

Nationalism in International Context

1. Ethnic Conflict Regulation I - General Principles

2 October 2012

Main Questions

- Problems arising from **imperfect overlap** of political and ethnic units. How to manage?
- Ethnic questions raise many **zero-sum** (either-or), non-tradeable issues
- **Core dilemmas**
 - Elimination vs. Management of difference
 - Democratic vs. Non-Democratic Means of reducing ethnic conflict.

Dealing with Differences

I—Methods for *eliminating* differences:

- a) genocide
- b) forced mass-population transfer
- c) partition and/or secession (self-determination)
- d) integration and/or assimilation

II—Methods for *managing* differences:

- a) hegemonic control/ethnic democracy
- b) arbitration (3rd party intervention)
- c) federalism and cantonisation
- d) consociationalism

Methods of Conflict Regulation

- **Taxonomy** rather than fixed categories
- Often a **combination** of tactics
 - Tito's Yugoslavia: mix of control, arbitration, and consociation;
 - United States: genocide, control, and integration;
 - Nazi Germany: genocide, population transfer, etc.
- **Other schemas** also exist (e.g., Smooha/Hanf; Lijphart).

I—Methods for Eliminating Differences

- Where rulers try to reduce the ethnic diversity in their territory

I—Methods for eliminating differences

- **a) genocide** - systematic mass-killing of an ethnic collectivity (direct or indirect)
- **b) forced mass-population transfer** - forces people to move from homes, often without compensation. ‘Ethnic cleansing’ and aggressive settlement
- **c) partition/secession** - resolves ethnic conflict by breaking up multi-ethnic states, or by allowing divorce between ethnic communities which do not wish to live together in the same state
- **d) integration/assimilation** - attempt by the dominant group to compel/facilitate the minority ethnic group to take on the cultural characteristics of the host ethnic group

b) Forced Mass- Population Transfer

- Must be **distinguished from agreed** population exchanges (as w. Greeks and Turks after WWI);
- Forced transfers do **not always terminate** ethnic **conflict** (i.e., USSR, Israel);
- Often part of **imperial consolidation** policies - (Cromwell, Stalin, Tsarist and Turkish policies in the Caucasus, Milosevic's Greater Serbia).

[ctnd.] Forced Mass- Population Transfer

- Can be used to enhance territorial legitimacy for claims (Serbs' **'ethnic cleansing'**)
- Can be a **response to perceived ethnic 'swamping'** as in Assam v. Bengalis and USA v. Mexicans (difficult line between immigration control and forced transfer)
- Mass population transfer may be **thinkable** in areas where peoples believe that their homelands have been stolen from them. Otherwise it is not.

c) Partition/Secession

- Partition, secession and self-determination are all **compatible with liberalism** and democracy
- Four questions begged by **normative idea** of self-determination underlying partition and secession:
 - Who are the **people**?
 - What is the relevant **territorial unit** in which they should exercise self-determination?
 - What constitutes a **majority**?
 - Does secession produce a **domino effect** in which ethnic minorities within seceding territories seek self-determination for themselves?

d) Integration and Assimilation



d) Integration / Assimilation

- Integration vs. Assimilation
 - Civic vs. Ethnic forms
 - One seeks to integrate into common civic, national, patriotic identity, the other to assimilate to an ethnic core (cf. UK vs. Hungary).
- Modalities of Integration/Assimilation
 - Two-way (Integration) vs. One-way (Assimilation)
 - High-pressure vs. Humane
 - Assimilation as 7-step process (Gordon 1964).

[ctnd.] Integration / Assimilation

- Liberal and illiberal forms (i.e., Nazis in Poland)
- **Some success**, especially in new world, where most ethnic groups are secondary, with short territorial memories
- Can generate **resistance** (Romania, even USA)
- ‘Multiculturalism’ a form of **integration without assimilation**
- Can one have integration without assimilation?

Means of Integration/Assimilation

- MEANS OF INTEGRATION:
 - Integrated schooling, language training, civics/history lessons, outlawing discrimination, integrating workplace and public facilities, common rights and duties
- MEANS OF ASSIMILATION:
 - Forced change of surname, unilingualism, ban on separate schools, single curriculum/history in schools, encouraging intermarriage, loyalty oaths, use of other languages illegal.

II—Managing Differences

- Where rulers tend to accept the presence of ethnic groups as a social reality

II—Methods for Managing Differences

- a) **hegemonic control/ethnic democracy** - a coercive or co-optive rule which manages to neutralise an ethnic challenge to the state order
- b) **arbitration (3rd party intervention)** - consists of an international or self-appointed umpire(s) regulating a conflict in a region (third party intervention). (i.e. condominium)
- c) **federalism and cantonisation** - devolution on a territorial basis. Powers to federal/cantonal units.
- d) **consociationalism** - power-sharing among ethnic groups on a non-territorial basis, as opposed to federalism, which operates on a territorial basis

a) Hegemonic Control

- **Most common mode** of managing/stabilising ethnic difference in multi-ethnic states in world history, short of elimination.
 - Especially in empires with elite co-option and coercive domination. (Ottoman Empire, USSR)
- **Need not rest with ethnic majority.** Often a minority or pan-ethnic coalition.
- Ethnic dictatorship or ‘Herrenvolk’ democracy
- ‘Herrenvolk’ democracy vs. ethnic democracy - where **minorities can vote** and have civil rights, **but are excluded** from top positions and symbolically excluded from the state
 - Israel, Northern Ireland pre-1972.

b) Arbitration

- Arbitrator provides order where anarchy or repression may occur
- Arbitration (binding) vs. Mediation (not offering compulsory solutions)
- Arbitrator's claim to neutrality must be broadly accepted for the process to work.

Breaking News



12:55 Ukraine reopens
Yushchenko poison
inquiry

In the Newspaper

Daily

- Front Page
- Ireland
- World
- Finance
- Features
- Sport
- Opinion
- Letters
- Crossword
- Article Index

Daily PDFs

- Front Page
- TV Listings

Weekly Index

- Tuesday
- Health
- Education and

DUBLIN WEATHER



Cloudy and
breezy. 7-12C



THE IRISH TIMES

Front

Mon, Dec 13, 04

Taoiseach to meet Adams on North deal impasse

Mark Brennock, Chief Political Correspondent

The Taoiseach and the Sinn Féin president will lead senior delegations at an early-morning meeting in Dublin today designed to rescue the deal in the North, against a backdrop of escalating bitterness between them.

The acrimony between Sinn Féin and the Government over the issue of the Jerry McCabe killers grew dramatically yesterday, with the Taoiseach saying Mr Gerry Adams was "wrong" on the matter, while Sinn Féin TD Mr Aengus Ó Snodaigh called Mr Ahern a "liar" in response.

The exchanges came on the eve of this morning's meeting between the Taoiseach, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Justice and a Sinn Féin delegation led by Mr Adams. Mr Adams will fly later today to London for talks at Downing Street with the British Prime Minister, Mr

[ctnd.] Arbitration

- Internal v. External arbitration.
 - **INTERNAL** Individuals or institutions (Nyerere, Gandhi, US Supreme Court, Cdn. Fed. v. prov.)
 - **EXTERNAL** *Single state; *bi-partisan (Anglo-Irish agreement, 1985, Austrian-Italian in Sud Tyrol, 1946, Finnish-Swedish over Åland), or *multi-partisan authority/force, also known as ‘cooperative internationalisation’ (e.g., UN/Nato interventions).
- One could argue that arbitration often involves a ‘**final**’ **solution** of either federalism, consociationalism or dominant control.

c) **Federalism and Cantonisation**

- Federalism involves all federal **units** having **equal powers** (US states, German Länder, Canadian provinces)
- Unlike federalism, **cantonisation** can in principle involve asymmetrical powers. (post-Franco Spain, Canada) - Sometimes referred to as ‘asymmetrical federalism’
- **Confederation** (maintaining separate political units) vs. Federation.

States map of India

Federalism

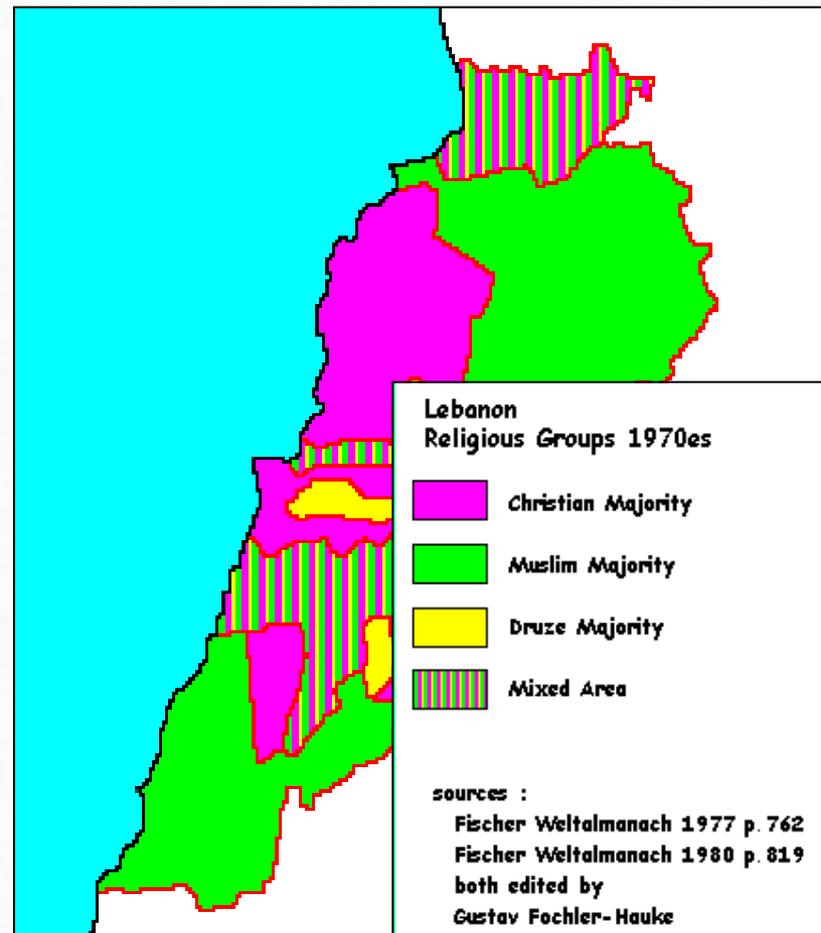
- Federalism has a **poor record** of success. Even successful cases remain fraught with tension.
- Federal systems give **political entrepreneurs** an institutional framework and **power base**.
- Yet it is unclear whether **control** would provide a **better alternative?** - needed to moot federalism as policy.

d) Consociationalism

- Four features of consociational democracies
 1. **Grand coalition** government, incorporating the political parties
 2. **Proportional representation**, employment and expenditure rules throughout public sector
 3. **Community autonomy** norms under which ethnic communities have self-government over those matters of most profound concern to them;
 4. **Constitutional vetoes** for minorities

[ctnd.] Consociationalism

- **Mixed record.** Some failures (i.e., in Lebanon), but others have succeeded.
- **Better than alternatives** of majority domination, bloody partition, secessionist warfare, forced transfer and genocide.
- **May be only option** for democracy in many areas.
- Criticised for **entrenching ethnic politics.**



Ethnic Pattern Suggests Political Solution?

- **Ethical Solutions do not necessarily match** elimination/management axis
- **Territorial vs. Non-territorial** location of ethnic groups often suggests solution.
(→ federalism/consociationalism)
- **Primary vs. Secondary** nature of **ethnic groups** suggests solution.
(→ management/elimination).

Conditions for Success of Multi-Ethnic Democracies

1. Internal **territorial segregation** permitting self-government;
2. Fact of **demographic dominance** leading to generosity on part of majority;
3. Demographic stability (no change in ethnic balance);
4. History of pre-democratic **political cooperation** among ethnic political elites, giving the post-authoritarian state a chance of promoting accommodation;
5. A **liberal** or ecumenical **tradition**.

Miscellaneous

<http://www.sneps.net/t/BBK.htm>

<http://moodle.bbk.ac.uk/>