

CONF -399 – Section 008

Historical Origins of Ethnic Conflicts

Fall 2011

Instructor: Professor Manana Gnolidze-Swanson

Mondays - Lecture, 10:30am -11:45am
Wednesdays – Seminar, 10:30am –
11:45am
Classroom –Robinson Hall - A205

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Office: B Robinson Hall, Room 365
Office Hours: Wednesday – 12:00pm-
2:00pm, Robinson Hall B365 or by
appointment

Course Description

The course will focus on historical origins of ethnic conflicts from an international and interstate perspective. The causes of conflicts vary in different countries, regions and continents. Contemporary political scientists and practitioners of conflict resolution and analysts try to resolve or mitigate conflict to avoid the continuation of the cycle of violence. A common approach is to get opposing sides to sit down at the negotiation table, but these talks often become mired in the disputes between the parties on historical roots or origins of conflicts. The mediator party should be aware of these issues in order to successfully lead the negotiation. The course will not attempt to resolve the arguments about the historical “truth” of the conflicts but simply to present a forum through which all sides may air their perspective regarding to the history or origins of the conflict.

The timeframe of the period to be covered in the course varies but generally includes the 19th and 20th centuries and contemporary political developments. The two World Wars and their consequences greatly influenced conflict origins and development in the Near and Middle East. The independence era in Africa and the Middle East in the 1960s and 1970s were the result of ending protectorates of European countries and colonialism. The conflicts in Africa generally became more evident after independence. The active foreign policy strategy of the Soviet Union to take these newly independent states under its political influence caused a standoff with the U.S. and Western Europe in the region. The Non-Alignment movement in South and South East Asia did not solve the issues of peace in the region either. New conflicts arose after the breaking up the Soviet Union inside the former Soviet republics and in the Eastern bloc. These conflicts are of extreme importance for their close geographic proximity to the Western countries, particularly in the case of the former Yugoslavia.

The course will help to better understand historical origins of conflicts including political, economic, demographic, religious causes. Students should be able to analyze and

compare the international legislative documents – agreements, resolutions, produced by the international institutions regarding to particular conflicts. Students will also analyze U.S. foreign policy interests in particular region. When necessary the Soviet internal or foreign policy will also be analyzed regarding a particular region or country, especially during the Cold War period.

Attendance in class is not only mandatory but also essential if you would like to succeed in this course. Some of the material will be discussed only in class and not in the readings. You should plan to complete the assigned readings prior to each seminar.

Classroom etiquette: Come to class on time and prepared. Turn off your cell phones, pagers, beepers, etc. Do not leave the room during class unless you have an emergency. Do not disturb others by talking, passing notes, playing video games, etc. Do not surf the net. Be mindful of the sensitivities of others in your comments in class; however, open discussion and dialogue are our goal.

Textbooks: All material will be on the Blackboard and/or emailed by Professor Swanson. In addition, the same material will be as the book reserves at the Johnson Center Library reserve under the course number.

Assignments, Percentages of Grade, Due Dates

Three pagers – 10% - four assignments - **Due for the specific dates stated in the syllabus. 9/12/2011, 10/3/2011, 11/7/2011, 11/21/2011, 12/5/2011**

Group discussions/exercise - 10%

Attendance and oral participation – 5%

Oral presentation – 15% - **Due 10/12/2011**

Midterm exam – 20% - **Due - 10/26/2011**

Final exam – 40% - **Due - 12/14/2011**

Extensions of time for assignments will be arranged ONLY for documented personal illness or family emergency. Students with documented disabilities should make arrangements early in the term by contacting Professor Swanson.

For Monday class – the specific dates - students will prepare a homework assignment – 3 pages of narratives - double space. Total will be five assignments. Three Pagers are always due on Mondays unless otherwise stated in the syllabus. The first assignment will be short analysis of theories of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts, the four following assignments will be short descriptions of regional (East Europe and Eurasia, Middle East, South and South East Asia, Africa) conflicts based on reading material. Students will present brief description of the conflicts (the main facts and data) in the particular region, also the main causes of the conflicts and own opinion regarding to conflict resolution. The narratives will be graded.

The Seminar/Wednesdays –for seminar each group will discuss the topic provided by Professor Swanson in the syllabus. The first two seminars will be analysis of theories of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts. The students will be divided in groups and analyze the particular conflict – they will be encouraged to use the theoretical attitude during the particular conflict analysis. Each group will take sides discussing the causes and end results of the particular conflict.

The mid-term exam will be a take-home exam of an essay 6-8 pages double spaced. Students will choose the particular ethnic conflicts from the list.

The final exam will be a take-home analysis of two chosen conflicts – discussing of legal, political, cultural or economic problems, characteristic for particular conflict, similarities and differences, 10-12 pages double space.

The groups will prepare one presentation during the semester of their chosen conflict from the list provided. There will be set questions provided that students will answer during the presentation.

Grading Scale

Points Accumulated	Grade
98-100	A+
93-97	A
90-92	A-
87-89	B+
83-86	B
74-82	B-
63-73	C
52-62	C-
41-51	D
0-40	F

Honor Code and Plagiarism

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at academicintegrity.gmu.edu. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. If you have questions about when the contributions of others to your work must be acknowledged and appropriate ways to cite those contributions, please talk with the professor.

S-CAR requires that all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit a student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. S-CAR's policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace or substitute for it.

Student Resources

GMU Writing Center

"The Writing Center seeks to foster a writing climate on campus and beyond by offering free writing support to George Mason students, faculty, staff and alumni. No matter what your writing abilities are, writing specialists can help you develop the skills you need to become a successful writer.

Free services include: One-on-one 45 minute sessions with a writing specialist; online writing lab; one-on-one sessions with an ESL specialist; workshops on such topics as documenting sources, grammar and punctuation; writing handouts on a variety of subjects; a library of handbooks and writing manuals; [and an] online chat with a tutor about papers submitted to the Online Writing Lab" (<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu>).

Disability Support Services

Any student with documented learning disabilities or other conditions that may affect academic performance should: 1) make sure this documentation is on file with the Office of Disability Support Services (993-2474) to determine the possible accommodations you might need; and 2) contact her or his instructor to discuss reasonable accommodations.

"George Mason University is committed to providing appropriate services and accommodations that allow self-identified students with disabilities to access programs and activities at the university as stated in Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

To achieve this goal, the university maintains and supports the Disability Resource Center Office, which is responsible for assuring that students receive the services and accommodations to which they are entitled. The professional staff of the Disability Resource Center Office coordinate services for students with disabilities, determine reasonable services and accommodations on the basis of disability, and act as a liaison between students and faculty/administration on concerns relating to services and accommodations" (<http://www.gmu.edu/departments/advising/dss.html>).

Library Services

The S-CAR library liaison is Gretchen Reynolds (greynol3@gmu.edu). Do not hesitate to contact her with specific questions about holdings and research in these areas or whom to contact for materials still in the Fenwick Library on the Fairfax Campus.

Class 1 - Monday 8/29/2011

The Introductory part - Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts – analysis of theories of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts.

Creation of Discussion groups.

Anthony Smith, National Identity, pp.1-42, or in Nationalism, Oxford Reader, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, pp. 147-154.

Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, in Theories of Ethnicity, A Classical Reader, ed. Warner Sollors, pp.294-324.

Class 2 - Wednesday – 8/31/2011

Discussion - Ethnicity and Nation – the definitions and the arguments supported – Smith and Barth.

Class - 9/5/2011 – Labor Day – no class.

Class 3- Seminar – 9/7/2011 – Wednesday.

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, in Nationalism, Oxford Reader, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, pp. 89-96.

Donald Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, pp.3-54 or in Nationalism, Oxford Reader, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, pp. 261-269.

Discussion – Theories of ethnicity and Ethnic conflict – development of theoretical analysis – Primordialists, Instrumentalists.

Class 4 - Lecture – 9/12/2011- Three pagers due – Theories of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts.

New Political Realities after the WWI

Read – Serif Mardin, The Ottoman Empire, in After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation Building – The Soviet Union, and the Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires,– ed. Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, 1997, pp. 115-127.

Istvan Deak, Habsburg Empire, in The Soviet Union, and the Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires,– 1997, pp. 30-42.

Documents - Secret Treaty of London – with Italy (1915).

[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Treaty_of_London_\(1915\)](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Treaty_of_London_(1915))

See specifically article – 7 (division of Albania) and article 13 (expansion of colonies in Africa).

Woodrow Wilson – Fourteen Points. Specifically points – 9-14.

Treaty of Versailles – articles 118 – 158 (concerning German territories outside the Europe).

Treaty of Sevres with Turkey (was never adopted superseded by the treaty of Lausanne) - http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Section_I_Articles_1_-_260; See specifically article – 27 – (new borders), articles 62 – 64 (Kurdistan and other minorities).

Treaty of Lausanne with newly created Republic of Turkey.

http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne See particular articles – 17 – 19- Egypt, 20-22 – Cyprus. Articles – 25-27 regarding to its former territories in Europe and in general (spec. article 27), article 29 – with Arab states under French protectorate.

Problem of Minorities in Turkey – articles – 39 – 45.

Class 5- Seminar – 9/14/2011

Discussion of Treaties – Ethnic minorities and creation of new states after the WWI.

Ethnic Conflicts in East Europe and Eurasia

Class 6 – Lecture - 9/19/2011

Ethnic Conflicts in Former Yugoslavia.

Read Joseph R. Rudolf, Jr. – The Deconstruction of a State and Birth of Bosnia; John C. Scharfen, Ethnic Conflict and the Meltdown in Kosovo, both in the Encyclopedia of Modern ethnic Conflicts, ed. Joseph R. Rudolf, 2003pp.115-156.

Vamik Volkan, Ancient Fuel for a Modern Inferno: The Collapse in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Blood Lines, From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism, 1997, pp.50-80.

The Politics of ethnic conflict regulation : case studies of protracted ethnic conflicts, edited by John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary, article by George Schopflin – The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia, pp. 172-203.

Documents:

Potsdam treaty – division of Europe -

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade17.asp

Yalta Agreement - <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/yalta.asp>

See specifically the Part II, Parts VIII- XIII

Dayton Peace Agreement – Ohio, 1995.

Suggested Readings - Mark Mazower, The Balkans: A Short History, 2002

Class 7 – Seminar - 9/21/2011

Discussion: Creation and Destruction of Yugoslavia and origins of ethnic conflicts in Balkans.

Class 8 – Lecture – 9/26/2011

Eurasia region - Conflicts in the Caucasus.

The Politics of ethnic conflict regulation : case studies of protracted ethnic conflicts, edited by John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary, article by Dominic Lieven and John McGarry – Ethnic Conflict in the Soviet Union and Its Successor, pp. 62-83.

Robert Bruce Ware, The Soviet Union: Conflict in Chechnya, in Encyclopedia of Ethnic Conflicts, pp. 191-198.

Stuart J. Kaufman, The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict, in the Encyclopedia of Ethnic Conflicts, pp.207-214.pp.87-92.

Stuart Kaufman – The Ethnic Conflicts in Georgia, in Encyclopedia of Ethnic Conflicts, pp. 199-207.

Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict, pages – 1- 39, Report by CIPDD, GYLA, 2005 – see – http://old.osgf.ge/data/file_db/Publications/Conflict_in_S_O_Q-C51o6W1V.pdf

Engagement Plan between Georgia and Abkhazia and South Ossetia - see

<http://www.smr.gov.ge/uploads/file/041010/statement.pdf>;

Sabine Fisher – Abkhazia and Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict, 2009, see -

http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Abkhazia_and_the_Georgian-Abkhaz_conflict.pdf

Class 9 – Seminar - 9/28/2011

Discussion –Each group will discuss one conflict – Chechnya, Karabakh, South Ossetia, or Abkhazia. The participants will take sides during the discussion.

Near and Middle East

Class 10 – Lecture – 10/3/2011 - The 3 pagers are due for this date – Ethnic Conflicts in East Europe and Eurasia.

Ethnic Minorities in Iran and Turkey

Distributing the assignments for group presentations – Presentations Due 10/12/2011.

Readings - the Kurds – PACE Report - Council of Europe -

<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc06/EDOC11006.htm>

Massoume Price, *Iran’s Diverse Peoples; A Reference Source Book*, ABC-CLIO’s Ethnic Diversity Within Nations Series, 2005,pp. 25-26, pp.42-45, pp.47-51, pp.69-74, pp.83-87, pp.93-115, pp.145-62, pp.171-177, pp.251-265, pp.279 – 340.

Kemal Kirisci, Migration and Turkey:The Dynamics of state, Society and Politics, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Volume 4, (ed. Resat Kasaba), 2006, pp. 175-198.

Martin Van Bruinessen, Aghas, Sheikhs and the State, pp. 25-42, pp.133-151, 161-185, pp. 265-291.

Hamit Bozarslan, Kurds and Turkish State, in The Cambridge History of turkey, Volume 4, (ed. Resat Kasaba), 2006, pp. 333-356.

Suggested Readings - Nayereh Tohidi, Ethnicity and Religious Minority Politics in Iran, pp. 299- 323, in Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics, ed., by Ali Gheissari

See the official documents on the website:

http://avalon.law.vale.edu/subject_menus/mideast.asp

Class 11 – Seminar - 10/5/2011

Discussion: Ethnic Minorities – in Iran and Turkey (Kurdish Problem, Azeri and other minorities).

October 10 – Columbus Day – no class.

Class 12 – Seminar - 10/12/2011- Group Presentations.

Mid-term exam assignment distributing. Mid-term papers DUE – 10/26/2011.

Class 13 – Lecture - 10/17/2011

New political realities in the Middle East since WWI – Creation of Arab States, Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Read - Peter Mansfield, The Arabs, pp. 13-34.

Kjetil Selvik and Stig Stenslie, Ethnicity in - Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East, ed. pp. 21-45

Documents: Documents: Sir Henry McMahon, The McMahon letter (October 24, 1915), Sykes –Picot Agreement 1916 – in The Israel Arab Reader, ed. Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, pp. 11- 16.

See the official documents on the website:

http://avalon.law.vale.edu/subject_menus/mideast.asp

Kjetil Selvik and Stig Stenslie, Ethnicity in - Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East, ed. pp. 77-100.

Marie –Joelle Zahar, Ethnic Conflict and the Lebanese Civil War, 1975-1990, pp.109-118 in Encyclopedia of Modern Ethnic Conflicts, 2003.

Charles Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, pp. 1-17

Class 14 – Seminar - 10/19/2011

Discussion: Creation of Arab states based on international agreements.

Class 15 – Lecture - 10/24/2011

Israeli – Palestinian Conflict.

Read the documents in Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict, Israel-Arab Reader, ed. Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin: The League of Nations, The British Mandate (July 24, 1922), pp. 30- 36.

UN General Assembly: Resolution on the Future Government of Palestine (Partition Resolution), (November 29, 1947), pp. 69-77. State of Israel, Proclamation of Independence (May 14, 1948) pp. 81-83, PLO – Six Point Program (December 4, 1977), pp. 215-216. Camp David Summit Meeting: Frameworks for Peace, (September 17, 1978), pp. 222-227, Egypt and Israel: Peace treaty (March 26, 1979), pp. 227-228. Israel and PLO - Declaration of Principles of Interim Self-Government Arrangements (The Oslo Agreement) (September 13, 1993) pp. 413-422. Israel and PLO – Cairo Agreement, (March 4, 1994), pp. 442- 455, Israel and Jordan, Peace treaty (October 26, 1994) pp. 477-487.

Charles Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, pp. 53-105

Class 16 – Seminar - 10/26/2011 –Midterm exam papers due. The hard copies of papers will be presented and emailed.

Discussion – Problem of interethnic relations in Arab states.

South and South East Asia

Class 17 - 10/31/2011 – Lecture

Historical roots of ethnic conflicts in India. Conflict in Sri Lanka.

Read - Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguli, Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia, pp. 145-186.

P.A. Ghosh, Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka and Role of Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKE), pp. 13-44.

The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation : case studies of protracted ethnic conflicts, edited by John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary, article - Ethnic conflict in India: a case-study of Punjab by Gurharpal Singh, pp. 84-105.

Class 18 – Seminar 11/2/2011

Discussion – Arab States - Ethnicities and borders defined. Arab- Israeli Conflict – the origins.

Class 19 – Lecture - 11/7/2011 - The 3 pagers are due for this date – Ethnic Conflicts in the Middle East

Burma and Indonesia.

Ed. Santosh C. Saha, 2006. Case Studies of Ethnic Intervention in South East Asia, pp.47-77, see - Perspectives on Contemporary Ethnic Conflict, Chapter I, Gaurav Ghose, Patrick James, and Perspectives on Contemporary Ethnic Conflict, by Vivienne Wee and Graeme Lang – Burma and Indonesia. Specifically part – Ethnic Violence in Two Problematic Post-Colonial States: Burma and Indonesia.

Mary P. Callahan, Making Enemies, war and state building in Burma, pp. 21-44,
Martin Smith, The Karen Conflict, in the Encyclopedia of Modern Ethnic Conflicts, 2003.

Class 20 – Seminar - 11/9/2011

Discussion: Conflicts in India and Sri-Lanka - Origins and current political resolution.

Class 21- Lecture - 11/14/2011.

Tibet and Tibetan self-determination.

European Parliament Resolution on the Situation in Tibet, 1992,

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/tibet.asp

Katherine Palmer Kaup, China: Ethnic Conflict in the World's Largest Multinational state. In Encyclopedia of Ethnic conflicts, pp.47-54.

Melvil Godstein, Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet and Dalai Lama (Electronic Source) – see the section of Tibet.

Class 22 – Seminar - 11/16/2011.

Discussion: Conflicts in South East Asia –Burma, Indonesia.

Class 23 – Lecture - 11/21/2011- The 3 pagers due this date - Ethnic Conflicts in South and South East Asia.

Africa – the course will separately discuss characteristics of the new ethnic conflicts in Central, West and East Africa. The origins of conflicts in Sudan and Somalia.

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Africa and the Africans in the XIX Century, 2009, (translated from French), pp.3-18.

Scarcity and Surfeit, the ecology of Africa's conflicts edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Books/Scarcity+Surfeit/Main.html>

Chapter 5. Oil and Water in Sudan Paul Goldsmith, Lydia A Abura and Jason Switzer

Chapter 6. Spilling Blood over Water? The Case of Ethiopia by Fiona Flintan and Imeru Tamrat

Chapter 7. Deegaan, Politics and War in Somalia Ibrahim Farah, Abdirashid Hussein and Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004,

See the online - Scarcity and Surfeit, the ecology of Africa's conflicts edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Books/Scarcity+Surfeit/Main.html>

11/23/2011 – Recess begins, no class.

Class 24 – lecture - 11/28/2011. Conflicts in West and Central Africa - Nigeria, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo.

Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Ethnic Conflicts and the Nation State, parts – 3 and 5 – Horn of Africa.

Scarcity and Surfeit, the ecology of Africa's conflicts edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Books/Scarcity+Surfeit/Main.html>

See the chapter 2 - Land Scarcity, Distribution and Conflict in Rwanda,

By Jean Bigagaza, Carolyne Abong and Cecile Mukarubuga;

Chapter - 4. Coltan exploitation in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

By Celine Moyroud and John Katunga

Abdul Raufu Mustapha, Identity Boundaries, Ethnicity and National Integration in Nigeria in ethnic Conflicts in Africa, ed. Okwidiba Nnoli, pp. 27-52.

Class 25- 11/30/2011

Final Exams assignments will be distributed. Final Exams Due 12/14/2011.

Discussion: The conflicts in East Africa - Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia.

**Class 26 – 12/5/2011- The 3 pagers due this date - Ethnic Conflicts in Africa.
Review the Questions for the Final Paper.**

Class 27 - 12/7/2011 – Discussion – Ethnic Conflicts in West Africa –Congo, Nigeria, Rwanda.

Class 28 - 12/12/2011 – Review the questions for the Final paper.

12/14/2011 - Final Papers due.