other contested states have recognized Kosovo, or maintain any policy towards it.

The third and final case study chapter of this dissertation, like the case study chapters before it, is divided into three parts, in thematic accordance to three of the four factors of nation building identified by Raphael Utz. Following a historical outline of the region, the chapter begins by presenting the findings on the historiography and the textbooks used in Kosovo. It then looks at the national holidays, national symbols, and passports. Findings on the numerous memorials and statues are then presented in the context of a greater discussion on the transformations of cultural landscapes and public spaces, followed by a section dedicated to the discussion of museums in Kosovo. Finally, the chapter presents information regarding Kosovo's representation abroad and contact with other states and on its civil society.

7.1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

History of Kosovo is as contested as the territory itself. History is manipulated and used to justify the right to control the region, reaching as far back in history as possible to secure that control. Serbs generally claim that Kosovo is the cradle of the Serbian civilization, while ethnic Albanians insist that Albanians have lived in the lands longer than the Serbs. As a result, many facts have been distorted, falsified, or manipulated by political leaders seeking power and wealth. Moreover, the history of Kosovo is tightly intertwined with the histories of its neighboring countries.

The area in and around Kosovo has been inhabited for nearly 10,000 years. In antiquity, Dardania covered the area, which formed part of the larger Roman province of Moesia in the 1st century AD. In the Middle Ages, the region became part of the Bulgarian Empire, and then the Byzantine Empire. Slavic tribes migrated to into the Balkans, including Kosovo, in the 6th century AD, and in the late 12th century King Nemanja of Serbia seized the territory of today's Kosovo and included into the medieval kingdom. Nemanja and his successors built churches and monasteries, making Pec the seat of the Serbian Orthodox Church. At its peak in 1331-1355, Medieval Serbia included all of Kosovo, northern Albania, Macedonia and parts of Greece. Its capital was in Prizren, making Kosovo the center of the state. This time period is the basis for the so called "Serbian

Myth" of Kosovo – the heart and cradle of the Serbian state and nation.[322]

The power of Medieval Serbia was quickly reduced due to disagreements between King Stefan Dušan's successors and the increasing power of the Ottoman Empire. In the Battle of Kosovo Polje on June 28, 1389 (Vidovdan or St Vitus Day), forces of Serbian Prince Lazar were defeated by a Turkish-led army. Many details of this battle are unclear, and it is quite possible that there were Serbs and Albanians fighting on each side. Nevertheless, the battle was written into Serbian legend as the decisive battle that brought on over 400 years of Ottoman rule.[323]

In 1689, Kosovo was briefly seized from the Ottomans by Austrian forces, together with the local Serbs who joined the fighting against the Turks. In 1690 the Austrian forces routed, resulting in a wave of over 40,000 Serbian refugees fleeing to Hungary. The second Austrian expedition into Kosovo in 1737 was also forced to retreat, causing another wave of Serbian refugees. Many Serbian historians pinpoint this time as the beginnings of a shift in the population of Kosovo, from a predominantly Serbian one to a mainly ethnic Albanian one, as Albanians moved into Kosovo from the mountainous regions of northern Albania. Most ethnic Albanians in Kosovo converted to Islam, mainly for practical reasons, such as avoiding higher taxes and other discrimination of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.[324]

The 19th century was marked by national revolutions of the Balkan nations. After uprisings from 1804 to 1815 parts of Serbia became semi-autonomous, and by 1833 Serbia received full autonomy and more territory. Kosovo, however, remained under Ottoman rule. During the Russian-Turkish War, Serbia and Montenegro were able to seize parts of Kosovo. The international crisis that followed was resolved in the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878, and then with its revision at the Congress of Berlin the same year. Serbia received formal independence, and was permitted to keep the seized territories. However, the Albanian-inhabited lands were taken away from Serbia and Montenegro and given back to the Ottomans. Ethnic Albanian leaders formed the League of Prizren in June 1878, with

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[322] Daskalovski, Židas, 2003, "Claim to Kosovo: Nationalism and Self-Determination." In *Understanding the War in Kosovo*, edited by Florian Bieber and Židas Daskalovski, London: Routledge, 12-13.
[323] Ibid., 13.
[324] Ibid.

the aim of consolidating Albanian-inhabited lands into one province within the Ottoman Empire. Claims to a "Greater Albania" are still advanced today by some Albanian nationalists in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia.[325]

In October 1912 Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria attacked the Turks, setting of the First Balkan War. As a result, the Balkan peninsula was liberated from Ottoman control. In 1913 the Second Balkan War was fought against Bulgaria which was unhappy with its small gains in the First War. It was quickly defeated and with the involvement of the Great Powers, redistribution of territory happened in the Balkans. Independent Albania was created, while Kosovo was placed under Serbian control. After the Balkan Wars, the Serbian policy became that Kosovo had to be a part of Serbia, regardless of which nation made up the majority population.[326]

On June 28, 1914, World War I was started with the assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Yugoslav nationalist Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo. The Serbian army offered stubborn and effective resistance, however was defeated when Bulgaria joined the war. Nevertheless, following the victory of the Allies and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed under the rule of a Serbian King. Kosovo was part of this Kingdom. As one of the victors of the war, Serbia felt that it had the right to dominate in the new country. It began large-scale efforts to settle Serbs in Kosovo to dilute the Albanian majority population of the region. King Aleksandr declared a dictatorship in 1929 and renamed the country Yugoslavia. He was assassinated in 1934.[327]

During World War II most of Kosovo was included in a Greater Albanian puppet state of Italy. Part of the rest was included in Bulgaria and Germany-occupied Serbia. Like many areas of Yugoslavia, Kosovo became the site of bloody fighting among Serbian royalist Chetniks, Communist Partisans, German and Italian occupation forces, and ethnic Albanian armed groups often allied with the Germans and Italians. This meant that atrocities against both Serbian and Albanian civilians was not uncommon.

After the Partisans seized Kosovo in 1944, they had to face an uprising by the Albanian rebels, who were against Kosovo being

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[325] Ibid., 13-14.
[326] Ibid., 14.
[327] Ibid., 14-15.

incorporated into what they saw as the Serbian-dominated Communist Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, in 1945, Josip Broz Tito gave the region of Kosovo-Metohija its current borders, including it as one of the two autonomous provinces within Serbia, the largest republic of the new, six-republic Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Despite nominal autonomy, Kosovo remained under Serbian domination until 1966, when the policy towards ethnic Albanians shifted from repression to conciliation. Many Albanians saw this process as not sufficient, and demonstrations broke out in 1968, calling for Kosovo to be given the status of a republic within Yugoslavia.[328]

In 1974, Yugoslavia adopted a new constitution which stipulated de facto republic status for Kosovo. It was given the status of the Socialist Autonomous Province with rights equal to those of other nations of Yugoslavia. Albanians took over leading roles in local government and economy, while the region received large subsidies as part of the federal plan to equalize the levels of development across areas of Yugoslavia. As more voices began demanding secession from Serbia and status as a full republic within Yugoslavia, the resentment of the Serbs in Kosovo increased with the 'Albanization' and nationalism of the ethnic Albanians. Many Serbs left Kosovo, charging the Albanians with discrimination, intimidation, and violence to drive them out, in efforts of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo. Albanians, on the other hand, claim that Serbs left due to the region's poor economic outlook and their unease with the shift in power from the Serbian minority to the Albanian majority. Rapid population growth among rural Kosovars also contributed to the population shift.[329]

Tito's decentralized political system began to fail following his death in 1980.

Dissatisfied with the ongoing ethnic imbalance and their subjugation to Serbian power, Albanian students organized demonstrations in 1981 under the slogan "Kosova Republic". Although the whole Albanian population of Kosovo supported them, the Yugoslav leadership decided to the demonstrations were a threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia, leading to the

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[328] Ibid. 15-18.
[329] Martin Laryš, 2007, "Kosovský konflikt," In *Etnické konflikty v postkomunistickém prostoru*, edited by Tomáš Šmíd and Vladimír Vaďura, Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 115.

declaration of the state of emergency in the province and bringing in large numbers of security forces into the region.

1987 was the year that saw the rapid rise of Slobodan Milošević as a political figure and the head of Serbian Communist Party, after his famous visit to Kosovo Polje where he proclaimed that "no one should dare to beat you," when addressing Serbs in Kosovo. In his post as the leader of the Party and later the President of Serbia, Milošević moved to take control of Kosovo. In 1989 the Serbian parliament passed amendments to the Serbian Constitution which limited Kosovo's autonomy. The Kosovo parliament did the same. By 1990 Kosovo's autonomy was eliminated and Kosovo's parliament and government abolished. Ethnic Albanians were fired and replaced on their posts by Serbs in government, the police, enterprises, media, educational facilities and hospitals. Kosovo Albanians reacted by boycotting the public institutions and building their own parallel political and social institutions. Kosovo's parliament refused to be dissolved and went underground, while schools, hospitals and many other structures were established. These were incredibly short on resources, and made the already not so favorable situation in the region even worse.[330]

Following a brief skirmish in Slovenia and an escalated conflict in Croatia, the two republics seceded from Yugoslavia in 1991. In the light of these events Albanians in Kosovo held a referendum in September, approving independence by an overwhelming margin. The underground Kosovo parliament proclaimed independence on October 19. 1991. As Yugoslavia continued to unravel with the war in Bosnia and Hercegovina, many Kosovars went to the polls again to elect a new President and Parliament. Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) was elected as the first president. The parallel parliament and government were however prevented from functioning by the Serbian police. In 1998 Rugova and the LDK were reelected, despite criticism of holding a vote amidst a crisis.

When the Dayton Peace Agreement ended the war in Bosnia, the situation in Kosovo had still not been properly addressed. This made some Kosovars came to the conclusion that Rugova's policies of non-violence and seeking international support were a failure, and turned to violence instead, forming the Kosovo Liberation Army

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[330] Jure Vidmar, 2009, "International Legal Responses to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 787-789.

(KLA). The group came into the light after claiming responsibility for killing several Serbian policemen and other officials, ethnic Albanian 'collaborators' and Serbian civilians. On February 28, 1998, Serbian police retaliated by attacking the village of Drenica, where they believed the KLA attackers lived. As reports suggested that atrocities against civilians were committed during the assault, outrage of the Kosovo Albanians led to the rapid expansion of the KLA and an escalation of the violent conflict in Kosovo.[331]

As the fighting continued, and the KLA continued targeting Yugoslav authorities in Kosovo, the number of Serb paramilitaries increased as did the number of regular forces. They pursued a campaign of retribution; and as the number of civilians killed continued to grow, the international community began to get involved in finding a diplomatic solution. Unable to reach one, on March 24, 1999, NATO started a military campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia justifying the campaign as 'humanitarian war'. Given the absence of the authorization of the use of force in relevant Security Council resolutions, the NATO intervention is generally perceived to be in breach of the UN Charter.

The war ended with the Kumanovo Treaty. Yugoslav and Serb forces agreed to withdraw from Kosovo, making way for an international presence, while the KLA disbanded.[332]

On February 17, 2008, the Kosovo Assembly adopted the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration refers to, among other things, "years of strife and violence in Kosovo, that disturbed the conscience of all civilised people" and expresses gratefulness that "in 1999 the world intervened, thereby removing Belgrade's governance over Kosovo and placing Kosovo under United Nations interim administration." It declares Kosovo to be "a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic, guided by the principles of non-discrimination and equal protection under the law," welcomes "the international community's continued support of … democratic development through international presences established in Kosovo," and states that "independence brings to an end the process of Yugoslavia's violent dissolution."[333]

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[331] Ibid., 791-793.
[332] Ibid., 793-795.
[333] Republic of Kosovo Assembly. 2008. "Kosovo Declaration of Independence." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/Dek_Pav_e.pdf.

7.2. The Creation of a "Usable Past"

The previous section provided an overview of the history of Kosovo. It showed that the history of the territory is tightly intertwined with the history of other countries in the Balkans. It also emphasized its complexity and demonstrated how Albanians and Serbs have and believe two very different versions of events. These versions, oftentimes created through distorting, falsifying, or manipulating facts, have been repeatedly used to gain power and control in the region. In a region like the Balkans, where nationalism is deeply rooted in tradition and everyday life, such versions of the truth have a profound influence.

To see how these truths are utilized, we now turn to discussing the perceptions of history. As the Serbian population of Kosovo uses strictly Serbian history books, these will not be discussed. The next section will mainly be dedicated to looking at the Kosovo Albanian history books, written in Kosovo, by Kosovars, for Kosovars. These are mainly school history textbooks that teach the younger generations how to view the events that lead to the establishment of Kosovo as a contested state.

Following is a section on the holidays, where the thesis will show which of the events Kosovo sees as the most important and necessary of commemoration.

7.2.1. Perceptions of History and History Books

Recently, Kosovo has been largely criticized for its quality of education. Schools are underfunded and underattended, while the content of the teaching materials is very low.[334] The younger generations in schools today do not, for the most part, have a direct

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[334] See for example: Gjinovci, Rron. 2016. "Kosovo's education system amongst worst in the world." Prishtina Insight. December 6. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://prishtinainsight.com/kosovos-education-system-amongst-worst-world/;
Or, Balkan Insight. 2010. "Kosovo School Textbooks Fail Accuracy Test." May 20. Accessed June 1, 2017.
http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-school-textbooks-fail-accuracy-test.

memory of the recent conflict, nor have they ever experienced living in an entity other than the contested state of Kosovo. The history that they are taught in school is the official one that the nation builders of Kosovo want to pass on to the future generations. It reflects the way Kosovars see themselves and the events that led to the creation of their contested state.

Generally, Kosovan history books are not readily available, at least not to non-Albanian speakers. To the best of my knowledge there is only one study in English that included a comprehensive evaluation of history textbooks to this date. In 2016 Shkëlzen Gashi published a study that looked at the way Kosovo's history was portrayed in history textbooks of Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. He looks at the latest versions of the textbooks used in Kosovo, published in the years 2012-2013. This section uses his work as the basis for analysis.[335] We will look at the way the following topics are approached in history textbooks in Kosovo, and in comparison, to the ones used in Albania and Serbia: the origins of the Albanians, Kosovo from Medieval period to Serbian rule, Kosovo under Ottoman rule, and finally Kosovo under Serbian rule 1912-2000. Although drawing parallels to other Balkan countries could offer us some additional insight into the topic of Kosovo's history, the major goal here is to understand the official narrative and what the younger generations are being taught on the topic.

In the textbooks of both Kosovo and Albania, Albanians are acknowledged almost indisputably as having Illyrian heritage. Kosovan textbooks say that the Pelasgians were the first people in the Balkans, while Illyrians were their direct descendants. Illyrians are described as distinct and unique in their culture and traditions, and are referred to as the direct and indisputable ancestors of the Albanians. However, no evidence of this is given. In contrast, Albanian textbooks offer two theories: the first, that the Illyrians were indigenous and descendants of the Pelasgians; and the second that they were a mixture of local people with incomers. Serbian textbooks do mention Illyrians, however, dedicate very little attention to their presence in the region and portray them in a very negative light – as barbarians, plunderers. They do not mention any links to Albanians.[336]

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[335] Gashi, Shkëlzen. 2016. *The History of Kosovo in the history textbooks of Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia.* Prishtina: Alter Habitus.
[336] Ibid., 10-13.

A look at the way the arrival of the Slavs to the Balkans is described has shown that it is surprisingly similar in Kosovan, Albanian and Serbian textbooks. They speak of the plunder, attacks and destruction during their expansion:

> *The Kosovan textbooks give a one-sided presentation of the mixing of indigenous populations with the Slavs: 'the loss of Illyrian-Arberian identity', but the Serbian textbooks do the same thing: 'the loss of the ethnic characteristics of the Slav tribes, who took on the language and customs of the Albanians.' Furthermore, the Serbian textbooks say that 'the indigenous people who lived together and were gathered into larger groups were not affected by Slavic influence,' and they add that 'the Albanians maintained their customs, language and other national characteristics.' In the textbooks of Albania this mixing together is presented as reciprocal, as it was: 'when the Slavs settled in the Balkans, in some places the indigenous people assimilated them and in some places, were assimilated by them'.[337]*

When it comes to the time period of Serbian rule during the Medieval times, Kosovan and Albanian textbooks mention it very briefly, and omit as many details as possible. Rule by King Stefan Nemanja (1168-96) is mentioned by the textbooks of Kosovo and Albania entirely superficially, while the rule of his descendants is not mentioned at all. The Kosovan and Albanian textbooks focus only on the reign of Stefan Dušan (1331-1355), which is portrayed in exclusively negative terms. They speak in great detail of the Albanian population facing repression, discrimination and colonization, and Serbianization of non-Serbs. On the other hand, Albanians are presented as a brave nation that maintained the existence of the Albanian nature of these lands. The textbooks of Kosovo and Albania say that there were powerful anti-Serb rebellions which included all territories and which were even supported by European countries. Again, no evidence of this is presented.[338] Not surprisingly, the Serbian version of events is quite different, and presents this time period in great detail, with a special focus on the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.

The Albanian uprisings against the Ottoman Empire during 1443-1468, led by Gjergj Kastrioti – Skanderbeg has a special place in the history books of Kosovo and Albania. Skanderbeg's wars are presented mainly as a string of successive victories, and when the defeats are acknowledged and presented, they are attributed

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[337] Ibid., 26.
[338] Ibid., 40.

exclusively to 'traitors'. Motives behind the uprisings are presented as nationalistic, when in reality these movements were religious or military in nature.

> *When describing Skanderbeg raising the double-headed eagle flag in Kruja, none of the textbooks specify that the flag was that with the Byzantine eagle. None of these textbooks mention that Skanderbeg's father came from Dibra, a mixed territory (Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Vlach), or that he was married to Vojsava Branković, a noble Serbian woman, or that the children were given Byzantine Orthodox (Konstantin, Gjergj) and Slavic names (Reposh, Stanisa, Mamica, Vlaica, Jela).[339]*

On the other hand, Ottoman conquest is presented in a very negative light in Kosovan textbooks. It is portrayed as a violent time, during which the Turkish reign suppressed national identities.

> *However, these textbooks do not mention that the Ottoman forces fighting against the Austrian ones were led by the Albanian Mahmut Mahmutbeyoglu, who was a Pasha of Peja with about 10 thousand troupes, both Albanian and Serb. The same textbooks do not specify … that the Main Ottoman Vizier was Mehmet Köprülü, a member of a powerful Albanian dynasty in the public service of the Ottoman Empire. These textbooks completely ignore the Serbian participation in the uprising … and Kosovo's textbooks even claim that the anti-Ottoman uprising failed as it was not supported by other Balkan peoples. On the other hand, textbooks of Serbia and Montenegro do not present the Albanian participation in the clash between Ottoman and Austrian forces.[340]*

Unlike the history books used in Albania, Kosovan and Serbian history books dedicate significant parts to the discussion of the spread of Islam among Albanians, with an extensive discussion of the process and the factors that contributed to its spread. Kosovan textbooks, unlike Albanian ones, do not discuss any religious buildings, educational facilities or any other structures built during the Ottoman rule. Unlike Albanian books, Kosovan ones also do not present Albanian authors that wrote in oriental languages or in Albanian with Arabic script. Serbian textbooks do not mention these issues at all.

As the Ottoman Empire began striving for a transformation into a more modern state, it began implementing reforms in the army and

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[339] Ibid., 56.
[340] Ibid., 57.

in education. This also included the development of a state school system and the introduction of equal rights for non-Muslims. However, the textbooks in Kosovo and Albania alike show this time as an oppression of Albanians, who were fighting for freedom.

The Albanian National Awakening, beginning in the 1830s and ending with the declaration of independence of Albania in 1912, is described in both Albanian and Kosovan textbooks as a wide movement aimed at liberating and uniting all Albanian lands in an independent state. Serbian textbooks do not present the Albanian National Awakening at all. As for the League of Prizren, it is described in both Kosovan and Albanian textbooks as a gathering of the representatives of all Albanian lands, including all Albanian faith communities. Kosovan textbooks only mention that it was put down in 1881 by the Ottoman Empire, and stress that this was done with great military force and by killing its main leaders. The textbooks only speak of 'the Albanian national movement', implying that there was just one political force in existence, which was not actually the case.[341]

The general uprising of 1912, led by Hasan Prishtina, initially aimed at territorial autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, with official recognition of the borders of the territory with Albanian majorities and ethnically Albanian civil and military authorities. Serbian textbooks do not deal with this topic at all, while Kosovan textbooks claim that the aim of the uprising was an independent state, and only Albanian books represent the events accurately. None of the books mention that Albanians were divided at the time, and that Serbia was actually arming some of the leaders of the uprising.

Serbian textbooks describe the events of October 1912, when Serbian forces entered Kosovan territory as the liberation of Kosovo, the cradle of Serbian civilization, as something generations had waited for during the 19th century. Albanian and Kosovan textbooks, on the other hand, describe the events as a conquest. Serbian books speak nothing of crimes committed between October 1912 and March 1913, while, naturally Albanian and Kosovan books refer to the events as "bloody terrorist crimes against the Albanian people, against whom violence and nationalist terror was exercised by the Balkan states."[342]

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[341] Ibid., 69-72.
[342] Ibid., 79-81.

Meanwhile on 28 November 1912, Albania declared independence. This event is described as "crowning achievement of the Albanians' war which lasted several centuries against the five centuries of Ottoman rule, and see the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1912-3 as responsible for the division of Albanian land and Kosovo being left outside Albania."[343]

During World War I, Kosovo was split in two. Part was in the Austrian zone, where Albanian language schools were allowed, and the other part was in the Bulgarian zone, where harsh conditions were established by the authorities. This situation is depicted in the Kosovan and Albanian books, but not the Serbian ones. None mention the collaboration of local Albanian rebels and Serbs against the Austrian and Bulgarian forces.

At the end of the War, when Austrian and Bulgarian troops left, Serbian troops entered. Kosovan textbooks describe this, again, as reconquering Kosovo and Albanian lands. They describe military and police regime of terror and state genocide against Albanians. The textbooks do not offer data to back up the claims to genocide. Albanian textbooks describe the events as the reestablishment of Serb forces in Kosovo and add that Albanians were denied the rights as an ethnic group. Serbian textbooks describe the events as liberation and make no mention of the treatment of Albanians. Neither do they mention the armed resistance of the Albanians against Serb forces under Yugoslav rule in the period 1918-1924. Meanwhile, Kosovan and Albanian textbooks speak about this uprising having liberation and national unity as its aim.[344]

In the period between the two World Wars,

> *…the Serbian textbooks speak about the agrarian reforms across the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the only more specific thing they say is that as a result of these '...around 500 000 peasant families gained land.' The Albanian textbooks speak only about '...the expropriation of Albanian property and the settling of Albanian land with Slav elements' but they do not give figures for this. The Kosovan textbooks, on the other hand, claim that between the two World Wars '400 000 hectares of land were expropriated and around 15 000 Slavic settler families were settled with around 75 000 family members' in Kosovo.[345]*

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[343] Ibid., 82.
[344] Ibid., 88-89.
[345] Ibid., 90.

In general terms, the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks claim that Albanians opposed the fascist regime during World War II, despite at first welcoming it as a liberation from the Serbian regime. Serbian books on the other hand point out the terrors committed by Albanians against the Serbs, although no data is given, about the number of civilians killed, the number of Serbs and Montenegrins expelled from Kosovo during this time is estimated between 30 000 and 100 000. Kosovan textbooks fail to mention these crimes. They go further in claiming that Albanians demonstrated care for the Serbian and Montenegrin minorities, despite their suffering under Yugoslav rule.[346] It is not surprising that such discrepancies and selectivity of facts and events to focus on or ignore continue throughout the period of the existence of Yugoslavia. Facts are skewed to the advantage of a particular group, while oftentimes no one even questions the absence of sources or any kind of data to back up claims made. It is further not surprising that when the textbooks reach the topic of the events that led up to the self-proclamation of the independence of Kosovo, the selectivity continues. The developing storylines become even more polarized when discussing the most recent war:

> *The textbooks present only the crimes of the 'other side', offering labels instead of facts and arguments for the crimes. For example, in the textbooks of Serbia and Montenegro there is no mention of a single Albanian killed by the Serb/ Yugoslav forces during the armed conflict in Kosovo, while in all the textbooks of Kosovo and Albania there is no mention of any Serb killed by KLA or NATO forces during or after the armed conflict. The Kosovan and Serbian textbooks also exaggerate the crimes of the 'other side' and leave space for misinterpretation.[347]*

Kosovan textbooks describe the crimes committed by Serb forces against Albanians as genocide. Serbian textbooks on the other hand, make no mention of the such and instead focus on presenting the information that the International Tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) had filed charges against the main political and military leaders of the FRY and Serbia, although without giving the details of the accusations against them. Kosovan textbooks do not discuss crimes committed by the KLA against Serbs or other non-Albanians, and do not mention the ICTY charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity filed against the two main commanders of the KLA.[348]

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[346] Ibid., 100.
[347] Ibid., 113.
[348] Ibid., 114-116.

As Balkan countries reinforce their own identities by blackening the images of their neighboring nations, an interesting initiative by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe was started to counter such an approach to teaching. The initiative brought together sixty historians from eleven countries of Southeast Europe with the aim of bringing a new way of thinking about painful historical issues. It resulted in a publication of four history workbooks for teachers. Topics range from the Ottoman Empire to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and the Second World War. However, the Yugoslav wars of the nineties have been omitted, owing to the lack of historic distance. The workbooks have been published in Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, English, Greek, Macedonian and Turkish, with the aim of showing historical events from multiple perspectives and equipping teachers with tools to tackle difficult questions. For example, the workbooks include four points from Kosovo's 2008 declaration of independence are presented on one page, while the Serbian parliament's reaction to the declaration is placed on the opposite page. There is then a suggested discussion question about these issues, asking students to cite three arguments in favor of Kosovo's stance and three in favor of Serbia's.[349]

7.2.2. National Holidays

National holidays in Kosovo are specified in Law No. 03/L-064, passed on 21 May 2008. The Law, which was written with the intention of accounting for the history, culture and traditions of the people of Kosovo, specifies religious holidays as national ones. These include the first days of Eid Al-Fitr and Eid Al Adha, Catholic and Orthodox Christmas Day and Easter Monday. These days are non-working days for the whole population, but are celebrated by the respective religious communities.[350] Although official statistics do not exist, the approximation, as published on the State Portal of the Republic of Kosova, is that 90 percent of Kosovo's population is Muslim, 6 percent Orthodox, and 3 percent Catholic, while 1 percent

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[349] Bojana Barlovac, 2010, "New Books Help Reconcile Balkan History Quarrels," Prishtina Insight, accessed January 25, 2018, http://cdrsee.org/jhp/media/prishtina_insight01102010.pdf.
[350] Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosova. n.d. "Law no. 03/L-064 on Official Holidays in Republic of Kosovo, Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo." Accessed June 1, 2015. http://www.gazetazyrtare.com/e-gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=151&Itemid=56&lang=en..

is of other religions.[351] Religious factors have generally been left out of the state building process in Kosovo, with the exception of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which involved religion as a political factor in the battle for Kosovo's status. Kosovo Albanians, who are predominantly Muslim, have not expressed Islam to be a part of Kosovar identity. Whether this is due to Kosovo's main allies not sharing the same religion or for reasons of historical developments, Kosovo Muslims generally practice a lighter form of Islam, mainly within the walls of their homes. Although 90 percent of Kosovars claim that religion plays a major role in their daily lives, mosques in major cities generally remain unfilled. The only exception is during holidays. For example, during the month of Ramadan, mosques in Pristina are usually overcrowded, while in Prizren many bars remove alcoholic drinks from their menus as a sign of respect for those who fast; generally, evenings and nighttime are very quiet during Ramadan in Kosovo, in contrast with the rest of the year. Kosovars express their religious beliefs more openly these days, as opposed to previous times of religious repressions.[352]

Kosovo celebrates International Labor Day on May 1st and May 2nd, as do the rest of the post-Yugoslav countries. It is simply a day off from work. As its official holiday, Kosovo also celebrates Europe Day on May 9. It is usually marked by a fair in the center of Pristina and in other cities around Kosovo, as well as sports tournaments and concerts, for example in Peja/Peć, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Mitrovicë/a. The EULEX and the EU Office in Kosovo/EUSR are usually involved in the organization of events for the public on Europe Day.[353] New Year"s is also a national holiday in Kosovo.

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[351] State Portal of the Republic of Kosova. n.d. "Religion." Accessed June 1, 2017. https://www.rks-gov.net/en-US/Qytetaret/KulturaDheKohaLire/Pages/Religjioni.aspx

[352] Kasapolli, Veton. 2010. "Ramadan in Kosovo, Religion and Identity." *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*. October 7. Accessed June 1, 2015. http://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Regions-and-countries/Kosovo/Ramadan-in-Kosovo-religion-and-identity-8062

[353] "Kosovo celebrates Europe Day," *European Union Office in Kosovo / European Union Special Representative in Kosovo,* 9 May 2012, accessed June 1, 2015, http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo/press_corner/all_news/news/2012/20120509_en.htm; "Europe Day marked with activities throughout Kosovo," *European Union Office in Kosovo / European Union Special Representative in Kosovo,* 15 May 2013, accessed June 1, 2015,

The Republic of Kosovo celebrates its Independence Day on February 17. In 2008, when the unilateral independence was proclaimed, tens of thousands of people flooded the central streets of Pristina to celebrate. The city was plastered with posters thanking the US, UK and EU for their support. People waved predominantly Albanian, but also EU, UK and US flags, as at that time Kosovo did not yet have its own flag. As the declaration was announced, fireworks, firecrackers and celebratory gunfire erupted throughout Pristina. Celebrations continued well into the night. Ethnic Albanians also celebrated in Skopje, Macedonia, and in Brussels, outside the NATO headquarters and EU institutions.

In Serbian populated areas in Kosovo there were minor unrests; for example, in Mitrovicë/a two hand grenades were thrown at the buildings of the UN court building and the EU mission. Angry protests happened in Belgrade as well.[354] The following years the holiday was marked by many festivities in the cities, as well as large crowds celebrating in the streets. The fifth anniversary was marked by the biggest celebrations. These included the centers of cities across Kosovo decorated in national colors and flags, and a parade of police and armed forces in the main square of Pristina. This was the first time the forces were used in a parade in Kosovo since the end of the 1998-99 war. The festivities were accompanied by traditional music. The "Newborn" monument in the center of Pristina, first unveiled in the evening of the proclamation of independence in 2008 and signed by the Prime Minister, President and later by thousands of people, was painted with flags of 98 countries that had recognized Kosovo's independence ahead of its fifth anniversary; the tradition of repainting the monument ahead of the Independence Day has continued. Large posters with "KO5OVA" were plastered around Pristina. Flags of Kosovo and Albania were waved in the crowds.[355]

http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo/press_corner/focus/2013/20130515_en.htm;
"Celebrating Europe Day – in Kosovo and Brussels," *EULEX Kosovo*, 9 May 2011, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/en/news/000287.php.
[354] "Kosovo MPs proclaim independence," *BBC News*, 17 February 2008, accessed 25 January 2015,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7249034.stm.
[355] Guy De Launey, "Kosovo marks fifth year of independence from Serbia," *BBC News*, 17 February 2013, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-21492473.

In 2015, however, the celebrations were much more somber given the difficult economic situation in Kosovo. High poverty levels and unemployment rates, civil unrest and protests as well as the drastic increase in migration of Kosovars seeking asylum in the EU in just the first months of 2015, mean major domestic along with foreign policy problems for Kosovo. For its seventh independence anniversary decorations in Pristina were minimal, with Kosovar and Albanian flags adorning only the main boulevards, due to lack of funds for a grander celebration. The promised military parade also did not take place as an armed security force was not created and Kosovo still has a lightly armed civil protection force. The parliament did hold a ceremonial session, while Kosovar officials laid flowers at the graves of Ibrahim Rugova and Adem Jashari.[356]

The listlessness of the day was also reflected in the repainting of the "Newborn" monument. In 2015, school children, local citizen and artists were invited to repaint the monument. The artists painted the letter E in black to represent what they see as the reality of today's Kosovo. In stark contrast to the brightly painted other letters, the dark E stands for "Exodus, Europe, Economy and EULEX."[357]

Kosovo's Constitution Day is celebrated on 9 April, as a non-working day for the citizens, marked by a number of official ceremonies to commemorate the day. The Law on Official Holidays also accounts for official memorial days, which are generally celebrated within the respective communities and are not official national holidays. However, government officials often attend official ceremonies on these days. Memorial days include Day of Ashkalia on 15 February, Day of Memorial and Respect for Veterans on 6 March, Day of Roma on 8 April, Day of Turks on 23 April, Day of Gorans on 6 May, Peace Day on 12 June, Day of Bosnians on 28 September, and Day of Albanians on 28 November. According to the Law, "Other Memorial days shall be established by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, in consultation with the President of the Republic of Kosovo,

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[356] Una Hajdari, "Kosovo Marks Independence Day With Little Joy," *Balkan Insight*, 17 February 2015, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-celebrates-independence-day-onsour-note.
[357] Jack Butcher, "Joyless Independence Day," *Kosovo 2.0,* 18 February 2015, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.kosovotwopointzero.com/en/article/1572/joyless-independence-day.

out of which two days in consultation with Serb community in Kosovo."[358]

Although 28 November, Albania‟s Independence Day, is not an official public holiday in Kosovo, Kosovar Albanians still celebrate it. Almost every street in Pristina gets decorated in Albanian flags, many shops close for the day, while festivities continue well into the night in numerous restaurants and cafes. Many Kosovar Albanians consider it a holiday of the whole Albanian nation; they see it as a manifestation of their identity and an indicator of the indivisibility of the Albanian nation. Although it is generally agreed that the day is an emotive occasion for all Albanians, opinions differ on whether the holiday should be celebrated in Kosovo. Kosovo's politicians have also voiced divided opinions. For example, in 2013, Atifete Jahjaha, Kosovo‟s President, and Hashim Thaçi, then serving as the Prime Minister, were careful to congratulate only the people of Albania; Jakup Krasniqi, as the Chairman of the Assembly, on the other hand, congratulated all Albanians, making no distinction between Albanians in Kosovo, Albania or in other countries. He stated in a press release "Today, Albanians honour the flag…convinced that with even more willpower we will move towards comprehensive progress, national unity and Euro-Atlantic integration."[359]

The Serbian community generally ignores the Kosovar national holidays, and especially boycotts the Independence and Constitution Days. However, an important holiday for all Serbs is Vidovdan, or St. Vitus Day, the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, a holiday that has been celebrated for seven centuries across Serbia. The main event is organized annually at Gazimestan, the site of the Battle of Kosovo and the location of the monument to its warriors. The rally that takes place on 28 June every year is accompanied by numerous Serbian national symbols, chants, and is usually attended by the Head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Serbian officials, and sometimes ambassadors, as well as Serbs from Serbia and parts of Kosovo. The celebrations often spark controversy and incidents. After the 2012 celebrations of Vidovdan, Ivica Dačić, then Serbian Minister of Internal Affairs, stated, "Vidovdan is a feast for the Serbian people, and every Vidovdan, incidents happen in Kosovo and Metohija. If the Serbian people in

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[358] Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosova, *Law no. 03/L-064*
[359] Edona Peci, "Albania Independence Day Fervour Still Grips Kosovo," *Balkan Insight*, 28 November 2013, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/albania-independence-day-fervour-stillgrips-kosovo.

Kosovo and Metohija cannot mark Vidovdan - a day of great Serbian suffering, then the question is how can they ensure the peaceful life of Serbs in Kosovo."[360]

7.3. A Political Culture Based on the Usable Past

As was shown in the previous section both Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo view history in their own way, and use it to their own advantage. Nevertheless, officially Kosovo is an entity created to include at least six ethnic groups. All the holidays are celebrated and a general sense of acceptance is described in legal documents. However, as was shown in the previous section, the situation on the ground is quite different. This section now turns to evaluating how this is applied to the state symbology, documents, and public spaces, and what the real attitudes of the Kosovars is towards this.

7.3.1. Flag, Coat of Arms, Anthem and Currency[361]

Prior to the proclamation of independence, Kosovo's Albanian population largely used the Albanian flag; a gesture that was seen as highly provocative by the Serbian authorities. After KFOR entered Kosovo, the use of the UN flag became quite common as well. Although KFOR regulations required the Serbian flag to be flown next to the Albanian one if it were to be used in Kosovo, this requirement was hardly ever followed. As Kosovo did not have its own flag on the day it proclaimed its independence, on February 17, 2008 people who celebrated across its territory waved mainly Albanian flags, as well as EU, US and UK flags alongside it; these were also printed on numerous posters placed across the country.

Following its proclamation of independence, Kosovo adopted its own flag and coat of arms in February and a national anthem in June of 2008. Kosovo's flag was chosen through an international

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[360] Marija Ristic, "Serbian War Vets Celebrate Vidovdan," Balkan Insight, 29 June 2012, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/serbian-war-vets-celebrate-vidovdan.
[361] For visual representations of the flag and the coat of arms of the Republic of Kosovo see Appendix 2.

competition organized by the Kosovo Unity Team. According to the competition's guidelines, the winning flag had to emphasize the diverse population of Kosovo, while avoiding imitating the flags of Serbia or Albania. This, for example, meant that the flag could not include the Albanian or the Serbian double-headed eagle. Nearly a thousand entries were sent into the competition. The winning contestant was Muhamer Ibrahimi, whose entry was chosen by a jury panel consisting of representatives from all the parliamentary political entities of Kosovo, representatives of minorities, representatives from the academic field, and the Prime Minister, Hashim Thaçi. The selection was then sent for approval to the Assembly of Kosovo.[362]

Kosovo's flag consists of the gold map of Kosovo centered on a blue background. The placement of the map on the flag serves as an indication of Kosovo's territorial dimensions and symbolizes territorial unity and indivisibility in an official manner. Given the vibrant history of territorial changes in the Balkans, the placement of the map on the flag indicates the permanence of the entity in the eyes of its leadership.[363] Above the map six white stars are placed, representing Kosovo's largest ethnic groups: Albanians, Serbs, Roma, Bosniaks, Turks, and Macedonians. Kosovo's coat of arms reproduces the flag, in the shape of a shield with a gold border. [364]

Kosovo's national anthem was selected through a competition as well. The legislative branch chose the winning submission by a Kosovar Albanian composer, Mendi Mengjigi. The anthem is entitled "Europe", and as the entries were not to promote any ethnic group over the others, the anthem is currently without words. Leaving it without words was intended to reflect the multiethnic character of Kosovo; however, it also manages to avoid conflict and controversy over choice of language for the anthem and its acceptance by different groups within the population. According to Helen Fawkes, a BBC reporter, "For the authorities, it is a crucial part of nation building and is something which is designed to unite the people of Kosovo."[365]

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[362] "Symbols," *State Portal of the Republic of Kosova*, accessed June 1, 2015, https://www.rks-gov.net/enUS/Republika/Kosova/Pages/Simbolet.aspx.

[363] Notably, the only other country that has a flag depicting its territory on its flag is the Republic of Cyprus.

[364] "Symbols," *State Portal.*

[365] "Kosovo MPs choose national anthem," *BBC News*, 11 June 2008, accessed June 1, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7447583.stm.

The success, however, is questionable. Most Kosovar Albanians see the flag, together with the other national symbols as a concession with the package of post-independence measures. The flag of Albania, which is a variation of Skenderbeg's 15ᵗʰ century flag used during battles with the Ottomans, marks Albania's declaration of independence in 1928 and is seen as the flag of all Albanians. Unable to use any of its elements in the new Kosovar flag, Kosovar Albanians today generally make a distinction between the Albanian flag as the national flag, and the current flag of Kosovo as the flag of the Kosovo state. This is the reason that Albanian flags have not disappeared from celebrations, rallies, protests, shop windows, homes and even some government buildings in Kosovo. The same applies to other national symbols. The Serbian population does not identify with any of the Kosovar symbols and continues to use only Serbian national symbols. Gëzim Krasniqi explains the issue further:

> The paradox resides in the fact that many Kosovar Albanians do not consider Kosovo (including its legal framework and state iconography) to reflect its overwhelming Albanian majority whereas most of the Serbs consider it to be "an Albanian state." This is why both Albanians and Serbs continue to prefer their respective national symbols (Albania's and Serbia's respective iconography) over the new Kosovar ones.
> Kosovar Albanians are divided between a minority who promote the idea of a Kosovar nation and those who think that Kosovar Albanians are simultaneously indivisible part of the Albanian nation in the Balkans and Kosovar citizens.[366]

Before the establishment of UNMIK, in Kosovo, as part of Serbia, the Yugoslav dinar was in circulation. However, wartime inflation and tensions of the conflict discredited the currency. Residents of Kosovo preferred to use foreign currencies instead of the dinar, mainly the German Mark, but also the US Dollar and the Swiss Franc. After the conflict Kosovo faced the challenge of choosing a monetary framework. For this reason, in September 1999 UNMIK passed the Regulation "On the currency permitted to be used in Kosovo". The Regulation identified the Deutsche mark as the currency in which the budgets, financial records and accounts of public bodies, agencies and institutions, including UNMIK, were to be formulated. It left freedom to the parties of any contract or

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[366] Gëzim Krasniqi, *Citizenship as a tool of state-building in Kosovo: status, rights, and identity in the new state*, Edinburgh: CITSEE, 2010, accessed June 1, 2015,
http://www.citsee.ed.ac.uk/working_papers/files/216_citizenshipasatoolofs tatebuildinginkosovostatusrightsandi dentityinthenewstate.pdf.

transaction to agree between themselves the currency of their transaction. The Regulation removed all foreign exchange controls and restrictions. As the most popular currency in Kosovo at the time, the Deutsche mark was adopted unilaterally as the de facto legal tender currency in Kosovo. Neither the Deutsche Bundesbank nor the European Central Bank were involved in negotiations on the matter at the time. Nevertheless, Kosovo did not experience a shortage of cash during the transition as the currency was already in use, and largely because the Kosovar diaspora was sending money to their relatives in Kosovo exclusively in cash, so no banking mechanisms were in place initially.[367]

Like Germany, Kosovo switched to the Euro on 1 January 2002, while the Deutsche mark remained in use in Kosovo until 9 March 2002. Unlike the unilateral adoption of the Deutsche mark, or rather the legalizations of its wide use in Kosovo, the transition to the Euro was carried out in cooperation with the European Central bank and some national banks in the Euro zone. Although Kosovo uses the Euro as its national currency, it does not mint its own Euro coins.[368] On the other hand, areas with a Serb-majority population continue to accept the Serbian dinar alongside the Euro.

7.3.2. Passports & Visas

The conflict over the territory of Kosovo led to an administratively problematic situation over the citizenship issue. As Kosovo was legally part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its inhabitants were considered de jure Yugoslav citizen. In reality, Yugoslavia had no control over Kosovo. In terms of citizenship this meant that by the year 2000 there existed two categories of people: those born before 1999 who had Yugoslav documents, and those born after June 1999, who had no means of being entered into the Yugoslav register of citizens, and were thus stateless. To somewhat resolve this issue, UNMIK decided to create a separate civil register for residents of Kosovo, regulated by UNMIK Regulation 2000/13 on the Central Civil Registry. People could be entered into the register

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[367] Michel Svetchine, "Kosovo Experience with Euroization of its Economy," Annual Fifth Conference of Bank of Albania: "Central banking in the Time of Integration," Bank of Albania, Durrës, 24-25 March 2005, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.bankofalbania.org/web/pub/M_SVETCHINE_1329_1.pdf.
[368] Ibid.

of habitual residents of Kosovo if they were born in Kosovo, or if at least one parent was born in Kosovo, or if they could prove their permanent and continuous residence in Kosovo in the past five years. Since the majority of pre-1999 civil registration books and people's personal documents were destroyed or confiscated, procedures for registration of habitual residency were quite simple, and absolutely any kind of documentation, whether official or not, as well as oral or written statements, were accepted as proof of residency. Residents were then issued ID cards. Between the years 2000 and 2008 UNMIK issued approximately 1 600 000 ID cards, the overwhelming majority to Kosovo Albanians.[369]

In 2000 UNMIK implemented the Regulation on Travel Documents, which stipulated that all people registered in the Central Civil Registry could be issued a passport-like travel document. UNMIK Travel Documents were issued for foreign travel to habitual residents of Kosovo who were unable to obtain Yugoslav or Serbian passports between the years 2000 and 2008. The Travel Document was not officially considered a passport, as it was not issued by a sovereign state, and did not contain information on the holder's nationality. The cover of the passports was blue, with "UNMIK Travel Document/Document de Voyage" printed on the front. The document contained 32 pages, a machine-readable strip, information on the holder and his or her fingerprint. The document, however, was not widely accepted, as only 37 countries officially recognized it, making their use, and consequently, travel for their holders rather complicated. Between the years 2000 and 2008 approximately 600 000 Travel Documents were issued, mostly to Kosovo Albanians. The Serbian population of Kosovo opted for keeping Yugoslav, and later Serbian documents, which were continued to be issued by Serbian authorities through parallel structures in Kosovo or municipal offices in Serbia even after 1999. According to the Serbian authorities, 200 000 Serbian passports were issued to residents of Kosovo between the year 1999 and 2007. This number included both Serbian and Albanian residents of Kosovo.[370]

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[369] Gëzim Krasniqi, *Country Report on Citizenship Law: Kosovo*, European University Institute, Florence, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 2015: 9-10, accessed June 1, 2015, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34477/EUDO_CIT_2015_03Kosovo.pdf?sequence=1.
[370] Ibid.

Just three days after Kosovo declared its independence, the Parliament of Kosovo adopted a new citizenship law. Regulation of citizenship was a pressing matter, as many people living in Kosovo were de facto stateless for many years. There was no public debate before or after passing the law; the law itself was drafted with the extensive help of European legal advisors from ICO-EUSR who analyzed citizenship laws in the region and based the Kosovar Law on Citizenship on the Ahtisaari provisions as well as the UNMIK legislation. There have been recent changes to the law, in 2011 and 2013, however, they have not changed the character of citizenship in Kosovo.[371]

The Citizenship Law is based on the principles of multi-ethnicity and inclusiveness, a "combination of *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli* principles, prevention of statelessness, absence of provisions granting ethnic preferences, and gender equality of parents who decide about the naturalization of the child as well as gender equality of spouses".[372] It unconditionally recognizes and accepts dual and multiple citizenships. Art. 31 and 32 of the Kosovar Law on Citizenship regulate acquisition of citizenship. The law stipulates that all the pre-war residents of Kosovo and their direct descendants can acquire citizenship of Kosovo. Citizens of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who were residents of Kosovo before 1 January 1998 can become citizens by registration, while habitual residents of Kosovo in the years 1999 through 2008, and registered in the UNMIK Central Civil Registry, become citizens *ex lege*. Refugees who left Kosovo in 1999 and were not registered as habitual residents and their children can acquire citizenship through a facilitated procedure of naturalization. However, the law does not define the diaspora based on ethnicity; according to the law all people who can prove they were born in Kosovo, or maintain family ties there, while legally residing outside Kosovo are considered to be part of the diaspora. The same applies to their descendants within one generation. The 2011 amendment to the citizenship law increased the residence criteria for naturalization from five to ten years, making it the longest in the region, introduced and approved a new law on foreigners, regulating entrance into Kosovo, and included changes to the acquisition of citizenship by stateless people. The latest changes were made in 2013, when the Kosovar Assembly further

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[371] Ibid. 12.
[372] Ibid. 13.

consolidated in a new set of laws the laws on citizenship, on foreigners, on asylum and on the Civil Registration Agency.[373]

From October 2008 Kosovo issues its citizens with identity cards that contain the holder's full name, place and date of birth, gender, citizenship and personal number as well as biometric data. The cards do not include the holder's ethnicity. The cards bear the Kosovo coat of arms in the top left corner and are in Albanian, Serbian and English. Every citizen of Kosovo over the age of sixteen is obliged to be equipped with an ID card for identification purposes within Kosovo; the ID cards can also be used instead of a passport for travel to Albania, Montenegro and Serbia.[30] At the end of 2013 Kosovo began issuing new, biometric ID cards, also known as electronic ID cards, or e-ID cards, which expanded the use of ID cards to the online sphere. With the use of a card reader and an application, citizens of Kosovo can, for example, engage in e-governance, e-banking, e-commerce, and e-health.[374]

Kosovo began issuing its own passports in July 2008. Since then, UNMIK stopped issuing the Travel Documents. The existing UNMIK Travel Documents retained their validity until their expiration date; as the documents were issued with the validity of two years, the last Travel Documents expired in 2010. The first 32 page Kosovan passports were dark blue, with the gold coat of arms printed in the center of the front cover. Above it "Republic of Kosovo" was written in Albanian, Serbian, and English, while below the coat of arms the word "Passport" was also written in the three languages. These passports included the basic data on the holder, without mentioning his or her ethnicity, and conformed to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and EU standards for machine-readable

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[373] Ibid. 12-13. [373] For the 2008 Law on Citizenship of Kosovo see:
Law no.03/L-034 on Citizenship of Kosova, Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L034_en.pdf.
The newest amended version of the law is available at:
Law no. 04/L-215 on Citizenship of Kosovo, Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosova, No. 33, 2 September 2013, accessed June 1, 2015, https://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/Ligji_per_Shtetesi_-_Anglisht.pdf.
Law no. 03/L-099 on Identity Cards, Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_3-L099_en.pdf.

[374] Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, "eID," accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mpbks.org/?page=2,244.

passports. The passports were printed in Germany. At the passport ceremony in Pristina, while presenting the first ever Kosovan passport, then Prime Minister Hashim Thaci said, "It's a historic day for our country and all the citizen of Kosovo. We are creating a nation. Today signifies the final secession of the citizens of Kosovo."[375]

In 2011 Kosovo began issuing new passports with biometric data. This was done in order to meet criteria for future visa liberalization with the EU. As of the writing of this thesis, Kosovo was the only country in the Balkans whose citizens still require visas to travel to Schengen countries.[376] The new passports are printed in Austria and have "polycarbonate film data pages, which contain an ICAO-compliant antenna and chip module that stores the document holder's personal data, a facial image and two fingerprints."[377] In terms of front cover design, the passports remained the same as their non-biometric predecessors. Kosovo issues regular passports, which are dark blue, official passports, which are maroon, and diplomatic passports, which are black. According to Kosovo's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kosovan passports are recognized in all the countries that have officially recognized Kosovo's independence. Countries that do not recognize Kosovo have in recent years begun recognizing and processing the Kosovan passport. This is the case of, for example, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Israel and Slovakia amongst others. Other countries have processed the passport even though they do not officially recognize it. This has been the case of the People's Republic of China and Spain, amongst others. Furthermore, citizens of Kosovo can travel visa-free to Albania, Macedonia, the Maldive Islands, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey. They must, however, obtain visas for all other countries of the world.[378]

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[375] Philippa Runner, "Kosovo passport holders face uncertain EU welcome," *EUObserver*, 31 July 2008, accessed June 1, 2015, https://euobserver.com/foreign/26568.

[376] "Kosovo launches biometric passports," *EUbusiness*, 31 October 2011, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/kosovo-visa.d97

[377] Ryan Clary, "Kosovo launches biometric passports powered by Trüb," *SecureID News*, 14 November 2011, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.secureidnews.com/news-item/kosovo-launches-biometric-passportspowered-by-trub/.

[378] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, "Visas for Kosovo Citizens," accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,70.

On 1 July 2013 Kosovo introduced its own new visa regime. The new policy replaced the previous visa-free for all countries policy. Citizens of countries which do not fall under the list of those exempt from visas[379] or under special categories, must apply for a Kosovan visa at the respective Diplomatic or Consular Mission of the Republic of Kosovo no more than three months prior to their visit.[380]

Kosovar law allows for dual and multiple citizenships, which has become a very common practice for many Kosovars. Initially, this part of the citizenship law was introduced to accommodate the needs of the Serbian population, as well as the large Kosovar Albanian diaspora in Europe and the US. At present, the numbers of Kosovars who hold dual or multiple citizenships is not known and a rough estimate is hard to make.[381] Acquiring dual citizenship in Serbia or Albania became an issue for Kosovars especially after the introduction of new regulations on visas for Western Balkans, the proposal of which was endorsed by the Council of the EU on 30 November 2009. These regulations allowed citizens of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia to travel to all Schengen countries visa-free. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania joined the white list a year later, while Kosovo was left out of the visa liberalization process for the Western Balkans. Furthermore, according to the Commission's proposal and EU"s decision, all Kosovo residents who hold a Serbian passport issued after July 2009 must apply for Schengen visas. From August 2008 until July 2009, Serbia issued 7 141 passports to Kosovars. From July 2009, this practice stopped, and

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[379] Kosovo does not require visas from citizens of EU and Schengen member states, as well as a number of other countries worldwide. For the updated list of countries, see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, "Who doesn't need a visa?," accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,87.

[380] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, "Who doesn't need a visa?."

[381] According to Gëzim Krasniqi, there are between 400 000 and 800 000 Kosovo Albanians living in the diaspora. Members of the diaspora who hold citizenships of countries, which allow dual or multiple citizenship are very likely to acquire Kosovar citizenship as well. Albanians from southern Serbia, Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro who are working, studying and living in Kosovo and satisfy criteria for Kosovar citizenship are also likely to apply for it. Some of them were already granted citizenship in 2008, as they were habitual citizens registered with UNMIK. One can also assume that the approximately 130 000 Kosovar Serbs will eventually have dual citizenship. The same applies for Serb and Roma refugees from Kosovo residing in neighboring countries, and who might return to Kosovo.

Serbia established the Coordination Directorate in Belgrade that issues passports for Kosovo residents.[382] Thus Kosovo residents, Serb or Albanian, currently receive Serbian passports issued by a different issuing authority. Thus, Serbian passports that qualify for visa-free travel became of large interest and a valuable commodity for Kosovars. For example, there have been cases of Kosovo residents fraudulently registering at addresses in Serbia to apply for the Serbian passports.[383]

Moreover, on 3 July 2013 Albania passed decree no.554 on "Procedures for the Recognition and Acquisition of Albanian Citizenship by Persons of Albanian Origin, Excluding Citizens of the Republic of Kosovo". The decree specifies the eligibility criteria for people of ethnic Albanian origin, living in foreign countries. Kosovo Albanians were initially supposed to be included in the new law; when then Prime Minister of Albania Sali Berisha publicly announced his plans of granting ethnic Albanians worldwide Albanian citizenship, many Kosovar Albanians were greatly interested and hopeful. However, the exclusion of Kosovar Albanians from the final version of the decree was done in the face of a threat by the EU to reintroduce Schengen visas for Albanian citizen had Albania taken the step to offer citizenship to the 1.8 million ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.[384]

7.3.3. Transformations of Cultural Landscapes & Public Spaces

Streets of cities across Kosovo have witnessed name changes multiple times over the course of history, depending on the political regime that was in power. During Tito's Yugoslavia, the streets of Pristina, as well as other cities in Kosovo, reflected the interests and aspirations of Yugoslavia's various ethnic groups. Both Albanian

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[382] Gëzim Krasniqi, *Country Report on Citizenship Law*, 26.
[383] Bojana Barlovac, "Arrests Ongoing in Serbian Passport Scam," *Balkan Insight*, 9 November 2010, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/EN/ARTICLE/SERBIA-FAKE-PASSPORTS-HUNT-STARTS.
[384] Gëzim Krasniqi, "Albania to grant citizenship to Ethnic Albanians in the neighbourhood and diaspora," EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 4 July 2014, accessed June 1, 2015, http://eudocitizenship.eu/news/citizenship-news/921-albania-to-grant-citizenship-to-ethnic-albanians-in-theneighbourhood-and-diaspora.

and Serbian writers and historical figures were memorialized by the names of streets in Kosovo, as were WWII partisans and communist heroes. In the 1990s, most street names were changed by the Serbian regime to honor Serbian heroes and nationalists. These were not accepted by the local Kosovar Albanian population, which used the new names only in official settings, for example when there was a need to obtain documentation.[385] Following the end of the war in Kosovo, the interim government changed the names of the streets again, this time to honor the KLA fighters. UNMIK refused to recognize the new names, adding to the general confusion of official street names. After the first elections in Kosovo took place in October 2000 an official commission for naming streets was formed. In May 2001, it drew up a complete list of street names in Kosovo. These street names included not only Albanian and Kosovar Albanian names, but also a few Serbian ones. Today, in Pristina there are 11 streets named after Serbs, Croats and Bosnians who are noted for their literary and scientific contributions, as well as their work in Albanian language studies.[386]

Zagreb Street in Pristina is a noteworthy example of transformations of public spaces. In 1995, the street was renamed as Kninska, after the city of Knin, then capital of Republika Srpska Krajina. In 1999 the street was renamed as Bushatasit, only to return to its original name, Zagreb, once again in 2001. Pristina‟s main boulevard named after Mother Theresa, Nënë Tereza, where a statue of her can be found, was previously named after Marshal Tito, while Belgrade Street was renamed to Tirana. Noteworthy are also the many streets and boulevards with the names of American politicians who supported Kosovo's independence.[387] For example, in Pristina these include former Presidents Bill Clinton (Bill Klinton Boulevard)[388] and George Bush (Xhorxh Bush Street), and in Gjilan/e former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (Medllin Ollbrajt Street). Furthermore, Bill Clinton's three and a half meter

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[385] Eleanor Beardsley, "In Kosovo, 'map politics' sends letters astray," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 21 January 2003, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0121/p09s01-woeu.html.
[386] Petrit Collaku, "Kosovo in Capital Tussle Over Nameless Streets*," Balkan Insight*, 17 June 2011, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/where-the-streets-have-no-name.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Previously called King Peter the First Liberator Street and Vladimir Lenin Street. [46] "Kosovo unveils Clinton‟s statue," *BBC News*, 1 November 2009, accessed June 1, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8336789.stm.

high bronze statue can be found on the Boulevard named after the former American president. The statue, unveiled at a ceremony attended by Clinton in 2009, portrays him with his left arm raised, while under his right holding documents with the date on which NATO started its air campaign against Yugoslavia – 24 March 1999.[46] There is also a street named after former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair in Pristina (Toni Bler Street). After the war in Kosovo, Tony Blair was so popular that some people even named their sons after him. Thus, today one has a chance to meet a few Kosovar Albanian teenagers named Tonibler and Bler.[389]

As a direct result of the many politically motivated renamings, Kosovars mostly do not refer to the streets by any of their previous or current names, instead opting to describe locations by landmarks. Oftentimes, locals, including taxi drivers, will refer to the streets by the restaurants, petrol stations or shops that are located there instead of the actual names.

Street names in Serbian populated areas of Kosovo have retained their Serbian names, as well as have gained new ones. A recent issue in this regard occurred in March 2015, when the Ranilluge/Ranilug municipality in eastern Kosovo was largely criticized and called upon to revoke their decision to name a street after Slobodan Milošević.[390]

Following the end of the war, numerous monuments and memorials were erected across Kosovo. These monuments and memorials, commemorating the soldiers and commanders of the KLA as well as the war victims, were mainly private initiatives, built by the Kosovar Albanian families who lost loved ones in the war; some were built with the direction of the municipalities and only a few memorials were built under the patronage of the government. Monuments and memorials were placed in urban and rural areas, usually at the place of death of a particular commander or soldier,

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[389] Julian Borger, "Meet the Kosovan Albanians who named their sons after Tony Blair," *The Guardian*, 20 June 2014, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/20/kosovan-albanians-namechildren-tony-blair-tonibler.
[390] Petrit Collaku, "Kosovo Town"s „Milosevic Street" Sparks Outrage," *Balkan Insight*, 9 March 2015, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-street-name-by-milosevic-to-be-reviewed.

or in his home city or region.[391] All sites commemorating KLA soldiers or commanders, as well as graveyards where they are buried, display the Albanian flag; the Kosovar flag may or may not be present. This I observed while driving around Kosovo, as many graveyards are located close to the road.

Post-war monuments stand alongside old Yugoslav ones. A location that is best representative of this is perhaps the hill in the Velania neighborhood of Pristina. There, three sights display different historical and ideological periods: the Martyr's Monument, commemorating the partisans of WWII erected during Yugoslavia, the cemetery of Pristina's martyrs from the last war in Kosovo, and the mausoleum of Ibrahim Rugova, signifying the peaceful resistance in Kosovo during the 1990s. Amongst many other international honors, Rugova posthumously received the Order "Hero of Kosovo" in 2007, by then President Fatmir Sejdiu. The statute of Ibrahim Rugova is in the very center of Pristina, next to the Independence Park and across from the building of the Government of Kosovo and the large statue to Albanian"s biggest national hero Skanderbeg[392]. Also, a motorway linking Kosovo and Albania is named after Rugova. The sight of his mausoleum is impeccably maintained and guarded. This is in stark contrast with the neighboring Martyr"s Monument, which lies just on the other side of the walled burial sight of Ibrahim Rugova. The Martyr's Monument consists of a platform with a metal globe held on a long pedestal, surrounded by a concrete shell protruding from the ground. Commemorating partisans who died liberating the region in WWII, today the monument remains abandoned, ignored and often vandalized.

Another monument reminiscent of Yugoslav times, is the Monument of Unity and Brotherhood, also in Pristina. The 15-meter high monument is made up of three columns, joining near the top to symbolize one of the Yugoslav-era's most loved slogans - "unity and brotherhood" of the three nations of Kosovo – the Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins. At the base of the monument is the inscription "1961", which many assume to be the year the monument was founded. Near the columns are abstract sculptures of people. These

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[391] Eli Krasniqi, "Memorials in Kosovo Today," *Made in KS*, 6:3 (2011): 4-5, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/2627127/Memorials_in_Kosovo_Today.
[392] During my time in Pristina, an Albanian flag was tied around the statue's neck, counterbalancing the flag of very large dimensions, a permanent installment at Rugova's statue.

have recently been painted in the colors of the flags of "Kosovo-friendly" countries – USA, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, UK, and Albania. There is a lack of information about the initiators of the painting, however, some authors have chosen to interpret the act as an indication that it was not only the monument's look and political context that has changed; its message has changed as well from "unity and brotherhood" to "friendship between Kosovo and its Euro-Atlantic partners."[393]

Perhaps the trendiest, most commercialized and globally recognized monument in Kosovo is the "Newborn" monument. The monument has attracted attention from media from across the globe, was featured in films and music videos, and won prizes in international competitions in the design category. As previously mentioned, the typographic monument of the English language word "Newborn" in capital block letters was unveiled on 17 February 2008, at a large celebration following Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, where politicians, prominent figures and ordinary citizens were able to sign the yellow monument that marks Kosovo's declaration of independence. Fisnik Ismaili, the leader of the team which conceptualized and built the monument, explains the symbolic meaning and general reasoning behind the monument as follows:

> NEWBORN, intentionally in English, was the single word that could describe that special day: A birth of a new country, and the connotations of this word imply only positive things (birth, innocence, sincerity, love...). We were aware that all the foreign media will be present on the day, so we wanted to give them an image that could be understood and mark that day. Words "New" and "Born" are easily understood by people whose English is not perfect, too. The idea was to present Kosovo as a new, contemporary, trendy country, ready to be embraced by the world. The yellow colour, was intentionally used in combination with blue banners and supporting slogans, to represent both new Kosovor flag's colours as well as EU colours. The supporting slogans were: "NEW life is BORN", "NEW hope is BORN", "NEW future is BORN" and "NEW country is BORN", all presented in blue and yellow colours. In addition, yellow is a colour that represents the sunrise - birth of a new day, new hope... end of darkness.[394]

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[393] Daniel Bernhardt and Editorial Team, "Perspective," *Made in KS*, 6:3 (2011): 3, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/2627127/Memorials_in_Kosovo_Today.
[394] "NEWBORN, the symbol of Kosovo Independence," *New Kosova Report*, 4 July 2008, accessed June 1, 2015,

The most visited memorial site in Kosovo is the Adem Jashari Memorial Complex in Prekaz, Skenderaj/Srbica municipality. Adem Jashari, often called the "Legendary Commander" (Alb. *Komandanti Legjendar*) was one of the founders and commander of the KLA, and following his death became one of the symbols of freedom and independence of Kosovo to Albanians. The events that led up to his death and the deaths of over 50 members of the Jashari extended family have been told in many ways. On 5 March 1998, Serbian police and Special Forces were deployed to Prekaz and sealed off the area surrounding the Jashari compound in an attack that lasted for two days. The sole survivor was Besarta Jashari, the daughter of Adem Jashari's brother Hamëz. Her brief account of the events was cited fervently, "stating that her uncle sang patriotic songs while he fought and that Serbian police „had threatened her with a knife and ordered her to say that her uncle killed everyone who wanted to surrender""[395]. Subsequently, the Jashari family had been consistently labeled as „terrorists" in all official Serbian proclamations, while Albanians celebrated them as „glorious martyrs" who died in an act of „sublime sacrifice" to their nation. In commemorative literature, it is claimed that all the members of the Jashari family chose to stay by their own free will in the „wounded tower-house", fighting back defying fear of death. Today, the ruins of the family compound are open to visitors; "a formerly private space turned public by the events and now serving as a sacred shrine to the Albanian nation" [396]. The site became a national pilgrimage destination, especially for diaspora Albanians, as the "family deaths and their self-determination embodied at this site promise the Albanian visitors that it is possible to become master of their own, national destiny."[397]

Today, the bombed Jashari compound stands under the support of scaffolding. It, however, remains untouched since 1998; one can see furniture and belongings inside the house, Jashari's old tractor and all the bullet holes in the walls. Outside the compound is the

http://newkosovareport.com/200807041018/Society/NEWBORN-the-symbol-of-KosovoIndependence.html.

[395] Nita Luci and Predrag Marković, "Events and Sites of Difference: Marking Self and Other in Kosovo," in *Media Discourse and the Yugoslav Conflicts: Representations of Self and Other*, ed. Pål Kolstø, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009, 95-97.

[396] Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, "Sacred Journey to a Nation: The Construction of a Shrine in Postwar Kosovo," *Journeys*, 7:1 (2006), doi: 3167/146526006780457315

[397] Ibid.

Jashari Memorial, which includes the graves of all the people killed in the attack. The house and the graves are connected by a maroon path, symbolizing the spilled blood of the family. There are three round flower beds, symbolizing Adem Jashari's three sons killed in the attack. Positioned on either side of Adem Jashari's grave are two KLA soldiers who keep a constant watch over the graves. An Albanian flag is flown near the grave, as well as next to the house, where also a large poster of Adem Jashari is displayed.

The anniversary of Adem Jashari's death is annually commemorated and he has been posthumously awarded the title "Hero of Kosovo" for his role in the war, while several authors have equated him with Skanderbeg as well as Albanian kaçak rebels. The football stadium in Mitrovicë/a, the National Theatre in Pristina and the Pristina International Airport are named after him, as are streets in many cities and towns across Kosovo, for example Prizren, Shtime/Štimlje, Drenas/Glogovac, and Kamenicë/Kosovska Kamenica, but also in Tirana and Shkodër in Albania. Although not named after Adem Jashari, the Boro and Ramiz Youth and Sports Center[398] in Pristina displays a large poster with the photo of him above the front entrance; the alley leading to it is lined with a row of Albanian flags to the right and on the left with the flag of the US, UK and EU, followed by a number of flags of Kosovo finishing the row.

Other KLA memorial sites include for example Xhevat A. Berisha KLA Memorial in Prizren,

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[398] The Center, built in the late 1970s, is named after Boro Vukmirović and Ramiz Sadiku, two Yugoslav heroes who died in 1943 bravely defending Kosovo together against fascists. Boro was Serbian, while Ramiz was Albanian. Together they became the perfect symbol of Serbian and Albanian brotherhood, friendship and unity in Kosovo, widely used during Tito's Yugoslavia. The Boro-Ramiz Youth and Sports Center itself became one of the earliest symbols of Pristina. It was a multipurpose center built after a referendum, in which Pristina's residents agreed to provide over 60 percent of the needed funds from their personal incomes. In February 2000, due to an electrical malfunction, the center suffered from a fire. Since then, aside from the ground floor being used for shops, and the inside for indoor parking, the bulk of the building has remained non-functional. In 2010, the European Commission unveiled plans to recreate a functional cultural and athletic space for the local youth, yet the project was abandoned due the unresponsive municipality of Pristina. Some further attempts to renovate the space have taken place since, and although still in partial disrepair, today the youth center currently hosts an assembly hall, disco, retail shops, concert and sports halls and a Pioneer's center.

KLA Memorial in Mitrovicë/a, and the Memorial of KLA martyrs in Morinë, Skenderaj/Srbica. The latter was built to resemble the Vietnam Veteran Memorial in Washington D.C., having a marble plaque with the names of 2 thousand martyrs of KLA from all over Kosovo engraved on it.

Noteworthy is also the memorial complex commemorating the events of 15 January 1999 that took place in Reçak/Račak, seen by many as a watershed event that led to the Western intervention in the war in Kosovo. The event which resulted in the death of 45 Kosovar Albanians, amongst them a 12 year old child and a woman, referred to as the Račak Massacre, is one of the most hotly contested incidents of the Kosovo conflict, with Serbia still denying its role in the killings. The Memorial Complex in Reçak/Račak consists of a wall filled with plaques to each person killed in the massacre that took place in the area; each is engraved with a portrait, name, and years of birth and death. To the side of the wall is a large white arch, atop which is an Albanian flag. The Memorial also has a commemorative plaque in English, which reads:

> *Here rest the remains of martyrs of the nation, massacred by Serb barbarian atrocities.*
> *This tragedy occurred on the morning of 15 January 1999 when serbo-çetnik's rabid beasts of paramilitary forces attacked the innocent and vulnerable people, where dozens were massacred; children, elderly people and women, only because they were Albanian.*
> *The memorial raised to mark the memory of the victims and honor martyrs of the nation.*
> *Rest in peace in Arber land of free and independent Kosova!*

15 January 2015, Prime Minister of Kosovo, together with Commander of KSF, Mr. Haki Demolli and Gen. Kadri Kastrati, visited and laid flowers at the site, commemorating the 16th anniversary of the events. In a ceremony where a sea of only Albanian flags could be seen flown in the crowd, the Prime Minister said:

> *It represents the most morbid actions of the Serbian regime, the army, police and paramilitaries, who killed and massacred unarmed people, old and young, which tells for the dimensions of a very dirty war, and an inhuman behaviour, which was manifested against the Albanian population here, but also for the values of freedom and our independence, which rose on the blood of our people, on their sacrifice, even on their patriotism.[399]*

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[399] The Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, "Prime Minister paid tribute at the Memorial Complex in Recak," 15 January 2015, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.kryeministri-

Generally, memorials in Kosovo are built in the style of soc-realism that was characteristic in the post-WWII period, with the only difference of national symbols that are now Kosovar and/or Albanian and KLA insignia. Many statues in Kosovo have been made by well-known sculptors of communist-era Albania. Statues are usually very big monoliths, showing the fighter with a weapon or a grenade in hand, placed on a pedestal higher than eye level. Most memorials and statues built in commemoration of the fighters of the war in Kosovo are dedicated to men. Eli Krasniqi explains the gender aspect as follows,

> As it is expected in a patriarchal society such as Kosovo, men are the heroes. As with almost everything else, this too is a power relationship. In a society that is dominated by men, even the commemoration for women activists, for women martyrs or other women that contributed in the last war, is mainly adapted according to norms that function within the frame of patriarchal domination, which undoubtedly raises its power in all levels and spheres of society, thus including collective memory or the culture of memory.[400]

A discussion of the transformation of public spaces in Kosovo would not be complete without the mention of the destruction that occurred since 1999. From 15 June 1999 until 10 May 2004 at least 40 Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries were completely destroyed; more than 70 were demolished, plundered and burned. The two-day violence that occurred in March 2004 in Kosovo resulted in the destruction of several dozen monasteries, churches and other Orthodox holy and sacred places in the region. 35 Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries, some dating back as far as the 13th century, were razed or damaged beyond repair, while seven Serbian villages were destroyed and depopulated. Since 2004, nearly 150 Serbian Orthodox churches, monasteries and shrines were destroyed or robbed. Serbs view Kosovo as the birthplace of their nation and of their faith. As many holy places were damaged, destroyed or robbed, while the ancient scriptures, icons and ornate relics have been permanently lost, defaced or sold on the black market, Serbs, in turn, have lost many of the symbols of their identity

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ks.net/?page=2,9,4635. [58] Amongst many others scattered across Kosovo, a prominent example of such a statute is one of Zahir Pajaziti, a commander of the KLA. In 2008 Pajaziti was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of Kosovo" and he is commemorated with a statue in the center of Pristina, on Zahir Pajaziti Square.
[400] Krasniqi, "Memorials in Kosovo Today".

and values.[401] To this day the destruction of Orthodox holy sites is visible even without investing special effort in seeking it, as for example rubble of destroyed churches can we seen off to the side of many roads in Kosovo. Security of certain Serbian sites is still high. For example, the Gračanica Monastery, which was established in 1321 and is included in the UNESCO List of World Heritage, still has barbed wire atop its surrounding walls, reminiscent of the time when Swedish KFOR soldiers were placed on permanent guard here in 1999 and remained for many years. Today, KFOR is no longer at Gračanica, as the security responsibilities were handed over to Kosovo Police. Guarded by ethnic Serbs of the Kosovo Police is also, for example, Gazimestan, the monument commemorating the 1389 historical Battle of Kosovo. To enter the site, one must present identification to the police, who then note the details about each visitor, as a precaution against vandalism.

7.4. The Creation of Institutions and Traditions

As the previous section has shown, the reality in Kosovo is quite different to what Kosovo was conceptualized to be legally. While Kosovo Serbs do not associate with the Kosovo state on any level, Kosovo Albanians see it as the state they live in, while belonging to the larger Albanian nation. While it is clear that it is only Serbian nation building processes that occur in the Serbian parts, The role of the patron state in Kosovo is not so straightforward. Albania is the patron of the nation, however, as was shown in the previous section, and will be discussed further in this one, it does not actively involve itself with the realities in Kosovo, oftentimes distancing itself from the contested state. On the other hand, we can see a great involvement of the EU and the United States in the creation of Kosovo as a state. Although unrelated to Kosovo from the national perspective, the EU and US have been constantly active in the state building and support.

This section will address these issues further by first looking at the museums in Kosovo to see what image of itself the contested states wants to project, and then at the representation abroad and contact with other states, to see to whom it can communicate this image.

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[401] Sima Avramović et al., *The Predicament of Serbian Orthodox Holy Places in Kosovo and Metohia: Elements for a Historical, Legal and Conservational Understanding*, Belgrade: University of Belgrade Law Faculty, 2010, 9.

Finally, the section finishes by looking at the civil society, to see how involved the population of Kosovo is in solving the problems it faces.

7.4.1. Museums

The establishment of museums in Kosovo began after WWII, and followed the same general pattern as in other parts of Yugoslavia in their organization and in the focus of their exhibits. The oldest museum, today called the National Museum of Kosovo[402], was founded as a general museum in 1949, in a 19th century building in the old city center of Pristina, which until 1912 served as the seat of the Ottoman provincial government. Initially having departments of archeology, ethnography and natural science, in 1959 a department for the study of history and the National Liberation Struggle were added.[403] Today, the museum is home to an extensive archeological exhibit that dates to around 6000 B.C. The central exhibit is Pristina's City Emblem, the 6000-year-old statue named the *Hynesha në Fron*, the Sitting Goddess of Tjerrtorja. The museum also has exhibits depicting daily life in Illyrian, Dardanian and Roman times. In front of the building recent history is exhibited - military hardware and two large Jewish gravestones are displayed as reminders of the recent wars.[404] During the last war in Kosovo the building of the Museum of Kosovo was used by the Yugoslav military as an operational headquarters. In June 1999, the building was taken over by the EU and other organizations as their local headquarters for some time, before the museum was restored and reopened.[405]

Also established after WWII, as Museums of the National Liberation Struggle, were a number of smaller regional and local museums. With time, they acquired other materials, including archeological

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[402] The museum was established as the Kosovo Museum (*Alb*. Muzeu i Kosovës, *Srb*. Muzej Kosova i Metohije. In the 1990s it was downgraded to Museum in Pristina.

[403] András Riedlmayer, "Museums in Kosovo: a first postwar assessment," *Bosnia Report*, 15/16, March-June 2000, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep/marjune00/museums.cfm.

[404] "National Museum, Prishtinë (Priština), Kosovo," National Geographic Society, 2011, accessed June 1, March 2015, http://www.balkansgeotourism.travel/content/national-museum-prishtin%C3%AB-pri%C5%A1tinakosovo/seeA2E73EE4D27222687.

[405] Riedlmayer, "Museums in Kosovo."

artifacts from the region and ethnographic and folklore items, and natural science collections. These museums, located in Mitrovicë/a, Gjakova/Djakovica, Prizren, and Peja/Peć, are housed in 18th and 19th century restored hamams and Ottoman mansions.[406] Unfortunately, there doesn't seem to be much general interest in exhibits or museums in Kosovo today, although efforts to improve the situation are being made. Nevertheless, even tourist guides and websites have very limited information on the exact names, locations and content of these museums. Limited also is the information provided on government websites. The State Portal of the Republic of Kosovo cites the following museums as part of the cultural heritage: the Ethnographical Museum in Peć/Peja, the National Museum of Kosovo in Pristina, the Railway Museum of Kosovo in Pristina, the Ethnological Museum "Emin Gjiku" in Pristina, the Albanian League in Prizren, the Archeological Museum in Prizren, and the Museum in Mitrovicë/a.[407]

The newest addition is the Kosovo Independence House "Dr. Ibrahim Rugova", often referred to as the Independence Museum, opened in December 2007 in Pristina. The museum is set in a reconstruction of the two-bedroom house Ibrahim Rugova lived in and commemorates Kosovo"s recent history. The small museum is full of glass cases displaying objects related to the events leading up to the conflict, such as Ibrahim Rugova"s glasses, typewriter and desk. On display is also the mobile phone of Rugova"s media advisor, Xhemajl Mustafa, and numerous photographs of Pristina in the 1990s.

During the last conflict Kosovo lost many museum collections, not through deliberate destruction but through appropriation by the Serbian Ministry of Culture. Almost all valuable artifacts from Kosovo's three major museums – the Museum of Kosovo, the Museum in Mitrovicë/a and the Archeological Museum in Prizren – were moved to Belgrade in the end of 1998 and the beginning of 1999, making these museums practically redundant. These included artifacts of Kosovo's prehistoric and Dardanian/Illyrian cultures. Kosovar Albanian heads of museums and archeologists refer to this transfer of wealth as an act of plunder. From a legal perspective, largely due to legislative failures regarding the protection of cultural property in zones at risk of war, the

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[406] Ibid.
[407] "Cultural Heritage," *State Portal of the Republic of Kosova,* accessed June 1, 2015, https://www.rksgov.net/en-US/Qytetaret/KulturaDheKohaLire/Pages/TrashegimiaKulturore.aspx.

archeological material was moved to Belgrade during a time when Kosovo was still under the control of the central government in Serbia.[408] The act was never concealed by the Serbian Ministry of Culture; in fact, thematic exhibitions on Kosovo were organized and first opened at the Gallery of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on 24 March 1999, the day NATO launched its air attack on Serbia. To accompany the exhibition, entitled "*The Archaeological Treasures of Kosovo and Metohija. From the Neolithic to the Early Middle Ages*,"[409] a 747-page catalogue was printed during the war by the Academy. It contained illustrations of all 424 items taken from museums in Kosovo. The artifacts remain in Serbia.

To make matters worse, archeological looting was not uncommon during the war, and mainly during the many years after the end of the fighting. At numerous unguarded archeological sites, smugglers were able to take advantage of the total absence of police and take any artifacts they were able to find, for exclusive trade with foreign dealers. Furthermore, KLA extremists and Kosovar Albanians seized icons and liturgical ornaments in Serbian Orthodox churches, as the churches themselves were then damaged or burned. It was also revealed that a black market for stolen local art existed in Kosovo. Although not well-developed, it served the foreign staff of governmental and non-governmental organizations present in Kosovo.[410]

7.4.2. Representation Abroad and Contact with Other States

As of the writing of this thesis, Kosovo is formally recognized by 110 UN Member states; these include 23 out of 28 European Union member states.[411] It is noteworthy that none of the other current contested states have formally recognized Kosovo's independence. The PMR has no policy towards Kosovo, while politicians of the

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[408] Fabio Maniscalco, "The Loss of the Kosovo Cultural Heritage," *Web Journal on Cultural Patrimony* (II) accessed June 1, 2015, http://webjournal.unior.it/Dati/18/54/2.%20Kosovo,%20Maniscalco.pdf.
[409] Srb. *Археолошко благо Косова и Метохије: од неолита до раног средњег века* [69] Riedlmayer, "Museums in Kosovo."
[410] Fabio Maniscalco, "The Loss of the Kosovo Cultural Heritage," 39-40.
[411] For an updated count of international recognitions of Kosovo see: http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/.

TRNC have welcomed the independence of Kosovo, yet have not openly recognized it. Contested states such as South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh have, on the other hand, been quite vocal about Kosovo's many formal international recognitions, in comparison to the few of theirs. Many politicians from these contested states have maintained that their state's claims to statehood are much stronger, and have stated that they are willing to recognize Kosovo if it reciprocated in the gesture. Enver Hoxhaj, then Kosovo's foreign minister, has responded to this by claiming that Kosovo can have formal relations with only UN member states. In 2011 he said: "We understand the aspirations of others but we have to be careful… We can't shape the destiny of other small nations but we have to protect what we have and sometimes doing nothing is better than making a mistake".[412] Kosovo still has not recognized or established formal relations with other contested states.

The Republic of Kosovo has established 23 diplomatic missions in the following countries around the world: Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Netherlands, Panama, Republic of Macedonia, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States of America.[413]

General consulates of the Republic of Kosovo have been opened in New York, Istanbul, London, Brussels, Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Bern, Geneva, Zurich, Vienna, Paris, Rome, and Stockholm.[414]

There are 28 foreign missions currently in Kosovo. As of the writing of this thesis these included embassies of Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America and the diplomatic office of Belgium. Amongst the foreign missions in Kosovo, there are also offices of the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation and

[412] Tim Judah, "Nagorno-Karabakh and Kosovo: States of independence," *The Economist*, 28 December 2011, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/12/nagorno-karabakh-andkosovo.
[413] "Kosovo Diplomatic Missions," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,49.
[414] "Consular Missions of the Republic of Kosovo," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,67.

liaison offices of Greece, Japan, Romania, and Slovakia.[415] Out of the latter six countries, only Japan formally recognizes Kosovo. Despite the lack of formal recognition and actual embassies, these countries continue to establish and maintain certain levels of cooperation with Kosovo.

A large number of international organizations have offices in Kosovo. These include: the Council of Europe, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, the United Nations Development Program, USAID, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency – Sida, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency – TİKA, the Croatian Chamber of Economy, the World Health Organization, the International Organization for Migration, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Office for Project Services, United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Population Fund, the International Committee of the Red Cross.[416]

Kosovo is also a member of a number of international organizations, either under the name of the Republic of Kosovo or Kosovo*; on other occasions UNMIK has joined on its behalf. In some cases, Kosovo is a full member, while other times simply an observer. For example, Kosovo joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in 2009 and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 2012. However, it is not a member of the United Nations.

Kosovo's Ministry of Foreign Affairs labels Euro-Atlantic integration as one of its main goals. Kosovo's foreign policy is focused on the objectives of membership in the European Union, NATO, the European Council, OSCE and other regional initiatives. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, key foreign policy priorities of Kosovo are as follows:

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[415] "Foreign Missions in Kosovo," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,50.
[416] "International Organizations in Kosovo," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,171.

- The recognition of Kosovo's independence by an absolute majority of states and further establishment of diplomatic relations with each;
- The development of close and "special" relations with the United States of America, as these relations are believed to maintain the peace and stability in Kosovo, as well as in the region;
- Building and strengthening a strategic partnership with the European Union and NATO as part of Kosovo's path towards Euro-Atlantic integration;
- The visa liberalization process with the EU and Schengen countries;
- Kosovo"s membership in international organizations, as a means of increasing its international prestige
- The development of good relations with neighbors and regional cooperation through bilateral and multilateral agreements;
- Representing and protecting the interests of its citizens;
- Promoting Kosovo"s economic interests and attracting foreign investments;
- Developing further Kosovo"s foreign and consular services;
- Promoting a "new real and modern" image of Kosovo.[417]

Kosovo maintains very close relations with the United States, the European Union as a whole and its individual states, and more recently, with Turkey. These countries have officially recognized and established diplomatic relations with Kosovo. All of them are invested in Kosovo becoming a stable, democratic and economically viable country. Highest ranking officials, such as Cathrine Ashton, Federica Mogherini, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Hilary Clinton, and Joe Biden, amongst many others, have personally visited Kosovo, spoken with its leaders and involved themselves in the contested state's future development.

The EU countries are Kosovo's biggest trading partner, accounting for 39.1 percent of exports and 41.1 percent of imports, according to the latest available Foreign Trade Statistics, released in May 2013. CEFTA countries accounted for 32.8 percent of exports and 31.4 percent of imports. 30.6 percent of Kosovo's exports went to

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[417] Foreign Policy Objectives," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, accessed June 1, 2015, http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Kosovoforeignobjectives.pdf.

Italy, 15.5 percent to Albania, 9.1 percent to India, 7.2 percent to Macedonia, 4.1 percent to Serbia, and 3.8 percent to Montenegro. The largest percentage of imports to Kosovo came from Serbia, at 11.2 percent, followed closely by imports from Italy at 11 percent. 9.9 percent of imports came from Germany, 9.2 percent from Turkey, 7.4 percent from China, and 7.6 percent from Macedonia.[418]

7.4.3. Civil Society

The beginnings of Kosovo's current civil society organizations and initiatives can be traced back to the late 1980s and early 1990s, a period of the fall of communism in Eastern and Central Europe and the beginning of a new political form and parallel life in Kosovo. Kosovo's very specific situation enabled the development of a parallel system and civil resistance to the Serbian regime. Following the boycott of Serbian institutions by the Kosovar Albanian population, and the absence of many health and social services for this part of the population, civil society positioned itself as the main provider, building from the grassroots needs and dealing with the many survival issues of the population. Humanitarian aid and human rights protection were the main fields of activities of civil society organizations in Kosovo during this time. These, for example, included the humanitarian organization Mother Theresa, which involved more than 7 200 volunteers in collecting aid from abroad and distributing it within Kosovo, and the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, which was comprised of Kosovo's most distinguished lawyers, who monitored, identified and raised awareness about human rights violations, and later cooperated with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in collecting evidence on war crimes in Kosovo. However, it must be pointed out that civil society was highly ethnically divided during this time, with only a few exceptions.[419]

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[418] Agjencia e Statistikave të Kosovës, "Press Release – Foreign Trade Statistics May 2013," 11 July 2013, accessed June 1, 2015, http://ask.rks-gov.net/ENG/latest-news/327--press-release-foreign-trade-statisticsmay-2013.
[419] Kosovar Civil Society Foundation, *Better Governance for a Greater Impact. A Call for Citizens,* CIVICUS Civil Society Index Analytical Country Report for Kosovo, Prishtina: CIVICUS, 2011, 19-20, accessed June 1, 2015,

A turning point for the development of civil society in Kosovo was the establishment of the UNMIK and the PISG in 1999. The great need for emergency reconstruction and interethnic reconciliation prompted a transformation of the civil society's actions. Civil society organizations quickly adapted to the new reality, as well as massively increased in numbers, as a result of the large-scale international financial and technical support. The increase in quantity, however, did not necessarily translate to an increase in quality. Readily available international funding and the general and widespread dependence on foreign donations resulted in the creation of many donor-driven NGOs as well as many NGOs that were only active when funds were available.[420] Thus, since 1999 there has been a steady increase in the number of NGOs in Kosovo. In December 2013, there was a total of 7 452 NGOs, officially registered by the NGO Registration and Liaison Office of the Government of Kosovo. Of these, 6 947 are domestic, 6 695 of which are registered as associations and 252 as foundations. 505 of the registered NGOs are international. As Kosovo's Law on NGOs does not require organizations to de-register when becoming inactive, only 10 percent of the registered NGOs are estimated to be active.[421] Nevertheless, a few active NGOs have positioned themselves well in the society and have continuously shaped and profiled themselves, successfully carrying out campaigns and initiatives.

After Kosovo's declaration of independence in 2008, civil society had to once again adapt to the new situation. This meant increasing their focus on influencing public policy and decision-making, as well as government accountability and the EU accession process. In its Progress Report on Kosovo from 2008, the European Commission labeled the civil society in Kosovo as „weak" [422], in the subsequent

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http://www.civicus.org/images/stories/csi/csi_phase2/110331%20csi%20analytical%20country%20report%20k osovo.pdf.

[420] Ibid. 20.

[421] Kosovar Civil Society Foundation, *The Kosovar Civil Society Index*, Prishtina: Kosovar Civil Society

Foundation, 2014, 10, accessed June 1, 2015,

http://www.kcsfoundation.org/repository/docs/05_02_2015_2315218_KCSF_Kosovar_Civil_Society_Index_w eb_final_ENG.pdf.

[422] Commission Staff Working Document Kosovo (Under UNSCR 1244/99) 2008 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2008-2009, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, accessed June 1, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/press_corner/keydocuments/reports_nov_2008/kosovo_progress_report_en.pdf.

report the evaluation remained unchanged. However, in 2010 the focus was shifted to the need of improvement in the environment in which these organizations operate.[423] The latest Progress Report from October 2014 indicates slight change, citing numerous instances of the involvement of civil society organizations, for example, in human rights protection initiatives, in consumer protection, women's rights and gender equality, and prevention of human trafficking. Nevertheless, the cooperation and consultation between civil society organizations and state institutions remains ad hoc and unsatisfactory. The involvement of civil society organizations is usually only requested at the end of the legislative process, if at all, while feedback on recommendations is systematically not given. [424]

Although civil society is developing in Kosovo, it is still facing many challenges. Most of the sector remains highly dependent on funding from abroad. Consequently, the sector's priorities reflect those of the donors, meaning that they do not necessarily reflect the interest of the community. This in turn means that the connection between organizations and their constituencies remains low. Moreover, public understanding of civil society is quiet low, which reflects in public participation as well; only 21.6 percent of people in Kosovo are involved in various community based initiatives and social actions. Possible explanations for such numbers could be in the low living standards of the population, causing indifference in the community initiatives, or the full decade of high levels of social solidarity and volunteering in the late 80"s and early 90"s. As the motives of that time no longer exist, especially following independence, both the resources and energy are also spent.

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[423] Commission Staff Working Document Kosovo* 2010 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges -2011, European Commission, Brussels 2010, accessed 1 March 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/ks_ra pport_2010_en.pdf.

[424] Commission Staff Working Document Kosovo* 2014 Progress Report accompanying the document: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee of the Regions: Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-2015, European Commission, Brussels 2014, accessed 1 March 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/2014 1008-kosovo-progress-report_en.pdf.

Furthermore, a low trust of the political parties and institutions in Kosovo also has a direct impact on people's involvement.[425]

Nevertheless, Kosovo's civil society organizations cover a wide range of fields; some fields are continuously attracting more organizations, while others are experiencing decreases in quality and numbers as funding patterns change. The fields of minority and youth issues are experiencing decreases, while increases, in both numbers and quality, are seen in organizations working in the fields of the rule of law in general, and specifically in those taking on the watchdog role on the state. The think tank sector mainly focuses on contributing to public policy making; women's NGOs mainly focus on fighting gender inequality and have one of the most active networks; human rights remains a sector that civil society organizations are still very active in, as are the fields of environment, European integration process, reconstruction, social issues, foreign policy, and aid to marginalized communities. An increasing number of development organizations are also working on increasing the understanding of civil society's role in a democratic society by the Kosovar public and promoting involvement, as well as on the increasing of cooperation between the state authorities and the civil society.[426]

The Kosovar Civil Society Foundation (KCSF) through CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, supported by the Balkan Trust for Democracy undertook the Civil Society Index for Kosovo, beginning in late 2008. With the aim of assessing the state of civil society and creating a knowledge based action agenda for advancing the sector in Kosovo, KCFS reviewed, collected, validated and analyzed a wide range of information, including undertaking primary quantitative and qualitative research as a comprehensive review of secondary data showed a lack of country statistics and studies. The state of civil society at the national level in Kosovo was assessed in terms of five core dimensions – civic engagement, level of organization, practice of values, perceived impact, and external environment. Figure 4 shows the latest visual representation of the state of Kosovo's civil society, the Civil Society Diamond. It is based on 67 quantitative indicators aggregated into 28 subdimensions, which in turn were assembled into the five final dimensions along a 0 – 100 percentage scale. The circle around the axes of the Diamond represents the external environment. It is not

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[425] Kosovar Civil Society Foundation, *Better Governance for a Greater Impact*, 23.
[426] Ibid. 21-22.

taken as part of the state of the civil society, but rather as "something external that still remains a crucial element for its wellbeing."[427]

Figure 4. Civil Society Diamond for Kosovo[428]

CSI DIAMOND
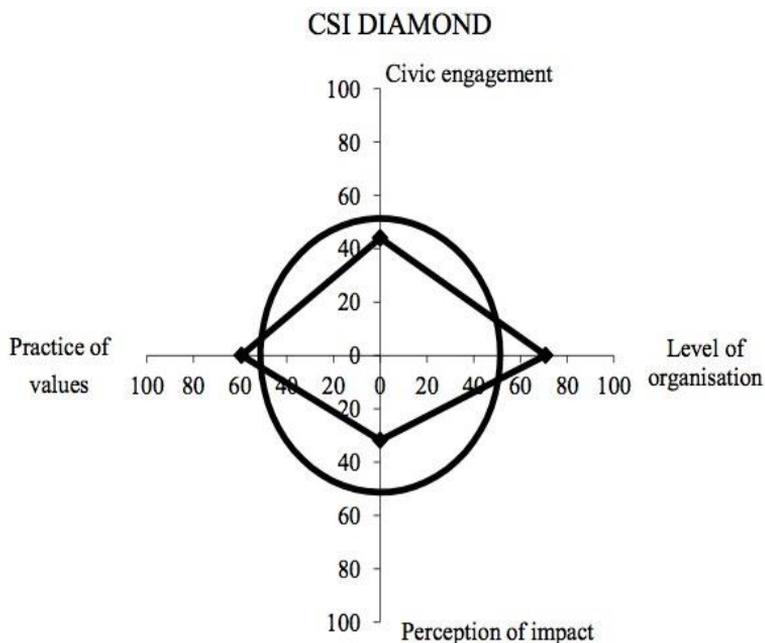
Civic engagement, which was discussed earlier, was the second weakest dimension of Kosovo civil society. Kosovar society can be characterized as highly indifferent, with a generally high level of apathy towards public life. However, there do exist higher levels of informal and individual activism, which indicate a potential for future development, especially since there exists a great social and demographic diversity among active people; regardless, a strong ethnic distinction still exists. The low levels of trust towards political parties and civil society organizations illustrate further the large gap between the public and organizations.[429]

As indicated by the dimension of the level of organization, which was the highest dimension in the report, Kosovar civil society is characterized by a very high degree of institutionalization. Kosovar civil society organizations are generally well organized and

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[427] Ibid. 15
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid. 25.

managed, although some discrepancies can be found between their existence on paper and in practice. Although participation in networks is usually just formal, several successful examples of joint activities can serve as an indication of future potential for development. Civil society organizations from Kosovo have also been successful in participating in various international and European platforms and forums, despite the partial recognition of Kosovo's statehood. A large problem, nevertheless, remains in mobilizing professional and competent staff. Human resources are indicated to be the weakest points of the entire sector.[430]

The dimension of the practice of values shows that although democratic decision-making governance is greatly emphasized in internal documents of many civil society organizations, such practices are not properly implemented. The Civil Society Index indicates that Kosovar civil society is highly tolerant, peaceful, and non-violent, and it works to promote these values in society. However, it does not promote democratic decision making within its own organizations and groups, as the report shows that there are frequent perceptions of corruption within the civil society[431]. However, the dimension of the perception of impact resulted in the lowest score.

The report shows that civil society's impact on economic development and rule of law is significantly low. And influence on public policy is limited. On the one hand there exists a lack of mechanisms for such an involvement, but on the other, the legal provisions that do exist are not sufficiently used both by civil society organizations and state authorities. Civil society organizations are perceived to have higher impact on social impact, for example in providing support to poor and marginalized groups and in education and humanitarian relief. Impact on public attitudes towards interpersonal trust, tolerance and public spiritedness are extremely low. Interpersonal trust is also low amongst civil society workers; a factor which could prove to be detrimental to working on joint initiatives. Moreover, civil society is not sufficiently responsive to society's real needs. This translates into low trust of citizens in civil society organizations. Humanitarian organizations enjoy the highest levels of trust, followed by youth, art, music, educational and human rights organizations.[432]

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[430] Ibid. 30-34.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid. 39.

The final evaluated factor, the external environment, presents a rather grave prospect for the operation of civil society in Kosovo. Kosovo is one of the poorest states in Europe, with approximately half of the population living below the poverty line and half unemployed. Kosovo's economy is characterized by a large informal sector and is largely dependent on foreign funds and donor aid. It is also ranked amongst the most corrupt states in Europe. The socio-political environment also remains rather limiting for civil society development.

Although on paper many democratic standards exist, their implementation lags behind. Ongoing issues of political instability and corruption, discrimination and ethnic tensions are still reflected in the Freedom House 2014 Freedom in the World scores, with Kosovo receiving a rating of 4.5 and the „partly free" status. Kosovo scored a 4.0 for civil liberties and a 5.0 for political liberties.[433] A more positive situation regards associational and organizational rights and the socio-cultural context. Nevertheless, Kosovar civil society is aware of its own weaknesses. Some of the most important of these include: "lack of motivation and information on civic engagement, problems in responding to the priority needs of citizens, unconsolidated public image of the sector, and low level of functioning of rule of law."[434] On the other hand, the civil society's strength include: "the existence of standards of good governance on paper, a high level of solidarity among people, international presence in Kosovo and a solid level of awareness for values which are to be respected and promoted."[95]

7.5. Conclusion

For as long as anyone can remember Kosovo has been a battle field for Serbs and Albanians. Numerous battles over territory, language, history and belonging have been fought and never forgotten. Even the name of the entity, as well as of numerous cities and towns within it, remains contested. Serbs and Albanians each have different

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[433] Freedom House, "Freedom in the World – Kosovo," 2014, accessed 1 March 2015, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2014/kosovo#.VRGMLDvF_uw.
[434] Kosovar Civil Society Foundation, *Better Governance for a Greater Impact*, 10. [95] Ibid.

versions of events; each have been taught different truths, and thus believe in their own different truths. The further back in history they look, the easier it becomes to find support for their present views. Not surprisingly, distant history is used as a foundation for present day nation building in Kosovo.

This case study chapter opened with an overview of the history of the territory and the events that led up to the formation of the contested state. Structured in the same way as the previous two case studies, it provided an overview of the current nation building processes taking place in Kosovo. Although the main discussion focused on the Kosovo Albanian nation building, as it is the one officially originating from the contested state, the nation building occurring in the Serbian parts of Kosovo was discussed as well. The reality in the parts of Kosovo, which still have a Serbian majority is completely different to the Kosovo Albanian one. The perception of the entity is different; this is directly reflected in the nation building. The Kosovo Albanian and Serbian nation buildings do not exist in parallel throughout Kosovo. Each is exclusive to the specific area, dependent on the specific population, and each has its own patron, who's nation building exists alongside the domestic one.

8. TOWARDS A MODEL OF NATION BUILDING IN CONTESTED STATES: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived.

Michael Walzer

Contested states are anomalies of the international system. Nevertheless, they are anomalies that have existed for a very long time. Although there has been little change in terms of external attitudes towards such entities, internally they have evolved and changed over the span of their existence. As was shown in the preceding case study chapters, although non-recognition of their statehood does matter, its impact varies greatly depending on the issue at hand. Nevertheless, its effect remains profound; the threat of forceful reintegration remains a constant threat, while reliance on patron states for support remains great, both in terms of security and economy. However, as the previous chapters demonstrated,

contested states cannot be reduced simply to their external dimension.

The previous three case study chapters provided the gathered data on the nation building processes being carried out in the TRNC, PMR and Kosovo. After unilaterally proclaiming their independence the three entities faced formidable tasks of creating a state image. With extensive external help they managed to secure their claims to territory. However, it is not the territory as such that makes a state a state; it is the institutionalization of this territory, the process of turning the geographical space into territoriality.[435] In this regard, contested states are no different from others; just as many recognized states have done throughout history, the TRNC, PMR and Kosovo are trying to territorialize the space within their boundaries by creating a more homogenous society[436], be it through laws, traditions, institutions, or other instruments.

In the preceding case study chapters, this thesis provided data aimed at answering the question of *what the current nation building processes carried out in contested states are* (Q1), as well as provided insight into *how nation building projects vary across contested states* (Q2). Having looked at what kind of images of the state are being created, internally promoted and maintained, with the help of the previously outlined theoretic framework, we can now turn to addressing issues of variation and similarity between the three cases. Structured the same way as the case study chapters, this chapter will provide a comparison and analysis of the factors of nation building in the TRNC, PMR and Kosovo, as well as answer the questions of whether the *degree of international recognition* (Q3) *and the time span of unrecognized existence* (Q4) *produces a difference in the type of nation building.* The aim is to provide a clearer picture of the nation building taking place in contested states as a separate category of entities, while moving towards creating a model of such.

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[435] Anssi Paasi, "Territory," In: *A Companion to Political Geography*, eds. John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell and Gerard Toal, Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003. Accessed 8 January 2016.
[436] Richard Devetak, "Incomplete States: Theories and Practices of Statecraft," In: *Boundaries in Question: New Directions in International Relations*, eds. J.MacMillan and E.D. Mansfield, London: Pinter, 1995, p.31.

Based on the collected data, it is possible to outline four main characteristics of the nation building processes in the TRNC, PMR and Kosovo. In broader terms, one can observe:

1. Widespread support for the historic interpretation of events of state building and national presence on the territories
2. Unity of the population and common feelings of belonging to the specific state regardless of past differences
3. Emphasis on memorialization of events, and, consequently, a glorification of the people who were involved in the armed conflicts and struggle for independence
4. Parallel existence of two nation building processes – one of the contested state and one of the patron state.

The first three points can be derived from theory and there exists plenty of literature describing such processes in established states as well. However, the fourth point presents a peculiarity that does not occur often, and thus should be addressed further. It is, in fact, a feature that is very specific for contested states. Through the analysis and comparison presented in this chapter, the thesis will discuss whether the nation building of the contested states is aimed at creating a new nation or rather a variety of the patron state's. It will also discuss whether time span of existence and degree of international recognition has an influence on the intensity of the parallel processes, i.e. – is the type and intensity of the nation building dependent on the patron state? Does the contested state's nation building become more autonomous and intensified in the case when more international recognition is achieved and/or the state has existed for a longer period of time?

In order to achieve this, the previously presented data on the TRNC, PMR, and Kosovo needs to be placed in context. We need to see whether these three cases are unique or representative at the most basic level. Comparing to established, non-contested states would prove to be challenging, given the number of such states in existence today. As would the justification of selection of just a few specific countries. A far more efficient comparison would be to all the other contested states, not described and analyzed in detail in this thesis.

For this purpose, as far as available data on nation building processes in other currently existing contested states – Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh, Somaliland, and Republic of China (Taiwan) – will be included in the form of a table of the factors of nation building discussed previously; a table summarizing the same for the three case studies will be included as well. In such a

way, this thesis will create a further contribution in gathering the available facts on nation building processes in all the current contested states in one place. This is give an easily accessible overview, allow for an easier comparison and drawing conclusions.

The collected data has shown that there are three ways a contested states chooses to approach the different factors and elements of nation building in their states:

1. Create their own (2);
2. Draw inspiration and base it on that of the patron state (1); or
3. Adopt the same as the patron state (0)

These three approaches to tackling various aspects of nation building serve as an indicator of the intensity and autonomy of a contested state's parallel process of nation building. In an attempt to better visualize this intensity, each nation building factor in the tables that follow has been assigned a number of points – 0 for approach number 3, 1 for approach number 2, and finally 2 for approach number 1. The tables are divided into two parts, and a total score is provided for each part, as well as an overall score. Such an exercise in quantifying the qualitative data will provide another way of looking at the results.

Although the aspects and instruments involved are not new and have been previously applied by almost all established states, the existence of parallel nation building in the contested states, paired with the three approaches to their nation building processes, point towards a new type of nation building that we can find in contested states. This chapter aims to further discuss and develop the model for such.

8.1 A POLITICAL CULTURE BASED ON A "USABLE PAST"

The first part of this chapter takes a look at the factors of nation building directly pertaining to the creation of a usable past and the political culture based on it. It begins by presenting a summary of the findings from the preceding case study chapters in the form of a table, followed by a table with a data from the other contested states. Each of the factors is assigned a number of points, from 0 to 3, and a total score for this part is provided at the end. The tables are followed by a comparative analysis and further discussion.

Table 12

Nation Building in Contested States – A Political Culture Based on the "Usable Past".
Case Study Summary

A Political Culture Based on the Usable Past		TRNC	Transnistria	Kosovo
	National Flag	The TRNC flag is designed to model the Turkish flag. The Turkish flag is always displayed alongside the TRNC flag. **=1**	Identical to the MSSR flag **=1**	Kosovo has its own flag, adopted in February 2008 by national competition. The flag emphasizes diversity and avoids Serbian and Albanian national symbols. It is seen by some as a concession with the package of post-independence measures. Many Kosovo Albanians still distinguish between Albanian flag as the national one, and Kosovo flag as the state one. **=2**

Coat of Arms	The TRNC coat of arms is a slight modification of the coat of arms of the Republic of Cyprus. Unlike the Greek Cypriot one, the TRNC coat of arms also has a crescent and star placed above the shield and the year 1983, the year of proclamation of independence of TRNC. **=1**	The new coat of arms is a slightly remodeled MSSR coat of arms, consisting of a Soviet-style emblem, which includes symbology of unity of workers, prosperity and cornucopia. Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic is written in 3 official languages on the coat of arms. **=1**	Same as flag **=2**
Anthem	Tr. *Istiklâl Marşı* – the Independence Hymn. It is the same anthem as is used by Turkey. **=0**	Music of the anthem is soviet in origin. Original words for the anthem were later written in the 3 official languages – 3 separate versions of the anthem exist in each language **=2**	"Europe" by Mendi Mengjigi, selected through competition in June 2008. The anthem has no words. **=2**

		The TRNC shares the same currency with Turkey – the Turkish lira. This implies in practice a large level of economic dependency on Turkey. **=0**	In 1994 the Pridnestrovian ruble replaced the Soviet ruble in circulation in PMR until then. General Suvorov, Taras Shevchenko, Dmitrie Cantemir and Count Pyotr Rumyantsev-Zadunaisky are depicted on the Transnitrian bank notes **=2**	The Deutsche Mark was unilaterally adoption in 1999. Consequently, Kosovo switched to the Euro on 1 January 2002. However, it does not mint its own coins. **=0**
	Currency			

	Passports	The TRNC issues its own passports, however, they are not widely recognized for international travel. Turkey issues passports to Turkish Cypriots to use for travel. From a legal perspective, subjects of the TRNC have the right to apply for passports of the Republic of Cyprus. Due to Cyprus' EU membership, over the years this has led to an increased interest in Cypriot passports not only by TRNC citizens, but also by citizens of Turkey. **=2**	The PMR issues its own passports, however, no country recognizes it, making it valid only at the PMR border. **=2**	Kosovo began issuing its own passports from July 2008. They are recognized in all countries that recognize Kosovo. There have been issues with Kosovars fraudulently obtaining Serbian passports. **=2**
	Visas	EU citizens as well as citizens of many other counties must obtain a visa to travel to the TRNC. This can be done either in a TRNC representative office abroad or through the Embassy of Turkey. **=1**	No visa necessary to enter the PMR. **=0**	On 1 July 2013 Kosovo introduced its own visa regime, replacing the visa-free for all policy valid until then. **=2**

	Dual Citizenship	The TRNC allows dual citizenship. Majority of Turkish Cypriots hold Turkish passports. In the recent years many have also opted to obtain citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus. **=1**	Allows dual citizenship. Most PMR citizens hold Moldovan or Russian citizenship – people tend to be pragmatic when it comes to the issue of citizenship and opt for whichever they are able to obtain easier **=1**	Allows dual and multiple citizenship. This measure was introduced to accommodate the needs of the Serbian population & the Albanian diaspora **=1**
	Score for Part I	6	9	11

Table 13
Nation Building in Contested States – A Political Culture Based on the "Usable Past".
Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh, Somaliland, Taiwan

A Political Culture Based on the Usable Past		Republic of Abkhazia	Republic of South Ossetia	Nagorno Karabakh	Somaliland	Republic of China (Taiwan)
	National Flag	The modern flag was approved by the Parliament of Abkhazia on 23 July 1992. It is full of Abkhaz symbology - the hand is a symbol of Abkhazian statehood, formed in the VIII-XIV centuries, while the seven five-pointed stars represent the main regions of historical	The Ossetian flag is a horizontal white, red and yellow tricolor. The white symbolizes moral purity, the red – martial courage, and the yellow stands for wealth and prosperity. The colors are said to be traditionally Ossetian, having roots in ancient Alania, and also	Nagorno Karabakh adopted its own flag on June 2, 1992. The flag is based on the Armenian red, blue and orange horizontal tricolor, with the only addition of a white, five-toothed, stepped pattern, beginning at the two verges of the flag's right side and meeting at a point	The new Somaliland flag was introduced on 14 October 1996 at the National Conference. The flag consist of 3 horizontal, parallel and equal sections, the top section of which is colored green and has inscribed in it in white in Arabic language the	The flag consists of a red field with a navy blue canton bearing a white sun with 12 triangular rays. The 12 points of the white sun represent the Chinese conceptualization of a day being divided into 12 two-hour periods, symbolizing unceasing progress. The blue, white, and

| | | Abkhazia. The proportions of the flag, the number of stars and the sequence of green-white stripes reflect the fundamental look of the historical flag of the independent North Caucasus Republic, which was proclaimed on 11 May 1918, existing for one year. The green-white sequence of seven stripes (four green, three white) is an indication of the religious tolerance, representing Islam (the green) peacefully coexisting | referring to the social structure of ancient Ossetian society, which was split into 3 groups. The flag is almost identical to that of North Ossetia-Alania, with only slight variation in shades used (the flag was approved in 1994). The flag is also used by the pro-Georgian Provisional Administrative Entity of South Ossetia. The flag of South Ossetia was prescribed in Constitution of South Ossetia, passed on 26 November 1990, and was confirmed by the Regulation on the National Flag, passed | equal to one-third of the distance from that side. This westward pointing arrow signifies very graphically Nagorno-Karabakh's current separation from Armenia proper, and its aspirations for reuniting with the motherland. The design also recalls that of the world famous Armenian rugs. The colors of the flag have the same symbolism as the Armenian flag – the red stands for the ongoing struggle of the Armenian people for existence, Christianity, independence and freedom; the blue | *Shahada* - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله (Eng. There is no God, but Allah and Mohammad was his Prophet), the middle section is white and has an equally sided five-pointed black star in the middle, while the bottom section is colored red. The symbology of the colors of the flag is as follows: green represents prosperity, white – peace, red – the blood of the fallen heroes of the liberation. The Shahada is included as a symbol of Islam, while the black star represents the demise of the united | red stand for the Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and social well-being. Furthermore, the blue signifies brightness, purity, and freedom; the white, honesty, selflessness, and equality; and the red symbolizes sacrifice, bloodshed, and brotherly love. In Chinese, the flag is commonly described as Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth. The "white sun in a blue sky" portion of the flag was originally designed by Lu Hao-tung, a martyr of the |

		with Christianity (the white).[437] **=2**	on 30 March 1992. [438] **=2**	represents the will of the Armenian people to live in peace, and symbolizes creative power and diligence of the Armenian people.[439] **=1**	Somalia's dream. The 5 points of the star stand for either the 5 historical areas of Somalia or the 5 areas where the Somalis currently live. [440] **=2**	Chinese revolution. It was originally presented on February 21, 1895, and was redesigned to include a crimson background during the years just prior to the revolution. Although different versions were used during some years, this later design was officially adopted as the national flag on

[437] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Abkhazia. n.d. "State Symbols." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://mfaapsny.org/en/apsny/symbols.php.

[438] Президент Республики Южная Осетия. n.d. "Символика Республики Южная Осетия." Официальный сайт. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://presidentruo.org/category/respublika/simvolika/.

[439] Flags of the World. 2014. "Artsakh / Nagorno-Karabakh." May 28. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/az-artsa.html.

[440] Flags of the World. 2014. "Somaliland (Somalia) Unrecognized Self-Proclaimed Republic." July 26. Accessed June 1, 2017. https://flagspot.net/flags/so-mlan.html; Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland. 2000. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Somaliland_Constitution_Text_only_Eng_IJSLL2.pdf.

					May 5, 1921, and is still used today.[441] **=2**
Coat of Arms	The new coat of arms was approved by the parliament on 23 July 1992. The green color of the coat of arms symbolizes youth and life, while the white represents spirituality. The big eight-pointed star is a solar symbol of revival. Small stars symbolize unity of the two cultural worlds – the East and the West.[442]	The current coat of arms is a red disk with a golden snow leopard with black spots walking on golden ground, with seven white mountains in the background. The image is encircled with the words "Republic of South Ossetia" written in Russian and Ossetian. The coat of arms was approved on 24	The coat of arms consists of a crowned eagle encircled with a gold ribbon with the words in Armenian Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի Հանրապետություն -Արցախ (Eng. Artsakh Republic of Mountainous Karabakh). The eagle is crowned with the crown of the Artashesid Dynasty,	The coat of arms was introduced at the National Conference on the same day as the flag – 14 October 1996. It consists of a coffee colored falcon with the words in Arabic language الله أكبر (Eng. God is great) inscribed on its breast. Below the eagle are 2 hands in a handshake, and a set of scales hang above it and come down on	The coat of arms was adopted in 1928 and is the same as the "white sun in the blue sky" portion of the flag.[446] **=2**

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[441] Office of the President - Republic of China (Taiwan). n.d. "National Symbols." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://english.president.gov.tw/Page/96.

[442] James Minahan, 2010, *The Complete Guide to National Symbols and Emblems*, Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 296.

[446] Office of the President - Republic of China (Taiwan), "National Symbols."

		=2	November 1994 by the Parliament of South Ossetia. The author, Murat Jigkaev, used "The Banner of Ossetia" Vakhushti Bagrationi dated 1735, as a basis for the coat of arms. This is said to be the historic emblem of Ossetia, depicting a snow leopard with a background of mountains. The snow leopard symbolizes the Ossetian statehood and power, while the golden color stands for supremacy, grandeur and respect. The	while at its feet is a cluster of grapes, mulberries and ears of wheat. On the eagle's chest is a shield with a panorama of a mountain range and the national flag. In the forefront are the 2 stone heads from the "We Are Our Mountains" monument in Stepanakert. This monument is widely regarded as a symbol of the Armenian heritage of Nagorno Karabakh and depicts an old man and woman, representing the mountain people of Karabakh. The	both of its sides. The falcon, the scales and hands are in turn surrounded on both sides and below by 2 strands of green leaves intertwined at the base, and with the Arabic words بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (Eng. In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful) inscribed at the top gap between the 2 leaves.[445] **=2**	

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[445] Minahan, *The Complete Guide*, 911.

		mountains in the background of the emblem represent the World Mountain with 8 peeks – one of the oldest representations of the world for Ossetians and other Indo-European people. [443] **=2**	man and woman are also known in Armenian as "tatik-papik" (Arm. տատիկ-պապիկ), or grandma and grandpa. [444] **=2**		
Anthem	*Aiaaira*, or in eng. Victory - was approved after Abkhazia proclaimed its independence in 1992. The Abkhazian revolutionary song "Kiaraz", which	Osset. *Уарзон Ирыстон!,*, or in eng. Our beloved Ossetia! – was adopted as the national anthem on 5 May 1995 by the Parliament of South	The anthem was adopted on January 26, 1993. The author of the lyrics is poet Vardan Hakobyan, the author of the music is Armen Nasibyan. The words	The Constitution of Somaliland states that: "The National Anthem shall be determined by law and shall reflect the principles of the Constitution, the	The national anthem was officially adopted in 1937, and was an adaptation from a speech delivered by Sun Yat-sen on 16 June 1924, at the opening

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[443] Президент Республики Южная Осетия, *Символика Республики.*
[444] President of the ARTSAKH REPUBLIC. n.d. "State Symbols." Accessed June 1, 2017.
http://www.president.nkr.am/en/nkr/stateSymbols.

		originated during the short-lived Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) was used as inspiration. Valery Chkadua composed the anthem at the personal request of the first Abkhazian President Vladislav Ardzinba, including various folk motives in the anthem. After his election as second president of Abkhazia, Sergei Bagapsh issued a decree "On the State Anthem of the Republic of Abkhazia" that	Ossetia. The lyrics were written by Totraz Kokaev, an Ossetian and Russian poet and playwright; the music was written by Felix Alborov, an Ossetian composer renowned in Georgia, Russia and the former Soviet Union. The lyrics speak of the glory and greatness of the beloved land – Ossetia, as well as of its hard past; the lyrics of the anthem then speak of a brighter future and ask God to give the	of the anthem refer to building a free and independent country as a fortress, to the historical background of the land and the invincibility of Nagorno Karabakh. [449] =2	national aspirations, and co-operative social order; and shall have its own unique music which shall be different from that of other countries." It was introduced on 14 October 1996, together with the flag and coat of arms, and composed by Hassan Sheikh Mumin, a famous Somali playwright and composer. The anthem is called "Samo ku waar" (Eng. "Long Life with Peace")[450] =2	ceremony of the Whampoa Military Academy. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Ministry of Education held competitions to choose the melody as well as the lyrics for the anthem. The chosen melody was composed by Cheng Mao-yun. The lyrics of the anthem declare the Three Principles of the People to be the foundation of the nation and a guide to a world commonwealth of peace and harmony, calling upon the

[449] President of the ARTSAKH REPUBLIC, *State Symbols*.
[450] Minahan, *The Complete Guide*, 911.

	formally adopted "Aiaaira" as the national anthem on 24 October 2007.[447] **=2**	Ossetian land happiness.[448] **=2**			people to be brave, earnest, and faithful in striving to fulfill that goal.[451] **=2**
Currency	The Abkhazian aspar is a currency used in Abkhazia, however, only coins in the denominations of 10, 25 and 50 have been issued since 2008. Baring the faces of Abkhaz writers, artists and politicians, the coins	The Russian Ruble is the official currency of South Ossetia, introduced in 1991.[453] The economy of South Ossetia is entirely dependent on Russian finance and assistance, and it was formally integrated	Nagorno Karabakh uses its own currency – the Nagorno Karabakh dram, The bills are printed in Austria, and depict Gandzasar Cathedral of Saint of John the Baptist in Madakert district, Saint Gregory the Illuminator,	Somaliland issues its own money - the Somaliland shilling. It was first introduced on 18 October 1994.[456] The Somali shilling officially ceased to be legal tender at the end of January 1995. The new Somaliland	The current currency of Taiwan is the New Taiwan Dollar. It was introduced in 1949, when it replaced the Old Taiwan Dollar with the aim of fighting hyperinflation. Although the Taiwan Dollar was the de

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[447] Minahan, *The Complete Guide*, 296.

[448] Парламент Республики Южная Осетия. n.d. "Государственная символика Республики Южная Осетия." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.parliamentrso.org/node/8.

[451] Office of the President - Republic of China (Taiwan), "National Symbols."

[453] Numismondo. World Printed MoneyPicture Catalog. n.d. "South Ossetia Paper Money, 1810-Present Issues." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.numismondo.net/pm/sot/.

[456] The Somaliland Government. n.d. "Somaliland Economy." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://somalilandgov.com/somaliland-economy/.

| | | usage is very limited and they are mostly made for collectors. In practice, the Russian Ruble is used. Abkhazia has very close relations with Russia and is largely economically dependent on it; it was formally integrated into the Russian economy by a number of treaties in 2010 – 2014. Russia is Abkhazia's main trade partner; steps have been taken to lift trade barriers and | into the Russian economy by treaty in March 2015. Russia continues to be South Ossetia's main trade partner; steps have been taken to lift trade barriers and cooperate in customs affairs.[454] **=0** | Dadivank monastery in Shahumian district, and Jesus gospels. Five different coins have also been issued featuring a horse and a leaping antelope, a wildcat, a pheasant and St. Gregory the illuminator, the cathedral in the town of Shushi and the Stone Head Monument. A new series of coins was issued in 2013, featuring a horse and antelope, leopard, wolf and pheasant, a bear and a Capricorn. | notes, which were printed abroad, started circulating and gaining acceptability throughout Somaliland, however in some territories, especially those eastward beyond Bur'o, the Somali shilling remained in use. [457] Banknotes were issued with denominations of 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 shillings, with dates ranging from 1994 to 2011, and included images of nomads, camels, | facto currency, for years the Chinese silver yuan remained the legal currency. From 1991 Taiwan lacked a legal national currency until the year 2000. In July 2000, the New Taiwan dollar became Taiwan's legal currency, and is no longer secondary to the silver yuan. The coins are issued in denominations of 0.5, 1, 5, 10, 20, and 50 NT$ and bare on the obverse side images of national figures, such as |

[454] Gerrits, Andre W.M., and Max Bader. 2016. "Russian patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: implications for conflict resolution." East European Politics 32 (3): 297-313. doi:10.1080/21599165.2016.1166104.

[457]Marleen Renders, 2012, *Consider Somaliland: State-Building with Traditional Leaders and Institutions*, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 134.

| | | cooperate in customs affairs.[452] **=1** | | Although in circulation, the currency is not as widely used as the Armenian Dram, put on circulation in 1993. [455] **=1** | Somali sheep, as well as some landscapes of the country and national institutions – the Supreme Court and the National Bank.[458] **=2** | Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen, and Mona Rudao. The current set of banknotes includes 100, 200, 500, 1000, and 2000 NT$. The obverse sides of the bills also depict national figures, as well as scenes form elementary education and youth baseball. The reverse of the notes depicts various national buildings, such as the Office of the President or the Chung-Shan Building, and typical scenes of |

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[452] [452] Gerrits and Bader, *Russian patronage.*

[455] ԼԵՌՆԱՅԻՆ ՂԱՐԱԲԱՂԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ. n.d. "ԼՂՀ ԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԱՐԺՈՒՅԹ." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://minfin-nkr.am/?section=gallery/index.

[458] The Somaliland Government, *Somaliland Economy*.

					Taiwanese nature and culture, such as the Dabajian Mountain, Jade Mountain, Nanhu Mountain, the Formosan sika deer, or the Mikado pheasant.[459] **=2**
Passports	From January 2006 Abkhazia issues passports to its citizens; they serve as the only legal form of identification. Printed in Russia, the passport is a blue-green color and displays the coat of arms on the front	From 2006 South Ossetia issues its own passports as a form of legal identification for its citizens. Prior to this (and partially still today) citizens of the entity use Russian and Soviet passports.	An ordinary Nagorno Karabakh passport is dark red, with the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh's coat of arms printed in gold in the center of the front cover. "Republic of Nagorno Karabakh" is written above the coat of	Somaliland issues its own passports to its citizens. The passports are accepted for travel by the following countries: South Africa, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Belgium, United Kingdom, France, South Sudan,	Taiwan has been issuing ID documents and passports to its citizens since establishing administrative jurisdiction over the island in 1945. The latest version of the Taiwanese passport is being issued from

[459] Central Bank of the Republic of China (Taiwan). n.d. "New Taiwan Dollar Notes and Coins." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.cbc.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=944&CtNode=503&mp=2.

		cover, with the name of the country written above and the word 'Passport' written below, both in Abkhaz and Russian languages. It is said that the issued passports meet all the international standards and contain various levels of security. However, the passports are recognized only by Russia, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Nauru; for travel to other states Abkhazian citizens need to obtain	The South Ossetian passports are dark red in color, with the national coat of arms of printed in gold in the center of the front cover. Above it "Republic of South Ossetia" is written in Ossetian and in Russian, while below, "Passport" is written in capital Cyrillic letters (the word is the same in both Russian and Ossetian).[461] The passport is recognized only by Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Nauru,	arms and "Passport" is written below it, both in Armenian. Below that are the same words, written in English. The passport uses an earlier (non-biometric) version of the Armenian passport for its design, replacing only the coat of arms and name of the entity. The passport is not legally recognized by the international community and it is used only within the borders of Nagorno-Karabakh, and for	Kenya and the United Arab Emirates. Not recognized as a formal travel document, the passport remains invalid for travel to anywhere else [464] The passport is dark blue and has the coat of arms printed in gold on the front cover. Republic of Somaliland is written across the top in Somali, Arabic and English, while 'passport' is written under the coat of arms in the 3 languages. The	2008. It is biometric and dark green in color, with the national coat of arms printed in the center of the front cover. Above it, "Republic of China" is written in both Traditional Chinese characters and in English, while below the coat of arms are the words "Taiwan" printed in English only, and "Passport" in both Traditional Chinese and English. The cover of the official passport is brown

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[461] newsru.com. 2006. "В Южной Осетии начали выдавать паспорта граждан непризнанной республики." August 15. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.newsru.com/world/15aug2006/osetia.html.

[464] Somaliland Informer. 2015. "UAE accepts Somaliland passport." September 2. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somalilandinformer.com/somaliland/uae-accepts-somaliland-passport/.

| | | another passport, which in the majority cases is that of Russia. Prior to the introduction of Abkhazian passports, Abkhazia still used Soviet passports, which were issued from 1991 and expired in 2008.[460] **=2** | Tuvalu, Abkhazia, Nagorno Karabakh and Transnistria.[462] **=2** | travel to South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Transnistria. However, as the entity does not share borders with any of these contested states, for travel the holders of the passport still need to obtain a passport of another country (most commonly of Armenia). Furthermore, the passport is not biometric so according to Nagorno | diplomatic version of the passport is red, while the service on is green. [465] **=2** | and the diplomatic one is dark blue. The passport is accepted for international travel in most countries of the world, while some countries grant Taiwanese citizens visa free travel. The passports are not recognized by: Argentina, People's Republic of China, Georgia, Hong Kong, Jamaica, and Mauritius. [466] **=2** |

[460]Гуния, Леон. 2016. "Абхазский паспорт: старый и новый." *Sputnik-Abkhazia.* June 10. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://sputnik-abkhazia.ru/infographics/20160610/1018676405.html.

[462] List of Best. n.d. "14 САМЫХ БЕСПОЛЕЗНЫХ ПАСПОРТОВ В МИРЕ." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.listofbest.ru/14-samyh-bespoleznyh-pasportov-v-mire/

[465] Somaliland Mission UK. 2014. "Somaliland introduces new E-Passport." September 10. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somaliland-mission.com/index.php/news-2/429-somaliland-introduces-new-e-passport.

[466] Epoch Times. 2002. "台灣新版護照封面 將加註ISSUED IN TAIWAN 字樣." January 14. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/2/1/14/n163740.htm.

				Karabakh law, all citizens need to obtain a special mark in the passport validating it for travel abroad. [463] **=1**		
Visas	From 1 April 2016 citizens of all countries with which Abkhazia does not have an international agreement on visa-free travel, need to obtain a visa to travel to Abkhazia. This includes all countries that have not recognized it, and allows visa free travel to citizens of only the	There are no visa requirements to enter South Ossetia, however, all visitors except citizens of Russia, must inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Ossetia about their intention to enter the entity 3 working days prior to their travel, in order to get permission to	Citizens of all countries, except those of the CIS, need to obtain a visa to enter Nagorno Karabakh. The visa can be obtained in the Permanent Mission of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. In exceptional cases, the entrance visa can be granted at the Ministry of Foreign	Citizens of all countries require a visa to visit Somaliland. The visas are issued on the spot, right after application at the liaison offices/representativ e missions of Somaliland abroad.[470] **=2**	Travelers need to obtain a visa to visit Taiwan at one of its diplomatic mission offices abroad. Visa exemptions apply to citizens of Australia, Canada, the European Union, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, USA and

[463] Аветисян, Нарек. 2013. "Как выглядит паспорт гражданина Арцаха (Нагорно-Карабахской Республики)." June 19. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://narek-avetisian.livejournal.com/871.html.
[470] Somaliland Mission UK. n.d. "VISA." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somaliland-mission.com/index.php/visa.

		following entities: Russia, Nicaragua, Nauru, Transnistria, Nagorno Karabakh and South Ossetia. The rest need to send an application form to an official Ministry of Foreign Affairs email address, and pick up the visa from consular services within 3 days of arrival to Abkhazia.[467] **=2**	enter. Visitors must also hold a valid Russian visa (unless they are Russian citizens or citizens of countries exempt from Russian visas) which will permit them to return to Russia after leaving South Ossetia. [468] **=1**	Affairs of the NKR in Stepanakert.[469] **=2**		Vatican City. Nationals of the People's Republic of China require prior approvals to travel to Taiwan from the Taiwanese government and are required to hold an Exit and Entry Permit prior to travelling. As of August 2016, nationals of PRC can only visit Taiwan as a part of a pre-approved tour group, while as of May 2016 they are subject to a daily quota imposed

[467] Министерство Иностранных Дел Республики Абхазия. 2016. "Консульская информация." April 1. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://mfaapsny.org/council/visa.php.

[468] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Ossetia. 2011. "Procedure of the Entry to the Territory of the Republic of South Ossetia." August 6. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.mfa-rso.su/en/node/406.

[469] Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs. n.d. "The procedure of foreign citizens' entry to the NKR." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://nkr.am/en/the-procedure-of-foreign-citizens-entry-to-the-nkr/92/.

					by Taiwan of 14,600 persons per day. [471] **=2**
Dual Citizensh ip		According to the Law on Citizenship, every person of Abkhazian nationality regardless of their place of residence or other citizenship is considered a citizen of Abkhazia, as are people who have lived in the country for over 5 years, or have obtained citizenship in accordance with the law. This explicitly	South Ossetia considers everyone living in its territory from 29 May 1992 onwards as a citizen, unless the person specifically renounced it, in written form, or was actively fighting against the creation of South Ossetia as a separate entity. Citizenship can be acquired in accordance with the	All residents of Nagorno Karabakh are considered citizens. Nagorno Karabakh allows dual citizenship, and most citizens have Armenian citizenship and passports, which they use for travel abroad.[474] **=0**	Somaliland by law considers anyone whose father is a descendent of persons who resided in the territory of Somaliland on 26 June 1960 and before as citizens. Any "adult progeny of a male Somaliland citizen, who resides in a foreign country or is a citizen of another country or is a refugee in another	The Nationality Law of the Republic of China (Taiwan) was first passed on 5 February 1929 and revised in 2000, 2001, and 2006. Just like the Constitution, the Nationality law makes no provision regarding citizenship, restricting it to people with household registration in the Taiwan area; the law

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[471] Bureau of Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). 2011. "Visa-Exempt Entry and Landing Visas." Accessed June 1, 2017. Visa-Exempt Entry and Landing Visas.

[474] Аппарат Президента НКР. n.d. "ДЕКЛАРАЦИЯ О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ НЕЗАВИСИМОСТИ НАГОРНО-КАРАБАХСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.president.nkr.am/ru/nkr/nkr2.

		excludes all those who have supported change to the "sovereign status" of Abkhazia, or have fought against the existing constitutional system. Furthermore, the Law prohibits a person from holding both Georgian and Abkhaz citizenships at the same time. A citizen of Abkhazia has the right to obtain only the citizenship of Russia, without abandoning	law, and dual citizenship with Russia is allowed. In the case of holding other citizenships, South Ossetia sees this individual solely as a citizen of South Ossetia.[473] **=2**		country may acquire Somaliland citizenship on his first return" to Somaliland. Furthermore, any Somaliland citizen can acquire a foreign citizenship by birth, without losing the Somaliland one. [475] **=1**	defines people in terms of nationality. Nationality in Taiwan generally follows the *jus sanguinis* principle, qualifying for nationality people who were born to parents who are nationals of ROC, or born on the territory of ROC to stateless or unknown parents, or through naturalization. The original version of the law allowed nationality to be passed down only along the father's line.

[473] Государственное информационное агентство "Рес". n.d. "КОНСТИТУЦИОННЫЙ ЗАКОН РЕСПУБЛИКИ ЮЖНАЯ ОСЕТИЯ «О ГРАЖДАНСТВЕ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ЮЖНАЯ ОСЕТИЯ»." ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВО. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://cominf.org/node/1156855873.

[475] Somaliland Law. 2014. "Somaliland Citizenship Law." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somalilandlaw.com/citizenship_law.htm

		the citizenship of Abkhazia.[472] **=2**				Taiwan does not allow dual citizenship, requiring prospective naturalized citizens to first renounce their previous nationalities, even with the possibility of becoming stateless if rejected.[476] **=2**
	Score for Part I	13	11	9	13	14

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[472] PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ABKHAZIA. n.d. "Law of the Republic of Abkhazia about citizenship of Republic of Abkhazia." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://presidentofabkhazia.org/en/vize_president/dejatelnost/zacon.pdf.
[476] Laws & Regulations Database of the Republic of China. 2016. "Nationality Act." December 21. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0030001.

8.1.1. Historical Development

Common history produces common feelings, strengthens the nation from within, and establishes a link between past, present and future, which is characteristic for the national communities. This is especially true if this history is associated with still vivid emotions linked to events in the recent past, like in the three contested entities we have analyzed. Although culturally, geographically and historically distinctly different, the TRNC, PMR and Kosovo have a number of crucial commonalities in terms of their paths to contested statehood. Currently all three are frozen conflicts located within the European Union borderlands, in the EU's immediate abroad and neighborhood. Their path to contested statehood involved violent conflict with the parent state and extensive help from a patron state. In all three cases there was, and still remains, a strong bond, whether cultural, political and/or economic to the patron states. Similar historical paths can be seen in other contested states – violent conflict is involved in all, while close bonds with the patron state are present in all except Taiwan and Somaliland, where there is simply a lack of a patron. These two cases have distinguishing features – Taiwan's claim to independent statehood is based on the idea of standing for the whole of China; while Somaliland's allegiances might not be directly to a nation in the European understanding, based on clans.

The TRNC, PMR and Kosovo lack their own national language; the main national language is in all the cases the language of the patron state. This is true as well in Nagorno Karabakh; as exceptions we can note Somaliland and Taiwan, which share the same language as their parent states, and Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which have their own distinct languages. Particularly interesting is the case of the PMR, which claims one of its languages to be the "true" Moldovan, as opposed to the "false" Moldovan used in Moldova.

It is believed that the learning of the "ethnic" language can lead to an appreciation and hence retention of ethnic cultural values and traditions. It also satisfies the need for sentimental attachments to the culture. In relation to nation-building it is used to cultivate instrumental attachments. The rejection of the language of the parent state, on the other hand, is indicative of complete breaking of ties and refusal to speak the language the people of the contested states had to while being a part of the larger parent state. An own distinct language also permits for previous consciousness of identity,

before each contested state was created. Furthermore, language acts as a strong everyday communication reminder of existence.

In the three case study cases, there exists no religious difference between the contested states and their patron states. Similarly to language, differences with the parent states do exist. However, the contested states are largely secular and the populations only mildly religious. Religious beliefs and the differences with the parent state have not been central factors in the modern nation building process. Of course, one must be cautious in dismissing religion as unimportant to nation building, as spirituality may well have had some significance in the past. Religion can often be the provider of national myths and images, or serve as their basis.

With the exception of Taiwan, which competed with mainland China for the whole, and not just part of the original parent state's territory, and thus the development was slightly different, all contested states went through similar internal evolution. Living as part of larger countries, the people living in today's contested states were subject to a slightly different form of nation building, from the larger parent state and nation. National movements in the territories started to be openly active closely prior to the recent conflicts. In all the contested states the situation escalated to violent conflict.

Following the fighting, a new form of rule was established; the fighters of the recent wars quickly became politicians and government officials. They then turned into nation builders. Over time these regimes began focusing on institution building and the establishment of some form of political pluralism in the entities. Political reforms began being introduced; however, democratization still remains constrained in all of the entities, with the exception of Taiwan.

Together with the fighters, the nation building changed during this time span as well. Following the recent histories of contested states, in each case we can trace a development of a more aggressive form of nation building slowly evolved into a form more resembling nation maintaining.

8.1.2. Perceptions of History and History Books

All you need to know about the ways in which a polity imagines and defines its members could be found in its education.

Aleksandar Hemon

The way history is perceived and, consequently, taught in the three contested states provides a powerful insight into how the state is, or wishes to be, defined from within. All three states adopted a deep historical narrative, going as far back in history as possible to identify the point of their nation's arrival at the territory and expressing the argument of 'historically this land is ours', or, in other words 'we were here first'. For example, in the TRNC all historic narratives begin with the arrival of the Ottomans in 1571, as the truly historic period of the history of Cyprus. Beginning their historic narrative with the arrival of the Ottomans provides insight on the self-perception and identity of the population of the TRNC today, as well as serves as a clear sign of their views on the identity of the island itself – in their view it being historical distinctively Turkish, not Greek.

In Kosovo, the 6000 year old terracotta figurine from the Neolithic Vinca Culture, referred to as the *Goddess on the Throne* (*Hyjnesha në fon*), which was dug up not far from Pristina, is used as the symbolization of antiquity, as a direct representation of Albanian autochthony and their direct descent from Illyrian, especially Dardanian, tribes. Kosovar history books, but also politicians and intellectuals, refer to the Illyrian-Albanian continuity as a claim to the historical rights of the Albanian people for Kosovo. This, just like in the TRNC, points towards the views on the identity of the land by the Kosovar population – in their view, the land is Albanian, not Serbian.

In the PMR, which did not have a separate written or even researched history prior to its self-proclamation as a state, a government funded university laboratory was created solely with such a purpose. The Laboratory managed to trace back the history of the Transnistrian lands to the Paleolithic period. In its numerous publications it always focused on the distinctiveness and separate history of the Transnistrian lands, rather than a specific nation. Despite a permanent stress on multi-ethnicity and trilingualism, the history written and taught in the PMR has a very Russo-centric core. Although there isn't a distinct view on which nation the Transnistrian land historically belongs to, whether the identity is (post-) Soviet or multicultural, it is distinctly written to indicate that it is not Romanian.

The contested states' approach to history is highly selective and oftentimes is written with a narrative aimed at disproving the history taught in the parent state. Such an approach is very common in stateless nations as well as in state nations where competing minorities exist. Writing history as a narrative is always a political choice. According to Hayden White, a narrative moralizes history. With the use of a central actor, the protagonist, placed at the moral center of the story, and from whose perspective the story is evaluated, history is turned into a story with villains and heroes, happy or tragic endings.[477] In entities with (ethno)national conflicts, the main actor is always the nation. Once again, this is a political choice, as it is the preferred option over other possibilities, such as addressing history from the perspective of class, gender, etc.

For a narrative story to work, the protagonist must be present from the beginning to end. This is the reason for the projection of the community into the deep and ancient past. The main theme of the narrative is always a conflict against one or more historical opponents. According to Bryant and Papadakis, there is one classic motif for such stories called 'the Good, the Bad and the Ugly'. The Good is always the national self, the Bad is the historical enemy, while the Ugly is usually the 'West' or the 'Great Powers', which should have been on the side of the Good but instead either supported the Bad or chose to stand by and allow the Bad to continue in its evil deeds.[478] In the case of the contested states, we can also add a fourth figure – the Patron – the state which comes to the rescue during times of conflict and remains to ensure the safety of the Good and the outcome of the conflict.

There are numerous texts about the recent conflicts that led to the formation and declaration of contested states. In all the contested states these texts include history books, school textbooks, memorial books, articles, pamphlets, etc. These texts have strong elements of victimization, and an equally strong call to never forget the violent events, the suffering of the martyrs, their sacrifices to protect the civilians and their homeland, how they were treated by the Greeks/Moldovans/Serbs …

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[477] Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
[478] Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 'Introduction: Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnological Conflicts,' In: Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (eds) *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, London: I.B. Tauris &Co, 2012. pp. 10-11.

In each of the three cases the call to never forget the conflicts is mainly aimed at the youth of the communities. Young people in the TRNC did not experience the conflict first hand; neither did the youth in the PMR. This is slightly less the case in Kosovo, as the conflict was more recent, however, even there today's school children were born post-conflict. What they learn about the conflicts that they are to never forget is in accordance with the experiences and dictation of the older generations. Although the official records, official memorial books, and educational publications with the official historical narrative are not the only story line, as there still exist memories that contradict it, todays' generation is neither able to fully understand nor recreate the memorialized events. This post memory, based on violent events, is largely imposed by the old on the young. It also dictates which memories ought to be remembered and which details can be omitted and consequently forgotten. It is highly selective for political ends.

8.1.3. National Holidays

According to George Schöpflin, a typical trait of national myths, or narratives, is that they contribute to the unification of the nation. Ritualized myth 'produces bonds of solidarity without demanding uniformity of belief… Myth as the content of ritual, then, is an essential aspect of community maintenance… this is significant because it creates potential means of allegiance on the basis of social identification.'[479] It is then not surprising that each of the three contested states has established their own public holidays, celebrating their own separate states, events and heroes. What becomes an interesting and indicative difference between the three are the other holidays they have adopted.

Apart from its own holidays and religious holidays, the TRNC celebrates Turkish holidays. Most of the holidays revolve around the figure of Kemal Atatürk, commemorating his birth, ascent to power and death as public holidays. The Day of Turkish National Sovereignty, April 23, is celebrated in the TRNC much like in Turkey itself, with numerous ceremonies and performances. It is not uncommon for Turkish Cypriot officials to attend ceremonies in

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[479] George Schöpflin, 'The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths,' In: *Myths and Nationhood,* George Hosking and George Schöpflin (eds), New York: Routledge, 1997. pp. 22.

Turkey, whereas no celebration goes by without the TRNC thanking motherland Turkey for saving them in 1974 and looking after them since. This is a traditional part of every national holiday and all official meetings in the TRNC, one that has lasted over the years even with the changing of political figures.

Much like the rest of the post-Soviet countries, the PMR celebrates holidays remaining from the Soviet era – the Day of the Defenders of the Motherland, on February 23, and Victory Day on May 9. Specifically Victory Day celebrations have remained unchanged and involve a military parade and wreath-laying ceremonies, as it celebrates what is considered a glorious time in the PMR's history. However, the PMR officials always find a way to link the WWII and the more recent conflict of 1992 in their speeches on the day. Interestingly, the PMR is one of the three places in the world where the anniversary of the October Revolution is still celebrated as an official holiday.

Kosovo officially celebrates the Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox holidays as public holidays for the whole population, regardless of their religion. It has a number of its own holidays, as well as a Europe Day, which is an important event throughout the country. Although not an official holiday, November 28, Albania's Independence Day, is widely celebrated by the Kosovo Albanians. Streets are decorated with Albanian flags, businesses close for the day and celebrations last well into the night. Kosovo Albanians see this holiday as a celebration of the whole Albanian nation, a manifestation of their identity and an indicator of the indivisibility of the Albanian nation. Although official opinions on whether the holiday should be celebrated in Kosovo differ amongst politicians, the general public does not hesitate to enjoy the festivities every year. The Kosovo Serbs, on the other hand, completely disregard Kosovar holidays and celebrate the same holidays as in Serbia.

As such we can see three approaches to public holidays, other than the ones celebrating the contested states themselves. The first, involves the official celebration and explicit involvement in the traditions of the festivities of the patron state (TRNC). This serves as a way of clearly and loudly stating a distinctive affiliation with one particular nation. The second involves the continued tradition of celebrating previous holidays and their usage as a means of mobilizing the citizens and drawing on the events of the past for symbolic unity with the political and cultural heritage (PMR). And third, officially remaining as multicultural and accommodating as constitutionally required, while the situation on the ground shows the

different communities involved in the celebration of their own, not public or official holidays of the contested state (Kosovo).

Each of the three approaches severs the same purpose; it points towards the separation and disunity with the parent state. Each is a means to show and accentuate the differences.

8.1.4. National Symbols

Cornelius Castoriadis argues that in today's world the flag is a "a symbol with a rational function, a sign of recognition and for rallying round, which quickly becomes what one can and must die for, and what sends shivers down the spine of the patriots as they watch the military parade pass by"[480]. Creating such shivers is a daunting task even for fully established, recognized states, where such patriots already exist. For contested states such an assumption was not possible; the leaders had a task to first create such patriots. Alongside that, they also faced the challenge of creating a national identity and an allegiance to a state that did not exist before and the very existence of which is continuously questioned by other countries.

According to Pål Kolstø there are no features of a flag, coat of arms or anthem that link it emotionally or cognitively to the entity, which it symbolizes. The linkage has to be learnt. At first any symbol will be regarded as novel and unfamiliar; the symbols of consolidated nation states were once seen as new and 'artificial'. "As all symbols are arbitrary, there can be no 'natural' flags or other national symbols. By the same token, there can be no artificial ones either, since the concept of artificiality presupposes the existence of a non-artificial variety of the same specimen."[481] Symbols do not have inherent qualities that prevent them from being accepted. Similarly there are no specific features that will guarantee their success. It is first and foremost a function of who and what they are associated with, as well as how they are being used politically that determine its divisive

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[480] Cornelius Castoriadis, "The Imaginary Institution of Society." Massachusetts: The MIT Press Cambridge. Accessed 23 December 2015, http://base.mayfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/cornelius-castoriadis-the-imaginary-institution.pdf, pp. 131
[481] Pål Kolstø, "National Symbols as Signs of Unity and Division." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29(4) 2006, pp. 696.

or unifying qualities. Nation builders, on the other hand, can employ psychological mechanisms to increase the acceptance of the new symbols. The first is the 'normative force of what actually is'. This refers to the situation when the actual existing alternatives have an upper hand over hypothetical ones. This serves as a strong source of institutional and state legitimacy. In a situation when newly adopted symbols are widely displayed throughout the territory of the state, the citizens will be constantly reminded of them, over time growing accustomed to them. Old, discarded symbols will gradually fade from memory. New states then eventually go from nation building to nation-maintenance. According to Michael Billig, flags stop being mindless symbols when each side consciously displays its position and distances itself from its neighbor, using symbols to indicate their stance. It is possible to predict that "as a nation-state becomes established in its sovereignty, and if it faces little internal challenge, then the symbols of nationhood, which might once have been consciously displayed, do not disappear from sight, but instead become absorbed into the environment of the established homeland. There is, then, a movement from symbolic mindfulness to mindlessness."[482]

Another strong psychological mechanism is Pavlov's 'law of association'. The prestige of national symbols can be boosted by linking them to events and situations that bring up the feelings of happiness, joy, and high spirits in the citizens. These good feelings may then rub off on the national symbols and enhance their emotional value. An obvious example of this are sports events.[483] In the three cases under scrutiny we can see national symbols developing in very different ways. In fact, state symbology and anthems were the factors with the greatest differences amongst the cases.

The TRNC's state symbology is very indicative of the entity's distinctive "Turkishness". The coat of arms is a slight modification of that of the coat of arms of the Republic of Cyprus, with a crescent and star placed above the shield, together with the year 1983, the year of proclamation of independence of the TRNC. These symbols are added to the coat of arms to serve as a distinctive feature pointing towards the difference of the Turkish Cypriots from the Greeks, as well as underlining the beginning of their own statehood.

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[482] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995, 39-41.
[483] Kolstø, "National Symbols as Signs of Unity and Division," 697-699.

The flag of the TRNC was modeled to reflect the Turkish flag. Furthermore, it is always displayed alongside the Turkish flag. There isn't a definite explanation for this; many see it as an expression of the Turkish nation alongside the TRNC statehood. A similar practice can be seen in the Republic of Cyprus, where the Greek flag is also often displayed alongside the flag of the Republic. There have not been any references to which side began this practice, and whether this is done to mirror the other. Whether this was initially done to oppose Greekafication or to please Turkey, there seems to be no opposition to the display of the two flags together in the TRNC. Nevertheless, on a daily basis the presence of the two flags goes largely unnoticed by the population.

The TRNC uses the same anthem as Turkey. The use of the anthem, as well as the state symbology began with the unilateral proclamation of independence. This approach to nation building is very different from the one seen, for example, in France or in stateless nations. It is not laying claims to national or ethnic distinctiveness, but instead showing a strong link to another country, the nation of which it claims to be a part of. To an even greater extent this can be seen in Nagorno Karabakh, where the state symbols, although not the same as those of Armenia, are pointing towards the fact that the population of Nagorno Karabakh is entirely Armenian. This is done both with various ethnic Armenian symbology such as color of the flag or elements coat of arms and verses of the anthem; but also to a quite literal extent with an arrow included in the flag, pointing in the direction of Armenia.

The PMR, on the other hand, has continued to use Soviet symbology, even after its unilateral proclamation of independence. The flag of the PMR is identical to that of the MSSR, while the coat of arms has only a few modifications. Even the music of the anthem has a Soviet origin. An overwhelming number of journalists and even a few scholars choose to see this as an indicator of Soviet nostalgia. However, views within the PMR itself point towards a wish to step away from the Soviet past. They claim to simply have accepted the Soviet past as their history, which they want to acknowledge and remember. Interestingly, the PMR anthem exists in three versions, in all three official languages.

Kosovo, in contrast, has completely new and very neutral state symbols and anthem. The flag and coat of arms attempt to show belonging to the EU through the use of similar symbology of the blue background and yellow stars. The symbols are based on principals of multi-ethnicity of Kosovo and are intended to convey notions of

inclusiveness. Whether this was done do be truly inclusive of everyone living in Kosovo or for more external political purposes is open to debate, yet it can be said that one of the main criteria for the Kosovar flag, chosen through a nation-wide competition, was to not include any Albanian or Serbian symbols. One can only speculate how different the flag would have been had the criterion not been in place. Indicative of this is the wide and exclusive use of the Serbian flag by the Kosovo Serbs and the continued use of the Albanian flag (sometimes alone, sometimes alongside the Kosovar flag) by the Kosovo Albanians. Sentiments in Kosovo point towards the Kosovar flag being seen as the flag of the state, while the Albanian flag is the flag of the whole Albanian nation, regardless of geographic location.

Unlike the TRNC national anthem, which links the whole entity to Turkey through feelings of national sentiment, and the PMR anthem, which exists in three languages to officially accommodate at least some of the diversity of the entity, Kosovo's anthem has no words to avoid controversy.

Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Somaliland and Taiwan have their own, newly created and distinctively different state symbology.

Generally, we can see three patterns forming in line with the previously outlined approaches. When taking on the challenge of creating state symbology contested states choose to include strong symbolic elements, or use the same state symbols altogether, as their patron state when the people of the contested state identify as belonging to the same nation as the parent state or at least some strong historic ties exist. New symbology is created and solely used when there is a distinctive claim to nationhood, or a lack of a patron state.

8.1.5. Currency

In the cases of contested states, official currency indicates whom the entities are directly economically reliant on. This is always the patron state, unless, of course, there is a lack thereof, like in the cases of Taiwan and Somaliland.

The TRNC uses the Turkish lira and is completely reliant on Turkey for its budget, debt, as well as trade and overall relative economic stability. Indicative of their very close economic ties, Abkhazia and South Ossetia both use the Russian Ruble; although Nagorno Karabakh has its own currency, the use of the Armenian Dram is

widespread. Kosovo uses the Euro and maintains very close ties, both economic and political, with the EU. An important role in this regard is played by the Kosovar diaspora, which mainly lives in western European countries and maintains close ties with Kosovo, constantly sending money to their relatives in Kosovo and traveling there mainly in the summer time. Although the PMR has adopted its own currency, which carries Transnistrian symbology, it does not equate to economic independence. PMR's currency is only valid and accepted in the PMR and the entity relies on Russia to help its economy.

8.1.6. Passports, Visas & Dual Citizenship

When considering the issue of passports in contested states, at the core of the matter is not whether they issue their own passports – which all do, with the national symbols on the cover, issued in the official languages, and mostly meeting international standards regardless of whether or not they are accepted by other countries – but rather if the population of these states accepts and holds them. Whether by choice or default, this is the case in all states.

With the exception of Taiwan, all contested states allow dual citizenship. Citizens of the contested states have shown pragmatism in approaching the issue of which citizenship to opt for. As the passports of contested states are problematic when it comes to freedom of movement, mainly because the passports are not recognized by some or most states, but sometimes for reasons of visa requirements, many citizens of contested states hold dual citizenships. An obvious assumption would be that the citizens of contested state would only opt for passports of the patron states, as these are the states that show their support politically, militarily, and financially. On the other hand, given the hostile relations between the contested states and the parent state, one would assume that citizenship in the parent state would not be an option in the minds of the citizens of contested states. The latter, however, has proven to be false. Citizens have expressed incredible pragmatism in terms of choosing citizenships, mainly focusing on the availability and benefits that come with holding a specific passport. In such a way there have been tendencies of Kosovo Albanians getting Serbian passports, Transnistrians getting Moldovan passports, Turkish Cypriots getting passports of the Republic of Cyprus. This has also

led to numerous controversies and sometimes even scandals in all three contested states.

8.2. THE CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS

The second part of this chapter takes a look at the factors of nation building directly pertaining to the creation of institutions and traditions. Much like the first part, it begins by presenting a summary of the findings from the preceding case study chapters in the form of a table, followed by a table with a data from the other contested states, assigning a number of points, from 0 to 2 to each factor. A total score for this part is provided at the end, as well as an overall score for both parts. The tables are followed by a comparative analysis and further discussion.

Table 14

Nation Building in Contested States – The Creation of Institutions and Traditions.
Case Study Summary

The Creation of Institutions & Traditions		TRNC	Transnistria	Kosovo
	Transformations of Cultural Landscapes and Public Spaces	There have been highly political changes in the transformations. Large efforts of Turkification and complete cultural transformation took place in the TRNC. Churches have been transformed, Greek statues and monuments removed and replaced with those of Turkish Cypriots. Memorial cemeteries emerged, as well as monuments to fallen soldiers, war memorials and monuments in celebration of TRNC statehood. Renaming of	Soviet names of streets remain unchanged. Soviet statues and monuments still stand. In the post-war period, memorial complexes were built, commemorating those who died in the conflict with Moldova =1	Multiple changes of street names took place over the years, accordingly to the political regime in power. There have been large numbers of monuments and memorials erected mainly through private initiatives commemorating soldiers and commanders of the KLA and war victims all across Kosovo. **=2**

		streets and of whole villages occurred. **=2**		
	Museums	In addition to the 15 museums in the TRNC, as well as 1 online museum, which focus on local history, antiquities, art and design, there is a National Struggle Museum, the Museum of Peace and Freedom and the Museum of Barbarism. These are dedicated to the political and national historical events, presenting a clear nationalistic narrative in their displays. **=2**	There were many museums of revolutionary history and military and labor glory, established during the Soviet era. With the establishment of the PMR the focus shifted to the collection and display of materials depicting local history. Museums place a great emphasis on the uniqueness of the region, stressing the importance of local history. Large emphasis is placed on the industrial capacity of the region as is on the symbolic violence displays, mostly referring to the events of 1992. There is a clear aggressor – the Moldovan nationalists, and a clear hero – the Transnistrian soldier. **=2**	Generally there is a disinterest in museums in Kosovo. A number nevertheless exist, such as the National Museum of Kosovo, Museums of the National Liberation Struggle, Kosovo Independence House "Dr. Ibrahim Rugova". **=1**

		Ankara is the only city with a formal TRNC Embassy; reciprocally, Turkey has an Embassy in Nicosia, being the only country with formal representation in the TRNC. The TRNC has established Offices of Representatives in many countries around the world, which, however, do not function as formal Embassies. Australia, Germany, United Kingdom and the United States have Representative Offices in TRNC. The Representative Office of the Association of French Culture is also present in TRNC, as is a European Union Support Office. **=1**	The PMR maintains two official representation offices abroad – in Sukhumi, Abkhazia and in Tskhinvali, South Ossetia **=1**	Kosovo maintains 23 diplomatic missions established in different countries and 14 general consulates established in 14 cities. There are 28 foreign missions currently in Kosovo and a large number of offices of international organizations. **=2**
	Representation Abroad			

International Recognition & Foreign Relations	Formally recognized only by Turkey, which serves as TRNC's "window to the world." =1	Not recognized by any UN member states. Mutually recognized by other contested states – Republic of South Ossetia, Republic of Abkhazia and Nagorno Karabakh. No contact with other contested states. The PMR maintains close cooperation with Russia and states its main foreign policy priority to be integration into the Eurasian sphere =1	Kosovo is formally recognized by 110 UN Member states; these include 23 out of 28 European Union member states. Other contested states have not formally recognized Kosovo's independence =2
Freedom House Rating	Free 2.0 Rating for both civil liberties and political rights =2	Not Free 6.0 Rating for both civil liberties and political rights =0	Partly Free 4.0 Rating for both civil liberties and political rights =1
Score for Part II	8	5	8
Total Score (Parts I&II)	14	14	19

Table 15

Nation Building in Contested States – The Creation of Institutions and Traditions.
Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh, Somaliland, Taiwan

		Republic of Abkhazia	Republic of South Ossetia	Nagorno Karabakh	Somaliland	Republic of China (Taiwan)
The Creation of Institutions & Traditions	Transformation of Cultural Landscapes and Public Spaces	There has been no change in terms of names of cities; just the transcription changed over the years. On the other hand, streets have been renamed numerous times – pre-Russian Revolution names were changed into Soviet ones in 1921; in 1992 streets	Although there have been efforts in South Ossetia to rename the Soviet street names, this process has been rather slow. A few streets bare the names of Ossetian figures, however, a large number of streets, including many central ones, have Soviet	During the rule of the Russian Empire, the names of streets in Nagorno Karabakh (like in other newly added territories in the Caucasus) were not changed but rather standardized. Written in a neutral to the region Cyrillic alphabet, the names reflected the	Not much information Is available about the transformation of public spaces in Somaliland. In 1980s Hargeisa was largely destroyed during the armed conflict with Somalia; since then much has been rebuilt, and the city is evolving quickly	Throughout history, the various rulers of Taiwan have used the names of public spaces to shape their symbolic landscape. The biggest changes were made after WWII when the Kuomintang established itself on the island, and set out to erase all

were given Georgian names, until 1993, when the government of Abkhazia came to power and began removing any names that referred to the Georgian presence. Street names in Abkhazia are very much Abkhazian in nature.[484] There are numerous monuments, memorials, and	names.[487] Furthermore, numerous monuments to Soviet political, military, cultural and scientific figures exist, and are being newly erected in South Ossetia. The same is true for WWII memorials [488] **=1**	ethnic composition of the territories, which were often obvious through the transliterations. During Soviet times many 'Czarist', 'bourgeois' or 'religious' names were changed to reflect the Soviet ideology. During the armed conflict in Nagorno Karabakh (1988 – 1994), it became common practice to rename the towns	but its streets are still mostly dirt. Maps and street naming cannot keep up with the chaotic city growth. In fact, the first map of Hargeisa was issued only in 2015. The street names in Hargeisa today have, amongst others names referring to the Somaliland statehood, the names of various political, military	Japanese names from public spaces, changing all the Japanese to Chinese names.[492] Most street names in Taipei remain unchanged since 1947. After renaming all the existing streets, the Kuomintang hired an architect from Shanghai to organize and name streets in Taipei that yet did not have names. The

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[484] Виталий Шария, 2010, "Старые новые улицы." Эхо Кавказа. May 11. Accessed June 1, 2017. https://www.ekhokavkaza.com/a/2038825.html

[487] Фатима Плиева, 2016, "Наших улиц неизменные названия." Sputnik - Ossetia. June 29. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://sputnik-ossetia.ru/South_Ossetia/20160629/2431999.html.

[488] Ossetia.ru. 2004. "Памятники Южной Осетии." October 19. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.ossetia.ru/ir/places/pamyatniki_yuzhnoy_osetii.html.

[492] Wenchuan Huang, 2011, "Street-naming and the Subjectivity of Taiwan: A Case Study of Taipei City." Asian and African Studies XV (2): 47-58. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/as/article/viewFile/2879/2868.

| | | statues commemorating the 1992-1993 war in Abkhazia, which can be found in almost every village, town and city.[485] [486]

=2 | | and villages to the language of the winning side. This renaming further fit into the grander movement of de-Sovietizing of place names in the post-Soviet Union space. In such a way, in Nagorno Karabakh place names and public spaces all bared Armenian names. Monuments and memorials built in Nagorno Karabakh are also | and cultural figures from Somaliland [490] There is a War Memorial located in Hargeisa's Freedom Square, dedicated to the casualties during aerial bombardment of Hargeisa in 1988.[491]

=2 | architect applied the regulations from the "Shanghai street-naming memo" sent by the British Consul Medhurst in 1862, naming the longitudinal roads by Chinese province names, and vertical roads by Chinese city names.[493] There is an abundance of monuments and memorials in Taiwan, dedicated to the various |

[485] Абхазские военные памятники. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://ura9may.livejournal.com/27857.html

[486] Государственный Музей Отечественной Войны Народа Абхазии Имени С.П. Дбар. n.d. "Памятники." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://warheroes.su/monuments/

[490] Somaliland Sun. 2015. "Somaliland: Hargeisa Municipality Introduces City Map." July 31. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.somalilandsun.com/development-aid/7834-somaliland-hargeisa-municipality-introduces-city-map.

[491] Zeinab Badawi, 2011, "Somaliland hopes for international recognition." BBC News. January 26. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12279880.

[493] Huang, *Street-naming*.

			very indicative of the cultural heritage of the Armenian population living there. [489] **=1**		events in the history of Taiwan and the ROC. For example, since the 1990s, there have been more than 20 monuments created just around Taipei in memory of the 228 Massacre. In 2008, the government of Taiwan opened the first monument to the White Terror, while 2 former military prisons for political dissidents have been converted into 2

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[489] Artak Dabaghyan, 2011. "Place Renaming Practices in Post-war Karabakh/Artsakh." Acta Ethnographica Hungarica 403-427. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.academia.edu/3104403/Place_Renaming_Practices_in_Post-war_Karabakh_Artsakh._Acta_Ethnographica_Hungarica_56_2_December_2011_403-427.

		There is a very limited number of museums in Abkhazia, the main one being the Abkhazian National Museum, which boast a collection of archeological and historical artifacts not only from Abkhazia, but other parts of the world as well.[495] **=1**	There are a number of museums in South Ossetia, the main of which is the National History Museum of South Ossetia, which reopened in late 2015, with renewed expositions in history, art and the natural sciences. There are also four museums based in houses and commemorating	Nagorno Karabakh has numerous museums; there are natural history museums, as well as local history museums located in Stepanakert and in other cities in Nagorno Karabakh, for example – Shushi and in Tigranakert. In Stepanakert there is also a museum dedicated to the	There is no information available as to the current existence of any museums in Somaliland. **=NA**	Human Rights Memorial Parks.[494] **=0**
	Museums					Taiwan has numerous museums, varying from national to provincial level. The museums are not only numerous, but also diverse, ranging from national and natural history, to various forms of art or industry, as well as dedicated to specific events.[499] **=2**

[494] Hwang, Jau-Yuan. 2016. "Transitional justice in postwar Taiwan." In Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan, edited by Gunter Schubert, New York: Routledge, 176.

[495] ЖИВАЯ АБХАЗИЯ. n.d. "АБХАЗСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ МУЗЕЙ, Г. СУХУМ." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.abhaztur.com/info/abkhazskijj_gosudarstvennyjj_muzejj/.

[499] Ministry of Culture, Republic of China (Taiwan). 2012. Local Cultural Museum. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://superspace.moc.gov.tw/en/.

			the lives of Ossetian public figures.[496] In a small town of Tbet there is The Museum of Burnt Souls, built as part of a memorial to the events of 8 August 2008. [497] **=2**	memory of the fallen freedom fighters (in Armenian soldiers fallen in the war in Nagorno Karabakh are referred to with the special term – *Azatamartik*, arm. Ազատամարտիկ, and are given utmost respect both in Nagorno Karabakh and Armenia). The museum, opened in 2002, displays personal letters, photographs and		

[496] Мария Котаева, 2015, "Национальный музей Южной Осетии открыл свои двери." September 2015. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://sputnik-ossetia.ru/South_Ossetia/20150921/620842.html.

[497] МИА «Южная Осетия сегодня». 2016. "Память жива, пока помнят живые!" August 5. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://south-ossetia.info/pamyat-zhiva-poka-pomnyat-zhivye/.

			belongings of the fallen soldiers.[498] **=2**		
Representation Abroad	Abkhazia has 3 embassies abroad – in Russia, South Ossetia and Venezuela, which also has accreditation to Nicaragua. There are representative offices in 10 countries – Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, Italy, Jordan, South Ossetia, Syria, Transnistria, and	South Ossetia currently has 5 embassies, in Russia, Abkhazia, Transnistria, and in the recently self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic. There is also a representative office opened in Italy, however the Italian government does not recognize neither the representative	Nagorno Karabakh has 7 permanent representations abroad, in Armenia, Russia, USA, France, Australia, Germany, and a mission in the Middle East located in Lebanon. There are no diplomatic missions within Nagorno Karabakh.[502] **=1**	Somaliland has liaison offices, with no formal diplomatic status, in Ethiopia, Djibouti, United Kingdom, France, South Africa, Sweden, Italy and the US. Turkey, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya have diplomatic office in Hargeisa.[503] **=2**	Foreign representation of ROC is made up of a total of 111 embassies and cultural and economic representative offices worldwide. Embassies are established in countries with which Taiwan has diplomatic relations, whereas the "Taipei/ROC

[498] https://karabakh.travel/ru/museums/47/.
[502] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nagorno Karabakh Republic. 2008. "Permanent Representations." Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.nkr.am/en/permanent-representations/104/.
[503] Somaliland Informer, *UAE accepts Somaliland passport.*

		Turkey. Abkhazia also has 3 honorary consuls based in China, Russia, and San Marino. The embassies of Russia and South Ossetia are located in Sukhumi, while Transnistria has a representative office. Nicaragua and Venezuela have non-resident embassies to Abkhazia, located in Moscow [500] **=2**	office, nor its claim to diplomatic status. The embassies of Russia and Abkhazia are located in Tskhinvali, while Transnistria has a representative office. Nicaragua and Venezuela have non-resident embassies to South Ossetia, located in Moscow [501] **=2**		(Economic and Cultural) Representative Offices" are usually opened as unofficial intermediary bodies, to maintain routine matters that embassies or consulates take care of normally [504] In turn, these countries have Representative Offices, in Taipei as well. There are 52 Representative Offices and 20

[500] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Abkhazia. n.d. Missions. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://mfaapsny.org/en/policy/missions.php.

[501] Министерство иностранных дел Республики Южная Осетия. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.mfa-rso.su/.

[504] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). 2016. ROC Embassies and Missions Abroad. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.roc-taiwan.org/portalOfDiplomaticMission_en.html#ALL.

					embassies in Taiwan.[505] **=2**
International Recognition & Foreign Relations		On 9 September 2008, Russia became the first UN member state to recognize Abkhazia. Since then it has been recognized by Nauru, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Transnistria, South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh. Abkhazia has very strong political and economic ties to Russia.	On August 26, 2008, Russia became the first UN member state to recognize South Ossetia. Since then it has been recognized by Nauru, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Transnistria, Abkhazia, Nagorno Karabakh. South Ossetia has very strong political and economic ties to Russia.	Nagorno Karabakh Republic is not recognized by any United Nations member state (including Armenia), but has been recognized by Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Nagorno Karabakh has very close political, economic and cultural relations with Armenia.	Somaliland is not recognized by any state. However, it has political contacts with Ethiopia, Djibouti, Belgium, France, Ghana, South Africa, Sweden, the UK and the USA. Somaliland is a member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)	The ROC is recognized by 20 United Nations member states, as well as by the Holy See. The ROC maintains diplomatic relations with these states. It also has unofficial relations with 57 UN member states via its representative offices and consulates. Those diplomatic relations

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505 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017.
http://www.mofa.gov.tw/EnMobile/OfficesInROC_NoDiplomatic.aspxhttp://www.mofa.gov.tw/EnMobile/OfficesInROC_NoDiplomatic.aspx.

		It belongs to the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) and to the Community for Democracy and Rights of nations.[506] **=2**	It belongs to the Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations.[507] **=2**	It is a member of the Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations.[508] **=1**	The government of Somaliland places international recognition as its main foreign policy priority, alongside encouraging international aid and foreign investment.[509] **=1**	do not constitute an international acceptance of Taiwan as a state, but rather represent a recognition of the ROC government as the representative of China[510] **=2**
	Freedom House Rating 2016[511]	Partly Free 5.0 Rating for civil liberties; 4.0 Rating for political rights **=1**	Not Free 6.0 Rating for civil liberties; 7.0 Rating for political rights **=0**	Partly Free 5.0 Rating for both civil liberties and political rights **=1**	Partly Free 5.0 Rating for both civil liberties and political rights **=1**	Free 2.0 Rating for civil liberties; 1.0 Rating for political rights **=2**

[506] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Abkhazia. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://mfaapsny.org/en/.

[507] Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of South Ossetia. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.mfa-rso.su/en.

[508] Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. http://www.nkr.am/en/.

[509] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Somaliland.*

[510] Thomas C. Heller and Abraham D. Sofaer. 2001. "Sovereignty: The Practitioners' Perspective." In *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities*, edited by Stephen D. Krasner, New York: Columbia University Press, 46.

[511] Freedom House. n.d. Accessed June 1, 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/

	Score for Part II	8	7	6	6[512]	8
	Total Score (Parts I&II)	21	18	15	19	22

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[512] Excluding possible points for museums, as no info was available.

8.2.1. Transformation of Cultural Landscapes and Public Spaces

Symbolization is a strategic part of the nation building project; when it comes to the transformation of public spaces, such as the building of memorials, monuments, renaming of streets, etc, it also becomes a very visually apparent way of declaring the national presence, identity and affiliation. This work covered the "top down" approaches to this, which generally originated from the nation building elites of the contested states as part of the grander nation-building project. It is, however, worth mentioning that a "bottom up" approach to this also exists; it is important and widely spread in the states in question. This includes symbols such as graffiti, tombstones, names of shops, cafes, restaurants, etc. and can be an important indicator of the real affiliation of the population. As expected, these referred to the contested state or the patron state in their names and overall image. According to Ivan Čolović, both approaches reflect the current social processes involved in the present-day reality; they imply the symbolic border and outposts of the community and mark the so-called spiritual space of the nation. In this regard any monument can be seen as part of the nation's spiritual space. It then not only notes the presence of the community but also carries out the functions of entrenching it and even serving as proof of its antiquity or autochthonous origin.[513] Taking into account the postwar and conflicted nature of the societies in contested states, the places of collective memory become battlefields of national ethnic, religious, political and historical identity.

One of the most prominent tendencies of impact on cultural landscape is the centrally managed change in the names of streets, neighborhoods, villages, cities, or even the name of the whole country. These can be seen as indicators of political change and the direction in which the new regimes of the contested entities wanted to take them.

The politically motivated transformations in the TRNC brought about large efforts of Turkification and a complete cultural transformation of the northern half of the island. Following the establishment of the TRNC, the territory underwent a complete renaming of streets, villages, towns. The names of the public spaces were either returned

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[513] Ivan Čolović, *The Balkans: The Terror of Culture. Essays in Political Anthropology,* Baden-Baden: Nomos.2011.

their old Turkish names, or, in some cases, new names were created. These became the newly accepted and widely used names in the North of Cyprus.

In Kosovo all cities, towns, and villages have names in both Albanian and Serbian. Officially both can be used. In practice this refers mainly to the politically correct double usage of place names by the international community; Kosovo Albanians use only the Albanian names, while Kosovo Serbs continue to use the Serbian ones. There have also been numerous politically motivated renaming of streets, each according to the regime in power. The numerous changes in the names in Kosovo, which happened at least three times in the second half of the twentieth century, apparently have had little effect on the lives of ordinary citizens, who for example mostly resort to calling streets and other public places according to points of reference rather than official names they are usually unfamiliar with, or by the name that was used during their youth. Thus these symbolic demarcations of spaces can be considered as only politically determined manifestations.

The PMR, on the other hand, opted for the preservation of Soviet names of streets. The names of all villages, towns and cities are in the three official languages, although only the Russian name is widely used. Two reasons are given for this. The first that renaming is impractical, as it poses an unnecessary financial burden, and second, that the names of the public spaces represent the PMR's history, both bright and dark; it cannot be escaped or changed, so it must be accepted.

Using the example of German and Austrian cities, Maoz Azaryahu argues that history and representation of the past, being constructed phenomena, are transmitted in the actual space by the current actors from the political and intellectual elite who choose the heroes and their antagonists.[514] In order to become a part of socially constructed reality, a given interpretation of the past should be included in the existing semiosphere, and the changing street names, as well as erecting monuments and other memorials, is one of the most effective ways of doing it.

Any national idea has to include an array of new heroes and enemies. These ideas are not only manifested in street names, but

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[514] Maoz Azaryahy, "Renaming the Past: Changes in "City Text" in Germany and Austria, 1945-1947." *History and Memory,* 2(2) 1990. pp 32-53.

also in the construction of monument and memorials in their honor. The graves of the heroes then become sites of political pilgrimage. As post-war societies, the most recent as well as the most distant heroes are celebrated in all of the contested states. Celebrating the historical figures provides a sort of rooting to the society, placing it at the specific territory at a specific time. The historical figures also provide a bond of the nation of the contested state to the nation of their closest patrons.

Numerous new heroes emerged from the latest conflicts in the contested states. These include the large category of martyrs – local brave men, who died defending their homeland, and thus today are glorified, and immortalized at memorial sites and with many monuments. Contested states also celebrate foreign heroes as their own. In the TRNC, one can see Turkish heroes, in the PMR – Russian ones, while in Kosovo, the Albanian heroes have been joined by modern American and British politicians.

8.2.2. Museums

Museums are a tool nation builders can use to visualize history. Museums are present in all contested states, albeit with varying degrees of traditions of existence. The main museums are ones of national as well as regional history. From a theoretic perspective, national museums should serve as tools of de facto cultural constitutions to the nation builders; they are crucial in presenting a balanced view between the idea of homogenous identity and nation, while simultaneously articulating the diversity within. The museums in the contested states are used to visually present the findings backing up the national myth and narrative of the respective entity. Museums place a great emphasis on the uniqueness of the region, stressing the importance of local history, the people of the territory and their distinctiveness from others. A good representation of this is the inscription in the Museum of History and Regional Geography in Bendery, the PMR,

> We are Transnistrian! One cannot deprive us of our history, our name, our native tongue and national culture.
>
> The PMR is the guarantor for this.

The 'us vs. them' narrative of the national myth is represented even stronger in the museums commemorating the latest wars. They are usually referred to as museums of national struggle or memorial museums of the specific cities where fighting took place. These museums boast being historically accurate, are filled with photographs and personal items, and always label a clear aggressor. Unlike many museums in other countries, such museums in contested states do not set it as their goal to promote tolerance or reconciliation. The perspectives never include the position of the other side; there is a clear, straightforward nationalistic narrative. The nation builders of the contested states justify this more aggressive approach as a means of educating the future generations, as well as foreigners visiting their states. They see it as a means of gathering evidence of the conflict and presenting it from their perspective, one they see as less heard and generally not favored, mainly due to their unrecognized status.

8.2.3. Civil Society

People's participation in civil society shows their involvement and interest in the development of the states they live in. However, participation in civil society remains low in across contested states, with the only exception being Taiwan. Although for varying reasons, this particular sphere suffers from very similar problems in the all cases. The main problem it is that it is largely underfunded and there is a huge reliance, in the cases of the PMR and especially Kosovo, on funds from abroad. There is inadequate cooperation from the side of the government. The governments in the three states do not see civil society as important, leaving it not only without funds but also choosing not to involve it in any major projects or decisions. On the other hand, the real impact of civil society organizations has been very low. Generally, there is still a mismatch with the projects that the organizations receive money for and the real necessities of the society, leading to disappointment from the general population in civil society organizations that are nonresponsive and not understanding of the real issues.

The general disappointment with the civil society and the sector's low impact on the crucial aspects of life in the contested states point towards the political elite's exclusive position in the nation building processes. It also indicates the citizen's general disinterest in getting involved.

The lack of participation in civil society may also be indicative of the nation building process as being seen as irrelevant or even foreign and induced by the political elites. An absence of a bottom up national movement is also a major difference of contested states and stateless nations, where such movements are widespread.

8.3. In Conclusion: A Look at the Final Scores

It is not the number of men coming together into a state that makes a nation, but the bond by which the individuals are united

Christian Wolff

In the process of nation building, and more specifically when it comes to the tools used in it, contested states are no exceptions to any recognized state. In particular, the way of establishing interdependence between state and society is characterized by the already familiar invention of traditions.[515] We can observe this 'set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'[516]. Moreover, the practices of inventing tradition most often endeavor to highlight this continuity 'with a suitable historical past'. At issue here is how the past is used for the purposes of the present by means of symbolic language, which every society has at hand, and how these traditions become formalized and ritualized through repetition.[517] The predominant function of inventing tradition is that of 'establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities. Related to this are the functions of 'establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority,' but also the process of socialization[518]. In brief, 'all invented traditions, so far as

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[515] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introdction: Inventing Traditions." In: *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
[516] Ibid, pp 1
[517] Ibid pp 4-6
[518] Ibid. pp 9

possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.'[519]

What distinguishes the invention of tradition in contested states is a contradictory reference to statehood, expressed through an indecisive state image. Importantly, the attitudes of various groups diverge regarding the cultural make-up as well as the legal status of these contested states. Thus, efforts to strengthen the state image are constantly accompanied by the question of what this image precisely should be. What we can observe, thus, is a dialectical relationship between a failure to achieve a homogenous society and uncertainty of the state image.

The ultimate object of any nation building is "the people". This aspect has been problematic not only for local authorities in contested states, who did not manage to fully territorialize their populations, but also for the present work, due to the lack of substantial material necessary for this kind of evaluation. Nevertheless, it appears plausible to conclude that the attitude of the people has been characterized by a pragmatic approach towards the nation building/state building projects. A widespread view on the topic is that it does not really matter if the state is recognized or not, as long as it provides for its citizens. This line of logic ties into the low involvement in civil society, as the general view is that it is the state's duty to resolve the problems.

The presented data shows that in all cases nation building practices in contested states fall in line with three possible approaches – using the approach of the patron state, basing their approach on the approach of the patron state, or creating their own approach. The only exception to this are the contested states without a patron, which consequently, by default, create their own approach to each nation building issue. Due to the lack of a patron, they are also an exception to the parallel nation building practices that take place in all the other contested states.

This is precisely why nation building in most contested states is different from the nation building in states or in stateless nations – because there is an unsolvable problem, which nation should be built, one of the contested state or a common one with the patron.

In the TRNC, Kosovo, as well as in Nagorno Karabakh, the patron state is not only involved economically and politically, but also

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[519] Ibid 12

culturally. These contested states created their nation building approaches largely based on their patron states, and claims of belonging to the same nation. In Abkhazia and South Ossetia the claims are different; their nation building is indicative of their own national identity. However, much like in the PMR, where the claim is of a multicultural society of three nations united under the umbrella of a new Transnistrian identity, there exist incredibly close economic and political ties with Russia. These ties are constantly evolving and strengthening further, oftentimes combined with aspirations of eventually joining the Russian Federation.

These specific features make nation building in contested states different from the type that developed in established states, as well as from stateless nations. The features are applicable across all contested states that have a patron.

When considering the quantifying exercise proposed earlier, we can see that the lowest overall score was achieved by the PMR, and the highest by Taiwan. In Part I, the TRNC had the lowest score, while Somaliland had the lowest score for Part II. Taiwan achieved the highest score in both parts. Kosovo, being the youngest contested state, and the one with the most international recognitions, achieved average scores and consistently placed in the middle for both parts. The TRNC and PMR were towards the lower end of the overall scale, while South Ossetia and Abkhazia showed very similar results to each other.

This quantification, based on the proposed model of viewing nation building in contested states, was created with the intention of visualizing the results. The higher the score for the individual factors of nation building, the more "independent" and distinctive the nation building is. The lower the score, the more reliant the contested state is on its patron for this. There seems to be no relation in the intensity of nation building and the years of existence or degree of recognition. The scores are summarized in Figure 5.

Figure 5
Nation Building in Contested States – Score Visualization
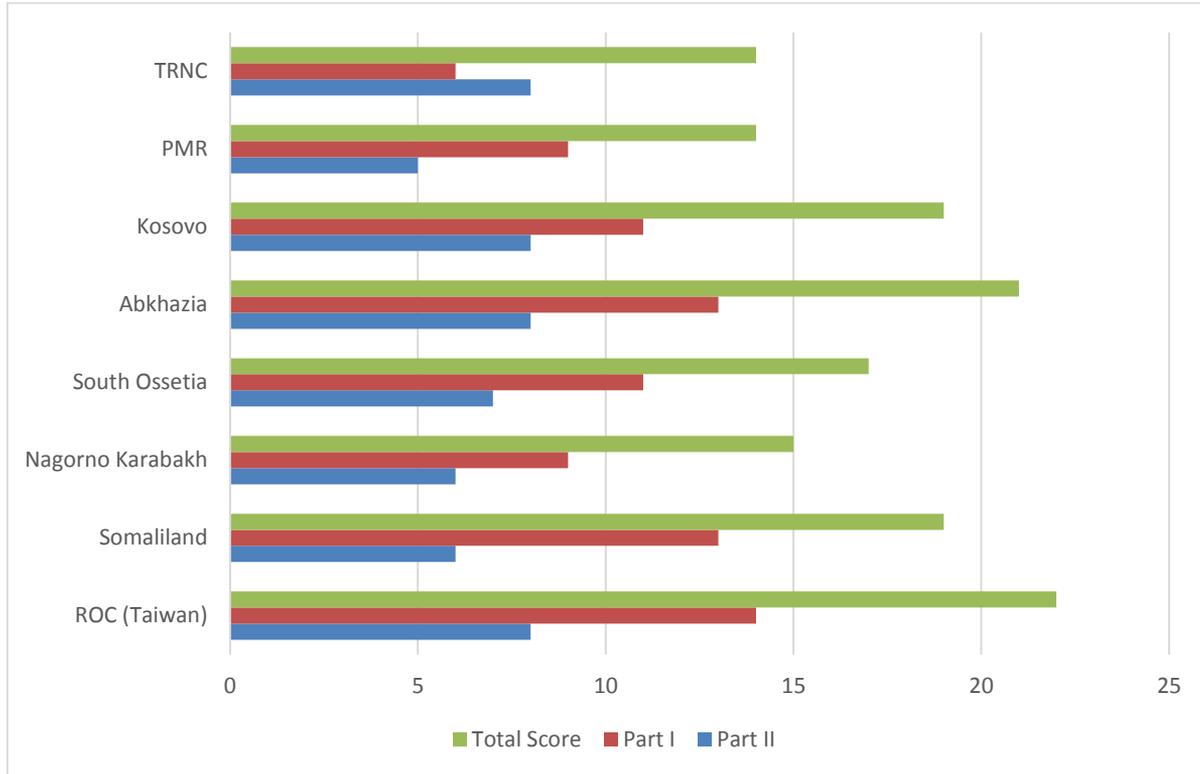
9. CONCLUSION

I think and think for months and years. Ninety-nine times, the conclusion is false. The hundredth time I am right.

Albert Einstein

At the onset of my PhD studies I found myself constantly justifying the choice of topic for my dissertation. I was frequently asked – why contested states? Why not choose simpler case studies, ones that would fall neatly into western theory, for example? What's the point of studying contested states anyway – aren't they just tiny entities in frozen conflict zones; whatever happens there won't really have an effect on today's world order? Following up, I would then receive the question on what contested states actually were, as everyone seemed to have their own understanding and definition of them.

Despite the constant shadow of doubt, I justified and persevered, convincing others, as well as myself, that the topic was deserving of attention, if not crucial to political science. And then in 2014 something happened; the turmoil in Ukraine escalated, and war on the outskirts of my hometown turned it into a "capital city" of a self-proclaimed state – the so called Donetsk People's Republic. These events made contested states a reality again. They are not just a

limited and frozen number of entities; they are a phenomenon that, it seems, can emerge anywhere on the world map, even in regions that did not have any previous nationalistic movements. The events in Ukraine also allowed me to experience first-hand and provided me with a front row seat to watch a conflict unravel and a contested state being created in an area that had no previous claims to secession whatsoever.

My observations of the conflict in Ukraine led me to reevaluate and question certain aspects of my research on contested states. The three case studies discussed in this work all emerged well before I was able to personally follow their creation and the events that surrounded them. I heavily relied on the work conducted by historians and researchers before me, as well as personal accounts of the locals I had the opportunity to speak with. Unfortunately, many events and detailed explanations were omitted from these accounts, leaving gaps and unanswered questions, the details of which I unfortunately do not currently have the resources to uncover. Personal travels and in-depth interviews with professionals, academics, as well as with many local citizens of the contested states provided insight, however, some gaps in the research remain unfilled due to this.

An interesting issue in this regard was the experience with the referendum in east Ukraine; it created a few concerns about the fairness and freedom of the referenda in other contested states. For example, I have found no mentions in the available literature in English, Ukrainian or Russian of whether the referenda in the PMR, specifically the very first one on independence, was conducted in a free and fair way. All sources simply state that it happened and that people voted in favor of separation, without further discussion or any analysis. It will be interesting to observe whether in the future the violations which occurred during the referenda held in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine on 11 May 2014 will not be further analyzed, similarly to other contested states, just remain as a noted event in history.

The developments in Ukraine also bring many interesting questions and point towards areas for future research in the field of contested states. Contested states as frozen conflicts are thoroughly covered from the perspective of international relations and conflict studies. However, the limited number of available studies on the processes that occur within the contested states, the ones that support them internally and help sustain them in the long run, make it challenging to understand the entities as a whole. Their ongoing existence and

the continuous survival are interesting aspects for future, deeper research.

The creation of the Donetsk People's Republic played out in great similarity to that of the PMR; it will be interesting to observe whether it will continue as such, leading to a full establishment of a contested state. On the one hand, the entity plays a very clear geopolitical destabilizing role, indicating that it will remain in a frozen state for years to come. But there have been numerous claims from some representatives of the self-proclaimed government of the entity to integrate into Russia. Thus the question of whether the Donetsk People's Republic will develop in the same pattern as the PMR or, for example, that of South Ossetia and Abkhazia remains still open and will be an interesting development to observe in the future. If this indeed will be the future development for the region, it will become possible to track how a 'new nation' will be artificially created, or forced into existence. Tracking such development will provide us with a deeper understanding of nation building, nationalism, sovereignty and the changing face of modern state creation.

The Russian Federation is politically tied to many contested states, more so than any other country. In this regard, an interesting area for further research is whether having so many contested states at its borders, and being involved in the political, cultural and financial realities of even more contested states has major implications for Russia's geopolitical standing and foreign policy. Which role will it take on in the future and how will it choose to influence the contested entities?

In today's world of prominent political actors, power plays and influence, it is hard to imagine a place for tiny contested states, hardly recognized by others. Contested states and the life that occurs within them has a taste of impermanence about them, or perhaps just seems as a collective hallucination to someone observing from the outside. But, nevertheless, contested states have proven to be an ongoing phenomenon. As they are all products of conflict and are in locations of ongoing tensions, the status quo is bound to last for some time longer due to geopolitical as well as other interests of today's global actors. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that these conflicts can ignite at any moment, as events of early April 2016 in Nagorno-Karabakh have shown.

Today's contested states have a lot in common, yet are different in so many aspects. The concise overview of the general and nation building factors provided demonstrated this. Through such a

mapping exercise it became possible to visualize and compare the contested states, placing the three case studies of this dissertation into context. We were able to see that there are three main approaches to nation building processes within these entities, which are not dependent on levels of recognition or time of existence, but a crucial role is played by the patron state which acts as an example and model for development. The specific features of contested states, gather and discussed in detail in this work, make nation building in contested states different from the type that developed in established states, as well as from stateless nations. The features are applicable across all contested states that have a patron.

This brings the thesis to a conclusive point, where it is necessary to draw a line, sum up the research and revert to the research questions, providing the final answers to each.

As previously mentioned, to answer the first research question *(Q1. What are the current nation building processes carried out in contested states? Are these processes at all different from the ones that took place in 'uncontested' states?),* the thesis outlined the nation building processes in detail in the three case study chapters, and furthermore provided a general overview of all the contested states. In conclusion, it becomes possible to say that although some similarities exist, these processes are, in fact, different.

Q2. asked – *How do nation building projects vary across contested states? Are these variations amongst contested states greater than those between contested and 'uncontested' states?* The thesis outlined these differences throughout the chapters, and as was shown provided three different scenarios for nation building development in contested states. This helps to conclude that contested states as a group have more in common, that with other types of entities.

As was shown, the answer to *Q3. Does the degree of international recognition influence nation building, and if so, how?* and to *Q4. Does the time span of unrecognized existence produce a difference in the contested entity's approach to nation building?* Is – no. These two factors have shown to not have an influence on the nation building practices in contested states. While, on the other hand, the answer to *Q5. Does a relative success of state building lead to a difference in the nation building?* has shown to be – yes.

In conclusion, it is important to repeat that, contested states are not a new phenomenon; but they aren't a phenomenon of the past either.

The world's frozen conflicts tend to time and time again produce entities that redefine the world order, slowly, subtly. The world map is not as static and neatly arranged as we wish it to be. The situation in the east of Ukraine only demonstrated this yet again. Even a few years down the road from the initial events, the majority of the people from Donetsk are still in disbelief that such a scenario was possible and find it hard to believe that it, in fact, is actually playing out at this time. Contested states can emerge with no ethnic claims, in places with no previous territorial claims, and at the most unexpected of times. This demonstrates yet again the importance of understanding nation building, from an in depth perspective in such contested states.

When we understand the type of tools used to muster support from within and thus legitimize long-term existence, can we begin to shed light on the complexity of the situations the world faces today. The existing contested states can provide us with much needed insight on the future development of sovereignty, territoriality, national identity as well as many other political science concepts extremely relevant to the world's future development. By unifying and analyzing information of the three cases, while placing them into a larger context of all of today's contested states, this dissertation aspired to provide only a small piece of the larger puzzle.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Variables making up the 'normalisation index'

Integration into international society	Recognition	0 – none 1 – recognition by other de facto states only 2 – less than 10 recognitions by recognised states 3 – more than 10 recognitions by recognised states
	Representations	0 – none 1 – only the *de facto* state's representations abroad 2 – under 10 representations of foreign states 3 – over 10 representations of foreign states
	Involvement of international organisations in the conflict	0 – none 1 – regional 2 – UN
	International organisation membership	0 – none 1 – observer member in some organisations 2 – full member in some organisations
	External patron	0 – no patron 1 – existing patron
Foreign trade	Foreign trade turnover per capita	0 – none 1 – up to $2393 (½ world's average) 2 – up to $4785 (world's average) 3 – over $4875
	Number of foreign trade partners	0 – none 1 – one dominating partner 2 – several partners
Communications	Air communication	0 – none 1 – one airline and few destinations or several airlines and one destination 2 – several airlines and many destinations
	Postal communication	0 – no direct postal communication 1 – direct postal communication
	Border regulations	0 – restricted entry 1 – general visa regime 2 – general visa-free regime
	Telecommunications	0 – no country code for telephones and internet domains 1 – separate country code

Appendix 2.
State Symbology of Present Day Contested States

Contested State	National Flag	Coat Of Arms
Nagorno Karabakh Republic		
PMR		
Republic of Abkhazia		
Republic of China (Taiwan)		
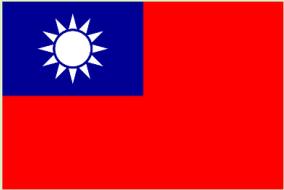
Republic of Kosovo		
Republic of Somaliland		
Republic of South Ossetia		
TRNC		