

## COURSE SYLLABUS

### Nationalism and Civil Warfare

**Instructor:**

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**Course Description:**

In the 1970s, *intra*-state or civil wars began to outpace inter-state wars in both duration and intensity. The number of ongoing civil wars now dwarfs that of inter-state wars, and the geography of organized violence has shifted from the inter-state to the sub-state level. Indeed, over the last decade, only eight of the 110 ongoing violent conflicts worldwide were waged between states. In all other cases, at least one of the combatants was a non-state actor such as an armed militia or an ethnic group. Of these, a majority was fought between ethnic groups vying for control over the central government or state territory. Intra-state wars currently rage in Palestine, Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Kashmir, India, Burma, Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Angola, Afghanistan, Liberia, Algeria, the Phillipines, Burundi, and elsewhere. Conflicts over national self-determination *in particular* are known for their bloodiness and intractability; such wars often stretch out over decades and usually only terminate when one side achieves complete victory over the other. Insofar as these conflicts further weaken failed and failing states—facilitating the growth of terrorist networks and organized crime, generating de-stabilizing refugee flows, and spreading infectious diseases across state borders—wars over national self-determination have an impact not only on those who live in these regions, but also on the world at large.

This class will explore the phenomenon of nationalism and intra-state conflict from the perspective of security studies with an eye toward understanding the causes of civil wars. Second, it will investigate the means by which such conflicts can be resolved to achieve peace and to rebuild functioning states. In doing so, we will: (1) review the competing theories on the causes of inter-state conflicts; (2) critique arguments concerning the origins of nationalism and its relationship to violent conflict; and (3), learn to apply and evaluate of these theories in the context of ongoing conflicts around the world.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Week 1. Introduction**

#### *Seminar 1: Trends in Warfare since World War II*

Klaus Jürgen Gantzel. 1997. "War in the post-World War II World: Some Empirical Trends and a Theoretical Approach," in David Turton (ed.), *War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, pp. 123-144.

#### *Seminar 2: International Security after the Cold War*

Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg. 2000. "The End of International War? Armed Conflict 1989-95," *Journal of Peace Research* 37(5), pp. 635-649.

Shashi Tharoor. Spring 1999. "The Future of Civil Conflict," *World Policy Journal* 16(1), pp. 1-11.

Samuel Huntington. Summer 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72(3), pp. 22-49.

### **Week 2. Understanding Intra-state Wars**

#### *Seminar 3: A Typology of Civil Warfare*

Kalevi Holsti. 1996. *The State, War and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-40.

Ted Robert Gurr. 2000. *People Versus States*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, pp. 27-56.

#### *Seminar 4: The Causes of Intra-state Wars*

Stephen Van Evera. 1997. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," in Michael Brown, Owen Cote, Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 26-60.

Michael Brown. 1997. "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview," in Michael Brown, et. al. (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 3-25.

## THEORIES OF NATIONALISM

### **Week 3. Primordialist Theories of Nationalism**

#### *Seminar 5: Classic Primordialism*

J. Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.) 1994. *Nationalism: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, excerpted writings by Renan, Stalin, and Geertz, pp. 15-21; 29-34.

Anthony D. Smith. 1971. *Theories of Nationalism*. New York: Harper and Row, pp. 153-191.

#### *Seminar 6: Neo-Primordialist Theories*

Walker Connor. 1994. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 196-209.

George Schöpflin. 1995. "Nationalism and Ethnicity in Europe, East and West," in Charles A. Kupchan (ed.) *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 37-65.

#### **Week 4. Modernization Theories of Nationalism**

##### *Seminar 7: Overview*

Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-7; 53-62.

Tom Nairn. January-February 1974. "Scotland and Europe," *New Left Review* 83, pp. 57-82.

##### *Seminar 8: Modernization Theories (continued)*

E. J. Hobsbawm. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 101-130.

Miroslav Hroch. March/April 1993. "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation," *New Left Review* 198, pp. 3-20.

#### **Week 5. Constructivist Theories of Nationalism.**

##### *Seminar 9: Overview of Constructivism*

Benedict Anderson. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, pp. 1-46.

##### *Seminar 10: Constructivism (the Institutional variant)*

Yuri Slezkine. Summer 1994. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53(2), pp. 414-452.

Peter Sahlins. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 133-167.

#### **Week 6. Elite-Based Theories of Nationalism**

##### *Seminar 11: Overview*

Paul Brass. 1991. "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity Among the Muslims of South Asia," in Paul Brass (ed.) *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 69-108.

Anne McClintock. 1997. "No Longer in a Future Heaven': Gender, Race and Nationalism," in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (eds.) *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*. University of Minnesota Press, pp. 89-112.

##### *Seminar 12: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Civil Conflict*

V.P. Gagnon, Jr. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168.  
Valery Tishkov. 1997. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 207-227.

## CIVIL WARS

### Week 7. Theories of Civil Warfare

#### *Seminar 13: Psychological Theories*

Geoffrey Blainey. 1973. *The Causes of War*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 35-56.  
Joseph Montville. 1990. "The Pathology and Prevention of Genocide," in Vamik D. Volkan, Joseph V. Montville, and Demetrios Julius (eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships II*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 121-143.

#### *Seminar 14: Security Dilemma Explanations*

Barry Posen. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 103-124.

James D. Fearon. 1998. "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, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 107-126.

### Week 8. Other Theories of Civil Wars

#### *Seminar 15: Need, Greed, and Natural Resources*

Thomas F. Homer-Dixon. Summer 1994. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security* 19(1), pp. 5-40.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. October 21, 2001. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," Working Paper, World Bank, pp. 1-32.

#### *Seminar 16: Outside Intervention and Contagion Effects*

Stephen Saideman. Autumn 1997. "Explaining the International Relations of Secessionist Conflicts," *International Organization* 51(4), pp. 721-753.

Mary Kaldor. 1999. *New and Old Wars*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 69-89.

### Week 9. Case Studies

#### *Seminar 17: Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*

Katherine Verdery. Summer 1993. "Nationalism and National Sentiment in Post-socialist Romania," *Slavic Review* 52(2), pp. 179-203.

Rogers Brubaker. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 55-76.

*Seminar 18: South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa*

John Breuilly. 1994. *Nationalism and the State*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 170-198.  
Sumit Ganguly. Fall 1996. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," *International Security* 21, pp. 76-107.

**Week 10. Solutions to Ethnic War**

*Seminar 19: Civil War Termination*

Barbara Walter. Summer 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51(3), pp. 335-364.

David T. Mason and Patrick J. Fett. 1996. "How Civil Wars End: A Rational Model Approach," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(4), pp. 546-568.

*Seminar 20: Peacekeeping and Power-sharing*

Jacob Bercovitch and Allison Houston. 1996. "The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence," in Jacob Bercovitch (ed.) *Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 11-35.

Arendt Lijphart. 1990. "The Power-Sharing Approach," in Joseph Montville (ed.) *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 491-509.

**Week 11. Solutions to Ethnic Wars (continued)**

*Seminar 21: Partition Theory and its Critics*

Chaim Kaufmann. 1997. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in Michael Brown, et. al. (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 265-304.

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Van Evera. December 18, 1995. "When Peace Means War," *New Republic*, pp. 16-18; 21.

Radha Kumar. January/February 1997. "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs* 76(1), pp. 22-34.

*Seminar 22: Wrap-up and Review (Optional)*