

PSC 372: Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Fall 2008 • Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 3:10 – 4:00pm • Baxter Hall #201

Professor: Ethan J. Hollander

Email: hollande@wabash.edu

Office: Baxter Hall #123

Office Hours: Monday 4-6 pm or by appointment (for a nominal fee)

In the world today, war is more likely to occur *within* states than between them. Civil wars, ethnic unrest, and the often brutal state responses to such occurrences dominate news headlines as well as the scholarly literature in Comparative Politics and International Relations. This class will examine what is perhaps the single most important issue in contemporary world politics in terms of its potential to impact world events and influence global politics — the resurgence of ethnic and intra-national conflict, state-sponsored violence and genocide.

This class will provide a general introduction to the study of nationalism and ethnic conflict. In it, we will touch upon a wide range of cases of ethnic conflict and genocide, including the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the ‘Troubles’ in Northern Ireland, genocide in Rwanda and the Holocaust, and current crises in the Middle East. Of course, with such a wide range of cases, our approach will be largely theoretical — focusing on the underlying causes of such conflicts and the general conditions under which they might be remedied. Thus, a reliable foundation in the study of Comparative Politics (POLI 11 or its equivalent) and a reasonable familiarity with international current events will be very helpful. For catching up on world events, I highly recommend the *New York Times* (available on-line), the *Jim Lehrer New Hour* (weekdays at 7pm on KPBS-TV), *All Things Considered – NPR News* (weekdays at 3:00–5:30 pm on KPBS Radio, 89.5 FM), and *The Economist* magazine.

Final grades will be calculated with reference to the following:

Mid-term exam (taken in class, October 15)	25%
Final exam (taken in class on Monday, December 8)	25%
Take home assignment (due on Dec. 18 th at 4:30pm)	25%
Literature reviews, quizzes, and participation	25%

Please note that the final exam will be taken in class on the Monday of the last week of instruction. The last two days of class will be used to assign and discuss the take home assignment. You will then have the final week of instruction as well as the beginning of final’s week itself to complete the assignment.

While everyone is expected to attend class, participate and do the reading, each of you will have a *particular* requirement to lead section for two specific units during the semester. On the weeks when you are section leader, you will be required to turn in a literature review for all the starred (*) readings during that week. The review will summarize each of the featured readings and discuss how the readings relate to one another and to the theme for that unit. Length will vary, depending on your style and on the number and complexity of the readings for the unit; however, most comprehensive reviews will be 2-4 pages (single spaced). These reviews will make up a significant portion of your participation grade.

Most of the assigned reading for the class can be found on Moodle. There will also be a few films (on video reserve at the Lilly Library) and a few additional readings available online or as handouts. Unless otherwise noted, all readings should be completed by the dates specified in the schedule of classes.

Students with disabilities or special needs are encouraged to contact myself and Ms. Julia Rosenberg (Armory 101B; 361-6024; rosenbej@wabash.edu), director of Academic Support Services. Provided we are given enough notice, we will work together to make all reasonable accommodations. To this end, please take note of exam and assignment due dates listed on this syllabus and contact me with any concerns as soon as possible. You should also note that Academic Support Services provides peer

tutoring, writing and study skills assistance (contact 361-6258). All communication related to such matters will remain confidential.

Note: This syllabus is subject to change. You are responsible for all assignments given in class, regardless of whether they appear in the syllabus.

Schedule of Classes

Week 0 (August 29, 2008): General Introduction.

Subject covered: Sub-optimal outcomes of incrementally rational decisions, or:
How seemingly sensible behavior can result in a crazy mess.

Week 1 (September 1, 3 and 5): What is nationalism and where does it come from?

- Readings:
- Ernest Gellner: "Definitions" (from *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 1-7)
 - Horace Miner: "Body Ritual among the Nacirema"
 - * Clifford Geertz: "The Fate of Nationalism" and "Primordial Sentiments"
 - * Pierre van den Berghe: "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective"
 - * Michael Howard: "The Wars of the Nations" (from *War in European History*)
 - * Benedict Anderson: (readings from *Imagined Communities*, pp. 33-46)

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 2: The Dissolution of Yugoslavia.

- Stokes: "The Devil's Finger: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia" (*Walls Tumbling Down*, 218-252)
 - Radha Kumar: "The Troubled History of Partition" (*Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1997)
 - James Lyon: "Will Bosnia Survive Dayton?" (*Current History*, March 2000)
 - "Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation". A six-part documentary (1 hour each part). We will watch Part 2 in class. But the whole documentary (on video reserves) is optional and highly recommended.
- *Note*: The series is comprised of 3 volumes; thus, part 2 is the second half of the first volume.
-

Week 3: The Causes of Ethnic Conflict.

- * Gagnon: "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict" (*International Security*, Winter 1994/95)
- * James Fearon: "Ethnic War as a Commitment Problem" <<http://stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/>>
- * Katherine Verdery: "Nationalism ... in Post-Socialist Romania" (*Slavic Review*, Summer 1993)

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 4: Rwanda and the intervention that never happened.

- "Ghosts of Rwanda" (An excellent documentary on the Rwandan genocide. Shown in class.)
- * Alan J. Kuperman: "Rwanda in Retrospect" (*Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2000)
- Scott Straus: *The Order of Genocide* (pp. 17-33, 41).
- * Russett & Sutterlin: "The U.N. in a New World Order" (*Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1991)
- * Mandelbaum: "The Reluctance to Intervene" (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1994)
- * Luttwak: "Give War a Chance" (*Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1999)
- * Grignon & Kroslak: "The Problem with Peacekeeping" (*Current History*, April 2008: pp. 186-187)

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 5: Justice or Reconciliation? What to do when the killing is over.

- Weber, Lauren: "Rwanda's Hard Recovery" (*Wesleyan Alumni Magazine*, 2006)
- * Lyn S. Graybill: "Ten Years After, Rwanda Tries Reconciliation" (*Current History*, May 2004)
- * Hartwell: "The Concept of Justice in the Early Post-Conflict Transitional Period"
- * Hadden: "Punishment, Amnesty and Truth" (from *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict*)
- Axelrod: "Trench Warfare" from *The Evolution of Cooperation*.

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 6: The Construction of Ethnic Identity.

- Joane Nagel: "Constructing Ethnicity" (*Social Problems*, February 1994).
 - Daniel Posner: "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi" (*APSR*, November 2004)
-

Week 7: Overview and Mid-term.

- **October 30:** Review of issues from Weeks 1-6.
 - Jalali & Lipset: "Racial and Ethnic Conflicts" (*Political Science Quarterly*, 1992-93)
 - Michael Brown: "The Causes of Internal Conflict" (from *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*)
 - **Wednesday, October 15th: MID-TERM EXAM (in class)**
-

Weeks 8 & 9: The Holocaust and micro-level causes of political violence.

Why do individuals commit violence on behalf of the state?

- "Obedience" (A Documentary about the Milgram study, to be watched in class.)
 - The Browning-Goldhagen debate
(Readings from *Ordinary Men* and *Hitler's Willing Executioners*)
 - NO-5810: "Letter from Turner to Hildebrandt" (Nuremberg trial document)
-

Week 10: The Arab-Israeli conflict.

The rationality and rationale of terror.

- Craig, et al.: On the Middle East since 1945 (*Heritage of World Civilizations*, pp. 1003-1010)
- Barry Rubin. "Israel's New Strategy" (*Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2006)
- Glenn Robinson: "The Fragmentation of Palestine" (*Current History*, December 2007)
- * Sarah Parkinson. "The Softer Side of Terror"
- * Levitt: *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism* (selections, including "Forward" by Dennis Ross).
- * Michael Herzog: "Can Hamas be Tamed?" (*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006)
- "Israel and Iran: How MAD can they be?" (*Economist*, February 8, 2007)
- Martha Crenshaw: "The Logic of Terrorism" (from *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*) **(Optional)**

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 11: The US, Afghanistan and Iraq: A clash of civilizations?

- Michael Scott Doran: “Somebody Else’s Civil War” (*Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002)
- Nir Rosen: “The Death of Iraq” (*Current History*, December 2007)
- James Fearon: “Iraq’s Civil War” (*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2007) **(Optional)**
- * Vali Nasr. “When the Shiites Rise” (*Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2006)
- * Augustus Norton: “The Shiite ‘Threat’ Revisited” (*Current History*, December 2007)
- * Samuel P. Huntington: “The Clash of Civilizations?” (*Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993)
- * Fouad Ajami: “The Summoning” (*Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1993)

Section leaders: _____ and _____

Week 12: Northern Ireland, a ‘cured’ conflict.

- Richard Rose: “Northern Ireland: The Irreducible Conflict”
 - Deaglán de Bréadun: “Northern Ireland: An End to the Troubles?”
 - John Coakley: “Has the Northern Ireland Problem been Solved?” (*Journal of Democracy*, July 1008)
-

Week 13: Constitutional design in deeply-divided societies.

Power-sharing and power-dividing as institutional solutions to ethnic violence

- Lijphart: “The Power-Sharing Approach”
 - Roeder & Rothchild: *Sustainable Peace* (pp. 36-67).
 - Horowitz: “Ethnic Conflict Management for Policymakers”
 - Lijphart: *Democracy in Plural Societies* (pp. 1-52, optional).
-

Week 14: Final exam and final assignment.

December 8: FINAL EXAM (in class)

December 10 & 12: Hand out, explain and discuss final paper assignment

Class Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1995.
- Axelrod, Robert. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books, 1984.
- de Bréadun, Deaglán. "Northern Ireland: An End to the Troubles?" *Current History*. (April 1999): 153-8.
- Browning, Christopher R. "One Day in Jósefów: Initiation to Mass Murder". In *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution*. Cambridge University Press.
- "Afterword". In *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. HarperPerennial, 1998.
- Fearon, James D. "Ethnic War as a Commitment Problem." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (New York, 1994). Found at:
<<http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/ethcprob.pdf>>
- Gagnon, V.P., Jr. 1994/95. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia". *International Security*. 19:3 (Winter 1994/95): pp. 130-166.
- Geertz, Clifford. "After the Revolution: The Fate of Nationalism in the New States" and "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and civil Politics in the New States". In *The Interpretation of Cultures*. BasicBooks, 1973.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Graybill, Lyn S. "Ten Years After, Rwanda Tries Reconciliation" In *Current History*. (May 2004): 202-205.
- Grunfeld, A. Tom. "The Question of Tibet". *Current History*. (September 1999): pp. 291-295.
- Hadden, Tom. "Punishment, Amnesty and Truth: Legal and Political Approaches". In Adrian Guelke [ed], *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004): pp. 196-217.
- Hartwell, Marcia Byrom. "The Concept of Justice in the Early Post-Conflict Transitional Period: A Comparative Perspective". In Adrian Guelke [ed], *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004): pp. 184-195.
- Horowitz, Donald L. "Ethnic Conflict Management for Peacemakers". In Montville: pp. 115-130.
- Howard, Michael. "The Wars of the Nations." *War in European History*. Oxford University Press: 1993.
- Jalali, Rita, & Seymour Martin Lipset: "Racial and Ethnic Conflicts: A Global Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly*. 107:4 (Winter 1992-93): pp. 585-606.
- Kumar, Radha. "The Troubled History of Partition". In *Foreign Affairs*. 76:1 (January/February 1997): pp. 22-34.
- Kuperman, Alan J. "Rwanda in Retrospect" *Foreign Affairs*. 79:1 (January/February 2000): pp. 94-118.
- Lijphart, Arend. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- "The Power-Sharing Approach". In Montville: 491-510.
- Luttwak, Edward N. "Give War a Chance". *Foreign Affairs*. 78 (July/August 1999): pp. 36-44.
- Lyon, James. "Will Bosnia Survive Dayton?" *Current History*. (March 2000): pp. 110-116.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. "The Reluctance to Intervene". *Foreign Policy*. No. 95 (Summer 1994): pp. 3-18.
- Miner, Horace. "Body Ritual Among the Nacirema". *American Anthropologist*. 58: 5-3-507 (1956).
- Montville, Joseph V. [ed]. *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. New York: Lexington Books, 1991.
- Nagel, Joane. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture". *Social Problems*. 41:1 (February 1994): pp. 152-176.
- Parkinson, Sarah. "The Softer Side of Terror". *Internationalist: Journal of Culture and Currents*. 3:1 (Autumn 2005): pp. 54-60.
- Posner, Daniel N. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review*. 98:4 (November 2004): pp. 529-545.
- Roeder, Philip G., and Donald Rothchild. [eds]. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Rose, Richard. "Northern Ireland: The Irreducible Conflict". In Montville: pp. 133-150.
- Russett, Bruce, & James S. Sutterlin: "The U.N. in a New World Order". *Foreign Affairs*. 70 (Spring 1991): pp. 69-83.
- Stoessinger, John G. "From Sarajevo to Kosovo: The War over the Remains of Yugoslavia." *Why Nations Go to War, 9th Edition*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning, 2005: pp. 118-155.
- Straus, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- van den Berghe, Pierre. "A Socio-Biological Perspective." In John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith [eds.] *Nationalism*. Oxford University Press: 1994: pp. 96-103.
- Verdery, Katherine. "Nationalism and National Sentiment in Post-Socialist Romania." *Slavic Review*. 52:2. (Summer 1993): pp. 179-203.
- Weber, Lauren. "Rwanda's Hard Recovery." *Wesleyan Magazine*. (2006): pp. 26-29.
- Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. (Documentary.) Brian Lapping Associates for the Discovery Channel, 1998.