

Political Science 371  
**Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict**  
Winterim 2011 (January 3-20)

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**Online Course Information**

On-line Access: This course is offered entirely online. All course materials except for the textbooks will be accessible online for reading and viewing. All assignments will be completed and graded online.

Contacting Me: The most reliable way to reach me is by email: [shale@uwm.edu](mailto:shale@uwm.edu). I check email most days during the week (though often not on weekends). If you send an email, please be certain to put "Polsci 371" as your subject header.

Computer Skills Needed for the Course: You will need basic word processing skills; the ability to send and receive email; and a simple understanding of how to access and browse Web sites, including our course Web site on Desire2Learn (D2L). You will have to be able to receive email via your UWM email account, but you can if you wish forward your UWM email to a private account. Just a word of caution: checking your email and our course Web site regularly is very important to your ability to do well in this course.

Computer Resources Needed for the Course: You will need routine access either to a computer that has a broadband connection (such as Roadrunner or DSL), or to a campus network connection to the Web. If you don't have your own computer, you will need to use one of the campus lab computers, or perhaps a computer in the public library.

Dialup access is **NOT** sufficient to pass this course! Dialup access is **NOT** sufficient to pass this course! Dialup access is **NOT** sufficient to pass this course!

The computer you use must have a basic word processing package such as Microsoft Word for Windows. You will also need Adobe Acrobat Reader to view Adobe PDF files.

Keeping Up with the Course: Winterim courses move very fast, and make large demands on your time. It will be *up to you* to organize your time effectively to get your work done. If you have the slightest tendency to put things off or to be disorganized—especially where accessing the course material via computer is concerned—then you may fall behind and do poorly in the course.

**Grades**

Grades will be based on five short exams (20% of the grade each). These short exams focus on the material covered in the previous one to four lectures. Short exams must be taken online, usually between 6:00 a.m. in the morning and 2:00 a.m. at night, as follows:

- Friday, January 7, 6:00 a.m.-Saturday, January 8, 2:00 a.m.
- Tuesday, January 11, 10:00 a.m.-Wednesday, January 12, 2:00 a.m.

NOTE LATER START TIME FOR EXAM #2 DUE TO D2L UPGRADE!

- Friday, January 14, 6:00 a.m.-Saturday, January 15, 2:00 a.m.
- Monday, January 17, 6:00 a.m.-Tuesday, January 18, 2:00 a.m.
- Thursday, January 20, 6:00 a.m.-Friday, January 21, 2:00 a.m.

No make-up exams will be given. If there is a medical emergency, documented by a written excuse from a health care provider, an exam may be dropped. In this case, the grade will be calculated based on the other four exams taken.

You will take the exams online in a timed format. You will have a set amount of time (usually 25 minutes) to take an exam. You must complete the exam in that amount of time. Exams must be started and completed during the specified (usually 20-hour) time window.

After the allotted time to complete the exam (usually 25 minutes) has passed, the exam will be submitted automatically as is. If you finish in less than the allotted time, you may submit the exam yourself.

Once you start an exam, you must finish it within the allotted time—there is no starting an exam, exiting, and coming back to it at another time. Each exam may only be taken one time. If your internet connection fails, you may log back on and continue the exam within the allotted time. Students are responsible to have reliable internet connections. To minimize problems, students are urged to use wired rather than wireless internet connections. All five short exams will consist of multiple-choice questions. Be sure to click on the relevant D2L icons to save your work as you answer each question, and to submit your completed exam.

D2L shows the grades as a percentage score out of 100. However, these percentage scores do not equate directly to grades. Exam grades will be based on a curve, which takes account of how well the class does on any given exam. In an exam of 25 multiple-choice questions, here is an example of a curve in a previous course:

- 17/25 or higher: A = 68% or higher
- 16/25: A- = 64%
- 15/25: B+ = 60%
- 14/25: B = 56%
- 13/25: B- = 52%
- 12/25: C+ = 48%
- 11/25: C = 44%
- 10/25: C- = 40%
- 9/25: D+ = 36%
- 8/25: D = 32%
- 7/25: D- = 28%
- 6/25 or lower: F = 24% or lower

But this may not be a good predictor of curves during this term. I will send around an email with the curve after each exam. Again, final course grades will be based on the average of the curved individual exam grades. Average grades right at the borderline will receive the higher possible grade.

### **Course Description**

The course begins with a brief theoretical introduction. What is a nation? How is a nation different from an ethnic group? Under what conditions do national self-determination movements gain greater ideological influence and political power? What are the most

common kinds of conflicts between such self-determination movements and existing states? What are the various means of settling such conflicts? When are such conflicts most likely to become violent and stay violent? When violence breaks out, why are some techniques and strategies of warfare used more than others? Why do some conflicts involve mainly conventional warfare, while others see more guerrilla warfare or terrorism? When is “ethnic cleansing”—forced transfer of one or more ethnic populations from a given region—more likely to occur? What role is played by international intervention? What international legal norms govern involvement in ethnic conflicts? What determines whether other countries will contemplate military intervention? What form will this intervention take? What role if any is played by international organizations, such as the United Nations, the European Union, or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)? Why? For each major political actor, we can ask the following basic question: How do factors such as the history of the conflict, the objective characteristics of states and groups, their political institutions, and the balance of power influence leaders’ political objectives? Once the goals or preferences of political actors are given, material and political constraints, available “technologies” of war and peace, and likely responses of other actors lead to choices of political and military strategies. Collectively, these strategies produce the political and military outcomes we are interested in explaining.

Following this theoretical introduction, we will apply the theory to understand four major ethnic conflicts. Like most major ethnic conflicts, these four conflicts are heavily influenced by international intervention. We will begin with two major post-communist ethnic conflicts—that between Armenians and Azeris in the former Soviet Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan; and those involving Croats, Muslims, and Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. We will then examine two perennial ethnic conflicts of the post-World War II period—that between Hindus and Muslims in India and Pakistan, and that between Jews and Arabs in Israel and the surrounding Arab states and territories. In all of these cases, we are interested in explaining why we see a certain level and character of conflict. These outcomes reflect strategy choices of the major political actors, and these strategy choices reflect political goals, political and military “technologies,” and material and political constraints. To understand these conflicts, we therefore need to understand how these political goals were formed and how material and political constraints have developed. Such an understanding will also help us to see how these conflicts might wind down or end, how they might escalate, and how they might drag on more or less as they are.

## Readings

The following required texts are available in the bookstore:

- Brown, Michael E., et al. (2001) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*. Revised edition. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. ISBN: 978-0-262-52315-8. New price: \$36.00.
- Ganguly, Sumit. (2001) *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN: 978-0-231-12369-3. New price: \$29.00.
- Gilbert, Martin. (2008) *Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Ninth edition. London: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-415-46029-3. New price: \$29.95.
- Karsh, Efraim. (2002) *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Palestine War 1948*. New York: Osprey. ISBN: 978-1-841-76372-9. New price: \$17.95.

Other required readings can be downloaded in D2L from the “Content” page. They are also available on electronic reserve at Golda Meir Library, under Political Science 371, 175, or 337, at:

<<https://millib.wisconsin.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&PAGE=rbSearch>>

## Course Schedule

### Part I: Basic Theory.

Days 1-2 (Monday, January 3; Tuesday, January 4): Introduction. Defining and understanding ethnic groups, nations and nationalism, and states. When and how national identities and nationalist movements develop: primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Examples of how national identity and nationalism have evolved in different places and times. Nationalism, the decline of empires, and the modern international system of nation-states.

Reading: Lecture Notes on “Ethnic Group, Nation, and State,” and on “Modern Nation-States and the International System”; Hutchinson and Smith 1994, pp. 21-26, 36-46, 55-70, 83-103, 113-121, 147-159, 162-165, 171-177, 214-225, 254-257, 261-280 (includes the following extracts: Weber 1948; Connor 1978; Gellner 1964; Gellner 1983; Brass 1979; Anderson 1991; van den Berghe 1978; Smith 1981; Smith 1989; Connor 1990; Kohn 1945; Sugar 1969; Robinson 1979; Matossian 1962; Howard 1991; Horowitz 1985; Mayall 1990).

Days 3-4 (Wednesday, January 5; Thursday, January 6): Origins of ethnic conflicts. Methods of waging ethnic conflicts. International intervention in ethnic conflicts. Ways of settling ethnic conflicts.

Reading: Lecture Notes on “Theory: Conflict Onset, Termination, Strategies, and External Intervention”; Brown et al. 2001, chaps. 1, 6, 12, 14 (articles by Brown, pp. 3-25; Brown and Oudratt, pp. 163-192; Stedman, pp. 366-414; and Kaufmann, pp. 444-483).

### Part II: Case Studies.

Days 5-6 (Friday, January 7; Monday, January 10): The Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.

#### **Short exam on-line:**

**Friday, January 7, 6:00 a.m.-Saturday, January 8, 2:00 a.m. Covers materials from Days 1-4.**

Reading: Lecture Notes on “Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict”; Croissant 1998, chaps. 1-4.

Days 7-8 (Tuesday, January 11; Wednesday, January 12): The Bosnian ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.

#### **Short exam on-line:**

**Tuesday, January 11, 10:00 a.m.-Wednesday, January 12, 2:00 a.m. Covers materials from Days 5-6.**

**NOTE LATER START TIME FOR EXAM #2 DUE TO D2L UPGRADE!**

Reading: Lecture Notes on “Bosnian Conflict: Croats, Muslims, and Serbs”; Horowitz 2005, chaps. 8-10.

Days 9-11 (Thursday, January 13; Friday, January 14; Monday, January 17): The India-Pakistan conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.

**Short exam on-line:**

**Friday, January 14, 6:00 a.m.-Saturday, January 15, 2:00 a.m.**

Reading: Lecture Notes on "India-Pakistan Conflict"; Ganguly 2001.

Days 12-14 (Tuesday, January 18; Wednesday, January 19; Thursday, January 20). The Arab-Israeli conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.

**Short exams on-line:**

**Monday, January 17, 6:00 a.m.-Tuesday, January 18, 2:00 a.m. Covers material from Days 9-11.**

**Thursday, January 20, 6:00 a.m.-Friday, January 21, 2:00 a.m. Covers material from Days 12-14.**

Reading: Lecture Notes on "Middle East Politics" and "Arab-Israeli Conflict"; Gilbert 2008; Karsh 2002; Karsh 2003, chaps. 9-12; Lewis 2001; Rubin 2002, chaps. 1, 8.

**Required Readings Available in D2L under "Content"**

To access the readings from off campus, you may need to use your UWM email log-in and password.

Croissant, Michael P. (1998) *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and Implications*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapters 1-4.

Horowitz, Shale. (2005) *From Ethnic Conflict to Stillborn Reform: The Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press. Chapters 8-10.

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (1994) *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The assigned extracts are:

Weber, Max. (1948) "The Nation," 21-26.

Connor, Walker (1978) "'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a...,'" 36-46.

Gellner, Ernest. (1964) "Nationalism and Modernization," 55-63.

Gellner, Ernest. (1983) "Nationalism and High Cultures," 63-70.

Brass, Paul R. (1979) "Elite Competition and Nation Formation," 83-89.

Anderson, Benedict. (1991) "Imagined Communities," 89-96.

van den Berghe, Pierre. (1978) "A Socio-Biological Perspective," 96-103.

Smith, Anthony D. (1981) "The Crisis of Dual Legitimation," 113-121.

Smith, Anthony D. (1989) "The Origins of Nations," 147-154.

Connor, Walker (1990) "When is a Nation?" 154-159.

Kohn, Hans. (1945) "Western and Eastern Nationalisms," 162-165.

Sugar, Peter. (1969) "Nationalism in Eastern Europe," 171-177.

Robinson, Francis. (1979) "Islam and Nationalism," 214-217.

Matossian, Mary. (1962) "Ideologies of Delayed Development," 218-225.

Howard, Michael. (1991) "War and Nations," 254-257.

Horowitz, Donald. (1985) "The Logic of Secessions," 261-269.

Mayall, James. (1990) "Irredentist and Secessionist Challenges," 269-280.

Lewis, Bernard. (2001) "The Revolt of Islam." *The New Yorker* (November 19).

Karsh, Efraim. (2003) *Arafat's War*. New York: Grove Press. Chapters 9-12.

Rubin, Barry. (2002) *The Tragedy of the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 and 8.