Nationalism is a political movement advocating self-rule for a community which sees itself having a common identity and shared historical fate. To different degrees ethnicity, language, religion and culture have been used to demarcate the nation’s boundaries. There are some 6,000 nations in the world but only 200 states, so competition for self-rule can be fierce. This course introduces the main theorists of nationalism as a response to the rise of capitalism, and explores its complex relationship with liberalism, socialism and democracy. Why does nationalism persist - even as capitalist globalization makes national economies more open and porous? What do nationalists want? What are the positive – as well as the negative – results of nationalist mobilization?

We explore both state-level nationalism, which ranges from war and genocide to protectionist trade policy, and everyday or ‘banal’ nationalism, which expresses itself through food, music and sport.

We start off with relatively familiar cases from the developed world – the US, Brexit, Northern Ireland and Quebec, and the classic cases of France and Germany. We then look at decolonization in Africa and the genesis of genocide in Rwanda. The socialist world is represented by the multi-ethnic federations of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. We then look at nationalism in Japan and China, followed by the Arab world. Finally we look at the role of the internet in the propagation of nationalism.

Students will be expected to read all four assigned books before the start of the class, and will have to write a 3-4 page response paper on one of the books.

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; Office PAC 203

SCHEDULE: Jan. 8-11, 15-18, 9:00-11:30am, 1:00-3:30pm. Take home final due January 23.

ASSESSMENT: Out of 100 points

1) A 3-4 page report on one of the theoretical books. To be submitted by 4.00 pm on Jan 6. Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word file. [15 points]

2) A 3-4 page paper on a randomly assigned country, due 9.00 am on January 15. Explain the key elements in country X’s national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, key events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc. Not a potted history of the country. [20 points]

3) A 10-12 page final paper. Either (a) analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement; or (b) discussion of a general topic not specific to one country. The final paper should not be on the same country as the #2 random assignment. Due on Jan 23 at 5.00 pm. [40 points]

4) A presentation in which you present the problem you want to tackle in your final paper, in the last day of class, Jan 18. [15 points]

5) Class participation and quizzes on the reading. [10 points]

Books to buy (two are available free as ebooks):

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (1983)
Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (1983) (ebook thru Olin)
Michael Billig, Banal Nationalism (2010)

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.

I only use Moodle to post grades.

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

Please, no use of phones or laptops in class unless agreed with the instructor.
**6 Jan**  **First assignment due**  3-4 page report, emailed to prutland@wesleyan.edu by 5.00 pm.

Write a critical review of one of the texts assigned for this course (Gellner, Anderson, Chua or Billig). Do not just summarize the book’s contents: pick one angle and develop your own argument around it. Identify a puzzle that you think the author does – or does not – resolve. Feel free to bring in your own opinion – based on work in other courses for example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jan 8 9.00 am</th>
<th><strong>WHAT IS NATIONALISM?</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>* Yoram Hazony</td>
<td>‘The liberty of nations,’ <em>Wall Street Journal</em> 8/24/2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>* Max Fisher</td>
<td>‘How nations make up national identities’ New York Times 2/28/2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Sapolsky</td>
<td>‘This is your brain on nationalism’ <em>Foreign Affairs</em> March 2019</td>
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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.

| Ernst Renan | ‘What is a nation?’ (1882) |
| Max Weber | ‘Ethnic groups,’ in *Economy and Society*, v. 1, 385-98 |
| Fredrick Barth | *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) 9-38 |
| Thomas Eriksen | ‘What is ethnicity?’, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ch 1 |

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<tr>
<th>Jan 8 10.30 am</th>
<th><strong>PRIMORDIAL ROOTS</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>What was the character of ethnic identity before the emergence of the modern state?</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Primordialists’ or ‘perennialists’ consider ethnicity to be a universal human characteristic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diaspora nations such as the Jews and Armenians exemplify one type of primordial identity.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| * Anthony Smith | *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism* (2009) chs. 1, 2 [ebook] |
| Robert Sapolsky | ‘This is your brain on nationalism’ *Foreign Affairs* March 2019 |
| Special Issue on Smith | *Nations and Nationalism*, 10: 1, Jan 2004 |
| 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 |

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<tr>
<th>Jan 8 1.00 pm</th>
<th><strong>TRUMP NATION</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>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’ nationalisms?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| * 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 |
| Yascha Mounk | ‘How liberals can reclaim nationalism’ *New York Times*, 3 March 2018 |
| Martha Nussbaum | *Patriotism and cosmopolitanism,* J Cohen ed *For Love of Country* 96 |
| Alexander Aleinikoff | ‘A multicultural nationalism?’, *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86 |
Jan 8 2.30 pm  BANAL NATIONALISM

How is national identity reflected in daily life, from sport to food, to collective rituals?

Michael Billig  *Banal Nationalism* (2010)
Michael Skey  ‘The national in everyday life’  *Sociological Review* 57 (2) 331-46 2009

Jan 9 9.00 am  NORTHERN IRELAND

Ireland and Quebec: note the contrasting roles played by religion and language in the two cases. What was driving the conflict in Northern Ireland? Why did peace arrive when it did? Will it last?

* PBS Newshour  ‘Peace in Northern Ireland, but the religious divide remains,’ 07/11/12
* 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
* 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

Jan 9 10.30 am  BREXIT

On 23 June 2016 British voters narrowly voted to leave the European Union. Was it a welcome protest against global capitalist integration, or the product of deplorable anti-immigrant xenophobia? Was it a vote for national identity over economic self-interest? What will Brexit mean for the UK? In 2014 an independence referendum failed in Scotland.

* George Packer  ‘How David Cameron lost his battle for Britain’  *Financial Times* 12/18/16
* Financial Times  ‘Inside Brexit: How Britain lost Europe’  12/21/16 (15 mins documentary)
* Heather Stewart  ‘UK politics becoming mired in culture wars’  *Guardian* 12/7/16
* BBC  ‘Brexit: a very British coup’  10/19/16 (60 min documentary)
* Wikipedia  [Brexit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brexit) (for the chronology and what has happened after the vote)
* John Oliver  ‘Brexit: Last week tonight’  6/19/16 (20 min comedy)
* Stephen Castle  ‘Without a constitution, Brexit is guided by prerogative’  *NYT* 01/19/17

Jan 9 1.00 pm  QUEBEC

What do the Quebecois want? Why is language policy so central to the nationalist project? Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts?

* 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
* Nick Bryant  ‘Neverendum referendum,’  *BBC News* 09/08/14
Jan 9 2.30 pm  FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES

(a)  GELNER

Is nationalism a pre-requisite for capitalism and the modern state? Why did nationalism arise in 18th 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]

* Eugen Weber  
  Peasants into Frenchmen (1976) 3-22

* Claire Sutherland  
  Nationalism in the 21st Century (2011)

* Umut Ozkirimli  
  Theories of Nationalism (2010)

Jan 10 9.00 am  (b)  HOBSBAWM

Discussion of Hobsbawm’s approach. 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 17-19th centuries.

* Anthony Smith  
  Nationalism and Modernism (1998) chs 3,4  e-book

* Timothy Baycroft  
  ‘France’ in Baycroft & Hewitson (eds), What is a Nation? (2006)

Eric Hobsbawm  
  Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 (1992)  ebook thru Olin

Liah Greenfeld  

Eugene Weber  
  Peasants into Frenchmen (1986)

David Bell  

Jan 10 10.30 am  NATIONALISM AS CONSTRUCT

Anderson sees nationalism as an artifact constructed by elites, and goes beyond Europe, looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19th century colonial world.

* Benedict Anderson  
  Imagined Communities (1991) available as ebook through Olin

* Anthony Smith  
  Nationalism and Modernism (1998) chs, 5, 6, 9 [e-book]

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 (ed)  
  The Invention of Tradition (1983) esp. ch. 1 on the kilt [ebook]

Wikipedia  
  ‘The history of the kilt’

Nira Yuval-Davis  
ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM IN 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) Intro and chs 4-5
* Frantz Fanon The Wretched of the Earth (1963) 35-94 and 148-205
* Movie Battle of Algiers (1965) esp mins 10.00-18.00

RWANDA

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.

* Al Jazeera Rwanda Genocide: Veterans’ Story (2010) 45 min documentary
Samantha Power ‘Bystanders to genocide,’ Atlantic Monthly (August 2001),
Donald Horowitz Ethnic Groups in Conflict (1985) chs 4-5
Alan Kuperman The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention (2001)
Alien Des Forges Leave None to Tell the Story (1999)

THE SOVIET COLLAPSE

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s? What were the causes of ethnic conflicts in the former USSR? Snyder suggests the rise of democracy was one reason.
What is behind the current conflict in Ukraine and the resurgence of nationalism in Russia?

* Jack Snyder From Voting to Violence (2000) chs. 1-2, 5
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
Dominique Arel ‘Why Ukrainians fight over language,’ Foreign Affairs, 18 March 2014
Serhii Kudelia ‘The house that Yanukovich built’ Jour of Dem 25: 3 May 2014, 19-34
Jan 11 1.00 pm  THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA

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

* BBC documentary  The Death of Yugoslavia part 1(1995), watch the first 15 minutes
Noel Malcolm  Bosnia: A Short History (1996)
James Gow  Triumph of Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and Yugoslav War
Jan Honig & Norbert Both  Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime (1996)

Jan 15 Second assignment due  3-4 page report, emailed to prutland@wesleyan.edu by 9.00 am.

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

Jan 15 9.00 am  THE LOGIC OF THE MARKET

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)  ebook thru Olin
* Amy Chua  Interview about World on Fire on C Span. 12/22/2002

Jan 15 10.30 am  IS THERE A EUROPEAN IDENTITY?

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.

* Daniel Williams  ‘Nationalism ignites E.U. rebellion,’ Washington Post, 6 June 2005
Eurozine  ‘Changing Europe’ (essays, 2006-07)
Zsuzsa Csergo  ‘Nationalist strategies and European integration,’ Perspectives on Politics (2004), 2: 1, 21-37

Jan 15 1.00 pm  (a) MOSLEM MINORITIES IN EUROPE

A look at Moslem immigrants in Europe, taking the French ‘veil controversy’ as our initial case. There are controversies over Moslem rights from dress codes to marriage practices to mosque building, and political violence from street protests to terrorism.
* Anne-Sylvaine Chassany ‘France: Islam and the secular state,’ Financial Times 09/15/16
Stephanie Giry ‘France and its Moslems,’ Foreign Affairs, 85: 5 (Sept 2006) 87-104
The Veil Project http://www.veil-project.eu/

**Jan 15 2.30 pm**  (b) THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS

The 2015 refugee crisis triggered a surge of support for nationalist parties in Europe.

Theodora Dragostinova ‘European migration crisis in historical perspective’ Origins 9/4 Jan 16
BBC  ‘Migrant crisis explained in 7 charts’ 4 April 2016
James Traub  ‘Europe wishes to inform you that the refugee crisis is over’ Foreign Policy 10/18/16
Ceylan Yeginsu  ‘Refugees pour out of Turkey once more,’ New York Times 9/14/16
Al Jazeera  ‘Sweden’s backlash” 24 April 2016 (25 min documentary)
Journeyman Pictures  ‘The night that changed Germany’s attitude to refugees’ 4/4/16 (25 mins)

**Jan 16 9.00 am**  CHINA

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

* Suisheng Zhao  ‘Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn,’ Journal of Contemporary China 22.82 (2013): 533-663
* Emily Parker  ‘The roots of Chinese nationalism,’ Wall Street Journal, 1 Apr 2008
Howard French  ‘Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity,’ IH Tribune, 27 May 2005
Peter Hays Gries  China’s New Nationalism (2004)

**Jan 16 10.30**  JAPAN & KOREA

Japan

Japan was the first non-European country to successfully embrace the European nation-state model. However, that led to disaster in 1945, after which Japan reinvented itself as a trading nation. Where is Japan today?

John Nathan  *Japan Unbound A Volatile Nation’s Quest for Pride and Purpose* 2004
Takashi Shiraishi  ‘Cool heads needed to solve Japan-China problems’ Yomiuri, 05/31/05
**Korea**

Divided between North and South, and under strong influence from China, Japan and now the US, Koreans exhibit a robust national pride. But finding a clear political expression for that nationalism in such a challenging international environment has proved very contentious.

John Huer  ‘Can we ever understand Korea?,’ Korea Times, 12 Aug 2009
Katharine Moon  ‘Korean nationalism,’ ch. 5 in Korea’s Democratization (2003)
Greg Brazinski  Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy (2009)
Gi-Wook Shin et al  Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in NE Asia (2007)

**Jan 16 1.00 pm  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? Is Iraq viable as a nation-state? What was the role of nationalism in the Arab Spring?

* David Ignatius  ‘Dividing Iraq to save it,’ Washington Post, 4 Oct 2007
* Ira Lapidus  ‘The Arab Middle East,’ from A History of Islamic Societies (1988)
* Adeed Dawisha  Arab Nationalism. From Triumph to Despair (2003)

**Jan 17 9.00 am  THE INTERNET AND NATIONALISM**

The internet and social media are seen as having played a pivotal role in mobilizing popular protests during the Arab Spring. Can it similarly be used to forge new nationalist movements? Evidence is mixed. Some diasporas use the web to create transnational political lobbies, but within individual countries the state and traditional media still seem to have the upper hand.

* Evgeny Morozov  The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of Internet Freedom (2011)
Jan 17 1.00 pm  GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONALISM

In the post-Cold War world some argued that the explosion of trade, migration and information flows across state borders means that multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are replacing nationalism as the norm in developed societies. But we also see a resurgence of religious fundamentalism and radical nationalism in many countries, along with ‘banal’ expressions of national identity in everyday life.

* Craig Calhoun  ‘Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism’ Nations and Nationalism 14.3 (2008): 427-448
Dani Rodrik  ‘Who needs the nation-state?” Economic Geography (2013)

Jan 18  STUDENT PRESENTATIONS IN CLASS

Jan 23  Final research paper due (75.00 pm)

10-12 pages including notes, the paper should be sent by email to <prutland> by 5.00 pm on Jan 23.

Websites  (especially useful for your country reports):

- BBC country profiles
- CIA World Factbook
- Ethnic News Watch
- State Department country notes
- Nationalism Project
- International Crisis Group
- Minorities at Risk project

Archives of recent articles on each country in the world.
Basic facts.
Database of newspaper and journal articles, through the Olin website.
Detailed descriptions of institutions and recent events.
Definitions, links, articles by academics.
Up-to-date reports on countries experiencing conflicts.
Lots of data on ethnic minorities, esp. those that are politically active.