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International Relations
Ethnopolitics in Eurasia and the Middle East
July 4 - 15, 2005

TENTATIVE SYLLABUS

MODULE 1

Theory of Ethnopolitics
Causes of and Solutions to Sectarian Conflict

Topic 1

The Emergence of Nationalism in International Politics

Resource Person: Erin Jenne
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The lecture will explore the development of the discourse on national self-determination, beginning with its origins in eighteenth century notions of democracy and nineteenth century romanticism. The discussion will cover the ideas of Herder, Kohn, Wilson, Lenin, and Kedouri, among others.
- The lecture and seminar discussion will examine the changing impact of nationalism on international politics from the nineteenth century to the present. Special attention is paid to the changing relationship between the nation and the state from the 1800s to the present day.
- Finally, the seminar will explore the influence of nationalism on international law, ranging from the treaties of the nineteenth century to the League of Nations minorities regime to the international fora and courts of the post-Cold War period.

Topic 2

Post-World War II Trends in Conflict and Warfare

Resource Person: Stephen Saideman
Number of hours: 2
Teaching mode: Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The seminar will mainly focus on the causes and consequences of the growing frequency of civil wars in international politics. The „new wars” will be examined and contrasted to „old wars”—the question will be raised as to how „new” these conflicts really are.
- Discussion will cover the changes in the lines of conflict of the new wars, the changed composition of combatants and casualties, and what this means for security in the post-Cold War period.

- Finally, the seminar will tie the discussion of conflict into the earlier seminar on nationalism. What role does nationalism play in these „new wars“? What role do religious, linguistic, and ideological cleavages play vis-à-vis national or ethnic differences in these conflicts?

Topic 3

Anatomy of Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict

Resource Person: Erin Jenne
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The lecture covers much of the sociological and social movements literature on the underlying mechanisms of ethnic mobilization and ethnic boundary maintenance. Ethnic competition theory and relative deprivation theories are explored in detail. Special emphasis is placed on the work of Durkheim, Barth, Gurr, Tilly, Olzak, Kertzer.
- Seminar discussion will focus on the anatomy of ethnic mobilization, focusing particularly on the relationship between elites and masses, national rituals and symbols, as well as the role played by the media in the process of mobilization.

Topic 4

Competing Theories of Ethnic Conflict

Resource Person: Patrick James
Number of hours: 2
Teaching mode: Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- This class will discuss competing theories of ethnic conflict, including elite-based theories, resource theories, economic explanations, institutional or constructivist theories, commitment theories, and spillover and globalization effects.
- Students will become familiar with the methodology used to conduct research into the causes of conflict. Introduction to the Minorities at Risk dataset and the state of the art research on minority mobilization. (Possible computer lab session.)

Topic 5

Solutions to Ethnic and Sectarian Conflict

Resource Person: Stephen Saideman
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- Both the lecture and seminar discussion will cover the various tools that may be used to end civil wars (peace-making). These include military intervention by external states, UN peacekeeping missions, international tribunals, ethnic partition, and economic sanctions. The discussion will focus in particular on the advantages of „carrots“ relative to „sticks“ in the mediation of sectarian warfare.
- Students will debate the broad empirical record of civil war termination. State of the art research on the relative effectiveness of competing instruments for war termination is explored, particularly research undertaking large-N statistical work on civil wars.

Topic 6

Methods of Peace-building in Post-conflict States

Resource Person: Patrick James
 Number of hours: 3
 Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The lecture explores various instruments for consolidating peace settlements in post-conflict states (peace-building), including power-sharing agreements, international or constitutional guarantees, military occupations, and programs for civil society development.
- The seminar discussion will examine domestic instruments for peace-building, mainly electoral systems and constitutional protections. Applications of these tools are analyzed with respect to contemporary cases of post-conflict societies, including Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Moldova, among others.

COURSE READINGS

Bercovitch, Jacob 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.

Brass, Paul. 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.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 3.

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Gantzel, Klaus Jürgen. 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.

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Smith, Anthony D. "The "Sacred" Dimension of Nationalism." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000).

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FURTHER READINGS

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Blainey, Geoffrey. 1973. *The Causes of War*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 35-56.

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- Brown, Michael. 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.
- Conner, Walker. 1994. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 196-209.
- Fearon, James D. 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.
- Gagnon, Jr., V.P. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168.
- Ganguly, Sumit. Fall 1996. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," *International Security* 21, pp. 76-107.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. *People Versus States*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, pp. 27-56.
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- Holsti, Kalevi. 1996. *The State, War and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-40.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. Summer 1994. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security* 19(1), pp. 5-40.
- Hroch, Miroslav. March/April 1993. "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation," *New Left Review* 198, pp. 3-20.
- Huntington, Samuel. Summer 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72(3), pp. 22-49.
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- McClintock, Ann. 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.
- Mearsheimer, J.J. and Stephen Van Evera. December 18, 1995. "When Peace Means War," *New Republic*, pp. 16-18; 21.
- Montville, Joseph. 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.
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- Olzak, Susan. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
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- Sahlins, Peter. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 133-167.

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

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MODULE 2

Ethnopolitics in Eurasia

Topic 1

History of the Eurasian Region

Resource Person: Erin Jenne
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The seminar and lecture undertake a broad-brush overview of the region of Eurasia with respect to national politics. This region stretches from Vladivostok to Prague and from Gdansk to Tirana. Particular attention will be paid to the history of three explicitly multi-national empires—the Romanov, the Habsburg, and the Ottoman Empires, which served to create the national groups that make up the contemporary Eurasian continent.
- Other regional factors that relate to ethnic politics will be discussed during the seminar, including the region's imperial legacies, resource endowments, demographic issues, and general geopolitical constraints. Most of this discussion relates to pre-World War I history.

Topic 2

Ethnic Politics in Interwar Eastern Europe

Resource Person: Florian Bieber
Number of hours: 2
Teaching mode: Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The seminar will cover the impact of the two World Wars as well as the League of Nations experience on ethnic politics in East Central Europe.
- Students will explore the impact the World War I and the idealism of the interwar period had on contemporary national identities in the region.

Topic 3

Multi-national Socialist States (Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia)

Resource Person: Stephen Saideman
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The lecture details the main features of the Soviet nationalities policies with a special emphasis on the three multi-national federations in communist Eastern Europe
- Seminar discussion will focus on the legacies of these empires and the linkages between national communist institutions and post-1989 state reconstruction.

Topic 4

The Collapse of Totalitarian Regimes and Emergence of Ethnic Conflict

Resource Person: Stephen Saideman
Number of hours: 2
Teaching mode: Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- In this seminar, students will discuss the nature of regime change across the region and its impact on national politics. The spread of secessionist movements is traced in the former Soviet Union and East Central Europe. The question will be raised as to whether ethnic conflict led to regime change or regime change to ethnic conflict.
- Seminar discussion focuses on why ethnopolitics took on a violent character in some places in post-communist Eastern Europe but not others. Students will also explore the phenomenon of linguistic conflicts across the region.

Topic 5

External Mediation of Conflicts in Eurasia

Resource Person: Florian Bieber
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The lecture covers different strategies for achieving minority protection and reducing inter-ethnic tensions. Students will discuss how these tools have been applied to the Eurasian setting.
- Factors specific to the region will be examined. It will be asked whether conditions in Eurasia call for certain approaches to conflict mediation and rule out others.
- The record of success of different mediators in the region is examined, including that of the OSCE, the HCNM, the Council of Europe, NATO, UN, and the European Union.

Topic 6

Ethnic Conflict in Eurasia: Lessons Learned and Future Trends

Resource Person: Patrick James
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- Both the seminar and lecture focuses on the lessons learned by mediation efforts in post-communist Eurasia.
- We explore the future trajectory of conflict in Eurasia. The minorities at risk dataset is used to identify patterns and extrapolate trends in civil conflict in the region.

COURSE READINGS

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapters 2, 4.

Daalder, Ivo and Michael O'Hanlon. 2000. *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 63-100.

Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, chapter 1.

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- Boyd, Charles G. September/October 1995. "Making Peace with the Guilty" *Foreign Affairs* 74, pp. 22-38; and response by Noel Malcolm, et. al. November/December 1995. "Appease with Dishonor: Faulty History," *Foreign Affairs* 74, pp. 148-155.
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- Brucilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 340-365.
- Carment, David, Patrick James and Zeynep Taydas. 2005. *Who Intervenes? Ethnic Conflict and Interstate Crisis*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
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- Kohn, Hans. 1961. *The Habsburg Empire, 1804-1918*, New York, Chicago, San Francisco: D. Van Nostrand Co.
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- Rothschild, Joseph. 1993. *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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- Shaw, S. J. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sked, Alan. 1989. *The Decline & Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815-1918*. New York: Longman Inc.
- Treisman, Daniel S. January 1997. "Russia's 'Ethnic Revival,' The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Postcommunist Order," *World Politics* 49, pp. 212-49.
- Woodward, Susan L. 1995. *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 47-81.

MODULE 3

Ethnopolitics in the Middle East

Topic 1

History of Arab-Israeli Conflict

Resource Person:	Carolyn James
Number of hours:	3
Teaching mode:	Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

- The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is perhaps the most overanalyzed yet least understood internal war of the twentieth century. This lecture will explore the roots of the conflict with respect to the nation-state concept, religious differences, Great Power involvement in the Middle East, and disputes over resources, including water and oil.
- The seminar discussion addresses the question: To what extent does the history of the Middle East in general, and of Palestine in particular, inform the problems and challenges faced by negotiators in the current peace process.

Topic 2

Religion and Politics (focus on the Middle East)

Resource Person: Jonathan Fox
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.), Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

Students will discuss the role that religion has played, and continues to play, in politics. Students will discuss different theories of religion and politics; special attention will be paid to (a) sub-state religious conflicts, and (b), relations between states that adhere to different religions.

Middle Eastern politics are inextricably tied up with religious issues. Neither the domestic nor the foreign policy of states in this region can be understood without an exploration of religious issues that inform alliances and that help organize the internal affairs of states. The seminar will explore the ties between religion and politics in this explosive region, with a view toward understanding both the contemporary and future shape of the Middle East.

Topic 3

Middle East Diasporas

Resource Person: Carolyn James
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

Since 1948, the Palestinians have had their own diaspora. As a result, a unified Palestinian state would have to combine highly educated, affluent and Westernized people with fourth and fifth generation residents of refugee camps. Similar splits exist in the Palestinian leadership. The seminar will explore the prospects for nation-state creation in the context of strong bifurcating trends in the Palestinian society and leadership.

The seminar will explore the impact that American Christian and Jewish lobbies have had on the Palestinian conflict. American and European Jewish groups will also be considered in their role as diasporas with respect to the Israeli state.

The seminar will also cover changing cross-border ties between Arab states and the Palestinians. Finally, transnational ties between Iran and Shiite Muslims in Lebanon and (currently) Iraq are examined with reference to the future political stability of the Middle East.

Topic 4

Middle East Conflict in Global Perspective

Resource Person: Jonathan Fox and Carolyn James
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.), Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

The issue of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict has dominated global politics for over 55 years. As the pressure point of three great world religions and containing a majority of the world's energy resources, the future form of the politics in the region is of incalculable interest to all peoples of the world. The seminar will assess how the Middle East Conflict has changed over the decades and the influence that external actors have had on the shape of this conflict.

The lecture will address the prospects for peace between Palestinians and Israelis and what a future peace settlement might look like. The question will be asked: what role do third party mediators play in this process and how has the Palestinian conflict been affected by increased American intervention in the Middle East?

Topic 6

Summation: Comparative Ethnopolitics between Eurasia and the Middle East

Resource Person: Jonathan Fox, Patrick James and Carolyn James
Number of hours: 3
Teaching mode: Lecture (50 min.) & Seminar (100 min.)

Discussion points

The lecture summarizes the main themes of the course with an eye toward identifying common patterns in the ethnopolitics of the Middle East and Eurasia. The lecture will suggest lines of academic and policy work that may be undertaken using comparative regional analysis.

The seminar discussion expands on these themes. Students will be asked to brainstorm research project proposals generated by the ideas covered in the course. Students will vote on the most promising proposal, which may then be developed into a future research project joined by one or more research persons and a small number of course participants.

COURSE READINGS

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Davis, David R., Keith Jagers, & Will H. Moore 1997. "Ethnicity, Minorities and International Conflict" in David Carment & Patrick James, eds. *Wars in the Midst of Peace*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, pp. 148-163.

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Fox, Jonathan (2002) *Ethnoreligious Conflict in the Late Twentieth Century: A General Theory*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

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