

## NATIONALISM

**INSTRUCTOR:** Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; office PAC 203, hours MW 10.30-12.00.

**ASSESSMENT:** Out of 100 points

- 1) A 3-4 page report on one of the theoretical books or articles listed in weeks 1-5 of the syllabus. To be submitted by 4.00 pm on Friday Sept 30. Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word file. [15 points]
- 2) A 3-4 page paper on one of the nations we cover in class, to be submitted on the day that case is discussed. A sign up sheet for assigning these cases will be circulated in week two. [15 points]
- 3) A 3-4 page paper on a randomly assigned country, due by 4.00 pm on Nov 4. You should explain the key elements in country X's national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, historical events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc. [15 points]
- 4) One 8-10 page final paper. *Either* (a) analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement. *or* (b) discussion of a general theme not specific to one country. I will circulate a list of possible topics, or you can pick your own topic. The final paper should not be on the same country as the two short papers. Outline due on Nov 11; email me the paper by 4.00 pm on Dec 14. [35 points]
- 5) A presentation on some aspect of your final paper. The talk should focus on a conceptual puzzle arising from that people's nationalism rather than being a potted history. The presentations will take place in the last week of class. They will take the form of a 10 minute i-movie presentation. You will be trained in this format on October 13. [10 points for the presentation]
- 6) Class participation and weekly quizzes on the reading. Each quiz will have 1 point for a correct answer, exceptionally 2 points may be given. Also extra credit for 1-2 page reports on outside lectures. [15 points]

Books to buy:	Anthony Smith	<i>Nationalism</i> (2010)
	Ernest Gellner	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i> (1983)
	Eric Hobsbawn	<i>Nations and Nationalism Since 1780</i> (1991)
	Benedict Anderson	<i>Imagined Communities</i> (1983)
	Jack Snyder	<i>From Voting to Violence</i> (2000)
	Amy Chua	<i>World on Fire</i> (2004)

Required readings are marked with \*. All the other readings are optional, useful for your papers.

All the articles listed on the syllabus are available on the course's Wesfiles page.

Unexplained absence from three classes will be treated as withdrawal from the course.

Plagiarism, using material that you did not write and without clear attribution to the source, will be punished.

There are links to fresh newspaper articles about nationalism on my blog [NationalismWatch](#).

**Websites – especially useful for your country reports:**

<a href="#">BBC country profiles</a>	Archive of recent articles on each country in the world.
<a href="#">CIA World Factbook</a>	Basic facts.
<a href="#">State Department country notes</a>	Detailed descriptions of institutions and recent events.
<a href="#">Nationalism Project</a>	Definitions, links, articles by academics.
<a href="#">International Crisis Group</a>	Up-to-date reports on countries experiencing conflicts.
<a href="#">Minorities at Risk project</a>	Lots of data on ethnic minorities, esp. those that are politically active.
<a href="#">New York Times</a>	Search the NYT for recent articles using the country box on the right.

**Encyclopedias:**

John Hutchinson & A. D. Smith (eds)	<i>Nationalism</i> . (2000)	(Olin stacks JC311.N3228)
Alexander Motyl (ed.)	<i>Encyclopaedia of Nationalism</i> (2001)	(Olin Reference JC311.E499)

**Week 1**  
**Sept 5-7**

**WHAT IS NATIONALISM?**

For an overview of the course theme, see:

Peter Rutland                    “[Nationalism](#),” *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, 2010

What is ethnic identity? How does it relate to other types of identity? A review of some classic sociological and anthropological articles on this question.

Edmund Shils                    ‘[Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties](#),’ from  
*British Journal of Sociology*, 8: 2, 1957, 130-45  
Max Weber                        ‘[Ethnic groups](#),’ in *Economy and Society*, v. 1, 385-98  
Fredrik Barth                    ‘[Ethnic Groups and Boundaries](#)’ (1969) 9-38  
Thomas Eriksen                 ‘[What is ethnicity?](#)’, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ch 1

**Week 2**  
**Sept 12**

**OBAMA NATION**

What does it mean to be American? As the ‘first new nation’ the US sees itself as a new type of civic nation based on political consensus rather than ethnic identity. How does American patriotism differ from other peoples’ nationalism?

- \* Anthony Lewis                 ‘[A new national scripture](#),’ *New York Times*, 16 Jan 2009
- \* Michael Walzer                 ‘[What does it mean to be an ‘American’?](#)’ *Social Research*, n 57, 1990, 591-614
- \* Minxin Pei                        ‘[The paradoxes of American nationalism](#),’ *Foreign Policy*, May 2003
- \* Graham E. Fuller                ‘[America’s uncomfortable relationship with nationalism](#),’ Stanley Foundation Policy brief, July 2006
- Martha Nussbaum                ‘[Patriotism and cosmopolitanism](#),’ in Joshua Cohen (ed) *For Love of Country* (1996)
- Alexander Aleinikoff            ‘[A multicultural nationalism?](#)’ *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86
- Samuel P. Huntington           ‘[The Hispanic challenge](#),’ *Foreign Policy*, March 2004
- Michael Lind                     ‘[In defense of liberal nationalism](#),’ *Foreign Affairs*, May 1994, 87-99

**Week 2**  
**Sept 14**

**ETHNICITY IN THE PRE-MODERN WORLD**

What was the character of ethnic identity before the emergence of the modern state? ‘Primordialists’ or ‘perennialists’ consider ethnicity to be a universal human characteristic. Diaspora nations such as the Jews and Armenians exemplify one type of primordial identity.

- \* Anthony Smith                 ‘[Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism](#)’ (2009) chs. 1, 2 [ebook]
- \* Walker Connor                 ‘[Ethnonationalism](#) (1993)’ ‘[Nation building or nation destroying?](#)’ pp. 28-66, ‘Man is a national animal,’ 195-209
- Anthony D. Smith                ‘[The Ethnic Origins of Nations](#)’ (1986) 1-46
- Anthony D. Smith                ‘[Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity](#)’ (2003)
- Special Issue on Smith           ‘[Nations and Nationalism](#),’ 10: 1, Jan 2004
- Khachig Tololyan                ‘[The Armenian diaspora](#)’ (2006)
- John Wilford                     ‘[Languages die, but not their last words](#),’ IHT, 18 Sept 2007
- Michael Erard                     ‘[How linguists share a bible of 6,912 languages](#),’ *NYT*, 19 Jul 2005

**Week 3**  
**Sept 19-21**

## **FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES**

### **(1) Gellner**

Is nationalism a pre-requisite for capitalism and the modern state? Why did nationalism arise in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe? Gellner explains nationalism as integral to the project of modernity, a by-product of the spread of mass communications and industry. Smith offers a critique of Gellner.

- \* Ernest Gellner                    *Nations and Nationalism* , esp. chs. 2 and 3
- \* Anthony Smith                    [‘State making and nation-building,’](#) in John Hall (ed),  
*States in History* (1986)
- Anthony Smith                    *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs 1, 2 [e-book]
- John Hall (ed.)                    *The State of the Nation: Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (1998)
- Gellner web-page                    <http://members.tripod.com/GellnerPage/Index.html>
- Eugen Weber                    [Peasants into Frenchmen](#) (1976) 3-22

**Week 4**  
**Sept 26**

### **(2) Hobsbawm**

Discussion of Hobsbawm’s book. Did capitalists need the nation-state to organize their production, to seize and unify markets, and to divert their workers from socialist revolution? Consider the paradigm cases of Britain and France in the 17-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Renan provides a classic statement of the evolution of the nation in Europe.

- \* Eric Hobsbawm                    *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1992)
- \* Ernst Renan                    [‘What is a nation?’](#) (1882)
- Anthony Smith                    *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs 3,4 [e-book]
- Liah Greenfeld                    *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992)
- John Breuilly                    *Nationalism and the State* (1994)
- Linda Colley                    *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992)
- Eugene Weber                    *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1986)
- David Bell                    [‘The unbearable lightness of being French,’](#) *American Historical Review*, 106: 4 (2001) 1215-35

**Week 4**  
**Sept 28**

### **Nationalism and citizenship**

Brubaker contrasts ‘ethnic’ and ‘civic’ definitions of citizenship, contrasting France and Germany.

- \* Rogers Brubaker                    [‘Immigration, citizenship, and the nation-state in France and Germany,’](#) *International Sociology*, n 5 (Dec 1990), 379-407
- \* Jack Snyder                    *From Voting to Violence* (2000) Chapter 3 on Germany.
- Rogers Brubaker                    *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1992) [e-book]
- Stephen Shulman                    [‘Challenging the civic/ethnic and West/East dichotomies in the study of nationalism,’](#) *Comparative Political Studies* (Jun 2002)
- Andreas Fahmeir                    *Citizenship: the Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept* (2007)

**Sept 30**  
**Friday**

### **FIRST ASSIGNMENT**

**First book report due.** Write a 3-4 page critical review of *one* of the core theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawm, Anderson). Email it to <prutland> by 4.00 pm.

## Week 5

## NATIONALISM AS CONSTRUCT

Oct 3-5

Anderson sees nationalism as an artifact constructed by elites, and goes beyond Europe, looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial world: Latin America and Indonesia. Nationalism becomes a tool unifying anti-imperialist struggles.

- \* Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities* (1991)
- Anthony Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs, 5, 6, 9 [e-book]
- Nira Yuval-Davis [‘Gender and Nation’](#) *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 16:4 (1993) 621-32
- Kwame Anthony Appiah [‘The case for contamination,’](#) *New York Times*, 1 Jan 2006
- Nicola Miller [‘The historiography of nations and nationalism in Latin America,’](#) *Nations and Nationalism*, July 2006, 12: 2, 201-21
- Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) esp. ch. 1 ‘Highland traditions,’ on the history of the kilt, by Hugh Seton-Watson
- Wikipedia [‘The history of the kilt’](#)

## Week 6

## RACE AND NATION

Oct 10

Why was legal segregation of the races introduced in South Africa and the USA but not in Brazil?

- \* Anthony Marx [‘Race-making and the nation-state,’](#) *World Politics*, 48: 2, Jan 1996
- \* Stephen Buckley [‘Brazil’s racial awakening,’](#) *Washington Post*, 12 June 2000
- Antoinette Handley [‘The new South Africa,’](#) *Current History*, May 2004
- Peter Fry [‘Politics, nationality and the meanings of race in Brazil,’](#) *Daedalus*, spring 2000, 83-118

## Week 6

## Training on how to prepare i-movie presentations

Oct 12

This will take place in the Language Teaching Center in Fisk Hall during the regular class time.

## Week 7

## NATIONALISM AND THE LOGIC OF THE MARKET

Oct 17

Why and how do markets encourage and consolidate ethnic identification?

Amy Chua picks up the theme of vulnerable ‘middleman minorities’ in the globalizing economy. The classic article by Bonacich explains ethnic segregation in the division of labor.

- \* Amy Chua *World On Fire* (2002)
- \* Eva Bonacich [‘Class approaches to ethnicity,’](#) *Insurgent Sociologist*, 10 (1980) 9-22
- Roger Waldinger [‘The other side of embeddedness: the interplay of ethnicity and economics,’](#) *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18, 1995, 555-69
- Michael Hechter [‘Group formation and the cultural division of labor,’](#) *American Journal of Sociology*, 84: 2. (Sep. 1978), 293-318

**Week 7**  
**Oct 19**

**CASE STUDIES: QUEBEC**

What do the Quebecois want? Why is language policy so central to the nationalist project?  
Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts?  
This case provides an opportunity to look at the rational choice school, which argues that ethnic groups form for instrumental reasons, to advance interests rather than to express identities.

- \* Hudson Meadwell      ‘[The politics of nationalism in Quebec](#),’ *World Politics*, 45: 2  
Jan. 1993, 203-41
- \* Jacques Parizeau      ‘[The case for a sovereign Quebec](#).’ (1995), plus responses
- Michael Hechter      ‘[A theory of ethnic collective action](#),’ *International Migration Review*,  
16: 2 (1982) 412-34
- Michael Hechter      ‘Explaining nationalist violence’ *Nations & Nationalism*, 1,1995, 53-68
- Eva Mackey            *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in*  
*Canada* (1999)
- Movies                    *Jesus of Montreal* (1989) *Decline of the American Empire* (1986)

**Week 8**  
**Oct 26**

**NORTHERN IRELAND**

What was driving the conflict in Northern Ireland? Why did peace arrive when it did? Will it last?

- \* Richard Rose            ‘[Northern Ireland: The irreducible conflict](#),’ in Joseph Montville,  
(ed) *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (1990), ch 9
- \* Ted Smyth                ‘[The unsung heroes of the peace process](#),’ *World Policy* (2005), 79-87
- \* John Coakley            ‘[Has the Northern Ireland problem been solved?](#)’ *Journal of*  
*Democracy*, 19:3 (Jul 2008), 98-112
- \* Fintan O’Toole          ‘[The taming of a terrorist](#),’ *New York Review of Books*, Feb 27, 2003
- Tom Nairn                *The Break-Up of Britain* (1977)
- Sabine Wichert          *Northern Ireland Since 1945* (1999)
- Donald Horowitz        ‘[Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement](#),’ *British Journal of*  
*Political Science*, 32: 2 (Apr 2002), 193-22
- Movies:                    *Bloody Sunday*, *Wind that Shakes the Barley*, *Omagh*, *Michael Collins*

**Week 9**  
**Oct 31**

**NATIONALISM IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA**

Decolonization led to a surge of nationalism. But ethnic complexity has made the construction of viable states in post-colonial Africa very difficult. Still, ethnicity is not necessarily destructive, it is also used by people to defend their political and economic interests.

- \* Bruce Berman et al,    ‘[Ethnicity and the politics of nation-building in Africa](#),’ ch 1 in  
*Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* (2004), 1-21
- \* Donald Horowitz        [Ethnic Groups in Conflict](#) (1985) chs 4-5
- \* Frantz Fanon            *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) [35-94](#) and [148-205](#)
- Ben Neuberger          *National Self-Determination in Post-Colonial Africa* (1986)
- James Fearon            ‘[Ethnic and cultural diversity by country](#),’ *Journal of*  
*Economic Growth* 8: 2 (2003), 195-222
- Alberto Alesina et al    ‘[Fractionalization](#),’ *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 2 (2003), 155-194
- Daniel Posner            ‘[The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages. Linguistic divisions in](#)  
[Zambia](#),’ *Comparative Politics*, 35: 2, Jan 2003, 127-46
- Joshua Forrest          ‘[Nationalism in post-colonial states](#),’ ch 2 in Lowell Barrington (ed)  
*After Independence: Post-colonial and Post-socialist States* (2006)
- Joshua Forrest          *Subnationalism in Africa* (2004)
- Crawford Young        ‘[Deciphering disorder in Africa](#),’ *World Politics*, 54: 4 (2002) 532-557
- Partha Chatterjee        *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (1986)
- Movies                    *Battle of Algiers* (1965) *Night of Truth* (2004) *Tears of the Sun* (2003)

## Week 9

## RWANDA

Nov 2

Rwanda is the most vivid recent example of the power of ethnicity to bring about evil. Yet Rwanda in some crucial respects is not typical for the African continent.

- \* Helen Hintjens            [‘Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.’](#) *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37: 2 (June 1999), 241-86
- Samantha Power        [‘Bystanders to genocide.’](#) *Atlantic Monthly* (August 2001),  
Also in her book *A Problem From Hell*, (2002) ch. 10
- Philip Gourevitch       *We Wish to Inform You . . .* (1999)
- Fergal Keane            *Season of Blood: A Rwandan Journey* (1997)
- Alan Kuperman         *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention* (2001)
- Alison Des Forges      *Leave None to Tell the Story* (1999)
- Frank Chalk & Kurt Jonassohn    *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (1990) 3-43
- Jacques Semelin        [‘From massacre to the genocidal process.’](#) *International Social Science Journal*, 54: 174 (Dec 2002), 433-42
- Mahmood Mamdani      [‘Politics of Naming.’](#) *London Review of Books*, 8 Mar 2007 [on Darfur]
- Movies                    *Sometime in April* (2005) *Hotel Rwanda* (2004)  
*Shake Hands With The Devil* (2007)

Nov 4

## SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Friday

**Write a 3-4 page profile of the national narrative and ethnic conflicts in a randomly assigned country.** Email it to <prutland> as a Word document by 4.00 pm.

## Week 10

## NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Nov 7

The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the spread of democracy coincided with an upsurge of ethnic violence. Why?

- \* Jack Snyder            *From Voting to Violence* (2000) chs. 1-2

Nov 11

## Outline for final paper is due.

Friday

The outline should be 1-2 pages long, and include the main thesis, an outline of the arguments to be raised, and a preliminary biography. Email it to <prutland@wesleyan.edu> by 4.00 pm.

- Either** (a) an analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement.  
**Or** (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country.

## Week 10-11

## THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

Nov 9-14

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s?

- \* Jack Snyder            *From Voting to Violence* (2000) ch. 5
- \* Ronald Suny            [‘State, civil society and ethnic consolidation in the USSR.’](#) ch. 30 in  
Gail Lapidus (ed.) *The Soviet System* (1995)
- \* Pal Kolsto              [‘Nation-building in the former USSR.’](#) *Journal of Democracy*,  
7: 1 (1996), 118-132
- Victor Kogan            [‘Chechen separatism’](#) in Metta Spencer (ed.), *Separatism* (1998)
- Vera Tolz                [‘Forging the nation in Russia’](#) *Europe-Asia Studs*, 50: 6 Sep 98, 993-22
- David Laitin            [‘Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union.’](#) *Comparative Political Studies*, 34: 8 (2001), 839-61
- Valerie Bunce          [‘Peaceful versus violent state dismemberment: Comparison of the Sov. Un, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.’](#) *Politics and Society*, 27: 2 1999

## Week 11-12

## THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA

Nov 16-21

The Yugoslavia wars left 250,000 dead and political deadlock in Bosnia and Kosovo. Why?

- \* Anthony Oberschall [‘The manipulation of ethnicity: From ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia.’](#) *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23: 6, (Nov 2000) 982-1001
- Daniel Williams [‘Ethnic rivalries still bitter in the Balkans.’](#) *Washington Post*, 11/6/04
- Paul Mojzdes *Yugoslavian Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans* (1995)
- Christopher Bennett *Yugoslavia’s Bloody Collapse* (1996)
- Noel Malcolm *Bosnia: A Short History* (1996)
- Norman Cigar *Genocide in Bosnia* (1996)
- James Gow *Triumph of Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and Yugoslav War*
- Jan Honig & Norbert Both *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime* (1996)
- Movies *Before the Rain* (1994), *Sarajevo* (1997) *No Man’s Land* (2001)

## Week 13

## IS THERE A EUROPEAN IDENTITY?

Nov 28

What does it mean to be European? The economic success of the European Union has not led, as some had hoped, to the emergence of a strong European identity replacing national identities. Did the Eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007 undermine the prospects for a new Euro identity? What are the chances that deeper political integration may create a real European identity?

- \* Daniel Williams [‘Nationalism ignites E.U. rebellion.’](#) *Washington Post*, 6 June 2005
- \* Thomas Risse [‘An emerging European identity?’](#) Helsinki (25 April 2003)
- Eurozine [‘Changing Europe’](#) (essays, 2006-07)
- Michael Bruter [‘Political identity and European elections.’](#) (2004)
- Zsuzsa Csergo [‘Nationalist strategies and European integration.’](#) *Perspectives on Politics* (2004), 2: 1, 21-37
- Michael Keating [‘European integration and the nationalities question’](#), *Politics and Society*, 32: 3, (2004), 367-88

## Weeks 13-14

## STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Nov 30, Dec 4-7

Possible topics include:

Case studies of China, Korea, Japan, India, etc.

Arab nationalism

Israel

Nationalism and gender

Multiculturalism and minority rights.

## Dec 14

## Final research paper due

10-12 pages including notes, the paper should be sent by email to <[prutland](mailto:prutland)> by 4.00 pm on Dec 14.