

Ethnicity and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe
International Studies 285-01
Macalester College, Spring 2007, 4 credits

Instructor: Nadya Nedelsky
Time: Tuesday/Thursday 2:45-4:15
Office: Carnegie 407
Phone: 696-6479
Office hours: Wed 10:30-12:30

Once thought to be a fading relic of more primitive times, ethnic nationalism has become one of the new millennium's most powerful and divisive political forces. This course explores ethnic nationalism's development and consequences in one of the sites of its most successful resurgence: the formerly Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. Drawing on contributions from a number of disciplines, we begin by examining the core concepts and theoretical approaches that define the contemporary study of nationalism and ethnic politics. Next, we explore the debate over the rights of minority cultures, which tend to be both the targets and sources of nationalist politics. In this context, we look at whether North American and Western European approaches to the challenge of minority inclusion offer useful models for the European East. Third, drawing on documentaries and primary documents, we explore the region's history from the mid-nineteenth century period of "national awakening" until the end of the Communist period. We then use this theoretical and historical framework to explore the implications of Central and Eastern European nationalist movements for post-communist democratic state-building, minority inclusion, regional stability, and European integration.

Required Texts:

Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski, (eds.), *Can Liberal Pluralism Be Exported? Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*, Paperback, Oxford University Press, April 2002.

Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939*, Indiana University Press, 1999.

Gale Stokes (ed.), *From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe Since 1945*, Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, January 1996.

Assignments:

- 1) Discussion and information-sharing by all members of the class will be central elements of the course. During Parts 1 and 3 of the course, one or two students (on a revolving basis) will offer comments and questions to guide class discussion for one class period. Each discussion-leader should prepare a one- to two-page, single-spaced reaction paper based on the readings. You should identify the key arguments in the readings and compare them to one another. Your primary task, however, is to react to the readings rather than to summarize them. Based on this reaction, you should offer two questions for discussion. You should e-mail these to me by 5 pm the day before the class, and I will send them out to the class (late submissions will be docked half a grade for every 2 hours late). The reaction paper will be worth 5% of the grade.
- 2) Participation in class discussions will be worth 10% of the grade. If you feel uncomfortable speaking in class, please meet with me and we can discuss ways to make this easier for you.

- 3) In this course, each student will develop an expertise on nationalism in one Eastern or Central European country. This and two of the following course assignments are designed both to help you develop in-depth knowledge and to allow you to share the benefits of your expertise with the class. The first of these interrelated assignments is to write a double-spaced, six-to-eight page paper in which you will categorize five scholarly texts on your country (articles or book chapters; you may include the readings for your case assigned in this syllabus if they are useful) according to the theoretical approach(es) to the study of nationalism that they use. You should support your categorizations with evidence from the texts and with reference to the theoretical literature introduced in Part 1. **Due Feb 27**
- 4) You will give a presentation to the class on your case study, during Part 4 of the course, on the day that we focus on your state. Your presentation should consist of three parts. The first is the introductory statement, in which you offer a concise, clearly worded position on the nature and root causes of nationalism in the state you are examining. The second is the case study, through which you will substantiate your position by (1) introducing the parties involved in nationalist politics and/or movements in your state; (2) providing a brief overview of the historical origins and development of nationalism in your case; this history should not be comprehensive, but should highlight events that have clearly affected post-communist nationalism; (3) identifying the constitutional definition of sovereignty in the post-communist state, as laid out in the preamble to the state's constitution; and (4) explaining the key issues/conflicts/positive developments that nationalism has prompted in your case in the post-communist period, offering a balanced account of the perspectives of the main participants in any dispute. The third part is your conclusion, where you offer assessments of (a) the theoretical perspectives on nationalism and, if applicable, on minority rights that you found most useful for understanding your case; (b) the future prospects for the resolution of key conflicts, including the approach you find most promising; and (c) the implications of nationalism for your state's integration into the wider European community.

You should also offer the class a one-page handout on your case containing an outline of the presentation, highlighting key points.

Your presentation should be roughly 20 minutes. We will then open your topic for discussion, and you should be prepared to field questions on your research and conclusions. The presentation will be worth 20% of the grade. Due on the date that we study your country.

- 5) While the case studies should be presented as objectively and even-handedly as possible, it is also important to understand that nationalism-related conflicts often involve deeply-held convictions concerning issues of justice, fairness, the proper foundations of community and the purposes of good government. To develop a fuller sense of the competing perspectives involved in these conflicts, each case study presentation will be followed by two five-minute presentations, offered on a revolving basis by a pair of students, in which each student will play the role of one party in a nationalism-related conflict discussed in the case study. You should present as strong a case as possible for the side in the conflict that you are representing. Though you should draw on available evidence, this should be an *argument* rather than a report. The conflict and the division of roles should be chosen in close consultation with the country-expert whose case study will precede these brief presentations. The presentations will be worth 10% of the grade.

- 6) There will be a 15-to-18-page paper (double-spaced, 12-inch font, no larger than 1.5-inch margins) on your case study. This should integrate theoretical analysis with your empirical research. The bulk of the paper will be comprised of an expanded and refined version of your presentation, taking into account any incisive or helpful comments you received after your presentation.

There will, however, be three further components:

- 1) Following your introductory statement, you should offer an overview of the different theoretical approaches used in the literature on your case. You may draw on the literature review you did in your first paper for this, but you should add at least one more source into the discussion. This section should be a streamlined version of your theoretical paper and should not be longer than three pages. At the end of this literature review, you should identify the theoretical approach, or combination of approaches, that *you* take. This section should then be followed by the same elements found in the presentation.
- 2) The term paper should include a comparative component, where you compare your case to at least three other cases covered in the course. You should choose cases that share some key elements with your case. You may integrate these cases into your study as you see fit, highlighting similarities and differences between them and your case. You do not need to compare your case with these cases in every section of the case study, only those where the comparison is enlightening or particularly interesting. You may use the sources assigned to the whole class and you should also make reference to the information provided by class presentations on these cases.
- 3) The third additional component comes at the end of the paper, in the conclusion, where you should add in an assessment of the utility of the theoretical approach(es) that you used to analyze your case.

The research paper is due **May 3, by 5:00 pm**, at my office. It will be worth 30% of the grade.

Note: Unless you have talked with me before the due date, late papers will be docked half a grade per day. If you miss the day of your case study presentation without talking to me beforehand, barring extreme circumstances, you will receive a zero for that portion of the grade.

- 8) Lastly, there will be a final exam over the material covered in the student presentations, worth 10% of the grade.

Overview of grade components:

- Reaction paper: 5%
- Participation: 10%
- Theoretical paper: 10%
- Presentation: 20%
- Role-playing presentations: 15%
- Research paper: 30%
- Final exam: 10%

Note: Plagiarized work will not be accepted. If you are using someone else's ideas, words, or research, you **MUST** cite them properly.

Attendance:

Regular attendance is required. You may have one free day (which cannot be the day of your presentation or when you are a discussant), after which your grade may be docked.

Grading scale:

100-94: A	89-86: B+	79-76: C+	69-66: D+	below 59, NC
93-90: A-	85-83: B	75-73: C	65-63: D	
	82-80: B-	72-70: C-	62-60: D-	

Course schedule (subject to change if necessary)

I will provide readings marked with *

Tuesday, January 23: First day

Part 1: Theory

Thursday, January 25: Primordialist approaches

- Johann Gottfried von Herder, “Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind”*
- Clifford Geertz, “Primordial and Civic Ties”*
- Pierre van den Berghe, “A Socio-Biological Perspective”*

Tuesday, January 30: Modernist approaches

- Ernest Gellner, “Nationalism and High Cultures”*
- Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Nationalism in the Late Twentieth Century”*
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (excerpt)*

Thursday, February 1: Ethno-symbolist approaches

- John Hutchinson, “Nations and Culture”*
- Anthony Smith, “Nations and History”*

Tuesday, February 6: The debate over the “civic” and “ethnic” models of nationhood

- Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* (excerpt)*
- Bernard Yack, “The Myth of the Civic Nation”*

Thursday, February 8: Theoretical roundtable

Part 2: History

Tuesday February 13: The fall of Empire and the interwar years

- Gale Stokes, “Eastern Europe’s Defining Fault Lines,” in Ramet.
- Video: Eastern Europe: Political Powder Keg, Vol. 1, 1900-1939
- Joseph Rothschild, “The Interwar Background”*

Thursday, February 15: World War II and the Communist takeover

- Gustavs Celmins, “A Latvian Latvia”*
- Corneliu Codreanu, “The Resurrection of the Race”*
- Ferenc Szálasi, “Hungarianism”*
- Video: Eastern Europe: Political Powder Keg, Vol. 2, 1939-1953

Tuesday, February 20: The Communist Years

- Video: Eastern Europe: Political Powder Keg, Vol. 3, 1953-1990
- Charles E. Bohlen, *The Yalta Negotiations*, in Stokes.
- Winston S. Churchill, *The Percentages Agreement*, in Stokes.
- Jakub Berman, “The Case for Stalinism,” in Stokes.
- The Tito-Stalin Correspondence, in Stokes.
- Imre Nagy, *Reform Communism*, in Stokes.

Thursday, February 22: The National vs. the “International”: The Communist Years in Eastern Europe

- Ludvík Vaculík, Two Thousand Words to Workers, Farmers, Scientists, Artists, and Everyone, in Stokes.
- Leonid Brezhnev, *The Brezhnev Doctrine*, in Stokes.
- Milan Kundera, A Nation Which Cannot Take Itself for Granted, in Stokes.
- Milan Kundera, The Tragedy of Central Europe, in Stokes.
- “Human Rights,” in Stokes (p. 156)
- The Helsinki Accords, in Stokes.
- *Charter 77*, in Stokes.
- Sabine Rosenblatt, *Environmental Concerns in Poland*, in Stokes.
- Pope John Paul II, Pope John Paul II Speaks in Victory Square, Warsaw, in Stokes.
- Craig R. Whitney, David Binder, and Serge Schmemmann, “The Opening of the Berlin Wall,” in Stokes.
- Adam Michnik, *Letter from Gdansk Prison*, in Stokes.

Part 3: Post-communism

Tuesday, February 27: An overview of the East European transitions (**theoretical paper due by 5:00 pm at my office**)

- Václav Havel, “New Year’s Day Speech, 1990,” in Stokes.
- Daniel N. Nelson and Georgeta V. Pourchot, “Democracy, Markets, and Security in Eastern Europe,” in Ramet.
- Sabrina P. Ramet, “Democracy, Tolerance, and the Cycles of History,” in Ramet.

Thursday, March 1: Approaches to the study of post-communist nationalism

- John A. Armstrong, “Postcommunism and Nationalism”*
- Ion Lancranjan, “Patriotism: A Vital Necessity,” in Stokes.
- Stanko Todorov, “Name Changes in Bulgaria,” in Stokes.
- Dimitrij Rupel, “The Slovene National Question,” in Stokes.
- István Csurka, “A Few Thoughts,” in Stokes.
- Dimitrij Rupel, “The Slovene National Question,” in Stokes.

- Zhelyu Zhelev, “Esteemed Compatriots,” in Stokes.

Tuesday, March 6: Nationalism and European Integration: Contradictory Forces?

- Anthony Smith, “Supra- or Super-Nationalism”*
- Judith Kelley, “Does Domestic Politics Limit the Influence of External Actors on Ethnic Politics?”*
- Heather Grabbe, “European Union Conditionality and the ‘Acquis Communautaire’”*

Thursday, March 8: Post-communism and minority rights

- Will Kymlicka, “Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe,” in *Can Liberal Pluralism Be Exported?*

*****Spring Break!*****

Tuesday, March 20: Commentaries on/responses to Kymlicka

- Urszula Doroszewska, “Rethinking the State, Minorities, and National Security,” in Kymlicka.
- Tibor Várady, “On the Chances of Ethnocultural Justice in East Central Europe,” in Kymlicka.
- Michael Walzer, “Nation-States and Immigrant Societies,” in Kymlicka.
- Boris Tsilevich, “New Democracies in the Old World,” in Kymlicka.
- Alexander Ossipov, “Some Doubts about ‘Ethnocultural Justice,’” in Kymlicka.

Part 4: Case Studies

Thursday, March 22: Estonia

- W. Rogers Brubaker, “Citizenship Struggles in Soviet Successor States”*
- Vello Pattai, “Definitions and Discourse: Applying Kymlicka’s Models to Estonia and Latvia,” in Kymlicka.

Tuesday, March 27: Poland

- Jack Bielasiak, “Poland,” in Ramet.

Thursday, March 29: Germany

- Brigitte H. Schulz, “The German Democratic Republic,” in Ramet.

Tuesday, April 3: Czech Republic

- Sharon L. Wolchik, “Czechoslovakia,” in Ramet.
- Pavel Barsa, “Ethnocultural Justice in East European States and the Case of the Czech Roma,” in Kymlicka.

Thursday, April 5: Slovakia

- Zuzana Poláčková and Pieter van Duin, „Democratic Renewal and the Hungarian Minority Question in Slovakia: From Populism to Ethnic Democracy?”*

Tuesday, April 10: Hungary

- László Kürti, “Hungary,” in Ramet.
- János Kis, “Nation-Building and Beyond,” in Kymlicka.

Thursday, April 12: Belarus

- Alexandra Goujon, “Language, Nationalism, and Populism in Belarus”*

Tuesday, April 17: Bulgaria

- Spas T. Raikin, “Bulgaria,” in Ramet.

Thursday, April 19: Romania

- William Crowther, “Romania,” in Ramet.
- Gabriel Andreescu, “Universal Thought, Eastern Facts: Scrutinizing National Minority Rights in Romania,” in Kymlicka.

Tuesday, April 24: Serbia/Kosovo

- Sabrina P. Ramet, “Yugoslavia,” in Ramet.
- Robert M. Hayden, “Imagined communities and real victims: self- determination and ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia”*
- Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SAMU), in Stokes.

Thursday, April 26: Bosnia-Herzegovina

- Lenard J. Cohen, “Prelates and Politicians in Bosnia: The Role of Religion in Nationalist Mobilisation,” electronic reserve through Mac library.
- Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Stokes.

Tuesday, May 1: Course wrap-up

Thursday, May 3: papers due at my office by 5 pm