

Fall Semester 2008

INS 341Q

NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CONFLICT

Instructor: Roger E. Kanet
Office Hours: 11:00-12:20, Tu, Th
2:00-3:00, Tu and by appointment
Office: Ferré Building, Room 330
Phone: 305 284-3407
E-mail: rkanet@miami.edu
Website: <http://www.as.miami.edu/international-studies/faculty/RogerKanet>
Class: Tu, Th, 12:30-1:45 p.m.
Place: Merrick Building, Room 306

Course Objectives:

The power of the concept of ethnic and national identity has again become brutally evident in recent years, as ethnonationalism has contributed to tearing apart countries and interethnic strife has erupted into bloody conflict in a growing number of locations across the world – from Rwanda and Congo to ex-Yugoslavia and the Caucasus and China. The major powers have seemed impotent to resolve these crises, and the term "ethnic cleansing" has entered our vocabulary. The anticipated peace and "new world order" following the end of the Cold War have become a dream unfulfilled rather than a reality, as the lifting of superpower constraints in both Europe and parts of the developing world has enabled nationalistic rhetoric, nationalism, interethnic conflict, and even genocide to surface once again.

Ethnonationalism is not a new phenomenon, yet its spread since the end of the cold war has become a more salient challenge both to the integrity and sovereignty of states and to the stability of regions and, perhaps, the international system itself. Why are identity, ethnicity and nationalism such potent sources of conflict? When does ethnonationalism cease to be a celebration of one's heritage and become, rather, a force for fragmentation of communities and the repression of others? Is ethnic conflict an end in itself, or are ethnic groups trying to achieve other goals through violence? What is the role of organized religion in the emergence of ethnic conflict? What can states, international organizations, and peoples of the world do to prevent or ameliorate interethnic strife? These are some of the key concerns of this seminar.

The course will begin with an examination of historical and contemporary examples of ethnic conflict, including genocide. We will then review the theoretically-based literature on ethnicity, race, and nationalism that draws on work of political scientists, historians, sociologists and anthropologists. We will then examine within one of the theoretical frameworks recent ethnic or nationalist conflicts in Europe, especially in post-communist Europe. We will include an examination of cases in which seemingly successful conflict prevention mechanisms were put into place that contained the prospects for violent conflict, as well as the many cases in which conflict has not been effectively contained. We will conclude with an assessment of nationalism in the U.S. sense of identity and as a factor underlying U.S. foreign policy

SEMESTER ASSIGNMENTS

- A. Reading assignments** are listed in the course outline. Students will be expected to have completed readings prior to each class session, so that they are able to follow and engage in discussion.
- B. Weekly papers** of one-two pages [typed, double-spaced, with standard margins] will be submitted in class the *first day of each new assignment* beginning with **2 September** [since the purpose of the papers is in large part to prepare the student for in-class discussions, **late papers will not be accepted**]. The papers will provide a brief evaluation of the readings completed for the week. These papers **should not** be mere descriptions, or summaries, of the readings. Rather, they should assess and compare the arguments presented in the readings. One purpose of the weekly papers is to ensure that students have not only completed the readings, but also that they thought about the assumptions, mode of analysis, and logic underlying the individual presentations and have evaluated the arguments

presented. Class participation [which presumes on-time attendance in class] and the summary papers will count as twenty-five percent of the course grade.

- C. **A major research paper**, which is due **in class on 4 December 2008** (late papers will be downgraded by half a letter grade per day late), should be **fifteen to twenty typewritten pages** in length (double-spaced) and must be based, in part, on primary sources [defined here as documents, speeches, articles, analyses written by analysts or political figures from the region], not merely on secondary analyses. The paper should deal with some aspect of nationalism, ethnonational conflict or genocide. For example, the student may decide to compare and evaluate the various theories of and approaches to the study of nationalism or to use a particular example of ethnic conflict to illustrate the theoretically-based arguments developed in the literature.

Papers must be submitted in standard research paper format--i.e. title page, notes either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper, and a bibliography. Use the format given below for both notes and bibliography. It is assumed that due attention will be given to such concerns as spelling, grammar, appropriate word selection and neatness! Although primary consideration in evaluating the paper will be placed on content, logic of the argumentation, and evidence, stylistic concerns (i.e. spelling, grammar, syntax, etc.) will also be taken into account.

Most importantly, papers are not to be mere chronicles of historical developments. Rather, they are to present and support an argument or explanation concerning the problem that has been selected as the focus of research.

As part of the paper project, students will be required submit a one- or two-page **proposal** concerning the paper **in class on 30 September 2008**. The proposal should identify the topic, outline the key issues to be dealt with, indicate how those issues relate to central concerns of theoretical importance, and indicate the most relevant source materials already consulted for the project.

As an integral part of the paper project **on 6 November 2008** students will submit a **five-page**, typewritten and double-spaced, **précis** of the general argument of their research papers as developed to that point. This presentation and written paper should do the following: 1) state clearly the issue to be examined and indicate why it is important and why you have selected it as topic of research; 2) give a brief summary of the existing literature dealing with the topic and indicate the general conclusions reached in that literature, including both the areas of agreement and disagreement; and 3) indicate the basic argument of the paper, but need not provide the detailed evidence that will be employed in the final paper to support the argument. This paper will be graded as a part of the entire research paper project.

- D. **Examinations:** The midterm, scheduled for **23 October 2008**, will be a standard essay examination. The final examination, which will also be an essay exam, is scheduled for **11 December 2008, 11:00-1:30**. All students will take the examination at the regularly scheduled time.
- E. **Grading:** **Twenty-five percent** of the grade for the course will be determined by a combination of class attendance, class participation and the weekly papers. **Forty percent** of the grade for the course will be based on the major research paper, including the one-page statement [5 percent], the five-page précis and presentation [20 percent], and the final paper [75 percent]. All papers are due on the dates listed and will be downgraded, if late. An **additional thirty-five percent** of the grade will be determined by a combination of a mid-term examination [15 percent] and a final examination [20 percent].

Note that students will be required to include a signed statement on each major written assignment **swearing/affirming that the work that they are presenting is completely their own**. Clear evidence of cheating will result in the grade of "0" for the assignment and may result in a report to the University Honor Council.

F. Required Reading Assignments

Copies of the following books are available for purchase at the University of Miami Bookstore; they are also on reserve in Richter Library. Should the Bookstore run out of copies of the texts and other local bookstores not have them available, I strongly recommend that you immediately order them on-line. Barnes and Noble [www.bn.com] and Amazon [www.amazon.com], for example, usually deliver materials within a week of ordering. Usually one or other of these on-line stores has used copies of books at substantially reduced cost. Note that for orders of new books valued at more than \$25.00 neither Barnes and Noble nor Amazon charges a delivery fee. Another location that usually provides information about lower prices for books is Textbookland [<http://www.textbookland.com/>]. It will probably be easiest to find books on the Textbookland website using the ISBN number, which I have included below for each book. Both Barnes and Nobles and Amazon also have used books available – usually at greatly reduced prices, even with the delivery charge of ca. \$3.00 per book.. Delivery of these books usually takes about 10-12 days.

Note that students will submit in class on the **first day of every new topic/ reading assignment a one- or two-page paper** [double-spaced] on the readings. The paper may summarize the key issues dealt with in the readings, react to important points covered in the readings, etc. Together with class participation the weekly papers will comprise *thirty percent* of the course grade.

Amy Chua, *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Anchor Books, 2002. x, 346 pp. (paper). ISBN 0-385-72186-2.

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2001. x, 262 pp. ISBN 0-8014-8736-6

Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. xii, 274 pp. (paper). ISBN 13: 9780195300055

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. x, 580 pp. (paper). ISBN 13: 9780312934347

Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Foreword by Fred Halliday. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. xi, 253 pp. (paper). ISBN: 0-312-22942-9

Raymond C. Taras and Rajat Ganguly, *Understanding Ethnic Conflict*, 3rd edn. New York: Longman, 2008. xvi, 319 pp. (paper). ISBN 978-0-205-58600-4.

F.1. Strongly Recommended, Writing Guides:

Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002. iv, 60 pp. \$4.95 (paper). ISBN: 0-87220-434-0

William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4th edn. xvii, 105 pp. \$7.95 (paper). ISBN: 0-205-30902-X

G. Course Rules and Honor Code:

1. Academic honesty: All work for this course must be the student's own. Please refer to the Student Handbook for the University of Miami Undergraduate Honor Code. That Code binds all students. By enrolling in this course you pledge to abide by the ethical academic standards listed in the above document. Anyone guilty of academic dishonesty will fail the course. One of the most common sources of problems arises in the failure to indicate sources used in completing requirements. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy material from books, magazines, or other sources without identifying and acknowledging them. Students guilty of, or assisting others in, either cheating or plagiarism on an assignment, quiz, or examination may receive a grade of F for the course involved and may be referred to the University Honor Code. In short, all ideas that are not your own or are not part of "common wisdom" should be footnoted. A

- general rule is that, if the information cannot be found in three or more commonly available sources, it should be referenced. All direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. These guidelines will be enforced. If you are unsure whether or not to footnote, err on the side of caution and footnote. For additional information on this and related matters see the guidelines on writing that follow the syllabus timetable.
2. Arrive in class and be seated BEFORE 2:00 o'clock!!
 3. In the classroom please turn off cell-phones and beepers and remove your hats.
 4. Only in the most serious of circumstances [serious personal illness, family emergency, travel for unavoidable university business] will the instructor grant permission – which must be obtained in advance – to delay the due date for an assignment.
 5. Students may request the instructor to reassess exam questions that they believe have been inaccurately evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in writing [including via e-mail] within a week after the examinations are returned to students. The written statement must suggest and defend the grade that the student believes he/she deserves. The instructor reserves the right to reassess the entire examination, not merely a single question, in such a situation.
 6. The professor is interested in helping students the course materials. Students' questions are encouraged in class. Also, students are encouraged to take advantage of office hours to raise questions about materials covered in the course or about other matters. Also, e-mail is a good way to pose questions and share materials; please be sure that you provide your current e-mail address.
 7. Copies of the syllabus and occasionally other materials related to the course will be available on Blackboard.

H. Course Outline and Required Readings:

- 28 Aug., Introduction to the Course: Ethnicity, Nationalism and World Politics**
- 2, 4 Sept. Globalization, Democracy and Ethnic Conflict, I**
Chua, pp. vii-viii, 1-294;
- 9, 11 Sept. Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, I**
Mann, pp. ix-x, 1-278
- 16, 18, Sept. Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, II**
Mann, pp. 279-530
- 30 Sept. Theories of National Identity and Nationalism**
2 Oct. Özkirimli, pp. ix-xi, 1-84
- 30 September Paper Proposal due in class**
- 7, 9 Oct. The Background of Modern Nationalism**
Özkirimli, pp. 85-166
- 14, 16 Oct. National Identity: Real or Imagined? I**
Özkirimli, pp.167-233
- 21 October Symbols, Myths and Ethnic Conflict**
Kaufman, pp. ix-x, 1-47
- 23 October Midterm examination**
- 28, 30 Oct., Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Communist World**
4 Nov. Kaufman, pp. 48-221
- 6, 11 Nov. Anatomy of American Nationalism, I**

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- Lieven, pp. ix-xi, 1-122
- 6 November** **Précis of paper due in class; class used for discussion of project**
- 13 18. Nov.** **Anatomy of American Nationalism, II**
Lieven, pp. 123-222
- 20, 25 Nov.** **Ethnic Conflict and International Politics, I**
Taras-Ganguly, pp. xi-xv, 1-118
- 27 November** **Thanksgiving**
- 2, 4 Dec.** **Ethnic Conflict and International Politics, II**
Taras-Ganguly, pp. 119-275
- 4 December** **Final Research paper due in class.**
- 6-9 Dec.** **Reading Period**
- 11 December** **Final**
Examination
Thursday
11:00-1:30 p.m.

I. Guidelines for Research Paper¹

The paper should deal with some aspect of nationalism or ethnonational conflict. Regardless of the topic selected, the student should deal with it **analytically**, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should address a specific **question and develop and support an argument**. It should draw upon the relevant theoretical literature.

1. Format of the Paper

The paper should stay within the page limits listed above [12-point type with standard margins]; it should be formatted in standard research paper form -- i.e. including reference notes (either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper -- not "scientific notation") and a bibliography. The format listed below **should be used** for both notes and bibliography.

2. Essay/Paper Style Sheet

Writing clear and concise English is a skill that will benefit you throughout life. I do take good writing seriously and enjoy reading papers written in clear, correct English. It is a joy to read clear sentences that have both subjects and verbs, that do not sprinkle commas around at random, and that realize that English language plural nouns do not use apostrophes. The short amount of time that you take editing your paper will catch most of the mistakes that drive teachers crazy.

Students who have difficulties with rhetoric are encouraged to purchase William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4th edn. To ensure that you understand when and how to provide references for materials used you should consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources*:

¹ Note that the "Guidelines for Written Papers" are based on a document [available at <http://arapaho.nsuok.edu/~alexa001/STYLE02.pdf>] prepared by two of Kanet's former graduate students, James T. Alexander, now of Northeastern State University (Oklahoma) and Brian V. Souders, now of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; it is used here with their permission.

A Guide for Students. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002, or a similar source. These two guides should prove to be useful throughout your entire career as a student, as well as later in life.

Please note that this style document is briefly and generically written. It neither covers all situations, nor is it intended for just one type of writing assignment. Specifically pay attention to the citation guidelines, for all parts may not apply to a particular assignment.

If you want to avoid some common problems, read the following rules carefully:

- 1) **Never use contractions.** If you are going to use 'don't' and 'can't,' you may as well write 'gonna' and 'coulda.' Contractions are markers of casual speech in written form. Use the forms 'do not' and 'cannot.'
- 2) **Make certain that all sentences have both a subject and a verb.** Sentence fragments are sentences that are missing either a subject or a verb. "A man who had traveled all over the country and lived in many states" is not a sentence, since it has no verb. The man is not doing anything, since there is no verb in this sentence. Careful editing will pick up mistakes like this one.
- 3) **Pronouns need antecedents.** Never start a paragraph with a sentence such as, "They created a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons." The reader has no idea who 'they' are. If you use a definite pronoun (he, she, it or they) or indefinite pronouns (this, that, these or those), be certain that these pronouns refer back to some concrete noun.
- 4) **Introductory participial phrases modify the subject of the main clause of the sentence.** "Waiting for the train to arrive, it became clear that I was going to be late" is incorrect. In this case the participle "waiting" modifies the subject "it" grammatically. In fact, it is meant to modify an implied "I." The sentence must be restructured.
- 5) **Word processors have spell check for a reason.** Every word processing program has some sort of spell checking system. **USE IT.** You might also consider using the grammar check function that many word processing programs now contain. Remember to proofread your final copy, because spell check cannot pick up mistakes like 'tot he' instead of 'to the'. Grammar check may have even a greater risk of error, although it can still be useful. Therefore, be careful, as you use these tools.
- 6) **Use the right form of the word.** The English language is filled with dozens of spelling land mines, words that sound the same but are spelled in three or four different ways. These homonyms still cause people problems. The worst offenders that teachers find are:
 - there - an adverb denoting place
 - their - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'they'
 - they're - a contraction for 'they are,' which, as a contraction, you should not use anyway

 - its - a possessive adjective for the pronoun 'it'
 - it's - a contraction for 'it is,' which you should not use anyway Note: 'its' is not a word in the English language.
- 7) **Punctuation is not for decoration.** Commas are not thrown into sentences at random. The English language has rules for the use of commas. Learn these rules and follow them. The same holds true for semi-colons, colons and other forms of punctuation. Any large dictionary and most pocket dictionaries have brief reference sections on the proper use of punctuation.
- 8) **Have someone else read your paper.** When you have spent thirty hours working on a paper, the last thing you want to do is look at it one last time to see if everything is spelled correctly. Also, it is hard to identify errors if you have become too involved in the paper. Have someone else look at your paper to pick out any mistakes you may have missed. Failing this, try reading the paper aloud. You can often hear and spot grammar and spelling errors in this fashion.

8) **Consistently cite your sources.** You must properly cite your source if you use an idea or quote from another's work. For citing sources (footnotes or endnotes) in research papers, I prefer that you use the following style:

9) **Wikipedia is NOT an acceptable source.** Although convenient and often useful as a guide to primary sources, this is not an acceptable peer-reviewed source.

a. Bibliography:

All entries should be listed in alphabetical order, last name first, using the following format:

1) **Periodical article:**

Hough, Jerry F., "The End of Russia's 'Khomeini' Period," *World Policy Journal*, IV, no. 4 (1987), pp. 583-604.

Some journals do not employ volume numbers, others do not employ consecutive pagination within an entire volume. This format can be adjusted to the former by excluding the volume number, and presents no problem for the latter situation.

2) **Article in an edited book:**

Sodaro, Michael, "The GDR and the Third World: Supplicant and Surrogate," in *Eastern Europe and the Third World: East vs. South*, ed. by Michael Radu. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981, pp. 106-141.

3) **Authored book:**

Brutents, Karen N., *National Liberation Revolutions Today*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.

4) **Edited book:**

Korbonski, Andrzej and Francis Fukuyama, eds., *The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

5) **Newspaper article:**

Forrestal, Michael and Allen Lynch, "New Views Behind Moscow's Flexible New Diplomacy," *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 13, 1987, p. 15.

6) **Miscellaneous publication:**

Some items do not fit easily into any of the categories listed above. You should adapt the format to fit the item. For example, pamphlets can usually be treated as books.

7) **Translated material:**

For translated materials, full publication information should be provided for both the original and the translation source: e.g., *Pravda*, date, p.?.; translated in *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. ?, no. ?, date, p. ?.

8) **Internet material:**

These materials should be treated as publications. Full information concerning the source should be given., so that the reader will be in a position to find it. In the case of "reprinted" materials, both the original and the internet source should be given: e.g., "Yeltsin Administration Upbeat On Outgoing Year," Moscow, 30 December 1997, *Interfax*; available at *Johnson's Russia List* #1453, 30 December 1997 <davidjohnson@erols.com>. "Russia, China Sign Nuclear Deal," *RFE/RL Newslines*, Vol. 1, No. 187, Part I, 30 December 1997 <<http://www.rferl.org/newslines>>. Since you cannot cite pages for internet sources, you should be especially careful to provide proper link information and dates when accessed.

9) **Unpublished material:**

Specific information should be provided about the source of unpublished material, such as interviews, letters, and other documents. The name of the interviewee, the date and place of the interview should be provided. Letters and other documents should be treated in similar fashion. In all cases information concerning the current location of the material should be provided.

