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, through 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. In this context, we explore the debate over the rights of minority cultures, which tend to be both the targets and sources of nationalist politics, asking whether North American and Western European approaches to the challenge of minority inclusion offer useful models for the European East. Finally, we explore our central issues in depth through a number of student-led case studies.

Required Text:

Other readings available on Moodle

Overview of grade components:
- **Reaction paper**: ungraded (due on your discussion-leadership day; discussion questions due by 5 pm two days before your discussion-leadership day)
- Participation: 15%
- Thought paper: 10% (first version due September 22nd; final version due October 8th)
- Theoretical paper: 15% (due October 15th)
- News journal: 5%
- Presentation: 20% (one class during period during Part 4 of the course)
- Role-playing presentations: 10% (you will do two of these during the second half of the class, each worth 5% of the grade)
- Research paper: 25% (due December 12th)

Assignments:
1) **Reaction paper**: Discussion and information-sharing by all members of the class will be central elements of the course. During Parts 1-3 of the course, one or two students (on a revolving basis) will offer comments and questions to guide part of class discussion for one class period. Each discussion-leader should prepare a one-page, single-spaced reaction paper based on at least two of the readings. You should identify the key concerns, arguments, and conclusions 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 two days before your discussion-leadership day, so that I can work them into the class design and email some questions out, so your classmates have time to think about them. The reaction paper itself is due in class on the day of your discussion-leadership. It is ungraded but will count toward your participation grade.

2) Participation in class discussions will be worth 15% 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) Thought paper: One component of the W requirement is the opportunity to revise a piece of writing, which you will be able to do with the 2-page thought paper. You will respond to a prompt I provide and follow the format I will explain. I will hand it back to you with comments, which will provide you basis for revisions. The first version is due September 22rd and the final version is due October 8th. Worth 10% of the grade.

4) Theoretical paper: In this course, each student will develop an expertise on nationalism in one formerly communist European country. This and three 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 on nationalism introduced in the first weeks of the course. Worth 15%. Due Monday, Oct 13th.

5) News journal: Beginning in the third week of class, you should start following the news in your country (various regional news digests are available online). By Friday of each week, you should send me a link to an important news story from your country, accompanied by 2-3 questions it raises for you. Worth 5%.

5) Presentation: You will give a 15-minute presentation to the class on your case study during the second half of the course, on the day that we focus on your region.

At its core, the paper should take up these questions:

- What nationalism-related issues are important in your country, and with what implications?
- What are the root causes of these issues, and which theory or theories best help us understand/explain them? How does your explanation relate to the broader literature on your case?
- Based on your explanation, what responses are most promising?

A more detailed prompt will be provided.

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

Your presentation will also be accompanied by a role-playing presentation (see #5 below) (you can incorporate that into the presentation, which would expand its length as necessary). 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.
6) **Role-playing presentations**: 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 (or incorporate) two brief presentations (not longer than 4 minutes each), 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 will be chosen in close consultation with the country-expert whose case study will precede these brief presentations, and this expert should also thoroughly brief the presenters on the broader context of the debate. The role-playing presentations (each student will do two) are each worth 5% of the grade, and you should hand in the text you present.

Each pair of debaters, plus the main presenter, should meet with me a minimum of 2 days prior to the class when you present to go over what you plan to present. Email me to set up a time that works for everyone.

7) **Research paper**: There will be a 15-to-20-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. A more detailed prompt will be provided. The **research paper is due 4:00 pm on Fri, December 12**, at the I.S. office. Please also email me a copy. It is worth 25% of the grade.

**Note**: Unless you have talked with me before the due date, late papers will be docked 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.

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

**One last note**: **Laptops** are **not** allowed in the classroom. Please bring hard copies of all readings to class.

**Attendance**: Regular attendance is expected. You may have one free day (which cannot be the day of your presentation or when you are a discussant); if you have further unexcused absences, your participation grade will suffer.

**Grading scale**:

- 100-94: A
- 93-90: A-
- 89-86: B+
- 85-83: B
- 79-76: C+
- 75-73: C
- 69-60: D
- 59-55: D-
- 82-80: B-
- 72-70: C-
Course schedule (subject to change if necessary)

Wed, Sept 3: First day: welcome to the class!

Part 1: Theory

Fri, Sept 5: Definitions

- Walker Connor, “Terminological Chaos: A Nation Is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a…”

Mon, Sept 8: 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”

Wed, Sept 10: Modernist approaches

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

Fri, Sept 12: Ethno-symbolist approaches

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

Mon, Sept 15: The debate over the “civic” and “ethnic” models of nationhood

- Michael Ignatieff, Blood and Belonging (excerpt)

Wed, Sept 17: Academic writing workshop

- Richard A Lanham, “Who’s Kicking Who?” and “Sentences and Shopping Bags,” from Revising Prose
- Helen Sword, Stylish Academic Writing (excerpt)

Fri, Sept 19: Film We Are All Neighbors

Mon, Sept 22: Theoretical roundtable (thought paper due)

Wed, Sept 24: country intro session

Part 2: History

Fri, Sept 26: The rise of nations and the fall of empires

- Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane L. Curry, “Democracy, the Market, and the Return to Europe: From Communism to the European Union and Nato”
Mon, Sept 29: The fall of empire, continued, and the interwar years

- DVD: Eastern Europe: Political Powder Keg, Vol. 1, 1900-1939

Wed, Oct 1: World War II, lead-up and aftermath

- Gustavs Celmin, “A Latvian Latvia”
- Corneliu Codreanu, “The Resurrection of the Race”
- Ferenc Szálasi, “ Hungarianism”
- The Tito-Stalin Correspondence, in Stokes.

Fri, Oct 3: World War II and Stalinism, continued


Mon, Oct 6: The national vs. the communist “International”

- “The Hungarian Revolution,” in Stokes (p. 82).

Wed, Oct 8: The communist years, on film (thought paper revision due)


Fri, Oct 10: NO CLASS – Macalester International Roundtable

Mon, Oct 13: Communism’s last 20 Years

- “Human Rights,” in Stokes (p. 156)
- Charter 77, in Stokes.
Part 3: Post-communism

Wed, Oct 15: An overview of the East European transitions (theoretical paper due)
- Zsuzsa Csergo, “Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Expansion of Democracy”

Fri, Oct 17: Post-communism: nationalism, or supra-nationalism?
- John Hutchinson, “Enduring Nations and the Illusions of European Integration”

Mon, Oct 20: Questions of membership, both internal (minorities) and external (EU)
- Ronald Linden, “EU Accession and the Role of International Actors”
- Gareth Harding, “The Myth of Europe”
- Zsuzsa Csergo, Talk of the Nation: Language and Conflict in Romania and Slovakia, brief excerpt.
- Joshua Castellino, “Minority Rights” (very brief)

Wed, Oct 22: Theorizing post-communist ethnic relations, Part 1
- Will Kymlicka, “Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe,” in Can Liberal Pluralism Be Exported?

Mon, Oct 27: Group work on case studies, divided by regions

Fri, Oct 24: NO CLASS – FALL BREAK!

Wed, Oct 29: Theorizing post-communist ethnic relations, Part 2
- Will Kymlicka, “Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe,” in Can Liberal Pluralism Be Exported?

Fri, Oct 31: Commentaries on/responses to Kymlicka
- Urszula Doroszewska, “Rethinking the State, Minorities, and National Security”
- Michael Walzer, “Nation-States and Immigrant Societies”
- Boris Tsilevich, “New Democracies in the Old World”

Mon, Nov 3: Commentaries on/responses to Kymlicka, continued
- Alexander Ossipov, “Some Doubts about ‘Ethnocultural Justice’”
- Walter A. Kemp, “Applying the Nationality Principle with Care”
- Tibor Várady, “On the Chances of Ethnocultural Justice in East Central Europe”
**Part 4: Case studies and accompanying role-playing presentations** (exact cases and background readings TBA, depending on student choices)

Wed, Nov 5: case studies: Baltics

Fri, Nov 7: case studies: Baltics/Central Europe

Mon, Nov 10: case studies: Central/Southeastern Europe

Wed, Nov 12: case studies: Southeastern Europe

Fri, Nov 14: case studies: Southeastern Europe/Balkans

Mon, Nov 17: case studies: Balkans

Wed, Nov 19: case studies: Balkans

Fri, Nov 21: case studies: question catch-up session

Mon, Nov 24: case studies: Post-Soviet states

Wed, Nov 26-30: THANKSGIVING BREAK! Enjoy!

Mon, Dec 1: case studies: Post-Soviet states

Wed, Dec 3: case studies

Fri, Dec 5: comparative analysis

Mon, Dec 8: paper peer review session

Wed, Dec 10: LAST DAY OF CLASS!

Friday, Dec 12: **Final paper due** by email and in hard copy by 4 pm at the I.S. office