

Fall 2006

GOV 278

NATIONALISM

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, email prutland; tel. 2483; office PAC 203, hours Thurs 2-4.00.

ASSESSMENT:

- 1) One 3-4 page report on one of the theoretical books or articles on the syllabus. To be submitted in class on September 28. [15 points]
- 2) Three 3-4 page profiles of a particular nation and its nationalism. To be submitted in class on the day that case is discussed. What are the key elements in its national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, historical events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws. A sign up sheet for selecting cases will be circulated in week two. [15 points each]
- 3) One 6-8 page final paper. Either (a) a profile of a nation or nationalist movement not directly covered by the course. Or (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country. To be submitted to the 278 box in front of the Government Department office by 4.00 pm on December 14. [30 points]
- 4) Class participation. [10 points]

Books which can be bought from Broad Street Books:

Eric Hobsbawn	<i>Nations and Nationalism Since 1780</i> (1991)
Anthony Smith	<i>Nationalism and Modernism</i> (1998)
Benedict Anderson	<i>Imagined Communities</i> (1983)

Students are required to attend every class and to complete the required reading (marked with *). Other readings are optional. Failure to meet these requirements may lead to a radical reduction in final grade. Plagiarism i.e. using material not written by yourself and without clear attribution to the source is not tolerated.

Just about all the articles in the syllabus are available on the course Blackboard website.

For the country case studies, there are an increasing number of websites providing a wealth of information. Nearly all governments and ethnic groups (including terrorists) have their own websites. You can also find newspapers from most countries so you can find original source material from ethnic groups.

Search the *Washington Post* site for recent articles: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/search/>

Useful websites include:

Kennedy School website:	http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/~ksgpress/opin/index.html
US State Dept. country notes:	http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/eurbgnhp.html
CIA World Factbook:	http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html
State Department gopher:	dosfan.lib.iuic.edu
www.nationalismproject.org	definitions, links, articles
International Crisis Group	http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/
Minorities at Risk project	www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/
http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/plana.html	“Nation Planet” site, nationalism as global system

Various encyclopedias:

John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith (eds)	<i>Nationalism. Critical Concepts in Political Science</i> (2000) (Olin stacks JC311.N3228)
Alexander Motyl (ed.)	<i>Encyclopaedia of Nationalism</i> (2001) (Olin Reference JC311.E499)

Week 1
Sept 5

INTRODUCTION

Definition of terms. What is a nation, what is nationalism?

Week 1
Sept 7

THE SOCIOLOGY OF GROUP IDENTITY

What is ethnic identity? How does it relate to other types of identity?

- * Edmund Shils "Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties," from *British Journal of Sociology*, v. 8, n. 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
- Fredrik Barth "Ethnicity and the concept of culture" (1995)
<http://www.tau.ac.il/tarbut/readers/syllabi/fbarth-ethnicity.htm>
- Thomas Eriksen *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) "What is ethnicity?" ch. 1

Week 2
Sept 12

AMERICAN NATIONALISM

Five years after 9/11, it seems appropriate to start with a discussion of US nationalism. As the "first new nation" the US sees itself up as a new type of civic nation based on political consensus rather than ethnic identity. But is American nationalism free of ethnic content? (See Huntington) How does contemporary American patriotism differ from other people's nationalism? (See Pei, Lieven)

- * 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?," *The American Prospect*, n. 36 Jan-Feb 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.
- Anatole Leiven *America Right or Wrong* (2004)
- Walter Berns *Making Patriots* (2001)
- Seymour .M. Lipset *The First New Nation* (1963)

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 perennial human characteristic.
Diaspora nations such as the Jews and Armenians exemplify one type of primordial identity.

- * Anthony D. Smith *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) 1-46
- * Walker Connor *Ethnonationalism* (1993) "Nation building or nation destroying?," pp. 28-66, "Man is a national animal," 195-209 *continued.....*

Anthony Smith	<i>Nationalism and Modernism</i> (1998) chs. 7, 8
John Armstrong	<i>Nations Before Nationalism</i> (1982)
Daniele Conversi (ed.)	<i>Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism</i> (2002)
Anthony D. Smith	<i>Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity</i> (2003)
Special Issue on Smith	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i> , v. 10. n. 1, January 2004
Khachig Tololyan	"The Armenian diaspora" (2006)
Michael Erard	"How linguists and missionaries share a bible of 6,912 languages," <i>New York Times</i> , 19 July 2005

**Week 3
Sept 19**

FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES

(1) Gellner

Is nationalism a logical, functional pre-requisite for capitalism and the modern state?
Gellner explains nationalism as a by-product of the spread of mass communication and industry.

- * Ernest Gellner *Nations and Nationalism*, 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
- 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>

**Week 3
Sept 21**

IN CLASS MOVIE – *Europa, Europa*

**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? A look at the paradigm cases of Britain and France in the 17-19th 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
- John Breuilly *Nationalism and the State* (1994)
- Liah Greenfeld *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992)
- Eugene Weber *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1986)
- Linda Colley *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992)

28 September

FIRST ASSIGNMENT

First book report due, in class. Write a 3-4 page critical review of one of the theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawm or Anderson, etc.).

Week 4
Sep 28

NATIONALISM AS ARTEFACT

Anderson focuses on the nationalism as an artefact constructed by elites, and broadens the picture by looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19th century colonial world: Latin America and Indonesia.

- * Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities* (1991)
- * Anthony Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs, 5, 6, 9
- 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
- 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, v. 12, n. 2, 201-21

Week 5
Oct 3

MARXIST APPROACHES

i) 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*, v. 48, n. 2, Jan 1996, 180-208
- Stephen Buckley "Brazil's racial awakening," *Washington Post*, 12 June 2000
- Peter Fry "Politics, nationality and the meanings of race in Brazil," *Daedalus*, spring 2000, 83-118

ii) Bonacich provides an explanation of ethnic segregation in the economic division of labor. Chua picks up the theme of vulnerable "middleman minorities" in the globalizing economy.

- * Eva Bonacich "Class approaches to ethnicity and race," *Insurgent Sociologist*, no. 10 (1980) 9-22
- Amy Chua *World On Fire* (2002)
- Michael Hechter "Group formation and the cultural division of labor," *American Journal of Sociology*, v. 84, n. 2. (Sep. 1978), 293-318

Week 5
Oct 5

(i) NATIONALISM AND GENDER

What role does gender play in the definition of the nation and the politics of nationalism?

- * Nira Yuval-Davis *Gender and Nation* (1997) ch. 1
- Lois A. West (ed.) *Feminist Nationalism* (1997)
- Tamar Meyer *Gender Ironies of Nationalism* (1999)
- Patrizia Albanese *Mothers of the Nation* (2006)

ii) NATIONALISM AND CITIZENSHIP

Brubaker contrasts "ethnic" and "civic" definitions of citizenship.

- * Rogers Brubaker "Immigration, citizenship, and the nation-state in France and Germany," *International Sociology*, no. 5 (December 1990), 379-407
- Rogers Brubaker *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1992)
- Stephen Shulman "Challenging the civic/ethnic and West/East dichotomies in the study of nationalism," *Comparative Political Studies*, June 2002

CASES !

Week 6
Oct 10

NATIONALISM IN DEVELOPED DEMOCRACIES

(1) QUEBEC

Let's start with a non-violent case – but one where nationalist passions do run deep. Will the Quebecois be satisfied with something less than independence? Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts? This case also provides an opportunity to look at the rational choice school, which argues that ethnic groups form in pluralist democracies for instrumental reasons, to advance their interests rather than express their identities.

- * Hudson Meadwell “The politics of nationalism in Quebec,” *World Politics*, v. 45, n. 2. Jan. 1993, 203-41
- Michael Ignatieff *Blood and Belonging*, ch. 4
- Michael Hechter “A theory of ethnic collective action,” *International Migration Review*, v. 16, n. 2 (1982) 412-34
- Eva Mackey *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (1999)

Week 6
Oct 12

(2) 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 Irish peace process,” *World Policy Journal*, spring 2003
- * Fintan O'Toole “The taming of a terrorist,” *New York Review of Books*, 2/ 27/2003
- Tom Nairn *The Break-Up of Britain* (1977)
- Sabine Wichert *Northern Ireland Since 1945* (1999)
- D. George Boyce *Nationalism in Ireland* (1991)
- John Darby (ed.) *Northern Ireland: Background to Conflict* (1983)
- Donald Horowitz “Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement,” *British Journal of Political Science*, v. 32, n. 2 (April 2002), 193-220

Week 7
Oct 17

FALL BREAK NO CLASS

Week 7
Oct 19

SRI LANKA

The civil war in Sri Lanka is a grim example of how ethnic outbidding can undermine a democracy. The case is also pertinent to the role of religion, and gender.

- * Neil deVotta “From ethnic outbidding to ethnic conflict: the case of Sri Lanka,” *Nations and Nationalism*, v. 11, no. 1 Jan. 2005, 141-59
- Neil deVotta *Blowback: Linguistic Nationalism, Institutional Decay, and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* (2004)
- Stanley Tambiah *Sri Lanka--Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy* (1991)
- Movies *The Terrorist* (1998); *No More Tears, Sister* (2004)
- <http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2006/nomoretears/index.html>

Week 8
Oct 24

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
- Ben Neuberger *National Self-Determination in Post-Colonial Africa* (1986)
- Daniel Posner "The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages. Linguistic divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 35, no. 2, Jan. 2003, pp. 127-46
- Joshua Forrest *Subnationalism in Africa* (2004)
- Crawford Young "Deciphering disorder in Africa: Is identity the key?," *World Politics*, v. 54 n. 4 (2002) 532-557
- Frantz Fanon *The Wretched of the Earth* (1965)
- Partha Chatterjee *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (1986)

Week 8
Oct 26

THE RWANDA CASE

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*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 1999), 241-86
- Philip Gourevitch *We Wish to Inform You . . .* (1999)
- Samantha Power "Bystanders to genocide," *Atlantic Monthly*, August 2001, Also in her book *A Problem From Hell*, (2002) ch. 10
- 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*, v. 54, n. 174 (Dec. 2002), 433-42
- Movies *Sometime in April, Hotel Rwanda, Shake Hands With The Devil*

Week 9
Oct 31

THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

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

- 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*, v. 7, n. 1, 1996) 118-132
- Dina Zisserman-Brodsky "Chechnya" in *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union* (2003)
- Vera Tolz "The national debate over nation-building in Russia," *Prism*, 5/15/98
- David Laitin "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union," *Comparative Political Studies*, v. 34, n. 8, 2001, 839-61
- Valerie Bunce "Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia," *Politics and Society*, v. 27, n. 2, June 1999, 217-37

Week 9
Nov 2

THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA

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*, v. 23, n. 6 (Nov. 2000), 982-1001
- 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*
- Jack Snyder *From Voting to Violence* (2000)
- Jan Honig & Norbert Both *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime* (1996)
- Daniel Williams "Ethnic rivalries still bitter in the Balkans," *Washington Post*, 11/6/04

Week 10
Nov 7

NATIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

CHINA

Chinese nationalism surged in response to Western incursions in the 19th century, then was displaced by communism, and returned in the 1990s at both elite and mass level. Does contemporary China's nationalism conform to or depart from Western models?

- * Zhao Suisheng "Chinese nationalism and its international orientations," *Political Science Quarterly*, v. 115, n. 1 (2000), 1-33
- Guangqiu Xu "Anti-Western nationalism in China 1989-99," *World Affairs*, spr 2001
- Maria Hsia Chang *Return of the Dragon: China's Wounded Nationalism* (2001)
- Peter Hays Gries *China's New Nationalism* (2004)
- Howard French "Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity," *IH Tribune*, 27 May 2005

Week 10
Nov 9

JAPAN

Japan was the first non-European country to successfully embrace the nation-state model. However, that led to disaster in 1945, after which Japan reinvented itself as a trading nation. In the post-cold war world, is Japan about to undergo a third transition?

- * Kenneth Pyle "The future of Japanese nationality," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, v. 8, n. 2 1982, 223-63
- * Brian J. McVeigh "Postwar Japan's 'Hard' and 'Soft' nationalism," Japan Policy Research Institute, Working Paper no. 73, Jan. 2001
- John Nathan *Japan Unbound A Volatile Nation's Quest for Pride and Purpose* 2004
- Takashi Shiraiishi "Cool heads needed to solve Japan-China problems" *Yomiuri*, 05/31/05

Week 11
Nov 14

THE INDIAN CASE

India is a complex case, a country that has seen multiple conflicts around ethnicity but has somehow managed to preserve democracy and avoid a meltdown.

- * Rudra Sil "India," in J. Kopstein & M. Lichbach (eds) *Comparative Politics* ch. 10
- Ashutosh Varshney "Why democracy survives," *Journal of Democracy*, v. 9, n. 3, July 1998
- Ahutosh Varshney "Ethnic conflict and civil society. India and beyond," *World Politics*, v. 53, n.3 (2001) 362-398
- Steven Wilkinson "Elections in India: Behind the Congress comeback," *Journal of Democracy*, v. 16, no. 1, Jan. 2005, 153-70
- Pamela Constable "Pakistan's predicament," *Journal of Democracy*, v. 12, n. 1, Jan. 2001
- David Ludden (ed.) *Making India Hindu* (2006)
- Paul R. Brass *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1991)
- Movies: *Lagan* (2002), *Earth* (2003) *Ashoka* (2001)

Nov 16

IN CLASS MOVIE: *Before the Rain*

Week 12
Nov 21

ARAB NATIONALISM

Why has Western style nationalism failed to take root in the Arab world despite persistent efforts by modernizing leaders? What is the relationship between Islam and nationalism? Will Iraq be viable as a nation-state?

- * James Gelvin "Modernity and its discontents: on the durability of nationalism in the Arab Middle East." *Nations and Nationalism*, v. 5, n. 1 (1999), 71-89
- * Sami Zubaida "Islam and nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism*, 10, 4, 2004, 407-20
- * Andreas Wimmer "Democracy and ethno-religious conflict in Iraq," in *Survival*, v. 45, n. 4, 2003, 111-134
- James Bennet, "The interregnum," *New York Times*, 13 March 2005. (On Arafat)
- Ira Lapidus "The Arab Middle East," from *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988)
- Sylvia Haim (ed.) *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*, (1962), chs. 9, 10, 15
- Adeed Dawisha *Arab Nationalism. From Triumph to Despair* (2003)
- Rashid Khalidi (ed.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (1991)
- James Jankowski & Israel Gershoni *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (1997)

Week 12
Nov 23

Thanksgiving

Week 13
Nov 28

ISRAEL

How does Israel fit into the pattern of nationalist politics?

- * Sammy Smooha "Ethnic democracy: Israel as archetype," *Israel Studies*, v 2, n. 2, 1997, 198-241
- David Shipler *Arab and Jew, Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (1987)
- Avi Shlaim *The Iron Wall. Israel and the Arab World* (2001)

Week 13-14
Nov 30

NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN EUROPE

i) A look at the situation of immigrants, especially Moslems, in Europe, taking as our case the “veil controversy” in France.

- * Jane Freedman “Secularism as a barrier to integration in France,” *International Migration Review*, v. 42, n. 3, 2004, 5-25
- Faruk Sen “Immigrant Muslims in Germany,” *Turkish Daily News*, 10/31/2001

ii) Will a European identity emerge to replace nationalism?

- * Daniel Williams “Nationalism ignites E.U. rebellion,” *Washington Post*, 6 June 2005
- * Thomas Risse “An emerging European identity?,” Helsinki, 25 April 2003
- Michael Bruter “Political identity and European elections,” Paris, 2004
- Zsuzsa Csergo “Nationalist strategies and European integration,” *Perspectives on Politics* (2004), n. 2, 221-37
- & James Goldgeier “European integration and the nationalities question”, *Politics and Society*, v. 31, n. 1, (2004), 1-22
- Michael Keating

Week 14
Dec 5

MINORITY RIGHTS

What collective rights should ethnic minorities be given? Is consociationalism a solution?

- * Will Kymlicka *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995), pp. 11-26 on “Multination states”.
- Will Kymlicka & Christine Straehle “Cosmopolitanism, nation-states, and minority nationalism,” *European Journal of Philosophy*, v. 7, n. 1 (April 1999), 65-85
- Arend Lijphart “Consociational democracy” *World Politics* v 21 n 2 (Jan 1969) 207-25
- Ian Lustick “Lijphart, Lakatos, and consociationalism,” *World Politics*, v. 50, n. 1, (Oct 1997), 88-117

Week 14
Dec 7

SOLUTIONS ?

What can the international community do in the face of ethnic conflict? How do ethnic conflicts end? Are international humanitarian interventions indispensable – or impossible?

- * Chaim Kaufmann “Possible and impossible solutions to ethnic civil wars,” *International Security*, v. 20, n. 4 (spring 1996), 136-75
- James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin “Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war,” *American Political Science Review*, v. 97, n. 1 (Feb. 2003), 79–90
- Michael E. Brown (ed.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*. (2001) Part 2, but especially:
- Barbara Walter “Designing transitions from civil war,” pp. 415-43
- Samantha Power *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2002)
- Chaim Kaufmann “When all else fails. Ethnic population transfers and partitions in the 20th Century,” *International Security*, v. 23, n. 2 (fall 1999), 120-56
- David Rieff *A Bed for the Night. Humanitarianism in Crisis* (2002)
- Joseph Montville (ed.) *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (1990)
- John McGarry & Brendan O’Leary (eds) *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation* (1993)
- D. Byman “Forever enemies? The manipulation of ethnic identities to end ethnic wars,” *Security Studies*, spring 2000

FINAL PAPER to be submitted to the 278 course box in front of the Government Department office by 4.00 pm on Friday 14 December.

Either (a) a profile of a nation or nationalist movement not directly covered by the course. Or (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country.