INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; Office PAC 203 hours T, Th 10.30-12.00
Check out my blog at NationalismWatch

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 27. Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word file. [15 points]

2) A 3-4 page paper on a randomly assigned country, due 4.00 pm on Friday Oct 25. You should 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. [15 points]

3) An 8-10 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. Outline due on Nov 15; email me the paper by 4.00 pm on Dec 13. [40 points]

4) A presentation in which you present and analyze a specific nation’s nationalist politics, in the last two weeks of class. You are encouraged to make an imovie: there will be training on Oct 3. [15 points]

5) 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, to be emailed to me within one week of the event. [15 points]

Books to buy (three are available free as ebooks through Olin):

- Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (1983)
- Eric Hobsbawn, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 (1991) (ebook)
- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (1983) (ebook)
- Jack Snyder, From Voting to Violence (2000)

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.
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.
You can bring a laptop to class, but if I catch you emailing or web surfing I will ask you to leave.

Websites (especially useful for your country reports):

- BBC country profiles
- CIA World Factbook
- State Department country notes
- Nationalism Project
- International Crisis Group
- Minorities at Risk project
- New York Times

Encyclopedias:
Sept 2  WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

For an overview of the course theme, see:


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
* Fredrik Barth  *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) 9-38
* Thomas Eriksen  ‘What is ethnicity?’, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ch 1

Sept 4  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?

* 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
* Alexander Aleinikoff  ‘A multicultural nationalism?’, *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86
* Samuel P. Huntington  ‘The Hispanic challenge,’ *Foreign Policy*, March 2004

Sept 9  NORTHERN IRELAND

We start by looking at Ireland and Quebec: tough cases where nationalism has led to persistent conflict. 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

Movies:  *Bloody Sunday*, *Wind that Shakes the Barley*, *Omagh*, *Michael Collins*
Sept 11  
 
**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  

* Jacques Parizeau  
  “The case for a sovereign Quebec,” (1995), plus responses

* Michael Hechter  

* Michael Hechter  
  ‘Explaining nationalist violence’ *Nations & Nationalism*, 1,1995, 53-68

* Eva Mackey  

Sept 16  

**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  

* Anthony D. Smith  
  *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (2003)

* Special Issue on Smith  
  *Nations and Nationalism*, 10: 1, Jan 2004

* Khachig Tololyan  

* 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

Sept 18  

**FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES**

(a)  

**GELLNER**

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]

* John Hall (ed.)  

* Gellner web-page  
  http://members.tripod.com/GellnerPage/Index.html

* Eugen Weber  
  *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976) 3-22
Sept 23  (b)  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 17-19th centuries.

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

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

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

Liah Greenfeld  
  

Eugene Weber  
  
  Peasants into Frenchmen (1986)

David Bell  
  

Sept 25  (a)  IN-CLASS DEBATE:

“This house believes that nationalism is a product of modernity and may recede as quickly as it appeared.”

Sept 25  (b)  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 ‘Highland traditions’

Wikipedia  
  
  ‘The history of the kilt’

Nira Yuval-Davis  
  

Friday Sept 27  FIRST ASSIGNMENT DUE

Write a 3-4 page critical review of one of the core theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawn, Anderson). Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Training on how to prepare i-movie presentations

Language Teaching Center, Fisk Hall:  either Thurs Oct 3 1.10-2.30 pm; or Thurs Oct 10 9.00-10.20 am

Sept 30  NATIONALISM AND 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. Rodrik makes an economic argument for the persistence of the nation-state in a global economy.

* Amy Chua  
  
  World On Fire (2002) ebook thru Olin

* Eva Bonacich  
  
  ‘Class approaches to ethnicity,’ Insurgent Sociologist, 10 (1980) 9-22

Dani Rodrik  
  
  ‘Who needs the nation-state?’ Economic Geography, forthcoming 2013

Roger Waldinger  
  
  ‘The other side of embeddedness: the interplay of ethnicity and economics,’ Ethnic and Racial Studies, 18, 1995, 555-69
Oct 7  

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
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

Oct 9  

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.

* 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),
Donald Horowitz *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985) chs 4-5
Alan Kuperman *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention* (2001)
Alison Des Forges Leave None to Tell the Story (1999)

Oct 14  

THE SOVIET COLLAPSE

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s? The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the spread of democracy coincided with an upsurge of ethnic violence. Why was this? Snyder offers one explanation.

* 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
Oct 16-28

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 (1995) at least watch the first 15 minutes


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)


Oct 21-23

NO CLASS – FALL BREAK

Friday Oct 25

SECOND ASSIGNMENT

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.

Nov 4

NO CLASS

Nov 6

(a) 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. 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


Eurozine  ‘Changing Europe’ (essays, 2006-07)


Zsuzsa Csergo  ‘Nationalist strategies and European integration,’ Perspectives & James Goldgeier  on Politics (2004), 2: 1, 21-37


(b) 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. The topic has also provoked broader debates about what it means to be British, German etc., and new citizenship laws.


Foulard Affair  newspaper clippings

Stephanie Giry  ‘France and its Moslems,’ Foreign Affairs, 85: 5 (Sept 2006) 87-104


The Veil Project http://www.veil-project.eu/
Nov 11

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  ‘Chinese nationalism and its international orientations,’ *Political Science Quarterly*, 115: 1 (2000), 1-33
* Emily Parker  ‘The roots of Chinese nationalism,’ *Wall Street Journal*, 1 Apr 2008
* Sexy Beijing TV  ‘Lost in translation’ (2008) 7 min. video
Howard French  ‘Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity,’ *IH Tribune*, 27 May 2005
Peter Hays Gries  *China’s New Nationalism* (2004)

Movies

Nov 13

JAPAN & KOREA

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. In the post-cold war world, is Japan about to undergo a third transition?

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

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
Gi-Wook Shin et al  *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in NE Asia* (2007)

Friday, Nov 15

Outline for final paper is due.

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.
**Nov 18  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)
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)

**Nov 20  THE INTERNET AS A PLATFORM FOR 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)
* Xu Wu  Chinese Cybernationalism (2007)

**Nov 25-Dec 4  STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**

**Friday Dec 13  Final research paper due**

10-12 pages including notes, the paper should be sent by email to <prutland> by 4.00 pm on Dec 13.