

Political Science 371
Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Spring 2022

Tuesdays, 3:30-6:00 p.m., Bolton B60

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Final exam: Thursday, May 19, 3:00-4:00 p.m., Bolton B60

Course Description

The course begins with a 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 take the following explanatory approach: How do factors such as the history of the conflict, the objective characteristics of states and groups, and political institutions influence leaders’ political objectives? These goals or preferences of political actors, along with material and political factors such as initial political and economic conditions, the balance of military power, and likely responses of other actors, lead to choices of political and military strategies. Taken together, these strategies produce the political and military outcomes we are interested in explaining.

Following this introduction, we will apply the theory to understand three major ethnic conflicts. Like many major ethnic conflicts, these three conflicts are heavily influenced by international intervention. We will begin with a major post-communist ethnic conflict—that between Armenians and Azeris in the former Soviet Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. 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 Muslim 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. Again, these outcomes reflect strategy choices of the major political actors, and these strategy choices reflect factors such as political goals or ideologies, political

institutions, the military balance of power, and various other material and political conditions and constraints. To understand these conflicts, we therefore need to understand how these ideological, political and material factors have developed over time. Such an understanding will also help us to see why these conflicts might wind down or end, why they might escalate, or why they drag on more or less as they are.

Grades

Grades will be based on the best seven of eight short exams (13% each) and class participation (9%). Four exams will be multiple-choice exams, and four will be short essay exams. Class participation will include attendance, short oral presentations, and ordinary class participation. Each student must present on one class discussion topic. (Short oral presentations will be assigned according to a schedule handed out the second week of class. Students presenting in a given week should talk to me after class the week before, in order to agree on what will be discussed. Students should prepare their own talking points, and should never read long statements written by others.) No make-up exams can be given without a medical excuse. To check your understanding of the material and your preparations for the exams, you should see me in office hours at least once before the midterm and once before the final. If you will need accommodations in order to meet any of the requirements of this course, please contact me as soon as possible. Students are responsible to honestly complete and represent their work, to appropriately cite sources, and to respect others' academic endeavors.

Readings

The following required textbooks are available from online booksellers and from UWM's online bookstore <<http://uwm.booksbyecampus.com/>>:

Ganguly, Sumit. (2001) *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN: 978-0-231-12369-3. New paperback price: \$34.00. E-book: \$31.99.

Gilbert, Martin. (2012) *Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Tenth edition. London: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-415-69976-1. New paperback price: \$31.96. E-book six-month rental: \$19.98.

Karsh, Efraim. (2011) *Palestine Betrayed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. ISBN: 978-0-300-17234-8. New paperback price: \$20.00.

Other required readings can be downloaded in CANVAS from the "Home" page.

Course Schedule

Part I: Basic Theory.

Weeks 1-2 (1/25, 2/1): 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: 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. (The latter selections from Hutchinson and Smith include (are the same as) the following extracts listed as

- separate short articles on the course CANVAS site: 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.)
- Weeks 3-5 (2/8, 2/15, 2/22): **Multiple-Choice Exam 1 and Short Essay Exam 1 (2/22).**
Origins of ethnic conflicts. Methods of waging ethnic conflicts. International intervention in ethnic conflicts. Ways of settling ethnic conflicts.
Reading: Brown et al. 2001, Chapters 1 and 6; Stedman 1997; Horowitz and Ye 2013, pp. 508-512.
Recommended reading: Kaufmann 1996.
- Part II: Case Studies.
- Weeks 5-8 (2/22, 3/1, 3/8, 3/15): **Multiple-Choice Exam 2 and Short Essay Exam 2 (3/15).**
The Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.
Reading: Croissant 1998, Chapters 1-4.
- Spring Break: March 21-25.
- Weeks 9-12 (3/29, 4/5, 4/12, 4/19): **Multiple-Choice Exam 3 and Short Essay Exam 3 (4/19).** The India-Pakistan conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.
Reading: Ganguly 2001 (entire).
- Weeks 12-15 (4/19, 4/26, 5/3, 5/10). The Arab-Israeli conflict: identities; origins and development of conflicts; nature of international intervention; proposed settlements; future scenarios.
Reading: Gilbert 2012 (entire); Karsh 2011 (entire); Karsh 2003, chaps. 9-12; Lewis 2001; Rubin 2002, Chapters 1, 8.
- Final Exam (Multiple-Choice Exam 4 and Short Essay Exam 4):
Thursday, May 19, 3:00-4:00 p.m., Bolton B60**

Readings Available on the CANVAS Course Site

- Brown, Michael E. (2001) "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview." In Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 3-25.
- Brown, Michael E. and Chantal de Jonge Oudratt. (2001) "Internal Conflict and International Action: An Overview." In Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 163-192.
- Croissant, Michael P. (1998) *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and Implications*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapters 1-4.
- Horowitz, Shale and Min Ye. (2013) "Nationalist and Power-Seeking Leadership Preferences in Ethno-Territorial Conflicts: Theory, a Measurement Framework, and Applications to the Break-Up of Yugoslavia." *Civil Wars* 15, 4 (December): 508-530.
- 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.
- Karsh, Efraim. (2003) *Arafat's War*. New York: Grove Press. Chapters 9-12.
- Kaufmann, Chaim. (1996) "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20, 4 (Spring), 136-175.
- Lewis, Bernard. (2001) "The Revolt of Islam." *The New Yorker* (November 19).
- Rubin, Barry. (2002) *The Tragedy of the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 and 8.
- Stedman, Stephen John. (1997) "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22, 2 (Fall), 5-53.

General Education Requirement (GER) in Social Science

This course fulfills undergraduate students' General Education Requirement (GER) in social science by advancing students' 1) knowledge of human cultures and 2) critical and creative thinking skills. The first criterion is fulfilled by developing students' substantive knowledge of theories and case studies related to ethnic and national identity development and ethno-national conflict outcomes. The second criterion is fulfilled by sustained student practice in learning the standard social-scientific methods of distinguishing theory from evidence; assessing the logical coherence and consistency of multiple theories; using empirical evidence to assess the relative validity and utility of multiple theories. Assessment occurs via a series of exams that assess students' mastery of substantive knowledge and social-scientific reasoning.