

Lehigh University  
International Relations  
Office: Maginnes 206

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**IR 132**  
**NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT**  
**Spring 2015**  
**Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:35-3:50**  
**Maginnes 270**

**Course Description:** The course focuses on the phenomenon of nationalism and its political consequences. It consists of four parts – theories about the origins of nationalism, theories linking nationalism to violent conflict, a set of case studies that allow us to evaluate the competing theories, and the debates on the possible methods for dealing with the problem of ethno-nationalist violence.

**Requirements:** There will be two take-home papers, and a final exam. The first of the two papers will be a 5-6-page essay in response to a question about a theoretical controversy. The second will be a 10-page paper about some conflict **not** covered in class, which you will have to analyze with the help of the theoretical tools acquired in class. The final exam, which will be in the multiple-choice format, will test students' mastery of the literature. There will be no make-up exams and no extensions for the papers.

**Grades:**

1<sup>st</sup> paper – 20%

2<sup>nd</sup> paper – 40%

Final exam – 30%

Class participation – 10 %

**Expectations:** Students will be expected do the readings in advance. Even though the class will be in a lecture format, the lectures will have a considerable interactive component. The quality of that interaction will depend on intelligent and active engagement by students, which in turn will depend on how well-prepared they come to class. Students will also be expected to attend all the lectures. More than two unexcused absences will result in a failing grade for class participation.

**Readings:** The following books are available for purchase in the bookstore and on reserve at the library:

John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Azar Gat with Alexander Yakobson, *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Everything else will be available electronically.

**Office Hours:** Mondays 4:00-6:00 PM.

**Accommodation for students with disability:** Students who have a disability for which you are or may be requesting accommodation should contact both the instructor and the Office of Academic Support Services, University Center 212 (610-758-4152) as early as possible in the semester. You must obtain documentation from Academic Support Services before accommodation can be granted.

## **Schedule**

### **PART I: NATIONALISM**

#### **January 19: Introduction**

- No readings.

#### **January 21: Defining terms**

- Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 17-18.
- Joseph Stalin, "The Nation," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 18-21.
- Max Weber, "The Nation," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 21-25.
- Karl W. Deutsch, "Nationalism and Social Communication," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 26-29.
- Clifford Geertz, "Primordial and Civic Ties," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 29-34.
- Walker Connor, "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a . . ." in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 36-46.
- Azar Gat with Alexander Yakobson, *Nations*, pp. 18-26.

#### **January 26: Modernization and Nationalism I**

- Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism and Modernization," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 55-63.
- Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism and High Culture," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 63-70.
- Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 89-96.
- Eric Hobsbawm, "The Nation as Invented Tradition," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 76-83.

#### **January 28: Modernization and Nationalism II**

- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, chs. 3-4 (pp. 35-69).

## **February 2: The Ethnic Origins of Nations I**

- Pierre Van Den Berghe, "A Socio-Biological Perspective," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 96- 103.
- Anthony Smith, "The Origins of Nations," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 147-154.
- Azar Gat with Alexander Yakobson, *Nations*, pp. 1-18, chs. 2-3 (pp. 27-66).

## **February 4: Ethnic Origins of Nations II**

- Azar Gat with Alexander Yakobson, *Nations*, ch. 4. (pp. 67-131).
- Kanchan Chandra, "How Ethnic Identities Change," in Kanchan Chandra, ed., *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 132-178.

## **PARTII: NATIONALISM AND CONFLICT**

### **February 9: The Idea of the Nation-State and Violence**

- Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development," *World Politics*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (July, 1971), pp. 665-683.
- Andreas Wimmer, *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 4 (pp. 108-142).

### **February 11: Elite Manipulation and Ethnic Conflict**

- V. P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security*, Vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994-1995), pp. 130-166.
- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, Third Edition (New York, NY: Free Press, 1988), ch. 5 (pp. 68-86)

### **February 16: Varieties of Nationalism and Violence**

- Liah Greenfeld, "Types of European Nationalism," in Hutchinson and Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, pp. 165-171.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2000), pp. 69-88.
- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, ch. 5 (pp. 71-93).

### **February 18: The Content of Group Identity and Conflict**

- Stuart J. Kaufmann, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice: Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence," *International Security*, Vol. 30, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 45-86.
- Arman Grigorian and Stuart Kaufman, "Correspondence: Hate Narratives and Ethnic Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 31, no. 4 (Spring 2007), pp. 180-191.

### **February 23: Anarchy and Ethnic Conflict**

- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 103-124.
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 90, no. 4 (December, 1996), pp. 715-735.

### **February 25: Commitment Problems and Ethnic Conflict**

- James Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 107-126.
- Arman Grigoryan, "Disintegrating Empires and Ethno-nationalist Conflict," forthcoming in *International Security*.

### **March 2: Ethnic Stratification, Colonialism, and Ethnic Conflict.**

- Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), ch. 4 (pp. 141-184).

## **PART III: CASE STUDIES**

### **March 16, 18: Yugoslavia**

- Reread V.P. Gagnon, Jr., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia."
- Susan Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995), chs. 3-4 (pp. 47-113)
- Stuart Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds*, ch. 6.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence*, pp. 204-220.
- Raju Thomas, "Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Secession: Principles and Practice," in Raju Thomas, ed., *Yugoslavia Unraveled: Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Intervention* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 3-39.

### **March 23, 25: The Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict**

- Tomas de Waal, *Caucasus: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 4 (pp. 98-130).
- Gerard Libaridian, *Armenia at the Crossroads: Democracy and Nationhood in the Post-Soviet Era* (Watertown, MA: Blue Crane Books, 1991), pp. 9-38, 111-118, 149-156.
- Stuart Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds*, ch. 3.
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence*, pp. 220-235.
- Erik Melander, "The Karabagh War Revisited: Was the War Inevitable?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 48-75.

### **March 30, April 1: Rwanda**

- Reread, Stuart Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice."
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), chs. 1, 7 (pp. 19-39, 185-233).
- Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), chs. 4-5 (pp. 95-152).

### **April 6, 8: Syria**

- Raymond Hinnebusch, "Syria: From 'Authoritarian Upgrading' to Revolution?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 88, no. 1 (January, 2012), pp. 95-113.
- Nikolaos Van Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society under Asad and the Ba'ath Party* (London, UK: I. B. Tauris and Co Ltd, 2011), chs. 1-3, 6-8, 10 (pp. 1-47, 75-117, 136-144).

## **PART IV: SOLUTIONS**

### **April 13, 15: Intervention**

- Samantha Power, 'A Problem from Hell': America and the Age of Genocide (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002), chs. 9, 12 (pp. 247-327, 443-473).
- Alan Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 52, no. 1 (March, 2008), pp. 49-80.
- Arman Grigoryan, "Third Party Intervention and the Escalation of State-Minority Conflicts," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 54, no. 4 (December, 2010), pp. 1143-1174.

### **April 20, 22: Consociationalism and Ethnofederalism**

- Arendt Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), ch. 3 (pp. 30-45).
- Philip Roeder, "Power Dividing as an Alternative to Ethnic Power Sharing," in Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 51-82.
- Svante Cornell, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective," *World Politics*, Vol. 54, no. 2 (January, 2002), pp. 245-276.
- Arman Grigoryan, "Ethnofederalism, Separatism, and Conflict: What Have We Learned from the Soviet and Yugoslav Experiences?" *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 33, no. 5 (November, 2012), pp. 520-538.

### **April 27, 29: Partition and Homogenization**

- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security*, 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136-175.
- James Fearon, "Separatist Wars, Partition, and World Order," *Security Studies*, Vol. 13, no. 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 394-415.
- Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), chs. 5-6 (pp. 143-190).