

## W3619y. NATIONALISM AND CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

Spring 2006 -- Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:40-3:55 in 602 Hamilton Hall.  
Jack Snyder -- office: 1214 IAB; office hours: Tues, Thurs, 4:10-5:00.  
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1/5/05

Themes: Nationalism as a cause of conflict in contemporary world politics. Strategies for mitigating nationalist and ethnic conflict.

Requirements: (1) a take-home exam due on March 7 (30% of your final grade), (2) a short, in-class final exam on April 27 (10%), (3) one paper, about 15 pages, due on May 3 (50%), and (4) active, informed participation in discussion sections, small group discussions, and class (10%). The normal format for the paper will be to use one or more case studies to test a theoretically grounded hypothesis about nationalism or ethnic conflict. Historical cases are appropriate, though their relevance to contemporary issues should be explained. Students may do policy options papers, though these should be informed by relevant theories. Paper proposals will be discussed in small groups with me or the teaching assistants, Alexandra Scacco <als2110@columbia.edu> and Bernd Beber <bhb2102@columbia.edu>, after spring break. Rough drafts of part of the paper will be discussed in late April. Late midterms and papers will be penalized.

Readings: Required readings on reserve at Butler Library. Most supplementary readings are also on reserve either at Butler or Lehman. Asterisk (\*) indicates a paperback ordered at the Labyrinth bookstore, 536 W.112 St. Most required articles and some individual book chapters are on the Columbia library web course reserves. While doing the weekly readings, make sure that you are also getting a grounding in at least three case studies that we will refer to frequently in class. Depending on how much background knowledge you have, you may want to read ahead in some of the works assigned in future weeks, in particular:

*Rwanda:* Power (Jan. 17); De Figueiredo and Weingast (Feb. 11); Prunier (Feb. 11).  
*Yugoslavia:* Petersen (Feb. 2); Gagnon (Feb. 11); Woodward (March 8).  
*India:* Rudolph, Varshney, and Brass (Jan. 17); Horowitz (Feb. 2); Brass (Feb. 11); Varshney (Apr. 7); Wilkinson (Feb. 9).  
*China:* Gries (Jan. 31); Zhao (Feb. 9).  
*Civil war case studies:* Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, Understanding Civil War, (World Bank, 2005), vol. 1 on Africa; vol. 2 on Balkans and elsewhere, esp. chapter 7, Stathis Kalyvas and Sambanis, "Bosnia's Civil War," on library web.

### Jan. 17 and 19. THE NATIONALIST REVIVAL AND CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC CONFLICT.

National identity, ethnicity, and nationalism: definitions, causes, and consequences for conflict in today's world. Why were the 1990s fraught with ethnic conflict? What can be done about current and future conflicts?

#### REQUIRED:

\*Michael Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 1. What is nationalism?  
S. and L. Rudolph, "Modern Hate," New Republic, March 22, 1993. The Ayodya mosque incident in India: it's not about ancient hatreds.

Samantha Power, [A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide](#), chapter 10 on the Rwanda genocide—or read Power, “Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen,” [The Atlantic Monthly](#), September 2001.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Ashutosh Varshney, “Understanding Gujarat Violence,” and Paul Brass, “The Gujarat Pogroms of 2002,” in [Items and Issues](#) (Social Science Research Council), vol. 4, no. 1, winter 2002-2003. Updates the Rudolphs’ article on recent violence.

Jan. 24 and 26. COMPETING EXPLANATIONS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

To what extent is national identity rooted in pre-modern ties of community and culture? To what extent is it a result of the transition to modernity? What features of modernity shape nationalism: capitalism, industrialization, mass literacy, mass armies, democratization, the modern state? How do those features interact with the pre-modern legacy?

REQUIRED:

\*Anthony D. Smith, [The Ethnic Origins of Nations](#), ch. 1-3; browse the rest. Pre-modern formative experiences that shape ethnic and national identities.

\*Hechter, [Containing Nationalism](#), ch. 2.

\*Ernest Gellner, [Nations and Nationalism](#), ch. 1-4 (7-8 supplementary). Modern economies need a homogeneous culture, triggering a Darwinian struggle to see which culture survives.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, [The Invention of Tradition](#), ch. 1 and 2. Nations seem old because nationalists rewrite their history.

John Hall and I. Jarvie, eds., [Transition to Modernity](#), ch. by Michael Mann, “The Emergence of Modern European Nationalism,” pp. 137-166. Repairs Gellner's theory: it's commercial capitalism, not industrialization.

E. Hobsbawm, [Nations and Nationalism since 1780](#), ch. 1. The modernity of nations.

B. Posen, “Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power,” [International Security](#), fall 1993, reprinted in \*Brown, [Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict](#). How the state fomented popular nationalism to mobilize mass armies. See also Charles Tilly, [Coercion, Capital, and European States](#).

Jan. 31 and Feb. 3. NATIONALISM: RATIONAL OR NON-RATIONAL?

Are national or ethnic political stances adopted for rational or non-rational reasons? What is the relationship between instrumental rationality and cultural motivations? Is ethnic war rational?

REQUIRED:

\*Roger Petersen, [Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, Resentment](#), ch. 1-4, 6, 10.

\*Donald Horowitz, [The Deadly Ethnic Riot](#), ch. 13 and browse (library web).

Robert Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” [American Political Science Review](#), August 2003, pp. 343-362. They try to undercut domestic political support for the military occupation forces of democracies, and it works. Or read Pape, [Dying to Win](#).

James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," International Organization, summer 1995.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Russell Hardin, One for All, esp. ch. 3 (library web). Self-interested reasons why individuals come to identify with an ethnic group, and why cultural alignments can be rational. For background on the theory, see Mancur Olson, Logic of Collective Action.

Jon Elster, "Motivations and Beliefs in Suicide Missions," manuscript to be published in Diego Gambetta (ed.), Making Sense of Suicide Missions.

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Politics of Extremist Violence," International Organization, spring 2002. Rationalist theory of conditions under which spoilers can wreck peace talks, leading to Palestinian-Israeli violence.

Peter Hays Gries, China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy, esp. chapters 1-3 (ch. 1 on library web). Face and humiliation.

Marilyn Brewer, "Ingroup Identification and Intergroup Conflict," in Richard Ashmore et al, Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Resolution, 17-41 (ch. 2 on library web). Outgroup comparisons may not cause conflict.

Donna Bahry et al, "Ethnicity and Trust: Evidence from Russia," American Political Science Review, November 2005. People who trust insiders also trust outsiders.

Fredrik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, read Barth's introduction. Divisions between groups are not caused by cultural differences, but the reverse: groups occupying different ecological niches produce cultural differences to help police boundaries.

Daniel Druckman, "Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective," Mershon International Studies Review, April 1994. A host of hypotheses.

Walker Connor, Ethnonationalism, ch. 4 and 8. A cultural perspective stressing the non-rational, non-material basis of ethnic loyalty.

Feb. 7. INSECURITY: CAUSE OR EFFECT OF NATIONALISM?

What does realist international relations theory have to contribute to understanding contemporary nationalist conflict? Does anarchy cause nationalism, or vice-versa? What factors might mitigate the effects of anarchy on ethnic conflict?

REQUIRED:

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," Survival, spring 1993.

D. Lake and D. Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," International Security, fall 1996, reprinted in \*Michael E. Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

R. Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, January 1978.  
A. Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," International Organization, spring 1992.  
J. Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," International Organization, spring 1995,  
psychological interpretation of the security dilemma.

James Fearon, "Ethnic War as a Commitment Problem,"  
<http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/ethcprob.pdf>. Similar argument to Posen, but from a bargaining perspective.

Arthur Stein, "Conflict and Cohesion," Journal of Conflict Resolution, March 1976. Lit review: external conflict increases internal cohesion only when the threat affects all group members, some cohesion existed before the conflict, and group action can parry the threat.

\*Barbara Walter and J. Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention.

Page Fortna, Peace Time. How peacekeepers can solve the security dilemma.

Feb. 9 and 14. NATIONALISM: TOP DOWN OR BOTTOM UP?

Is nationalism sold to the masses by elites, or does it grow from grass roots sentiments? If the elites sell it, why do the masses buy? What is the interaction between top-down and bottom-up processes?

REQUIRED:

V. P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," International Security, winter 1994-95, reprinted in \*Michael Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. Milosevic the cynical manipulator. Why did it work?

R. de Figueiredo and B. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in \*B. Walter and J. Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention, ch. 8 (library web). Why it can be a rational hedge to be loyal to manipulators.

J. Mueller, "The Banality of Ethnic War," International Security, summer 2000, and in \*Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, in second edition only. The problem is neither elites nor masses, but gangs of thugs who profit from the fighting.

\*Steven I. Wilkinson, Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India, chapters 1, 2, 5, and 6 (chapter 1 on library web).

SUPPLEMENTARY:

J. Fearon and D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," International Organization, autumn 2000. Rationalists attempt an empirical assessment of constructivist arguments.

Paul Brass, Theft of an Idol. How local elites in India construct a system of ethnic violence.

J. Fearon and D. Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," American Political Science Review, December 1996. Ethnic groups' internal policing of their own thugs.

Stuart Kaufman, "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War," in \*Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict; or \*Stuart Kaufman, Modern Hatreds, ch. 3-5, Karabakh, Georgia, and Moldova cases.

M. Brown and S. Ganguly, eds., Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific, ch. 1 on India, 3 on Sri Lanka, and/or 6 on Malaysia.

Gerard Prunier, Rwanda Crisis, esp. ch. 1, 5, and 7.

Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism, chapters 2 and 3. Popular proto-nationalism and state-led nationalism.

Suisheng Zhao, "A state-led nationalism: the patriotic education campaign in post-Tiananmen China," Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 31:3, Sept. 1998.

Feb. 16 and 21. NATIONALISM: MALLEABLE OR PERSISTENT

Once national identities and nationalism are forged, how malleable are they through the impact of changing circumstances, incentives, or discourse?

REQUIRED:

\*Liisa Malkki, Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania, esp. ch. 3-5. After the 1972 genocide, refugees in camps reinforced their identity myths, but those in towns blended in. Chapters 1 and 2 provide conceptual and historical background; a postscript describes the 1993-94 massive ethnic violence in Burundi.

Daniel Posner, "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; or \*Daniel Posner, Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa.

D. Byman, "Forever enemies? The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to End Ethnic Wars," Security Studies, spring 2000, revised as Byman, Keeping the Peace, ch. 5. Middle Eastern cases.

Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," chapter 2, pp. 34-52, in Andreas Wimmer, ed., Facing Ethnic Conflicts.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

David Laitin, Identity in Formation, chapters 1, 5, 6. Changing Russian identities in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. A language-learning tipping game provides a formal, rational model of identity change, supplemented by survey research and first-hand story telling.

David Laitin, "The Cultural Identities of a European State," Politics and Society, vol, 25, no 3, September 1997.

C. Cruz, "Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember Their Pasts and Make Their Futures," World Politics, April 2000. Early formative experiences continue to shape national political identities for good or ill in Central America.

R. Suny, The Revenge of History. Historical construction of national identities in Russian and Soviet empires; their emergence during the Soviet collapse.

Rashid Khalidi, Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness.

Michael Barnett, Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order.

#### Feb. 23 and 28. NATIONALISM: CIVIC OR ETHNIC

Types of nationalism, especially civic and ethnic nationalism; their causes and consequences. Religious nationalism, "fundamentalism," and secular nationalism. Multiculturalism versus cosmopolitanism.

#### REQUIRED:

A. Smith, "Ethnic Identity and Territorial Nationalism in Comparative Perspective," in Alexander Motyl, Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities, ch. 3, pp. 45-51, 61-62 (library web). Western civic state-building vs. Eastern ethnocultural nationalism.

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights, chapter 5, pp. 75-106 (library web). Chapter 3 is also relevant.

Jeremy Waldron, "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," in Will Kymlicka, ed., The Rights of Minority Cultures, 93-122.

\*M. Hechter, Containing Nationalism, chapters 3, 4, 5; a different typology of nationalisms.

Stephen Shulman, "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism," Comparative Political Studies, June 2002.

\*Mark Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State, ch. 1, 2, 3, 6. What seems like fundamentalist transnationalism is actually state-building nationalism. Middle East and India.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

E. Gellner, "Nationalism in the Vacuum," in Motyl, Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities, ch. 10. In an institutional vacuum, people form groups based on ethnicity and culture by default.

Gregory Jusdanis, The Necessary Nation. Civic nations are a myth.

Anthony Marx, Faith in Nation : Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism. Nationalism even in “civic” nations started off with 17<sup>th</sup> century religious exclusions.

Yael Tamir, Liberal Nationalism. Ethnic nationalism can be civic, too. And related empirical pieces: Yoav Peled, “Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State,” *American Political Science Review* 86:2 (June 1992) 432-43; Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) chap. 4; Nadim Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (Yale University Press, 1997); Sammy Smooha, “Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype,” *Israel Studies* 2:2 (Fall 1997), 198-241; Ruth Gavison, “Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the ‘Ethnic Democracy’ Debate,” *Israel Studies* 4:1 (1999) 44-52.

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Historical origins of civic France, ethnic Germany.

Fredrik Barth, “Are Islamists Nationalists or Internationalists?” in Kjell Goldmann, U. Hannerz, and C. Westin, Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era.

Judith Kelley, “International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions,” International Organization, summer 2004, 425-458. Inducing states to adopt civic principles.

## March 2. NATIONALISM AND INSTITUTIONS: ETHNOFEDERALISM

How state institutions can structure politics in ways that favor ethnic political identity and mobilization. Ethnofederal prescriptions in light of these findings.

### REQUIRED:

\*Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed, ch. 2, also in Brubaker, “Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutional Account,” Theory and Society, February 1994. Soviet ethnofederalism created the impetus of its own demise.

\*Valerie Bunce, Subversive Institutions, chapters 5 (on library web) and 6. Ethnofederal structure broke up the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, but why the varying amounts of wreckage?

\*Ted Gurr, Peoples Versus States, ch. 6, on ethnic autonomy agreements.

\*Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 7-8. Evaluating ethnofederal solutions.

Henry Hale, “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” World Politics, January 2004.

Atul Kohli, ed. The Success of India’s Democracy. Cambridge University Press, 2001. Read Kohli’s introduction (on library web). Federalism’s success in India.

### SUPPLEMENTARY:

S. Cornell, “Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective,” World Politics, January 2002.

P. Roeder, “Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization,” World Politics (January 1991). Similar argument to Brubaker’s.

J. Linz and A. Stepan, “Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia,” Daedalus, 121, Spring 1992. Founding elections, if done correctly, can create cross-cutting or inclusive identities that help federalism to be successful.

Check the websites of the International Crisis Group <http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/> and Ted Gurr’s Minorities at Risk project [www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/](http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/) for information on the status of proposed regional ethnic autonomy agreements in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere.

**TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAM:** To be distributed at the end of class on Thursday, March 2, due at the beginning of class on Tuesday, March 7. Page limit: 10 double-spaced pages in 12-point Times New Roman font (i.e., exactly like this).

March 7. SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODS AND THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM

\*Stephen Van Evera, Guide to Methodology for Students of Political Science. Use this as a guide to evaluating the arguments of authors on the syllabus and in constructing your own arguments. Alternative reading: \*Gary King, Keohane, Verba, Designing Social Inquiry, a more widely used, but somewhat more difficult social science methods text.

March 9. NO CLASS. SMALL GROUP MEETINGS.

Meet in small groups with me or the TA at various times during this week or after spring break to discuss your paper proposals. The proposal should be about three pages. Generally speaking, it should state (1) what question you are asking, (2) why it is important for theory and/or policy, (3) what hypothesis you expect to advance, (4) what alternative hypotheses you will address, and (5) what evidence you will examine to prove your argument.

March 14 and 16. NO CLASS. SPRING BREAK.

March 21. NO CLASS. SMALL GROUP MEETINGS CONTINUE.

March 23. NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION.

President Clinton urged promoting democratization to promote peace, but might democratic transitions instead promote nationalism and war? Since its earliest appearance in 18th century England and France, nationalism has been associated with the idea of popular sovereignty. Increases in mass involvement in politics have been linked to aggressive nationalism, as in pre-1914 Germany. What effect is democratization having on nationalism in the former Soviet empire? Will “the democratic peace” survive in a world of ethnodemocracies?

REQUIRED:

F. Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” Foreign Affairs, Nov. 1997.

\*J. Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict, chapter 1. Watch out for the early stages of democratic transitions.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

T. Gurr, Peoples Versus States, ch. 5. Successful democratic transitions have eased ethnic conflict in the 1990s, but failed transitions have exacerbated them.

Human Rights Watch, Slaughter among Neighbors, read introduction and browse your favorite cases of recent ethnic conflict. Argues that authoritarian regimes play the ethnic card; democratization, civil society, and free speech are the solution.

E. Mansfield and J. Snyder, “Democratization and the Danger of War,” International Security, summer 1995, reprinted in M. Brown, Debating the Democratic Peace. Belligerent, nationalistic democratizing states.

S. Smooha, “Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: the Status of the Arab Minority in Israel,” Ethnic and Racial Studies, July 1990.

\*S. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy, ch. 5 on democratization and the Yugoslav break-up.

M. McFaul, "The Precarious Peace," International Security, winter 1997-98. Why nationalism has remained relatively tame in democratizing Russia.

Michael Lund, Barnett Rubin, and Fabienne Hara, "Learning from Burundi's Failed Democratic Transition, 1993-1996: Do International Initiatives Match the Problem?" in Barnett R. Rubin, ed., Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action, chapter 3.

Edward Freedman and B. McCormick, What If China Doesn't Democratize? Implications for War and Peace. Contributors debate whether democratization or authoritarianism would pose a greater risk of war.

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," American Political Science Review (December 1986).

Hurst Hannum, Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination. A lawyer looks at the right to national self-determination and ethnic conflict.

### March 28. NATIONALISM AND THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS

The printing press, mass circulation newspapers, the railroads, and public education knit together the national consciousness. Often, nationalist propaganda exploited these tools to sell nationalist myths and aggressive foreign policies. Do present technologies of communication and propaganda promote or undermine nationalism? What role do intellectuals play? How should the marketplace of ideas be structured to make sure that nationalist arguments are scrutinized in open, fair public debate?

#### REQUIRED:

\*Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, ch. 1-3.

\*J. Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict, chapter 2, and sections on media: pp. 121-128, 146-149, 154-157, 213-220, 235-237, 242-250, 334-338.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY CASE STUDY: THE DEBATE ON THE IRAQ WAR

Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," International Security, summer 2004.

Ronald Krebs, "Selling the Market Short?" International Security, spring 2005, and rebuttal by Kaufmann.

Anatol Lieven, America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism, browse.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY

Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, ch. 6-7 and browse. Stages in the development of nationalist movements in small European states: cultural revival by intellectuals, creating a political doctrine, and mass mobilization.

K. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication. The race between assimilation and mobilization during modernization.

P. Kennedy, "The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970," Journal of Contemporary History (January 1973), pp. 77-100.

I. B. Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain, 1750-1830," Past and Present (November 1986), 97-117; also Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837. Penny press, railroads, war.

K. Verdery, National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania. Nationalism sold well in the marketplace, socialism didn't.

J. S. Mill, On Liberty, part 2. Structure the marketplace so that truth will emerge from open debate.

J. Habermas, "Discourse Ethics," in J. Thompson and D. Held, Habermas: Critical Debates. Rules of discourse for the emergence of consensus based on fair, reasonable discussion.

J. Snyder and K. Ballentine, "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas," International Security, fall 1996, reprinted in \*Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict.

March 30. NATIONALISM, DOMINATION, INEQUALITY, AND ECONOMIC HARD TIMES.

REQUIRED:

\*M. Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 6.

\*Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation, chapters 1, 5, 7, on South Africa and Brazil. Coalition politics and the legal codification of racial domination.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

\*T. Gurr, States Versus Peoples, ch. 3-4. Discrimination causes ethnic conflict, but only if disadvantaged groups have the capacity to take action.

W. Connor, Ethnonationalism, ch. 6. Also available as Connor, "Eco- or Ethno-Nationalism?" Ethnic and Racial Studies 7 (1984), 342-59. Why economic explanations fail.

Stephen Shulman, "Nationalist Sources of International Economic Integration," International Studies Quarterly, vol. 44 (2000), pp. 365-390. Free trade as a route to national autonomy in Quebec, Ukraine, and India.

D. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, ch. 3-6. Economic rivalry, cultural comparison, and other causes of ethnic conflict.

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation. How the contradiction between mass politics and unregulated markets gave rise to fascism and imperialism in the first half of the twentieth century.

Peter Gourevitch, Politics in Hard Times. Nationalist versus liberal, free-trading domestic political coalitions in times of depression in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Etel Solingen, Emerging Regional Orders. Nationalist versus liberal, free-trading coalitions in developing countries today.

T. Gurr, Minorities at Risk, ch. 2-4. More data on ethnic exploitation and rebellion from Gurr's earlier book.

April 4. MILITARY CONFLICT AND NATIONALIZING STATES.

When nationalist movements are mobilized, what strategic and demographic circumstances promote armed conflict? In cases where ethnonational states have pockets of co-ethnics abroad, what determines whether an irredentist conflict will occur?

REQUIRED:

Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," International Security, spring 1994, reprinted in \*Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. When does nationalism cause war, when not?

Monica Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," Security Studies, Winter 2002/2003, pp. 82-119. When both sides see a piece of territory as crucial to their survival, watch out.

\*R. Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed, ch. 3, 4, and 6. Chapter 3 is also available as R. Brubaker, "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External Homelands in the New Europe," Daedalus, spring 1995.

Timothy W. Crawford, "Pivotal Deterrence and the Kosovo War: Why the Holbrooke Agreement Failed," Political Science Quarterly, Winter 2001-2002, pp. 499-523. The difficulty of simultaneously deterring both sides in a conflict.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Alan Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: How and Why Ethnic Groups Provoke Genocidal Retaliation," manuscript, 2003. Expands on Crawford; on Butler reserve.

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations Theory," International Organization, summer 2003. Case studies: Armenians and Jews.

April 6 and 11. POWERSHARING, CROSS-CUTTING ALIGNMENTS, OR REPRESSION?

To mitigate ethnic conflict within a society, is it better to give each ethnic group a share of state power, or is it better to create electoral incentives to forge political alliances that cut across cultural lines? Or is repression the less attractive, but more reliable route to stability?

REQUIRED:

J. Montville, Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies, ch. 25, Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay," contrasting Malaysia and Sri Lanka (on library web), and ch. 27, Lijphart on powersharing.

Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," Perspectives on Politics, June 2005, 235-252.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

I. Lustick, "Stability in deeply divided societies: consociationalism versus control," World Politics, April 1979.

Mala Htun, "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups," Perspectives on Politics, September 2004, 439-458.

D. Byman, Keeping the Peace, ch. 3, on the control model, and ch. 9, on sequencing of different strategies of conflict prevention.

Donald Horowitz, A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society, ch. 5, 6. Electoral schemes for encouraging cross-ethnic coalitions. See also D. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, ch. 7-10.

Benjamin Reilly, "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies," Journal of Democracy, April 2002. Cases studies where Horowitz's prescription was tried; verdict: it worked where moderate factions already existed.

Arend Lijphart, "The Alternative Vote: A Realistic Alternative for South Africa?" Politikon: The South African Journal of Political Science 18:2 (June 1991), 91-101. Rebuttal to Horowitz.

Ian Lustick, "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism," World Politics, October 1997. Critique of Lijphart for making his theory non-falsifiable.

J. Linz and A. Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, The Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," Daedalus (spring 1992). Electoral sequence causes identity, or vice versa?

A. Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies. The classic statement on consociation.

Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. Cities with cross-religious civic organization avoid riots, others don't.

Kanchan Chandra, Why Ethnic Parties Succeed. Argues that ethnic parties are most likely to succeed in "patronage-democracies" when they have competitive rules of intraparty advancement and when the size of the group they seek to mobilize is larger than the threshold of winning or leverage imposed by the electoral system. Case study of India.

#### April 13. ETHNIC PARTITION VS. ETHNIC INTEGRATION

Is it better to partition a war-torn multiethnic territory like Bosnia or to try to reintegrate it into a single, unified, multicultural state?

##### REQUIRED:

C. Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic War," International Security, spring 1996, reprinted in \*Brown, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict.

R. Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," Foreign Affairs, January/February 1997, rebuttal to Kaufmann.

N. Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War," World Politics, July 2000. A statistical test of the partition hypothesis.

##### SUPPLEMENTARY:

C. Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," International Security, fall 1998; also in \*Walter and Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. Surrebuttal to Kumar.

Alexander Downes, "The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars," Security Studies, summer 2001. General argument along Kaufmann's lines, rebuttal to Sambanis, Israel/Palestine case.

Check the website of the International Crisis Group <http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/> regarding current cases that are plausible candidates for partition.

#### April 18 and 20. NO CLASS: SMALL GROUP MEETINGS TO DISCUSS DRAFT PAPERS

#### April 25. POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE

Some people argue that establishing peace after ethnic conflict requires justice, and that perpetrators of crimes against humanity must be put on trial. Some people argue that amnesty is acceptable, but only if the truth comes out and the perpetrators admit to their actions. Others argue that it's better to forget the past, not obsess on it. Who's right under what conditions?

##### REQUIRED:

Gary Bass, Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals, "Epilogue: Do War Crimes Tribunals Work?" pp. 284-310 (library web).

Henry Kissinger, "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," Foreign Affairs 80:4 (July/August 2001), 86-96.

Kenneth Roth, "The Case for Universal Jurisdiction," Foreign Affairs 80:5 (September/October 2001), 150-54. Director of Human Rights Watch.

## SUPPLEMENTARY:

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," International Security, winter 2003-04.

Neil J. Kritz, Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995), esp. excerpt from Huntington, Third Wave, and browse elsewhere.

Jon Elster, "Coming to Terms with the Past. A Framework for the Study of Justice in the Transition to Democracy," European Journal of Sociology (Archives européennes de sociologie) 39:1 (1998), 7-48.

Carlos Nino, Radical Evil on Trial (selections on library web).

James L. Gibson, Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?

April 27. **IN-CLASS FINAL EXAM.**